

**A FOUCAULDIAN-INFORMED ANALYSIS OF THE WAYS IN WHICH  
FAMILIES IN LONDON CONSTRUCT THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE  
AUGUST 2011 RIOTS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The events of the August 2011 riots evoked responses from the public, politicians, researchers, the media and members of academia, and tended to focus on explaining the events. Within political rhetoric and media accounts, issues such as poor parenting were raised in relation to the riots, and the behaviour of young people. Subsequently, the 'Troubled Families Programme' (TFp) was introduced towards the end of 2011, which included a payment-by-results system to address the issues associated with this pre-defined group. Amidst the riots and the ensuing introduction of the TFp, there appeared to be an absence of consultation with families.

The presented study aimed to consult parents and families through exploring how they constructed the 2011 London riots. Five semi-structured interviews were conducted with parents and families together. Participants included nine parents, aged between 26 and 56 years and three young people, aged between 13 and 20 years from a range of ethnic backgrounds and occupations, and from three different London boroughs.

A social constructionist stance was adopted and the study was informed by narrative therapy ideas, within systemic theory. A Foucauldian-informed thematic analysis identified five main themes: inequality and exclusion, rioting as a criminal threat, youth as problematic, parenting, the family and morality, and reclaiming normality. These themes highlighted the relevance of socio-political factors, parent-blaming and contradictory constructions of youth as well as community resources, to parent and family constructions of the 2011 London riots. The analysis indicated implications for clinical psychology formulation with parents, families and young people. It also suggested a role for community psychology across London boroughs and ideas for informing contingency plans following riots, as well as the commissioning of resources within local authorities.

## **DEDICATIONS**

I would like to dedicate this research to my maman, Ruby, papa, Samy, and sister Leana, whom I owe my understanding of family and who I am truly grateful for. Going through struggles and successes together in our family life has given meaning to my life, especially during the challenges I have faced over the last three years. Thank you for your understanding, support and unconditional love.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

An interest in the thesis topic emerged from a combination of experiential, clinical and theoretical questions, which remained unanswered through debate and preliminary research. Engaging in debates and discussions about the reasons for the riots did not appear to provide an adequate comprehension of the issues for the public or London communities, least not an understanding from the position of a trainee clinical psychologist. Following the riots it seemed that links were made between 'bad parenting' and 'rioting behaviour' in the media. Dissatisfaction with unchallenged emerging conclusions and their implications for families, and questions concerning theoretical and clinical ideas, marked the beginning of an explorative journey in understanding why and how families had been constructed in relation to the 2011 London riots. This process, perhaps began with rather naïve questions and confusion about the relationship between families and the 2011 riots. However, this position served a purpose in allowing for further questions to be contemplated, through remaining curious, and culminated in the presented thesis.

### **1.1. Focus of the Research**

The quality and nature of each riot is considered to be unique to its context and consequently reflect different phenomena (United Kingdom, House Of Commons, 2012). The presented research draws upon academic literature and media accounts of riots from various nations. However, the present study focuses on the riots that occurred in London during August 2011, with an acknowledgement of its unique historical, socio-political and cultural context.

The present study focuses on families who have lived in the London boroughs of Hackney, Ealing and Walthamstow for a number of years. The 9 parents and 3 young people who contributed to the study were from five different families, as not all the family members were able to take part in the study. The ethnic origin of the various families who participated in the study included black Caribbean, black Nigerian, white Lithuanian and white British backgrounds.

## **1.2. Aims of the Research**

The research aims were grounded in an endeavour to explore the implications of political rhetoric and social interventions for parents and families after the event of the 2011 London riots. The research aimed to explore constructions of the riots through consultation with parents and families living in London boroughs.

## **1.3. Theoretical Influence**

The research was informed by narrative therapy ideas within systemic theory, which emerged during the initial stages of exploring the thesis topic. Within a narrative approach therapists are often concerned with exploring the meaning, constraints and possibilities within the stories people draw upon, to make sense of their experiences (Dallos and Draper, 2000). Within this approach there is often an emphasis on social context and this was relevant to the present study as attention to context was observed to be absent within many of the constructions of the 2011 London riots, and in relation to young people and parents in particular. Thus, the influence of narrative ideas within systemic theory offered both a clinical underpinning and a novel approach to understanding the riots and the way families had been positioned within explanations of the riots and related interventions. The narrative underpinning involved an appreciation of multiple perspectives (Fredman, Anderson, & Stott, 2010), for example, a range of ideas could be explored, with an aim to reformulate an understanding of the riots. The researcher adopted a 'not knowing' approach (Anderson & Goolishian, 1988), where skills gained within a clinical psychology role were used to facilitate conversations during the research process. Secondly, it was assumed that participants had a greater understanding about the relationship between parents and families and the 2011 London riots. This approach therefore enabled the researcher to remain curious during the recruitment and data collection phases.

## **1.4. Conducting the Literature Review**

The literature review involved searches from the following databases: Academic Search Complete, PSYCH info, PSYCH Articles, Education Research Complete and Communication in Mass Media Complete within the EBSCO database. In

addition, Taylor & Francis Online, Wiley Online Library, SAGE Journals, and JSTOR databases were also used. The range of years was unspecified and the following key terms were used to search for material pertaining to the thesis topic area: UK riots and parents; youth rioting and families; parenting interventions and youth and violence; riots and families, parenting and psychological interventions; multi-systemic therapy. The government documents informing the review were downloaded from the public site for government policies ([www.gov.uk](http://www.gov.uk)) and through a library search within Senate Library resources. Following these general searches, [www.google.com](http://www.google.com) was used to find more specific content, for example newspaper articles and blogs with content relating to the reporting of the riots and responses to parental interventions. The 'Reading the Riots' website published by The Guardian newspaper was a useful resource for background information on the event as was the The London School of Economics and Political Science (2011) official 'Reading the Riots' report. Some studies, were drawn from websites known to the researcher through a clinical placement i.e. service websites related to multi-systemic therapy. Lastly, the authors commenting on parental interventions became known to the researcher through attendance of a debate event in London (Battle of Ideas: Institute of Ideas) in October 2012 and through searches for related blogs from [www.google.com](http://www.google.com).

### **1.5. Issues of Definition**

As stated previously, the research study aimed to appreciate multiple perspectives on parents and families in relation to the 2011 London riots. Therefore, it was important to consider the assumptions that may influence the research through the definition of family and rioting.

Corporate and international stakeholders relating to families appear to define family within economical and sociological criteria i.e. a family unit comprises one, two or more individuals and at least one child, according to The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD (2008). Within psychological literature, broader definitions of family occur. For example, individuals are considered to have a family, whether they have children or not and whether their relatives are living or deceased (Lee, 2010). Within a social constructionist framework, family is considered to be a form of 'social relations,' by Gubrium and

Holstein (1990). Foucault (1980) stated that the family unit became of great interest within a post-industrial society as a group from which ideas about sexuality could be deployed, and often in relation to morality. Timimi (2010) highlights the way in which families and parenting are socially constructed and shaped by economic, sociological, and political interests at an international, national and local level. This was a particularly relevant way of defining families within the present study, due to an interest in political rhetoric and interventions designed to address issues for parents and families.

A riot is considered in relation to damage and loss and warrants compensation from the state, according to the Riot Damages Act 1886, (Home Affairs Committee, 2012). Vuchinich and Teachman (1993) describe a riot as crowd behaviour that results in damage to others or property within two or more groups in a community, and usually involves policing. Lachman (1996) defines a riot as comprising three or more individuals who commit an offence against the social order, which may include violence amongst three or more individuals. Duprez (2009) described rioting as an influential form of collective action without a specific ideological basis.

The above definitions of family and rioting are likely to be value-laden, due to the ways in which families or those who engaged in rioting might be sociologically or politically positioned, which may serve particular groups in society (LaFrance & McKenzie-Mohr, 2013). Upon examination of political statements about the 2011 riots it was apparent that descriptions can be mistaken for explanations of behaviour or events. For example, in a statement to the press in August 2011, David Cameron stated “this is criminality - pure and simple” (Sparrow, 2011a, p.1), in reference to the riots. Examining the relationship between description and explanation within literature and political rhetoric provided a starting point for exploring the constructions available about parents and families in relation to the 2011 London riots.

## **1.6. Explaining the Riots**

The ‘Reading the Riots’ report (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011) details findings from a thematic analysis of interviews with 270 of

those who rioted. The main findings related to tensions between the police and young people, which appeared to be fuelled by high rates of ‘stop and search’<sup>1</sup> experiences, particularly for young black men. Similar findings emerged in an interim report produced by the Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2011) on rioter profiles, rioter motivations and the role of policing.

#### 1.6.1. Theorizing Rioting Behaviour

In aiming to understand families in relation to the 2011 London riots, it was useful to first explore the issues, conditions and explanations available about rioting. This could be achieved through consideration of theories to explain rioting behaviour, followed by exploration of contextual and socio-political factors relevant to the riots in 2011.

One of the earliest theoretical explanations of crowd violence emerged from the work of Le Bon in ‘The crowd: A study of the popular mind, in 1896 who posited that a loss of individual identity occurs within large group experiences and leads to disinhibition and crowd action at a mass level (Nikolic, 2012). It was suggested that individuals within the crowd enter an automatic, unconscious state, with less impulse control, and act in accordance with a belief that is generated within the crowd. While these observations offer theories of criminality in crowds and the influence of group processes on behaviour, they are presented without situating crowd phenomena within their socio-political context. It is worth noting that the forms of crowd behaviour that Le Bon studied included acts of murder and massacres, which may have contributed to the discourses available in understanding crowd psychology at the time. This theory of crowd behaviour was further developed with the notion of de-individuation, based on empirical findings, whereby group members appear to be less governed by social restraints and engaged in behaviours which were informed by the group, to increase their inclusion within it (Festinger, Pepitone, & Newcomb, 1958). Similar to earlier crowd theory, it was suggested that individuals within a crowd act in ways which differ greatly from how they conduct themselves as an individual outside of a

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Stop and Search’ refers to legislation within the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (1984) which stated that a police constable can exercise power to stop and search any person or vehicle (The National Archives, 2014).

crowd. The basis of these theories was later criticised for limitations to an individualistic notion of crowd behaviour, Thus, political and sociological theories emerged in response (Hylander & Guva, 2010).

*1.6.1.1. Rioting and social identification:* Drury and Reicher (2005) explain crowd and rioting behaviour as occurring where illegitimate power exists, within groups who command minimal institutional power (Reicher & Stott, 2011). The Elaborated Social Identity model (ESIM) describes the context of crowd behaviour and dynamic nature of crowds and external forces, such as the police, in relation to public safety and public order (Drury & Reicher, 2005). At a more psychological level, empowerment is described as a strong factor in shaping future action within collective movements. The empowerment of members of collective action groups is thought to interact with social identity, whereby empowerment can be enacted or realised, thus fortifying the positions individuals occupy within social action relations. Using grounded theory, Hylander & Guva (2010) studied demonstrations in Sweden and highlighted intra-psychological and inter-group phenomena in relation to crowd processes. The findings suggest that the occurrence of aggravation processes such as negative stereotyping and provocation contribute to an escalation in conflicts. In contrast, mitigation processes were described, which contributed to a more peaceful demonstration. The aggravation and mitigation processes are observed to exist simultaneously within a demonstration, and are constructed by the ways in which the police and demonstrators categorise themselves, organise their activities and treat each other. The model of Aggravation Mitigation processes (AM) is presented in support of the ESIM model (Drury & Reicher, 2005). Within this model, the categorisation of a demonstration as legitimate results in a more peaceful outcome, compared to a demonstration identified as illegitimate, which is more likely to result in a riot. It is worth noting that Sweden's context of well-established demonstration groups and lack of frequent violent crowd events is likely to have shaped the findings of the study and thus, reduces its direct applicability to the 2011 London riots. However, the suggestion of a relationship between the legitimacy of a crowd event and the level of violence occurring could support understandings of diverse views about why the London riots occurred (The

London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011) e.g. were the riots a political act?

*1.6.1.2. Rioting and individual differences theory:* A study by Russell (1995) relates individual differences to the likelihood of participation in sports-related rioting. Findings indicate that personality traits related to higher psychopathic tendencies, along with low public self-consciousness and high attraction to fights related to an increased likelihood of involvement in rioting. This theoretical explanation of rioting demonstrates the way in which assumptions about individual behaviour are applied to groups.

*1.6.1.3. Rioting and biopsychosocial models:* Lachman's (1996) 4 stage model, identifies developmental dysfunction, the internalization of social standards, frustration, high physiological and emotional arousal and a precipitating event as contributing to rioting behaviour. This theory appears to present a biopsychosocial explanation of rioting behaviour, whereby the complexities of multiple factors such as internalised behaviours and the influence of 'anonymity' is acknowledged. The application of a 'contagion' theory to rioting behaviour (Patten & Arboleda-Florez, 2004) suggests that collective behaviours, social identification and, in some cases, alcohol, can increase the transmission of rioting behaviour. Similarly to Lachman's model (1996), the 'contagion' explanation of rioting behaviour relies somewhat on a shared understanding of mental states, for example, increased 'emotional arousal' and therefore the disinhibiting effects of alcohol on mental states. These factors are linked to social influences such as the effects of chanting or wearing the same colour clothing as well as an assumed link to behaviour (Patten & Arboleda-Florez, 2004).

The notion of a 'contagion' effect appears to apply assumptions from the physical sciences to a sociological model for explaining rioting. Forms of classification within the physical sciences have influenced understandings of the human condition and often occur in explanations of behaviour associated with mental health difficulties e.g. the diagnosis of schizophrenia. Bentall (2003) describes the way in which Kraepelin assumed that psychiatric disorders could be divided into a finite number of discrete categories, one of which was 'dementia praecox', later

renamed 'schizophrenia' by Bleuler in 1911. These provide an example of the way in which scientific frameworks can be used to explain behaviour and social issues. However, there are limitations in applying assumptions from physical sciences to explanations of human phenomena. Boyle (2011) warns against the assumption that an application of scientific principles produces an exact science in relation to human behaviour and mental health experiences. Interestingly, Patten and Arboleda-Florez (2004) relate 'behavioural contagion' explanations of rioting to mental health difficulties and associations with deliberate self-harm, consumer behaviour and rule violation behaviour. Given the association between consumerist ideals and looting behaviour that occurred during the 2011 London riots (Topping & Bawdon, 2011) this theory helps to explain possible psychological drivers in shaping rioting behaviour. However, as with Lachman's model (1996), the 'contagion' explanation of rioting behaviour (Patten & Arboleda-Florez, 2004) relies on the assumption that mental states can be defined, understood and related to behaviour. This assumption may limit explanations of why the riots in question occurred where, when and how they did. The contribution of a 'contagion' explanation of rioting behaviour is integrated within a social identity model by Drury and Reicher (2009). Hence, explanations which are grounded in the assumptions of biological theory seem to have pervaded significant areas of the literature on rioting behaviour, often due to the presentation of seemingly logical explanations.

### **1.7. Explanations of the 2011 London Riots and Political Rhetoric**

Some of the attempts to account for the rioting behaviour in 2011 resonate with biopsychosocial explanatory models discussed above i.e. the behaviour of those who engaged in rioting were highly influenced by the observation of others rioting, as commented by perpetrators within the 'Reading the Riots' study (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011). However, the connection between social and psychological processes in collective action were presented by Reicher and Stott (2011) in relation to the 2011 London riots and support the argument that the riots were not purely criminal acts or unrelated to economic and political problems.

Explanations of rioting behaviour appear to differ between theory and research findings and political rhetoric within media accounts around the time of the 2011 London riots. Vrouva and Dennington (2011) locate factors such as exceptionally low social mobility within the UK, reductions in educational maintenance allowances and cuts to youth services, as contributing to an exclusionary process, where rioting is more likely to occur. This account has some resonance with explanations of the food riots in Africa, between 2007 and 2008, where poorer countries were unable to purchase food stocks due to an increase in price. Bush (2010) suggests that food is a commodity and has an economic value, within a capitalist system. Therefore it is possible to relate the food riots to material deprivation and locate rioting within a socio-political context. Within political rhetoric, "feral underclass" was used as a description of those who engaged in rioting by the Justice Secretary, Kenneth Clarke, as reported by Lewis, Taylor, and Ball (2011, p. 1). This was presented alongside a reference to "deep moral failure" by the Prime Minister, David Cameron (Kirkup, 2011, p. 1), drawing the focus to a deficit of morality and highlighting a perceived lack of responsibility from those involved. A disconnect between research and political rhetoric is referred to within the 'Reading the Riots' report (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011), with the latter reported to have influenced public policy more significantly, following the 2011 London riots.

There appeared to be a lack of appreciation for community spirit from politicians in relation to efforts to restore the streets of London, following the riots, as reported by Davies, Topping, Ball and Sample (2011). An appreciation for community based responses to the riots appeared to be absent within political rhetoric from David Cameron (Prime Minister) and Edward Miliband (opposition party leader) around the time of the riots (Sparrow, 2011b). For example, there were a lack of references to the positive community responses and resilience apparent on the streets of London after the riots, as highlighted by Newburn (2012). Political commentary from the Prime Minister and opposition leader appeared to acknowledge the damage suffered by communities following the riots. However, communities were constructed as lacking control and requiring strengthening, without an appreciation for self-sufficient practices occurring within communities, after the riots (Sparrow, 2011b). Research-based efforts to

understand the emergence of the riots appeared to recognise how London communities fostered supportive systems, including the description of 'riot heroes', which appeared within reports produced by the Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2011). In addition, there appeared to be a shift in sharing research findings and increasing debate at a community level. For example, the second phase of the Reading the Riots study (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011) is aimed to increase debate on the topic in partnership with community groups.

These varied and conflicting accounts shed light on the ideas available to stakeholders, such as, those who rioted, general public, police, academics, media and policy makers, following the riots. They also orient us to the socio-political context in which they were formed. It is possible that the absence of social and local community explanations of rioting behaviour in political responses can be demystified and substantiated by exploring multiple perspectives, including psychological literature. This approach shaped the literature review and influenced the approach to the topic of the riots within the present study, especially through the use of narrative ideas from systemic theory.

### **1.8. Young people and Rioting**

Within the Reading the Riots study, 49% of those interviewed were juveniles aged between ten and 17 years, with 49% aged between 18 and 24 years (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011). Media accounts varied in their emphasis on youth involvement in the riots. The age range of those who engaged in rioting was identified as 13 to 57 years by Ball, Taylor and Newburn (2011) within the sample of participants within the Reading the Riots study (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011). Whilst this indicates a rather large age range, the most common age of those identified as perpetrators through the courts were aged 24 and a quarter of those prosecuted were 18 years or under. Furthermore, only a small number of perpetrators were aged over 40, which suggests the average age and most common age range of perpetrators was between 18 and 24 years. The association between youth, rioting behaviour and criminality were mirrored within media accounts which

focused on the way in which young people had been positioned as perpetrators in relation to the riots (Moran & Hall, 2011).

Associations between youth and problem behaviour also occur in some developmental models of adolescence, whereby problem behaviours are considered to be more likely to occur during this period (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Developmental theories often emphasise the transitory nature of adolescence and the likelihood of an 'identity-in-flux' (Anderson & Dartington, 1998) which can be associated with socially unacceptable behaviour, such as rioting (Lachman, 1996). The formulation of young people's experiences and their relationship with rioting is relevant to understanding the events and consequences of the 2011 London riots, especially in consideration of links between young people and inadequate parenting in relation to rioting (Birbalsingh, 2011), as reported in the media.

A study conducted in Los Angeles following the riots of 1992, by Farver and Frosch (1996) examined the narratives of children exposed to riot disturbances using the thematic content of characters behaviour and story outcomes that the children produced. Whilst it was difficult to account for prior exposure to televised or community violence, a control group was used and the findings contribute to an understanding of the impact and influence of riots on the experience of children. Aggressive themes and content occurred in the stories from the group of children exposed to the riots e.g. the use of weapons. This study demonstrates that views and actions related to rioting are likely to be influenced by the cultural, social and political contexts in which they develop. Thus, the actions of young people do not occur in a vacuum.

Leonard (2010) examines the complexity of young people's experience of violence within riots in a study based in Northern Ireland, where the segregation of communities, symbolic boundaries and violence are either directly observed or significant contextual factors for young people. It is suggested that violent behaviour enacted by children is referred to within the local community as 'recreational rioting' which detracts from the possible political motivations of rioting. In addition, use of the term 'recreational rioting' appeared to mask experiences of hostility, fear and mistrust amongst the community, as expressed

through rioting. This further contributed to the dismissal of inherent political and social issues. The study highlights the way in which prominent discourses can reduce the available explanations of rioting behaviour and possibly diminish options available to young people.

When we consider the riots in France in November 2005, the relationship between the disenfranchised youth from destitute neighbourhoods (Roy, 2005) and rioting is at the forefront of available explanations e.g. the trigger for the riot events was identified as the death of two teenagers (BBC News, 2005). A context of employment discrimination, unemployment, and poverty were outlined in relation to the riots within an academic account by Duprez (2009), who also highlights the influence of an integration policy which opposed multiculturalism. It seems that these socio-political factors may have shaped how political rhetoric constructed rioting behaviour e.g. those who rioted were described as 'scum' (Samuel, 2007) and a wish to 'cleanse the estates with pressure washers' (Duprez, 2009). The issues of exclusion and integration amongst the population of those who rioted (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011) appear to be of relevance to the 2011 London riots. This supports an experience of disenfranchisement amongst young people in relation to rioting.

Timimi (2010) emphasises the importance of situating young people's behaviour within a socio-political culture i.e. the present societal culture was described as one which privileges risk-taking and assumes a free market ideology, which is linked to a reduction in a sense of personal responsibility. Therefore the value system in which young people are socialised is thought to be inextricably linked to their social and psychological experiences and behaviour. The previously mentioned OECD points to globalisation, technology and life-styles as influencing change for young people and families (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2008). This supports Timimi's (2010) assertion that societal factors and the economic market should be formulated when seeking to understand the behaviour of children and young people, due to its influence on culture and psychological experiences. In fact, national surveys indicate that young people aged between 13 and 17 years identify poverty as a key issue behind the occurrence of the 2011 London riots (The Children's Society, 2011).

However, the same surveys also show that children and young people consider rioting to be a way to obtain items they could not otherwise acquire. The issue of consumerism has been presented in relation to the 2011 riots as an issue of 'defective consumers' where "The objects of desire, whose absence is most violently resented, are nowadays many and varied" and social inequality is constructed as an issue of the 'haves and have-nots' (Bauman, 2011, p.1). This perhaps explains the survey outcomes showing that children and young people consider rioting behaviour as a way of having the items they did not have (The Children's Society, 2011). The relevance of social inequality and youth in relation to the riots is apparent in findings during the second phase of the 'Reading the Riots' study, by The London School of Economics and Political Science (2011). Recent findings showed that those who rioted were from deprived backgrounds, as indicated by receipt of free school-meals, unemployment or claiming benefits, in comparison to the wider population (Rogers, 2011). The impact of societal factors on children and young people discussed above, suggests the importance of considering structural issues when exploring the relationship between young people and the 2011 London riots.

### **1.9. Powerful Discourses and Families**

The way in which the 2011 riots were reported in the media and by various politicians provides some insight into the explanations available at the time. These ideas may have had a powerful influence in shaping understandings about why those who engaged in rioting, acted as they did. One of the explanations focused on families, and called into question 'parenting' at a societal level. Kenneth Clarke upheld that a strong family was an aspect of being a productive member of society (Lewis et al., 2011), whilst David Cameron stated that "the parents of these children – if they are still around – don't care where their children are or who they are with, let alone what they are doing" (Kirkup, 2011, p. 2). Levitas (2012) asserts that blame, morals and responsibility were linked to the 2011 London riots within political rhetoric presented by David Cameron, when introducing efforts to work with 'Troubled families' towards the end of 2011. Similar notions were apparent in talk about parenting in the media, where

responsibility was firmly placed within the remit of parents, who were also deemed to be condoning looting behaviour (Birbalsingh, 2011).

Whilst it is difficult to make direct comparisons between the November 2005 riots in France (BBC News, 2005) and the 2011 London riots, due to differences in timing, socio-political contexts, historical influences, cultural norms, demographics and policies, some of the similarities help to explain the social consequences of rioting for families. Within Duprez's (2009) account of the November 2005 riots in France, families from sub-Saharan Africa were located as a community in which the disturbances broke out and where community workers were deployed by authorities to manage the situation, due to their knowledge of the families. Interestingly, it appears that the political rhetoric used to describe the problems around the riots in France related much more significantly to class issues (Duprez, 2009), compared with the parent-blaming that occurred following the 2011 London riots. However, there is some similarity in the inclusion of morality and responsibility issues within the arguments presented in political rhetoric about rioting e.g. "thugocracy" described by Mr Sarkozy (Samuel, 2007) and "deep moral failure" by the Prime Minister, David Cameron (Kirkup, 2011, p. 1). The above comparison appears to demonstrate existing tensions and the likelihood that political agendas may enter public discourses in the aftermath of events such as a riot. In addition, it seems that professionals in contact with the identified problematic groups may be functionally deployed for the management and monitoring of groups such as young people and families, within the context of an urban riot.

In the 'Reading the Riots' report (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011) poor parenting was considered to account for the cause of the riots by 86% of the general public participants and by 40% of the rioter participant group. These findings were also consistent with those gathered from the report by the Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2012).

It seems that the conversations occurring in parliament as documented by the UK House of Commons, in the Sixteenth report of session 2010-2012 (Home Affairs Committee, 2011) highlight some of the ways in which families were constructed

following the 2011 London riots. For example: worklessness; unemployment; benefit reliance; receipt of free school meals and special educational needs were directly associated with those who engaged in rioting. These trends were also linked with issues occurring within 'Troubled families', especially long-term unemployment as well as mental and physical health problems, all of which are identified disadvantages for families, as reported by the Social Exclusion Task Force (2007). Additionally, Louise Casey (Director General, Troubled Families Programme, TFp) commented on the families discussed and stated that "In essence, they have problems and they cause problems" (Home Affairs Committee, 2011, p.129). Whilst the TFp (Communities and Local Government, 2012) demonstrates a concern for the needs of families and efforts to design service structures to improve their lives, there appears to be a focus on the deficits of the families it is serving. It also seems that once the needs and deficits within 'Troubled families' was outlined, the state and services were considered the best placed to address the issues, especially within the context of the 2011 London riots. For example, within talk within the House of Commons, it was deemed useful for workers within the TFp programme to adopt the following approach; "go deep into that family and to provide the offer of an alternative way of life" (Home Affairs Committee, 2011, p.92). These notions of support for families were not evident in the final report produced by the Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2012), where the overlap between those who engaged in rioting and 'Troubled families' was presented as minimal.

#### 1.9.1. Understanding Families and the 2011 London Riots

Theories on rioting in relation to families are relevant in exploring the relationship between parenting and rioting and are presented here before examining relevant aspects of the socio-political context for families. Vuchinich and Teachman (1993) examine conflict within wars, strikes, riots and family arguments, where conflict arises when negotiation processes fail. Findings indicated that riots and family arguments were more short-term forms of conflict, compared with wars and strikes. The utility of conflict within riots and family arguments appear to be minimal, and these forms of conflict did not include factors such as propaganda, which contributes to prolonged conflict within wars and strikes. These findings are subject to culturally-bound factors such as the sampling data, which was drawn

from one particular population, thereby diminishing generalisability. The above research by Vuchinich and Teachman (1993) offers one of the few theoretical accounts of a relationship between conceptualising problems in the family and conceptualisations of rioting and conflict.

Hanson, Smith and Kilpatrick (2000) suggest a strong relationship between crime-related fears, such as fears for personal and family safety, and the civil disturbances<sup>2</sup> that occurred in Los Angeles in 1992 after the Rodney King Trial. More specifically, crime-related fears vary across demographics i.e. ethnic origin and gender, previous victimisation and perception of neighbourhood difficulties. Within another study relating to the same civil disturbances, social support was perceived as less available by those who experienced civil disturbances in their neighbourhood (Swendsen & Norman, 1998). Therefore, the systems of support that may be otherwise accessible within a natural disaster, may become challenging to access, due to social barriers created by a context of civil disturbances. The use of measures to examine mood and behaviour indicate lower negative affect, when those affected by the civil disturbances were surrounded by family or close friends. The company of close individuals is therefore deemed to be a moderator of negative affect and an adaptive way to manage the impact of the disturbances. These studies (Hanson et al., 2000; Swendsen & Norman, 1998) help outline the relevant components of psychological experiences for those affected by rioting and the functional role of family support, particularly following urban disturbances, where trust in others is often diminished and crime-related fears are heightened. This may suggest that interventions which apply a strength-based model to families are likely to develop the forms of support which families potentially offer, especially at times when societal conflict reduces environmental safety.

From the literature presented it appears that the discourses relating to constructions of the 2011 London riots within political rhetoric locate the problem

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<sup>2</sup> The term civil disturbances includes riots, as shown within the The London School of Economics and Political Science (2011) 'Reading the Riots' report, therefore research pertaining to civil disturbances were included in the literature review.

within families, whilst some psychological literature draws attention to the protective role of family in the context of rioting.

### 1.9.2. Families under the Spotlight

There are links that can be drawn between political rhetoric about the causes of the riots, such as, poor parenting and a government response to the notion of poor parenting through the 'The Troubled Families Programme', TFp (Communities and Local Government, 2012) via a community budget approach (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2012). The attachment of the word 'Troubled' to families appears to communicate a truth claim and suggests a dysfunctional state. In fact within some local authorities, the title of the local response to the implementation of the TFp has been presented under another name, such as 'Stronger Families' (Worcestershire County Council, 2014).

Lafrance and McKenzie-Mohr (2013) observe that constructing meaning through language is a privilege which is not distributed equally across groups within society. Timimi (2010) suggests that support available to families involves greater use of professional interventions, rather than the use of local community support, therefore public policy and professional interventions may occupy a privileged position. With the above mentioned TFp, it appears that government policy constructs ideas about the family that are more likely to shape a deficit model than to locate multiple problems within the family context, even though social disadvantage appears to have been considered. Framing children and families within deficit terms was deemed unhelpful in the interim report produced by the Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2012), however, the influence and significance of the TFp appears to have been greater than the recommendations presented in the interim report mentioned.

The TFp programme aims to 'turn around' the lives of 120,000 families who are deemed to cost the state £9 billion in protecting children from their families and responding to antisocial behaviour and crime engaged in by their children (Communities and Local Government, 2012), whilst reducing costs incurred by these families. The definition of 'Troubled families' within the TFp relates to families where adults are not in work, children are not attending school and family members are involved in antisocial behaviour and crime. In addition, the family

needs are associated with child protection issues, disadvantage, domestic violence, and mental and physical health problems. The success criteria for the TFp directly relates to the definition outlined above and require children to attend school, reduce antisocial behaviour and crime and enable parents to return to work, therefore, reducing taxpayer costs (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2012). The TFp emphasises the importance of identifying and working with families, and the use of a payment-by-results system to incentivise progress, acquire work and reduce costs to the state (Communities and Local Government, 2012). A more preventative focus appeared in the interim report produced by the Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2011) which indicated a less direct link between parenting and the behaviour of young people in relation to the riots. Furthermore, data gathered from the general public indicated that, in addition to parents, the wider community should take responsibility for the behaviour of young people during the riots (Riots Communities and Victims Panel, 2011).

Levitas (2012) observes a departure from the multiple disadvantages reported within the 'Families at Risk' report (Social Exclusion Task Force, 2007) and the introduction of 'Troubled' to family interventions, thereby alluding to a problem within the families described. For example, identified disadvantages included overcrowded housing, lack of qualifications or work for parents, illness or disability, low income and mothers with mental health difficulties. However, material deprivation and social inequalities appear somewhat simplified and therefore minimised in the criteria and interventions presented within the TFp. For example, social exclusion is identified in systemic terms and associated with disadvantages that families experience across a range of areas (Social Exclusion Task Force, 2007). Secondly, the calculation of 120,000 families is critiqued by Levitas (2012) based on close analysis of extrapolation processes between publication of the 'Families at Risk' report (Social Exclusion Task Force, 2007) and the introduction of the TFp, which identified a sampling error and sample bias, resulting in an overrepresentation of severe disadvantage for the actual population. These processes were described by Levitas (2012) as an abuse of work produced by the academics and civil servants in the field.

Recent reports regarding the outcomes of the TFp indicate progress, where 14,000 'Troubled families' were supported in reducing truancy and exclusion of children from school, reducing youth crime, and reducing the number of adults on benefits (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2013). In addition, the programme has been described as on track for meeting the coalition government's targets (Poverty and Social Exclusion, 2013). A government report titled 'Helping Troubled Families Turn Their Lives around' states that Louise Casey (Director General, TFp) interviewed 16 families from six local authorities and met with local groups and professionals as part of a consultation about the TFp (Her Majesty's Government, 2013). The number of families consulted in relation to the 120,000 targeted within the TFp (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2012) does not appear to be useful in gathering information which may be generalised. Additionally, it may have been more appropriate for the consultation to be designed and executed by an independent body, in order to gather accurate data pertaining to the validity of the TFp.

It seems that the research study conducted by the Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2011) resembled a consultation process whereby local residents and community groups were offered opportunities to share their ideas about the 2011 London riots. From this report, it appears that naming groups such as 'Troubled families' was suspended, prior to engaging in a consultative process with London communities, thereby expanding possible ways of understanding the relationship between families and rioting.

### **1.10. Youth, Families and State Intervention in the Context of Rioting**

It is useful to consider the political agendas which act at an international level and may directly or indirectly inform the policies and interventions related to families and young people at a local and national level. The OECD highlights aspects of society which influence and are influenced by the family unit e.g. health, welfare and technology, which are monitored and used to inform policy (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2008). Awareness and acknowledgement of the wider contextual factors, such as international policy, are likely to enrich understandings of the way families are viewed and supported by the state, and how professionals are employed within the public sector.

Understanding the way in which such international companies contribute to policies for families can enable an appreciation of the implications of globalisation and the discourses which may influence the political agendas presented at a local and national level. This example serves to reinforce the notion of the family unit as a key instrument and location for societal agendas, as introduced previously using Foucault's description of the family as a site for the deployment of sexuality within a post-industrial context (Foucault, 1980).

#### 1.10.1. Psychological Theory, Parenting and the Riots

The discipline of psychology has, historically, provided a context from which some parent-blaming discourses have emerged. Within a psychoanalytic explanation of autism, Kanner (1946) posited that parents of children with autism were distant, at an interpersonal level. This notion became popularised by Bettelheim (1967) who identified autistic behaviours as defences against cold and distant mothers, also known as 'refrigerator mothers'. These support the location of problems within mothers, in addition to aspects of the report produced by the Social Exclusion Task Force (2007), which identifies mothers with mental health problems as a key disadvantage within families. Recent therapeutic approaches using a psychodynamic approach tend to suggest a more neutral approach to formulating parental relationships. For example, psychotherapy is thought to be a useful process in enriching the clients' sense of self and supporting multiple meanings of parental behaviour, whilst importance is placed on avoiding parent-blaming (Barth, 2010).

Recent psychological studies draw attention to the relationship between adolescents and their parents, and indicate that the quality of the relationship plays an important role in limiting risk for the adolescent (Caitlin, 2012). Parental monitoring and influence may be perceived as uni-directional and appears to be presented as a reasonable expectation for parents of adolescents. De Haan, Dekovic and Prinzie (2012) found that 'overreactivity' was more closely explained by parental personality, whilst 'warmth' was explained equally by adolescent personality and parental personality. In addition, parental behaviours were found to explain the impact of personality more effectively than the adolescents' characteristics. Finkenauer, Baumeister and Engels (2005) identified self-control

as a mediating factor between parenting variables and adolescent behaviour, with parenting behaviour also contributing factor to management of adolescent difficulties. Parental personality is often assumed to overlay parenting behaviours, and whilst this may limit an appreciation of more contextual factors (e.g. socio-economic), due to an essentialist perspective (Burr, 2003), it is useful to support an understanding of perceptions of parenting within psychological theory. When considering these theories in relation to the riots, there appears to be an onus on parents to control their children's behaviours, as evident in political discourses and talk reported in the media e.g. Birbalsingh (2011). Hence, psychological theory can pervade cultural ideas and become integrated within various social institutions.

The self-proclaimed 'independent liberal think-tank' CentreForum, advocate a "5-a-day" (Paterson, 2011, p. 38) recommendation to parents, to ensure that they are reading, talking, playing, adopting a positive attitude, and providing a nutritious diet for their children. These schemes, along with self-help advice for parents have been criticised for undermining parental authority (Bristow, 2011), and contributing to the nationalising of parenting, whilst expert views are not considered as necessarily helpful (Sandeman, 2012). This critique suggests that some forms of therapeutic input and self-help advice for parents can potentially undermine parental authority. This issue relates strongly to implications of government policy, such as the TFp, whereby parenting can become scrutinised or possibly undermined within national policy, especially one which adopts a deficit approach to families, as evident in the name 'Troubled families'. The aforementioned therapeutic input is identified by Fitzpatrick (2011) in relation to the deployment of professionals to address problems located in families. However, this input is constructed as potentially reducing personal autonomy for families and possibly contributing to resentment from families towards professionals. The history of parent-blaming and the issue of professionals applying politicised theory and guidelines is considered within the Centre for Parenting Culture Studies (Lee, 2010). The emerging literature from this source suggests that the culture of parent-blaming can skew our understanding of societal issues (Clark, 2009), which is relevant when examining the London riots.

### 1.10.2. Implications of Political Discourse and Psychological Theory on Service Provision

Political rhetoric and social psychological theory related to rioting behaviour, appear to be somewhat incongruent. However, social and psychological understandings in relation to parenting and families seem to be a popular area to explore and address, according to government funding after the 2011 London riots i.e. the emergence of the TFp. This appears to communicate a formulation that parents and families are a key group to consider in the occurrence of the 2011 London riots, alongside the professionals employed within the programme. The problem-based treatment approach within the TFp resembles the branding of Cognitive Behavioural Therapy within the Increasing Access to Psychological Therapy service model (IAPT Programme, 2006), demonstrating the relationship between evidence-based clinical psychology and state-funded programmes. Whilst evidence-based research is useful to clinicians, the lack of endorsement of therapies that are not researched using 'gold standard', randomised controlled trials according to the National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence (2010), can limit the availability of a range of therapies. This may mask developments within community psychology, such as fostering inter-dependence between individuals and their environments or addressing distress at the level of the individual, in addition to interventions at community and policy levels if necessary (Orford, 1992). Consequently, these forms of psychological approaches remain less accessible to service users, and simultaneously diminish variation in the existing support available. Furthermore, research with some form of evaluation and interest in future developments for young people and families is lacking between the monitoring and policy-making, according to The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2008).

As mentioned previously, explanatory theory on the relationship between individual differences and rioting behaviour (Russell, 1995) demonstrates the way in which individual theory is applied to group processes. A similar process occurs in the way that ideas about 'Troubled families' often emphasise individual responsibility. For example, the following ideas about families; "characterised by there being no adult in the family working, children not being in school and family members being involved in crime and anti-social behaviour" defines the group supported by the TFp (Communities and Local Government, 2012, p.1).

Consequently, systemic issues such as social exclusion and poor material wealth are unlikely to be acknowledged.

Within documentation for the TFp (Communities and Local Government, 2012), input to families within government-funded pilots for Multi-systemic Therapy (MST) would continue, along with the government work programme and family intervention programmes, drawing attention to the role of clinicians in supporting the identified 'Troubled families'. MST is one of the ways in which the TFp is deployed and is dependent upon the funding arrangements within the local authority. MST is aimed at supporting systems connected to a young person engaging in anti-social behaviours and is currently being researched to understand its use in the UK, as it originated in the US (Cary, Butler, Baruch, Hickey, & Byford, 2013). Systemic interventions with families are often adopted where childhood behaviour problems are observed e.g. oppositional and conduct disorders, attention-deficit disorder, and drug abuse (Carr, 2009). The application of therapy within the context of the TFp may have been connected to the way rioting behaviour and young people were constructed at the time of the riots. For example, young people were described as 'arrogant' and 'knife-wielding' in media accounts, as noted by Moran and Hall (2011). MST is based in the family home, school or community settings and builds on family strengths to break maintenance cycles of problem behaviours whilst supporting families to develop new skills. Improvement in family relationships have been found as a result of MST, rather than peer relationships and individual adjustment (Carr, 2009). In addition, MST appears to be a more economically viable option, when combined with youth offending teams. However, it was acknowledged that the criteria and recording systems for youth offending support and criminal activity may have limited the strength of the findings (Cary et al., 2013).

## **2. Summary**

Rioting behaviour was considered within crowd, biopsychosocial, social identification models and individual differences models and in relation to youth. Within political rhetoric, rioting behaviour had been described and explained using labels such as, 'feral underclass' (Lewis et al., 2011) and 'moral decline' (Kirkup, 2011) along with parent-blaming discourses which situated the problem

in families. This seems to be apparent in the language and model adopted within the TFp (Communities and Local Government, 2012), which does not account for multiple disadvantages considered to be relevant within the 'Families at Risk' report (Social Exclusion Task Force, 2007) as highlighted by Levitas (2012).

One of the main issues raised within the discussion of political rhetoric and media accounts, was a reliance upon individualistic understandings of rioting, youth and families. In addition, there was an absence of formulating systemic and contextual issues relevant to young people, parents and families in London, therefore, limiting understandings of these groups in relation to the riots.

### **3. Research Rationale**

Political rhetoric, media accounts, government policy and the designated roles of social and clinical professionals appeared to contribute to constructions of parents and families in relation to the 2011 London riots. Interventions concerning families have, at times, privileged expert clinical perspectives and appear to have been shaped in some part by political agendas, without consultation from those identified as requiring them. The present study consulted with families within London boroughs to gain insight into their views on the 2011 London riots.

The study was deemed to be of interest and benefit to the field of clinical psychology as it would support an understanding of how parenting may be understood in relation to an event such as the riots. In addition, the study was thought to be useful to clinical psychology given the role that such professionals occupy within interventions commissioned by the government and through implications of social policy, such as the TFp (Communities and Local Government, 2012). The study is thought to be useful in informing clinical practice with young people, parents and families through an understanding of the issues pertinent to these groups within London. Lastly, the study was thought to be of benefit to clinical psychologists involved with the commissioning of services within the framework of social policy, through an exploration of the needs of parents and families in London, from the perspective of such parents and families.

To explore issues stated above, the following research question was examined;

How do parents and families construct the 2011 London riots?

## **4. METHODOLOGY**

This chapter outlines the chosen methodology on the basis of issues explored within the literature review and the research rationale. The overarching epistemological and methodological issues were deemed to be compatible and are described in relation to understanding parent and family constructions of the 2011 London riots.

### **4.1. Epistemological Orientation**

The following questions were useful in considering the possibilities for understanding parent and family constructions of the riots, through consultation; 'What and how can we know?' 'What kind of knowledge do I aim to create?' and 'What assumptions can I make?' (Willig, 2012). These questions also guided the researcher to adopt a social constructionist epistemology.

Social constructionism attends to the way knowledge about the world is situated within a unique historical and cultural context, and assumes a critical approach to our understanding of the world (Burr, 2003). An assumption of a social constructionist approach is that meaning is constructed through social processes, therefore language is thought to construct versions of reality (Willig, 2012).

Within the outlined epistemological stance, it is not deemed possible to infer the cognitive or emotional processes for participants but rather the way in which participants construct reality within the data collected (Willig, 2012). In addition, it was not deemed possible for the researcher to apply an unbiased and objective approach. Language is considered value-laden and often serves the interests of particular groups in society, as suggested by Lafrance and McKenzie-Mohr (2013). Within the literature review this assumption about language was discussed with respect to definitions of rioting behaviour, young people, parents and families in relation to the 2011 London riots. For example, it is possible that language such as 'Troubled' within the Troubled Families Programme, TFP (Communities and Local Government, 2012) supported the deployment of state interventions and served the interest of government agendas in order to reduce the impact of 'Troubled families' on the remaining population.

A social constructionist approach allows for an appreciation of the power relations involved in social processes that shape constructions, according to Burr (2003). The socio-political and cultural factors that contribute to the context for parents and families can be acknowledged within this approach, for example, the context of a deficit model within political rhetoric and national policies for families.

Within the social constructionist epistemology adopted, language was not considered to be limited to description, but something which constructed action. Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest that language can construct events and forms of knowledge as well as social action, whilst Willig (2008) refers to 'action orientation' through talk. When considering social action for parents and families within the present study, it is useful to consider the socio-political and cultural factors discussed in the literature review. For example, the association between and events of the 2011 London riots and the behaviour of young people in the media and within political rhetoric may have constructed assumed roles for parents and thus have implications for the social action available to parents. The forms of social action available to parents may have been constructed by the subject positions of 'responsible parent' or 'authoritative figure' for young people and lead to disciplining, monitoring or controlling forms of social action. More specifically, the social action available to parents in relation to their children or adolescents in within the context of the riots may include restricting their activities outside the home, reporting them to the police, or searching through their phone to check their activity and text messaging in relation to rioting activity. Equally, the social action available to young people may have been to riot or protest or stay at home.

Willig (2012) highlights that the constructions that are formed through social processes serve to allow or constrict various forms of social action. For example, if a parent is constructed as a negligent parent, the social action available to them may be constrained by discourses relating to the role of social services.

#### **4.2. Theoretical Framework**

The present study was influenced by narrative ideas within systemic theory, based on an absence of contextual understandings of parents and families in relation to the 2011 London riots. Within systemic theory, ideas about human

behaviour and relationships within a cultural and social context (Fredman et al., 2010) and therefore contributes to a novel way in which to explore parents and family in relation to the 2011 London riots. More specifically, individuals and problems could be considered within human systems of action and language (Haydon, Bissmire, & Hall, 2009), rather than individualistic or causal views of rioting, as critiqued in the literature review.

### **4.3. The Study**

#### **4.3.1. Research Focus and Methodology**

The literature review highlighted apparent discourses within political rhetoric and policy around youth, morality, parenting, and families in relation to the 2011 London riots. However, some of the ideas available in the media, policy and political rhetoric appeared to be limited by the use of a deficit or individualistic model, or the use of blame to explain the riots. A qualitative method of data collection was adopted to consult with parents and families, and is considered to be a method which supports an understanding of the social world of participants, according to Finlay and Gough (2003). The present study aimed to understand the social world of parents and families, by exploring how they constructed the 2011 London riots.

#### **4.3.2. Pilot**

Prior to carrying out interviews with participants, the researcher met with two families living in London, through acquaintances. Feedback was gathered on the clarity of the interview schedule (Appendix 1), information sheets adapted for parents and young people (Appendix 2 to 4) and consent forms (Appendix 5 and 6). These forms of documentation were adjusted according to feedback from the pilot and from supervision e.g. removing jargon, simplifying, shortening.

#### **4.3.3. Recruitment**

During the summer months of 2013 a recruitment criteria was designed and implemented, whereby parents and families across seven London boroughs were offered the opportunity to participate in the study. As stated previously, family was considered to be a socially constructed group, often shaped by sociological, economic and political interests, as informed by Timimi (2010).

As stated previously, consultation with parents and families was a clear aim of the research within a systemic underpinning, so it was decided that participants within the same family would be interviewed together. The recruitment criteria specified that participants were part of a family system with at least two generations and at least one parent or guardian participated in the interview. This inclusion criteria was thought to support the study by allowing aspects of parenting to be discussed. Young people were offered the opportunity to participate in the study, based on a critique of literature which positioned youth in relation to the 2011 London riots. Finally, relatives were also invited to participate in interviews to further support the research focus on families.

In response to minimal references to families within their community contexts or systems and the riots, as discussed in the literature review, the current study focused on recruiting participants through local community links. Community groups such as voluntary services, local initiatives and forums, family support groups, social action groups, supplementary schools and places where the public congregate e.g. barber shops, laundrettes, religious groups, cafes, and taxi ranks, were targeted within seven London boroughs affected by the riots. The report 'Reading the Riots' focused on seven London boroughs in relation to rioting activity: Enfield, Hackney, Tottenham, Ealing, Brixton, Walthamstow and Croydon (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011) and this informed the initial stages of recruitment.

The community spaces outlined above were approached by the researcher and the opportunity for parents and families to participate in the study was presented. This resulted in the dissemination of over 200 posters (Appendix 7), across seven London boroughs and around 50 conversations with interested members of the communities. Over 65 schools were emailed the poster for the study, and were also asked to share the poster with parent teacher associations. In addition, some groups and forums agreed to advertise the study in a local newsletter. Connections made with local communities through acquaintances, were also included in the recruitment process. In addition, the researcher attended and participated in events for families and local schools in three of the targeted

London boroughs and presented the study to attendees, who were encouraged to approach the researcher if they wished to participate in the study.

#### 4.3.4. Number of Interviews

Within the present study, five interviews were conducted with parents and families, which included a total of 12 participants. This was considered to be a sufficient number of interviews, given the inclusion of multiple interviewees. It was also deemed to meet the criteria for a piece of qualitative research, according to a study by Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006), where 12 interviews met the criteria for data saturation. A small sample size is often considered as an advantage in terms of the depth of analysis possible within qualitative research, to explore meaning within the data gathered (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall, 1994). However, the generalizability of the findings from small sample groups is minimal (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). An additional advantage of a small sample group within the present study was that it allowed for sufficient time to engage with the data collected and the method of analysis. Breakwell, Smith and Wright (2012) highlight the issue of determining a suitable sample size based on the research question. The present study aimed to explore the way in which parents and families constructed the 2011 London riots. It was thought that exploring constructions of the riots from the talk of parents and families living in London would be achieved through the use of large or small samples sizes. However, a small sample size would allow time for depth of analysis, within a broad sample population of parents and families living in London, whilst providing sufficient data to answer the stated research question. However, the study findings were not considered to be directly applicable for all London parents and families, especially due to the small sample size.

Although the sample size was adequate, for the reasons stated above, it contributed to a small participant sample in relation to the scale of the recruitment effort. Interest in participating in the study was minimal, with only one response to posters. One apparent barrier to participation was that people had moved on from the issue of the riots, and did not wish to recall the events. Others stated they would agree to participation on the condition that support was offered to their community. When asked about the ideas for support, members of the public

suggested training for young people and input to the community to increase employment. However, they did not relate support for their community to parents and families, who were discussed as the main group of concern within the present study. A transparent approach was adopted by the researcher in response to these suggestions. It was explained that it was not possible to promise support for the community, based on a lack of resources available to the researcher. Secondly, it was explained that it was not possible to design or implement support for the community, in relation to the research, as the research outcomes of the study had not yet been understood.

Barriers in recruitment also related to the practical organisation required for more than one family member to participate in an interview. This barrier was managed by the researcher through a curious approach to the local community of the parents and families and often involved researching places to meet, based on information from parents and families about what would be most convenient to them. In addition, the extensive time and contact required with parents and families, from the point of interest through to participation may have influenced the small number of interviews conducted. Supervision was used to present ideas about barriers to recruitment and formulate them in relation to the research topic before deciding on ways to adapt the recruitment strategy.

Participation in the study was facilitated by an active approach to recruitment within community projects and places that families were likely to congregate. Ideas about the causes of the riots were often common within discussions with potential participants and at times, this supported the recruitment of parents and families. Additionally, once participation was agreed by parents and families, a rapport seemed to develop, often based on an interest in thinking about issues related to the riots or to share experiences of the riots.

#### 4.3.5. Participant Sample

A varied participant sample of parents and families from London communities, was included in the present study in terms of ethnic origin, occupations and age (Appendix 8). The average age of the fathers participating in the study was 48.8 years, 40.2 years for mothers and 15 years amongst young people.

The first interview was with two parents who were living in Hackney at the time of the 2011 London riots with their five children aged between 20 and 35 years. The daughter (aged 20) had planned to join her parents at the interview, but unfortunately she was unable to attend on the agreed date. The mother was from a black Caribbean ethnic background and the father was from a black Nigerian ethnic background. The mother worked as a civil servant and the father as a musician.

The second interview was also with residents of Hackney and included a mother and her daughter (aged 20) who both had a white Lithuanian ethnic background. The third family member was a son (aged 13), who was invited to take part in the interview but was not able to. The mother worked as a support worker and project administrator and the daughter was a student. The daughter had just returned to Hackney from Lithuania whilst the riots were ongoing, whereas the mother was based in London during the period of rioting.

The third interview included a father, his daughter (aged 12) and his step-daughter (aged 26), who also brought her baby to the interview. Other members of the family included the mother, four children and two step-children, aged between 24 and 37 years. The father was working as a youth worker, the younger daughter was in school and the step-daughter was working as a lab technician. The mother had planned to attend the interview, but had ultimately been unable to participate, but asked three family members to continue with the interview. The entire family was living in Hackney at the time of the riots.

The fourth interview was with parents of a young child (aged two), who also attended the interview. The family had been living in Hackney during the time of the riots and subsequently moved to Walthamstow due to the disruption caused by the riots. The father worked as a creative director and the mother worked as a jewellery designer.

The final interview was with parents and one of their children (aged 13), who were all living in Ealing at the time of the riots. There were also two daughters (aged 15 and 12) within the family, who were invited to participate in the study but

were unable to attend. The son who attended the interview, was with his parents at the family home when the riots occurred, whereas the sisters had been away. The father worked as a software engineer, the mother worked as a solicitor, and the son was in school.

Participants from the fourth and fifth interviews both lived in close proximity to the 2011 London riots, as their homes were close to or on the high street in Hackney and Ealing. All families described living in the named boroughs for a number of years prior to the riots.

#### 4.3.6. Procedure

*4.3.6.1. Interviews:* This form of data collection offered a context in which to explore how parents and families constructed the 2011 London riots, whilst providing a structure in which to contain conversations on a controversial topic. A semi-structured interview format was used within the present study. Willig (2013) states that semi-structured interview formats involve the use of a carefully considered interview agenda, usually within a non-directive approach, but driven by a research question, and often lasting between 40 minutes and two hours. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) state that within a semi-structured interview format, the sequence in which topics are explored can vary from predetermined, to being dictated by the flow of conversation. A semi-structured interview format is also thought to offer flexibility (Banister et al., 1994) and within the present study, this was useful in supporting discussion between multiple participants, within each interview. Semi-structured interviews are considered to be useful as they allow the researcher to explore novel ideas and gather rich data in relation to the research topic. In addition, semi-structured interviews allow for flexibility in the order of questions asked during interviews as well as the inclusion of follow-up questions, due to emerging material during the interview process (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). However, semi-structured interviews can also be considered as an artificial form of interaction, which may diminish the opportunities to explore areas of analytic interest, such as discourses (Potter & Hepburn, 2005). In terms of practical considerations, the process of semi-structured interviews can be more time consuming and inevitably reduces the control the researcher can

maintain during the interview, as suggested by Smith, Harre and Langenlove (1995).

The interviews were conducted in a community space and usually within walking distance of the participants' homes. A quiet meeting room was booked within local community centres or a local café or a place of worship. The practical arrangements for interviews were negotiated with participants and they were often asked about places which were familiar and easily accessible to them.

As mentioned previously, the research aimed to consult parents and families and this was thought to be facilitated by interviewing families together. This interview format was thought to relate to the groups concerned within the research question i.e. how do parents and families construct the 2011 London riots, more effectively than individual interviews. The systemic underpinning also informed the decision for joint interviews, as it would allow for discussion within a family system and allow for exploration of similarities and differences in constructions of the 2011 London riots across generations.

Information sheets and consent forms were emailed or posted to parents and families prior to the interviews. They were given copies of the information sheets to keep when they attended the interview and were invited to clarify any areas they were unsure about, before completing consent forms. Parents were asked to sign consent forms on behalf of any young person below the age of 16, if the young person had agreed to participate in the study.

Within two out of five interviews, two young people spoke for a small part of the interview. During one interview, one young person appeared to be listening to her father and sister but also tended to her baby niece. During another interview, it appeared that the young person was not always able to share his view easily, as his parents asked multiple questions to prompt responses from him, but often spoke over him when he started to share his ideas. It was decided that the researcher would not intervene to encourage space for the young person to share their views. This decision was based upon the rationale that this would create a different dynamic to the one which had already been established, which was to consult with parents and families. It was also thought that interjecting to

encourage the young person to be heard, may interfere with the way the family interacted with each other, put pressure on the young person to speak or interrupt the flow of the interview.

For each interview, refreshments were provided for the family and time was allocated for the family to settle and to ask questions about the study. Each interview lasted up to one hour. A digital recording device was used to record the interviews and the data was copied to discs, which were then encrypted, before being transcribed. Participants were offered reimbursement for travel costs incurred to attend interviews. However, none of the participant families claimed travel costs and when they were offered this they declined and stated that they felt the research was important or that they had enjoyed the experience of taking part, so they felt the money was not important.

*4.3.6.2. Interview questions:* In addition to gathering data to explore the research question, the interview questions were considered in terms of a thematically-driven or dynamically-driven emphasis (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Skills gained in assessing clients within clinical practice were useful to apply to the process of inhabiting a lead role in the interviews and facilitated the consultation process with parents and families. However, the skills involved in interviewing within qualitative research were explored prior to interviews, in order to enhance data collection in relation to the research aim.

The interview schedule (Appendix 1) was informed by the research rationale to consult parents and families about their construction of the 2011 London riots. This was explored through general interview questions such as: What do you think contributed to the riots? A question that was influenced by the systemic theory underpinning was also included: Were there different ideas about the riots within your family? The literature highlighted the way in which the riots had been constructed within media accounts and political rhetoric. Parents and families were asked about their view of the ideas available in the media and in political rhetoric with questions such as: If you asked politicians why the riots happened, what do you think they would say? and What do you think about the ideas that were talked about on the TV, radio or internet, about what caused the riots? Participants were asked about interventions following the riots, based on the

relevance of the TFp to families as discussed within the literature review. In addition, the interview schedule included questions about community contexts, as this appeared to be absent from the ideas available about the 2011 London riots e.g. Did you notice any changes in your community before, during or after the riots?

#### 4.3.7. Ethics

*4.3.7.1. Ethical approval:* Ethical approval was gained from the University of East London Ethics Committee (Appendix 9) in June 2013, following the submission of a detailed plan (Appendix 10) and approval of amendments (Appendix 11 and 12) for the research study.

*4.3.7.2. Confidentiality and anonymity:* Confidentiality was maintained within the interview space, and it was made clear prior to the interview that the data and information about the process of the research was discussed with two supervisors from the University. It was also made explicit that the researcher was bound by certain professional regulations, which may require a break in confidentiality. For example, if the researcher was concerned for the safety of participants and if there was a breach of the law, the researcher was obliged to inform necessary parties (The British Psychological Society, 2009). These were outlined to participants within the information sheets. A break in confidentiality was not necessary within the present study, as safety concerns or issues concerning the law did not occur during the interviews.

Confidentiality and anonymity was maintained under the Data Protection Act of 1998 (Office, 1998) prior to the analysis, during the documentation of the research study and will continue to be maintained within any subsequent publications. Confidentiality and anonymity was managed through anonymising participant names, encrypting recorded data and using password protection for documentation of participant contact details required during the data collection phase.

4.3.7.3. *Managing risk*: There was a potential for participants to be involved, directly affected or in some form of relationship with others who may have been negatively affected by the riots. Discussion of the 2011 London riots presented a risk in evoking distress or contributing to re-traumatising experiences or presented a distressing context for members of particular groups, within interviews. For example, members of activist groups or government-based services may have felt more pressured, or positioned by various questions or restricted by their role within their community. However, during the interviews, participants with experience such as youth work or local community work appeared to be able to expand further on ideas about the riots, based on such experience. For example, one participant spoke about youth and rioting in relation to his position as a father, as well as from the position of a youth worker.

The information sheets provided to participants outlined the possibility of distress during or following the interview. Participants were supplied with information of local services, prior to the interview i.e. mental health services, voluntary sector groups and relevant charities. They were also informed that if they experienced distress a couple of weeks or months after the interview, in relation to the content discussed, they may find it helpful to contact one of the local support services detailed on the information sheet (Appendix 4). An opportunity to speak with the researcher after the interview was offered in relation to any distress experienced as a result of the discussion. Within the information sheets, it was made clear that discussion with the researcher would not be within a counselling role, and the participant would not be advised as to what they should do. During and immediately after the interviews there were no issues raised in relation to distress. Additionally, at least one participant from each interview commented on how they had found the interview interesting and found the questions to be much easier to answer than expected.

It was thought that conflict may have arisen within the interviews based on the nature of family processes and the familiarity of participants with each other may have posed a risk to existing relationships. It was also possible that the topic of riots may have led to the mirroring of antagonistic interactions within interviews. The researcher adopted a motivational interviewing technique of 'asking

permission' (Sobell & Sobell, 2008) i.e. through the use of consent forms and within general communication with families which was useful in modelling respectful communication. In addition, the researcher requested that parents and families avoid talking at the same time where possible, to support a clear recording of the interview. This appeared to set a precedence for communication between participants and facilitated careful listening between family members, therefore conflict was not an issue within interviews.

*4.3.7.4. Contextual implications of research:* An awareness of negative experiences of researchers within London boroughs following the riots, developed during the recruitment phase. This was useful in orienting the researcher to contextual issues and supported consideration of wider ethical issues. Local community leaders were consulted on how to connect with parents and families and avoid further disappointment at a community level. A community worker within the borough of Croydon emphasised the importance of sharing research findings within the community, based on negative feedback from local community members that researchers had previously gathered information and departed, without sharing the outcomes. Within a systemic approach, Ekdawi, Gibbons, Bennett and Hughes (2000) describe the use of 'transparency' in demystifying the process of therapy. As mentioned previously, a transparent approach was applied within the recruitment phase, where the researcher was explicit about what the research could do or not do for the community. In addition, terms such as empowering were avoided, as this could create a false promise, which was unlikely to be achieved given the scale of the study.

The research topic of the riots in relation to parenting and families required sensitivity to data collection and analysis. For example, the implications of a researcher from a psychological discipline was considered, due to the historical role of psychotherapy in contributing to parent-blaming, as mentioned in the literature review.

#### **4.4. Reflexivity**

It was important for the researcher to notice personal meanings of family e.g. family was considered to be important to have and be part of by the researcher. It was recognised that this view may have impacted the research process and outcomes. In addition, it was acknowledged that the researcher's interest in powerful responses provoked by the 2011 London riots i.e. political rhetoric and the role of professionals and family interventions were likely to be a factor influencing data collection. Narrative therapy skills such as adopting a 'not knowing' approach (Anderson & Goolishian, 1988) within systemic theory was useful in managing these potential issues, where participants were assumed to have a greater understanding of constructions of the 2011 London riots in relation to parents and families. The researcher used supervision and a research journal to reflect on the personal meanings of family and interests in the research topic as well as a way of managing struggles or frustrations. This enabled the researcher to maintain a sense of curiosity in understanding multiple perspectives on the construction of family, professionals and state interventions.

#### **4.5. Transcription Process**

All participant names were anonymised prior to the transcription process. The audio recordings collected during interviews were transformed from oral data to written data using an adapted version (Appendix 13) of the notation guide presented by Banister et al. (1994). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) suggested links between the epistemological framework of a research study and assumptions about the process of transcription. Within the social constructionist framework adopted, it was thought that the research question and consultation with parents and families could be adequately understood using a basic transcription notation. For example, the adapted transcription format omitted notations for pauses, as this was thought to be an unnecessary level of detail. However, notations for laughter and sighing were added to the adapted transcription notation, and emphasis was retained from the original transcription to support the researcher to understand the general tone of the conversation.

Prior to transcription, the researcher read through notes from a research journal pertaining to each interview e.g. did the participants talk to the researcher or each other more often and did the participants require prompting by the researcher. This supported the process of becoming familiar with the data. The transcription for each interview was generally completed within one week to allow the researcher to engage with the data for each interview more effectively.

Within the participant sample, two families accepted an offer to view the transcripts, so they could have a record of the meeting or through interest in the content discussed.

## **4.6. Methods of Analysis**

### **4.6.1. Foucauldian-informed Thematic Analysis**

The present study adopted thematic analysis as a method to explore interview data from consultation with parents and families. Various research methods can be adopted within the chosen social constructionist epistemology (Harper, 2012) and thematic analysis is often adopted within a range of epistemological stances. The thematic analysis was informed by Braun and Clarke (2006), who noted the importance of applying a systematic approach to data.

The analysis was informed by Foucauldian theory and therefore orientated the researcher to considering discourses e.g. parent-blaming discourses. In addition, subjectivity i.e. how people think or feel and the practices people engage in (Willig, 2008) were of interest to the researcher. The construction of knowledge and assumptions about 'truth' within a Foucauldian-informed analysis is consistent with a social constructionist epistemology. More specifically, 'truth' is constructed through rules and often in conjunction with power relations according to Foucault (1984) and knowledge is considered to be constructed through social processes and bound by power relations, within a social constructionist orientation (Burr, 2003).

A thematic analysis allows for identification of recurring patterns within and across a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006), and requires the researcher to adopt an active role in coding the data and forming themes, and to what extent the analytic process is informed by theory. Themes represent important aspects of

the data and relate to variability as well as consistency across the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Further questions can be applied to the data through the application of a theoretical framework (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) i.e. the consideration of Foucauldian concepts when exploring themes from the interview data. Therefore within the present study, the analysis departs from a more inductive, data-driven approach. A theory-driven form of thematic analysis can allow for consideration of socio-cultural contexts and material conditions, when applied within a constructionist approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This was especially relevant to the present study due to the chosen epistemology and the influence of narrative therapy ideas within the systemic theory underpinning.

A key implication of drawing upon Foucauldian ideas within a thematic analysis was the way in which these ideas could inform key analytic questions, whilst attending to the implications of socio-cultural and socio-political issues and contexts for parents and families.

The literature review informed the application of the following areas of Foucauldian theory: discourses, subject positions, problematizations and practices, which were used to support the identification of codes and themes during analysis.

*4.6.1.1. Discourses:* Discourses are described as constructing a particular topic through language and knowledge by Hall (2001), however discourses are not limited to a linguistic level of meaning. Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2010) suggest that discourses can be considered as the relationship between rules and statements. Burr (2003) suggests that discourses refer to a version of an event through “a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements” (p.64). Within the adopted social constructionist epistemology, the available discourses which constrain and limit social action can be explored i.e. what can be said or done within particular contexts? (Willig, 2012). This is consistent with ideas about discourse within a Foucauldian-informed analysis, whereby power relations influence the discourses available, through constraints or rules or conditions (McHoul & Grace, 1993) and where actions becoming meaningful within discourse (Hall, 2001). Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2010) recommend establishing regular and systematic statements in identifying

discourses, but also emphasise that discourses relate to more than semantic meaning.

The process of identifying discourses within the data gathered from interviews, supported an exploration of parent and family constructions of the 2011 London riots. For example, parenting discourses could be explored through understanding the ideas available to families in shaping their constructions of the riots. An understanding of relevant discourses for parents and families in relation to the riots also supported an exploration of subject positions, which are considered to be based upon culturally available discourses, according to Burr (2003).

*4.6.1.2. Subject positions:* Subject positions are socially available positions which can be occupied to allow identities to be formed. Subject positions are made possible by discourse, which may create or constrain social action. Within the present study, it was thought that understanding the subject positions adopted by parents and families would allow for an exploration of the discourses available to these groups in relation to the 2011 London riots.

Kendall and Wickham (1999) emphasise the importance of appreciating the way in which subjects, power and knowledge are connected. For example, the construction of youth is likely to be based on conditions that relate to the power attributed to this group and the discourses of youth available, as well as the way in which subjects position themselves in relation to youth.

Subjectification refers to the way subject positions are constructed i.e. through processes relating to power or domination or relating to the self. For example, processes where individuals regulate themselves according to a moral order (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2010). The process of subjectification may occur through dialogue which is shared by a client and therapist, for example, through self-examination (Hepburn, 2002).

Through applying an understanding of subject positions within a thematic analysis, the researcher was able to examine identities occupied by parents which related to social and relational issues. For example, parenting roles and

rioting behaviour, as identified as key areas to consider in understanding parents and families in relation to the 2011 London riots within the literature review.

*4.6.1.4. Problematizations:* Problematizations explore the conditions contributing to individuals or groups who may be positioned as problematic and relates to official and counter-discourses, therefore allowing an exploration of wider political issues (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2010). The literature review explored the way in which youth, parents and families were problematized in relation to the 2011 London riots. It is possible that a context of parent-blaming, made possible through political rhetoric, resulted in the problematization of families and contributed to family interventions, through the TFp.

The analysis was enhanced by attending to problematizations, as this allowed for an exploration of themes which may include a combination of issues such as policing and youth behaviour. Attending to themes in problematizations also supported the consultative aim of the study, whereby the researcher sought to understand the issues parents and families felt were important in relation to the 2011 London riots.

*4.6.1.5. Practices:* An engagement with the subject positions relevant to parents and families was supported through an understanding of the practices involved. Within a Foucauldian-informed analysis, practices refer to the social action that is made possible through subject positions (Willig, 2008). As mentioned above, the problematization of families appears to have been made possible through parenting-blaming. Consequently, practices such as family intervention may become privileged, especially where the group concerned, is constructed as 'troubled'.

Attending to practices within the thematic analysis allowed for the formation of themes to include aspects of action orientation, which often corresponded to other areas of analytic interest described above, such as discourses or subject positions. For example, the practice of monitoring adolescent behaviour and their use of a mobile phone for instance, may depend on how a parent positions themselves in relation to adolescent behaviour.

#### 4.6.2 Analytic Procedure

Finlay and Gough (2003) suggest that the chosen epistemology, philosophy and theory within qualitative research “gives us tools to analyse our data” (p.25).

Within the present study, a social constructionist epistemology and Foucauldian theory informed the chosen model for thematic analysis, presented by Braun and Clarke (2006). The application of Foucauldian theory supported an interpretative process, which extended and expanded the thematic analysis, therefore supporting analytic claims, as recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006). The analysis aimed to identify constructions of the 'discursive object' (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2010) namely the riots, which were supported by referring to the research question of how parents and families construct the 2011 London riots. Attending to the way objects, events and experiences were discussed within the interviews was useful in exploring constructions of the riots, in addition to the way language constructed discourses (Wetherell, 2011).

The reliability of analysis within qualitative research involving interviews is thought to be supported through a clear description of the steps within analysis (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) which is presented below and in Appendix 14. Analysis within qualitative research is not considered to be a linear process and often involves refinement (Banister, et al., 1994), however, for the purpose of clarity, the stages of analysis were presented within a linear format. The following section presents the way in which Foucauldian theory was incorporated into the thematic analysis:

*4.6.2.1. Phase one – Becoming familiar with the data:* The researcher transcribed the five interview recordings, using anonymised names for participants. This process required listening to the recordings several times and re-reading transcripts to check for accuracy, thus enabling the researcher to be fully immersed in the data.

*4.6.2.2. Phase two – Generating initial codes:* In order to code the entire data set systematically, each transcript was explored according to the following analytic steps, which were informed by Foucauldian theory and the research question:

- I. Identify the objects, events and experiences by considering the following questions: what is being constructed? how is it being constructed? what is not being talked about (what is absent)?
- II. Identify problematizations: who or what is being positioned as problematic in relation to discourse and within the wider political context, as suggested by Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2010).
- III. Identify discourses: topics that are constructed through language and knowledge (Hall, 2001) and influenced by power relations (McHoul & Grace, 1993).
- IV. Identify practices: the social action that is made possible (Willig, 2008), through relevant constructions and subject positions.
- V. Identify subject positions: what positions are constructed in relation to culturally available discourses and within relationships with power and knowledge (Kendall & Wickham, 1999).
- VI. Note any contradictions or areas of clinical or theoretical interest, such as rioting theory or clinical ideas relating to parenting and families.

Once each of the five transcripts had been explored with the above guidance, the transcripts were re-read and the notes were refined to clarify the Foucauldian informed interpretations and to remind the researcher of material within the earlier transcripts. This supported a shift from the coding stage to the exploration of themes within the next phase of analysis.

*4.6.2.3. Phase three – Searching for themes:* The aim of this phase was to establish potential themes according to codes, to support the development of themes and subthemes. In order to explore potential main themes and subthemes, the codes and Foucauldian-informed notations (i.e. the constructions of objects, events and experiences, along with discourses, problematizations, practices, subject positions) were mapped out onto flipchart paper for each interview. Then patterns, similarities, variations, contradictions and what

appeared to be absent in the talk were highlighted within each of the interview details drawn up on flipchart paper. Variations were also noted. This allowed the codes and Foucauldian-informed notations to be considered across all five interviews and supported the formation of themes. The discourses noted for each interview were drawn up onto one piece of flipchart paper and helped to generate the main themes. This process was particularly useful in supporting an understanding of the main constructions of the 2011 London riots.

The following main themes and examples of subthemes were gathered during the third stage of analysis: 'class' <sup>3</sup>(social exclusion), 'young people' (youth and anarchy), 'criminality' (punishment and crime), 'parenting' (parent struggles) and finally 'community' (reclaiming discourse).

*4.6.2.4. Phase four – Reviewing themes:* The aim of this phase was to develop coherence of themes and clarify distinctions between them. Sections of transcripts were highlighted according to the identified codes i.e. constructions of objects, events and experiences and manually cut up. These sections of transcript were then grouped according to the identified main themes and subthemes. The theme names could then be refined according to decisions about the relevant codes and sections from the transcript. Instead of a thematic map, the main themes and subthemes were drawn out on flipchart paper, with the corresponding codes. Then sections of the transcript were re-grouped according to the reviewed themes.

The following main themes and examples of subthemes were gathered during the fourth stage of analysis: 'societal struggles and the state' (exclusion and integration), 'the problematic youth' (policing of youth), 'crime and punishment' (rioting and criminality), 'the function of the family' (family and morality) and finally 'threats and resilience for London communities' (reclaiming neighbourhood).

*4.6.2.5. Phase five – Defining and naming themes:* The aim of this phase was to clarify the themes and consider how they might represent the data within a

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<sup>3</sup> Items in parentheses indicate examples of subthemes.

coherent story. It was useful to revisit the research question at this point, in order to refine the themes further and consider internal consistency for each theme. Defining the themes was supported by referring to the flipchart sheets with the themes, relevant codes and selected parts of the transcripts. This allowed an exploration of the relationship between discourses, subject positions and practices, and supported the naming and defining of themes.

*4.6.2.6. Phase six – Producing the report:* This was considered to be the final phase of analysis, where final themes and extracts are developed into a coherent report, based on the research question and relevant literature. Throughout the analysis, there were five main themes, whilst the subthemes were reduced from 35 to 15 through reviewing, refining and defining processes. The following main themes were included within the final report and are explored in detail within the analysis and discussion section: inequality and exclusion, youth as problematic, rioting as a criminal threat, parenting, the family and morality and finally reclaiming normality.

Further details of phase two to six of analysis are presented in Appendix 14, to supplement the above explanation of the analytic procedure.

## **5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

The literature review problematized political rhetoric in relation to the 2011 London riots and individualistic accounts of youth and parenting within the media as well as the implications for families, following the introduction of the 'Troubled Families Programme', TFp. Interventions concerning families seemed to privilege expert clinical perspectives at times and without consultation with families. The present study engaged with London parents and families through five interviews, to better understand the discourses available to these groups, through exploring how they constructed their understanding of the riots.

This chapter presents five broad themes, along with fifteen subthemes, from a Foucauldian-informed thematic analysis of the interview data. The themes presented begin with an orientation to structural and contextual factors relevant in understanding the riots: are then followed by an exploration of rioting, youth, parenting and the family, and end with community related constructions of the riots.

### **5.1. Inequality and Exclusion**

This first theme presents ways in which parents and families constructed social inequality, racial discrimination and exclusion in relation to the riots. These constructions appeared to be influenced by their own experiences, discussions about London communities and subject positions occupied in relation to issues of race and material wealth.

#### **5.1.1 Social Inequality and Racial Discrimination**

Within the talk from interviews, social inequality was constructed as a context for communities in London through gentrification, which was also constructed in relation to race. Parent participants often discussed material wealth i.e. how increased costs of everyday items diminished the opportunities available to poorer groups and contributed to a process of exclusion. These issues were discussed by parents living in Hackney at the time of the riots. Interestingly, these topics occurred in talk within interviews after participants were asked whether they noticed any involvement from professionals after the riots and whether they thought the community had ideas that could help us understand the riots.

**Extract 1:** <sup>4</sup>It's all about this gentrification, it was taking the soul out of the place, and people couldn't afford to be there, which was absolutely right. It needs to be dealt with. When we eventually sold our place, after 7 or 8 years, I was slightly ashamed about how much somebody bought it off us. (Tom, father, 38 years, White British)

Tom appears to have constructed gentrification as an issue of affordability, which needs to be addressed. Alongside this statement, it seems he positions his own gain i.e. selling a house in Hackney for a large amount of money, as shameful. The issue of affordability as an aspect of gentrification, also occurred within another interview.

**Extract 2:** Gentrification. This area, Stoke Newington, has changed a lot and in the changes that have taken place, they've pushed more and more black people that used to live here, out of the area. Certain parts of Hackney are so up market, we can't afford to walk down the streets, you actually can't afford it. (Mary, mother, 51 years, Black Caribbean)

Here Mary appears to construct gentrification as an exclusionary process, but in relation to race. Poor material wealth is constructed as an experience within the black community, a group in which she positions herself. In addition, the media was problematized in relation to the black community due to negative media representations of black people in the media, as observed and discussed by Mary.

Gentrification seems to have been constructed as a process of change, occurring in London boroughs, which excluded poorer groups, based on an unwarranted increase in costs. Given these ideas about gentrification, it is possible that the subject position Tom occupied was influenced by discourses available about black and white and rich and poor communities in London, and he managed his conduct through positioning his material wealth as shameful.

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<sup>4</sup> Correct punctuation and grammar have been used to support reading.

Walker (2013) reports on the harmful implications of gentrification for areas of London, such as Brixton and Belgravia, due to migration to poorer areas from high income residents. Research relating to health outcomes and social inequality suggests that greater differences between rich and poor communities contributes to poor social cohesion and ultimately to poorer health outcomes (Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003). Perhaps constructions of gentrification within the talk from the above interviews support the identification of poor social cohesion within London, based on implications of differences in material wealth and the implications of exclusion. Within the two interviews discussed above, social mobility was also problematized within a context of gentrification. Constructions of social mobility were generated by an interview question asking participants what they remembered about media coverage about the riots.

The present study indicates the relevance of social inequality in relation to the riots and is supported by research findings that those who rioted were from deprived backgrounds, according to findings from the second phase of the 'Reading the Riots' study, by The London School of Economics and Political Science (Rogers, 2011). It is possible that class or socio-economic positioning may have influenced the talk from participants. Thus, class may have been a factor which was related to the talk about gentrification and social inequality and interpretations of social issues relevant to the riots.

Within one of the interviews discussed above, young black men were constructed in direct relation to disciplinary power, such as the police force. This also occurred in the talk about Mark Duggan<sup>5</sup> in relation to the 2011 London riots, within another interview.

**Extract 3:** My understanding was that he was a black, young black male, and he was picked on by the police, because of his colour, because of his age. (Lucy, mother, 35 years, White British)

Here, it appears that Lucy problematizes the practices of the police by highlighting discrimination based on age and race. Within the interviews

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<sup>5</sup> The shooting of Mark Duggan was linked to the 2011 London riots, following an escalation of a protest at a police station in Tottenham (BBC News, 2011).

discussed, constructions of the black community in London relate to poorer communities, negative media portrayals and racial discrimination in relation to the police.

The problematization of material deprivation in relation to the riots was not apparent in the talk from young people. However, National surveys have indicated that young people (13 to 17 years) located poverty as an issue leading to the riots and that rioting was about acquiring items they could not afford (The Children's Society, 2011). This may suggest that constructions of material wealth and consequently of social inequality are likely to differ between parents and young people.

It appears that observations of the events of the 2011 London riots expose constructions of a racially discriminatory and exclusionary context within London, where power relations are noticed by parents in relation to policing, race, material wealth and media coverage.

#### 5.1.2 Exclusion as a Condition for Rioting

Whilst exclusion was constructed in relation to social inequality, it was also apparent in the talk from four out of five interviews, as a condition for rioting. Constructing exclusion as a condition for rioting supports research findings showing that 51% of those who rioted, felt they were not part of British society (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011). This may suggest that rioting was considered as a form of social action for those who may position themselves as excluded. One form of social action relevant to the 2011 London riots appeared to be the act of protest. An exclusionary process was discussed by one participant prior to the riots and appears to problematize the exclusion of protesters, as a condition for rioting.

**Extract 4:** They were protesting, and they're (police)<sup>6</sup> just looking at them, like 'I don't care', we are (police) not listening. You might as well just go home. If they had a little compassion, even if they didn't actually mean it, if they had a softer touch, or a softer approach, people

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<sup>6</sup> Words within parentheses in a smaller font size indicate information added to aid reading.

wouldn't get so angry so quickly. (Tisha, daughter, 26 years, Black Caribbean)

Here Tisha suggests that a more compassionate approach towards protesters would have prevented an escalation towards feelings of anger. The above extract serves to elucidate the way in which an exclusionary process may have ignited tensions and contributed to practices such as rioting. The language within some media accounts of the 2011 London riots (Brown & Hyde, 2012) and the riots in France (BBC News, 2005) often referred to exclusion of disenfranchised or marginalised groups, particularly in relation to youth. It is possible that processes of exclusion create conditions for a shared identity to form and for practices such as rioting, as indicated in the literature theorizing rioting behaviour (Drury & Reicher, 2005; 2009). Additionally, Vrouva and Dennington (2011) suggest that cuts to youth services, maintenance allowance for youth, and low social mobility contributed to an exclusionary process prior to the 2011 London riots.

It appears that parents and families constructed the 2011 London riots within a context of social inequality, racial discrimination and exclusion, which may suggest that these issues have implications for social action, in the form of protest or rioting.

## **5.2. Rioting as a Criminal Threat**

Rioting was mainly constructed as dangerous, and in relation to policing, but as separate from protest. The analysis suggested similar areas of tension to those that were presented within the literature review i.e. policing and rioting issues and the destructive implications of the riot. However, the research methodology allowed for consultation with parents and families, which appeared to be absent from relevant understandings about the riots.

### **5.2.1. Rioting as Dangerous**

Across all interviews, parents and families problematized rioting and public safety. Implications of rioting were constructed as a source of imminent danger and civil unrest. Thus, public safety seemed to be constructed as an issue of concern for parents and families and something that could be considered fragile or in need of protection. These constructions of rioting occurred when the

researcher asked about what conversations the participants remember having in their family, about the 2011 London riots. Within one interview, a young person commented on the reactions she observed within her family at the time of the riots.

**Extract 5:** I was at my cousin's house and I remember I was watching it (2011 London riots) on TV, and my little cousins were crying, because they were getting worried. Like it was gonna come round the corner, where they lived. It was on Tottenham High Road, and they live close to Tottenham Hill, where they (those who rioted) were looting shops. (Tisha, daughter, 26 years, Black Caribbean)

Here Tisha described how her younger cousins were worried about the riots spreading to their location, which appears to construct the riots as an imminent danger and a distressing practice for children to witness. In addition to discussion of the immediate danger posed by the riots, the implications of the event were also problematized, as apparent in the following extract.

**Extract 6:** I remember thinking that the country was going to break down, and people would never live in towns anymore, because it was just too unsafe. (Liz, mother, 48 years, White British)

It appears that the threat to safety has implications for urban living and there were worries that this form of settlement would deteriorate, due to the riots. Within three out of five interviews, the riots were constructed as a condition which directly related to major societal issues such as 'civil war', 'social unease' or 'post-modern malaise'.

The implications of the riots for parents and families appeared to be a sense of threat to normality, distress and fear, as well as a lack of safety. Crime-related fears were associated with civil disturbances that occurred in Los Angeles in 1992 (Hanson et al., 2000) and social support was perceived as less available by those who experienced the civil disturbances (Swendsen & Norman, 1998). It is possible that constructions of rioting as dangerous resulted in limited social action deemed available to parents and families within the study. The following extract shows the talk from a mother to her son during an interview and indicates the

sense of imminent danger discussed previously, but situated more firmly within the context of family.

**Extract 7:** Then the noise was such that you thought, oh no, something terrible is happening, and so I ran upstairs. I came out saying I could hear noises, he (Ben, son) could hear noises in his room, because he's on the ground floor, at the front, and he came out to us, and I just took him and his friend, up to the most secure place I could think of, which is in the middle of the house, which is our bathroom. And your friend was quite shocked, wasn't he? I think he was probably a bit more sensitive than you, and he was really really frightened, and really upset. I remember just trying to get to the safest place I could think of, which was in the bathroom, and locking the door, as if that would have done any good, and just being absolutely petrified, terrified, that they were going to come into the house. (Liz, mother, 48 years, White British)

This extract highlights how the response to fear developed during the riots, due to a threat to self, to children and to the physical body. These immediate threats seemed to limit the social action available to Liz. It appears that the parent is positioned as protective and the young person is constructed as fragile. Aspects of the talk within the above extract suggest the high level of responsibility Liz attributed to her role as a mother, and as a temporary guardian to her sons' friend. It is possible that she drew upon the construction of a 'responsible parent', based on a role as a 'protector' during the riots, which may be consistent with culturally available discourses about 'good parenting'. The role of protection apparent in the mother's talk appears to highlight practices in seeking physical containment. For example, securing physical containment through finding the safest room and locking the door. This practice may have supported the attainment of emotional containment i.e. the management of difficult feelings of another which would otherwise remain uncontained (Casement, 1985), once external threats of danger from rioting were minimised. Liz may have, therefore been able to provide emotional containment to herself, and subsequently to her son and his friend, once she had secured a sense of physical safety.

Talk within interviews with all families constructed rioting as dangerous, traumatic, destructive or lawless, and often as inclusive of looting behaviour. These constructions are consistent with some definitions of rioting, such as damage to others or property within two or more groups in a community (Vuchinich & Teachman, 1993) or as an event acting against the 'social order', which includes violence amongst three or more individuals (Lachman, 1996). However, what appeared to be absent in the talk within interviews, was the way in which rioting behaviour was constructed within political rhetoric i.e. explanations of rioting behaviour due to a lack of morality, through talk about a "feral underclass" (Lewis et al., 2011, p.1) and "deep moral failure" (Kirkup, 2011, p1) as mentioned in the literature review.

As discussed above, rioting was constructed as dangerous across interviews. A similar consistency across interviews was to mention a clear distinction between rioting and protesting.

#### 5.2.2. Rioting versus Protest

Rioting was consistently constructed as an illegitimate act of expression, across four out of five interviews, especially in contrast to protest which was deemed as an acceptable practice. Rioting and protest were positioned as opposing and, at times within an antagonistic relationship, possibly reinforcing constructions of rioting as dangerous. The following extract shows talk which constructed rioting behaviour, after the parent were asked about what they thought contributed to the riots:

**Extract 8:** I think in regard to the riots, there certainly, in my personal opinion. There were probably a core group of people, who wanted to make a statement about things, then there were these peripheral people, a lot of them were people who jumped on the bandwagon, who go for a jolly basically. (Lucy, mother, 35 years, White British)

From the extract above, it is possible that the core group of people refers to protesters, rather than those who rioted, and a distinction was apparent between acceptable behaviour e.g. making a statement and unacceptable behaviour as going for a jolly. The differentiation between the behaviour of those who engaged

in rioting compared with protesters was echoed within another interview, where looting was problematized in relation to rioting.

**Extract 9:** I wasn't in agreement with the riot, because I don't believe in the looting, but I do think the people have to stand up, and be counted, and obviously protest is one of those ways. (Mary, mother, 51 years, Black Caribbean)

Mary appears to occupy a subject position which does not condone looting and may therefore allow her to position herself away from criminal practices, thereby retaining an identity as 'law abiding'.

It seems that rioting was problematized as a threat to protest, possibly reinforcing constructions of rioting as a criminal practice. In addition to the differentiation made between rioting and protest across interviews, it was also apparent that the 2011 riots were not constructed as politically motivated. This may serve to legitimise protest and denounce rioting behaviour further. Such constructions of rioting as an illegitimate form of protest differ from academic work which theorizes rioting behaviour i.e. where rioting was constructed within an economic and political context and not as an act of pure criminality (Reicher & Stott, 2011). One of the implications for the construction of rioting as an illegitimate form of protest is that relevant socio-political and contextual issues can become masked. This was apparent in a study by Leonard (2010) in Ireland, where rioting was constructed as 'recreational', thus, detracting from social problems such as hostility, fear and mistrust, which may have also contributed to the conditions for rioting. The construction of rioting as an illegitimate act of protest occurs in literature which theorizes rioting behaviour i.e. within the ESIM model presented by Drury and Reicher (2005). Within this model, demonstrations deemed to be illegitimate are considered to be more likely to result in a riot, rather than demonstrations which are categorised as legitimate. When applied to the above discussion about riot and protest constructions in the present study, it seems that the way in which protest is constructed can have implications for the nature of the event and whether it escalates into a riot.

The next subtheme examines constructions of rioting as a criminal act, due to the way in which policing is positioned in relation to rioting and serves to reinforce the construction of rioting as distinct from protest and as an illegitimate form of protest.

### 5.2.3. Rioting and Policing

It appeared that constructions of public safety and policing were based on accounts offered in interviews about direct experiences of the riots and the subject positions participants occupied within their community, as well as their observations of the way in which social control was deployed by the state i.e. via policing or prosecution. Within one interview, a young person seemed to describe police practices as ameliorating fears of the riots and this occurred in talk after being asked about the conversations they remember having in the family about the 2011 London riots.

**Extract 10:** It (riots) were not actually as frightening as I thought, because the police, I think were there to action, and everything. (Laura, daughter, 21 years, White Lithuanian)

Within this extract, the police appear to be constructed as helpful due to the social action they engaged in during the riots. However, this was not consistent across interviews and the police were also constructed as unhelpful at the time of the riots.

**Extract 11:** Low level crime had been, you know, poorly enforced, for such a long time. I also felt quite let down by the police, who had been stretched so thinly. (Liz, mother, 48 years, White British)

It appears that despite the policing challenges identified during the riots, a lack of public safety was attributed to poor policing. Public safety appeared to be constructed as possible, where police action and the controlled management of rioting was observed by young people and parents within the participant families. Policing was constructed in contrasting ways in relation to the 2011 London riots and was positioned as helpful or absent during the riots, but also continued to also be constructed as discriminatory. Within one interview, policing practices

during the riots were thought to be under scrutiny, due to a reputation of being selective, based on race.

Within the work of Reicher and Stott (2011) in exploring the issues of the 2011 London riots, it was suggested that those who engage in rioting often command only minimal institutional power, and this is perhaps reinforced by constructions of the police as a threat. This way of attending to power relations between those who rioted and the police appeared to be absent within the talk of rioting, along with discussion of anger towards the police from those engaged in rioting, thought to fuel the event (Lewis et al., 2011). However, there was more talk occurring in interviews about power relations between those who rioted and the police, when rioting and policing were discussed in relation to youth.

### **5.3. Youth as Problematic**

The main constructions of the 2011 London riots discussed above related to rioting behaviour, policing, social inequality, racial discrimination and exclusion. These areas were also apparent in the talk within interviews about youth in relation to the riots. The way in which the media constructed youth behaviour in respect to the 2011 riots was discussed in the literature review, along with research findings on the views of young people. However, within the present study, there were opportunities for young people to discuss ideas about the riots within a family context.

#### **5.3.1. Youth as Drawn to Anarchy**

As mentioned previously, parents and families consistently constructed rioting as dangerous and this construction was echoed in ideas about youth and the 2011 London riots. Within all interviews youth was consistently problematized in relation to the 2011 London riots, through constructions of young people as destructive, dangerous, invulnerable and drawn to anarchy. This is demonstrated in the following extracts after participants were asked what they thought politicians would say if they were asked why the riots happened and what were the most important things to look at in order to avoid the riots happening again:

**Extract 12:** It's that feeling that young people are naturally drawn towards chaos and anarchy. (Tom, father, 38 years, White British)

**Extract 13:** They (youth) thought they could get away with it. That's the most shocking thing that they thought, they were so so invulnerable. (Liz, mother, 48 years, White British)

Here young people appear to be positioned as invulnerable and drawn to anarchy during the riots, which suggests that constructions of the riots relate strongly to youth behaviour.

Young people were identified as the group most involved in the events of the 2011 London riots and media accounts (Moran & Hall, 2011) and this was mirrored by the talk from interviews within the present study. Consequently, it appears that the rioting behaviour of young people is more likely to be constructed as a criminal act in relation to policing and constructions of youth as invulnerable. This seems especially significant given how the 2011 London riots were generally not considered to be political by parents and families participating in the study, reinforcing constructions of rioting as a criminal behaviour.

When youth were discussed in relation to the riots, there appeared to be greater consideration of group processes, compared with more rioting behaviour discussed in the previous theme.

**Extract 14:** It (riots) was crowd mentality, none of those kids would have done the thing on their own. You know a hundred other people, they thought they were invincible, and it's really nasty, really nasty, the worst side of human nature, really isn't it? (Liz, mother, 48 years, White British)

Within this extract, rioting was constructed as crowd behaviour, where the perpetrators are kids. It appears that young people were positioned as a group who were more susceptible to influence from others, and that the way in which young people engaged in the riots was made possible by a power relation between the public and the rioting group.

Interestingly, despite the inclusion of young people within the family interviews, youth were constructed as a separate group. The talk within two interviews contributed by a young person and parents related youth with rioting, based on constructions of adolescent behaviour within peer groups. The behaviour of

young people has been formulated within developmental models as more likely to occur during adolescence (Steinberg & Morris, 2001), in addition to the role of peers in influencing the behaviour of young people. The role of social processes in reducing the significance of social restraints (Festinger, Pepitone, & Newcomb, 1958) and the contribution of a contagion effect (Patten & Arboleda-Florez, 2004) on behaviour during the riots, appear to offer relevant theoretical support for the themes considered from the interview data.

It seemed that the talk from interviews shifted to concerns about the issues faced by young people, during discussions which focused on youth in a London context, rather than youth in relation to rioting.

### 5.3.2. Youth as Disadvantaged

Within four interviews youth was constructed as disadvantaged, based on issues of exclusion, unemployment, opportunities for social mobility, appropriate role models, material wealth and policing. The following extract shows the talk from a mother who shared concerns about young people obtaining employment and issues with material wealth. This occurred in the talk after the parents were asked what they thought were the most important things to look at in order to avoid the riots happening again.

**Extract 15:** There's no difference between the youth who's come out of the education system, with a degree, and the youth who came out with nothing or GCSEs. There is actually nothing to separate them, in terms of what they're looking for in their future, to someone who has a degree. They (young people with a degree) are going to have the same housing problems, the same financial problems, the same employment problems, that the youth who have no qualifications. So then, these kids are asking themselves, what was the point, you know, I did what mom and dad said, and I went to school, and I studied hard, and I finished college, and I've done my 3 years in University, or my 4 years, and now I'm here, on the unemployment line, with the rest of them. (Mary, mother, 51 years, Black Caribbean)

Mary appears to have constructed youth as disadvantaged, based on high unemployment levels, thereby problematizing meritocracy, due to the low availability of paid work. Across two other interviews, disadvantage was constructed as an issue for young people and an issue which could be addressed through education and employment. These were thought to improve the behaviour of young people, thereby constructing education and employment as a source for saving young people.

Youth appeared to be problematized in the context of social inequality, which may suggest diminished opportunities for young people in acquiring jobs and being integrated within society. The role of structural issues, such as market cultures is considered as an important factor in shaping youth behaviour, according to Timimi (2010). Furthermore, a neo-liberal market is considered to contribute to a societal culture which privileges risk-taking and is therefore likely to reduce the importance young people place upon personal responsibility. Another way in which contextual factors were linked to young people and the riots were concerns from London residents that adults were failing young people, through cuts to youth projects and marginalisation, as reported in the media at the time of the riots (Brown & Hyde, 2012).

The role of exclusion for young people was also apparent in the talk from an interview with a family after being asked what they thought politicians would say if they were asked why the riots happened.

**Extracts 16:** Well the kids or youth, being disconnected from the structure of society, and feeling like outsiders. As if they can just interfere, you know, play around, and it's not their structure, it's something they're not necessarily part of. (Steve, father, 48 years, White British)

The above extract was from a conversation about what politicians would say if they were asked about why the riots occurred. A distinction was apparent between youth and a 'structure' and reinforced notions of youth as separate from the rest of society. Young people appeared to be differentiated from the rest of society by their behaviour i.e. rioting separated young people from most of society, due to the way in which rioting was constructed as a criminal act.

### 5.3.3. Youth, Punishment and Policing

Constructions of youth discussed within previous themes in relation to rioting, included practices of anarchy and destruction, which positioned young people as requiring policing. Practices of punishment appeared in talk within an interview about youth behaviour and related to constructions of young people as a threat to public safety. Ideas about youth and punishment were apparent in the following extract about the management of young people who engaged in rioting:

**Extract 17:** I have to say, I was quite happy, I would have been quite happy, to have turned the water cannon on them (young people who rioted). I was just, no I was, so so terrified, that I would have used any means, to have stopped them. (Liz, mother, 48 years, White British)

Here Liz appears to privilege practices of control and punishment in relation to young people who rioted. It is possible that the behaviour of young people during the riots precludes them from practices aimed at understanding their difficulties. Here, practices such as the use of 'water cannons' are thought to be warranted and related to experiences of fear during the riots. In contrast, the vulnerability of young people in relation to punishment and policing appeared to be foregrounded within another interview. The following extract shows the talk from parents, where the mother appears to position her children as vulnerable, based on societal constructions of young black boys, and particularly in relation to practices of the police.

**Extract 18:** I've phoned my son, just to let me see if he's alright. He's with a policeman, and five times that happened. (Ineh, father, 53 years, Black Nigerian)

We have to phone him (son) daily, just because of what the ramifications are, of being out there. It's not about what the kids are doing, their not doing anything wrong, but they, young black boys, they are seen in a certain light, and so they are vulnerable to the forces (police). (Mary, mother, 51 years, Black Caribbean)

It appears that young black boys are problematized according to the policing which has been encountered by the above family. This results in the practice of surveillance on the part of the parents, perhaps to manage their children being

positioned as vulnerable in relation to the police. This also highlights the role of gender and race in relation to punishment and policing, which clearly influenced the experiences and practices for the parents interviewed. This is likely to have impacted on the way in which the police are positioned in relation to the family members and young black boys. Community engagement in supporting relationships between young people and the police exist across London, as it is a recognised context for young people and in particular in relation to the 2011 London riots (Hackney Council for Voluntary Service, 2013). Talk from extracts 17 and 18 appeared to include contrasting constructions of youth and punishment, youth and policing and youth as vulnerable or invulnerable, based on parental experiences and observations about race as well as first hand experiences of the riots.

Youth were constructed in opposing ways i.e. as vulnerable or invulnerable in relation to the riots, which also seemed to occur within different approaches to understanding youth. For example, individualistic explanations of rioting behaviour seemed to contribute to constructions of young people as invulnerable, whilst constructions of young people as vulnerable occurred when contextual issues such as racial discrimination were considered. Young people were constructed as destructive versus disadvantaged and as a threat to public safety, as well as oppressed by the police. In addition, participants associated racial discrimination with policing and poor treatment of young people, which reinforces the issue of racial discrimination, explored within the first theme.

Within the theme relating to youth, it appears that constructions of the 2011 London riots are more firmly grounded in parental or family experiences, but still in relation to societal issues explored in the inequality and exclusion theme.

#### **5.4. Parenting, the Family and Morality**

A focus on constructions of the 2011 London riots from parental and familial positions are explored further within this fourth theme. Firstly by considering the relationship between youth and parenting and extending to constructions of the family and morality, as well as parenting and professional interventions.

#### 5.4.1. Youth and Parenting

As discussed previously, young people were constructed as destructive and drawn to anarchy in relation to the riots, but also as disadvantaged. Parental roles occurred within the talk from four interviews, in relation to youth and the riots. The following extract presents talk from one interview, after the family were asked what they thought contributed to the riots.

**Extract 19:** I did see a parent come and find her son, when the riot was going on, and actually had a go at him, and took him away. But I wouldn't say I saw many parents going down there, looking for their young people. I think most of them, it was like watching telly live, wasn't it. People might be ringing their kid's, or children, to come back home (Antoi, father, 56 years, Black Caribbean)

Within the extract above, the parent appears to link young people with parenting, in relation to the riots. Parents appeared to be positioned within a surveillance role, which was also apparent in talk about youth and policing discussed within the theme relating to youth.

Talk across interviews appeared to position parents within surveillance, disciplinary, or protective roles. The role of surveillance within the parenting discourses of young people also occur within psychological literature. For example, adolescents are often constructed as having low self-control and being impulsive, therefore in order to manage this, parents are positioned as monitors of behaviour (Caitlin, 2012). At times psychological literature supports an onus placed upon parental behaviour e.g. disciplining, which seemed to occur in data within the present study. More specifically, parental behaviour was found to have a greater impact than adolescent characteristics, possibly reinforcing an onus placed upon parenting in relation to youth.

Child protection issues are increasingly attended to within health and social care and school settings (Daniels & Jenkins, 2010) and within the TFp, which may have also influenced the parenting discourses and practices available to families. This may act to reinforce practices of surveillance and monitoring for parents and the state in relation to young people and may contribute to discourses available

about 'good parenting' and 'bad parenting', all of which appear to be under scrutiny, in relation to an event such as the 2011 London riots.

#### 5.4.2. Parenting Struggles versus Parenting Failures

The challenges for parents in London communities appeared to be constructed within the context of social inequality and racial discrimination, as presented in the first theme. Despite the identification of parenting struggles, the construction of responsible parenting occurred within the talk from young people and parents from four interviews. The following extract presents talk from a mother after the parents were asked what they noticed about their community before, during and after the riots. The talk appeared to relate to constructions of youth as vulnerable, within the context of racial discrimination:

**Extract 20:** Our kids won't run, because they're not criminals, so they get dragged into the police station, for absolutely no reason at all, and we've been over and over. We've gone through that so many times, it just becomes part of life, and it shouldn't, and white people don't have to live like that. I don't know any white people who have had to just suck up police harassment, as a part of their life, but we do, we just have to suck it. No options, no redress, who you gonna complain to, the police complaints committee? (laughter) it's a joke. (Mary, mother, 51 years, Black Caribbean)

Within the above extract, the mother highlights the issues faced by her family in managing the harassment experienced by her children, from the police. The parenting struggle appears to be exacerbated by the limited options for social action i.e. constraints in accessing redress, therefore the parent may position themselves as helpless in protecting their children. Racial discrimination is also constructed as an experience for black people, not white people, which echoes the talk discussed previously, where issues such as racial discrimination, occur within constructions of youth and socio-political factors relating to the 2011 London riots. The implications of current policing practices for young people appear to limit the possibility of formal complaint and this tension is considered to be best managed through acceptance. There is evidence of complex power relations between police and young black men within the historical context for

London parents and families, as exposed within the Stephen Lawrence inquiry<sup>7</sup> (BBC, 2014). Therefore, the material reality for parents of young black men in London are particular salient in understanding the way in which families are likely to construct the riots.

Parental struggles were also constructed with an acknowledgement that parents are often in employment. The following extract occurred in talk after participants were asked about what contributed to the 2011 London riots;

**Extract 21:** Unsuccessful, maybe unsuccessful families, where parents were working a lot, or where parents wasn't care properly, about their kids. (Elena, mother, 41 years, White Lithuanian)

Within the above extract, adequate parenting appears to be constructed as somewhat incompatible with work. In addition, a parenting failure appears to be constructed as a lack of proper care for a child and is also considered as a separate issue from a parenting struggle, such as, balancing employment demands and caring for children.

From the interviews explored in the present study, a parenting failure did not appear to be tangible, measurable or observable, but seemed to occur in the talk as something that was not always achieved by parents, despite the observed parental struggles. The subtlety of the tension between the expectations of parents and an acknowledgment of the challenges for parents, may be explained through discussion of the following extract, which occurred after being asked about what contributed to the riots:

**Extract 22:** Children look at their peers and prefer their peers more. For them (children) they perceive them (peers) as authority. Parents are not as authoritative, especially for children or teenagers, that's who I think were mostly involved (in rioting). Basically, those values, are like, I

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<sup>7</sup> In April 1999, Stephen Lawrence was attacked by white youths and stabbed to death in south-east London. A subsequent public inquiry of the Metropolitan Police identified institutionalised racism and failures in investigating the murder (BBC News, 2014).

don't know, like not so emphasised, the good values are not emphasised. (Laura, daughter, 21 years, White Lithuanian)

Within the above extract, parenting appears to be constructed as a role which involves the practice of emphasising 'good' values, especially in relation to young people. It is possible that a lack of 'good' values is constructed as an explanation for the riots, which highlights an expectation of parenting as teaching 'good' values in relation to youth and rioting. The young person also highlights a tension between peer influence and parental influence for parents of young people, which also occurs in psychological literature (Steinberg & Morris, 2001) relating to youth.

The role of parenting in influencing the behaviour of young people with respect to the riots, was apparent in the talk from a parent in another interview:

**Extract 23:** Researcher: What do you think are the most important things to look at, to avoid the riots happening again?

I think it goes to the heart of culture, you know, your culture, and the upbringing of children, really to be more responsible, and dysfunctionality of the family. I think it goes the very roots of the social problems that we have in this country, you know, and worldwide. (Liz, mother, 48 years, White British)

Within this extract, the role of the parent appears to be expanded to a wider context by discussing the implications of dysfunctionality on the family, to culture and social problems, including the riots.

If parents were not able to communicate 'good' values to their children and nurture their needs responsibly they were more likely to be positioned outside discourses of 'good parenting' or constructed as 'unsuccessful families'. As discussed in the literature review, ideas about nurturing children have often dominated clinical disciplines concerned with parenting and families. However, even with clinical practices that emphasise the possibilities and acceptability of parenting which is 'good enough' (Winnicott, 1971) such therapeutic approaches may at times implicitly or explicitly contribute to parent-blaming or be reinforced

by the application of a deficit model to families within national policy i.e. the TFp. Therefore, the discourses available to families may be influenced by the way in which clinicians and social policy construct children, young people and their relationship with their parents, as well as the determinants of 'good parenting'. This appears to mirror patterns within the literature review, indicating that material deprivation and social inequality seem simplified and minimised within the criteria and interventions presented within the TFp from findings within the 'Families at Risk report' by the Social Exclusion Task Force (2007).

Within the present study, it appeared that the challenges for parents and families was a capacity to protect, provide, teach and care for children and young people. Parental roles also appeared to position the family as a site for establishing morals within society.

#### 5.4.3. The Family and Morality

Within interviews, the parenting of youth appeared to be constructed as instilling values in young people, where parenting acts as a mediating factor between young people and the problematic influences from society e.g. temptation, racial discrimination and material deprivation. Consequently, a subtle form of parent-blaming may exist, whereby parents are judged by their ability to overcome parenting challenges, by occupying subject positions, such as, a moral parent. This is apparent in the talk of parents when they were asked what politicians would say about why the riots happened:

**Extract 24:** We still have a sense of morals. (Lucy, mother, 35 years, White British)

Oh no, of course. (Tom, father, 38 years, White British)

But that's been instilled in you just with family (Lucy)

It's also the legacy of religion, and in one's family life, you know, that you have these certain teachings now, this is a question which needs to be, what replaces it? It's nonsense, and I'm being flippant here, but if there isn't organised religion, then what replaces it? How do we teach our children about the fact that they shouldn't steal, or murder, or shag each other's wives, or whatever it may be. (Tom)

Whilst the talk in the above extract includes questions about how morality can be supported, there appear to be hints of positioning the family as best placed to occupy this role within society. It appears that the onus upon parents to establish morality may have been influenced by a shift from a religious context, seemingly positioned as inherently moral, to a secular context. Thus, the role of establishing morals, becomes positioned within the family, but based on religious and moral discourses. Within another interview, a father appears to discuss the establishment of morality as possible within his daughter's generation:

**Extract 25:** My daughter, she is 12, maybe she will be able to instil in her children, you know, you know, live the right way. (Antoi, father, 56 years, Black Caribbean)

The phrase 'live the right way' was interpreted as relating to morality and perhaps mirrors the ideas discussed previously about parenting emphasising 'good' values. It also highlights the expectations placed upon parents to support an understanding of how to live.

Within the interviews, parents seemed to position themselves as being moral or instilling morals in their children, in order to support a subject position as a 'moral parent'. This suggests that discourses of 'good parenting' may include practices such as teaching young people about morality. This is especially likely given the expectations of parents, not only to overcome parenting struggles but to nurture responsibility in young people, in order to avoid social problems such as the riots. A lack of morals was located as a central issue in relation to the 2011 London riots, within political rhetoric along with issues with poor parenting, which were also apparent in public opinion. However, these ideas were generally absent within literature which theorized rioting behaviour i.e. within the work of Reicher and Stott (2011) in response to the 2011 London riots.

Parents may regulate their conduct according to a moral code (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2010) through occupying subject positions which are deemed to support morality i.e. through teaching about living the right way or encouraging prosocial behaviour in young people.

The next subtheme presents constructions of professionals and extends an exploration of relevant understandings of parenting, family and the community in relation to professional intervention.

#### 5.4.4. Parenting and Professionals

Professionals were identified as useful in relation to families through assessing the needs of families, and supporting the relationship between parents and young people, as well as supporting those affected by the negative impact of the riots.

Across interviews, material wealth seemed to be considered as a context for young people, parents and families in relation to the riots, and care within the family was constructed as something which could be supported through clinical intervention. This is apparent in the following extract in the talk after the family members were asked what they thought was most important in preventing future riots:

**Extract 26:** Basically, every family should be given care. It should be indicated that are they economically well based, so it's easier, because when everything is ok on the economical side, that means you have a safe home, you have food to eat, and everything. At least those basic things, then you can attend to the emotional side, then you could help, like psychologists could help parents create a bond with their children, and help them to understand each other more, and then teenagers would obviously feel valued. Then parents would see their kids like human, like growing human beings, attend to them, motivate them, help towards their education, like towards their life goals. (Laura, daughter, 21 years, White Lithuanian)

The construction of parental roles within the above extract focuses on providing food, safety and attending to emotional needs of children as well as bonding with children and valuing them. This appears to echo recommendations for parents from the think-tank CentreForum i.e. reading, talking, playing, adopting a positive attitude, and providing a nutritious diet for their children on a “5-a-day” basis (Paterson, 2011, p.38). In the above extract, professionals appear to be positioned as an appropriate group to support child development, through an attendance to relational aspects of parenting. The bond between parents,

especially mothers and their children are commonly studied and considered as a crucial relationship in a child's early years, according to child and adolescent psychotherapy (Anderson & Dartington, 1998), adult psychotherapy (Malan, 1995) and clinical psychology (Moore & Carr, 2000) literature and practice.

An additional role identified for professionals within the context of the riots was victim counselling for those exposed and impacted by the riots. These forms of clinical work relate to the way professionals are consulted to support with distress and create meaning in relationships, a role which was historically adopted by the clergy, but shifted to therapists more recently (Foucault, 1980). Interestingly, the talk within interviews did not indicate an awareness of interventions from professionals when asked about activist groups, social workers, psychologists, therapists or health visitor's involvement following the riots. The following extract was from talk after asking the family about what might need to happen to prevent the riots occurring again:

**Extract 27:** We need everyone to have an opinion, but you can't just pick people who have degrees and professionals, so what they say goes, and your opinion doesn't matter, that's not the way to go. (Tisha, daughter, 26 years, Black Caribbean)

In the above extract, professional opinions appear to be relevant in avoiding the riots in the future, but perhaps not to the detriment of other opinions. Professional involvement is often privileged over community support and increasingly in relation to families, as highlighted by Timimi (2010). These concerns raise the question of how it might be possible to balance professional and community perspectives on renewal, following untoward events such as a riot.

### **5.5. Reclaiming Normality**

The analysis presented contextual factors followed by constructions of youth, parenting and the family, and returned to contextual factors in relation to community. The possibility of normality and the creation of something new after the riots were apparent in three interviews. This suggested that previously discussed constructions of rioting as problematic for urban living, exist alongside constructions of the riots as productive.

### 5.5.1. Reclaiming in Times of Exclusion and Rioting

Within the first theme presented, exclusion appeared to be a condition for rioting. However, after the 2011 London riots, it appeared that parents and families noticed more inclusive experiences. The following extract presents observations from a father about his local community after the riots:

**Extract 28:** The night after everybody was out eating, you know, back in the town in the evening, in all the restaurants, and things, there was loads of people around, as if people had made a real effort, to reclaim things. (Steve, father, 48 years, White British)

The event of rioting appeared to create conditions for London communities to connect and perhaps overcome what was constructed as a traumatic event, through practices of everyday activities in their local areas. Interestingly, the same parent stated he had gone onto the street during the riots with a cup of tea so that things would look normal, despite the chaos.

In addition to normalising practices, media accounts reported the clean-up operation organised by London residents, following the riots (Davies et al., 2011). These accounts appear to construct London communities as active and engaged in addressing the issues of the London riots, which was absent from talk within political rhetoric at the time of the riots. Furthermore, the report gathering information from the general public on issues relating to the riots by the Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2011), indicated that the wider community should take responsibility in addition to parents, for the behaviour of young people during the riots. Whilst this view was absent within talk from interviews and political rhetoric, it does not shift significantly from positioning parents as responsible for the behaviour of young people. It does however suggest some resistance in constructing rioting as an individualistic issue or one which is situated within constructions of 'unsuccessful' families. The community efforts to reclaim normality appeared to be made possible following the riots due to an increased sense of neighbourhood. Some research findings indicate the value of community and neighbourhood variables as key mediating factors in areas affected by rioting (Hanson et al., 2000). Hence, normality may offer the possibility of overcoming the destructive implications of the 2011 London riots.

### 5.5.2. A New Neighbourhood

It seemed that what was made possible following the riots, was a connection with others in the neighbourhood and a stronger sense of community. This was reinforced through constructions of the riot as a shared experience, as apparent in the following extract:

**Extract 29:** It's (riots) a shared, it's a shared experience, you know anything which is a collective experience, is very binding. (Tom, father, 38 years, White British)

It seemed that the collective experience Tom describes, related to the way in which those in his community connected with each other after the riots. The following extract suggests that parents and families participated in practices which fostered a greater sense of connectedness within their community.

**Extract 30:** Before (the riots) we didn't really know any of our neighbours, our immediate neighbours, because we live in a house, and on either side there are flats, and we never spoke to any of them at all. But at the time (2011 London riots) we spoke to everyone, who was on the street, people the next day, I had never spoken to so many people at all, and afterwards that feeling lasted for quite some time. (Liz, mother, 48 years, White British)

Constructions of neighbourhood appeared to privilege collective strength over individual responsibility, and therefore differs from constructions of parents and families within political rhetoric. Talk of a stronger sense of community occurred from talk within an interview with a family living in Ealing, which corroborates the information gathered during recruitment in Ealing, where residents described a collective response to the riots. It was also noticed that the two families directly affected by the riots in Ealing and Hackney described a strong community, which may suggest that closer proximity to rioting creates conditions for neighbourhood. It is possible that talk from these two families were influenced by their country of birth being the UK as well as ethnicity, as they were the only two white British families within the sample. Therefore, their sense of citizenship may have influenced the way they positioned themselves within their communities and consequently the way in which they constructed shared identities and shared

experiences. It is likely that the resources available in the community to manage the impact of the riots were based on relational processes which fostered a stronger community through a shared experience of the riots.

### 5.5.3. The Self-Sufficient Community

One of the implications of a strengthened neighbourhood, was self-sufficient practices, thus allowing for ways in which the community were already managing, to be noticed. From the interviews, there appeared to be a sense that the community was able to draw upon its own resources:

**Extract 31:** They were going to defend their own grounds, and if the police couldn't do it, they were going to do it for themselves, that's what, that's what the community was during the riots. (Tisha, daughter, 26 years, Black Caribbean)

The above extract suggests that self-sufficient practices were observed by a young person, in her local area, following the riots. It also appeared that autonomy within communities occurred where policing and government had been constructed as absent.

**Extract 32:** Researcher: Did you notice any government schemes to address the riots?

I think it's more people in the community that dealt with it (riots), you know, the corner shops that I was talking about before, that were looted. It was actually the community that sat up, you know, funded people to keep or to put back. (Lucy, mother, 35 years, White British)

Here, Lucy locates the resources and efforts to recover after the riots within the community. Community practices following the riots were constructed as independent of government intervention and occurring where social control mechanisms or governmentality were perhaps failing. This supports observations by researchers involved in understanding the riots, indicating a lack of support from the state, but also a resilience within London communities (Newburn, 2012). A process of renewal appears to have been made possible by the riots, in part through the strengthening of neighbourhood despite exclusion, rioting, and

support to communities from the state. In addition, what appeared to be made new following the riots was the notion of 'riot heroes' as reported by the Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2011) which may have fostered supportive systems within London communities.

## **6. Summary**

The thematic analysis led to an exploration of five main themes: 'inequality and exclusion', 'rioting as a criminal threat', 'youth as problematic', 'parenting, the family and morality' and 'reclaiming normality'.

Parents and families constructed the 2011 London riots by mainly drawing upon discourses of crime, punishment, youth and parenting. These culturally available discourses were informed by problematizations of social inequality, racial discrimination, exclusion, policing and particularly in relation to young people. Where gentrification was constructed as an issue of social inequality, parents appeared to position themselves as being from poorer communities or excluded communities or as a group who had gained financially, as a consequence of gentrification. This range of subject positions showed variation in the way parents positioned themselves in relation to material wealth. However, regardless of the way in which parents positioned themselves in relation to the consequences of gentrification, they constructed it as a problematic social issue for London communities.

Rioting was constructed as dangerous and a criminal act, rather than a form of protest. The construction of rioting as illegitimate and protest as legitimate was especially apparent in talk where participants positioned themselves as opposed to looting and rioting, thus allowing them to occupy a moral position in relation to the riots and separate themselves from criminality.

Young people were constructed as dangerous and drawn to anarchy, which echoed constructions of rioting as a criminal threat and at times the talk within interviews appeared to favour punishment practices by police. There were striking contrasts in the way young people were positioned, for example as vulnerable or invulnerable by parents and young people within interviews. Where young people's engagement in rioting was discussed, they seemed to be

constructed as invulnerable. However, when the role of exclusion and lack of opportunities for young people and the treatment of young people by the police force was acknowledged, young people appeared to be constructed as vulnerable or disadvantaged. Thus, the social action available to young people seemed limited to constructions of youth as disadvantaged or invulnerable.

Subject positions taken up by parents appeared to construct the notion of a moral parent, a protective parent and a nurturing parent and contributed to a constructed identity as a 'good parent', through practices of teaching 'good values' and the 'right way to live'. These practices were especially apparent within interviews where rioting was constructed as dangerous and within talk about a tension between 'parenting struggles and parenting failures'.

Consequently, the talk seemed to refer more strongly to parental positions as a protector as well as a disciplinarian in relation to young people and the riots. The social actions available to families appeared to be surveillance, acceptance, protecting and teaching 'good values' and were constrained by contextual issues such as racial discrimination, but made possible by discourses about 'good parenting'.

The riots were constructed as a shared experience and one which made a new sense of neighbourhood and the reclaiming of normality as possible. The talk from parents in interviews seemed to construct communities as proactive and participants appeared to refer to subject positions as self-sufficient in relation to consequences of the riots in their communities.

The way in which the talk from interviews constructed rioting as dangerous and a criminal threat echoed some of the talk within political rhetoric and seems to support a clear distinction between protest and rioting for the parents and families interviewed. A subtle form of parent blaming seemed to occur in talk about parenting failures i.e. through a lack of good values or lack of discipline from parents in relation to young people and rioting. An association between poor parenting and the behaviour of young people seemed to resonate with the problematization of parenting in relation to the riots within political rhetoric. This further supports the construction of rioting as a criminal, dangerous and anarchic act. Social issues such as exclusion and social inequality and racial

discrimination occurred in talk about the main issues for London communities as well as the challenges faced by young people. This shows the relevance of social context when engaging with the issues relating to the riots as well as supporting an understanding of the opportunities or constraints on the social action available to young people, parents and families. For example, the likelihood that a young person might be able to overcome social exclusion or a parent may support 'good values' when they have little time to spend with their children, possibly due to multiple jobs required to provide for the family.

It seems that restorative and collaborative processes occurred within communities affected by the riots and served to establish a new form of community. This seemed to demonstrate the role of shared experiences in bringing people together to support social cohesion, despite wider issues of social exclusion and social inequality.

## **7. CONCLUSION, EVALUATION AND IMPLICATIONS**

The following section offers a conclusion in relation to the research aim, based on themes explored in the analysis. In addition, an evaluation of the research study, implications for research, policy and clinical practice are discussed.

### **7.1. Conclusion**

The present study aimed to explore how parents and families constructed the 2011 London riots. Five interviews with parents and families from London boroughs were conducted as a response to a lack of consultation with these groups, despite clear links between parenting and families within political rhetoric and subsequent interventions.

The thematic analysis, informed by Foucauldian theory, showed that discourses of crime, punishment, parenting and youth were relevant to parent and family constructions of the 2011 London riots. The construction of social inequality that was evident in the interviews i.e. gentrification and racial discrimination, exclusion, policing, neighbourhood and self-sufficient communities suggested the relevance of socio-political and contextual issues in understanding the riots. The tension between parenting struggles and parenting failures in relation to a 'good parenting' discourse, indicated that subtle forms of parent-blaming may exist within parent and family constructions of the riots and mirrors the responsibility placed upon parents and families within political rhetoric. The diverging ways in which youth were constructed in relation to the riots suggested that contradictory assumptions about youth can coexist i.e. vulnerable versus invulnerable. Parent and family constructions of the 2011 London riots appeared to offer alternative understandings of the riots, through discussion of contextual and community issues, whilst contributing further to existing discourses on youth and parenting.

### **7.2. Evaluation**

The research was evaluated in terms of strengths and limitations across key areas of the study i.e. epistemology, theoretical underpinning and the quality of research from recruitment through to analysis.

### 7.2.1. Epistemology

The chosen social constructionist epistemology enabled an acknowledgement of how discourses may influence subject positions and social action. However, at times, this epistemological approach may have constricted the analysis by limiting an exploration of cognitions, emotions and motivations, as these are based on more essentialist underpinnings, rather than social constructions. For example, limiting a detailed psychologically-informed exploration of a parents' experience of seeking containment for their child. Furthermore, explanations of individual differences (Burr, 2003) remain an area which was unexplored in the research study. For example, individual differences in relation to parenting and rioting behaviour, due to the assumptions of the social constructionist approach adopted.

### 7.2.2. Theoretical Underpinning

It was acknowledged that the decision to adopt narrative ideas within a systemic underpinning within the present study, emerged from a particular interpretation of the literature. One of the strengths of a systemic approach to the research process was the way in which it supported communication with parents and families e.g. maintaining a curious approach was particularly useful in managing barriers to recruitment, as discussed previously.

### 7.2.3. Quality of the Research

*7.2.3.1. Recruitment:* As stated in the methodology section, the recruitment process was extensive and challenging at times, due to low interest in participation in the study. Whilst the use of a research journal and discussions in supervision were useful in managing this, the pressure of collecting data within a limited amount of time may have occasionally strained the recruitment process and limited participation in the study.

*7.2.3.2. Method:* It was acknowledged that interviews could be viewed as an artificial form of data collection and does not allow for the analysis of talk that occurs naturally (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), however, interviews provided adequate data to answer the research question within the present study.

*7.2.3.3. Data collection:* The timing of the interviews presented an issue in terms of the accessibility of experiences and observations that participants had available to them, as there was a time lapse of two years. Further research in this area might be supported by the use questionnaires which could be distributed much more rapidly in relation to responses to political rhetoric, to complement the method and time-scale within the present study.

Semi-structured interviews can be considered as an ambiguous framework, due to the combination of a less formal structure, but with fixed times and roles (Willig, 2013). However, this was managed through strong rapport with participants, gained through contact with parents and families prior to the interview e.g. preparatory conversations relating to the study aims, arrangements for the interview and discussions of the information sheet.

*7.2.3.4. Reliability and validity:* Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) suggest that reliability, validity and generalisation should not be rejected within qualitative research, but reconceptualised in reference to interview data. Reliability was improved through an avoidance of using leading questions and frequent prompting within interviews, but not to the extent of stifling the flow of conversation. Additionally, reliability was supported through a clear understanding and application of the steps of analysis (Appendix 14), therefore supporting consistency. Validity is often constructed in relation to falsification and whether the method is useful in measuring the phenomena stated, and should be considered at each stage in the research process (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Where validity was concerned within the present study, it seemed that interviews were appropriate in exploring constructions of the riots through the examination of transcripts. However, the data itself was considered to be socially constructed, especially within the epistemological approach adopted. Consistency i.e. where the same results are collected through the consistent use of measurement, within the same conditions, is an applicable criterion for evaluating qualitative research, according to Banister et al. (1994). The process involved in phase three of the thematic analysis was useful in supporting consistency as themes were developed from codes relating to the entire data set, thus allowing the use of the codes as a consistent measuring tool. Additionally, the application of Foucauldian

theory i.e. discourses, subject positions, problematizations and practices also supported consistency, through providing a tool box of concepts to apply across the data set.

7.2.3.5. *Analysis*: A strength of the analysis was the application of Foucauldian theory as this supported the interpretative processes within the thematic analysis and is deemed to support analytic claims, according to Braun and Clarke (2006). Foucauldian-informed analyses have been critiqued for neglecting what the speaker does with their talk (Burr, 2003). Whilst the present study considered the implications for talk in terms of practices and discourses, it did not consider the nuances in speech or tone, or the use of conversational devices. Furthermore, a Foucauldian-informed analysis is not considered to provide a useful way of understanding non-linguistic dimensions of experience (Willig, 2008). Indeed, it would have been useful to explore this further within the present study. For example, non-linguistic aspects of the experience of the riots may have been a useful way of understanding 'threat', especially as this was strongly associated with rioting, as presented in the analysis chapter. Willig (2013) suggests that Foucauldian-informed analyses should be evaluated by the quality of the accounts produced, within a coherent story and generate new insights. Within the present study, it was thought that the final theme named 'Reclaiming normality' provided some insight into families in relation to the 2011 London Riots. Whilst a coherent story was presented, which shifted from contextual issues to more specific areas of rioting, youth and parenting, before revisiting renewed constructions of contextual issues.

Faulkner (2014) recommends sharing a preliminary analysis with participants, in order to inform revisions of the analysis and the discussion section, however, this was not possible within the present study, due to time constraints and practical issues. Hence, a consultation framework was not maintained throughout the study, which may limit the ways in which it addressed the issues discussed in the literature review, as well as limiting the data available during the analysis process. During the upcoming feedback stage, parents and families will be informed of the research outcomes and discussions during these meetings are hoped to inform the direction and content of subsequent publications.

### **7.3. Further Research**

It may be useful to adopt the same research question and interview questions within the present study with a participant group of families supported within the 'Troubled Families Programme', TFp. This would be useful in allowing for a comparison of constructions of the riots and may elicit similarities or differences in the discourses available to families supported by an intervention, where they may be positioned as 'troubled'. Thus, allowing further insight into the relevance or influence of a deficit model on the talk within families, in relation to the riots.

The inclusion and exclusion criteria for interviews may have privileged parental perspectives over those of young people, as interviews required at least one parent or guardian. In addition, the young people within two of the participant families spoke for only a small part of the interviews. Therefore, focus groups may be useful for collecting data from young people, as opportunities for young people to share their ideas amongst peers rather than parents might support discussion.

During the recruitment phase, it became apparent that there were differences between London boroughs in engagement with thinking about the riots. Further research may be useful in expanding on the structural theme of exclusion discussed in the analysis, possibly through the application of an ethnographic methodology to understand the riots from within different London boroughs.

Further research may be useful in examining political rhetoric through an analysis of media accounts, to explore what politicians commenting on the riots 'did with their talk' e.g. through an application of conversational analysis (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). This may expand understandings of the discourses available to politicians when discussing the 2011 London riots.

### **7.4. Reflexivity**

A research journal is recommended by Finlay and Gough (2003) to support reflexivity within research studies and was particularly useful in preventing pressures in completing the research task or passion for the subject to skew the analysis, or diminish opportunities to achieve the research aim. As mentioned

previously, the recruitment phase was frustrating at times, and often required a reflexive approach to manage the challenges involved. To demonstrate this point, an extract (taken from a recruitment day in Tottenham) from the research journal is presented below:

*'Difficult conversation with women in a barber shop who raised their voices and kept asking why would anyone want to talk about the riots? They pointed outside and explained that there were homeless mothers on the street and nobody is looking at this.*

*I feel like I am a naïve imposter in an area with major welfare issues. Why am I doing this research? Who or what gives me the right to ask about the riots? My thesis is just an academic task that has no relevance here. I can own my academic interest and motivation, but I feel estranged from the population whom I want to offer the opportunity to share their views. Am I too different to understand the issues here?'*

The personal and professional issues raised in the above extract were reflected on and the implications for recruitment were discussed in supervision. Consequently, it was thought that experiences during recruitment had supported development in understanding the meaning of a clinical psychology role, especially within a more public setting. Additionally, the information gathered in interactions with the public, was thought to enrich an understanding of issues for parents and families in London. The experience discussed above enabled the researcher to consider whose interests the research might serve, which is considered as a key aspect of research according to Finlay and Gough (2003).

When aiming to engage in ethical research which served the interests of those contributing to the study, there were important considerations around social positions e.g. class and race as well as power when using interviews. It was recognised that a power relationship was likely to be an inherent part of the interview process, as suggested by Banister et al. (1994). This was likely to be influenced by the motivations of the researcher in using interviews i.e. the study was part of a doctorate programme and an area of interest. Whilst a strong rapport was developed with participants, it was useful to acknowledge the power

relationship between participants and the researcher through building an awareness of its influence within research. This awareness was supported through discussions with peers who were engaging in similar research. In addition to considering the implications of a power relationship within interviews, it was useful to consider the role class, race, gender and age to support an ethical research stance. It was possible that the researchers' Asian ethnic origin served as a more neutral position within interviews, especially where stark contrasts were discussed in relation to black and white communities in London. In addition, ideas about class or socio-economic grouping may have influenced some of the conversations within interviews. As it was apparent that the researcher was studying within a doctorate programme which may have been viewed in contrast to the way in which participants position themselves, especially due to the rich discussions about gentrification, poorer communities and social inequality. With a greater focus on social issues in relation to race and social inequality within interviews, it is likely that the role of gender and age may have been less apparent within the present study. However, it is not assumed that the way in which participants position themselves or the researcher in relation to gender and age was not a factor which may have influenced the talk within the interviews conducted.

Another reflection relating to reflexivity concerned the clinical psychology role that the researcher had inhabited simultaneously, during the time of the research study. During the recruitment and data collection phases and whilst reading relevant literature, it became apparent that the material was interpreted from the perspective of a practicing clinician. Foucault did not consider that it was the role of intellectuals to improve practices and considered interventions based on a 'prophetic postures' to be unhelpful (Rabinow & Rose, 1994). Whilst this suggestion can be understood within the framework of ethics and power relations, and is not associated with a denial of a material reality, it is limited perhaps when applied to clinical psychology. However, the ideas explored in applying Foucauldian theory enhanced formulation skills with a clinical role i.e. by considering what forms of social action are being made possible based on a biological or psychiatric discourse.

## 7.5. Implications

### 7.5.1. Implications for Understanding the 2011 London Riots

As concluded, social inequality, racial discrimination and exclusion are relevant in understanding the 2011 London riots. This contributes to a contextual view of issues relevant to rioting, as apparent in some theoretical accounts of the riots e.g. exclusion and material wealth (Vrouva & Dennington, 2011). Thus, there appears to be a distinction between ideas about rioting in political rhetoric i.e. rioting due to a lack of morality, and those considered to be relevant in understanding the riots, by parents and families. In addition, the role of local communities are considered to be relevant to understanding the riots.

Youth were constructed in opposing ways i.e. vulnerable versus invulnerable and often based on contradictory ways of understanding youth behaviour. Giroux (2012) eloquently describes youth to be “Lauded as symbol of hope for future while scorned as a threat to existing social order youth have become objects of ambivalence caught between contradictory representation, discourses and spaces of transition” (p. xiv). It appeared that youth discourses are shrouded with contradictions and this may act to limit the social action available to young people, which seems highly relevant when considering the practices available to young people who engaged in rioting. Therefore, the formulations offered by Timimi (2010) about how the behaviour of children and young people can be understood through considering socio-cultural factors appear to be relevant in understanding youth in relation to the riots.

The construction of rioting as destructive criminal behaviour and separate to protest, seemed to support individualistic approaches to explaining rioting behaviour, however the role of peers and crowd influences were also apparent in talk from the interviews. The talk from parents and families within the study supported biopsychosocial explanations of rioting behaviour, such as the contagion theory (Patten & Arboleda-Florez, 2004), rather than explanations based upon social identification processes (Drury & Reicher, 2005). This shows that a biological discourse may be drawn upon to explain rioting behaviour by parents and families, in relation to the 2011 London riots.

The present study indicated subtle forms of parent-blaming within parent and family constructions of the 2011 London riots, which often related to a discourse of 'good parenting' or a role in instilling a sense of responsibility or morality in children. This suggests that parenting continues to be relevant in understanding the riots, especially in relation to youth. It appears that a much less direct form of parent-blaming may exist in relation the 2011 London riots than those within media accounts following the riots e.g. David Cameron's statement: "the parents of these children – if they are still around – don't care where their children are or who they are with, let alone what they are doing" (Kirkup, 2011, p. 2). However, in-direct forms of parent-blaming may contribute to parenting discourses and existing ideas of families within a deficit model, as apparent in the TFp.

#### 7.5.2. Implications for Clinical Psychology Formulation, Practice and Policy

The analysis from the present study indicated that socio-political factors i.e. social inequality and exclusion, parenting and youth discourses and community resources, were relevant in understanding parent and family constructions of the 2011 London riots. Therefore, formulation models, theories and policies which support an understanding of these areas may support clinical psychology practice, social interventions and local project work with parents and families within London communities.

*7.5.2.1. From themes to clinical practice:* A social inequality formulation (Miller & McClelland, 2006) may be relevant to contact with parents and families within clinical roles or local community projects as it offers ways of making sense of constraints such as, injustice and or racial discrimination. Relevant theory about the relationship between social inequality and health outcomes (Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003) may also support professional interventions with parents and families, as contextual factors can be considered within the local context. The existing report, 'Families at Risk' (Social Exclusion Task Force, 2007) may be useful to re-visit when considering suitable models and interventions for work with parents and families, as it considers issues such as low income within families, which were apparent from the data explored in the present study.

An awareness of contradictory ways in which young people may be constructed could support collaborative formulation work with young people, within therapy. Firstly, young people are likely to occupy different subject positions within different contexts, based on the discourses and constructions of youth available to them. For example, a young person may be constructed as naturally drawn to risk within a particular context, such as school and therefore positioned as requiring discipline, but constructed as a young adult with increasing responsibility within the family home and therefore considered to be able to self-discipline. Hence, the young person may occupy a subject position as obedient within school and independent within the home, based on the above constructions and positions. An awareness of these ways of understanding youth experiences may support therapeutic work and possibly contribute to meaning-making conversations within therapy. For example, within Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT), formulation work often includes an exploration of core beliefs about the self, others and the world (Kuyken & Padesky, 2009). Perhaps an exploration of the constructions of youth available to the young person and others in their lives may support conversations about the origin and meaning of core beliefs and allow for discussion of any contradictory constructions. This approach may enhance the incorporation of systemic ideas within CBT formulations, as recommended by Dummett (2013), when working with young people. However, an awareness of constructions, especially those which are contradictory, along with discourses and subject positions relevant to young people, is likely to enhance formulation within a range of therapy approaches.

Clinical work with families may be enhanced by attending to the language used to describe experiences of parenting and attending to the subtle nature of parent-blaming discourses. This may be extended within clinical practice through an integrative formulation (Dallos, Wright, Stedmon, & Johstone, 2006), whereby theory relating to parenting such as containment, may be complemented by consideration of the discourses available and the material practices and implications for parents. Whilst this is likely to require an appreciation of theory and analysis methods from differing epistemological approaches, it may be supported through the use of questions, such as, Where do you hear about how

to be a good mother? Whose ideas do you feel are important when thinking about how to be a good father?

*7.5.2.2. From analysis to community psychology:* As presented within the analysis, a sense of renewal within London communities was accounted for through strengthened neighbourhoods and shared experiences following the riots. This perhaps suggests a role for community psychology in facilitating conversations which foster neighbourhood and interdependence (Orford, 1992). However, professional involvement is often privileged over community support, as highlighted by Timimi (2010), so transparency and the co-construction of supportive conversations would be important to maintain. This was apparent in the analysis discussed, where professional opinions were constructed as useful but not in replacement of community ideas and views. Social action models (Holland, 1992) might be useful in sharing psychology with London communities and offering support following possible trauma experienced, through psychotherapy, in relation to events such as the riot, but also as a way of creating possibilities for political change.

*7.5.2.3. From theory to policy:* As discussed in the literature review, crime-related fears such as fears for personal and family safety were strongly associated with the civil disturbances in Los Angeles in 1992 (Hanson, Smith, & Kilpatrick, 2000). This highlights the importance of understanding family responses to events such as rioting, possibly through exploration of themes from the analysis presented e.g. family concerns around public safety, threat and containment. Further exploration of these areas might complement existing research on the impact of riots on psychosocial factors and provide information to inform contingency plans and family-based interventions, following riots.

Johnstone, Whomsley, Cole and Oliver (2011) advocate for the use of formulation within the profession of psychology, as an alternative to diagnosis, and consequently as a way of shifting the way in which mental health problems might be located and understood. Formulation within a Cognitive Analytic model have increasingly been developed to incorporate organisational systems and focus on social inequalities, according to Brown (2010). Formulating the process

of exclusion in relation to structural, economic and racial issues might provide local authorities with useful data for informing budget plans which meet the needs of the local population. For example, through informing Health and Wellbeing Boards linked to local authorities (Humphries & Galea, 2013). It is hoped that presenting research appropriately and formulating issues at a social, structural and political level might reduce the gap between reports on social issues and payment-by-result systems, as problematized by Levitas (2012) in relation to the 'Families at Risk' report (Social Exclusion Task Force, 2007) and the introduction of the TFp.

## **8. Reflections and Closing**

The following quote best explains the way in which the researcher experienced the journey in developing and executing the present study: “our research – which encourages us to reflect on ourselves and the social world around us – has the potential to be transformative, changing both us and our participants” (Finlay & Gough, 2003, p. 5). The recruitment phase was the most influential for personal and professional development. The researcher concluded that applying clinical psychology outside of systems which might be exposed to, share an affinity with, or privilege its theoretical and clinical applications, is where the researcher is best placed, in terms of future endeavours in the field.

An extract showing the talk from a young person is presented below, as it relates to concerns that contributed to the initial development of the present study i.e. how do we make sense of the riots? how we might prevent the riots from occurring in the future? and which groups are most relevant to an understanding of the riots:

**Final Extract:** If this country has so many people, so obviously it can't attend to all of them, it should be like make every effort to do this, because no one should be left behind. I think if someone has been left behind, the outcome is something like the riot, something like civil war, and then all those society problems. (Laura, daughter, 21 years, White Lithuanian)

The compelling part of the above extract was the idea that 'no one should be left behind', which was especially poignant given a concern about civil war as a consequence of the rioting. Attempting to prevent anyone from 'being left behind' was something which resonated with the researcher as it named a pursuit in understanding the groups affected by the riots. Interestingly, this idea emerged in the very early stages of the study, it offered the impetus to better understand the riots and was beautifully validated in the interview with Laura and her mother.

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## **Appendix 1 – Interview Schedule**

1. What types of things do you remember saying to each other about the riots?  
(what do you remember saying to others outside the family, about the riots?)
2. Were there different ideas about the riots within your family?
3. What do you think contributed to the riots?
4. At the time of the riots and after the riots, do you remember some of the things you heard about on the TV or the radio, about why the riots might have happened?
5. What do you think about the ideas that were talked about on the TV/radio/internet about what caused the riots?  
(Agree/Disagree, Why?)
6. If you asked politicians why the riots happened, what do you think they would say?
7. Did you notice any schemes or involvement from professionals e.g. social workers, psychologists, therapists, health visitors, after the riots?  
(if so, what did you notice? Agree/Disagree, Why?)
8. What do you think are the most important things to look at, in order to avoid the riots happening again?
9. Did you notice any changes in your community before, during or after the riots?
10. Do you think local communities have information that can help us understand the riots? (if so, what might this be? how can this be used?)

## **Appendix 2 – Information Sheet for Parents and Young Adults**

### INFORMATION SHEET for Adults or Parents/Guardians

#### UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON

School of Psychology  
Stratford Campus  
Water Lane  
London  
E15 4LZ

#### The Principal Investigator(s)

Name: Yvanna Coopoosamy  
Email address: X

#### Consent to Participate in a Research Study

- The purpose of this document is to provide you with information to help you think about whether you would like to participate in this research study.
- The study is being conducted as part of my Postgraduate course in Clinical Psychology at the University of East London.

#### Project

Families views on the London riots.

#### Project Description

- There are many ways in which families were talked about in the media and especially after the London 2011 riots. The government, researchers and professionals were interested in how families could be helped and so they came up with some programmes to help families.
- When I looked at these programmes and the ways that families were talked about, I noticed that families did not get asked about what they thought about the riots or what families needed help with and what type of help they would like. This is why I think that families are an important group to speak to about the riots and the schemes that have been created to help them.

#### Why are you being asked to take part in the study?

- I think that speaking to families that live in London, about the riots and related topics, will be the best way to learn about the views of a group who

have been talked about a lot, but not often talked to.

- I aim to find out about the ways that families view the 2011 London riots and the type of talk that came after the riots.

#### What would you be asked to do?

I would meet with you for an interview in a local community space and I would ask a few questions and make a digital recording.

#### What are the benefits of taking part in the study?

- By participating in an interview, you will have the chance to give your view on the topic of the riots.
- It may be an interesting opportunity for you and your family to experience together.
- You will also help to build the current knowledge that is available about families and the riots.

#### Keeping your Information Safe

- In order to meet with you, I might need to have some basic contact details, like your name and phone number. These details will be destroyed after next summer (2014) when we might meet again, so that I may give you a summary of the research findings.

1. When the interview is finished; I will copy the recording onto a disc, which will be password protected so only I will be able to access the information from the interviews.

2. I will be typing up all the information in the recordings. I will assign different names to each person when I type the interview information, to protect your identity.

3. I plan to destroy the audio recordings and transcription files 5 years after the interviews, as I may wish to publish the findings of the study.

As this research study is part of my University course, I have two supervisors who will be supporting me with the study. I will be discussing information from the interviews with them.

## Confidentiality

If I am concerned about the safety or well-being of yourself or others, I am legally required to inform someone who may be able to help or may need to be notified. I will discuss this with you first, where possible. There are two main situations where this might happen:

1. I become aware of any illegal activity on behalf of someone taking part in the study.
2. I am concerned about your safety or the safety of others linked to you.
  - Information from the interviews will be kept confidential and anonymised, as stated in the Data Protection Act (1998).
  - The research data will be anonymised prior to the analysis, documentation and publication of the research, unless there are indications that you or those linked to you are in immediate danger.
  - I will need to discuss these situations with my supervisors, so they can advise me.

## Are there any risks in taking part?

Thinking and talking about the riots might be difficult, because of the experiences people have had and/or witnessed. People who take part in the interview might experience some distress during or after the interview or possibly a few weeks or months later.

If you experience distress after taking part in the research, I have thought of some ways of offering support to you:

- I will be available to think about the experience of distress in relation to the interviews. I should make it clear that I will not be able to give advice or offer direct counselling.
- I will be providing a list of local services with this information sheet so that you may have the contact details for groups/services/voluntary services/community schemes that may be useful to you, following the interview.

## Outcomes of the Research

Research findings can be made available at a later stage.

### Deciding not to continue with the Interview

- You are not obliged to take part in this study and should not feel coerced. You are free to withdraw at any time.
- If you choose to withdraw from the study you may do so without disadvantage to yourself.
- If you are the only parent or legal guardian present for the interview and you wish to withdraw from the interview, unfortunately it will not be possible to continue with the interview. If however, there is more than one parent or legal guardian present and the remaining family member agree to continue, it will be possible to complete the interview if this is agreed by the family.
- Before we start the interview I will ask you how you would let me know if you did not wish to answer a question or continue with the interview.
- You do not have to answer a question you are not comfortable with it and you may withdraw from the interview at any point.
- If you withdraw, I reserve the right to use your anonymised data in the write-up of the study and any further analysis.

Please feel free to ask me any questions.

If you are happy to continue you will be asked to sign a consent form prior to your participation.

Please retain this invitation letter for reference.

If you have any questions or concerns about how the study has been conducted, please contact the study's supervisor: Dr Chris Pawson, School of Psychology, University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ. X. Email: X)

**or**

Chair of the School of Psychology Research Ethics Sub-committee: Dr Mark Finn, School of Psychology, University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ.  
(X. Email: X)

Thank you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,

[Yvanna Coopoosamy, X, X, August 2011]

## Appendix 3 – Information Sheet for Young People

### Who am I?

My name is YVANNA and I am studying to be a psychologist. I am doing a research project for my training course.

I go to the University of East London in Stratford for my course



### What am I asking for?

- I would really like to hear about what you and your family think about the riots that happened in London in 2011.
- I know that you have a lot of knowledge about family life in London and what it was like to be part of a family at the time of the riots.
- I think that speaking to families that live in London, about the riots and related topics, will be the best way to learn about the views of a group who have been talked about a lot, but not often talked to.



### What we talk about

- Our talk would be private. I will not tell your teachers or other family members or people in your local community about what we discuss together in the family discussion.

- If you let me know about things that might mean someone is in danger I would need to discuss this with my university and might lead to discussion with higher authority, such as the police.

### **About the interviews**

- Some people find that talking about the riots is upsetting. If this happens you can let me know within and after the interview. I will provide some information on people you might be able to help in your local area.
- You can ask for the interview to stop at any time. It will take no longer than one hour. You can say yes or no. It is up to you whether you take part.
- The interview will be recorded using a dictaphone and it will be private. I will also change the names before I type up all the conversations from the interviews.

### **Your information from the interviews**

- In order to meet with you, I might need to have some basic contact details, like your name and phone number. These details will be destroyed after next summer (2014).
- I will hold onto information from the interviews for 5 years before destroying it. I might decide to publish some of the findings of this research at a later stage.
- I have two tutors at my university who help me with my work and I may need to ask them some questions about the interviews.

### **Why take part?**

- By participating in an interview, you will have the chance to give your perspective on the topic of the riots.
- It may be an interesting opportunity for you and your family to experience together. You will also be helping to build the current knowledge that is available, about families and the riots.

### **Results of the interviews**

- I can provide a summary of the results at a later stage.

**If you are interested in taking part?**

- If you would like to take part in the research, your parent or legal guardian can sign a form before the interview.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and for your help.

Please feel free to ask me any questions.

(Yvanna Coopoosamy , X, X, August 2013)

## Appendix 4 – Information Provided to Participants about Local Support

<b>Borough of Ealing</b>
<b>Mind in Ealing and Hounslow</b> Address: 203-205, The Vale, Acton, London, W3 7QS Telephone: 0208 746 7676 Website: <a href="http://www.mind-eh.org.uk">http://www.mind-eh.org.uk</a> Office hours: Monday to Friday 9am - 5pm
<b>Family Information Service (FIS)A</b> Address: Ealing Council, Perceval House, 14-16 Uxbridge Road, Ealing, Broadway, W5 2HL Telephone: 020 8825 5588 Website: <a href="http://childrenscentres.org.uk/cis_index.asp">http://childrenscentres.org.uk/cis_index.asp</a> Office hours: Monday to Friday 9am - 5pm
<b>Ealing Health Self-help Directory (online resource)</b> Website: <a href="http://www.ealingnetwork.org.uk/documents/ealing%20health%20self%20help%20directory%20printable%20version.pdf">http://www.ealingnetwork.org.uk/documents/ealing%20health%20self%20help%20directory%20printable%20version.pdf</a>
<b>Borough of Hackney</b>
<b>The Samaritans (London Branch)</b> Address: 46 Marshall Street, London, W1F 9BF Telephone: 020 7734 2800 Email: <a href="mailto:jo@samaritans.org">jo@samaritans.org</a> Website: <a href="http://www.samaritans.org/">http://www.samaritans.org/</a>
<b>City and Hackney Carers' Centre</b> Telephone : 020 7923 8750 Fax: 020 7249 5975 Email: <a href="mailto:info@hackneycarers.org.uk">info@hackneycarers.org.uk</a> Website: <a href="http://www.hackneycarers.org.uk">www.hackneycarers.org.uk</a> Address: 96 - 102 Springfield House, 5 Tyssen Street Dalston, London E8 2LZ Opening hours: Monday to Friday, 9am - 5pm
<b>Hackney Children's and Young People's Services</b> Address: 4 Oswald Street, London, E5 0BT Telephone: 020 8986 0775 Website: <a href="http://www.hackney.gov.uk/s-cypf-support-groups.htm">www.hackney.gov.uk/s-cypf-support-groups.htm</a> Office hours: Monday to Friday 9am - 5pm
<b>Borough of Walthamstow</b>
<b>Waltham Forest Family Information Service</b> Address: Rowan House, 1 Cecil Road, Leytonstone, E11 3HF Telephone: 020 8496 3000 Email: <a href="mailto:wffis@walthamforest.gov.uk">wffis@walthamforest.gov.uk</a> Website: <a href="http://www.walthamforest.gov.uk/Pages/Services/families-information-services.aspx?l1=100003&amp;l2=200017">http://www.walthamforest.gov.uk/Pages/Services/families-information-services.aspx?l1=100003&amp;l2=200017</a> Office hours: Monday-Friday 9.30am-4.30pm
<b>The Samaritans of Waltham Forest</b> Address: 663 Lea bridge Road, Leyton, London, E10 6AL Telephone: 020 8520 9191 Email: <a href="mailto:jo@samaritans.org">jo@samaritans.org</a> Website: <a href="http://www.samaritans.org/">http://www.samaritans.org/</a>

**Appendix 5 – Consent Form for Parents and Young People**



**UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON**  
***Consent to participate in a research study***

**FORM 1. For adults (including parents) and young adults from 16-18 years.**

Title of Study

A Foucauldian Informed Analysis of the ways in which Families in London Construct their Understanding of the August 2011 Riots and the Related Parent Blaming Discourses

I have read the information sheet relating to the above research study and have been given a copy to keep. The nature and purposes of the research have been explained to me, and I have had the opportunity to discuss the details and ask questions about this information. I understand what is being proposed and the procedures in which I will be involved have been explained to me.

I understand that my involvement in this study, and particular data from this research, will remain strictly confidential. Only the researcher(s) involved in the study will have access to identifying data. It has been explained to me what will happen once the research study has been completed.

**I hereby freely and fully consent to participate in the study which has been fully explained to me.**

Having given this consent I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without disadvantage to myself and without being obliged to give any reason. I also understand that should I withdraw, the researcher reserves the right to use my anonymous data in the write-up of the study and in any further analysis that may be conducted by the researcher. The research findings may be published at a later date.

Participant's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

Participant's Signature

.....

Researcher's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

Researcher's Signature

.....

Date: .....

**Appendix 6 – Consent Form for Parents signing on behalf of young people below 16 years**



**UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON**  
***Consent to participate in a research study***

**FORM 2. For parents providing consent for children taking part in the study, who are below the age of 16**

Title of Study

A Foucauldian Informed Analysis of the ways in which Families in London Construct their Understanding of the August 2011 Riots and the Related Parent Blaming Discourses

I have read the information sheet relating to the above research study and have been given a copy to keep. The nature and purposes of the research have been explained to me, and I have had the opportunity to discuss the details and ask questions about this information. I understand what is being proposed and the procedures in which I will be involved have been explained to me.

I understand that my involvement in this study, and particular data from this research, will remain strictly confidential. Only the researcher(s) involved in the study will have access to identifying data. It has been explained to me what will happen once the research study has been completed.

**I hereby freely and fully consent to participate in the study which has been fully explained to me.**

Having given this consent I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without disadvantage to myself and without being obliged to give any reason. I also understand that should I withdraw, the researcher reserves the right to use my anonymous data in the write-up of the study and in any further analysis that may be conducted by the researcher. The research findings may be published at a later date.

Participant's Name (child below age of 16 years) and Parent's name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

.....

Parent's Signature

.....

Researcher's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

Researcher's Signature

.....

Date: .....

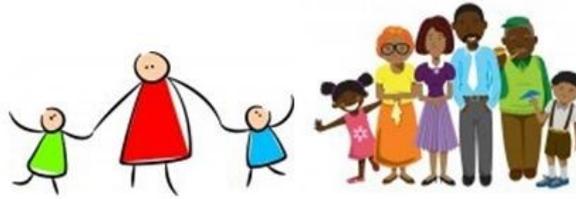
## Appendix 7 – Recruitment Poster



Are you part of a family who were living in London during the 2011 London Riots?

Did you and your family live in any of these areas at the time of the riots?

Brixton, Croydon,  
Ealing,  
Enfield, Hackney,  
Haringey  
Walthamstow



• I am a trainee at the University of East London.

• I would like to find out what families think about the 2011 London riots.

• If you would like to take part in this exciting opportunity, I look forward to speaking with you in July, August and September (2013).

Yvanna Cooposamy  
(University of East London)

Contact me at: X  
or the number below



## Appendix 8 – Participant Sample

	<i>Anonymised names</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Position in family</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Ethnic origin</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>London borough</i>
1	Mary	Female	Mother	51	Black Caribbean	Civil servant	Hackney
	Ineh	Male	Father	53	Black Nigerian	Musician	Hackney
2	Elena	Female	Mother	41	White Lithuanian	Support worker and Project administrator	Hackney
	Laura	Female	Daughter	20	White Lithuanian	Student	Hackney
3	Antoi	Male	Father	56	Black Caribbean	Youth worker	Hackney
	Tisha	Female	Daughter	26	Black Caribbean	Lab technician	Hackney
	Corine	Female	Daughter	12	Black Caribbean	Student	Hackney
4	Steve	Male	Father	48	White British	Software engineer	Ealing
	Liz	Female	Mother	48	White British	Solicitor	Ealing
	Ben	Male	Son	13	White British	Student	Ealing
5	Tom	Male	Father	38	White British	Creative Director	Walthams tow
	Lucy	Female	Mother	35	White British	Jewellery designer	Walthams tow

## Appendix 9 – Ethics Approval

### ETHICAL PRACTICE CHECKLIST (Professional Doctorates)

**SUPERVISOR:** Mark Finn

**ASSESSOR:** Donald Ridley

**STUDENT:** Yvanna Coopoosamy

**DATE (sent to assessor):** 28/05/2013

**Proposed research topic:** A Foucauldian Informed Analysis of the ways in which Families in London Construct their Understanding of the August 2011 Riots and the Related Parent Blaming Discourses

**Course:** Professional Doctorate in Clinical Psychology

1. Will free and informed consent of participants be obtained? YES / NO
2. If there is any deception is it justified? YES / NO/ N/A
3. Will information obtained remain confidential? YES / NO
4. Will participants be made aware of their right to withdraw at any time? YES / NO
5. Will participants be adequately debriefed? YES / NO
6. If this study involves observation does it respect participants' privacy? YES / NO/ NA
7. If the proposal involves participants whose free and informed consent may be in question (e.g. for reasons of age, mental or emotional incapacity), are they treated ethically? YES / NO / NA
8. Is procedure that might cause distress to participants ethical? YES / NO / NA
9. If there are inducements to take part in the project is this ethical? YES / NO / NA
10. If there are any other ethical issues involved, are they a problem? YES / NO / NA

**APPROVED**

YES	<b><u>YES, PENDING MINOR CONDITIONS</u></b>	NO
-----	---	----

**MINOR CONDITIONS:**

Make sure that all necessary Child Protection forms in Place

Make sure meeting is in public place and that others are nearby (e.g. caretaker)

Be vigilant regarding investigators safety and wellbeing and terminate interview if necessary

**REASONS FOR NON APPROVAL:**

Assessor initials: DR Date: 08/07/2013

RESEARCHER RISK ASSESSMENT CHECKLIST (BSc/MSc/MA)
---

**SUPERVISOR:** Mark Finn

**ASSESSOR:** Donald Ridley

**STUDENT:** Yvanna Cooposamy

**DATE (sent to assessor):** 28/05/2013

**Proposed research topic:** A Foucauldian Informed Analysis of the ways in which Families in London Construct their Understanding of the August 2011 Riots and the Related Parent Blaming Discourses

**Course:** Professional Doctorate in Clinical Psychology

Would the proposed project expose the researcher to any of the following kinds of hazard?

- |    |           |    |
|----|-----------|----|
| 1  | Emotional | NO |
| 2. | Physical  | NO |
| 3. | Other     | NO |

(e.g. health & safety issues)

If you've answered YES to any of the above please estimate the chance of the researcher being harmed as: HIGH / MED / LOW

**APPROVED**

<u>YES</u>	YES, PENDING MINOR CONDITIONS	NO
------------	-------------------------------	----

**MINOR CONDITIONS:**

**REASONS FOR NON APPROVAL:**

Assessor initials: **DR** Date: 08/07/2013

For the attention of the assessor: Please return the completed checklists by e-mail to [ethics.applications@uel.ac.uk](mailto:ethics.applications@uel.ac.uk) within 1 week.

**SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY**

Dean: Professor Mark N. O. Davies, PhD, CPsychol, CBiol.



**School of Psychology  
Professional Doctorate Programmes**

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to confirm that the Professional Doctorate candidate named in the attached ethics approval is conducting research as part of the requirements of the Professional Doctorate programme on which he/she is enrolled.

The Research Ethics Committee of the School of Psychology, University of East London, has approved this candidate's research ethics application and he/she is therefore covered by the University's indemnity insurance policy while conducting the research. This policy should normally cover for any untoward event. The University does not offer 'no fault' cover, so in the event of an untoward occurrence leading to a claim against the institution, the claimant would be obliged to bring an action against the University and seek compensation through the courts.

As the candidate is a student of the University of East London, the University will act as the sponsor of his/her research. UEL will also fund expenses arising from the research, such as photocopying and postage.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Mark Finn

Chair of the School of Psychology Ethics Sub-Committee

Stratford Campus, Water Lane, Stratford, London E15 4LZ  
tel: +44 (0)20 8223 4966 fax: +44 (0)20 8223 4937  
e-mail: [mno.davies@uel.ac.uk](mailto:mno.davies@uel.ac.uk) web: [www.uel.ac.uk/psychology](http://www.uel.ac.uk/psychology)



The University of East London has campuses at London Docklands and Stratford  
If you have any special access or communication requirements for your visit, please let us know. MINICOM 020 8223 2853



## Appendix 10 – Ethics Proposal

UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON

School of Psychology

APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL

FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

**FOR PROFESSIONAL DOCTORATE RESEARCH IN CLINICAL, COUNSELLING & EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY**

Students on the Professional Doctorate in Occupational & Organisational Psychology and PhD candidates should apply for research ethics approval through *Quality Assurance & Enhancement* at UEL and NOT use this form. Go to: <http://www.uel.ac.uk/qa/research/index.htm>

Before completing this form please familiarise yourself with the latest *Code of Ethics and Conduct* produced by the British Psychological Society (BPS) in August 2009. This can be found in the Professional Doctorate Ethics folder on the Psychology Noticeboard (UEL Plus) and also on the BPS website [www.bps.org.uk](http://www.bps.org.uk) under *Ethics & Standards*. Please pay particular attention to the broad ethical principles of respect and responsibility.

### 1. Initial details

1.1. Title of Professional Doctorate programme:

Professional Doctorate in Clinical Psychology

1.2. Registered title of thesis:

A Foucauldian Informed Analysis of the ways in which Families in London

Construct their Understanding of the August 2011 Riots and the Related Parent

Blaming Discourses

### 2. About the research

2.1. Aim of the research:

The proposed study, aims to explore the way in which families make sense of the 2011 London riots and the parent blaming discourses surrounding the event, through the use of interviews.

*Research Questions:*

1. What discourses do families use to construct their understanding of the riots?
2. How do families make sense of the government discourses and schemes that emerged after the riots?
3. How do families construct community, in relation to the riots?

2.2. Likely duration of the data collection/fieldwork from starting to finishing date: Following the ethical approval and successful registration of the thesis proposal, I aim to collect data between the spring term of 2013 and the winter term of 2013.

2.3. Design of the research:

*Method for Data Collection:* The proposed study aims to acknowledge the observed lack of consultation with families in relation to state and psychological interventions, following the riots. Therefore, it is proposed that qualitative methods are used to explore the views of a participant sample of families. Interviews are likely to provide a context in which the construction of discourses can be discussed, whilst providing a structure in which to engage in conversations on a highly controversial topic. It is proposed that interviews are the most appropriate method to explore the proposed research questions. However, the research claims that can be made in relation to the data collected (Harper, 2012), are not assumed to directly reflect participant perspectives or explain their intentions.

7 semi-structured interviews will be conducted with families. Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) suggested that 12 interviews with individuals were sufficient for reaching data saturation, with a basic level of themes established from 6 interviews. In consideration of the interviews involving families across London boroughs, it was thought that the proposed study would involve a number of participants which were close to 12, but also shaped by the requirements of the research questions and aims of the study. A semi-structured interview schedule will be employed during a time-frame of approximately 1 hour, which is deemed to be an adequate length of time to collect substantial data, considering that there may be multiple members of a family present.

2.4. Participants:

In response to minimal references to families within their context in relation to the riots, the current study aims to recruit participant families via local community spaces. The participant sample for each interview is likely to be composed of approximately 4-6 individuals of different genders, ages and generations from up to 7 families. The number of family members within the participant criteria for

each interview was established by considering research methods such as focus groups, as well as the specific participant group of families. The average range for the number of participants within a focus group was noted to be 6-10 participants (Powell & Single, 1996). The lower limit of 6 participants provided a useful guide for the proposed study, due to fact that family members know each other well and the time restriction of 1 hour. It was decided that approximately 4-6 family members would be a suitable number of participants within a single interview, for the proposed study. Participants are likely to be representative of a variety of ethnic groups and from varying socio-economic backgrounds, considering that the sample will be taken from London boroughs, which are composed of a highly diverse population. A common factor across families, may be their contact with the community centre or group where the recruitment will be focused. In order to gather data which provides relevant material on family perspectives of parent blaming discourses in relation to the riots and families, it is proposed that at least one parent or legal guardian is present for each interview. Where possible, members from an extended family would be included in the family interview as well as young people, thereby, conforming to systemic constructions of the family unit. Legal guardians will be included in the research as they take up a parental role and contribute to the experiences of young people and children in communities.

According to clinical research discussed in the formation of the proposed study, the inclusion criteria was within the age range of 17-20 years (Caitlin, 2012). Secondly, the state intervention described in relation to the 2011 riots, such as the Troubled Families Programme (Communities and Local Government, 2012) referred to the age range of young people who are under the age of 18 years and those who were at a school age. These examples of relevant inclusion criteria helped shape the participant age range within the proposed study, in addition to the identified areas for exploration within the research questions devised. Due to the abstract nature of some of the research areas and the reference to government schemes in the proposed study, it is thought that the lower limit for the young people included, would be 13 years. This allows for an invitation of ideas and contributions from the community of young people in London, which is highly relevant as they form a key part of an identified group who were involved in

the London 2011 riots. Due to the limit of 4-6 participants per family interview, it is thought that there would be a maximum of 3-5 young people included in a single interview as it was specified that at least one parent or legal guardian should be present. There is no minimum number of young people specified for each interview as there is likely to be adequate information generated between adults in relation to the research questions proposed. However, greater diversity in the age range of participants is desirable for considering the possible range of ways in which the riots may have been experienced by family members. Appropriate information sheets will be provided for young people below the age of 16 years.

#### 4.3 Procedure

For recruitment purposes, local community forums, charities, initiatives, research groups, community panels and family groups have been identified for each of the 7 boroughs referenced in the 'Reading the Riots' report (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011). These groups from the 7 London boroughs will be approached for participant recruitment.

#### 2.5. Measures, Materials or Equipment:

A semi-structured interview will be used to shape a format for the interviews and guide the discussions. Although, a flexible approach will be adopted in relation to the process of conducting the interviews so that participants may be more at ease to share their views and ideas, therefore, increasing the validity of the data gathered.

A digital recording device will be used to record the interviews; and the data collected will be copied to discs, and password protected, to maintain confidentiality.

#### 2.6. Outline of procedure:

To aid participation and informed consent the following process is proposed:

1. Contact a community forum or group within areas most affected by the riots and set up a brief meeting or telephone call with the leader/manager, charity worker or group members, to give an outline of the research.

2. Discuss the details of the research with the community leader/manager, charity worker or group members and discuss any potential practical or ethical implications as well as spaces for the interviews. Request information about relevant protocols, such as, risk assessments.

4. Attend a community group meeting or event and use the opportunity to meet community members, and introduce the research idea. Offer an opportunity to discuss the research further. Gather the minimum contact details from interested families to set up an informal meeting (in person or over the phone) to think about the research. Provide an information sheet to interested parties.

5. Discuss confidentiality, withdrawal from research and implications of research and answer queries. Share some information about the origin of the idea and distinguish between research role and clinical role, if this area of concern arises.

Prior to the interview, copies of the information sheet will be provided along with an opportunity for participants to ask any questions. The participants will be asked to complete the consent forms accordingly. Parents or legal guardians will be asked to complete a consent form on behalf of participants below the age of 16 years, whilst participants over the age of 16 years will be given the opportunity to complete the consent form, in their own right. Any relevant issues in relation to consent will be discussed following the provision of information sheets which will include the contact details of the researcher.

If an interview space is not available for the family to access within the community they will be offered the opportunity to participate at a meeting room at the University of East London. It will be important for the family to be able to access a space in which they feel comfortable and can access, but that can be free from interruption and reasonably quiet for the purposes of increasing recording quality during interviews. Any requirements that participants require to access the interview, in order to participate in the study, will be considered and discussed prior to the interview. This will allow all members of the family equal opportunities to contribute to the research and avoid discrimination on the grounds of individual needs.

As stated previously, 7 semi-structured interviews will be conducted with families, and will be recorded using a digital recording device. Interviews which last up to

an hour will be conducted, with an opportunity to discuss any issues with the researcher at the end, without the use of the recording device.

A feedback summary will be offered to participants in early summer of 2014, to report findings of the study.

Please see sections 3.5 and 3.8 for more details on the process of interviews and management of risk.

### **3. Ethical considerations**

#### **3.1. Obtaining fully informed consent:**

Please see section 2.6 for the outline of the procedure, including details of the proposed method for obtaining informed consent.

It will be assumed that all participants have the capacity to consent to participation in the study, as outlined according to the Mental Capacity Act (Ministry of Justice, 2005). However, it is possible that a participant may be unable to understand, retain, weigh up and/or communicate their decision to participate in the study. Under these circumstances, the obtainment of consent will be suspended temporarily and the criteria for consent will be discussed with the participant. Where possible, a member of the family might be consulted on the issue of the capacity to consent to the study. However, this will only be explored if the relevant participant wishes to discuss the matter with a family member present. The issue of capacity to consent would be discussed with the relevant supervisor.

Whilst participants are recruited within a non-clinical setting, it is not assumed that participants represent a sample where clinical needs are not present or irrelevant. As a matter of course, participants will be supplied with information of local services, i.e. mental health services and voluntary sector groups and relevant charities, relating to an array of support systems.

For participants under the age of 16 years, parental or legal guardian consent will be requested on their behalf. Whilst the consent for participation in the study for young people below the age of 16 years will be obtained from the parents or legal guardian, it is not assumed that they would like to participate, and they will be asked if they wish to contribute. Participants between the age of 16-18 years will

be given the opportunity to provide consent to participate in the study within their own right.

Consent forms will be discussed with those interested in contributing to the research study and participants will be asked to complete the forms, prior to the interview.

3.2. Engaging in deception, if relevant: NO

The proposed research does not involve deception.

Participants will be informed that interviews are a way of gaining information and that it would be most useful for the proposed study, if the interviews occur with a whole family present. It will also be explained that participants will be encouraged to think and discuss the topic of the riots.

Please see section 3.8 on Debriefing, for more details.

3.3. Right of withdrawal:

Participants will be informed of the following details concerning the right to withdraw from the research and this will also be available on the information sheet provided. As stated previously, at least one parent or legal guardian is required to be present within an interview, therefore if they decide to withdraw from the interview, it will not be possible to continue in their absence and the family concerned will not be able to contribute to the research. If however, a parent or legal guardian wishes to withdraw from the interview and there is another parent or legal guardian present, the interview can be completed, if this is agreed by the remaining family members.

The interviews will be recorded on a digital recording device which will be copied to a disc and password protected to secure the information.

1. Participants may refuse to answer a question during the interviews and they will not be asked to answer the question again.

2. Participants can withdraw from the interview at any point. There will be a discussion on how participants would like to inform the researcher that they wish to withdraw, so that the agreement is clear before the interview begins.

3. The possibility of the research findings being published, will be indicated on the information sheet and consent form. Participants will be informed that the data collected will be saved following the interviews e.g. audio recordings and transcripts for 5 years, due to the possibility of publication.

#### 3.4. Anonymity & Confidentiality:

Will the data be gathered anonymously? NO

Participants will be informed that due to the likelihood of multiple participants (family members) attending a single interview, they will be asked to give their status within the family e.g. father of the family. This is strictly for the purpose of aiding transcription and accurately recording each participant's contribution. The recordings will then be transcribed using anonymised names.

The interviews will be recorded on a digital recording device which will be copied to a disc and password protected, to secure the information. This will be stored securely for the period of time necessary for transcription, and for the pieces of research to be approved and passed by the University. The transcripts will be password protected until publication is completed.

The contact details of participants will be saved on a password protected word file and not saved onto a mobile phone. The contact details may be printed off prior to a meeting or interview, however, any hard copies will be shredded once contact has been made. Any contact details used to meet with participants will be destroyed following completion of the study. If the participants wish to contact the researcher, a University email address will be made available to them on the information sheet.

Confidentiality will be maintained within the interview space, however, it will be made clear (prior to the interview) that the data and information about the process of the research is discussed with two supervisors from the University. Participants will also be made aware that aspects of the data collection may be discussed at a general level with two clinical psychologists, who also support the

study. It will also be made explicit that the researcher is bound by certain professional regulations and this may require a break in confidentiality. Below are the circumstances for a break in confidentiality. These will be outlined to participants within the information sheet and discussed prior to the interview:

1. If there is a breach of the law, the researcher is obliged to inform necessary parties (The British Psychological Society, 2009).
2. If the researcher is concerned for the safety of participants.

Under the Data Protection Act (1998), personal data pertains to information regarding a living individual, who can be identified, and this information is required to be legally protected, under the Act. Therefore, for purposes of the proposed study, data will be anonymised prior to analysis and any subsequent documentation and publication, in order to protect the identity of the participants. Participants will be informed of the following details, within the information sheet that will be made available to them:

Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained under the Data Protection Act (1998) prior to the analysis, documentation and publication of research data, unless there are indications that any participant or those linked to the participant, is in immediate danger.

Relevant supervisors will be consulted in regard to the above points, prior to a break in confidentiality, where possible.

### 3.5. Protection of participants:

The information sheet provided to participants, will outline the possibility of distress during or following the interview, due to the potentially sensitive nature of the topic and discussing such a topic with family members present. One version of the information sheet will be suitable for adults and one for children and young people and will include contact details of the researcher should there be any concerns or questions prior or following the interview.

As a matter of course, participants will be supplied with information of local services, prior to the interview i.e. mental health services, voluntary sector groups and relevant charities relating to an array of support. Participants will be informed that if they experience distress a couple of weeks/months after the interview in relation to the content discussed, they may find it helpful to contact one of the local support services detailed on the information sheet. An opportunity to speak with the researcher after the interview will also be offered, in relation to any distress experienced as a result of the discussion. It will be made clear prior to the interview, that any support offered will not be within a counselling role, and the participant will not be advised as to what they need to do. What will be offered is as follows:

1. The participant will be given the opportunity to state any difficulties occurring in the interview, if they wish.
2. The participant will be asked who they might wish to inform and what course of action they would prefer to take at that point.
3. The participant would be reminded of the information sheet with details of support services that may be of use and any additional signposting may be offered if relevant.

3.6. Will medical after-care be necessary?

NO

3.7. Protection of the researcher:

The community leader/manager or charity worker will be contacted to find out about the spaces available for interview and who might be at the agreed venue at the time of the interviews, should any difficulties occur. The contact details of a representative within the community centres will be saved on a mobile phone, in case of an immediate difficulty. Where these contact details are not available publically e.g. on a website, they will be destroyed once the feedback session is completed.

The venues for the interviews will be planned for spaces within community settings e.g. a community hall, or youth centre. The meetings and interviews will be organised within 9-5 working hours, where possible.

In the unlikely case that any risks or distress are experienced by the researcher as a result of contact with participants, relevant supervisors will be contacted.

### 3.8. Debriefing:

Please see sections 2.6 for the outline of the procedure and section 3.4 on relevant issues of confidentiality, as well as section 3.5 for details on ways to protect participants.

A summary of the research findings will be made available to participants in early summer of 2014, through the member of the local community organising the meetings and interviews. Participants will be made aware of this by the information provided prior to interviews which will include a University email address, should they have any queries.

### 3.9. Will participants be paid?

YES

Funding for the reimbursement of travel costs incurred by participants to attend an interview will be applied for. This is deemed to be an important component of the research approach, as it communicates the value of the participants' time. It also acknowledges the difficult situation that families are currently facing in terms of cuts to various benefits, which may be a relevant factor for some participants.

The reimbursement of travel costs will only be discussed with families if funding is agreed and will be mentioned prior to the interviews. Reimbursement will be offered regardless of completion or withdrawal from the interview.

### 3.10. Other: Location of Interviews

If local community centre's or meeting spaces are unavailable a meeting room at the Stratford campus for the University of East London will be offered as a space for the family to meet for the interview. As made explicit in section 3.9. participants will be reimbursed for travel costs, which may be a significant factor, if local spaces are unavailable.

## **4. Other permissions and clearances**

### 4.1. Is ethical clearance required from any other ethics committee?

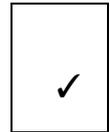
YES

It may be necessary to comply to ethical approval requests and regulations within the community groups and centres that are accessed, in order to recruit participants for the study. The details of these community groups are not known

at this point and will be explored following ethical approval and registration of the study.

**4.2. Will your research involve working with children or vulnerable adults?\* YES**

If YES, please tick here to confirm that you obtained a CRB certificate through UEL, or had one verified by UEL, when you registered on your Professional Doctorate programme.



If your research involves young people under the age of 16 years will parental/guardian consent be obtained.

YES

Information sheets for participants under 16 years of age and parental consent forms will be provided prior to the interviews.

**5. References:**

Caitlin, A. C. (2012). Examining The relationship between parenting types and patterns of student alcohol-related behaviour during the transition to college. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviours*, 26, 20-29.  
doi:10.1037/a0025108

Communities and Local Government. (2012). *The Troubled Families Programme. Financial programme for the troubled families programme's payment-by-results scheme the local authorities*. (Crown Copyright No. 978-1-4098-3424-0). Retrieved from  
[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/11469/2117840.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/11469/2117840.pdf)

Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experimental data saturation of variability. *Field Methods*, 18, 59-82.  
doi: 10.1177/1525822X05279903

Ministry of Justice. (2005). *Mental Capacity Act*. (Research Report No. 978 0 11 3228157). Retrieved from The National Archives website:  
[http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130107105354/http://www.dh.gov.uk/en/Publicationsandstatistics/Publications/PublicationsPolicyAndGuidance/DH\\_085476](http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130107105354/http://www.dh.gov.uk/en/Publicationsandstatistics/Publications/PublicationsPolicyAndGuidance/DH_085476)

Office, I. C. (1998). *Data Protection Act*. (Information Commissioner's Office). Retrieved from  
[http://www.ico.gov.uk/for\\_organisations/data\\_protection.aspx](http://www.ico.gov.uk/for_organisations/data_protection.aspx)

Powell, R. A., & Single, H. M. (1996). Methodology Matters - V. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*, 8, 499-504. doi:10.1093/intqhc/8.5.499

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[http://www.bps.org.uk/system/files/documents/code\\_of\\_ethics\\_and\\_conduct.pdf](http://www.bps.org.uk/system/files/documents/code_of_ethics_and_conduct.pdf)

## **6. Signatures**

This section will be completed at a later date.

### **6.1. Declaration by student:**

*I confirm that I have discussed the ethics and feasibility of this research proposal with my supervisor(s).*

*I undertake to abide by accepted ethical principles and appropriate code of conduct in carrying out this proposed research. Personal data will be treated in the strictest confidence and participants will be fully informed about the nature of the research, what will happen to their data, and any possible risks to them.*

*Participants will be informed that they are in no way obliged to volunteer, should not feel coerced, and that they may withdraw from the study without disadvantage to themselves and without being obliged to give any reason.*

Student's name: Yvanna Coopoosamy

Student's signature:

Student's number: X

Date: 19.05.13

5.2. Declaration by supervisor:

*I confirm that, in my opinion, the proposed study constitutes a suitable test of the research question and is both feasible and ethical.*

Supervisor's name: Dr Mark Finn

Supervisor's signature:

Date: 19.05.13

## Appendix 11 – Ethics Amendments Approval

**From:** Mark Finn  
**Sent:** 24 February 2014 11:00  
**To:** Claire Correia  
**Cc:** Yvanna COOPOOSAMY  
**Subject:** Minor conditions - Yvanna Coopposamy

Dear Claire,

Here are the minor conditions for Yvanna. I confirm that all 3 conditions were met

Bw Mark

**From:** Yvanna COOPOOSAMY  
**Sent:** 22 February 2014 14:30  
**To:** Mark Finn  
**Subject:** Ethics Query - Yvanna Coopposamy

Hi Mark

I hope you are well. Here are the minor conditions I was asked to meet:

### **MINOR CONDITIONS:**

1. Make sure that all necessary Child Protection forms in Place
2. Make sure meeting is in public place and that others are nearby (e.g. caretaker)
3. Be vigilant regarding investigators safety and wellbeing and terminate interview if necessary

Here were how the minor conditions were met:

1. The Research Director Dr Kenneth Gannon confirmed by email (see below) that the CRB check that is required for our clinical work within our trainee role also covers our research work, therefore I was able to interview young people (under 18 years old) without seeking any additional Child Protection checks.

Hi Yvanna

We have always taken the view that the same CRB check covers both roles.

Best wishes,  
Ken

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Yvanna COOPOOSAMY  
**Sent:** 15 July 2013 09:13  
**To:** Kenneth Gannon  
**Subject:** RE: Ethical approval for thesis research

Hi Ken

Thank you for your email. One of the points raised in relation to my UEL ethics form was if the CRB that covers my placement work, also covers my research role? Do you know how I might find this out please?

Kind regards

Yvanna

Yvanna Coopoosamy  
Trainee Clinical Psychologist  
University of East London

2. The following sections of the ethics form was amended to address the minor condition regarding conducting research in public places.

3.7. Protection of the researcher:

The community leader/manager or charity worker will be contacted to find out about the spaces available for interview and who might be at the agreed venue at the time of the interviews, should any difficulties occur. The contact details of a representative within the community centres will be saved on a mobile phone, in case of an immediate difficulty. Where these contact details are not available publically e.g. on a website, they will be destroyed once the feedback session is completed.

The venues for the interviews will be planned for spaces within community settings e.g. a community hall, or youth centre. The meetings and interviews will be organised within 9-5 working hours, where possible. In the unlikely case that any risks or distress are experienced by the researcher as a result of contact with participants, relevant supervisors will be contacted.

3.10. Other: Location of Interviews

If local community centre's or meeting spaces are unavailable a meeting room at the Stratford campus for the University of East London will be offered as a space for the family to meet for the interview. As made explicit in section 3.9. Participants will be reimbursed for travel costs, which may be a significant factor, if local spaces are unavailable.

(Also see page 10-12 of attached ethics form)

3. The above sections from pages 10-12 of the amended ethics form are thought to show how the researcher safety was considered, however, the submitted risk assessment also supports this area of concern (see attachment).

I have also attached the amended ethics form and the ethics approval form. Please let me know if you require any further details.

Kind regards

Yvanna

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**From:** Mark Finn  
**Sent:** 21 February 2014 15:00  
**To:** Yvanna COOPOOSAMY; Chris Pawson  
**Subject:** FW: Ethics Query - Yvanna Coopoosamy

Hi Yvie,

Apologies for the extra admin, but as your named DoS can I ask that you please have a look at the email below and send me the minor conditions specified on your ethics approval form and briefly how they were met. I will then forward the information on so that you can be registered for examination.

many thanks

mark

Dr Mark Finn  
Senior Lecturer Psychology  
020 8223 4493  
Room AE2.19

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**From:** Claire Correia  
**Sent:** Friday, February 21, 2014 2:12 PM  
**To:** Mark Finn  
**Subject:** Ethics Query - Yvanna Coopoosamy

Dear Mark

As I'm sure you are aware we are putting together examination arrangements for this trainee. Examination applications now have to include ethics approval. The ethics approval for this student included minor conditions –we have been asked to include an email from the Director of Studies outlining how these minor conditions have been met – please can you reply to this email stating the minor conditions and how they have been met so I can include these with the applications.

Many thanks

Claire

## Appendix 12 – Change in Thesis Title Approval



Yvanna Coopoosamy  
X

19 February 2014

Student number: X

Dear Yvanna

### **Notification of a Change of Thesis Title:**

I am pleased to inform you that the School Research Degree Sub-Committee has approved the change of thesis title. Both the old and new thesis titles are set out below:

**Old thesis title:** A Foucauldian informed Analysis of the ways in which families in London construct their understanding of the August 2011 riots and the related parent blaming discourses

**New thesis title:** A Foucauldian Informed Analysis of the ways in which families in London construct their understanding of the August 2011 riots.

Your registration period remains unchanged. Please contact me if you have any further queries with regards to this matter.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'James J. Walsh'.

Dr James J Walsh  
School Research Degrees Leader  
Direct line: X  
Email: X

cc. Mark Finn

## Appendix 13 – Transcription Notation

The following transcription notation used in the present study, was adapted from the guide presented by Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor, and Tindall's (1994):

(laughter)	participant or multiple participants laughter
(sigh)	participant or multiple participants sighs
<i>Word underline</i>	emphasis
xxx	untranscribable or inaudible
(xxx)	indistinct/doubtful transcription

## Appendix 14 – Phase One to Six of Analysis

### *Phase one – Becoming familiar with the data*

During phase one of the thematic analysis informed by the Braun and Clarke (2006) model, the five interview recordings were transcribed and the researcher became familiar with the material.

The following section revisits phase two of the analytic procedure and presents the way in which this phase was executed within the current study.

### *Phase two – Generating initial codes*

The aim of this phase is to systematically code the data set according to theoretical ideas and the research question. During this phase the objects, events and experiences, were initially identified as constructions, along with what was absent from the talk. Subsequently, problematizations, discourses, practices and subject positions were identified from the transcripts, in addition to areas of clinical or theoretical interest.

To demonstrate phase two of the analysis within the present study, interview information and a sample of a transcript has been provided, to show the how codes were derived from the data, and how Foucauldian theory was applied:

#### Interview details:

Date of interview	05.09.13
Interview number	4
London borough family were living in during the riots	Ealing
Interview venue	Quiet meeting room within a Church which was local to the family, in Ealing
Number of participants	3
Participants	Father, Mother, Son
Participant details	Steve <sup>8</sup> (father), aged 48, software engineer Liz (mother), aged 48, solicitor Ben (son), aged 13, student

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<sup>8</sup> All names were anonymised prior to transcription.

Sample of analysed transcript:

<b>Transcript material</b>	<b>Codes</b> <b>What are the events, objects and experiences? How are these constructed?</b>	<b>Theory</b> <b>Discourses, Practices, Problematisations.</b>	<b>Subject positions<sup>9</sup> + Clinical or theoretical observations.</b>
<p><sup>10</sup>Researcher: so I was wondering what um what conversations do you remember having in your family about the 2011 London riots</p> <p>Liz: at the time or afterwards or both?</p> <p>Researcher: um it can be both</p> <p>Liz: I had at the time we um well we clearly spoke about it afterwards Ben was um our two girls weren't present so it was Ben and us and your friend who were what's his name who were there and we um we witnessed it didn't you?</p>	<p>Riot as object.</p> <p>Experience of riots was first-hand.</p> <p>Riot results in practices such as discussion in the family.</p> <p>Riot constructed as a topic that may have been discussed in the family.</p>	<p>Practice of talking about the riots.</p>	-
<p>because you heard it because your room is at the front of the house and you it was it was very noisy wasn't it (Liz)</p>	<p>Riot experienced within close proximity.</p> <p>Riot constructed as noisy.</p>	-	-
<p>so we spoke about it directly afterwards and no the following days but since then I don't think we've really had any conversations about it at all (Liz)</p>	<p>Riot as an event which has not been talked about recently.</p>	<p>Practice of discussing the riots.</p>	<p>Communication within family system after the riots.</p>
<p>Steve: yeah a lot of what we were well when we spoke about it would have been relating that the what happened to immediately where we were or what we did now</p>	<p>Riot as an event which was discussed immediately after the event.</p>	-	-
<p>Liz: and tried to make sense of it</p>	<p>Riot as an event to make sense of</p>	<p>Practice of making sense of riots.</p>	-
<p>Steve: yeah</p> <p>Liz: and understand it</p>	<p>and understand.</p>	<p>Practice of trying to understand the riots.</p>	-
<p>Steve: there was quite a lot of how I suppose how we felt about it in in the days afterwards and um I suppose there was a little bit about</p>	<p>Riot as something to explain.</p>	-	-

<sup>9</sup> The identification of Foucauldian theory was variable within each interview transcript, therefore it is possible that only a few examples are noted in the sample of transcript presented.

<sup>10</sup> The transcript has been divided into rows, to show how the text was processed during the analysis phase, to support coding.

you know what we thought why it had happened and that sort of thing			
Liz: yes I mean do you want us to describe what happened? As far as we were	-	-	-
<p>Researcher: yeah you could say what your experiences were a bit at the time because I'm imagining that may be that impacted the kind of conversations that you had</p> <p>Liz: yes absolutely yes I mean we were</p> <p>Steve: first we saw Ben what was your</p> <p>Liz: well shouldn't we just say what happened first and then you can sort of understand everything as a result of that but what happened is on the night</p>	<p>Experiences of riots as impacting conversations about riots.</p> <p>Understanding event of riots as important.</p>	-	-
I came home late from work and I can't remember what time I got back but (Liz)	-	Practice of travelling home.	Subject position as affected resident.
the police were sort of clearing the area now at the time and (Liz)	Police as involved.	Practice of clearing the area.	-
and no one had said what was happening but urm we I thought I could smell burning actually as (Liz)	Rioting as evoking smells and changes in the environment.	-	-
I was coming back on the tube and as I came up the stairs there was urm a London transport policeman who was attending to people with children (Liz)	<p>Children as priority for safety.</p> <p>Children as vulnerable.</p>	Practice of using the tube.	-
because it was you know summertime so there were lots of children around (Liz)	-	-	-
to leave the area quickly so I wondered what was going on but no one said anything at all (Liz)	-	Practice of evacuation.	
and our house is literally round the corner from the town centre (Liz)	Proximity to riots as important.	Close proximity to the riots as problematized	-
so you come out of our house and go round the corner and we are just about 200 yards down the road urm the main road going off to the North circular and I noticed there were lots of people you know milling around the place (Liz)	Event involved a lot of people.	-	-
and it was quite hot (Liz)	-		-
and as I came past Tesco's there was somebody who was saying that they were urm going to smashup Tesco's later you know (Liz)	Threats as part of rioting.	Practice of threatening to vandalise shops.	-

I thought bearing in mind there had been a riots in the capital the previous few days is thought that was a bit poor taste (Liz)	Comments about riots as unhelpful.	-	Subject position as unimpressed by rioting and insensitive talk on rioting behaviour.  Subject position as moral citizen.
urm but in retrospect they actually did mean it wasn't a joke (Liz)	Reality of riot as unexpected.	-	-
they were off to do that so I walked through town (Liz)	-	Practice of walking through town.	-
I didn't think anything more of it at all did we and we weren't even watching the news I don't think (Liz) Steve: no	Media footage as unattended.	-	-
Liz: and then suddenly we heard this almighty noise from outside	Event of riot as noisy.	-	-
Steve: well Ben can tell you Liz: yeah you heard it first didn't you can you describe what you heard? Ben: it was like smash and a bin fell over	Riot as destructive.	Rioting practices of smashing things on street.	-
Liz: and there were it was just people generally you know being noisy really noisy and shouting (Liz)	Noise as a consistent aspect of riot.	-	-
it's hard it's hard to describe the sound of what really was in effect a mob running down your road (Liz)	Mob as part of riot.  Direct experience of riots as difficult to explain.	-	-
but it was yeah it was it was just really weird it was a big noise lots of people lots of smashing lots of shouting there was from nowhere (Liz)	Riots as a weird event.	Rioting practices of shouting, smashing things.	-
and we just didn't understand what was going on between and then the noise was such that you thought oh no something terrible is happening (Liz)	Riots as an incomprehensible event.	-	-
and so I ran upstairs I came out saying I could hear noises he could hear noises in his room because he's on the ground floor at the front and he came out to us and (Liz)	Riot as leading to social action.  Social action available as finding safety in the home.	Practice of running through the house.	-
I just took him and his friend up to the most secure place I could think of which is in the middle of the house which is our bathroom (Liz)	Riot as a threat to security in the home.	Practice of finding safe place.  Parenting discourse	Subject position of protective parent.

			Subject position as a good parent.
and your friend was quite shocked wasn't he I think he was probably a bit more sensitive than you and he was really frightened and really upset (Liz)	Experience of riot as shocking and frightening.  Children as fragile.	-	-
I remember just trying to get to the safest place I could think of which was in the bathroom and locking the door as if that would have done any good (Liz)	Safety and protection as prioritised.  Defences as inadequate.	Practice of seeking the safest room in the house.	-
and just being absolutely petrified terrified that they were going to come into the house (Liz)	Experience of riots as terrifying.	-	Subject position as threatened.
Steve: our house is right on to the street	Riot as close to family home.	-	-
and there were all people in the street and they were smashing up the cars and they were urm turning over the bins and things and well although we weren't really aware of it at the time but they were going into people's houses (Steve)	Riot as not possible to be aware of at the time.	Practices of smashing up cars, turning over bins, those who rioted entering homes.	-
Liz: well I think because we are only about a third of the way down the street I mean it was a mob of I don't know a couple of hundred people	Those who rioted as a large mob.	-	-
and they were by the time they got halfway down the street they realised they weren't being followed there was no one there (Liz)	Those who rioted as unpursued.	Social control over those who rioted as problematized.	-
was no police nothing at all (Liz)	Police as absent.	Policing as problematized	-
Steve: we did try and we rang the police didn't we	-	Practice of contacting the police.	-
Liz: and then halfway down they started then smashing into no breaking into houses	-	Practices of vandalism.	-
because they realised they could do whatever they wanted (Liz)	Those who rioted as unpoliced.	-	-
and it was urm yes I rang the police and they said basically what can we do about it (Liz)	Police as overwhelmed.	Practices of calling the police.  Crime discourse.	-
and I don't think I've ever well I haven't felt so terrified in my life (Liz)	Experience of riots as terrifying.	-	Subject position as fearful.
because you're inside your house and you just don't feel safe (Liz)	Home as under threat.	Safety in the home as problematized	-

	Safety as compromised.		
Steve: there's there's the way our house is literally right straight onto the street and there's nothing between you and the that's the only thing that is there bits of glass from the other other house but urm yeah	Close proximity to the riots as increasing risk.  Home as unprotected.	-	-
I was very concerned (Steve)	Experience as concerning.	-	-
that that urm I just wanted to make sure nobody was going to break in or whatever (Steve)	Prevention of break-in to home as important.	-	Subject position as protector.
so I went outside and urm I I I took a cup of tea with me I thought (Steve)	Experience of going out on the street during the riots.	Practice of going out on the street during riots.  Practice of taking a cup of tea.	-
Liz: you dressed in your old working overalls that you work on the car in they were really dirty and went out (laugh)	-	Practice of dressing in overalls.	-
Steve: I thought if nobody could like attack you if you had a cup of tea in your hand	Normalising practices as protective.	-	Subject position as an unthreatening resident.
Liz: but this was about	-		
Steve: so I stood outside and I was trying to just put I was closing the car doors and picking stuff up	Social action available as standing outside home.	Practices of tidying.	-
because I not not obviously but I just wanted it's like a control	Control as a social action available.	-	Control was sought through normalising practices in a chaotic situation, where control was very minimal due to conditions of riot
wanting just I thought if it <sup>11</sup> <u>looked</u> more normal then people wouldn't you know behave sort of tidying up sort of thing (Steve)	Normality as useful as a way of managing chaos.	Practice of tidying.	Subject position as a normal resident.

During phase two of the analysis, each of the five transcripts were analysed according to the process outlined above. This supported the generation of initial codes through considering constructions of objects, events and experiences.

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<sup>11</sup> Words that were underlined indicated emphasis by the interviewee.

Subsequently, all interview transcripts were re-read in the same order and notes were made to clarify the codes and theory noted from the data and allowed the researcher to re-visit the first interview. This supported the way in which codes informed the formation of themes within phase three of the analysis process. In addition, contradictions and ideas about what might be absent from the talk were noted and re-visited during phases three and six.

### Phase Three of Analysis

The following section revisits phase three of the analytic procedure and presents the way in which this phase was executed within the current study.

#### *Phase three – Searching for themes*

The aim of this phase was to establish potential themes according to codes, to support the development of themes and subthemes.

In order to explore potential main themes and subthemes, the codes and Foucauldian-informed notations (i.e. the constructions of objects, events and experiences, along with discourses, problematizations, practices, subject positions and technologies of self) were mapped out onto flipchart paper for each interview. Then patterns, similarities, variations, contradictions and what appeared to be absent in the talk were highlighted within each of the interview details drawn up on flipchart paper. Variations were also noted. This allowed the codes and Foucauldian-informed notations to be considered across all five interviews and supported the formation of themes. The discourses noted for each interview were drawn up onto one piece of flipchart paper and helped to generate the main themes.

The following table shows subthemes which correspond to five main themes, formed during this phase:

	<b>Main Themes</b>	<b>Subthemes</b>
1.	Class	Protest as struggle, racial discrimination (social inequality and media portrayals), class struggles, social exclusion, welfare state, race and religion, social integration, class differences
2.	Young people	Failing young people, meritocracy, young people as a threat, education as important, youth, society and politics, youth and anarchy

3.	Criminality	Punishment and crime, police and public, young people and police harassment, mismanaged criminality, youth, rioting and looting
4.	Parenting	Family and the state, parent struggles, attending to children's needs, protection discourse, professional intervention, morality, family support
5.	Community	Professional intervention, reclaiming discourse, survival discourse, sense of neighbourhood, self-sufficient community, community resilience

## Phase Four of Analysis

The following section revisits phase four of the analytic procedure and presents the way in which this phase was executed within the current study.

### *Phase four – Reviewing themes*

The aim of this phase was to develop coherence of themes and clarify distinctions between them. Sections of transcripts were highlighted according to the identified codes i.e. constructions of objects, events and experiences and manually cut up. These sections of transcript were then grouped according to the identified main themes and subthemes. The theme names could then be refined according to decisions about the relevant codes and sections from the transcript. Instead of a thematic map, the five main themes and 34 subthemes were drawn out on flipchart paper, with the corresponding codes. Then sections of the transcript were re-grouped according to the reviewed themes.

The process described above allowed the main themes and subthemes to be reviewed and refined to form five main themes and 13 subthemes, as shown in the following table:

	<b>Main themes</b>	<b>Subthemes</b>
1.	Societal struggles and the state	Class and race struggles, exclusion and integration
2.	The problematic youth	Failing our youth, policing of youth, youth and anarchy
3.	Crime and punishment	Rioting and criminality, policing and public safety
4.	The function of the family	Parental protection, parenting and responsibility, the family and morality
5.	Threats and resilience for London communities	Reclaiming neighbourhood, self-sufficient communities, protest discourse

## Phase Five of Analysis

The following section revisits phase five of the analytic procedure and presents the way in which this phase was executed within the current study.

### *Phase five – Defining and naming themes*

The aim of this phase was to clarify the themes and consider how they might represent the data within a coherent story. It was useful to revisit the research question at this point, in order to refine the themes further and consider internal consistency for each theme. Defining the themes was supported by referring to the flipchart sheets with the themes, relevant codes and selected parts of the transcripts. This allowed an exploration of the relationship between discourses, subject positions and practices, and supported the naming and defining of themes.

The 5 main themes and 13 subthemes were revised to 5 main themes and 15 subthemes. Then the main themes and subthemes were defined according to codes and sections of transcripts.

The following table shows the main themes, subthemes and examples of the way in which codes were used to explore each subtheme:

	<b>Main themes</b>	<b>Subthemes</b>
1.	Inequality and exclusion	Social inequality and discrimination e.g. gentrification as a condition for exclusion Exclusion and inclusion e.g. exclusion as a condition for rioting
2.	The problematic youth	Youth as disadvantaged versus powerful e.g. youth as vulnerable Policing of youth e.g. youth as oppressed by police
3.	Rioting	Rioting versus protest e.g. riot as an illegitimate form of protest

		<p>Rioting as opportunism e.g. looting as non-political act</p> <p>Policing, rioting and public safety e.g. rioting as a form of civil unrest</p> <p>Role of the government e.g. government as absent through lack of policing during riots</p>
4.	Parenting, the family and morality	<p>The family and morality e.g. parenting creates conditions for morality</p> <p>Parenting struggles versus parenting failures e.g. parents responsibility in overcoming parenting struggles</p> <p>Professional and community intervention e.g. interventions from professionals such as, psychology and social work disciplines</p> <p>Youth and parenting e.g. youth in relation to parenting challenges</p>
5.	Reclaiming normality	<p>Neighbourhood e.g. stronger sense of community</p> <p>Reclaiming despite exclusion and rioting e.g. normalising practices</p> <p>The self-sufficient community e.g. government as absent creates conditions for the community to manage the aftermath of the riots</p>

## Phase Six of Analysis

The following section revisits phase six of the analytic procedure and presents the way in which this phase was executed within the current study.

### *Phase six – Producing the report*

This was considered to be the final phase of analysis, where final themes and extracts are developed into a coherent report, based on the research question and relevant literature.

Along with the research question, previous notes about tensions between themes, contradictions, and conditions and what may be absent from the talk were re-visited. This resulted in further defining and refinement of the 5 main themes and 15 subthemes formed during phase five to the final report, as shown below:

	<b>Main themes</b>	<b>Final main themes</b>	<b>Subthemes</b>	<b>Final subthemes</b>
1.	Inequality and exclusion	Inequality and Exclusion	Social inequality and discrimination Exclusion and inclusion	<sup>12</sup> <i>Social Inequality and Racial Discrimination</i> <i>Exclusion as a Condition for Rioting</i>
3.	The problematic youth	<i>Youth as Problematic</i>	Youth as disadvantaged versus powerful Policing of youth	<i>Youth as Disadvantaged</i> <i>Youth as drawn to Anarchy</i>

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<sup>12</sup> Items in italics indicate the final themes after refinement and defining between phases five and six of the analysis.

				<i>Youth, Punishment and Policing</i>
2.	Rioting	<i>Rioting as a Criminal Threat</i>	Rioting as an illegitimate form of protest Rioting as opportunism Policing, rioting and public safety Role of the government	<i>Rioting versus Protest</i> <i>Rioting as Dangerous</i> <i>Rioting and Policing</i>
4.	Parenting, the family and morality	Parenting, the Family and Morality	The family and morality Parenting struggles versus parenting failures Professional and community intervention Youth and parenting	The Family and Morality Parenting Struggles versus Parenting Failures <i>Parenting and Professionals</i> Youth and Parenting
5.	Reclaiming normality	Reclaiming Normality	Neighbourhood Reclaiming despite exclusion and rioting The self-sufficient community	<i>A New Neighbourhood</i> <i>Reclaiming in Times of Exclusion and Rioting</i>

				The Self-Sufficient Community
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