St. John Fisher University

Fisher Digital Publications

Education Doctoral

Ralph C. Wilson, Jr. School of Education

8-2023

Examining School Awareness and Support for Children of Incarcerated Parents: Perceptions of Educators and Caregivers

Wanda Labrador
St. John Fisher University, labradorwanda@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://fisherpub.sjf.edu/education_etd

Part of the Education Commons

Recommended Citation

Labrador, Wanda, "Examining School Awareness and Support for Children of Incarcerated Parents: Perceptions of Educators and Caregivers" (2023). *Education Doctoral.* Paper 569.

Please note that the Recommended Citation provides general citation information and may not be appropriate for your discipline. To receive help in creating a citation based on your discipline, please visit http://libguides.sjfc.edu/citations.

This document is posted at https://fisherpub.sjf.edu/education_etd/569 and is brought to you for free and open access by Fisher Digital Publications at . For more information, please contact fisherpub@sjf.edu.

Examining School Awareness and Support for Children of Incarcerated Parents: Perceptions of Educators and Caregivers

Abstract

This qualitative phenomenological study investigated the perceptions of educators and caregivers of children of incarcerated parents (CIP) regarding how CIP may best be supported and whether they receive the social-emotional support they need at school. Additionally, this study gives voice to a subject that affects many but is considered by few, and can benefit CIP, educators, and caregivers.

The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's (SAMHSA) framework is the theoretical structure for the study. SAMHSA's framework includes the four Rs principles of the trauma-informed approach: realization, recognition, response, and resisting re-traumatization. The data were collected using one-to-one semi-structured interviews and field notes with participants from a school district in Western New York. Furthermore, the interviews were transcribed and coded to find common themes among the respondents' answers.

The study resulted in three key findings: (a) the conflict between privacy and support, (b) skilled and unaware- failing to recognize educators as the first line of support, and (c) making negative assumptions. These findings aligned with the four Rs of trauma-informed approaches (SAMHSA, 2014).

Consequently, three research-based recommendations for practice were identified to improve the support CIP receive at school. The first is to deliver training to teachers in trauma-informed practices with an emphasis on CIP. The second, to incorporate trauma- informed practices with existing school-wide systems, such as the Multi-Tiered Systems of Support (MTSS). Finally, the facilitation of adult-guided peer support groups at school.

Document Type

Dissertation

Degree Name

Doctor of Education (EdD)

Department

Executive Leadership

First Supervisor

Dr. Marie Cianca

Subject Categories

Education

This dissertation is available at Fisher Digital Publications: https://fisherpub.sjf.edu/education_etd/569

Examining School Awareness and Support for Children of Incarcerated Parents: Perceptions of Educators and Caregivers

By

Wanda Labrador

Submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

EdD in Executive Leadership

Supervised by

Dr. Marie Cianca

Committee Member

Dr. Vicma Ramos

Ralph C. Wilson, Jr. School of Education

St. John Fisher University

August 2023

Copyright by

Wanda Labrador

2023

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the children of incarcerated parents everywhere, particularly my five children, Paridise, Nayomi, Safia, Justice, and Taína, the original CIP in my life. I want to thank my exceptional dissertation committee, Dr. Marie Cianca, and Dr. Vicky Ramos, for their relentless patience, support, and guidance. I am eternally thankful to Cohort Sweet 16 for embracing me and becoming my second family, especially The Summit Squad; Deb, Eileen, and Thomas. I also want to thank Dr. Mike Wischnowski, Dr. Guillermo Montes, and the late Dr. Jason Berman, for their lessons and words of encouragement. A shout-out goes to Cohorts 14 and 15 members for teaching me that Saturdays are for writing on Zoom with friends. Dr. Wendy Ross, who has become a mentor, I am grateful to call her a friend. Dr. Emma Overby, who is no longer with us, was the group's cheerleader and is sorely missed. Dr. Francisca White, who has given me priceless advice and taught me all about ATLAS ti. Thank you, Dr. Clinton Bell, for seeing my potential and always challenging me to reach the next level. Finally, I want to acknowledge and show my appreciation to my husband, Kemet, who has been an incredible inspiration and embodiment of love and resilience. Without these individuals' support, guidance, push, understanding, and encouragement, I would not have made it through my dissertation journey.

Biographical Sketch

Wanda Labrador is a native of Puerto Rico who moved to the state of New York at the age of 12. She graduated from, and has been a building leader in, an urban school district in Western New York. She was a classroom teacher for over 20 years before becoming a school administrator. Ms. Labrador received her bachelor's degree from the State University of New York College at Brockport and her master's in educational leadership from St. John Fisher University.

Ms. Labrador began her doctoral studies in the Ed.D. Program in Executive Leadership at St. John Fisher University in the summer of 2021. She pursued her research, Examining School Awareness and Support for Children of Incarcerated Parents: Perceptions of Educators and Caregivers, under the supervision of Dr. Marie Cianca and Dr. Vicky Ramos. She received the Ed.D. degree in 2023.

Abstract

This qualitative phenomenological study investigated the perceptions of educators and caregivers of children of incarcerated parents (CIP) regarding how CIP may best be supported and whether they receive the social-emotional support they need at school. Additionally, this study gives voice to a subject that affects many but is considered by few, and can benefit CIP, educators, and caregivers.

The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's (SAMHSA) framework is the theoretical structure for the study. SAMHSA's framework includes the four Rs principles of the trauma-informed approach: realization, recognition, response, and resisting re-traumatization. The data were collected using one-to-one semi-structured interviews and field notes with participants from a school district in Western New York. Furthermore, the interviews were transcribed and coded to find common themes among the respondents' answers.

The study resulted in three key findings: (a) the conflict between privacy and support, (b) skilled and unaware- failing to recognize educators as the first line of support, and (c) making negative assumptions. These findings aligned with the four Rs of trauma-informed approaches (SAMHSA, 2014).

Consequently, three research-based recommendations for practice were identified to improve the support CIP receive at school. The first is to deliver training to teachers in trauma-informed practices with an emphasis on CIP. The second, to incorporate trauma-informed practices with existing school-wide systems, such as the Multi-Tiered Systems

of Support (MTSS). Finally, the facilitation of adult-guided peer support groups at school.

Table of Contents

Dedication iii

Biographical Sketch iv

Abstract v

Table of Contents vii

List of Tables x

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

Mass Incarceration 2

Effects on CIP 4

Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACES) 7

Ambiguous Loss and Parental Incarceration 8

Trauma-Informed Approach 9

Problem Statement 10

Theoretical Rationale 11

Statement of Purpose 14

Research Questions 14

Potential Significance of the Study 15

Definition of Terms 15

Chapter Summary 16

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature 19

Introduction 19

Children of Incarcerated Parents 20
Coping with Parental Incarceration 25
Stigma 26
Caregivers 28
School Impact 30
Training for Educators 33
Identification of CIP 38
Chapter Summary 38
Chapter 3: Research Design Methodology 41
Introduction 41
Research Design 42
Research Context 42
Participants 43
Instruments 44
Procedure Used for Data Collection 46
Procedures Used for Data Analysis 48
Procedures Used for Data Collection and Analysis 48
Confidentiality 49
Chapter Summary 50
Chapter 4: Results 51
Introduction 51
Data Analysis and Findings 52
Research Question 1: Results and Analysis 52

Research Question 2: Results and Analysis 65
Research Question 3: Results and Analysis 73
Summary of Results 80
Chapter 5: Discussion 82
Introduction 82
Implications of Findings 83
Finding 1: The Conflict Between Privacy and Support 83
Finding 2: Skilled and Unaware- Failing to Recognize Educators as the First Line of Support 85
Finding 3: Making Negative Assumptions 86
Connections to the Framework 87
Limitations 88
Recommendations for Practice 88
Recommendations for Future Research 91
Conclusion 92
References 95
Appendix A 106

List of Tables

Item	Title	Page
Table 2.1	Publications on Trauma-Informed Practices at School	37
Table 3.1	Study Participants	44
Table 3.2	Phases in Developing and Refining Interviews	45
Table 4.1	Research Question 1- Themes, Subthemes, and Area of Framework	53
Table 4.2	Research Question 2- Themes, Subthemes, and Area of Framework	65
Table 4.3	Research Question 3- Themes, Subthemes, and Area of Framework	74

Chapter 1: Introduction

One in 14 children in the United States has a parent who is or has been incarcerated (Murphey & Cooper, 2015). Surprisingly, this number translates to at least one child in every American classroom. Children of incarcerated parents (CIP) is a population that was invisible for a long time (Phillips & Gates, 2011). The fear of being stigmatized may explain why the CIP are often hidden in plain sight. Additionally, some families keep the incarceration of a parent secret, preventing the children from sharing their situation (Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Kahya & Ergin Ekinci, 2018; Kautz, 2019; Luther, 2016; McGinley & Jones, 2018; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2011; Nosek et al., 2019; Saunders, 2018).

Knowledge about mass incarceration in America is at the heart of understanding issues affecting the CIP (Wildeman & Western, 2010). It is challenging to gauge how much awareness educators have regarding this group of children, as few studies have been conducted (Bocknek et al., 2008; Dallaire et al., 2010; Slaughter et al., 2019; Turney, 2018; Turney & Haskins, 2014). The loss of a parent to incarceration presents several challenges for children, including social, mental, physical, and emotional (Arditti, 2012). Therefore, when CIP come to school, they bring with them the challenges caused by their parent's incarceration. As a result, it is essential to investigate whether educators know these circumstances and how CIP are supported academically and socio-emotionally.

Mass Incarceration

According to World Population Review (2022), the United States has gained a reputation for incarcerating more people than any other industrialized country. The United States saw a 500% increase in incarceration over the last 40 years (The Sentencing Project, 2021). In 2020, there were 1,215,821 incarcerated individuals in the United States (Carson, 2021). Although the number represents a 15% decrease in population from 2019, it is still enough to keep the United States at the top of the list of the highest incarcerated nation (Carson, 2021). Mass incarceration began in the United States over 50 years ago. In 1968, U.S. President Richard Nixon declared war on crime; 3 years later, he waged another war against drugs, negatively impacting Black and brown people (Hinton, 2016). Congress passed the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970, including the Controlled Substances Act (CSA), which placed marijuana in the most restrictive class (St. John & Lewis, 2019).

In the mid-1980s, President Ronald Reagan's "Just Say No" campaign showed renewed interest in the war on drugs. The passing of the Drug Abuse Act in 1986 added to the increasing number of people incarcerated for drug-related crimes, including non-violent ones (St. John & Lewis, 2019). The U.S. Congress passed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act in 1994. As a result, many Black and Hispanic people were charged and incarcerated. In addition, it underlined mandatory sentence minimums and three-strikes regulations, contributing to high incarceration amounts (Sawyer & Wagner, 2021). Also known as truth in sentencing, this law marked a steep increase in the incarceration of individuals. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, the incarcerated population grew from 744,208 in 1985 to 1,585,401 in 1995. Entire blocks

in New York City were deserted as Black and brown men became incarcerated, leaving devastated families behind (Enns, 2016). The prison boom peaked in 2007 when 1,598,316 people were imprisoned in jails and prisons in the United States.

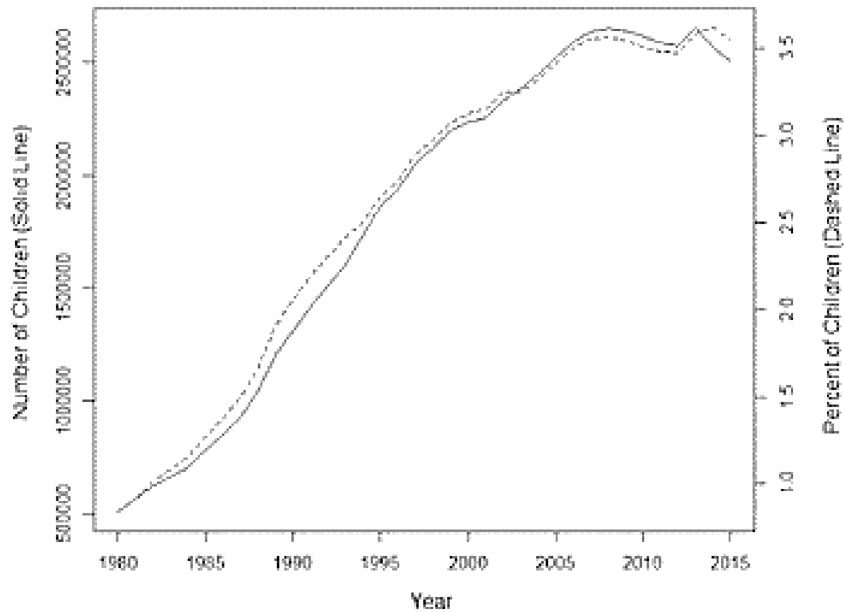
To bring light to the racial disparity, in 1990, the racial makeup of the United States population was 12.1% Black, 9% Hispanic, and 80.3% White (United States Census Bureau, n.d.). In contrast, the prison population was 46% Black, 13% Hispanic, and 38% White; 20 years later, the trend of racial disproportion continued. In 2019, the U.S. total population was 13.4% Black, 18.5% Hispanic, and 76.3% White. The prison makeup was 33% Black, 23% Hispanic, and 31% White (Carson, 2021).

The prison boom from the 1990s to the early 2000s created many consequences. Maruschak et al. (2021) found that in 2016, 48% of all incarcerated people were parents of children younger than 18, with an average age of 9. Of all incarcerated men, 47% were fathers, and 58% of all incarcerated women were mothers, leaving 1.5 million children in the community with an incarcerated parent. The families left behind became the collateral damage of mandatory minimum sentences, enduring the sometimes-long absence of loved ones.

Figure 1.1 shows the exponential rise in numbers of children with incarcerated parents. In 1980 less than 10% of all children in the United States had an incarcerated parent. In 2010, just 40 years later, the percentage of CIP was over 35. The next section will focus on how parental incarceration affects children.

Figure 1.1

Percentage and Number of CIP in the USA from 1980 to 2015



Note. Reprinted from "Measuring the exposure of parents and children to incarceration," by B. L. Sykes & B. Pettit. In *Handbook on children with incarcerated parents: Research, policy, 0and practice* (2nd ed., p. 11) (https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-16707-3). Copyright 2019 by Springer.

Effects on CIP

The impact of incarceration has been widespread. Enns et al. (2019) reported that 45% of all Americans have had a close family member who is incarcerated. Families struggling with the incarceration of a loved one can face many challenges, including their youngest members. CIP are affected in several ways. They may experience internalizing or externalizing behaviors. Internalizing behaviors can be challenging to observe and include withdrawal, anxiety, and depression. Some scholars found that parental incarceration, especially paternal, may not significantly impact internalizing behaviors

(Geller et al., 2011; Turney, 2017). Others argue that CIP demonstrated anxiety, sadness, and guilt, among other internalizing behaviors (Brown, 2020). In some studies, CIP were shown to be at risk of maladaptive behaviors such as substance abuse and suicide ideation in their teen years (Kjellstrand et al., 2019). Dallaire et al. (2015) found that CIP who did not have contact with their incarcerated mothers were more likely to have psychological issues. Dallaire's study similarly revealed that over 50% of the children whose mothers were incarcerated also had an imprisoned father. Caregivers reported that CIP also demonstrated externalizing behaviors (Dallaire, 2015).

Externalizing behaviors, such as physical aggression, defiance, bullying, and vandalism, have likewise been linked to parental incarceration (Geller et al., 2011). CIP may also have difficulty following classroom rules, get in trouble at school, and gain negative attention from their peers and teachers. In addition, Turney (2018) found that children whose fathers lived with them before becoming incarcerated exhibited more externalizing behaviors. A child with an incarcerated parent has a higher risk of being diagnosed with attention deficit hyperactive disorder (ADHD) (Turney, 2017).

Another issue CIP can face is stigma. Many CIP feel stigmatized by their classmates and their teachers (Dallaire et al., 2010). When interviewing 30 teachers, Dallaire et al. (2010) found that other teachers expressed lowered expectations of students experiencing parental incarceration. Not surprisingly, fear of stigmatization often leads CIP to keep their situation secret from others, further isolating them from their peers and adding to their stress (Turney & Haskins, 2014). This can result from experiencing an ambiguous loss, in other words, having a parent absent but not gone

(Boss, 2000). CIP are also more likely to endure more adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) than other children (Turney, 2018).

Other impacts of parental incarceration are food and housing insecurity (Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014). Wakefield and Wildeman (2014) found that paternal incarceration increased the risk of CIP, especially among Black children, becoming homeless by 2% to 4% compared to their White counterparts (2014). More specifically, children whose fathers were incarcerated were more likely to become homeless than those whose mothers were incarcerated. One explanation may be that when mothers become incarcerated, their children often live with other family members or in the foster care system (Arditti, 2012). When a father goes to prison, the mother may face economic challenges with losing his income, increasing hardship, and housing instability (Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014). Overall, families with an incarcerated parent saw a 64.3% decrease in assets and an 86.1% increase in debt (Sykes & Maroto, 2016).

Further impacts of incarceration on children include poor physical and mental health (Murphey & Cooper, 2015). According to researchers, CIP have more unmet medical needs than their peers (Turney, 2017). Mental health is affected as well as physical health. CIP are diagnosed with asthma, at 14% versus 8.43% for children of non-incarcerated parents, obesity at 21.15% versus 15.21%, among others (Turney & Haskins, 2014). Poor health has consequences; CIP were shown to have chronic school absences (Turney & Haskins, 2014), and chronic absenteeism can have serious academic outcomes.

The problem of school retention is also highlighted with CIP. CIP are at a higher risk of being retained in Grades K-2 than their peers (Haskins, 2015; Turney & Haskins,

2014). Research supported the hypothesis of teachers having lowered expectations of children, primarily girls, with incarcerated mothers compared to children with mothers who were away for another reason (Dallaire et al., 2010). In another study, researchers looked at data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (Princeton University, 2022) to determine if a relationship existed between paternal incarceration and the retention of elementary students. The Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study followed children born to mostly single mothers between 1998 and 2000 and their families. The children in the study were 48% Black, 27% Hispanic, 21% White, and 4% identified as other races (Princeton University, 2022). The results indicated that 23% of CIP were retained compared to 14% of children not impacted by incarceration between kindergarten and third grade (Turney & Haskins, 2014). These issues are not unique to the United States. A study conducted in Turkey, where 12 adolescents were interviewed, revealed that they experienced stigma, were reluctant to share and broke social bonds. Five of the adolescents dropped out of school by the end of the study (Kahya & Ergin Ekinci, 2018).

Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACES)

ACEs are defined as experiences of abuse or household dysfunction before children are the age of 18 (Felitti et al., 1998). Abuse can be physical, sexual, or psychological. Household dysfunction includes exposure to substance abuse, violence towards a caregiver, mental illness, or criminal behavior, in this case, parental incarceration. In 1998, Felitti et al. embarked on a mission to correlate ACEs to various physical diseases in adulthood. The original ACE study used responses from 9,508 individuals and found a relationship between having one or more ACES as a risk factor

for diseases that cause adult death (Felitti et al., 1998). Having a parent in prison is an adverse childhood experience that can sometimes be compounded by other ACEs (Arditti & Savla, 2013). Compared to 18 single caregiver homes not impacted by incarceration, 27 single caregiver homes impacted by incarceration showed a connection to childhood trauma (Arditti & Savla, 2013). Furthermore, using data from the 2016 National Survey of Children's Health, research shows that even though 32.5% of all children experience at least one ACE, CIP have a higher likelihood of experiencing all six (Turney, 2018). These facts highlight the need for educators to be aware of CIP who attend their schools.

Ambiguous Loss and Parental Incarceration

When a parent goes to jail or prison, the child may experience unresolved loss because the parent is absent but not because of death, divorce, or deployment (Bocknek et al., 2008). Boss (2016) coined the term *ambiguous loss* when describing the feeling of loss felt by parents of missing children or family members of people with Alzheimer's. In the case of the missing children, they were gone physically, but their presence remained. For the family of the people living with Alzheimer's, their loved one was only present in body (Boss, 2000). Trauma describes the perceived or actual impact of an event and how it affects the person's well-being (Berardi & Morton, 2019). Losing a parent to incarceration can be traumatic for many children (Arditti, 2012). Boss (2016) suggested that people experience various forms of trauma and are affected by it in diverse ways. Ambiguous loss is unclear, a traumatic loss that is unresolved, and in the case of CIP, the ambiguity lies in that it is a physical absence with a psychological presence (Boss, 2000).

King and Delgado's (2021) study, grounded in a humanistic framework, sought to correlate complicated grief to relationship closeness, stigma, social support, and

resilience. More than 250 participants answered questions regarding the incarceration of a loved one. The study confirmed that the experiences could be measured as complicated grief or ambiguous loss (King & Delgado, 2021). Another study conducted with 35 children from Bridgeport, CT, shed light on the relationship between the ambiguity of parental incarceration and post-traumatic stress symptomology and behaviors (Bocknek et al., 2008).

Trauma-Informed Approach

A trauma-informed approach offers proactive ways to manage student behaviors by creating a safe environment for all students (Pickens & Tschopp, 2017). Over the past 2 decades, more schools have begun to employ trauma-informed practices (Thomas et al., 2019). In some cases, zero-tolerance policies influenced trauma-informed practice implementation (Gherardi et al., 2020). SAMHSA (2014) offers guidance on trauma-informed methodology (SAMHSA, 2014). The National Child Trauma Stress Network is another organization that provides information and resources for trauma-informed practices (RB-Banks & Meyer, 2017). Both sources have commonalities in their language and goals.

Several researchers have begun to examine the effectiveness of trauma-informed practice in schools and have concluded that there is not enough data. Some have found no consistency in a framework or determinant of effectiveness (Thomas et al., 2019). The existing research suggests that trauma-informed practices fit within existing multi-tiered support systems at schools (Maynard et al., 2019). In another study, researchers asked ninety-six participants to respond to a survey regarding trauma-informed practices. Four main themes emerged (Champine et al., 2022). First, the group shared what it meant to be

trauma informed. The second theme had hope for the future; the third theme was the need for ongoing training. The final theme was difficulty in getting buy-in (Champine et al., 2022). These findings are significant as the effectiveness of the trauma-informed approach might be vital in addressing the needs of CIP.

Problem Statement

There is a need to examine how CIP are being supported in schools. CIP often live with trauma and attend schools unnoticed (Brooks & Frankham, 2021).

There is also little information about staff training for dealing with the ambiguous nature of parental incarceration, school-based programs that may be available to CIP, or any other resources that may be accessible. Limited investigation has been done regarding CIP caregivers' and educators' perceptions and how to address their needs at school.

Although there is sufficient evidence to prove the negative impacts of incarceration, there is little mention regarding the level of awareness of educators in schools. It is unknown whether schools are aware of a family's adversity or provide any level of support when a parent becomes incarcerated. There is little research about the training teachers receive to work with CIP who may face academic and social-emotional challenges. The stigma associated with parental incarceration overwhelmingly impacts children's emotional well-being. The issues that stigma generates are a common theme among many studies (Brookes & Frankham, 2021; Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Kahya & Ergin Ekinci, 2018; Kautz, 2019; Luther, 2016; McGinley & Jones, 2018; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2011; Nosek et al., 2019; Saunders, 2018). Researchers such as Saunders (2018) and Bocknek et al. (2008) repeatedly mention social isolation and CIP's need to

maintain privacy; however, few investigators ask educators and other adults to opine on how they support CIP at their schools. Research is scarce in the United States, and the academic community is relatively small. Some studies have been done in Ireland, the United Kingdom, Turkey, and Australia. The data used to analyze the impact of incarceration on CIP come from a shortlist of quantitative studies such as the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, the National Survey of Children's Health, and Linking the Interests of Families and Teachers. Many studies do not focus on CIP exclusively but include incarceration as an independent variable.

Theoretical Rationale

The trauma-informed approach framework provides the best lens for investigating the impact of parental incarceration on their school-aged children. Understanding what happens to the body and brain and how it is manifested is at the core of trauma-informed practices (Chafouleas et al., 2016). Scholars like Judith Herman and Bessel van der Kolk researched the subject of trauma and its effects on the body and brain for many years. Herman studied PTSD in victims of various traumas, aiming to de-stigmatize it as a mental weakness (Zaleski et al., 2016). The brains of children who have experienced trauma will often operate in survival mode, making it difficult for them to learn (Bloom, 2018; van der Kolk, 2014). Trauma can cause the brain to remain on high alert and quick to react to perceived threats in a fight, flight, or freeze manner. A child's learning ability is impacted by the brain's state (Perry & Winfrey, 2021). According to Figure 1.2, showing the ability of the brain to function depending on its state, even the functional I.Q. decreases as the child goes from being calm to being in terror.

Figure 1.2

State-Dependent Brain Functioning

"STATE"	CALM	ALERT	ALARM	FEAR	TERROR
DOMINANT BRAIN AREAS	Cortex (DMN)	Cortex (Limbic)	Limbic (Diencephalon)	Diencephalon (Brainstem)	Brainstem
ADAPTIVE "Option" Arousal	Reflect (create)	Flock (hypervigilance)	Freeze (resistance)	Flight (defiance)	Fight
ADAPTIVE "Option" Dissociation	Reflect (daydream)	Avoid	Comply	Dissociate (paralysis/catatonia)	Faint (collapse)
COGNITION	Abstract (creative)	Concrete (routine)	Emotional	Reactive	Reflexive
FUNCTIONAL IQ	120–100	110–90	100–80	90–70	80–60

Note. Reprinted from "What Happened to You?: Conversations on Trauma, Resilience, and Healing," by B. Perry & O. Winfrey, 2021, Flat Iron Books. Copyright 2021 by Henry Sene Yee.

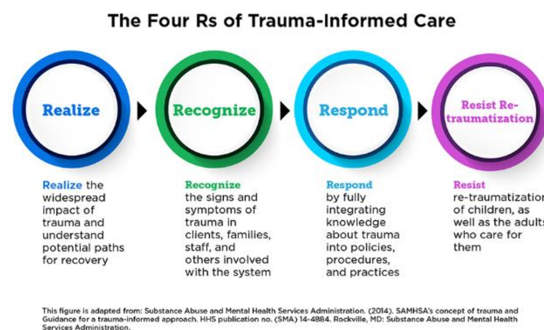
Increasing numbers of schools have begun to adopt trauma-informed practices as part of their social-emotional learning support system. Although several studies have been conducted, data continues to be gathered on the implementation of trauma-informed practices (Thomas et al., 2019). The interest surrounding trauma-informed practice has remained strong, as it may have with other programs in the past, and the more trauma-informed educators are, the less punitive schools can become. Many states are passing legislation recognizing the importance of trauma-informed care in schools (Hoover, 2019). CIP, who are among the number of students who come to school with trauma, can benefit from trauma-informed practice.

SAMHSA (2014) developed a well-regarded framework for a trauma-informed approach that is grounded in the following key assumptions, also known as the four Rs of the trauma-informed approach (Figure 1.3):

> A program, organization, or system that is trauma-informed realizes the widespread impact of trauma and understands potential paths for recovery; recognizes the signs and symptoms of trauma in clients, families, staff, and others involved with the system; and responds by fully integrating knowledge about trauma into policies, procedures, and practices, and seeks to resist re-traumatization actively. (p. 9)

Additionally, SAMHSA (2014) proposed six specific principles for a trauma-informed approach: (a) safety, (b) trustworthiness and transparency, (c) peer support, (d) collaboration and mutuality, (e) empowerment, voice, and choice, and (f) cultural, historical and gender issues.

Figure 1.3



Note: Reprinted from "SAMHSA's Concept of trauma and guidance for a trauma-informed approach" by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2014. (https://ncsacw.acf.hhs.gov/userfiles/files/SAMHSA_Trauma.pdf). HHS Publication No. (SMA) 14-4884.

SAMHSA’s (2014) principles guide a trauma-informed approach in any organization, including schools. By applying these principles, educators can work towards realizing that trauma exists, recognizing what it looks like in their students, responding, and ultimately, resisting re-traumatization, which are the key assumptions or four Rs of trauma-informed practices.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding how CIP may best be supported and whether CIP receive the academic and social-emotional support they need. The study also gathered data on educators' awareness of these students. Arditti’s (2012) research points to the need for information concerning CIP and their experiences. The study sought to contribute to the developing body of knowledge concerning this population of students.

Research Questions

It is a fact that CIP can be found in most, if not every, American public school (Paccione-Dyszlewski, 2020). CIP is a demographic that often goes unnoticed in schools. This research examined whether educators are aware of these children, their perceptions regarding their needs, and the level of training they have received in trauma-informed practices. It helps further understand how caregivers of CIP view the school’s support or lack thereof, and their suggestions to best meet the children’s academic and social-emotional needs. The following research questions guided the study.

1. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding training and information teachers have received on CIP? How has this been part of training and information on trauma-informed practices?

2. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP, regarding programs and support in place for CIP in schools today?
3. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding opportunities and challenges present in schools concerning the needs of CIP?

Getting answers to these questions adds to the limited knowledge base about children with incarcerated parents and how schools may be in a better position to support them.

Potential Significance of the Study

High rates of incarceration have plagued the United States since the 1970s. Families of incarcerated individuals are left to endure the consequences. CIP experience many adverse effects; academic, economic, behavioral, and mental or physical health (Turney & Haskins, 2014). Some studies suggest that having a parent in prison increases a child's likelihood of repeating the pattern later (Besemer et al., 2017). Giving needed support to CIP can disrupt the cycle of incarceration.

This study was significant because there is little information on the level of support that CIP receive at school and even less from the caregivers' point of view. By having the perceptions of CIP's caregivers, and educators, this study gives voice to a subject that affects many but is considered by few and can benefit CIP, educators, and caregivers. CIP will be recognized as a population in need of support in schools. Educators can better understand CIP and how to support their socio-emotional needs. Finally, caregivers will have an opportunity to be supported as well.

Definition of Terms

The terms used in this dissertation are defined below. The definitions of these terms derive from the literature research on the topics of CIP and trauma-informed practices.

Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs)-potentially stressful or traumatic events such as abuse or neglect (Turney, 2018).

Ambiguous loss – the unresolved or constant feeling of loss (Boss, 2000).

Caregiver– for this study's purpose, the caregiver will be defined as someone responsible for meeting another person's psychological and physical needs (Frey, 2021), namely the child of an incarcerated parent.

Children of incarcerated parents (CIP)- children whose parents are in prison or jail.

Trauma – an individual emotional response to one or a series of events (SAMHSA, 2014).

Trauma-informed approach – responding to the manifestation and risks of trauma to support the needs of people who have experienced ACEs and toxic stress (SAMHSA, 2014). The term approach is interchangeable with practices.

Chapter Summary

Children of incarcerated parents (CIP) often sit in classrooms across the United States and have experienced trauma and other adversities. It is essential to understand why there is such a high number of children whose parents are incarcerated. The era of mass incarceration from 1970 to the early 2000s placed the United States- at the top of the list of imprisoned nations, resulting in devastated families and children without parents. The absence of loved ones most impacted families of color, and the number of

incarcerated Black and brown people, reflected the disparity (The Sentencing Project, 2019). In some schools, punitive zero-tolerance discipline policies are beginning to be replaced with trauma-informed practices.

Turney, (2018) suggested that CIP are more likely to have a higher number of ACEs when compared to children whose parents have no history of incarceration. Parental incarceration's impact can manifest by externalizing and internalizing behaviors, leading to academic and social-emotional challenges in school. CIP are at higher risk of being retained in primary school (Turney & Haskins, 2014) and experience stigmatization from peers and teachers (Dallaire et al., 2010).

SAMHSA's (2014) trauma-informed approach is built on four assumptions, the four Rs of trauma: (a) realize, (b) recognize, (c) respond, and (d) resist re-traumatization. The four assumptions are embedded in programs and models that promote trauma-informed interventions, such as schools (Herrenkohl et al., 2019). SAMHSA's (2014) trauma-informed framework is rooted in the assumptions that schools realize the reality of trauma; recognize trauma in those it serves, respond by applying trauma knowledge into practice and resist re-traumatization of students. Trauma-informed practices can positively affect the school experience of children who have experienced trauma, such as CIP.

Chapter 2 presents a literature review to explore how CIP are impacted and the academic and social-emotional implications. The literature review further looks at trauma-informed approach within schools. Implementing these practices continues to be researched as there has been no consensus on how effective it is (Thomas et al., 2019). Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology for this study. Chapter 4 breaks down the

data collected into themes and subthemes. Chapter 5 explains the implications of the study's findings. Additionally, the researcher makes recommendations for practice, as well as for further research. Chapter 5 concludes with a summary of the study.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Introduction

Half of all Americans have had a family member incarcerated, and three-fourths of the Black population (Enns et al., 2019). The experiences of justice-involved parents can include arrest, court, probation, parole, jail, or prison (Wakefield & Montagnet, 2019). The research reviewed in this chapter informs on parental incarceration without the specification of jail or prison.

Although studies on the effects of incarceration on children have been limited (Bocknek et al., 2008; Dallaire et al., 2010; Slaughter et al., 2019; Turney, 2018; Turney & Haskins, 2014), it has been shown that having an incarcerated parent can have consequences in various areas of children's lives, including internalizing and externalizing behaviors and physical and mental health issues (Murphey & Cooper, 2015). It is unclear whether educators know the challenges these children face and if they are equipped to support them in schools. The research questions for this study are:

1. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding training and information teachers have received on CIP? How has this been part of training and information on trauma-informed practices?
2. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding programs and support in place for CIP in schools today?
3. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding opportunities and challenges present in schools concerning the needs of CIP?

It has been well-documented that mass incarceration impacts every aspect of society (Turney, 2017). This chapter aimed to highlight research on how parental incarceration affects children's physical and emotional health and academic progress and how caregivers are affected. Educator training and successful trauma-informed programs will also be discussed.

In a review of the existing literature, Bruns and Lee (2019) found that children of color are more likely to be impacted by the incarceration of a parent than White children, reflecting the racial disparity that permeates the justice system. In a meta-analysis regarding the involvement of parents in the criminal justice system, Wakefield and Montagnet (2019) concluded that understanding the complex system is needed before considering the effects on children and families. The chapter review focuses on how the incarceration of a parent can impact a child and how it affects their academic and socio-emotional learning at school.

Children of Incarcerated Parents

Although studies on the effects of incarceration on children have been limited (Bocknek et al., 2008; Dallaire et al., 2010; Slaughter et al., 2019; Turney, 2018; Turney & Haskins, 2014), it has been shown that having an incarcerated parent can have consequences in various areas of the children's lives. CIP can be affected in numerous ways, including internalizing and externalizing behaviors and physical and mental health issues (Murphey & Cooper, 2015). The following sections will focus on how parental incarceration can affect children physically and psychologically.

ACEs and Trauma

In a seminal study by Felitti et al. in 1998, ACEs hurt health later in life. The researchers analyzed data from 9,508 individuals and found a correlation between the increasing number of ACEs and a higher probability of smoking, depression, obesity, and suicidal tendencies (Felitti et al., 1998).

ACEs are defined as events that can cause stress or trauma (Turney, 2018). Having experienced adversity as a child does not automatically mean having trauma, as it depends on the long-lasting impact of the ACEs. However, according to data from the 2016 National Survey of Children’s Health, 32.5% of all children who experience at least one ACE and CIP are 5 times more likely to experience all six than children whose parents were never incarcerated (Turney, 2018). The study also revealed that 45% of all Black children experience ACEs compared to 30% of White children (Turney, 2018). In addition, Turney (2018) found a more significant association between parental incarceration and exposure to additional ACEs among 0–6-year-olds. In a review of the concept of trauma in CIP, Phillips and Gates (2011) created a framework into which the experiences of CIP would be applied. The themes that arose were: (a) labeling differences; (b) negative attitudes; (c) differentiating them and us; (d) devaluation and discrimination; and (e) differences in social, cultural, economic, and political power (Phillips & Gates, 2011). The researchers concluded by calling for more studies on trauma and CIP (Phillips & Gates, 2011).

In another study using data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (Princeton University, 2022), 3,100 children of the original 4,898 were studied to measure the impact of the number of ACEs on internalizing, externalizing behaviors, and

ADHD diagnosis at age 9 years (Hunt et al., 2017). In their research, Hunt et al. (2017) found connections between the number of ACEs, externalizing behaviors, and ADHD diagnosis. The study revealed that 77.4% of the children were exposed to at least one adverse event, 20.7% being parental incarceration, and 11.3% had four or more ACEs (Hunt et al., 2017). Children with an ACE score of four or greater had 9.3 times the likelihood of externalizing behavior and needing professional help. A positive correlation was found between having an incarcerated parent and ADHD diagnosis by the age of 9 years (Hunt et al., 2017). These findings are significant because CIP are more likely to be subjected to many ACEs (Turney, 2018).

In her review of existing empirical studies, Arditti (2012) identified three critical family processes that are involved in the trauma CIP might have (a) life before incarceration, (b) caregiver's abilities, and (c) experiences with visits of incarcerated parent (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1

Arditti's Conceptual Model of Family Processes Concerning Parental Incarceration

Note. Reprinted from "Child Trauma Within the Context of Parental Incarceration: A Family Process Perspective," by J. Arditti, 2012, *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *4*(3)*,* p. 187. (https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1756-2589.2012.00128.x). Copyright 2012 by Wiley.

Arditti’s conceptual model represents the relationship between a child experiencing trauma, caregiving, pre-incarceration experiences, and prison visits. Depending on these factors, children may be affected differently (Arditti, 2012).

Ambiguous Loss

Ambiguous loss is a framework that has been used to describe the feelings CIP may have regarding their parent’s absence. Coined in the mid-1970s by Boss, ambiguous loss refers to the sense of uncertainty caused by someone’s physical or psychological absence (Boss, 2016). In a study grounded in a humanistic framework, researchers King and Delgado (2021) sought to correlate complicated grief to relationship closeness, stigma, social support, and resilience. More than 250 participants answered questions regarding the incarceration of a loved one. The study confirmed that the experiences of losing a loved one to incarceration could be measured as complicated grief or ambiguous loss (King & Delgado, 2021).

Another study conducted with 35 children from Bridgeport, CT, shed light on the relationship between the ambiguity of parental incarceration and post-traumatic stress symptomology and behaviors such as hypervigilance (Bocknek et al., 2008). For a long time, ambiguous loss was attributed to losses such as death, divorce, a missing person, or prisoner of war (Boss, 2016). By interviewing the children, researchers learned that CIP felt lonely, avoided sharing, and demonstrated stress, internalizing behaviors, and hypervigilance. Some individuals who experience ambiguous loss would rather not know the details of the loss, and in the case of CIP, the caregiver was vague about details. For some of the children in the study, not wanting to know details about their parent’s incarceration was a coping mechanism (Bocknek et al., 2008).

Beck and Jones (2008) conducted a qualitative study with 19 children of parents who faced capital punishment. The children reported feeling guilty and unable to grieve for their parents because of the stigma attached to the loss. Beck and Jones (2008) referred to the grief as being "disenfranchised" or "nonfinite" (p. 191); however, it may also be described as ambiguous.

Internalizing and Externalizing Behaviors

Research has established a connection between parental incarceration and internalizing and externalizing behaviors. Internalizing refers to behaviors within the person, such as anxiety, depression, and withdrawal (Kjellstrand et al., 2019). Jianghong (2004) claimed that externalizing behavior can manifest as aggression, delinquency, and hyperactivity, which may predict adult crime later in life. Researchers used data from the Linking Interests of Families and Teachers (LIFT) of a cohort of 655, primarily White, students in Grades 1 and 5 (Kjellstrand et al., 2019). Students with an incarcerated parent demonstrated internalized behaviors that increased from ages 10 to early 20s, twice as high as their counterparts. The study also showed that those with increased internalizing behaviors had at least double the risk of using tobacco, alcohol, and marijuana and being arrested by age 16 (Kjellstrand et al., 2019).

Geller et al. (2011) conducted another study showing that children whose fathers were incarcerated demonstrated higher levels of aggression when compared to other children, including those separated for other, non-specified reasons. The levels of externalizing behavior were higher with recent parental incarceration, especially for children with resident fathers (Turney, 2018). This correlation was not significant for

children whose mothers were incarcerated beyond 5 years old. Boys were twice as likely to show aggression than girls following their father's incarceration (Hunt et al., 2017).

Illness

The physical health of children with incarcerated parents is another area that can be negatively impacted. Turney (2017) analyzed data from the 2011–12 National Survey of Children's Health to find the correlation between parental incarceration and increased unmet healthcare needs. The researchers found that CIP were 26% more likely to have unmet healthcare needs than children not exposed to imprisonment (Turney, 2017). Furthermore, research revealed that the health outcomes of CIP were like those of children with other adversities but no parental incarceration (Jackson & Vaughn, 2021; Turney & Haskins, 2014). However, CIP had poorer health outcomes than children separated from a parent due to divorce or death (Jackson & Vaughn, 2021). Most recently, Jackson et al. (2022) found a correlation between the incarceration of a parent and the higher number of "child health strains" and "child health care strains" (p. 4). These are matters that can impact CIP at school.

Coping with Parental Incarceration

Studies that capture the experiences of CIP firsthand are few (Saunders, 2018). The coping mechanisms seen in the research were similar in that CIP kept to themselves, and their resilience depended on caregiver and community support (McGinley & Jones, 2018; Saunders, 2018). Bocknek et al. (2008) described children being interviewed as "resistant to share information, ranging from protective to hostile" (p. 329). Researchers who have been able to listen to their stories have found that CIP cope with their parent's incarceration in a few ways. Some CIP cope with their parent's imprisonment by

ignoring, withdrawing, or keeping feelings inside (Bocknek et al., 2008; Saunders, 2018). Other CIP stated the difficulty of not having anyone they could talk to or trust; a few offered advice to kids who may be in the same situation (Bocknek et al., 2009).

Johnson and Easterling (2015) found that a group of adolescents coped with their parents' incarceration in three ways; deidentification, strength through control, or desensitization. This finding is consistent with Luther's (2016) study, where 32 college students reflected on their experiences as CIP. The students distanced themselves from their incarcerated parents or viewed them as non-examples, setting goals to not end up like them (Luther, 2016). Having discussed how having an incarcerated parent can affect a child's overall life experiences, the next section will focus on stigma as it was one of the issues most cited in the studies reviewed. Understanding the role of stigma in the lives of CIP is essential.

Stigma

Stigma is a concept of feeling shamed or excluded. Ervin Goffman (1963) defined stigma as an "attribute that is deeply discrediting" (p. 3). Stigma was the throughline of every study about CIP. CIP repeatedly reported feeling shame and experiencing harsh treatment from others in different settings, as demonstrated in Appendix A (Brookes & Frankham, 2021; Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Kahya & Ergin Ekinci, 2018; Kautz, 2019; Luther, 2016; McGinley & Jones, 2018; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2011; Nosek et al., 2019; Saunders, 2018).

Few studies have investigated how having an incarcerated loved one may stigmatize family members. Brew et al. (2021) conducted a study to determine whether members of one group were stigmatized more than the other. The researchers presented

participants with vignettes about a mail carrier followed by survey questions. In the vignette, the mail carrier was overheard revealing their circumstance; one mail carrier had been in rehab, one was colorblind, and the last had a formerly incarcerated loved one; 6,426 individuals randomly responded to questions after reading the vignettes. The responses were also categorized into personality traits: competent, intelligent, confident, independent, likable, sincere, good-natured, warm, and tolerant. Responses were further sorted into concrete examples: salary deservedness, job recommendation, starting salary, greeting in public, and parenting quality. The results showed that having an incarcerated loved one was as stigmatizing as spending time in rehab. The research also quantified that family members of incarcerated people were perceived to be less deserving of their income, less likely to be recommended for a job, inferior as parents, and were less good-natured than those in the colorblindness or drug rehab groups (Brew et al., 2021).

Research shows that stigma has led CIP to avoid sharing their stories with others, have feelings of loneliness, and disassociate from their incarcerated parents (Beck & Jones, 2008; Luther, 2016). Wildeman et al. (2017) looked for evidence between the stigma of parental incarceration and teachers' outlooks on students' behaviors. The researchers presented 421 first through third grade teachers with various vignettes describing one of two scenarios in which a student's father is either not involved in the child's life or incarcerated. Wildeman et al. (2017) found that the teachers assigned the most problem behaviors and the minor positive capabilities to those students with an incarcerated parent. In another study from Ireland, six young people whose parents had been incarcerated participated in a series of interviews (McGinley & Jones, 2018). CIP reported that the stigma they faced was the most challenging aspect of parental

incarceration. They also felt shame when adults in the community compared them to their incarcerated parents and predicted a similar future for them (McGinley & Jones, 2018). Hollins and Krupat (2022) highlighted the power of words and suggested that using positive, people-first language is humanizing. Furthermore, CIP are more likely to share their circumstances when they hear humanizing language (Hollins & Krupat, 2022).

Caregivers

A caregiver is someone responsible for meeting another person's psychological and physical needs (Frey, 2021). When a parent becomes incarcerated, the children and those who care for them are left behind. According to the Children's Bureau (Children's Bureau, 2020), in 2019, 7% of all children entered the foster care system because of parental incarceration. It is essential to understand who cares for the CIP and the challenges they face.

According to the Council of State Governments Justice Center, more than one-fifth of all CIP live with a relative other than a parent. The practice of non-parental relatives caring and providing support for children without child welfare involvement is known as kinship care (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2018). Kinship caregivers often receive no financial support from the state. Jackson et al. (2021) analyzed data from the National Survey of Children's Health and found that over 25% of CIP are cared for by a non-parent, compared to 2.5% of children not exposed to incarceration cared for by a non-parent. Turanovic et al. (2012) conducted a qualitative study to gain an understanding of the consequences of parental incarceration from the perspective of caregivers. The study revealed that in the case of incarcerated men, 70% of the caregivers were mothers, the rest being kinship caregivers. When the incarcerated parent was the

mother, 61 were grandparents, 27 were fathers, and 11% were other family members and friends (Turanovic et al., 2012). The researchers found that 58% of all caregivers had negative impacts from incarceration, while 42% reported no change (22%) or a positive change (20%). The study revealed that the caregivers' experiences were dependent on (a) parental involvement before incarceration, (b) the relationship between the caregiver and the incarcerated parent, and (c) the caregiver's support system (Turanovic et al., 2012).

In their research about caregivers of CIP, Nesmith and Ruhland (2011) sought to answer four questions.

> What are the unique aspects of caring for or raising a child in this context? What are the caregivers' principal concerns regarding parenting? In what ways are the caregivers themselves affected by raising a child who has an incarcerated parent? Where have the caregivers found support, if any? (p. 107).

Caregivers reported being traumatized by witnessing the other parent's arrest, they also talked about their role in gatekeeping or being responsible for the children's emotional well-being, and finally, decision-making regarding visitations (Nesmith & Ruhland, 2011). When asked about hardships, caregivers mentioned stigma, financial challenges, and lack of support (Nesmith & Ruhland, 2011). In a recent study, Sneed and Mast (2022) found that some grandparents did not receive financial support, negatively affected them. Many of the grandparents in the study reported living on a tight budget while others described having spent their savings on childcare (Sneed & Mast, 2022).

More than 50% of all parents incarcerated at the state level reported being primarily responsible for their children's financial support (Glaze & Maruschak, 2010).

Families with an incarcerated parent saw a 64.3% decrease in assets and an 86.1% increase in debt (Sykes & Maroto, 2016). In addition, Wakefield and Wildeman (2014) found that children whose fathers were incarcerated were more likely to become homeless than those whose mothers were incarcerated. Paternal incarceration increased CIP's risk of becoming homeless by 2% to 4% when compared to their counterparts (Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014). DeVuono-Powell et al. (2015) found that 65% of families of incarcerated people struggled to pay for their family's food and shelter, and 18% dealt with housing insecurity. Bancroft et al. (2001) surveyed over 150 female visitors at a prison and found that they spent an average of $300 monthly on maintaining contact with their loved ones. For some of the women, $300 per month equaled up to 36% of their annual income (Bancroft et al., 2001). The cost of incarceration is a cause for caregiver stress that trickles down to the children.

Because incarceration can have a negative impact on the caregivers of CIP at home (Nesmith & Ruhland, 2011; Turanovic et al., 2012), it is important to understand how incarceration affects children at school. When students come to school, they bring with them all the issues that began at home (Copp et al., 2022). The next section will focus on how parental incarceration affects their children's academic life.

School Impact

CIP have an increased risk of having behavior issues, learning disabilities, ADHD, developmental delays, and speech/language problems (Turney, 2017). The social-emotional effects of parental incarceration can lead to the children's grade retention or special education placement (Haskins, 2015). Turney and Haskins (2014) looked at data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (Princeton

University, 2022) to determine the relationship between paternal incarceration and retention of elementary students. The results indicated that 23% of CIP were retained compared to 14% of children not impacted by incarceration between kindergarten and third grade (Turney & Haskins, 2014).

Turney and Haskins (2014) suggested that teachers' perceptions of CIP academic abilities had more influence on retention than behavior challenges or performance on tests. The researchers found that teachers reported lower academic proficiency when children had an incarcerated father (Turney & Haskins, 2014). Blitz et al. (2016) assessed teachers' perceptions of culture and trauma, finding that although reporting competency, they lacked the understanding of and skills for working with children with trauma. Over 5% of the students received out-of-school suspension.

The challenges faced by the CIP are not unique to the United States. In a study from Turkey, 12 adolescents with an incarcerated parents were interviewed (Kahya & Ergin Ekinci, 2018). The CIP reported that they experienced stigma, were reluctant to talk about their experiences, and endured broken social bonds (Kahya & Ergin Ekinci, 2018). The researchers also found that adolescents missed school more often than their classmates, sometimes to visit a parent during school hours. Five of the adolescents dropped out of school by the end of the study (Kahya & Ergin Ekinci, 2018). Copp et al. (2022) found that parental incarceration decreased their children's likelihood of graduating from high school. However, school attachment was correlated with positive school outcomes (Copp et al., 2022).

Nichols and Loper (2012) used the National Youth Longitudinal Study (NYLS) data; a cross-sectional study started in 1979, sampling 6,111 people by the U.S.

Department of Labor. NYLS has studied the original respondents and the following two generations (BLS.gov). The researchers found that CIP were more likely to have extended absences from school and drop out without graduating from high school (Nichols & Loper, 2012) than their counterparts. In later research, Nichols et al. (2016) analyzed data from various surveys and concluded that truancy was the most substantial effect of parental incarceration. The researchers also found that school connectedness was associated with academic achievement (Nichols et al., 2016). Hagan et al. looked at data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent to Adult Health to better understand CIP's academic achievement (2020). The researchers found that CIP residing in states with high paternal incarceration are less than 25% likely to graduate from college (Hagan et al., 2020).

Bocknek et al. (2008) found that some CIP were successful in school. However, most CIP in the study self-described as performing low academically and behaviorally (Bocknek et al., 2008). There is limited research on teacher experiences with CIP, and in a qualitative study, 30 teachers were interviewed, and the following five themes emerged (Dallaire et al., 2010):

1. Caregiving environment –- in some cases, caregivers were ill-prepared or overwhelmed with the responsibilities of caring for CIP (for example, grandparents).
2. Child behavior – 22 out of the 30 teachers reported internalizing behaviors such as frequent illness complaints and visits to the nurse's office. They also saw externalizing behaviors like being easily frustrated and having difficulties with peers.

3. Developmental considerations – 50% of the teachers opined that younger (elementary school-aged) students had more difficulty with parental incarceration than older students. They also perceived elementary schools to be better equipped for interventions.
4. Maternal versus paternal incarceration – Eleven teachers speculated that maternal incarceration would significantly impact their children because they tend to be the primary caretakers. One teacher related an experience of a student whose mother went to jail; he began missing school as his mom was not around to get him up in the morning.
5. Stigmatization – One-third of the teachers interviewed noticed "unprofessional" or "unsupportive" comments regarding CIP.

The last theme informed the researchers of teachers stigmatizing CIP. Teachers reported their colleagues making negative comments if they knew a student was a CIP. One said that the child's situation might explain their behavior. This resulted in a second study that focused on teachers' expectations of children of incarcerated mothers. The research supported the hypothesis of teachers having lowered expectations of children (mostly girls) with incarcerated mothers compared to children with parents who were home or away for another reason (Dallaire et al., 2010).

Training for Educators

Educators' lack of knowledge can have adverse effects because CIP may experience behaviors and emotions that are misinterpreted and overlooked (Saunders, 2018; Bell et al., 2013). Research shows that most CIP and their caregivers are aware of and fear the stigma associated with having an incarcerated parent often driving their

decision to keep the family's situation hidden (Nosek et al., 2019, Kahya & Ergin Ekinci, 2018, Johnson & Easterling, 2015, Bocknek et al., 2008). CIP are caught in a stigma paradigm of informing versus keeping secrets. Some CIP reported the feeling that if educators become aware of the parent's incarceration, the child may become exposed to harsh treatment due to negative associations and assumptions (Bell et al., 2013).

Teacher training on CIP has been developed and studied outside of the United States, (Tracey & Barker, 2020). In the United States teacher training includes trauma-informed approach, multi-tiered system of supports, and restorative practices, to address the needs of children who may have experienced trauma. The subgroup of CIP is included with students with trauma, but seldom targeted in training.

In a study conducted in Australia, teachers received training on working with CIP utilizing a program created by SHINE for Kids (Tracey & Barker, 2020). According to their website (https://shineforkids.org.au/), SHINE for Kids is a not-for-profit organization dedicated to the needs of children with incarcerated parents in Australia. Tracey and Barker surveyed 49 teachers before and after their training to measure the impact of the learning outcomes (2020). SHINE for Kids' teacher training sought to educate the teacher and give them an understanding of the impact of parental incarceration on children and how this affects their education. The training aimed to help staff talk sensitively with children about the issue and provide staff with tools to navigate the criminal justice system so that they can communicate with and involve imprisoned parents in their children's education. In addition, training sought to inform staff about available resources. As a result of the training, teachers were expected to demonstrate

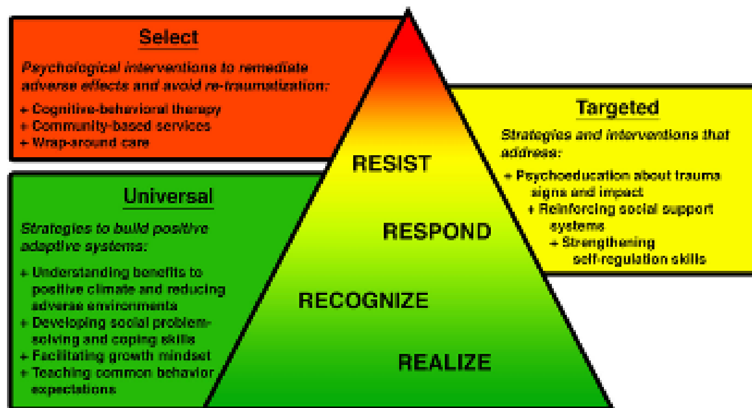
increased confidence in how to engage and support students and families affected by incarceration (Tracey & Barker, 2020).

The researchers found statistically significant differences in the participants' reported attitude and knowledge of support for CIP after the training compared to before. However, there was no change in the teachers' perceived skills to support CIP (Tracey & Barker, 2020). Unsurprisingly, the SHINE for Kids study teachers did not feel they had gained any skills for supporting CIP as the training focused mainly on who the children are, how they are affected, and how to help support their families. Missing from this training seems to be the behavioral manifestations of the effects of incarceration and possible trauma the children may bring to the classroom. The SHINE for Kids training participants recommended including strategies for discipline support (Tracey & Barker, 2020).

In the United States, training is intended to help school counselors and social workers support CIP (Brown, 2020). Meanwhile, Blitz et al. (2016) pointed to the accessibility of teachers and other classroom personnel as buffers for trauma. Trauma-informed practices training can provide classroom teachers with the tools they need. Chafouleas et al. (2016) proposed the use of a school-wide positive behavior identification system, which is multi-tiered, as a framework for implementing trauma-informed practices in schools (Figure 2.2). SAMHSA's (2014) key assumptions, also known as "the four R's," realize, recognize, respond, and resist re-traumatization are at the core of the tiered system of supports (Chafouleas et al., 2016).

Figure 2.2

Multitiered Service Delivery Framework



Note. Reprinted from "Toward a Blueprint for Trauma-Informed Service Delivery in Schools," by S. Chafouleas, A. Johnson, S. Overstreet, and N. Santos, 2016, *School Mental Health*, 8, p. 149. (https://doi.org/10.1007/s12310-015-9166-8). Copyright 2016 by Springer.

School-wide positive behavior three-tiered intervention services are a framework that has been used in schools for the last 40 years (Corcoran & Thomas, 2021; Gregory et al., 2021). School-wide positive behavior intervention services function within the multi-tiered system of supports framework, which encompasses academic and behavior behavioral. Corcoran and Thomas (2021) suggested that school-wide positive behavior intervention may result in student exclusion as the interventions become more individualized. Gregory et al. (2021) challenge practitioners in schools to "acknowledge institutional oppression and reject cultural neutrality" (p. 211). Furthermore, to integrate "social, emotional, and behavioral supports and include equitable access to academic rigor and challenge" (Corcoran & Thomas, 2021, p. 211).

A growing body of publications is aimed at supporting children who have experienced trauma. These resources have been created with the purpose of educating teachers on the consequences and manifestations of trauma (Burdick & Corr, 2021).

The publications included in Table 2.1 are readily available to educators online or in print. One challenge lies in how or if teachers are motivated to seek out resources and implement practices without the support of the school. Another issue is the lack of mention of CIP in describing survivors of traumatic events.

Table 2.1

Publications on Trauma-Informed Practices at School

Resource	Organization
Helping Teachers Understand and Mitigate Trauma in Their Classrooms	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Trauma-Informed Classrooms	School-Justice Partnership National Resource Center
10 Steps to Create a Trauma-Informed School	STARR Commonwealth
Trauma-Informed School Practices: Building Expertise to Transform Schools	George Fox University
Helping Traumatized Children Learn: Creating and Advocating for Trauma-Sensitive Schools.	Massachusetts Advocates for Children & Harvard Law School
Child Trauma Toolkit for Educators	The National Child Traumatic Stress Network
Coping in Hard Times: Fact Sheet for School Staff, Teachers, Counselors, Administrators, and Support Staff	The National Child Traumatic Stress Network

The implementation of trauma-informed practices within a multi-tiered system of support can face challenges where CIP are concerned. As support becomes more targeted, a greater amount of information surrounding the child’s challenges is crucial (Dorado et

al., 2016). Educators working with CIP may not have the necessary information to support them adequately. Disclosure plays a major role.

Identification of CIP

Having little to no knowledge of which students are affected by incarceration presents a challenge for educators. The Urban Institute's Justice Policy Center conducted a qualitative study on the experiences of mentors working with CIP as part of the Big Brother Big Sister Program. Some of the mentors interviewed expressed that the parent's incarceration should be kept private, it should not make a difference in the classroom, and CIP should not be treated differently from other students (Davies et al., 2008). This information supports the use of MTSS to address the needs of all students, including CIP, which may only be effective while engaged in tier-one or universal supports. CIP are difficult to track. Schools are usually dependent on caregivers' disclosure regarding the incarceration of a parent (Morgan et al., 2014). Some CIP may not be aware of their parent's location, some believing them to be away at school or on vacation (Bocknek et al., 2008). According to the resulting recommendations from the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, "Children should be told, in an age-appropriate way, the truth about their parent's situation" (Robertson, 2012, p. 6). Educators are also recommended to be trained to support their academic and socio-emotional needs and to lessen the stigma of having an incarcerated parent (Robertson, 2012).

Chapter Summary

The preceding chapter focused on the existing literature concerning CIP. Having an incarcerated parent has been classified as an adverse childhood experience (Felitti et al., 1998) which may have physical and socio-emotional ramifications. Some children

experience trauma and ambiguous loss because of having an incarcerated parent (Bocknek et al., 2008). Some CIP exhibit externalizing behavior such as aggression and acting out (Geller et al., 2011) while others manifest their trauma by internalizing (Kjellstrand et al., 2019). In addition to the social-emotional implications of having an incarcerated parent, some children experience higher levels of unmet medical needs and increased risk of learning disabilities, developmental delays, speech/language problems, and ADHD diagnosis (Turney, 2017).

The consequences of parental incarceration can have an impact on school. Misinterpretation of externalized behaviors can lead to educators' punitive treatment of CIP (Bell et al., 2013). Having an incarcerated parent has also been connected to a lower likelihood of graduating from high school (Copp et al., 2022). Some teachers admitted to having lowered expectations of students known to have a parent who is incarcerated (Dallaire et al., 2010; Turney & Haskins, 2014; Wildeman et al., 2017). Many CIP reported feeling stigmatized by peers and teachers, causing them to remain quiet about their parent's incarceration (Bocknek et al., 2008; Luther, 2016; Saunders, 2018). These facts contribute to the difficulty in identifying CIP in schools. Training is recommended to lessen the stigma and equip educators to support CIP (Robertson, 2012).

Training to address trauma-informed practices usually revolves around the multi-tiered systems of support framework (Corcoran & Thomas, 2021). Identification of CIP may present a challenge to educators, as many schools are unaware of the children's circumstances (Morgan et al., 2014). The literature supports the need for more information on if and how CIP are being supported at schools. The existing research focuses on the effects of incarceration on children's lives such as mental and physical

health outcomes, financial challenges, internalizing and externalizing behaviors, grade retention, and coping mechanisms. What is not being studied is how CIP can receive support from educators within the school setting. This gap in the literature presented an opportunity for research and became the aim of this study.

Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology for collecting and analyzing the perceptions of teachers, building administrators, and caregivers of CIP.

Chapter 3: Research Design Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the research design and methodology that was used to examine school issues related to CIP through the lens of a trauma-informed approach. While significant studies have been conducted with incarcerated individuals and their families, there has been limited research on how schools support the academic and socio-emotional needs of the children (Turney & Haskins, 2014). There is little information on whether educators are aware of this population in their schools. Supporting the needs of CIP at school is also an underdeveloped research area in the United States. Other countries such as the UK, Australia, and Turkey have researched CIP at school (Bell et al., 2018; Brookes & Frankham, 2021; Dawson et al., 2013; Kahya & Ergin Ekinci, 2018; Saunders, 2018). However, research in the United States remains underdeveloped. To learn more about the experiences of caregivers, teachers, and building administrators, the following questions served as a foundation:

1. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding training and information teachers have received on CIP? How has this been part of training and information on trauma-informed practices?
2. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding programs and support in place for CIP in schools today?
3. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding opportunities and challenges present in schools concerning the needs of CIP?

Research Design

This study analyzed the participants' perceptions regarding school support for CIP. Although the participants may have different perceptions about the phenomenon of parental incarceration, the researcher sought to understand their perceptions based on their roles and experiences. Thus, qualitative phenomenology was the best-suited methodology to conduct the research. Phenomenological studies provide an opportunity for gaining information in a social interaction (Easterling & Johnson, 2015) by obtaining data from interviews. Rubin and Rubin (2012) referred to an interview as a conversational partnership.

Finlay (2013) identified five processes that make up a phenomenological qualitative study: "(a) embracing the phenomenological attitude, (b) entering the lifeworld (through descriptions of experiences), (c) dwelling with horizons of implicit meanings, (d) explicating the phenomenon holistically and dialectically, and (e) integrating frames of reference" (p. 174). The five processes are the stages that a researcher navigates during a phenomenological study.

Research Context

The setting of this study was a school district within Western New York. The school district is near several New York State prisons and is an area that experiences a high rate of incarceration (New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision, 2022). Eight counties in upstate New York account for 20% of the incarcerated population in state prisons despite only representing 10% of the total population (Widra & Encalada-Malinowski, 2022). Four of those counties are in Western New York. The school district studied is in a rural area. According to the State Education Department data, this district enrolled 1,923 students, of which 53% are males, and 47% are females. Over 50% of the population is economically

disadvantaged, 2% is homeless, and 14% are students with disabilities; 70% of the students are White, 9% are Black, 5% are multiracial, and 16% are Hispanic. Although the Hispanic population comprises 16% of all students, only 1% are English language learners.

Participants

Qualitative research varies from quantitative in several ways. The selection of participants is one way the two methodologies differ. Qualitative research requires purposeful sampling, choosing participants that can speak to the phenomenon being studied (Creswell & Creswell Báez, 2020). The current study involved quota sampling, a process of selecting a sample of participants representing a larger population (Simkus, 2022). The candidate recruited four participants in each of the following groups: teachers, school administrators, and caregivers. A caregiver is defined as a person responsible for caring, physically, and emotionally, for a child whose parent is incarcerated. The caregiver may or may not be related to the child.

The educators and caregivers took part in one-to-one interviews. The reason for choosing school administrators, teachers, and caregivers of CIP was to triangulate the information or data. The candidate obtained the perspective of each participant to identify themes among their experiences. The criteria for each participant group were the following:

- Caregiver- is responsible for a child whose parent is incarcerated with awareness of the child as a student and their daily routines.
- Teacher- a certified classroom teacher who interacts with students daily in a P-12 school setting.
- School administrator- a principal, assistant principal, or other building-based school administrators in a P-12 school.

Table 3.1 contains the pseudonyms of the 12 participants and indicates each of their roles as school administrator, caregiver, or teacher.

Table 3.1

Study Participants

Participant	Administrator	Caregiver	Teacher
Mr. Beverly			●
Ms. Bryant	●		
Candra		•	
Terry		●	
Ms. Castor			●
Mr. Dooley			●
Ms. Harris	●		
Mr. Johnson	●		
Nettie		●	
Mr. Sender	●		
Susan		●	
Ms. Wendel			●

Twelve individuals participated in this study to facilitate data triangulation: four administrators, four caregivers, and four teachers. The educators were from a school district in Western New York, while the caregivers varied in location.

Instruments

Research instruments can include observations, documents, interviews, and audiovisual and social media materials (Creswell & Creswell Báez, 2020). The researcher utilized semi-structured interviews, field notes, and analytic memos for this study. The literature recommends

using an interview protocol containing four phases, as seen in Table 3.2 (Castillo-Montoya, 2016). This instrument served to structure the interactions between the candidate and participants. Furthermore, the interview protocol contained open-ended questions that addressed each research question answered central to the development of the interviews. Pollio et al. (1997) cautioned against asking "why" questions to prevent theoretical answers, instead, they recommend asking how questions. Castillo-Montoya (2016) recommends the inclusion of four types of questions: introductory, transition, key, and closing.

Table 3.2

Phases in Developing and Refining Interviews

Phase	Purpose of Phase
1. Ensuring interview questions align with research questions	To create an interview protocol matrix to map the interview questions against the research questions
2. Constructing an inquiry-based conversation	To construct an interview protocol that balances inquiry with conversation
3. Receiving feedback on interview protocol	To obtain feedback on interview protocol (possible activities include close reading and think-aloud activities
4. Piloting the interview protocol	To pilot the interview protocol with a small sample

Note. Adapted from" Preparing for Interview Research: The Interview Protocol Refinement Framework," by M. Castillo-Montoya, 2016, *The Qualitative Report*, *21*(5), p. 828 (http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol21/iss5/2). Copyright 2016 by Nova Southeastern Florida.

The four phases of the interview protocol, alignment with research questions, inquiry-based conversation, obtaining feedback, and piloting, helped ensure a systematic approach to conducting the interviews. The researcher created an interview protocol matrix to ensure

alignment between the research questions and the interview questions. Additionally, field notes were taken during the interview to record non-verbal communication, environment, setting, and participant descriptions. The notes can be written, or in the form of sketches. More details were added to the notes at the conclusion of the interview, while the researcher's memory was still fresh (Phillippi & Lauderdale, 2017). In addition to taking field notes, analytic memos were written as part of the data analysis phase of the study.

The researcher piloted the interview protocol by soliciting volunteers who have similar demographics to the research participants at her school and from among her acquaintances. This phase allowed her to fine-tune the protocol as well as gain experience asking questions, recording the answers, and taking field notes. A script was used as part of the interview protocol to help support the transitions from one question to another (Castillo-Montoya, 2016).

Procedure Used for Data Collection

Before working with potential participants, the candidate followed several steps. The first was to seek authorization from the St. John Fisher University Institutional Review Board (IRB). Approval was necessary due to the nature of the proposed research, working with human subjects. Once the candidate received approval from the IRB, she began recruiting study participants. Prospective educators were identified with the help of a regional superintendent. The researcher contacted the superintendent by sending an introductory email. Once she agreed to communicate information about the study, the superintendent shared the information with schools that were interested in participating. School principals, in turn, shared the email with prospective teacher participants internally to contact the researcher.

Unlike in the case of educators, mistrust and stigma associated with prison make it challenging to identify caregivers of CIP as participants of the study. Easterling and Johnson (2015) recommended “collaboration, flexibility, and reliance on method” (p. 1560) to overcome the challenges of interviewing vulnerable populations, such as caregivers. The caregivers must feel comfortable with and trust the candidate before asking questions. The caregivers were recruited from a professional network by targeting support groups, reaching out to community organizations, and snowball sampling.

Once participants were identified, they were asked to sign an informed consent form. By signing the informed consent, participants acknowledge that they are partaking in the research willingly. Furthermore, they may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason, without penalty. The participants also received information about the length of the interview, and how the information collected will be kept confidential. Also, participants were informed of any risk of harm, and how they may potentially benefit from the study. Finally, participants agreed to be audio recorded to capture all the information more efficiently (Creswell & Creswell Báez, 2020). The informed consent was shared with the participants before arranging a meeting.

Upon acquiring informed consent, the researcher proceeded with conducting semi-structured interviews with the participants. The interviews took place by video conference, via Zoom. The researcher planned for the challenge of establishing rapport in an abbreviated period of time (Easterling & Johnson, 2015).

To ensure the accuracy of the data, interviews were captured using an external digital recorder. The audio recordings were then transcribed using transcription software. Once

transcripts were created, they were stored in the researcher's password-protected laptop. The researcher also gathered her field notes in preparation for data analysis.

Procedures Used for Data Analysis

After the interviews were transcribed, and the field notes organized, the researcher began coding. There are several options for coding the interview transcripts. Coding can be done manually, by using the Windows operating system and color coding. Computer assisted qualitative data analysis software is a digital means of coding. To ensure intra-researcher reliability, the program ATLAS.ti 22 was used to organize data from the proposed study. Developed in 1992, ATLAS.ti 22 can create several types of codes using open and in-vivo coding (Friese et al., 2018). The program can code information in various languages and produce visuals and charts to help make sense of the data.

There were three cycles of coding. The first cycle was a theoretical thematic analysis (Friese et al., 2018) using a priori codes aligned with the SAMHSA (2014) trauma-informed framework's four Rs priorities; realize, recognize, respond, and resist re-traumatization. The second cycle of coding looked at open/emotion coding. Finally, in the third round, in vivo coding, focused on words or phrases that summarized the interview's essence (Saldaña, 2014).

During the coding process, the researcher wrote analytic memos of her thoughts and reactions for deeper reflection on the data (Saldaña, 2021). Together with coding, the memos helped create a well-rounded analysis of the data, leading to the identification of themes.

Procedures Used for Data Collection and Analysis

1. Preliminary Steps

    a. Obtained approval from the IRB at St. John Fisher University

b. Received support from the school district

2. Data Collection

a. Created interview protocol that aligns with research questions

b. Piloted interview with individuals who are not participating in the study

c. Adjusted the interview protocol based on pilot experience

d. Scheduled interviews

e. Conducted interviews while capturing with a digital recorder and taking field notes

f. Wrote analytic memos throughout each step

3. Data Analysis

a. Transcribed interviews using transcription software

b. Sample coded a portion of the transcript for interrater reliability

c. Reviewed analytic memos

d. Analyzed transcripts using a priori coding

e. Analyzed transcripts using open and emotion

f. Analyzed transcripts using in vivo coding

g. Triangulated the data and developed categories and themes from the coding

Confidentiality

The researcher took several steps to protect the confidentiality of the information and the study. First, the researcher utilized a password-protected laptop computer to store all the data. To protect the privacy of the participants, there is no identifiable characteristics or information; neither the school district nor individual schools will be named. Interviews were conducted one on one in settings where privacy was maintained. The participants were given pseudonyms when

reporting the findings and no sensitive information was included. In addition, all video recordings were erased and only the audio was retained. Finally, all audio recordings and transcriptions will be erased after three years.

Chapter Summary

This chapter aimed to discuss the research design and methodology used to examine CIP through the lens of trauma-informed approach. The researcher outlined the study design, participants, instruments, and data collection and analysis procedure. The researcher also described the rationale for using a phenomenological approach to understand and capture the experiences of educators and caregivers of CIP.

To protect the confidentiality of information and the privacy of the participants, the researcher used pseudonyms, preserved data in a password-protected laptop, and will erase files after 3 years.

The researcher interviewed the participants and digitally recorded and transcribed the conversations. The transcripts were coded and analyzed with the help of the ATLAS.ti program. The researcher utilized coding, field memos, and writing analytic memos facilitated the creation of themes to understand the participants' perceptions regarding the supports available to CIP. Chapter 4 presents the results from the interviews in this study.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

Traumatic experiences are, unfortunately, common occurrences. One in every four children is affected by age 16 (SAMHSA, 2014). Students who have experienced trauma sit in every classroom in the US (Turney, 2018). Children of incarcerated parents (CIP) are among these students, though it frequently goes unnoticed. Some CIP experience ambiguous loss, resulting in ongoing and unresolved grief (Boss, 2000, 2016).

This study explored the perceptions of school administrators, teachers, and caregivers of CIP regarding awareness, training, and support in schools. Using SAMHSA's Trauma-Informed Approach Framework, the researcher focused on the four Rs: realization, recognition, responding, and resisting re-traumatization (SAMHSA, 2014). The study answered the following research questions:

1. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding training and information teachers have received on CIP? How has this been part of training and information on trauma-informed practices?
2. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding programs and support in place for CIP in schools today?
3. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding opportunities and challenges present in schools concerning the needs of CIP?

Chapter 4 discusses the data analysis and findings of the study, which are presented by the research question. Themes and sub-themes are then identified and examined for each research question.

Data Analysis and Findings

The data in this study were collected using a qualitative approach. Twelve individuals were interviewed using semi-structured interviews: four caregivers, four teachers, and four administrators. Interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed. Transcripts were analyzed using a priori coding, followed by emotion/open coding, and finally, in vivo coding. For the a priori coding cycle, the trauma-informed approach's four Rs were applied; realize, recognize, respond, and resist re-traumatization (SAMHSA, 2014). The second cycle was emotion/open coding, paying attention to the emotions or feelings recalled or implied by the participant. (Saldana, 2021). The third and last cycle was in vivo coding, utilizing the interviewee's language to "honor and prioritize the participant's voice" (Saldana, 2021, p. 365).

Research Question 1: Results and Analysis

What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding training and information teachers have received on CIP? How has this been part of training and information on trauma-informed practices?

The focus of this study was to examine the perceptions of teachers, school administrators, and caregivers of CIP regarding the awareness and support that exists in P-12 schools. The interview questions were aligned with the four Rs of trauma-informed approach; realize, recognize, respond, and resist re-traumatization (SAMHSA, 2014). The following themes became evident after coding and analyzing the responses to Question 1: something you don't talk

about, and there is no training for that. Table 4.1 illustrates the themes, subthemes, and area of framework for Research Question 1.

Table 4.1

Research Question 1- Themes, Subthemes, and Area of Framework

Theme	Subthemes	Area of Framework
1.1 Something you don't talk about	1.1a They never asked 1.1b Double-edged sword 1.1c The way schools find out	Realize Recognize
1.2 There is no training for that	1.2a Trauma-Informed Practices Training 1.2b Poverty Training	Realize Recognize Respond

Theme 1.1: Something You Don't Talk About

The majority of the participants in this study expressed a sense of uncertainty when interviewed in areas of awareness related to Research Question 1. "I don't think it's talked about a lot, and I don't think because it's not talked about that it's not there," exclaimed Mr. Dooley, a secondary school teacher (ET2, 50-52). This comment encapsulates the sentiment shared by all participants about the awareness of CIP in schools. This attitude applied regardless of the participant's role in the lives of CIP. After analyzing the data, three sub-themes emerged. The first theme focuses on the "it's none of your business" (ET4, 292) attitude some participants described. The second sub-theme of "double-edged sword" explains the dichotomy of having information about CIP. Finally, the third sub-theme informs how schools might find out that a student's parent is incarcerated.

They Never Asked. This theme is reflective of the experience of a majority of the caregivers interviewed when dealing with CIP and school. The school often needs to recognize the struggle and needs of CIP and their families. Susan, a mother caring for her children on her own while her husband was incarcerated, reflected on the difficult times the family endured during the other parent's incarceration. Although Susan was a schoolteacher, she struggled to make ends meet, "I sold everything. I sold the cushions off my couch. I didn't have a kitchen table. I didn't have garbage pickup; I didn't have paper towels because I couldn't afford it. You know, I sacrificed a lot" (CG4, 164-166). Susan added, "They never asked. I never said anything. There was never an opportunity for me to talk about it" (CG4, 17-18).

Another caregiver, Terry, is raising grandchildren alongside her husband, who is formerly incarcerated. Terry asserted that the school personnel has never asked about her grandchildren's parents, and she has not volunteered any information:

> I know that they don't know that our grandchildren have an incarcerated parent. So, no one has asked, not that that would come up in conversation. Yeah, actually, to be honest with you, they have never asked about the absent parent at all (CG5, 6-8).

Additionally, teachers and school administrators who participated in this study reported needing more awareness of CIP at their schools. Ms. Harris, an elementary school principal, explained her lack of knowledge:

> So, I don't know if we do have awareness because that stuff is self-reported based on the families. We may get it secondhand through, you know, news clippings or things like that, but we don't have, you know, it's not something that we're systematically tracking (EA3, 17-19).

Based on her interview, Ms. Castor, a veteran high school teacher, seemed irritated about not having awareness; however, she said she would rather not know, a contrast that came up several times in the study. Ms. Castor explained, "I know that teachers will get frustrated that we don't know, but at the same time, it's none of your business. You know, it really isn't" (ET4, 291-293). Ms. Castor added, "In the 18 years I've been in my district, I can't tell you of any. Maybe, on one hand, I could tell you that I've heard that somebody's parent is incarcerated (ET4, 105-107).

Mr. Sender, a high school principal who works with students with behavioral and emotional challenges, cautioned:

> We also take very… real care of the confidentiality of each specific student. Staff who need to know that a child has a parent who is incarcerated or is getting out of incarceration, they are aware, like the immediate team. Whether [it's] the teacher, the counselor, or the aide that works directly with the student (EA1, 16-18).

Additionally, other educators who participated in this study expressed their desire to honor students' privacy and not want to be intrusive. Mr. Bryant, a secondary school principal, lamented, “I wish there was a way for us to know more proactively and at the same time… there's a respect of privacy that that shouldn't be the first thing you see next to a kid's name either” (EA4, 117-119).

In addition to privacy, educational policy was cited as a reason to keep parental incarceration confidential. Ms. Wendel is a veteran teacher at a high school who illustrated this concept:

> If a student is really acting up in somebody's class or, like, say, it's an English class, and the student is journaling about their incarcerated parent or their life outside of school, I might go and talk to that English teacher. But I don't really share that information outside of that because it's part of, I think, it's part of FERPA, so it's very much, what did the teachers need to know (ET3, 27-31)?

Many participants considered privacy and confidentiality when discussing whether schools know or should know about a parent's incarceration. Caregivers and educators questioned whether schools were aware and whether they should know or not.

Double-Edged Sword. Some participants in this study were conflicted about whether having an awareness of CIP would be too much information. For a number of educators, the idea of giving students and their families privacy conflicted with their willingness to be supportive.

While discussing the school's awareness of CIP, participants offered their explanation for why caregivers might refrain from sharing about the parent's incarceration. "Many times, the families want to keep that quiet. They don't want to discuss it because it's embarrassing" (CG2, 83-84). Nettie, a foster mother caring for a young boy, sadly confirmed, "They [CIP] don't want to mention to anybody; they just want it to kind of not be there. And then other kids just don't want to talk about it because they don't want to be made fun of" (CG2, 113-114). Other participants wished there was more awareness and information so CIP could receive more support.

Terry's perspective was that it would create more harm than good if the school knew about her grandchildren's situation:

> From the caretaker perspective, I would, you know, I would like to see more specific support around kids that have incarcerated parents, but here's the kind of the double-edged sword to that, you know, sometimes for kids, ignorance is bliss, right? If they [the school] don't actually realize that they're different at this point, how much can you do harm, you know, by pointing that out or by providing those supports or putting a spotlight on it? So, from a caretaker's perspective, I don't know that I would want them to be labeled in that way because we haven't as a society addressed the stigma around incarceration, so it almost puts a label on them, you know (CG5, 105-112).

Kerri also shared her perspective on the stigma associated with incarceration that she fears her grandchildren may face, "…your dad or your mom… must have done something horribly wrong. So therefore, you are in some way less than the other students that are in the classroom or the school" (CG5, 115-117).

When a parent is incarcerated, the school is likely unaware. CIP may also be in the dark (Hairston, 2007; Chui & Yeung, 2016). Candra is raising her niece and did not wish to share the details of her mother's incarceration with her. Candra, who also grew up with an incarcerated father, tried to shield her niece from the pain she felt as a child. The niece learned about her mother's sentence at school by searching the internet:

> She and some other kids at school were looking up all their incarcerated family members [on their school laptops], so that's how she found out the actual sentence years. We were trying to keep that away from her, but they were able to go in their school laptop and look that up and get that information [online]" (CG1, 9-11).

On the other hand, some educators saw the value in being informed. Ms. Wendel passionately stated:

> I think that not knowing the whole history of your students is a missed opportunity to engage these students… to show them that you know their circumstances are beyond their control. [The circumstances] don't define who they are, and if more educators understood that these kids wouldn't feel like they're trapped in a cycle (ET3, 162-166).

Furthermore, Ms. Wendel warmly recalled having a student whose father was incarcerated:

> We would do journals and talk about his writing, and in his journals, he would always talk about his father in the letters that his father would send him. And you know the bond that he had with his father, and so that helped us to have a connection and to be able to talk about his experiences. Where I think he didn't feel like he was hiding a part of himself in my classroom, you know? He could be his authentic self-versus the other classrooms, you know (ET3, 145-150).

Echoing a positive outlook on informing the school, Nettie reached out to her foster son's teacher. Nettie rationalized if the teacher was aware, the child would have better support than if she did not know about his mother's incarceration:

> So actually, I approached her, and that was how they were aware of him being at our home, and that's why she kind of, I think, opened some of the doors originally…she was just like, oh my God, I'm so sorry to hear that he's actually having to go through all of this (CG2, 26-31).

Nettie's foster son was treated with empathy, though the school did not have any resources to support his unique needs. Years later, Nettie connected with a church that assisted her family.

The Ways Schools Find Out. Every participant in the study was asked to share how a school may learn about a parent's incarceration. Ms. Harris, a school principal, theorized, "Typically, our teachers are the first ones to find things out because the kid will share something that you know, Mom or Dad may not want them to" (EA3, 27-28).

Principal Bryant noted that an educator might recognize when the student needs support and realize that the child has an incarcerated parent:

I feel like oftentimes, there are some other things that are brewing or coming up. And as we're digging into or having conversations, we then discovered that that [the behavior] is a component of that child's story… Oftentimes I feel like we stumble upon it (EA4, 13-16).

Mr. Dooley, a novice teacher whose father was incarcerated when he was a child, drew on his personal experiences. He speculated that a student might tip the teacher off about the CIP's situation, "Friends might do it in a malicious way, you know, or in a tone of like, hey, Mister, so and so isn't here right now because their parents just got incarcerated" (ET2, 84–86).

Principal Johnson described a public way school staff might find out that a student's parent is incarcerated:

> Where I work in the county-wide newspaper every week, there is a section that is the crime section, and everyone that gets arrested in the county, their picture and write-up about why they got arrested is included in that section of the newspaper. There is a very high number of our teachers, even if they don't live in this county and subscribe to that

> paper, they will subscribe to the paper just so they have a heads up on anybody that might have gotten picked up over the weekend or last week (EA2, 5-10).

Other participants rationalized ways schools become aware of CIP. Ms. Castor was doubtful about how many CIP she may have encountered, “So I do think that over the time that I've been there, I have heard of a parent, you know, being in jail or had been in jail. OK., but that was word of mouth. That was teachers talking” (ET4, 140-141).

Non-parental caregivers may have a different experience regarding sharing information with the school. Candra explained how she thinks the school became aware of her niece’s situation:

> It was probably the school social worker, at least for us, because we have so many providers involved in her care. We have a lot of meetings, so I feel like that. You know that's how her staff at school would know (CG1, 16-18).

As mentioned before, some students may disclose their home situation by writing in a journal. While addressing the concept of disclosure, Ms. Castor said:

> The English teachers might get more of that [information] when they get their journaling. I know one English teacher that we had, and she left a year ago. I think she used to do feel-good Fridays—something like that. So, you kind of give them a place to maybe be able to share (ET4, 197-200).

Some participants were perplexed about schools’ level of awareness of CIP. While Principal Sender was proud that his school had high levels of awareness, he also added, “They [teachers] would be aware of that situation as long as we are aware; sometimes we don't even know" (EA1, 18-19). Mr. Beverly, a first-year teacher, seemed confused: “It can't be that high. I

mean, the way I'm going to learn about it is by developing relationships and talking to students" (ET1, 18-19).

Each caregiver, teacher, and administrator contributed their ideas and experiences about how schools find out about a parent's incarceration. Still, there was a level of uncertainty for some of the participants.

Theme 1.2: There's No Training for That

The consensus among all the participants in this study was that there is no specific training to support CIP. Most caregivers were unaware of any training their children's educators have taken. Recognizing that some schools have information about trauma-informed practices, Terry said:

> Trauma-informed care doesn't necessarily mean training in incarceration, in children of incarceration. It just means trauma, right? Which is a broad term. So even in that, there was only, if I can remember, probably maybe just a mention of incarceration is one of the ACES, you know because they're tied in the ACES. So, I have no idea [about the training teachers get], and I would think none" (CG5, 32-36).

The researcher further explored the notion of receiving training. Candra shared the possible benefits of having educator training, especially in trauma-informed practices:

> [Teachers] would be informed, and they'd actually know how to interact with the kids and the sensitivity of it all. Being able to say the right words and not further trigger or traumatize the child by verbiage that the adult would use. And I guess the overall sense of helpfulness for the staff and the teachers, how they can actually help the kids stay successful in the school setting (CG1 34-38).

Educators who participated in the study felt unprepared to work with CIP, citing never having been trained to do so. However, they recalled training they had taken, such as trauma-informed training and poverty training.

Trauma-Informed Practices Training. Whether they called it trauma-informed or just trauma and ACES, some educators interviewed described the training they received. "We don't have any specific training that's directly, 'this is how you work with the student who has an incarcerated parent.' Our training is more, 'this is how you work with a student who has a traumatic experience'" (EA1, 27-29).

Many educators discussed training they had received and preceded it by saying the training was not about CIP. On some level, they connected parental incarceration, trauma, and ACES. Principal Harris described the training her staff received,

> So, nothing in particular to CIP, but you know, when it comes to trauma-informed practices or you know, ACES, training or training on the classroom practices that align to dealing with kids with a trauma background. You know, that's where our training would lie as we would consider an adult that's incarcerated a loss of a family member for a child. So, we would have, you know, the trauma background to support (EA3, 45-49).

Similarly, Ms. Castor explained her training, not seeming to make the connection initially:

> There's no training that I can recall. If you wanted to call it training, I would say that we've had training in the ACES, and we might be told that this is what an ACE is and that having a parent, or a family member incarcerated is one of the items that you took off on the ACE list. And we've had social-emotional learning training (ET3, 49-52).

Along the same lines, Principal Bryant said, “I have not received or know of anything specific. We have done trauma-informed practices, right, and I would consider those pieces to be a form of trauma for kids” (EA4, 25-26).

Poverty Training. In addition to the trauma-informed approach, some educators talked about poverty training. In a similar fashion to trauma-informed practice training, educators made comments about the benefits of poverty training. Mr. Beverly shared that poverty training was not specifically training on CIP, yet he saw the connection:

> I haven't received any specific training with support for CIP, but we do other professional development which supply, we'll call it supplemental advantages to CIP, whether it be, you know, poverty training or social, emotional training and things like that which could work, you know, together in tandem, but nothing specifically directed towards [CIP] (ET1, 36-39).

Mr. Dooley reiterated the lack of training on CIP, then discussed the training he did receive in the past:

> I don't think I've ever received PD on that topic [CIP]. And I was looking at, I don't think they have it, and maybe it comes with just sensitivity training. Or the poverty training because I've received a ton of poverty training. And the sensitivity and poverty and, you know, PD, they can all work together and that, but specifically talking about how children with an incarcerated guardian, parents might feel different, I don't think I've received any (ET2, 102-106).

Principal Johnson optimistically described the poverty simulation training as a way to understand what some of his students and their families go through daily:

> Teachers were put into families of three or four, and each family had a story, and some of those families did include like a parent being incarcerated, so they weren't allowed to leave their house, which were chairs set up. To be able to go to work or run the errands and provide for the family and, you know, it was a simulation. So that our teachers could see how things like incarcerated parents are going to really stress out a family because they're still going to have their bills that they have to pay if they if they don't pay their bills, then they get evicted and have to go to a homeless shelter. Or same with, you know, a car payment, then they can't go to work, and then they can't… go to Social Security offices and get help. (EA2, 35-42).

Although participants denied knowing of or receiving training on CIP, most began to realize they had received training that might benefit the students. This fact may mean that educators recognize CIP's needs once they realize and acknowledge the existence of CIP at their schools.

Connections to the Framework

Three of the four Rs of the trauma-informed approach were connected to Research Question 1; realize, recognize, and respond. Realize surfaced when participants discussed their awareness of CIP at schools. Some of the participants initially communicated not knowing about CIP at schools. As the interviews progressed, many realized they knew more than they thought. Having the conversation about CIP, educators began to notice the connections between their students and trauma. The same applies to the discussion surrounding teacher training to support CIP. Participants with trauma-informed practices training began to recognize the benefit of responding to CIP more efficiently.

Research Question 2: Results and Analysis

What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding programs and support in place for CIP in schools today?

Much like the training issue, several educators started by saying that there is no support for CIP in schools. Nonetheless, as they talked about what is available at their respective schools, they realized the support they have can benefit CIP as well. Some of the study participants referred to a counselor or social worker who may offer emotional and academic support to CIP. In contrast, others talked about tangible support items, such as providing backpacks with food. Question 2 yielded two themes: emotional first aid and other kinds of support. Table 4.2 displays the themes, subthemes, and area of framework for Research Question 2.

Table 4.2

Research Question 2- Themes, Subthemes, and Area of Framework

Theme	Subthemes	Area of Framework
2.1 Emotional first aid	2.1a It's all about relationships 2.1b Leave it to the experts 2.1c Other CIP- an underground network	Recognize Respond
2.2 Other kinds of support	2.2a Multi-tiered systems of support 2.2b Bare necessities	Recognize Respond Resist Re-traumatization

Theme 2.1: Emotional First Aid

The incarceration of a parent can take a toll on the entire household. The remaining caregiver may face challenges that can affect many aspects of life. Susan shared her frustration at the lack of support for her family:

> So that's [incarceration] like that unspoken trauma that people go through. You know what I mean? And I just think there's a whole lot of work for the… people that are left behind… I actually looked into it because I couldn't believe there was, like, no support group for mothers locally. Just to receive or to understand, you know what's available to help us, to manage us. It seems like there's so much help and support for those that are incarcerated but not for those that are left behind (CG4, 167-170).

The support discussed by many participants was emotional. Theme 2.1 explores how CIP receive social-emotional support at school.

It's All About Relationships. Support can be interpreted differently by each person. Many educators interviewed reflected on the kinds of support in their schools today, concluding that having relationships can facilitate a number of them.

> So, there's a lot of support, but I'll say that kids don't automatically know that; we try to communicate that… even if kids know that those supports are available, they don't necessarily use them because they're timid. And so they might have a relationship with one adult, and they might confide in that adult. It could be a teacher, administrator, whoever, and maybe this child is exhibiting behaviors in all their other classes. And they know that these supports are available, but they don't trust those other people because they haven't met them or worked with them. " (ET3, 102-108).

Some of the participants in the study determined that having a trusted adult or someone CIP can talk to is a vital form of support. “Sometimes they're just looking for a connection, and it can be somebody, I guess that makes them feel very safe, and that's really what it comes down to is needing a connection” (CG2, 136-139). Principal Sender reported, “…having that kind of deep connection with them [CIP] a lot of times helps to fill some of that belongingness that they might be missing out of because a parent’s incarcerated. You almost get some of that familial type of connection” (EA1, 143-145).

CIP can be vulnerable to the stigma of parental incarceration. Depending on the child’s age, they may not have the language or coping skills to deal with their feelings. Additionally, some CIP may experience the unresolved grief of an ambiguous loss (Boss, 2016). Nettie recalled the helplessness she felt on one occasion:

> I remember him coming home crying on the bus. I don't know if he just said, he would just say, “I live with my aunt; I live with my uncle.” He would just kind of put it out there like that, and they're [other kids] like, “well, you don't live with your mom?” (CG2, 83-89).

It is reasonable to understand how, for a CIP, feeling connected to a caring adult can be like “emotional first aid” (EA1, 94). Principal Johnson described how his staff deals with students who need social-emotional support:

> Checking in with them [CIP] being like, “Hey, I'm so glad you're in school today,” so that at least they're getting some sort of positive attention whether they want to acknowledge that they're getting the positive attention or not. We don't know what they think about, you know when they go home. (EA2, 124-127)

Leave it to the Experts. The sentiment shared by many study participants was that CIP need expert support, such as from a social worker or school counselor. Furthermore, some educators felt ill-prepared to respond to the student's needs when the incarceration of a parent was involved. Mr. Dooley, having first-hand experience with parental incarceration, expressed his inability to help a CIP:

> You know, we'd like to think that students can go to us for support, right? I understand why they don't all the time. OK. There are individuals that work in schools, that are paid and have gone to school to focus on nothing but the student's mental health. Just focus on nothing but that picture. I send kids to the counselor's office sometimes, but sometimes not…I'm always ready to help them, but [it is] above my grade of knowledge to help them (ET2, 147-152).

Ms. Castor rationalized that mental health professionals in the school would know about supporting CIP:

> I believe that the school counselors and the social workers, and the psychologists are there to support them, but if they know…I have to assume that, you know, in that population, I mean, my district is small, but within any school district, you know, statistically speaking, there's some incarcerated parents there (ET4, 184-187).

Similar to Mr. Dooley, Ms. Wendel described the actions she takes upon finding out that a student needs support. "I say, hey, what's going on? And then, you know, the kid just kind of unravels, and then, I connect them with the social worker or the therapist or somebody" (ET3, 109-110).

It is evident that a majority of participants in this study identified either a social worker or a school counselor as the primary support for CIP. Principal Sender shared his view on school-based support:

> It's like a little bit of a counseling piece, but it's not like a clinical type of counseling. You're not, like, getting into… the emotional depths of what this experience means to the child. It's more like a problem-solving, anger management type of counseling just to help them continue on with their school day and be safe (EA1, 52-55).

Other CIP: An Underground Network. Even though, as Nettie said, “kids can be cruel” (CG2, 90), having a shared experience can form a bond among CIP. As several of the study participants affirmed, incarceration happens everywhere. It is safe to assume that CIP are not alone in schools. Candra’s take was, “There's so many other kids who have incarcerated parents or family members, and they talk amongst themselves. And they then become, you know, their own support system within the school” (CG1, 72-75). Additionally, Mr. Dooley commented on whom CIP can go to for support, "I think it's other students because kids don't trust anybody else. Anybody more than their friends” (ET2, 79-80). He then shared about one of his students’ ways of coping with her father’s incarceration:

> I have a girl. Her dad has been in prison since before she was born, she was conceived while he was in prison. And her parents are still married. So, she's comfortable with it, and she makes light of the situation. And kids don't pick on her, but she'll make a joke about it when she sees good comedic timing, which, you know, she's talked to me about. Because some kids, some teachers, other educators will get upset if she makes that type of comedic joke (ET2, 54-59).

Mr. Dooley indicated that he dealt with his father's incarceration similarly by finding humor in his situation. Students at his school are aware of his past and often chat and confide in him. Mr. Dooley is an adult CIP and can empathize with his students' struggles.

Principal Sender also felt that CIP could support each other. In his example, Mr. Sander created a scenario where two students shared similar circumstances:

> Johnny comes in, talking about how his mom is in jail. Then Susie goes, 'Oh, your mom's in jail? My dad's in jail,' and then they have, you know, an understanding there. And that's something that you, the kid, isn't ostracized because their parent is incarcerated. There is a peer-to-peer understanding that they might have these struggles, or their family might look different than, you know, what you would deem a traditional family. Or that, you know, Johnny is getting upset and easily frustrated. Susie knows that too because she feels the same way. So, they can… talk and play together at free time (EA1, 150-156).

Although Principal Sender's version of CIP identifying and supporting each other is idyllic, the fact is that it may take some adult facilitation to create the right environment for collaboration. Nettie related her wishes for CIP," I think as a school district… there needs to be a lot more, whether there's a support group, whether there is a way to get these kids together so they can talk about their feelings openly" (CG2, 100-102).

Theme 2.2: Other Kinds of Support

Several educator participants explained that support for CIP can be part of the multi-tiered system of support (MTSS) process. MTSS may include response to intervention (RTI), positive behavior intervention system (PBIS), and Check In/Check Out. A few of the educators interviewed for this study shared having been trained in PBIS. While MTSS focuses on academic

and behavioral support, participants also mentioned the facilitation of basic necessities, such as food, to CIP.

Multi-Tiered System of Supports. Participants in this study shared that their schools engage in the MTSS process in an effort to target support for different students. Tier 1 is the universal support that all students in the school receive (Chafouleas et al., 2016). Tiers 2 and 3 become more specific as students are identified for targeted intervention support. “If we treat every kid like, generically, and then we have behaviors or things that pop up (it is) because we're not meeting our kids' needs and not being attuned to their SEL” (EA3, 54-56). Principal Harris also described the manner in which a CIP may be referred for support at her school:

> So, we have our school counselors, we have obviously, us as administrators, teachers, they can really go to anyone, and that would trigger, you know, most likely a request for assistance to support our kids through our multi-tiered systems of support to get them what they need (EA3, 69-71).

Additionally, Principal Johnson communicated how support for CIP may be discussed at MTSS:

> We take those kids, and in our multi-tiered support system group, we talk about those kids and figure out what else can we do for them on our end. And that's where we get them into, like the structured study halls where they can have smaller classes with more individualized attention in their study halls to help with the homework. We get them into lunch bunch groups so that they don't have to be in the big overwhelming [lunchroom] where it's super overstimulating and is a trigger for a lot of people (EA2, 99-103).

Principal Bryant explained the importance of good Tier 1 practices at her school. Her perception is that being trauma-informed, just like good instruction, is helpful to all students and can be a preventative measure to support every student, including CIP:

> I feel like it's making that shift, kind of like if somebody asked me about what special education teachers do. I would say they have a different certification, but they do good instruction, right? They differentiate, they target. I think trauma-informed is becoming that same Tier 1 instruction, or that we're proactive, right? We're creating environments that support our students regardless of the situation that we are aware of. I guess in my mind… we become more conscious about the ways in which we respond, our body language, our tone of voice. We recognize triggers or start to find trends of triggers, or you're, like, analyzing for those things (EA4, 32-38).

In alignment with the four Rs of trauma-informed care, Principal Bryant highlighted the importance of realizing, recognizing, and responding to students' behavioral needs and thus, resisting re-traumatization.

Bare Necessities. Several educators cited providing or referring students to sources of food and other basic necessities as a way of supporting CIP. Principal Johnson shared about his school's assistance, "We have like a backpack program that we use; we target, you know, the socially low socioeconomic families" (EA2, 18-19).

Some caregivers felt that the only support their child received was food. "I know that for a while, the kids were receiving food bags in their book bags on Fridays. And you know, and that was really about it" (CG5, 44-45). According to feedingamerica.org, the backpack program is

one of Feeding America's initiatives, a way for schools to send food home with kids so they will have something to eat over the weekend.

Mr. Beverly explained his perception of the hierarchy of needs, “Sometimes the kids worry about where they're going to sleep at night. If one or both parents are locked up, where their next meal’s coming from, they're not worried about studying Shakespeare or learning the Pythagorean theorem, you know” (ET1, 101-103). Needs that may be disclosed to a trusted adult highlight the importance of building relationships between CIP and educators.

Connections to the Framework

The analysis of Research Question 2 had connections to the four Rs of the trauma-informed approach; recognize, respond, and resist re-traumatization. Participants recognized that CIP needed support to respond to their trauma. Many participants identified social-emotional learning and the provision of necessities as means of support. Additionally, there was a strong emphasis on referring CIP to experts such as school counselors, social workers, and psychologists. Participants also recognized that CIP may be triggered in their school environment and connected relationships to resisting re-traumatization.

Research Question 3: Results and Analysis

What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding opportunities and challenges present in schools concerning the needs of CIP?

Research Question 3 elicited a variety of responses. According to the participants, some CIP are engaged in school while others are not. Some participants reported CIP had no more challenges at school than a child of divorced parents, and others felt they were disconnected from

school. Research Question 3 yielded two themes, they just felt out of place, and school as an escape, which can be observed in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3

Research Question 3- Themes, Subthemes, and Area of Framework

Theme	Subthemes	Area of Framework
3.1 Disconnected	3.1a Impact on school engagement 3.1b They just felt out of place	Recognize Respond Resist Re-traumatization
3.2 School as an escape	3.2a They want to be there 3.2b What they might not get at home	Recognize Respond Resist Re-traumatization

Theme 3.1: Disconnected

Several research participants perceived CIP to be disengaged from school. Their experiences with CIP were divided into two sub-themes, impact on school engagement, and they just felt out of place.

Impact on School Engagement. Trauma can be manifested as internalizing and externalizing behaviors (Dallaire et al., 2010). In regard to CIP's engagement at school, some of the participants referred to externalizing and internalizing behaviors as causes for disconnection. “They're going to be defiant. They're gonna lash out, you know” (EA2, 95) was Principal Johnson's experience.

“My child, in particular, had behavioral difficulties” (CG1, 42), Candra said of her niece’s circumstances. She also added, “When her stress level increases, her grades obviously decrease. Her frustration tolerance is pretty low, so when interacting with staff, if she feels like they're being funny or anything like that, she is less engaged in that classroom subject” (CG1, 54-56).

Principal Bryant shared her observations about CIP’s behaviors, saying, “…they are kids that we work to keep involved. They usually need some brain breaks and some movement breaks. Sometimes a little more… impulsivity and even just distractibility, right?... Like they're thinking about other things throughout the day” (EA4, 81-84).

Nettie shared her thoughts about how CIP may behave at school:

> Sometimes they can be confrontational. Sometimes they can be withdrawn. Sometimes they can be weepy. I don't think there's just one way. You know, I've had other children [foster CIP] over the years. They won't even discuss it. It's just a non-issue (CG2, 107-110).

Ms. Wendel spoke about the impact of incarceration on CIP at school, “In my 10 years of working in education, I will say that these students are often behind in assignments. Their attendance is often weak. Often, they're… disengaged” (ET3, 116-117).

Mr. Dooley felt that the level of responsibilities a CIP may have at home can affect school engagement:

> I have a particular student, and he… talks to me about it quite a bit. So, his dad was a drug dealer. He got caught… but still very active in the lives of the kids… and we've been talking about it and what really hurts me…he says a lot, he goes, ‘I may have to be

> the man in the house if he gets' [convicted]. I'm like, wow… that makes me think…he's in 10th grade (ET2, 45-50).

They Just Felt Out of Place. Children of incarcerated parents are in a unique situation. Their parents may be away for reasons they do not understand. Unlike the finality of death or the incidence of divorce, having an incarcerated parent can cause CIP to be stuck in a cycle of ambiguity that compounds their trauma (Arditti & Savla, 2013).

Drawing from his experiences as a former CIP and as an educator, Mr. Dooley described the challenges of being a child whose parent is incarcerated:

> Divorce is a more common thing to understand and realize…saying my father's in jail; my parent is in jail; I don't think that's something that they [CIP] feel connected about. You know what I mean? I don't think there's something that we can do to help that. Just be willing to talk… about anything. If you can't talk about them [issues], we just guide them in the right [way] (ET2,176-180).

Similarly, Susan shared an instance when her children felt disconnected from school. "I would say that they just felt out of place because… schools, they celebrate, like Father's Day or Mother's Day, and not all children have that at home, or they might not have the same experience" (CG4,133-135).

> Nettie provided another perspective on why CIP may feel disconnected at school: I think some of them, depending on the situation, just don't feel safe, period… sometimes adults can be, not always a safe place, depending on what type of trauma children have been put in. Authority figures may not always be safe (CG2, 123-127).

Principal Bryant's perspective on CIP's engagement at school can be about empathy. She shared that many adults in her school have never had personal experiences with incarceration, saying, "…the majority of our staff have not been in those experiences, and we've probably messed up and misspoke" (EA4, 95-96). Although Ms. Bryant did not elaborate on her comment, she seemed uncomfortable with the subject of incarceration.

Theme 3.2: School as an Escape

While some participants thought that CIP might be disengaged from school, others felt that students are engaged. The second theme from Question 3 suggests that CIP have positive experiences at school. "For some of them, I think school is very important because it's a consistent piece… in their situation, they may not have a lot of consistency [at home]" (CG2,117-119). According to several participants, CIP's school engagement can be attributed to their desire to escape their reality, as well as to receive what they may be missing at home. Participants' perceptions were captured in two subthemes, they want to be there and what they don't get at home.

They Want to be There. Several educators pointed to basic necessities as motivators for CIP to attend school. Although participants cited lack of trust as a reason CIP feel disconnected from school, others thought safety turned the school into a safe space. Mr. Dooley explained his thoughts about students feeling connected to school:

> Some kids see school as a safe place… I read about students with incarcerated parents. There are parents that can get abusive, can't make ends meet. So, [at] school, they know that they're not going to get hit. They're going to be able to stay warm. If they need a change of clothes, they can get [them] provided there. If they need extra food, they can be

provided [with] that. When you say connected, I'm going to interpret it as they want to be there. That's how they feel safe… they connect school with being a shelter and a resource to them and not [just] a place to learn (ET2, 197-203).

Similarly, Ms. Castor rationalized that CIP's connection to school is related to what they might receive at school. "Resources that are academic or, you know, the extracurriculars, and also, their friends… and quite honestly, meals. Some of them come to school because they get food. That's another piece" (ET4, 280-282).

Susan explained the way in which her children were engaged at school:

> I think ... my children felt connected with school when they were able to have a choice in what they were able to learn… It wasn't just like, you know, your core classes; it was like the extracurricular. Things where they could be creative and think out-of-the-box and be … true to what their personal passions are (CG4, 144-147).

What They Might Not Get at Home. The perception of several educators was that CIP are engaged because some of their basic needs are met at school. Other participants pointed to the connection between engagement and extracurricular activities. Candra positively described her own school experience, "I could even speak from a personal standpoint. Having a father who was incarcerated most of my life, school was my safe haven; school was the thing that allowed me to be successful" (CG2, 61-63).

The home life of CIP was discussed by some participants, particularly educators: "They [CIP] want to help, and they want to be involved in all of the activities. Because it's a whole heck of a lot better than being home, and they know where they're getting their love, and it's here at school" (EA2, 92-94). Principal Harris described how a CIP's home situation may impact their

connection to school, “A child of an incarcerated parent may not have structures at home that support, you know, things like homework or parent conferences, or just reading, like some basic skills" (EA3, 87-88).

Although some educators may not have first-hand knowledge of what home life is really like for CIP, they recognize that they might see school as an escape. Tapping into her experiences as a caregiver, Susan shared her thoughts on CIP’s home life:

> It's not something that goes away… weekends aren't spent doing what ordinary people might do… weekends might be spent, you know, driving 6 hours to go see their father or their mother. Yeah. So, I think that is part of the story and should be, you know, taken into consideration and, like, thinking about the child's overall well-being because there is a tremendous void in that family… like, you know, wow, they're gone (CG4,72-76).

Recognizing the challenges CIP face at home can help educators see the potential schools have in responding to their trauma. The topic of relationships arose again as Principal Sender described CIP’s connections at his school:

> They [CIP] feel connected in our program because we have a very emotional humanistic approach where we work on maintaining those relationships and connecting with the students. Not just at a superficial level, but getting to really know them, know about their family, know about their experiences, know their interests, know their likes and dislikes (EA1, 138-141).

Connections to the Framework

The analysis of the data related to Research Question 3 supported three of the four Rs of a trauma-informed approach, recognize, respond, and resist re-traumatization. Educators

recognized the manifestations of having an incarcerated parent and shared their perceptions of internalized and externalized behaviors. Furthermore, participants discussed how schools may respond, specifically by giving CIP what they may not get at home, such as structure, consistency, and emotional support.

Summary of Results

This chapter presented the outcomes of semi-structured interviews with 12 participants: four caregivers, four teachers, and four school administrators of CIP. The data analyzed for Research Question 1 resulted in two themes, something you don't talk about, and there is no training for that. The first theme, something you don't talk about, explored the participants' perceptions regarding the level of awareness schools have about children of incarcerated parents. The common perception is that schools have little awareness of the students who have incarcerated parents. Furthermore, the second theme, there is no training for that, explored the training that is available to educators in schools today. Although educators initially said that training about CIP did not exist, some eventually made the connections between trauma-informed practices training and CIP.

The emphasis of Research Question 2 was on the types of support available to CIP at school. Research Question 2 yielded two themes, emotional first aid and other kinds of support. The first theme, emotional first aid, focused on whom CIP can reach out to for support, including social workers, counselors, teachers, and other children of incarcerated parents. The second theme, other kinds of support, spoke to how and what the school may do to support CIP. Some of the support targeted the social-emotional aspect, while other support included providing food as part of Foodlink’s Backpack Program and other basic necessities.

Research Question 3 referred to CIP's level of engagement at school. According to participants, some CIP saw school as a safe haven, while others seemed disengaged.
The results of the data analysis concluded in two themes, disconnected and school as an escape. The first theme explored why CIP may feel disengaged from school. One reason for the disconnection was the inability to focus due to stress at home. The second theme, school as an escape, proposed the opposite idea that CIP seek refuge at school. According to participants, CIP receive the consistency, emotional support, and structure they may lack at home.

The three research questions generated responses within the four Rs of the trauma-informed care framework; realize, recognize, respond, and resist re-traumatization. The areas of the four Rs framework were identified as part of the analysis of each question and noted in Tables 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3.

Chapter 5 concludes this research by exploring the implications based on the results discussed in Chapter 4. Moreover, Chapter 5 looks at the study's limitations and the recommendations for future research and practice.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Introduction

As the country with the highest number of imprisoned individuals, mass incarceration has put the United States in a precarious position, affecting many communities and spawning a generation of individuals living with psychological trauma. Children of incarcerated parents are often excluded from conversations about trauma yet may have a high number of ACEs and deal with ambiguous loss (Boss, 2016).

Evidence of the negative impacts of incarceration exists, but there is little mention regarding the level of awareness of educators in schools. Not enough research has been conducted in relation to the training available in schools to work with CIP. Researchers such as Saunders (2018) and Bocknek et al. (2008) pointed out that CIP may maintain privacy social isolation and, but there is little knowledge about educators and how they support CIP at their schools.

This study aimed to examine the perceptions of educators and caregivers of children of incarcerated parents regarding the level of awareness and support they receive in school.

This chapter presents the implications of the findings to the following research questions:

1. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding training and information teachers have received on CIP? How has this been part of training and information on trauma-informed practices?

2. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding programs and support in place for CIP in schools today?
3. What are the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding opportunities and challenges present in schools concerning the needs of CIP?

The themes from Question 1 were something you don't talk about, and there is no training for that. Question 2 generated two themes, emotional first aid, and other kinds of support. Finally, Question 3 produced two themes, disconnected, and school as an escape. Each finding was aligned with SAMHSA's (2014) four Rs of trauma-informed approach.

The data collected in this study led to three key findings; conflict between privacy and support, skilled but unaware- failing to see educators as the first line of support, and assumptions about CIP. Chapter 5 will highlight the implications of each finding, limitations to the study, recommendations for practice, and recommendations for future research.

Implications of Findings

The first key finding speaks to the conflict educators and caregivers confront between student privacy and supporting CIP. The second finding, skilled but unaware- failing to recognize educators as the first line of support, discusses educators' perception of, and the missed opportunities for, supporting CIP. The last finding is regarding the negative assumptions caregivers and educators make about CIP. Additionally, connections to the theoretical framework of SAMHSA's (2014) four Rs of trauma-informed approach- realize, recognize, respond, and resist re-traumatization are identified.

Finding 1: The Conflict Between Privacy and Support

Identifying CIP at school is a challenging issue for educators and caregivers. A theme resulting from Question 1 suggests that incarceration is something you don't talk about. Educators and caregivers were conflicted about schools finding out that students have incarcerated parents. Participants reflected uncertainty about whether school awareness benefits or harms the CIP.

The debate over disclosure versus secrecy is ongoing, and researchers have reached opposing conclusions. Advocates of disclosure expressed the value of transparency (Phillips, 2010). Manby et al. (2015) suggested that when caregivers inform schools, they may facilitate children's support. According to the recommendations from the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, educators' awareness and training can decrease the stigma of having an incarcerated parent (Robertson, 2012). In contrast, a study on mentoring CIP suggested that the parent's incarceration should be kept private to avoid stigmatization (Davies et al., 2008). Additionally, research suggests that the relationship between the incarcerated parent and the caregiver influences the CIP's likelihood to share information with others, including educators (Chui & Yeung, 2016; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008).

As reported by participants in the current study, to tell or not to tell is the question caregivers ponder while educators grapple with the burden of knowing too much. This study found that participants who withheld information from the school felt they were protecting CIP's privacy. Caregivers opposed to disclosing the incarcerated parent to the school believed CIP would be stigmatized and not supported. This view is supported by research. Studies found that CIP may feel at risk of being treated harshly by educators or bullied by their peers, using secrecy as a protective factor (Bell et al., 2013; Kahya & Ekinci, 2018; Saunders, 2018). Additionally,

the research found that caregivers influence secrecy, revealing the compounding effects of keeping parental incarceration secret (Hagen & Myers, 2003; Johnston, 1995; Kampfner,1995; Manby et al., 2015; McGinley & Jones, 2018).

Some educators expressed value in having information about CIP. They were empowered to seek out support for their students. Other educators felt that it was not their place to have access to student's personal information.

Finding 2: Skilled and Unaware- Failing to Recognize Educators as the First Line of Support

Responses to Research Question 2 revealed that educators were unsure about the support in place for CIP at school. Many educators in this study recognized the challenges of CIP at school and responded by connecting them with expert school support. The responsibility for helping CIP was left to school social workers and counselors.

Blitz et al. (2016) pointed to the accessibility of teachers and other classroom personnel as buffers for trauma. Teachers are well positioned to see students' behavior as it changes because they spend much time with them at school (Bell et al., 2013; Morgan et al., 2014). Although they reported not having any training to deal with the issues CIP may have, teachers could recognize that expert attention was warranted. Based on teachers' responses, they failed to see themselves as support.

Several educators mentioned receiving trauma-informed practices training, where they learned about ACEs and trauma responses. However, some educators, particularly teachers, felt they were not sufficiently knowledgeable about CIP. Few educators seemed to make the connections between the incarceration of a parent and trauma-informed practices, although it is

one of the ACEs. It is unclear whether the disconnection in this study is due to the stigma associated with incarceration. Existing research suggests teachers may expect lower academic performance and increased behavioral issues of CIP (Dallaire et al., 2009; Wildeman et al., 2017). A recent study found a positive correlation between school attachment and child resilience (Copp et al., 2022). This finding is significant as it validates the importance of school engagement, and the role teachers may play in supporting CIP. When teachers make the connection between their training in trauma-informed practices and supporting CIP, they can see themselves as the first line of support.

Finding 3: Making Negative Assumptions

Assumptions occur naturally; they help people go about their day easily and can be called into question, prompting a change in views (Northway, 2019). Most participants in the present study had assumptions surrounding CIP that can be viewed negatively. Fear of the unknown may have driven individuals to fill in the gaps by making assumptions and coming to their conclusions.

Three out of four caregivers shared their apprehension about telling the school of the parent's incarceration. The fourth explained what may motivate caregivers to withhold information, citing the stigma children may experience at school. The caregivers assumed that CIP would be better off if no one knew about their situation.

Similarly, educators expressed their opinions about CIP's home lives and behaviors. This was reflected when several educators described how Poverty Training relates to having an incarcerated parent. Additionally, educators made assumptions such as CIP having no structure at home or anyone to help with homework were made, possibly without evidence. Some

educators also generalized CIP's behavior and level of engagement at school, describing their difficulties. While some assumptions about CIP may be based on experiences or research, having an incarcerated parent is a prevalent situation in the US (Maruschak et al., 2021) that affects numerous students in different ways.

The stigma of incarceration may have driven the negative assumptions educators and caregivers made in this study.

Connections to the Framework

The implications discussed in this chapter are connected to SAMHSA's (2014) four Rs of trauma-informed approach. The conflict between privacy and support is an example of the first two Rs, realize and recognize. Realizing that CIP exist in a school or classroom and their trauma is at the center of the dilemma. Not realizing that CIP are found in schools can lead to missed opportunities for support. Recognizing the manifestations of trauma in CIP is facilitated by having the realization about this sub-group of students. Having realized and recognized the trauma experiences of CIP can give way to responding with support and resisting re-traumatization.

Educators being skilled and unaware speaks to the role of realizing that trauma is involved in having an incarcerated parent. Educators need to see the connections between parental incarceration and existing training in trauma-informed practices. Application of trauma-informed approaches can make the difference between supporting and re-traumatizing CIP.

Lastly, negative assumptions are the responses caregivers and educators may have based on the stigma associated with incarceration. Caregivers favored secrecy when they assumed their

children would be stigmatized and not supported. Educators may assume things about CIP, perhaps because they are uncomfortable seeking information about that student.

The framework utilized in this study was the four Rs of SAMHSA's trauma-informed approach (2014). In the context of the present research the following is the significance of each R:

1. Realize- Caregivers and educators acknowledge that children of incarcerated parents may experience trauma.
2. Recognize- Educators understand that behaviors can be manifestations of the trauma compounded by Ambiguous Loss (Boss, 2016) and unresolved grief.
3. Respond- Educators utilize resources to support CIP, including, but not limited to, trauma-informed practices.
4. Resist re-traumatization- A school is a safe place. Educators employ practices that address behaviors with empathy.

The four Rs of trauma-informed approach can apply to CIP. Each R applies to CIP, as parental incarceration can be a traumatic event for the children and is often compounded by the ambiguous nature of the experience.

Limitations

A small sampling of individuals who met the criteria for each category were interviewed for this qualitative research. A total of 12 people participated, four school administrators, four caregivers, and four teachers. Therefore, the results are not necessarily generalizable to the population of caregivers and educators, as a whole.

Recommendations for Practice

The implications of the findings in this study present an opportunity to improve school experiences for children of incarcerated parents. Teacher training, integration of trauma-informed approaches to existing support systems, and peer support groups are recommended to enhance practices that will include and benefit CIP.

Trauma-Informed Practices Training

Participants in this study acknowledged the difficulties in supporting CIP when the school is unaware of their situation. While all participants agreed that a school may have no awareness unless a caregiver or child discloses it, some educators expressed discomfort about having too much information. Furthermore, many educators in this study failed to make the connection between the trauma-informed training they already received and its application to CIP, creating an opportunity to train educators.

Brown et al. (2020) pointed to the role teacher training plays in the effective implementation of trauma-informed practices. Training can provide classroom teachers with the tools to work with CIP. Including CIP in this training would help educators see the strong connection between trauma-informed practices and parental incarceration.

An Australian study on teacher training about CIP found statistically significant differences in the participants' reported attitude and knowledge of support for CIP after the training compared to before (Tracey & Barker, 2020). Having a better understanding of incarceration's effects on CIP and their needs can help educators feel more competent working with them.

School leaders are encouraged to provide training that will help teachers understand how the incarceration of a parent can impact a child's life. Training related to trauma-informed

practices with an explicit focus on CIP would benefit all school staff, including school leaders and teachers.

Integration of Systems

Another opportunity to support CIP is by integrating trauma-informed practices with existing programs such as the multi-tiered systems of support (MTSS) (Chafouleas et al., 2016). Dorado et al. (2016) suggested that including a trauma-informed lens can provide the why at the heart of established systems of support. Integrating trauma-informed practices can provide educators with a framework encompassing various aspects of student support. Academic and social-emotional needs can be addressed as part of an integrated framework. Additionally, incorporating trauma-informed practices with an existing system would make it more comprehensive without introducing a new framework or program.

According to Educators4Excellence (2022), 79% of teachers surveyed reported that student mental health has declined since the COVID-19 Pandemic. This information supports the idea of integrating a trauma-informed approach with school-wide programs to reach more students, including CIP. School administrators, related service providers, and teachers should establish practices that encourage them to collaborate and share in systems of support.

Peer Support Groups

As pointed out in this study, students can benefit from connecting with peers who can relate to them. Several participants expressed their desire for schools to do more for CIP. A dedicated support group can provide a safe space where students can help each other and access adults who can facilitate advocacy and mentorship (Morgan et al., 2014). Additionally, involving caregivers, including the incarcerated parent, can positively impact parental engagement, which

is a predictor of CIP academic success (Haskins & Jacobsen, 2017). School-based guided peer groups, led by a school social-worker, counselor or educator, can facilitate these connections.

With proper trauma-informed practices training, teachers can be the first line of support and help identify students who may benefit from participating in a guided peer group. Lopez and Bhat (2007) found that leading an eight-week school-based group was helpful for CIP. Students had the opportunity to connect, and the group leader helped students identify and build relationships with trusted adults in the school. Furthermore, after the sessions ended, the group held a monthly gathering to maintain the relationship (Lopez & Bhat, 2007). Different from general mentoring programs, which have not been as successful with CIP as expected (Hagler et al., 2019), a school-based program offers consistency and convenience.

Students spend much of their time in school, making it an ideal place to receive support. Additionally, should children's literature about incarceration be considered part of the group intervention, Maton et al. (2022) caution that books should be reviewed before being shared with CIP. Some books may perpetuate stereotypes about incarceration, causing more harm than good.

Recommendations for Future Research

Although research on children of incarcerated parents has been conducted, this study hopes to add insight to an area that has not been explored as robustly. The present study examined the perceptions of educators and caregivers of CIP regarding the level of awareness and support they receive at school. Future research should include a larger sample of caregivers and educators. Additionally, including adult CIP would be greatly beneficial, as their voice can shed more light on their school experiences.

Another recommendation is the exploration of quantitative methodology instead of or in addition to, qualitative methodology. Utilizing a survey may provide an opportunity to collect data from more participants and expand the geographical location.

Conclusion

To understand the support CIP receive at school, the present research looked at the perceptions of caregivers, teachers, and school administrators. This qualitative study used the four Rs of SAMHSA's trauma-informed approach (2014) to examine school awareness and support for children of incarcerated parents. Although the US incarcerates the most people per capita in the world (World Population Review, 2022), the children left behind are often overlooked by researchers (Bocknek et al., 2008; Dallaire et al., 2010; Slaughter et al., 2019; Turney, 2018; Turney & Haskins, 2014).

The literature revealed that the effects of parental incarceration on CIP could include internalizing and externalizing behaviors, physical and mental health issues, and difficulties at school (Dallaire et al., 2010; Geller et al., 2011; Turney & Haskins, 2014; Turney, 2017). Stigmatization has also been linked to having an incarcerated parent, which is compounded by the ambiguity of the loss (Boss, 2000). Secrecy is a coping mechanism for caregivers and children (Bell et al., 2013; Bocknek et al., 2008; Kahya & Ekinci, 2018; Saunders, 2018). Minimum research has been conducted on the level of awareness and support of CIP at school, creating an opportunity for this study.

A total of 12 individuals participated in this study. Four caregivers, four teachers, and four school administrators were interviewed. The resulting data were triangulated and analyzed

in three coding rounds, a priori, open and emotion, and in vivo. The codes were separated into themes and subthemes, generating three findings.

The first finding was that there is conflict between keeping the privacy of CIP and supporting them. Research shows that stigma drives the need to keep the incarceration of a parent secret (Brookes & Frankham, 2021; Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Kahya & Ergin Ekinci, 2018; Kautz, 2019; Luther, 2016; McGinley & Jones, 2018; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2011; Nosek et al., 2019; Saunders, 2018). This study also found the influence of stigma when educators made assumptions about CIP's home lives and behavior. Additionally, caregivers assumed their children would be stigmatized if the school became aware of their situation. Finally, it was found that educators failed to make the connection between their training in trauma-informed practices and the implications for CIP. Educators felt underqualified to support CIP, citing the lack of training. As the interviews progressed, some educators made connections between the incarceration of a parent and trauma-informed practices training. Ultimately, all of the findings are driven by the lack of transparency as it relates to parental incarceration, which speaks to the protective culture of secrecy.

The findings from this study also highlight some of the issues that can affect the school experiences of CIP, a group of students that educators may often overlook. Overall, schools have limited support for children of incarcerated parents, given the information they have. Support for CIP can be improved by raising awareness about parental incarceration and addressing the students' needs. School leaders can influence change by requiring teachers and other school staff to be trained in trauma-informed practices, explicitly discussing CIP as part of the training.

In addition, the inclusion of trauma-informed approaches to existing school-wide systems of support is recommended. Lastly, CIP can benefit from having a guided peer group to receive support, mentoring, and advocacy while creating relationships with adults in the school. The implementation of these recommendations can have a positive impact on CIP with increased support at school. This study also benefits caregivers by addressing the stigma that keeps them from sharing information. Lastly, educators can benefit by receiving the necessary tools to support CIP confidently and effectively.

The findings from this study aligned with the four Rs framework (SAMHSA, 2014) as educators must realize and recognize the trauma caused by parental incarceration before they can respond to support CIP, to resist re-traumatization. The difficulty lies in having access to information that will activate support for CIP. Schools are challenged to create an environment that will foster caregivers' trust. Awareness of CIP as it pertains to trauma-informed practices can facilitate such an environment.

The experience of having an incarcerated parent can be stigmatizing, isolating, and poorly understood. Educators are responsible for being informed about the latest trends and issues in education. It is time to acknowledge that the impact of mass incarceration has penetrated schools throughout the US. The issues of CIP will continue to affect students and should not be ignored.

References

Arditti, J. (2012). Child trauma within the context of parental incarnation. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *4*(3), 181–219. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1756-2589.2012.00128.x

Arditti, J. A., & Savla, J. (2013). Parental incarceration and child trauma symptoms in single caregiver homes. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *24*(3), 551–561. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-013-9867-2

Bancroft, C., Grinstead, O., Faigeles, B., & Zack, B. (2001). The Financial Cost of Maintaining Relationships with Incarcerated African American Men: A Survey of Women Prison Visitors. *Journal of African American Men, 6*(1), 59–69. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-001-1014-2

Beck, E. & Jones, S. (2008) Children of the condemned: Grieving the loss of a father to death row. *Omega Journal of Death and Dying, 56*(2), 191-215. https://doi.org/10.2190/OM.56.2.d

Bell, H., Limberg, D., & Robinson, E. (2013). Recognizing trauma in the classroom: A practical guide for educators. *Childhood Education*, *89*(3), 139–145. https://doi.org/10.1080/00094056.2013.792629

Bell, M. F., Bayliss, D. M., Glauert, R., & Ohan, J. L. (2018). Using linked data to investigate developmental vulnerabilities in children of convicted parents. *Developmental Psychology*, *54*(7), 1219–1231. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000521

Berardi, A., & Morton, B. (2019). Maximizing academic success for foster care students: A trauma-informed approach. *The Journal of At-Risk Issues, 20*(1), 10–16. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1148240.pdf

Besemer, S., Ahmad, S. I., Hinshaw, S. P., & Farrington, D. P. (2017). A systematic review and meta-analysis of the intergenerational transmission of criminal behavior. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *37*(November), 161–178. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2017.10.004

Blitz, L. V., Yull, D., & Clauhs, M. (2020). Bringing sanctuary to school: Assessing school climate as a foundation for culturally responsive trauma-informed approaches for urban schools. *Urban Education, 55*(1), 95–124. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085916651323

Bloom, S. L. (2018). Trauma theory. In R. Benjamin, J. Haliburn, & S. King (Eds.), *Humanizing health care in Australia: A guide to trauma-informed approaches*. Rutledge.

Bocknek, E., Sanderson, J., & Britner, P. (2008). Ambiguous loss and posttraumatic stress in school-age children of prisoners. *Journal of Children and Family Study, 18*(3), 323–333. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-008-9233-y

Boss, P. (2000). *Ambiguous loss: Learning to live with unresolved grief.* Harvard University Press.

Boss, P. (2016). The context and process of theory development: The story of ambiguous loss. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *8*(3), 269–286. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12152

Brew, B. F., Alani, A. L., & Wildeman, C. (2021). Sticky stigma: The impact of incarceration on perceptions of personality traits and deservingness. *Social Forces*, *100*(4), 1910–1934. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soab091

Brookes, L., & Frankham, J. (2021). The hidden voices of children and young people with a parent in prison: What schools need to know about supporting these vulnerable pupils. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *81*(March), 102323. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2020.102323

Brown, E. C. (2020). School counselors' conceptualizations of the needs of CIP. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *112*(May), 104936. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2020.104936

Bruns, A., Lee, H. (2019). Racial/ethnic disparities. In: Eddy, J., Poehlmann-Tynan, J. (eds) *Handbook on Children with Incarcerated Parents.* Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-16707-3_4

Burdick, L. S., & Corr, C. (2021). Helping teachers understand and mitigate trauma in their classrooms. *Teaching Exceptional Children*, *20*(10), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1177/00400599211061870

Carson, E. A. (2021). Prisoners in 2020 – Statistical tables. *Bureau of Justice Statistics*. https://bjs.ojp.gov/library/publications/prisoners-2020-statistical-tables#additional-details-0

Castillo-Montoya, M. (2016). Preparing for interview research: The interview protocol refinement framework. *The Qualitative Report*, *21*(5), 811–831. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2016.2337

Chafouleas, S., Johnson, A., Overstreet, S., & Santos, N. (2016). Toward a blueprint for trauma-informed service delivery in schools. *School Mental Health*, *8*(1), 144-162. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12310-015-9166-8

Champine, R. B., Hoffman, E. E., Matlin, S. L., Strambler, M. J., & Tebes, J. K. (2022). What does it mean to be trauma-informed?: A mixed-methods study of a trauma-informed

community initiative. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *31*(7), 459–472. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-021-02195-9

Child Welfare Information Gateway. (2018). *Working with kinship caregivers.* U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Children's Bureau. https://www.childwelfare.gov/pubs/kinship/

Children's Bureau. (2020). The AFCARS report: Preliminary FY 2019 estimates as of June 23, 2020 - No.27. *U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Children's Bureau.* https://www.acf.hhs.gov/cb/resource/afcars-report-27

Chui, W. & Yeung, A. (2016. Understanding the conspiracy of silence: Factors associated with whether caregivers choose to disclose incarceration information to children with imprisoned fathers. *The Prison Journal, 96*(6), 877-893.

Copp, J., Giordano, P., Manning, W., & Longmore, M. (2022). Parental incarceration and other family-based risks. In J. E. Glick, V. King, & S. M. McHale (Eds.), *Parent-child separation* (pp. 131–157). Part of the *National Symposium on Family Issues* book series (NSFI, volume 1). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-87759-0_6

Copp, J., Giordano, P., Longmore, M. & Manning, W. (2022). Family-and-school-based sources of resilience among children of incarcerated parents. In Krysik, J. & Rodriguez, N. (Eds) *Children of Incarcerated Parents: Integrating Research into Best Practices and Policy.* Springer Press.

Corcoran, T., & Thomas, M. K. E. (2021). School-wide positive behaviour support as evidence-making interventions. *Research in Education*, *111*(1), 108–125. https://doi.org/10.1177/00345237211034884

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell Báez, J. (2020). *30 Essential skills for the qualitative researcher* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.

Dallaire, D., Ciccone, A., & Wilson, L. C. (2010). Teachers' experiences with and expectations of children with incarcerated parents. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *31*(4), 281–290. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2010.04.001

Dallaire, D., Zeman, J., & Thrash, T. (2015). Children's experiences of maternal incarceration-specific risks: Predictions to psychological maladaptation. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology*, *44*(1), 109-122. https://doi.org/10.1080/15374416.2014.913248

Davies, E., Brazzell, D., La Vigne, N. G., & Shollenberger, T. (2008). *Understanding the experiences and needs of CIP: Views from mentors.* Urban Institute, Justice Policy Center. https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/31481/411615-Understanding-the-Needs-and-Experiences-of-Children-of-Incarcerated-Parents.PDF

Dawson, A., Brookes, L., Carter, B., Larman, G., & Jackson, D. (2013). Stigma, health, and incarceration: Turning the tide for children with a parent in prison. *Journal of Child Health Care*, *17*(1), 3–5. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367493513478136

deVuono-Powell, S., Schweidler, C., Walters, A., & Zohrabi, A. (2015). Who pays? The true cost of incarceration on families. Oakland, *Calif.: Ella Baker Center, Forward Together, Research Action Design,* 221-243.

Dorado, J. S., Martinez, M., McArthur, L. E., & Leibovitz, T. (2016). Healthy environments and response to trauma in schools (HEARTS): A whole-school, multi-level, prevention and intervention program for creating trauma-informed, safe and supportive. *School Mental Health*, *8*(1), 163–176. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12310-016-9177-0

Easterling, B. A., & Johnson, E. I. (2015). Conducting qualitative research on parental incarceration: Personal reflections on challenges and contributions. *The Qualitative Report*, *20*(10), 1568–1575. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2015.2322

Educators for Excellence. (2022, April). *Voices from the Classroom 2022: A Survey of America's Educators.* https://e4e.org/news/survey-americas-educators/voices-classroom-2022-survey-americas-educators

Enns, P. K. (2016). *Incarceration nation: How the United States became the most punitive democracy in the world.* Cambridge University Press.

Enns, P. K., Yi, Y., Comfort, M., Goldman, A.W., Lee, H., Muller, C., Wakefield, S., Wang, E. A. & Wildeman, C. (2019). What percentage of Americans have ever had a family member incarcerated? Evidence from the family history of incarceration survey (FamHIS). *Socious: Sociological Research of a Dynamic World*, *5*, 1–45. https://doi.org/10.1177/2378023119829332

Felitti, V. J., Anda, R. F., Nordenberg, D., Williamson, D. F., Spitz, A. M., Edwards, V., Koss, M. P., & Marks, J. S. (1998). Relationship of childhood abuse and household dysfunction to many leading causes of death in adults: the adverse childhood experiences (ACE) study. *American Journal of Preventative Medicine*, *14*(4), 245–251. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0749-3797(98)00017-8

Finlay, L. (2013). Unfolding the phenomenological research process: Iterative stages of "seeing afresh." *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, *53*(2), 172–201. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022167812453877

Friese, S., Soratto, J., & Pires, D. (2018). *Carrying out a computer-aided thematic content analysis with ATLAS.Ti*: *MMG Working Paper 18-02.* Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity. http://www.mmg.mpg.de/62142/WP_18-02_Friese-Soratto-Pires_AtlasTI.pdf

Geller, A., Cooper, C. E., Garfinkel, I., Schwartz-Soicher, O., & Mincy, R. B. (2011). Beyond absenteeism: Father incarceration and child development. *Demography*, *49*(1), 49–76. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-011-0081-9

Gherardi, S.A., Flinn, R.E. & Jaure, V.B. (2020). Trauma-Sensitive Schools and Social Justice: A Critical Analysis. *Urban Rev*iew, 52, 482–504. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-020-00553-3

Glaze, L. E., & Maruschak, L. M. (2010). Parents in prison and their minor children: Bureau of Justice Statistics special report. *Bureau of Justice Statistics*. https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/pptmc.pdf

Gregory, A., Osher, D., Bear, G. G., Jagers, R. J., & Sprague, J. R. (2021). Good intentions are not enough: Centering equity in school discipline reform. *School Psychology Review*, *50*(2–3), 206–220. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1861911

Hagler, M., Zwiebach, J. & Rappaport, C. (2019). Mentoring interventions for children of incarcerated parents. In Eddy, J., Poehlmann-Tynan, J. (eds) *Handbook on Children with Incarcerated Parents*. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-16707-3_4

Hairston, C.F. (2007). Focus on the children with incarcerated parents: A overview of the research literature. Annie E. Casey Foundation. Retrieved on June 15, 2023, from https://www.aecf.org/resources/focus-on-children-with-incarcerated-parents.

Haskins, A. (2015). Paternal incarceration and child-reported behavioral functioning at age 9. *Social Science Research*, *52*(July), 18–33. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2015.01.001

Haskins, A. & Jacobsen, W. (2017). Schools as surveilling institutions? Paternal incarceration, system avoidance, and parental involvement in schooling. *American Sociological Review, 82*(4), 657-684. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122417709294

Herrenkohl, T. I., Hong, S., & Verbrugge, B. (2019). Trauma-informed programs based in schools: Linking concepts to practices and assessing the evidence. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *64*(3–4), 373–388. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12362

Hinton, E. K. (2016). *From the war on poverty to the war on crime: The making of mass incarceration in America.* Harvard University Press.

Hollins, W., & Krupat, T. (2022) Language as a protective factor: Making conscious word choices to support children with incarcerated parents. In J. Krysik, N. Rodriguez (eds.), *Children of Incarcerated Parents: From Understanding to Impact*, 121-132. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-84713-5_6

Hoover, S. A. (2019). Policy and Practice for Trauma-Informed Schools. *State Education Standard*, *19*(1), 25–29.

Hunt, T. K. A., Slack, K. S., & Berger, L. M. (2017). Adverse childhood experiences and behavioral problems in middle childhood. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *67*(May), 391–402. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2016.11.005

Jackson, D. B., Testa, A., & Turney, K. (2022). Unpacking the connection between parental incarceration and parenting stress: The mediating role of child health and health care strains. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *81*(July-August), 101918. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2022.101918

Jackson, D. C., & Vaughn, M. G. (2021). Parental incarceration, child adversity, and child health: a strategic comparison approach. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *18*(7), 3384. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18073384

Jianghong, L. (2004). Childhood externalizing behavior: Theory and implications. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing*, *17*(3), 93–103. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6171.2004.tb00003.x

Johnson, E. I., & Easterling, B. A. (2015). Coping with confinement: Adolescents' experiences with parental incarceration. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *30*(2), 244–267. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558414558593

Johnston, D. (1995). Effects of parental incarceration. In K. Gabel & D. Johnston (Eds.), *Children of incarcerated parents* (pp. 41–55). New York, NY: Lexington Books.

Kahya, O., & Ergin Ekinci, E. (2018). In their own words: School lives of children with an imprisoned parent. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *62*(September), 165–173. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2018.04.002

Kampfner, C. J. (1995). Post-traumatic stress reactions in children of imprisoned mothers. In K. Gabel & D. Johnston (Eds.), *Children of Incarcerated Parent*s (pp. 89–100). New York: Lexington Books.

Kautz, S. V. (2019). The emotional experience of parental incarceration from the African American adolescent perspective. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma*, *12*(2), 187–199. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40653-018-0232-x

King, K. M, & Delgado, H. (2021). Losing a family member to incarceration: Grief and resilience. *Journal of Loss and Trauma*, *26*(5), 436–450. https://doi.org/10.1080/15325024.2020.1816753

Kjellstrand, J., Yu, G., Eddy, M. & Clark, M. (2019). Children with incarcerated parents and developmental trajectories of internalizing problems across adolescence. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, *45*, 48-69. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-019-09494-4

Lopez, C. & Bhat, C. (2007). Supporting students with incarcerated parents in schools: A group intervention. The Journal for Specialists in Group Work, 32(2), 139-153. https://doi.org/10.1080/01933920701227125

Luther, K. (2016) Stigma management among CIP. *Deviant Behavior*, *37*(11), 1264–1275. https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2016.1170551

Manby, M., Jones, A., Foca, L, Bieganski, J. & Starke, S. (2015). Children of prisoners: exploring the impact of families' reappraisal of the role and status of the imprisoned parent on children's coping strategies. *European Journal of Social Work*, *18*(2), 228-245. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2014.888051

Maruschak, L. M., Bronson, J., & Alper, M. (2021, March). Parents in prison and their minor children: Survey of prison inmates, 2016. *Bureau of Justice Statistics.* https://bjs.ojp.gov/library/publications/parents-prison-and-their-minor-children-survey-prison-inmates-2016

Maton, R. M., Dexter, B., McKeon, N., Urias-Velasquez, E., & Washington, B. (2022). Far apart, close in heart: Exploring representations of familial incarceration in children's picture books. *Journal of Children's Literature, 48*(2), 19–32.

Maynard, B. R., Farina, A., Dell, N. A., & Kelly, M. S. (2019). Effects of trauma-informed approaches in schools: A systematic review. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, *15*(1–2), e1018. https://doi.org/10.1002/cl2.1018

McGinley, M., & Jones, C. (2018). Growing up with parental imprisonment: Children's experiences of managing stigma, secrecy and shame. *Practice: Social Work in Action*, *30*(5), 341–357. https://doi.org/10.1080/09503153.2018.1450497

Morgan, J., Leeson, C., Dillon, R. C., Wirgman, A. L., & Needham, M. (2014). "A Hidden Group of Children": Support in Schools for Children who Experience Parental Imprisonment. *Children & Society*, *28*(4), 269–279. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12012

Murphey, D., & Cooper, P. M. (2015, October 27). Parents behind bars: What happens to their children? *Child Trends.* https://www.childtrends.org/publications/parents-behind-bars-what-happens-to-their-children

Nesmith, A., & Ruhland, E. (2011). Caregivers of children with incarcerated parents. *The Open Family Studies Journal*, *4*(1), 105–116. https://doi.org/10.2174/1874922401104010105

New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision, (2022). Facilities map. https://doccs.ny.gov/system/files/documents/2022/09/facility-map-11-1-22.pdf

Nichols, E. B., & Loper, A. B. (2012). Incarceration in the Household: Academic Outcomes of Adolescents with an Incarcerated Household Member. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, *41*(11), 1455–1471. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-012-9780-9

Nichols, E. B., Loper, A. B., & Meyer, J. P. (2016). Promoting educational resiliency in youth with incarcerated parents: The impact of parental incarceration, school characteristics, and connectedness on school outcomes. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *45*(6), 1090–1109. https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/26259843/

Northway, R. (2019). The power (and dangers) of assumptions. *Journal of Intellectual Disabilities, 23(*2), 147–148. https://doi.org.pluma.sjfc.edu/10.1177/1744629519849974

Nosek, M., Jessica, A. S., & Whelan, Z. (2019). Youth experiences of parent incarceration: Doing time from both sides. *Journal of Psychosocial Nursing & Mental Health Services*, *57*(6), 22–29. https://dx.doi.org/10.3928/02793695-20181220-03

Paccione-Dyszlewski, M. R. (2016). Trauma-informed schools: A must. *The Brown University Child and Adolescent Behavior Letter*, *32*(7), 8–8. https://doi.org/10.1002/cbl.30139

Perry B. D. & Winfrey O. (2021). *What Happened to You?: Conversations on Trauma Resilience and Healing* (First). Flatiron Books.

Phillippi, J., & Lauderdale, J. (2018). A guide to field notes for qualitative research: Context and conversation. *Qualitative Health Research*, *28*(3), 381–388. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732317697102

Phillips, S., & Gates, T. (2010). A conceptual framework for understanding the stigmatization of CIP. *Journal of Children and Family Studies*, *20*(July), 286–294. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10826-010-9391-6

Pickens, I. B., & Tschopp, N. (2017). Technical assistance bulletin: Trauma-informed classrooms. *National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges*. https://www.ncjfcj.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/NCJFCJ_SJP_Trauma_Informed_Classrooms_Final.pdf

Pollio, H. R., Henley, T., & Thompson, C. B. (1997). *The phenomenology of everyday life.* Cambridge University Press.

Princeton University. (2022). *Fragile families and child wellbeing study*. https://fragilefamilies.princeton.edu/

RB-Banks, Y., & Meyer, J. (2017). Childhood trauma in today's urban classroom: Moving beyond the therapist's office. *Educational Foundations* (Ann Arbor, Mich.), *30*(1-4), 63–75.

Robertson, O. (2012, March). *Collateral convicts: CIP: Recommendations and good practice from the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child Day of General Discussion 2011*. Quaker United Nations Office. https://www.quno.org/sites/default/files/resources/ENGLISH_Collateral%20Convicts_Recommendations%20and%20good%20practice.pdf

Rubin and Rubin (2012) *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data (3rd ed.).* SAGE.

Saldaña, J. (2014). Coding and analysis strategies. In P. Leavy (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 581–598). Edited by https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199811755.013.001

Saldaña, J. (2021). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. SAGE Publications.

Saunders, V. (2018). What does your dad do for a living? Children of prisoners and their experiences of stigma. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *90*(July), 21–27. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.05.012

Sawyer, W., & Wagner, P. (2021, March 14). Mass incarceration: The whole pie 2022. *Prison Policy Initiative*. https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2022.html

Simkus, J. (2022). Quota sampling: Definition, method, and examples. *Simply Psychology.* https://www.simplypsychology.org/quota-sampling.html

St John, V. J., & Lewis, V. (2019). "Vilify them night after night": Anti-Black drug policies, mass incarceration, and pathways forward. *Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy*, *20*, 18–29. https://www.proquest.com/openview/ea0fdf30b918f3d4f9e3830984a8f53e/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=178194

Slaughter, J., Davis, J. B., & Nagoshi, C. (2019). Effects of paternal incarceration on father involvement on child behavior outcomes in middle childhood. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *28*(May), 2891–2900. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-019-01468-8

Sneed, K. J., Mast, C. J. (2022). Effects of parental incarceration: A grandparent's perspective. *Grand Families: The Contemporary Journal of Research, Practice and Policy*, *7*(1). https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/grandfamilies/vol7/iss1/7

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2014, July). *SAMHSA's Concept of trauma and guidance for a trauma-informed approach.* HHS Publication No. (SMA)

14-4884. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. https://ncsacw.acf.hhs.gov/userfiles/files/SAMHSA_Trauma.pdf

Sykes, B. L., & Maroto, M. (2016). A Wealth of Inequalities: Mass Incarceration, Employment, and Racial Disparities in U.S. Household Wealth, 1996 to 2011. *Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, *2*(6), 129–152. https://doi.org/10.7758/rsf.2016.2.6.07

Sykes, B. L., & Pettit, B. (2019). Measuring the exposure of parents and children to incarceration. In J. M. Eddy & J. Poehlmann-Tynan (Eds.), *Handbook on children with incarcerated parents* (pp. 11–23). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-16707-3_2

The Sentencing Project. (2021). *Criminal justice facts.* https://www.sentencingproject.org/criminal-justice-facts/

Thomas, M. S., Crosby, S., & Vanderhaar, J. (2019). Trauma-informed practices in schools across two decades: An interdisciplinary review of research. *Review of Research in Education*, *43*(1), 422–452. https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X18821123

Turney, K. (2018). Adverse childhood experiences among CIP. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *89*(June), 218–225. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.04.033

Turney, K. (2017). Unmet health care needs among children exposed to parental incarceration. *Maternal & Child Health Journal, 21*, 1194–1202. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10995-016-2219-2

Turanovic, J. J., Rodriquez, N., & Pratt, T. C. (2012). The collateral consequences of incarceration revisited: qualitative analysis of the effects on caregivers of children of incarcerated parents. *Criminology*, *50*(4), 913-960. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2012.00283.x

Turney, K., & Haskins A. R. (2014). Falling behind? Children's early grade retention after paternal incarceration. *Sociology of Education*, *87*(4), 241–258. http://doi.org/10.1177/0038040714547086

United States Census Bureau. (n.d.) *QuickFacts: Rochester city, New York.* https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/dashboard/rochestercitynewyork/POP010220#POP010220

Van der Kolk, B. (2014). *The body keeps the score: Brain, mind, and body in the healing of trauma*. Penguin Books.

Wakefield, S., & Montagnet, C. (2019). Parental criminal justice involvement. In J. M. Eddy & J. Poehlmann-Tynan (Eds.) *Handbook on children with incarcerated parents* (pp. 25–35). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-16707-3_3

Wakefield, S., & Wildeman, C. (2014). *Children of the prison boom: Mass incarceration and the future of American inequality.* Oxford University Press

Wakefield, S., & Wildeman, C. (2011). Mass imprisonment and racial disparities in childhood behavioral problems. *Criminology and Public Policy*, *10*(3), 793–818. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2011.00741.x

Wildeman, C. J., & Western, B. (2010). Incarceration in fragile families. *The Future of Children*, *20*(2), 157–177. https://doi.org/10.1353/foc.2010.0006

Wildeman, C., & Andersen, S. (2017). Paternal Incarceration and Children's Risk of Being Charged by Early Adulthood: Evidence from Danish Policy Shock. *Criminology,* 55(1), 32-58. https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9125.12124

Widra, E., & Encalada-Malinowski, N. (2022, June). Where people in prison come from: The geography of mass incarceration in New York. *Prison Policy Initiative* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/origin/ny/2020/report.html

World Population Review (2022), https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/incarceration-rates-by-country

Zaleski, K. L., Johnson, D. K. & Klein, J. T. (2016). Grounding Judith Herman’s trauma theory within interpersonal neuroscience and evidence-based practice modalities for trauma treatment. *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, *86*(4), 377–393. https://doi.org/10.1080/00377317.2016.122211

Appendix A

Drawing by a Child of an Incarcerated Parent

Note. From "The Hidden Voices of Children and Young People with a Parent in Prison," by L. Brookes & J. Frankham, 2021, *International Journal of Educational Development*, *81*(March), 102323, p. 81 (https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2020.102323). Copyright 2021 by ScienceDirect.