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Practicing the family. The doing and making of family in, with and through social work and education

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PRACTICING THE FAMILY

The Doing and Making of Family In, With and Through Social Work and Education

[transcript] Pedagogy

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Practicing the Family

Pedagogy

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Practicing the Family

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Contents

III Practicing the family/families in education & social work

IV Research paths on practicing the family/families

Practicing the family – Introduction

Sabine Bollig and Lisa Groß

1 The COVID-19 pandemic as a magnifying glass for the entanglement of the family and families life

This volume brings together research that focuses on the everyday practices of the family, asking not only about the ways in which family members shape and perform their family life in their everyday activities, but also about how these everyday family practices are related to the functional systems that support, supplement and control the reproductive work of the family in welfare states: public education and social work. To this end, the welfare state institutions of education and social work are not only considered as institutional contexts of family life, but also as sites and places where the social configuration and addressing of the family and particular families and the everyday practice of shaping and negotiating familial positions, relationships and mutual obligations converge in a very practical way. The articles collected here, therefore, unite by refering to at least some kind of praxeological understanding of the family (Finch 2007, Morgan 2011, Jurczyk 2022), which, starting from the diversity and complexity of modern societies and modern family life, understands the family as an societial institution and a way of life of families, held together by the interweaving of a multitude of discursive and socio-material activities, which make certain social practices recognisable as 'family practices' at a particular time and in a particular situation.

The close links between family practices and the policies and institutions of the welfare state have recently come to the attention of a wider public in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. In this respect, the sometimes drastic measures taken to contain the initial spread of the virus have particularly highlighted the inequalities and non-simultaneity between, on the one hand, the family as a regulated private sphere of welfare production, closely intertwined with markets and the services of education and social work (Daly 2022, Hank/Steinbach 2019), and, on the other hand, more fluid forms of everyday practice of actual families (Jurzcyk 2022).

In particular, the social debates on and the individual handling of policy rules for 'permissible contact' in the context of 'social distancing', which in some countries was initially limited to 'one's own household' and 'immediate family', highlighted

like under a magnifying glass, how differently family is understood and lived and how little ‚family' and ‚household' match in everyday life. For example, in Germany, where relatively strict contact rules were introduced at the beginning of the pandemic, exemptions had quickly to be made for children of separated parents, in order to enable them to travel between their different family residences and exercise their right to contact with both parents. Young people in residential care homes, however, had to wait longer for such exemptions to be made (Mairhofer et al. 2020). And transnational families, especially the migrant worker parents who regularly commute across borders between their workplaces and their families' places of residence, were also less fortunate, as air travel restrictions and border closures affected their physical contact with their multilocal families for long periods of time (Nehring/Hu 2022).

However, the vulnerability of the family to welfare state policies was also evident for families living in the same household. This was particularly the case with regard to the unequal ability and capacity of families to cope with the removal or shifting of spatial and temporal boundaries between work and family life (Gayatri/Irawaty 2022), which resulted from the combination of home office or more demanding working conditions for medical and care personnel with the simultaneous partial closure of crèches/kindergartens and schools (Vitória/Ribeiro/Carvalho 2022). Low-income families, so-called 'multiple-problem families', separated or single parents, and mothers in general were hit hardest by these boundary shifts (Goldberg/Allen/Smith 2021, Witte/Kindler 2022, Holztrattner et al. 2023, Hoskins/Wainwright 2023). And we have also seen how, in response to the situation, new family-like units have emerged, as the temporary limited availability of day care or leisure activities for children in youth and sports clubs has prompted parents to join forces with other families to overcome the isolation of children and parents as a 'family couple'. In doing so, these families practically translated the understanding of the 'nuclear or close family' under the conditions of COVID-19 into a 'closed private virus community'. However, educational and social work institutions influenced these adapted forms of family practice not only through their initial restriction of services. The switch to distance learning, counselling, etc., and the wave-like renegotiations of who can, may or must physically use the services of schools, preschools or child protection services, and under what conditions, also influenced further everyday negotiations about who, as part of the nuclear or exented family, was included in the necessary adjustments to everyday family life and duties, and in what way.

This COVID-19-related ‚relapse to the family' also had unexpected effects, including on families in contact with child protection services. In particular, in the early days of contact bans, professionals feared that the re-confinement of children within the family, combined with high levels of family stress, would further jeopardise children's wellbeing, especially in families that were already struggling

to ensure it. Despite conflicting findings from individual studies, recent reviews clearly show that this concern was not unjustified, as child maltreatment has increased worldwide (MCDowell et al. 2024), while disclosure and support structures have been limited. However, child welfare workers also report positive effects of the decoupling of family and school/social work institutions. For example, social workers have also reported that some of the families with whom the child protection services work have developed more satisfactory forms of everyday life precisely as a result of the closure of public life (Witte/Kindler 2022)(The sometimes perceived 'exemption from compulsory schooling' as a central stress factor in families could also have contributed to this). These findings are somewhat consistent with other studies of middle-class families, which show that although the COVID-19 pandemic placed a heavy burden on mothers in particular, under certain conditions they also reported positive effects such as greater closeness to their children, more harmonious family life and better quality of interaction with the other parent. Similarly, many parents used the experience of the pandemic to reassess the main stressors in their family life and to take advantage of more flexible and reduced working hours, although with significant differences depending on the overall wealth of the family and also according to gender (Cox et al. 2023).

The COVID-19 crisis has thus not only reminded us of the ongoing pluralisation of the concept of family and the associated diversification of what families do to live their family lives – or, to put it another way, of the increasingly heterogeneous 'doing family' (Morgan 2011, Jurczyk 2020) in diversifying societies. The pandemic has also highlighted the close intertwining of these family practices with welfare state institutions of education and social work and their associated policies and discourses – or, to put it another way, with the socio-political and institutional 'making of the family' (Shorter 1977, Blo et al. 2003, Nienwenhuis/van Lancker 2020) in times of already changing welfare states (Dingeldey 2007, Ferragina 2023).

2 Family studies and the doing and making of family in welfare state contexts

It is not surprising, then, that these highly interdependent and complex entanglements of families and welfare states have always been one of the central focal points of the so called *family studies*, the interdisciplinary field of family research that extends across the academic disciplines of education and social work, sociology, cultural anthropology, political science, law, psychology, etc. The same applies to other fields, such as childhood, gender or inequality studies, which also examine the relationship of families and family practices to certain welfare or care regimes (e.g. Leitner 2003), not only with regard to the unequal social situations of different families, and the resulting social cabilities of their individual members to realise a good

and just life – which also highlights the family as a "central redistributive principle of the welfare state" (Frericks/Gurín 2023). The "family-welfare state nexus" (Zagel/Lohmann 2020: 119) is also of interest in terms of its fundamental role in cultural norms on gender, aging, childhood, etc. (e.g. Pfau-Effinger 2005), the normalisation and politicisation of parenthood (e.g. Richter/Andresen 2012) as well as of governing citizens and the self (e.g. Donzelot 1997, Duschinsky/Rocha 2012).

The profound influence of the welfare state on the family itself and the identities and loyalties of their members is therefore not only due to it as a system of production and distribution of social rights and services. Rather, welfare states and participating in its services shape the way we think, feel and care for family as a society and as individuals as an "overarching mode of societal organisation and socialisation" (Lessenich 2016: 874, "Vergesellschaftung" own translation). By balancing the duties and needs of reproductive work with the operation of both states and markets, welfare states, thus, creates powerful relationships betweeen the individual and society and constructs and interelates social groups, like women/men, younger/elder, immigrants/natives, as well as the reciprocal and intergenerational caring relationships (Leira/Saraceno 2004) that we understand – albeit historically and culturally differently – as the conceptual core of the family (Hantrais/Brannen/Bennett 2019, Ecarius/Schierbaum 2022).

In this line, especially studies in feminist and critical welfare research (for an overview, Boyd 1997, Jurzcyk/Oechsle 2008, Daly 2022) have substantiated, that if the family is both, a product and medium of welfare state action, we have to move beyond the understanding of family and welfare state as seperated spheres of social reproduction which influence each other. Rather, we need to conceptualize the private and the public as mutualy interconnected opposites, deriving their meaning from context-specific distinctions which form powerful (in)visibilites, positions and relations (Gal 2002). Historically, these processes of differentiation can be traced back to the emergence of the bourgeois nuclear family, as Foucault (1997) has shown, for example, in his analysis of the masturbation discourse, which helped to establish the private sphere of the family as a physical space of intimate, responsible relations and control in interaction with the developing public regimes of medicine and education. To examine the current relational production of public and private spheres of care, Thelen and Albers (2018) use the term 'border work' to emphasise that kinship (in the sense of familial obligations) and state administration (in the sense of regulating and exercising public duties) are not separate entities, but deeply intertwined processes that are woven into the concrete physical and emotional practices of, for example, family care for the elderly: as relational practices of kinning/stating. From this perspective, other welfare services and educational institutions, such as e.g. day-care centres and family counselling services, are to be understood not only as infrastructures of family life, but also as relays and arenas of power relations between individuals and the state. With this view of education and social work as

places where contested, confused and ambiguous boundaries between the private and public spheres are implicitly negotiated, the interactions of families in and with these services are receiving increasing attention in the research areas mentioned above, albeit to varying degrees and along particular disciplinary traditions.

In recent years, for example, studies on childhood and family in the fields of education and social work have focused intensively on the changing private and public responsibilities in education and childrearing, analysed as a dynamic interplay of de-familialisation and re-familialisation of childhood (Zeiher 2009; Oelkers 2012), which has emerged in the wake of the increasing dominance of social investment strategies in (European) welfare states (Betz et al. 2017). The associated expansion of educational institutions (kindergartens, pre-schools, all-day schools) that start earlier and earlier, as well as services which combine support for and control of parents from pregnancy and birth on (‚no child left behind', Daly 2015), is therefore being discussed as a "de-privatisation of the family" (Hünersdorf/Toppe 2011, own translation). The associated shift in public perceptions of the family "from function to competence" (Gillies 2011) is reflected not only in new cultures of intensified parenting (Faircloth 2013, Lee et al. 2023), but also in other forms of "investive social status work" (Gülzau/Mau 2020) that middle-class families undertake for their children in interaction with those institutions (Vincent/Ball 2006, Lareau 2011). With regard to young children in particular, these studies suggest that, through this interplay of welfare state policies, related discourses and (dominant) family lifestyles, the family with young children is increasingly transformed into a semi-public educational space that fulfils a co-producitve role for the public upbringing of children from birth (e.g. Baader/Bollig 2021). However, this de-privatisation also goes hand in hand with a re-familialisation of childhood: while the state increasingly assumes responsibility for well-being and good upbringing of the youngest, families are simultaneously more and more held accountable for the educational and life success of their children. Gillies (2005) has analysed these new parenting discourses, among other things, as a way of individualising social classes and thus as a new form of legitimising economic class differences through the moralisation of parenthood (see also Dermott 2012). Drawing on the recent history of US social policy, Cooper (2017) has shown that this imperative of familial responsibility and investment in kinship obligations, even beyond childhood, forms the interface of an invocation of 'family values' across neoliberal and conservative positions in order to stabilize socio-economic inequalities through the dismantling and restructuring of the welfare state.

However, due to these shifting and complex boundaries between private and public education and support, many encounters between schools, social work and youth services as well as family members involve not only practices in which the family/families/family members are addressed and positioned in line (or even in active contradiction) with current dynamics in the welfare state regulation of certain individuals/collectives and the state (e.g. Jäppinen et al. 2024). These encounters be-

tween the family/families and the welfare state organisations are also increasingly characterised by negotiations of the mutual distribution of tasks and responsibilities between the respective parties, whereby the 'border work' and creating relational boundaries between the family and these institutions themselves becomes a site of subjectivisation of parents and children (Bollig/Sichma 2023; Bundgaard/Olwig 2018). Thelen and Coe (2017) have shown, using the example of care for the elderly, how deeply this border work between kinship and the state is embedded in the concrete care practices for the elderly, and in a way that integrates central processes of the social order and thus leads to specific and multi-level political affiliations that interact profoundly with the abilities and opportunities of families to act as a caring network. Similarly, Koning et al. (2022) focus on 'parenting encounters' of migrant/refugee parents, i.e. encounters that people have with a variety of non-institutional and institutional actors (in education and social work) in relation to their parenthood. They understand these 'parenting encounters' as a central governmental domain, where concerns and hopes for the future of society intersect with citizenship agendas (De Koning et al., 2015) and notions of family care, welfare and the deservingness of public resources. This is because in these encounters issues of belonging, citizenship and the role of the family in shaping community and society are negotiated, embedded in complex relational landscapes that encompass complex institutional and social worlds characterised by conflicting welfare rationalities and practices. These encounters therefore represent highly dilemmatic spaces (Kronig et al. 20–22, citing Hoggett et al. 2006), where the re-articulations of the public and the private within these encounters of migrant parents and, in particular, education and social work professionals are intertwined with corresponding paradoxical tensions, namely those between universality and difference, as well as irreconcilable social and institutional demands. The autor argues, that the focus on such encounters, takes us beyond the study of street-level bureaucracies that highlights discretionary space (Lipsky, 2010), and state governance and its social effects. It, instead, highlights the negotiated, ambiguous, and paradoxical nature of attempts at governing families life.

3 The praxeological turn in family research and welfare research

This powerful and yet ambiguous and contradictory interrelations and interactions between the welfare state, its institutions and services on the one hand, and the family and family life on the other, as described above, are linked to an increase in praxeological understandings of the family and its relationship to the welfare state that can be observed since the 1990s. However, this rise of praxeological understandings of the family and its ecologies has developed not only in line with the so-called practice turn in social and cultural studies (Reckwitz 2002, Hui/Schatzki/Shove 2020),

but also with profound changes in everyday family life and the associated political governance of it.

This, firstly, concerns the increasing heterogeneity, diversity and fluidity of the family today, as well as the variety of forms in which families are formed and lived in everyday life. Historical research on the family has shown that family life has always been more plural than the socio-political and discursive idealisation of the heterosexual standard family with a married male breadwinner in the 20th century would suggest (Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). However, this plurality is receiving more attention and social acceptance, creating new possibilities for "post-family families" (ibid.). This is reflected in the introduction of policy provisions for same-sex marriage, greater protection for single parenthood, unmarried parenthood and continuation families, or the emergence of new forms of active kinship formation that go beyond traditional forms of physical reproduction, such as the increasing use of reproductive technologies (Bernard 2020). Furthermore, globalization and (forced) mobility has feed into the plasticity of the family in a way that family lifes transpires more then ever through transnational, multi-local and virtual spaces (Merla/Kilkey/Baldassar 2020; Heidinger 2024). And this blurring of fixed time-space-constellations of family lifes is further fueled by the highly flexibilized labour worlds and the associated resource constraints on families' reproductive work. Together with the cultural diversification of post-migrant Western societies in general and the necessity of the double employment of parents (and grandparents) across broad sections of society. All these developments have increasingly opened up the common and restrictive notions of a 'proper family life'.

This diversity and complexity of contemporary family life has contributed significantly to the establishment of praxeological concepts of the family that understand family as a quality rather than a thing, or, as Finch (2007) puts it, as an "adjective that gives a certain quality or character to a set of practices" (ibid: 66). Given the everyday need to implicitly negotiate and represent, both internally and externally, which people, activities and reciprocal obligations belong to one's family life and how these relations can be distinguished from other forms of social life, the concept of family should therefore be used "more as a verb than a noun" (ibid.). In line with the conceptual developments of so-called practice theories, which see culture and the social as anchored in bundles of interconnected everyday activities (Bourdieu 1990; Giddens 1993; Reckwitz 2002; Hui/Schatzki/Shove 2020), the family is now widely understood as an everyday achievement that requires ongoing practical efforts to maintain, or as Morgan (1996; 2011) has put it, "family practices". With this concept, Morgan argues for a decentralised understanding of family life, conceived as ongoing practices that depend not on specific places, but on being carried out in order to affect each other. Familial practices are, thus, to be understood as practical arrangements of time, space, bodies and emotions that relate persons to one another and thus simultaneously identify certain physical and communicative activ-

ities as familial and establish the other, on whom these activities are focused, as a family member. In this context, both spatially and temporally bound activities such as cooking, cleaning and domestic childcare, and less localised activities such as the maintenance of ongoing communication, emotional bonds and shared values and everyday ethics, as well as a multitude of articulations of work/family boundaries, come into view.

In German-speaking countries, the related concept of "doing family" was particularly influenced by the work of Jurczyk (2002) and Jurczyk/Lange/Thiessen (2014) and other colleagues in a working group at the German Youth Institute. For them, 'doing family' encompasses two groups of practices that are open in terms of content but formally include, on the one hand, the balancing of interests, duties and needs between people who are considered family members and the associated boundary work between family activities and other areas of life, especially working life. On the other hand, 'doing family' consists of constructing communalities and mutual obligations by creating social ties. Both forms of action are determined by care as the core of familial action, whereby this focus on care rather than on biological or legal affiliation makes it possible to go beyond the family as a highly normative construct, or rather to regard the normative framework conditions of 'family' merely as contexts, features and effects of 'doing family' themselves. And, as Jurczyk (2022) has recently emphasised, this also includes the active 'suspension' of doing family, which highlights practices ranging from the active forgetting and neutralisation of familial bonds and boundaries on the one hand to conscious distancing, damaging and even the dissolution of familial relationships and obligations on the other.

Both research perspectives, however, emphasise that doing family and family practices are closely intertwined not only with labour systems and care regimes, but also with the welfare state institutions and services created to complement and support them, particularly in the areas of education and social work. Schools, youth and social work services play a crucial role here, historically and currently, not only in the social making of 'the family', but also in the everyday practices of individual families, facilitating or constraining their everyday lives through resources, expectations and interventions, and thus helping to shape everyday family life as a socially embedded practice. On the other hand, however, the changed forms of familial practices also characterise these services, whereby schools and social work services differ in the way they adapt to changed family life, in line with their different institutional stability and functional relationships to families (Cline et al. 2009). In this book we are particularly interested in the practical interfaces and relational aspects of families and public education and social work along these praxeological perspectives. Consequently, this also means understanding not only the family but also education and social work as 'doing'.

In contrast to the work that considers the welfare state and the organisations of education and social work as institutional and/or organisational contexts of the

practices that take place within or in relation with those (Smith/Donovan 2003, Eggers et al. 2024), other practice theories take a sharper perspective here on the interweaving of policies, institutions, organisations and concrete activities of families and professionals as equally practised phenomena. This means that the 'practicing of family' takes place not only in concrete families and not only between family members, but also *in*, *with* and *through* the social sites of education and social work, where diverse practice complexes meet. The latest theoretical conceptualisations of these interrelational interdependencies of family practice and social work/education go far beyond the understanding of the interdependence of structure-agency, which has characterized earlier praxeological approaches like Giddens' (1984) understanding of the duality of structuration. Rather, these conceptualisations use theories of practice from the field of so-called flat ontologies (Schatzki 2016), to see the social as a whole as an interwoven context at one level, i.e. to dissolve the oppositions of macro and micro phenomena and, thus, imply that objects, subjects, things, or substances don't exist as units beyond the relations in which they are shaped. In this view, families exist in multiply and the intersections of family and social work/education only in their relational emergence (Kane 2019, Webb 2021).

4 Practicing the Family – this book

This volume, entitled 'Practicing the family', is situated in the context of the above praxeological approaches and aims to explore the complex and relational entanglements between public education and social work, on the one hand, and the heterogeneous practices through which families produce themselves in their own ways, on the other. The range of praxeological approaches used by the authors we have brought together ranges from Giddens's theory of structuration, Schatzki's theory of practice-arrangement-bundles and Star's ecology approach to more discursive and figurative understandings of practices and their sites and contexts. However, the practices examined are equally diverse, ranging from family-related collaboration or institutional diagnosis procedures enacted by professionals in social work, to the sociomaterial negotiations of shared care between family and day care, media representations of adoptive families and family-related tattooing as means of creating belonging in youth care homes. Other articles in this volume deal with the discursive invocations of 'the family' and practices of re-establishing residential family life in the era of COVID 19. Through this diversity, questions of care, recognition, difference and inequality are discussed as central issues in the interrelationship of families and public education and social work, as well as the normalisation of certain figures of the good family and proper parenthood. Furthemore, like in the practical and discoursive 'othering' of particular families, such as migrant and queer families, these addressing of families by organisations of education and social work and the

interrelated practices responding and also resisting them are also shown to be not only particular processes of subjectivation, but forms of particular family practice as well.

Given this diversity, we use the term '*doing and making*' in the title of the book to emphasise these practicing of family and families as a multiplicity of interrelationships described in more general terms above, which stems from the fact, that some of the empirical articles collected in this book examine these relational connections more in terms of the ways in which families and the 'doing family' of their members are lived in the context of social state action, while others take a more 'making-of-family' perspective, examining the practical contexts in which 'the family' or particular families are addressed and engaged in particular ways by organisations and professionals in education, social work or other forms of social action. In this sense, many of the empirical contributions in this volume enter into the practical relationship between family practices and welfare institutions more from one of these perspectives, while the more theoretically and conceptually oriented contributions in the first section of the book focus more on the question of how to conceptualize this relationality of the family's doing and the making of family in their encounters and interconnections with educational and social work institutions. In addition, the final section of the book considers innovative ways in which these relational practices of family practice can be explored methodologically, and how research also becomes a site of family practice.

The collection of articles in this book has its origins in a conference we held at the University of Trier/Germany in 2021, in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic. We took advantage of one of the time slots in which the contact rules in Germany could be relaxed enough to allow us to meet for this conference on site and with other guests in a virtual space on gloriously sunny September days. The relief and joy of the on-site participants at being able to meet again in 'normal conference formats' was coupled with the challenges of doing a hybrid conference, which occasionally demanded a little patience from the remote conference participants in particular, but nevertheless enabled a good exchange between all participants. In those days of September 2021, it was not yet possible to foresee how long the COVID-19 pandemic would last and what challenges would arise from the constant changes to contain it, the ever-changing care practices for research communities, students and one's own families. In view of the prolonged organisational, health and social burdens related to that extraordinary circumstances the completion of this book also took longer than expected. Therefore, even though this book is being published in 2024, only a few contributions in the volume refer to the situation during the pandemic, while others refer to empirical research conducted before that.

We would especially like to thank the authors of the volume for their great contributions and also for their patience and trust. Furthermore, we are also grateful to the publishers, transcript in Bielefeld, who also showed great patience and were

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I Practicing the family/families in relations

Doing families in ecologies of care

Florian Eßer and Dominik Krinninger

1 Introduction

This contribution focuses on how 'doing family' processes are embedded in ecologies of care. Perspectives that focus on structure view the family in terms of its specialization on care and education and assume it is differentiated from or closed to other institutions or systems, in part based on an understanding of the constitution of families as a practical process. Such perspectives also emphasize that these processes include interactions with the pedagogical organizations that surround families. In contrast, we argue that with regard to care, families not only provide private care, they are also involved in shaping an overarching infrastructure in which different organizations of care are intertwined. Based on this understanding, the present article aims to further differentiate the conceptual debates on the doing-family approach. We consider this to be indicated because the moments of dealing with the boundaries between an "inside" and an "outside" of the family, and also the practices of families displaying themselves to their social environment, which are emphasized in this approach, point to a segmented view of the family in its social context. Furthermore, building on theoretical-systematic considerations, a relational research program will be outlined that makes families empirically accessible both as a constitutive part of care and as the result of a broader infrastructure. Accordingly, the contribution is structured as follows: In a first part, the article will review theoretical aspects and take up a socio-ecological perspective that diagnoses a growing fluidity of the boundaries between families and their social environment. In a second part, we will present some considerations on the heuristic use of the outlined theoretical positions.

2 Elements of an updated socio-ecological perspective on the family

2.1 Removing differentiations and boundaries

The perspective on the family proposed in this article takes up several recent social and academic developments. As a first step, aspects of current processes that are removing boundaries are discussed, becoming visible when presented against the background of historical, comprehensive processes of de-differentiation. Analyses that examine the changes in how families have been historically embedded in society across a long period of time show evidence of an extensive process of differentiation. For example, Ariès (2016) describes a historical transformation in relationships among generations, as a part of which the clearly integrated arrangements of adults and children living together developed into a separation of the generations (both in a more general societal dimension as well as in families).[1] This type of transformation has taken place in many parts of society. For example, the separation of production and households, the privatization and intimization of the family space vis-à-vis the public, and, finally, the relationship with the developing education systems. For Ariès, the decisive "main event" (ibid: 509) in history for the development of a modern understanding of the family was the "expansion of education at school" (ibid).[2]

Socio-scientific analyses that focus not on the longue durée but on more recent developments also show evidence of a functional differentiation of the family. Honig (2014), for example, takes up existing diagnoses on the differentiation between families and the educational system and points to the complex function of 'care,' which is distributed in many ways in the multi-referential organization of children's daily and weekly schedules. Based on the economic and labor sectors' dominance in society, when looking at the differentiation between family and paid employment Lange (2014) postulates that the demands posed by both areas lead to more difficulties in reaching a work-life balance.

How are these social relations reflected in current approaches of family theory? On the one hand, there are still positions that are based on Parsons' structural functionalism. Funcke & Hildenbrand (2018), for example, describe the triad as an essential constellation in socialization theory of the 'family' as a way of life, a constellation that currently corresponds with a structural differentiation between diffuse and specific social relations and that is able to achieve individual reproduction and solidarity through its particular – diffuse – nature (on the triad, also see Schierbaum

1 The thesis linked to Ariès in this context is that there was no concept of childhood in the Middle Ages. It has been critically discussed by many (among others, see Baader 2015). Here, we refer especially to his tracing of the increasing differentiation between the generations in the modernization process.

2 All quotes originally in German have been translated into English by the author.

2023). These models are based on a way of life in families that has developed socially and can be described in socio-historical terms. Normatively, one could debate whether the diversity and dynamics of families should then also be included systematically even if this diversity seems almost marginal when taking a broad socio-historical viewpoint.

Even without entering into that kind of political debate, we see a certain lack of precision in the approaches discussed. What is key is that, from a structural functionalist perspective, the family appears as an effect of societal conditions. On the one hand, this perspective also states that the family has an effect on these societal conditions, but the interaction is seen on the level of the fit and differences between familial and social structures. The extent to which parents and children shape the lifestyle of their own family is ignored and thus also that familial (and social) structures act not only as conditions for family lifestyles but can also be the result of these ways of life. The theoretical approaches that then use this as the starting point for describing the concept of family can be summarized under the concept of 'doing family.' In this theory cluster, family is described as a sphere of specific practices (Morgan 1996, 2011) or specific relationships and their maintenance (Smart 2007), as dynamic relationship figurations (Widmer 2010; Schadler 2016), as a sphere of practiced parenthood (Ribeens McCarthy et al. 2003), as an object of representation practices (Finch 2007), or as a sphere of specific intimacy (Gabb 2008). These approaches, which were primarily developed within British and American family sociology, were also taken up in German-language family research. The works of the group led by Karin Jurczyk (Jurczyk et al. 2014, 2020, see also Jurczyk et al. in this volume) instead pursue a series of studies that understand the constitution of families as a process (among others, see Andresen et al. 2016; Müller/Krinninger 2016).

Before we link an additional theory onto this chain in the next section of this chapter, we must first discuss a second moment that causes us to question the idea that the differentiation between family and other social areas is static. Recent analyses of the relationships between the family and its social and institutional environment describe far-reaching processes of diffusion in the family environment (Jurczyk/Szymenderski 2012; Jurczyk 2023), as in the contributions from Honig (2014) and Lange (2014) described above.[3] This affects in particular the areas of education and paid employment. When it comes to the former, a marked increase

3 When considered in more depth, these diagnoses do not contradict analyses that demonstrate societal differentiation. Particularly in more recent developments (for example the transformation of the welfare state or human capital policies of education and the labor market), boundary-eroding phenomena have been identified that also result in education policy shifts. In Germany, these shifts include the expansion and transformation of the preschool phase. In regard to these recent developments, one could also formulate the hypothesis that the phenomena of eroding boundaries mentioned above build on previous processes of differentiation.

in the commitment required by parents for the children's school education has been noted (Lange/Thiessen 2018). This not only refers to clear trends regarding the responsibility for education outcomes (Richter/Andresen 2012), but also an expansion of the demands place on parents regarding cooperation with educational institutions (Betz 2022). In the area of paid employment, the intense push in labor policy to enable dual employment for couples who are parents has been viewed as a decisive catalyst for the massive expansion of childcare outside of the family in Germany (Lange/Krok 2008; Klinkhammer 2014). These interests are linked to social investment motives that aim to encourage publicly organized early education as a way to counteract differences in education resulting from familial conditions (Farrenberg/Schulz 2021). Public childcare has thus become an essential element of family lifestyles.

Based on the phenomena of diffusion in the family environment mentioned above, we now aim to take the approaches that describe the family as a social world shaped by the family actors as part of their everyday life and link them to their entanglement with other social areas such as care. In practical terms, this means that we link a perspective of 'doing family' with a strong focus on the family as an element of social ecologies. In doing so, we can grasp not only what constitutes 'family-ness' (within the family), but also the family's participation in functional societal ties that extend far beyond that.

2.2 Families from a relational-pragmatic perspective

What we propose is a perspective that takes up the critical impulse of practically oriented 'doing' approaches in contrast to structuralist definitions of family and, in this, also capture the family's connection with and interdependence on its environment. In the end, the well-known socio-theoretical problems of the macro and macro or agency and structure can be seen here (Fuchs, 2001). A prominent contemporary response to this was formulated in the context of what is referred to as relational social theories (Dépelteau, 2018).

For theories of relational sociology, society is flat (Latour 2005: 165–172), that is, there are not two orders or mechanisms within a dichotomous social reality: While other socio-theoretical models situate the 'social' in a state of tension between actors and structures or in the interaction between the micro and the macro, relational social theories instead assume that the 'social' can be explained using relationships (Dépelteau 2013). From the perspective of social theory, the focus is not on identical actors who put themselves in relation to other actors. Instead, it is about the relationships among these actors, although these relationships are, however, never conceptualized as a fixed structure. In this interpretation of what is social, it is the dynamic and situational relations that define the actors and not the other way around (Fuchs 2001: 251).

This relational perspective opens up new ways of looking at families and their members in their family practices (Eßer, 2013). Relational theory perspectives also include how these social relationships and networks are situated in society, however. Families do not emerge from a vacuum but arise from the interaction with social discourses, legal institutions, materialities, etc. To include this societal situatedness as well as its meaning for individuals, we go back to the pragmatic tradition of relational social theories that take as their starting point the relationality of interpretations or of knowledge and the known. Dewey & Bentley (1949: 132f.) differentiate conceptualizations of knowledge in the three historically existing forms of "self-action," "inter-action," and "trans-action": "Self-action" describes the idea that actors[4] act under their powers and gain influence over others, while "inter-action" is based on the assumption that actors mutually influence each other. Dewey & Bentley set their idea of "trans-action" apart from these two established concepts: Where systems of description and naming are employed to deal with aspects and phases of action, without final attribution to "elements" or other presumptively detachable or independent "entities," "essences," or "realities," and without isolation of presumptively detachable "relations" from such detachable "elements."" (ibid.: 133).

With this kind of epistemological perspective, families are not viewed as units or realities. They are not social containers that offer a frame for certain practices and are thus able to explain why these practices occur in this way and not another way. To put this in terms of research methodology: They are not the explanans, that is the explanatory statements, for the practices that occur within them. In a trans-actional perspective, however, they are also not just the explanandum – that is, that which is to be explained – in which the focus is solely on the creation of these units. Instead, in a trans-actional perspective, families are shifting units that represent powerful elements in social discourse and that are institutionally secured and passed down, but at the same time the actors are continually re-defining them within the network of actors and actants.

This trans-actional perspective is continued in the theory of social worlds and arenas as developed especially by Adele Clarke and Susan L. Star (Clarke & Star, 2008) based on Anselm Strauss' work. Here, social worlds are understood as "universes of discourses" that are brought forth by the practices of actors and groups as they deal with objects in connection with and opposed to other social worlds. Social worlds are thus fluid constructions that overlap with other social worlds, join up with these, or go through a process of internal differentiation and dissociation.[5]

4 In contrast to Dewey and Bentley, who speak of "things," here we use the term "actor" as a reversal of the actor-network theory to make clear that human actors are meant in addition to non-human actors (Latour 2005).

5 These differentiations can lead to conflicts that can be traced back to differing perspectives and interpretations of the actors as well as disagreements about resources or other matters.

In social worlds, common worldviews develop that form the basis for individual or collective identities. And conversely: As the participants get involved in these social worlds, access common resources and orient themselves on particular worldviews, they develop this discursive universe[6] that is, of course, also always in flux.

By understanding families as social worlds, we first tie in to network-theoretical positions as they were discussed in the second step. However, in the theoretical discussion, these are often explained using Bruno Latour (2005) and the actor-network theory or Karen Barad (2008) and new materialism, both of which focus on the agency of non-human actors. We therefore start our argument here, but base it on a pragmatic tradition according to which social worlds are defined in part by objects that acquire meaning in the interactions of human actors (Blumer 2013: 75f.). This perspective offers two advantages: Firstly, that we can combine this with the aim of looking at human actions and assess the importance of networks for human actors giving meaning to something (Gießmann/Taha 2017: 41). Secondly, the networks' embeddedness in additional societal contexts or social arenas can be acknowledged. The pragmatist Howard Hughes (1936) called this the "ecological" approach, which should not be confused with the socio-ecological approach of Bronfenbrenner (1989) that is widely used in German-language family research, despite its terminological similarity.

With this, Hughes (1936: 183f.) was highlighting that institutions (or organizations) may be distinct if they have their own accounting system and use certain rooms for themselves. However, this does not mean that they can be clearly differentiated from their environment: "Most institutions cannot be bounded in any such mutually exclusive way. Their seats can be located, and their constituencies plotted with reference to them. But their space is, so to speak, open" (ibid.: 185). Using modernization theory, Hughes argued that institutions in the 20th and 21st century can no longer be "sacred" but always also display "secular" aspects that lead them into interactions with their environment, where they then change (ibid.: 188). In the terminology we use, we would say that they represent social worlds. Following Hughes, Susan L. Star put a point on the term "ecological" by stating that even the boundaries "between the system and the environment, between living and non-living entities" (Gießmann/Taha 2017: 41) blur and neither can nor must be precisely delineated for analytical purposes: "If one adopts an ecological position, then one should include all elements of the ecosphere: bugs, germs, computers, wires, animal colonies, and buildings, as well as scientists, administrators, and clients or consumers" (Star 1995: 13).

Social arenas are thus the counterpart to the social words: They emerge from conflicts that arise between various social worlds about their interpretations, resources, etc.

6 This pragmatic concept of discourse is quite different from Foucault's "discourse" (Foucault, 1969/2002).

The advantage of this ecological relationalism is that we can reconstruct families without needing to substantialize them. Instead, we view them as a relationally arising entity that is embedded in society and can be described in socio-pedagogical terms. In line with Hughes, we can argue that family as an institution is no longer sacred but instead includes a diversity that comprises the reality of the participating actors.

2.3 Children in familial care ecologies

We follow current approaches of (post-)family research to the extent that we state that 'family' does not necessarily refer to the intergenerational care relationships between children and adults (Smart, 2007). At the same time, and despite all necessary skepticism regarding essentialist understandings of the family, our preferred socio-ecological perspective must also consider the structuralist argument according to which, when viewed from a historical perspective, the organization of the care of children has been gaining in importance for families (Honig & Ostner, 2014). We understand 'care' in the tradition of feminist theories, which have already been prominently integrated in family research (DeVault, 1991; Jurczyk, 2010). Here, care refers to often invisible (and unpaid) reproductive work (Tronto, 1993/2009).

Star (1999) also explicitly developed her concept of infrastructure from a feminist perspective. We believe this is suited to analytically examining family care work (but also the care work done by other public and private institutions of childhood) (Eßer et al. 2022). In turn, Star (1999) takes a pragmatic viewpoint and critically revises the approaches of science and technology studies that are oriented on network and translation theory (Callon 1986). In a way that escapes notice, infrastructure only works due to local organizational translation practices (Star/Ruhleder 1994), and they are in turn only enabled by infrastructural forms of organization. Star und Ruhleder (ibid.: 253) originally developed this concept for early IT infrastructures (the Worm Community System – WCS) that were to enable genetic researchers to bring together knowledge from different locations to decode the human genome. In this, they argued against the widespread idea that (technical) infrastructure can be understood as a "passive substrate" that follows a simple relationship between ends and means. Instead, they emphasized the relational nature of technology: Not just the development but also the enactment of (technical) infrastructure occurs in complex relationships that give rise to its meaning.

Following Star (1999), we adapt this line of thinking by understanding the care of children as the result of an infrastructure of 'supervised childhood'. In line with Star's critical feminist theory generation and by way of analogy to female care work, "infrastructure" refers to work that necessarily occurs in the background to connect various social worlds. It nearly always remains invisible. Only when it fails, creates organizational problems, or collapses does it become visible and tangible. This be-

came quite evident as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic regulations. As soon as possibilities for using the 'supervised childhood' infrastructure failed or closed – that is, as soon as problems arose –, the infrastructure itself became a political topic that was publicly debated. It was no longer simply a background element of everyday life. Star (1999) also pointed out that infrastructure is characterized by generally operating in the background until it fails and thereby becomes visible. From her pragmatic perspective, infrastructure represents a dimension of organizing society: "Infrastructures can be understood, in sense, as frozen discourses that form avenues between social worlds and into arenas and larger structures" (Clarke/Star 2008: 115).

In at least two different ways, the concept of infrastructure is thus fundamentally important for analyzing families. The first is in a functional regard that focuses on how family care work in the specific context is connected to other arrangements (e.g., daycares, schools, and youth welfare services) and concretely, how this care work is constructed across organizations (Eßer/Schröer 2019). Secondly, it refers to the social embeddedness of families, who, as they contribute to creating a care infrastructure for children, make use of external resources, actors and discourses. That is, families can only be appropriately understood within their ecology and in their interactions outside of it.

3 On the path to a socio-ecological research program...

Clarifying the socio-ecological conceptual perspective on families links the aspects of practical constituting with the interdependencies between families and their social environments, shifting the question of the definition of 'family' farther into the empirical realm. In their respective social constructivist models, both Morgan (2011) and Jurczyk (2020, 2023) assume that there are many ways of life whose concrete shape is constituted in practices of family lifestyles. They also both make out a certain core that serves as the basis for how they think of 'family.' For Morgan, this core is formed by the familial relationships and an insistence on being called a 'family,' while for Jurczyk the focus is on intergenerational care relationships in the private sphere.

From a political and systematic perspective, there is a great deal of evidence to support these positions. At the same time, to ensure our argument captures the necessary nuances, we find it important to note that not just those issues related to the specific structure of families or the practices that give rise to these structures can only be answered empirically. Depending on the social contexts that are examined empirically when looking in to their social ecology, families can appear empirically different because they receive their form in the relations arising from these social contexts (Dépelteau 2013).

The term 'family' of course does not need to be disregarded from a socio-ecological perspective, either, but much speaks in favor of using it more in the form of a question: Which constructions of family become visible in which social contexts? On this point, it is important to note that the perspectives outlined above do not organize the processes of negotiating meaning among social worlds around a center. Instead, they emphasize the relationships among these worlds (Clarke/Star 2008). In contrast to the orientation on a more classical socio-ecological approach, such as in Bronfenbrenner (1989), which is typical in family research and discussed above, a more modern and decentralized social ecology can contribute to avoiding skewed perceptions. Differentiating the micro-, meso-, and macro-dimensions from the outset can lead to a one-sided focus on adaptive processes of individuals and smaller constellations of actors – such as the family – because 'higher' aggregate levels in society are assumed to be static. This heuristic adjustment brings a new challenge with it, however. The more openly 'family' is conceived in theoretical terms and the fewer structural preconceptions are used, the more 'family' becomes a construction specific to each individual situation. This applies both to the level of the involved actors and to the level of an academic description of family.

Regarding lifeworlds, here we must once again emphasize that the negotiations among social worlds, which form the framework for the relational emergence of families, are not always started anew. That is, a clean slate is not assumed. All participants, both private actors and actors from the pedagogical organizations, act on the background of preconceived ideas and norms of 'family.' A socio-ecological perspective is therefore not focused on the dynamic formation of family in each particular situation. As a structure of "frozen discourses" (Clarke/Star 2008: 115), infrastructure is also influenced by more or less fixed relations of social recognition, thus projecting standards (legal, administrative, socio-cultural, etc.) on the actors – standards that are always in effect before the interaction. The room for maneuver within these standards and how this is realized in the relations between the families and organizations requires empirical analyses that look at the specific power relations and resource distribution.

From an academic perspective, and especially an empirical one, working with an open concept of the family demands a high degree of reflection. While approaches that have a strong structural orientation affix the social location of the family, the participating actors, and their relationship structure in advance, the 'doing family' approaches that have thus far been developed mostly refrain from defining the actors and social patterns of familial life according to pre-defined formulas. However, they still hold to socially situating the family by characterizing living together and personal relationships as the core of a family. Without denying that this is an important sphere of the family, a socio-ecological perspective assumes the family is socially dispersed. Anywhere the actors within the social world 'family' enter into relational processes of constitution with actors from other social worlds, family is

created. This compounded context makes it necessary for research to clearly state the context it uses to recreate family construction processes.

3.1 Care of children as an object of social world analysis

In principle, the relationships of families as viewed from a socio-ecological perspective are thus just as open as they are diverse: They can be analyzed by the leisure industry and consumer products on questions related to everything from urban planning and housing to links with health policy. As part of a research program, however, they must be heuristically situated with a view to the specific epistemological interest. In the present article, this interest lies in the question of childcare, which is pursued using the approach of a social worlds analysis (Clarke/Star 2008). Empirically examining families in ecologies of care can mean different things in this process. If the focus is on the constitutive participation of families in socially complex functional interactions such as the childcare system, then, for example, the relationships between pedagogical organizations and the family can be understood such that each represents its own social world. Processes of cooperation and negotiation (bi-, tri-, and multilateral processes) then unfold between and among these worlds, which in turn lead to specific social structures of childcare functions or, to state it simply, to care infrastructure.

This is in contrast to research that is more interested in families' embeddedness in their social contexts and thus primarily asks how families' constitutions are shaped by this embeddedness. From this perspective, family is an arena in which the various actors cooperate for a specific purpose, negotiating their respective positions and associated requirements and demands in the course of that cooperation. In their network of organizations and institutional structures in the childcare system, families are figured both practically and in discourse as instances of supervision and care. This second perspective will now be examined in more depth.

It is considered standard knowledge in modern family science that contemporary families' lifestyles are framed in large part by the possibilities (and limitations) of childcare outside of the family. Simply stating this yet again would run the risk of implicitly establishing a new structural functionalism. Our article instead aims to find ways in which the relational processes that lead to these close connections can be made visible. The empirical work necessary for this could be oriented on a program presented by Clark and Star: the "social worlds framework" (Clarke/Star 2008).

3.2 Reconstructing social worlds through and with boundary objects

In our analysis, we would like to use the term "boundary objects" in particular because it enables us to focus on the interfaces among the various social worlds

(Hörster et al. 2013). In their foundational work on Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, Star and Griesemer (1989) analyzed the question of how social worlds that are initially different can work together on an object – such as the zoological museum – despite their different 'languages.' They identified "boundary objects" (ibid) as playing a decisive role in the translation processes that become necessary to communicate between the social worlds. These boundary objects can be – but do not have to be – material objects that convey meaning between the social worlds.

A socio-ecological research perspective on the family would thus also look for boundary objects that constitute the family while also conveying the family as a social world and/or arena to other social worlds. These boundary objects could be the children themselves, as they move between the social worlds of family, childcare center, school, etc. (Bollig et al. 2016). However, they could also be material objects such as lunch boxes that must be processed both in the context of the family as well as in the public institutions in order to fulfill the basic care function of supplying sufficient nutrition to children during their time in the institution. To remain with this example, the childcare institution's expectation that the family needs to prepare and provide food in a certain form – that is, such that it fits in a lunch box –, also implies a specific understanding of care and family that aids in constituting them (Eßer 2013). Each family must process this expectation in their own "translation work" (Krinninger 2020) and integrate it into their structures.

3.3 Families' contribution to care as infrastructure

When care is to be understood and reconstituted as infrastructure, then in a final step the knowledge gained must be pieced together with the social worlds and their connections with and through boundary objects of care. This includes considering how these connections establish an infrastructure that ensures children are supervised throughout the day (or fails to do so) and the various social worlds that participate. One method that could be used for this purpose is creating (situation) maps (Clarke 2012: 124). From a socio-ecological perspective, the 'problem' of childcare and resulting infrastructure that must be worked on jointly opens families to public childcare institutions and other private childcare arrangements while at the same time requiring that they differentiate themselves from these alternatives (see also Göbel/Bollig in this volume).

4 Summary

Our call for a socio-ecological perspective on the family expands existing approaches that focus on the daily production of family by situating these processes relationally in interaction with various social worlds without using structural-functionalist ar-

guments: Instead of a reaction to a changing environment, it is about the interaction among actors in the same and different social worlds.

When looking at the resulting social worlds, the boundary objects that play a key role are those that create translation processes among different social worlds that (by necessity) work together on the same object, that is, 'care.' In the modern labor society, caring for children is something that can no longer be done by an individual institution – or social world – and cannot be understood by looking at only one institution (Bollig et al. 2016). Instead, from a relational perspective, it represents a complex process on the part of various actors who first emerge in their roles and must communicate with each other as a part of this process. A socio-ecological understanding of family permits us to reconstruct this participation in and contribution to the care infrastructure.

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Intersecting Spaces

Relational dynamics and educational inequalities at the intersection of family and school

Jürgen Budde

1 Introduction

School and family are often seen as separate institutions with different driving motivations and functions. In this dichotomous and differentiating perspective, the family is characterized by emotional care and exclusive togetherness, whereas schools focus on qualification, allocation, and achievement-based student selection. Yet these two spheres share numerous connections, and it seems reasonable to assume that they are not two rigidly separated institutions, but rather overlap and intersect in some areas. Moreover, studies in educational science have repeatedly stressed the key role played by the relationship between school and family in perpetuating inequalities – neither of which can be seen as solely responsible for that process. In light of this, my interest here is to examine some specific practices at the intersection of family and school in which inequalities are generated and processed. First, I consider the institutional intersection of family and school, and discuss it in the context of educational inequality theory. I then empirically illustrate these theoretical considerations with reference to two ethnographic case studies.

2 Family and school: Two central institutions of childhood and youth

Without question, family and school are the two most important institutions of educational practice involving children and young people. Structural-functionalist theory views the school and the family as the two central systems responsible for socially integrating each new generation via education. According to Tyrell and Vanderstraeten (2007), the two institutions differ in terms of space, time, participants, and participants' inherent dynamics, and these differences give them specific and complementary functions. School is a public space for formalised educational processes, which aims to qualify and socialise students in a general and universal way.

However, school also has selective functions. At least conceptually, this function is based on meritocratic ideals. Furthermore, school is practically structured by professional pedagogical interactions. In Germany, which strongly references educational theories by Humboldt (1903 [1792]; Koller 2001), the culturalisation function of school is bound to the idea of Bildung, or formal education. Family is seen as a particularistic space of exclusive care, based on emotional relationships across generations. Family practices can be understood as a jointly-produced intergenerational performance of participants' "family style" — as Müller and Krinninger (2016) describe it — or as "doing family" (Jurczyk et al. 2014). A unique factor that distinguishes families from school is their organisation around private practices interwoven with everyday life situations, education, and care. Familial practices belong to what is known in German as Erziehung (Brezinka 1978; Budde 2021), which can be best translated as child-rearing.

However, such a view tends to overestimate institutional boundaries and to overlook cross-border transformations. Aside from the fact that families also engage in Bildung and schools also engage in Erziehung, institutional boundary shifts must also be considered. Schools' and families' educational practices have become increasingly intertwined, as the 'scholarisation of the non-school sphere' and the 'familialisation of school' have unfolded simultaneously, softening the lines between the two. Boundaries cannot always be brightly drawn; both institutions are in a state of constant change and have murky peripheries. Bollig et al. (2018), for example, speaks of an observable "pedagogisation of childhood", whereas Ecarius et al. (2011) note that parenting styles have changed in recent decades, as parents eschew authoritarianism to embrace a more guidance-based approach to parenting. Today's "responsible parenting" (Franz et al. 2014)[1] is increasingly organised intentionally and in terms of a "culture of negotiation" (Fuchs 2012: 333). Consequently, family-based education is becoming more planned, pedagogical and professional — and thus increasingly similar to school. In short, we are witnessing what could be described as the 'scholarisation of childhood'.

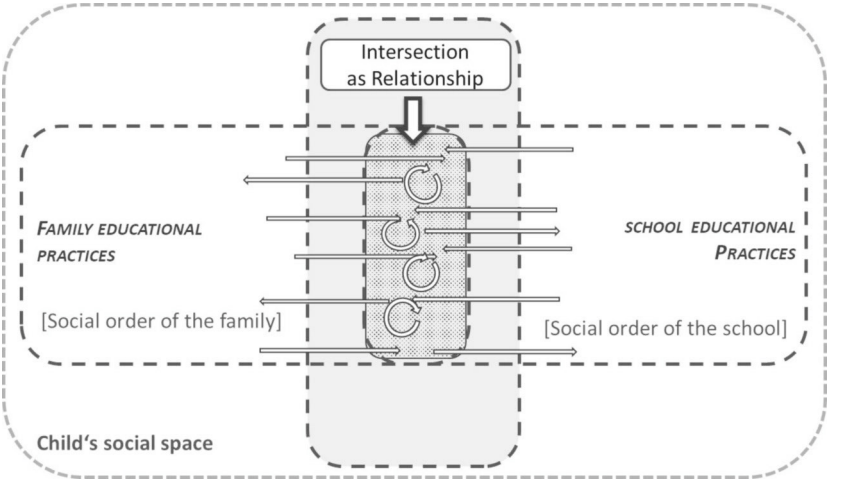
At the same time, we also see a "transformation of school" (Idel et al. 2013: 249) in which particularistic and family-oriented activities – for instance, those carried out in contexts geared towards inclusion or open and individualised learning – are growing, replacing the universalistic orientation of school. This transformation can also be termed a 'familialisation of school'. Informal and care-based activities are increasingly taking place at school, such as concerning meals, school-sponsored leisure activities or tutoring. These activities do not mean that school is becoming less powerful, but rather are part of a governmental strategy to increase students' autonomy and personal accountability. Breidenstein and Rademacher (2016), for

1 All original German quotes are translated by the author.

example, show that the focus in learning has shifted from disciplinary practices to the simultaneous processing of individualisation and control.

These concurrent and interconnected transformation processes suggest that, when talking about school and the family, it makes more sense to focus on linkages rather than boundaries. Indeed, the relationship between school and the family has more of the character of an overlapping (and in a certain sense, institutionally independent) intersection (see fig. 1) than a bright boundary between two distinct institutions. This intersection can be seen as a highly ordered space in which cooperation is sought, sovereignty claimed, and demands are made. In practical settings, schools communicate their educational expectations to families and vice versa. In this process, practices transform into their own social orders.

Figure 1: Relational Dynamic at the Intersection of Family and School (own illustration).



3 Inequalities between family and school

In his now-classic study, Willis (1978) showed the confluence of family and school practices that leads to male working-class youth's (self)exclusion from school, thus demonstrating how social categories (in this case, class and gender) reproduce educational inequality. More recent studies analysed the reproduction of educational inequality based on various social categories of difference. Maaz and others (2010) locate educational inequalities in family-based milieus that offer differentiated learning and development opportunities, which provide children and youth with different educational resources depending on the family's social position. Families,

according to the authors, make different educational decisions based on a cost-benefit calculation. In this context, the reproduction of educational inequality along the axes of immigrant status (see, e.g., Gomolla/Radtke 2009; Hummrich 2009) or gender (see, e.g. Budde et al. 2008) has been widely demonstrated.

We can theoretically identify two relevant contexts for the emergence of educational inequality. The first context involves a single family and a school (see figure 2). In this context, educational inequality can be seen as a relational construct that emerges at the intersection of family and school and is based on social categories – well-known ones like class, ability, gender, and race, as well as others such as age or behaviour. Only in the 'mirror of the school' do family educational practices become relevant to school and vice versa, potentially leading to inequality.

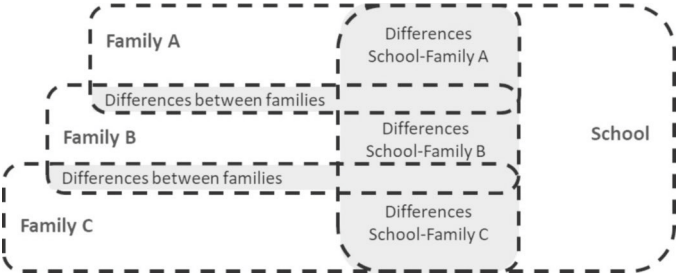
Figure 2: Emergence of educational inequality A (own illustration).

Educational inequality arises particularly when these categories of difference are used to position students along school-specific achievement hierarchies. There is a large body of literature pointing to this relation. School achievement hierarchies are particularly oriented towards middle-class ideals of education and are therefore less accessible to children from marginalized backgrounds (e.g., Rabenstein et al. 2015; Carlson et al. 2017). Thus, "parents have to be measured against general standards of behaviour, which are decisively set by an academic milieu" (Schinkel 2017). The German-language discourse surrounding the shift in educational vulnerability from a 'Catholic working-class girl from the countryside' to the 'boy with a (Turkish) immigrant background from the big city' likewise proves that social categories of difference are intertwined and at the same time individually attributed (Geißler 2005). In turn, Helsper and others (2009) analyse the relationship between school and the family in the transition from primary to lower secondary school by looking at students' habitus and the culture of their specific schools. They examine whether and to what extent habitus and school culture match, showing how a misfit can contribute to the reproduction of educational inequality (see also Thiersch 2014). In addition, unexpected transitions can be documented, in which more or less successful educational trajectories emerge due to the self-activating potential of students and specific characteristics of school culture. According to Helsper et al., students' struggles for acceptance result in dominant orders that contain desirable, accepted, marginalised, and taboo cultural concepts and practices. Budde and Rißler show

that social categories of difference, such as social or immigrant background, "connect to concepts of family among teachers" (Budde/Rißler 2016: 194), but naturalise them as individual 'characteristics' of students and their families. Teachers' conceptions of family function "like a transmission belt that ties schools' orders of knowledge and behaviour to macrostructural categories of social inequality" (ibid.). In the same project, Budde and Geßner (2016) analyse achievement orders using the example of checking students' homework and show divergent educational practices by school form in which relations to various ideal concepts of families are embedded. These diverse ideals can have the effect of reproducing differences and thus increasing inequality.

The second context involves several different families and the school (see figure 3). It should also be kept in mind (as previously mentioned) that difference, hierarchy, and inequality do not emerge between the school and one individual family, but rather in the relationships between different families. Only an (implicit or explicit) comparative analysis allows teachers to differentiate between various families (and their children) and subsequently place them within hierarchies that culminate in long-lasting inequalities. This second context is both theoretically and empirically less elaborated in school and family research. Given the lack of studies on this question, the connection has only been formulated theoretically as a hypothesis so far. Inequality is – according to the theoretical hypothesis formulated here – not an effect of the individual relationship between the school and individual students, but a fundamental mode of comparison and hierarchisation. In particular, the school achievement order 'translates' differences between families into unequal hierarchies. Neither an individual family nor school alone produces educational inequalities; rather, these are formed by the dynamic families-school relationships that emerge at the intersection of both institutions, and specifically through the generational and hierarchical ordering of differences here. On the teacher side, this can be seen in comparisons of different students' performance or behaviour, for example, or in parents' differential participation in school activities or engagement in school-related concerns (Buchna et al. 2015). Betz and Kayser (2016), for example, document that ideas about a 'good relationship' between school and families are contoured differently according to social class. While parents from privileged milieus emphasise emotional qualities in the cooperative relationship, parents from underprivileged milieus take a more functional view of school. Budde and Bittner (2018) document that the intersection with the families is essential for the construction of 'good' as well as 'bad' students' (In this context, Kotthoff finds that differences in families' cultural and economic capital correlate with differences in students' competences to cooperate (Kotthoff 2012: 290). It can be assumed that families also relate to each other. In the end, the school-families intersection is the space in which educational inequality manifests itself. For this reason, it is not merely an interface, but rather an intersection with its own social order.

Figure 3: Emergence of educational inequality B (own illustration).



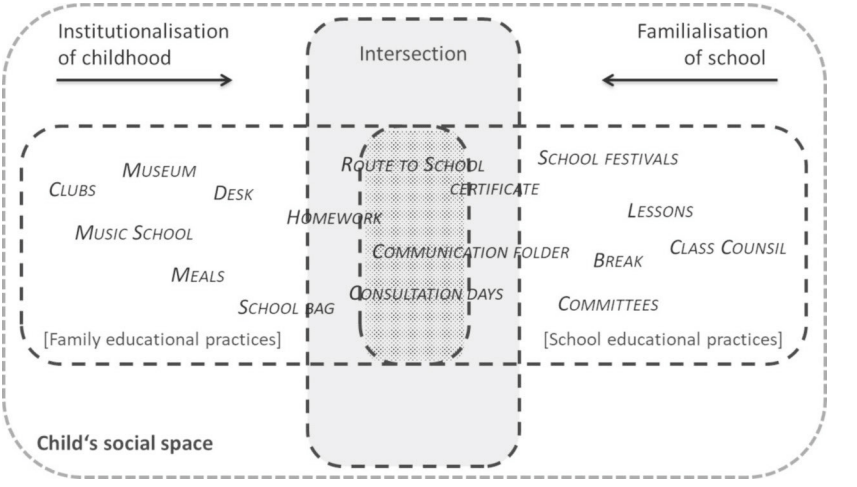
4 A practice-theoretical approach to relationship analysis

The following analysis applies a practice theoretical methodology (Budde/Eckermann 2021). Our practice-based approach draws on the systematic theory set forth by Schatzki (2012). He points out that the social is neither entirely based on rational and explicit knowledge, nor is it entirely contingent. The social is interwoven with what Polanyi (2009) calls "tacit knowledge", which is based on practical know-how.

Schatzki's theoretical approach first relies on the core concept of practices. The 'doing of something' — for example, 'doing family' — takes place via practices. A practice can be understood as an "open, temporally unfolded nexus of doings and sayings" (Schatzki 2012: 14) or as an "organized manifold of doings and sayings" (Schatzki 2009: 39). It is the nexus – or connection – between activities that forms a practice out of the repetition of these activities. The activities that constitute a practice are structured through a tetrad of organising items, such as practical and general understandings and rules, as well as through a teleoaffective structure. Altogether, a practice's organisation circumscribes "a normativized array of understandings, beliefs, expectations, emotions". The organising items give the practice a specific form of directionality and enable the "direction of its movement" (Budde/Rißler 2017b). The second core concept is that of material arrangements. These can be understood as a set of interconnected material entities. Materialities consist of different types of physical-material objects like "people, organisms, artifacts, and things" (Schatzki 2002; Budde et al. 2024). The intersections of family and school are constituted by discourses and activities, but also by material objects and the bodies of children and adolescents. Some discourses, activities, material objects or bodies are located more within the family (e.g., parents, leisure time), other more within the school (e.g., teachers, lessons): they travel back and forth and change their character just like the fields in which they travel. Accordingly, the sociomaterial spaces of childhood at the intersection of family and school are

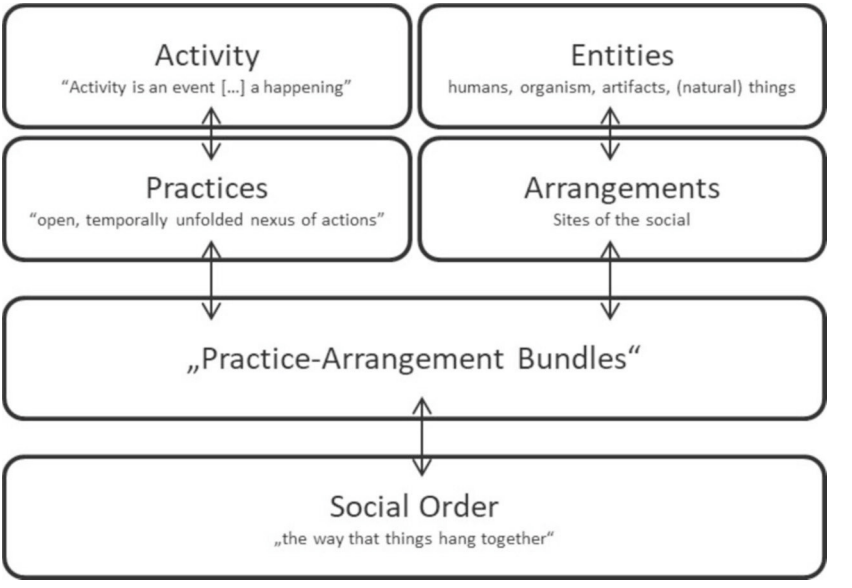
formed from a constellation of objects, places, events, and other elements (see fig. 4). Which specific elements are relevant can vary depending on the field.

Figure 4: Objects and occasions at the intersection of school and family (own illustration).



Interconnections of practices and material arrangements form "bundles", and these in turn form social orders, which are understood as "the basic disposition […], the way that things hang together" (Schatzki 2002: 1; see fig. 5). Therefore, models of social order that assume separate and hierarchical levels (e.g., the distinction between micro and macro) must be rejected. In contrast, a "flat ontology" assumes "that what constitutes a given phenomenon extends on a single level of reality" (Schatzki 2016: 30) and that schools and families are constellations with "greater or lesser spatio-temporal extension" (ibid.: 38).

Figure 5: Practice-theoretical approach (own illustration).



5 Empirical analysis

Using data from two ethnographic research projects as examples, in the following section, we analyze the intersection of schools and families and relate them to 'orders of educational inequality' by connecting institutionalised educational practices to each other.[2] All data analysis is based on Grounded Theory (Strauss/Corbin 1998; Mey/Mruck 2011).

5.1 The perspective of the school

The first example comes from the research project "Instruction|Diversity|Inequality" [Unterricht|Heterogenität|Ungleichheit], which focuses on the (re)production of social inequality at the level of instructional practices and teachers' perceptions in lower secondary schools (Budde/Rißler 2017a).[3] In this article, data from a reform-oriented comprehensive school will be analysed. The reconstruction focuses

2 In so doing, the article also distinguishes between the two institutions; thus far, all efforts to obtain research funding for a deep analysis of the intersecting constellations have been unsuccessful.

3 This research was funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research [Grant Number 01JC1108]. Responsibility for the content of this publication lies with the author.

on a fifth-grade student named Juvan (pseudonomized). His class was observed in its first year at the new school.

Juvan was one of the lower-achieving students in the class; he had already repeated a grade during primary school. His parents supported their family of seven by working low-skilled service jobs. At the beginning of the year at the new school, Juvan's teachers were informed about his financially strapped home circumstances and relative lack of access to cultural capital in Germany. However, the teachers were less concerned about these challenging circumstances than about Juvan's problems following the school's behavioural order. In the very first month in his new class, Juvan pointed out that his mother was not able to support him in completing school requirements. Thus, he indirectly marks the limits of parental support for class-related work:

> It's noisy in maths class. The teacher repeats that the homework is a worksheet. She says that the students "should try", and otherwise their parents should help. Gürkan mumbles something I can't understand. Juvan shouts: "My mother doesn't get it at all". The teacher reminds Juvan not to interrupt and asks him to "sit down properly".

The observation protocol records disruptions of the lesson. The teacher instructs the students to ask their parents for help with the homework, thus mobilizing family resources for educational success. Juvan openly states that his parents cannot provide this support, his "mother doesn't get it at all". Faced with this knowledge, however, the teacher neither modifies the task nor responds to Juvan's statement except to issue a disciplinary request. Because the information that he lacks family support is provided in a way that goes against the school's behavioural order (a shouted interruption), it fades into the background vis-à-vis rule infringements such as shouting and sitting incorrectly. For the teachers, the behavioural aspect of his problem is the tip of the iceberg – they are unable to see what lies below. Their self-perpetuating disciplinary practices (discipline is supposed to take place via the requested, but unavailable, family support) effectively erase or render unrecognisable his difficulties with outside-of-class learning. The 'problem' is familialised and in this way framed as not a matter for school, but implicitly as an individual or family issue.

In an interview that took place later in the school year, the teacher expanded on her perception of the situation, in a statement that used negative and racialised stereotypes:

> The mother always says "Juvan good boy", "Juvan good school" [spoken in broken German] and so on, where we think "Yes, you're telling us" [...] and Juvan walks through the schoolyard and greets all the eighth graders, which on the one hand is of course quite lovely, but it's not the nice, sensible eighth graders, it's the ones

> where you think "please just graduate and leave this school" […] Juvan will […] I'm afraid become one of those giant Turkish machos.

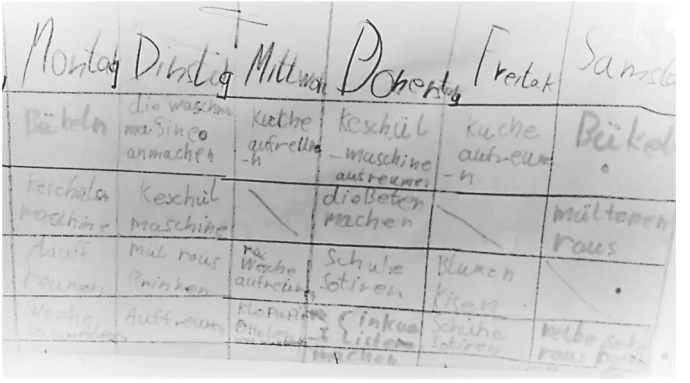
The teacher states that the mother has a positive image of her son, as she seems convinced of Juvan's academic potential. However, this does not correspond to the reality perceived by the teacher. To underline this, the teacher imitates the mother's way of speaking, including verb-less broken German ("Juvan good boy", "Juvan good school"), and thus applies negative stereotypes that are common in Germany, which then find their culmination in the term "giant Turkish macho". The concern that Juvan is looking for the 'wrong friends' – namely "not the nice, sensible eighth graders" – also testifies to the teachers' negative perspective of him. By referring to the wrong friends, who they wish would soon leave the school, Juvan is also defined as belonging to the group of students who do not fit into the school order and should "please leave". This reveals a family-school dynamic at the intersection of the two institutions, in which Juvan's recognition of his family's academic deficits plays no role, while his family's immigrant background is applied by the teacher as a racialized explanatory variable for behaviour she perceives as problematic. As this example shows, school and family practices often conflict with each other. In such cases, the intersection between the two is characterised by misunderstandings, disregard, and exclusion, and emerges as a conflict-laden 'battleground'. The practical organisation of school and the practical organisation of the family clash with each other. Inequality emerges in the lack of connections between the two, especially given that this intersection can be organised differently in other constellations, as the following example shows.

5.2 The perspective of the family

In order to analyse the perspective of families, the exploratory pilot project 'Inequality between the Family and School' [Ungleichheit zwischen Familie und Schule] looks at school-related educational practices in families (Bittner/Budde 2018). To this end, over a period of seven months, project researchers visited several families with primary school children in the afternoon, in the early evening and during dinner. In addition, the children were followed at school.

The Iversen family lives in a single-family home in the suburbs that they own. Both parents are college-educated. The father works full-time; the mother was a teacher before giving birth to their first child. The image below represents the Iversen family's weekly schedule and is reminiscent of a school timetable (see fig. 6), in which specific daily tasks for each family member are designated. For example, one child must unload the dishwasher on Thursday, another must take the garbage out on Tuesday, and a third must water the flowers on Friday.

Figure 6: The Iversen family's household chores chart (own photograph).



Some of the Iversen family's specific educational practices are already evident in this image. The family's parity-based organisational structure is documented in the fact that both children and adults are given tasks, thus forming a kind of 'community of responsibility' — albeit one that is differentiated by age and gender as well as presence in the household. The family also has the children practice writing, since the weekly schedule was filled out by hand by one of the children. It is already evident from this material object that the school's methods of organisation and representation overlap with those of the family.

However, the Iversen family's activities are also influenced by the school. The following observation protocol is about the Iversen family's nine-year-old daughter, Ivy, preparing a presentation together with her classmates Romy and Lynn. All three girls attend the same class. Also present are siblings Ian (age 7) and Issy and Isaac (both in pre-school), as well as Ivy's mother Irene, and Romy's mother Renate, who is good friends with Irene.

> We are all in the spacious, open-concept living and dining area. Ivy, Lynn and Romy want to practise their presentation about blue whales. Irene suggests that we move the sofa so that there is an audience. Irene and Renate sit on the sofa, and Isaac and Issy have found a place at the edge of the sofa and are drinking cocoa with a spoon. The three girls stand next to the television by the window and begin the presentation. Romy, Lynn and Ivy have memorised individual sections of the presentation — they have to do this in order to speak without notes, as Ivy and Lynn explain later. In between, they point to an imaginary poster.
> The girls maintain their concentration and don't let themselves be thrown off track when Isaac almost knocks over his cup of cocoa and a little later his pacifier lands at Lynn's feet. When they are done, Irene praises them for doing a good job. Renate asks how the lesson is going and thinks it is positive that they will be going fourth or fifth with their presentation. Irene puts her hand on Renate's thigh

> and says that it can also be "good" to be asked to go first. The situation slowly draws to a close. The children disappear to the second floor of the house to play.

The report shows that the three girls smoothly integrate school tasks (such as practising a presentation on the subject of blue whales) into their collective family practice. Pedagogical practices of the school and the family seamlessly connect with and also complement each other. The two mothers stage the presentation as an educational event by participating like an "audience" and as 'coaches', thus giving the presentation special attention and highlighting it as a privileged activity. The mothers' 'coaching' comments include compliments as well as questions about the planned procedure, and thus support social-emotional aspects of learning. Also notewothy is the fact that the other family members also 'participate' in the practice; however, they are not bound by the school order: they may continue to drink their cocoa; the disturbance due to the pacifier does not lead to discipline or punishment.

Two weeks later, the school's grading system becomes the topic of a dinner conversation.

> Irene mentions to her husband that Ivy got an A on her presentation. Other students received lower grades. "Marcel, Sidney and Jason got Ds", Irene says. Ivy adds that these three students only said one sentence each. However, one sentence was too little. Marcel did get a C later because he made the poster all by himself. Another student, on the other hand, was sick and had to read some parts of the text out load, but she still got an A or B because you can't do anything about it if you're sick, Ivy says.

The school's unspoken achievement order becomes the organising element of the family dinner conversation. The family shows its expertise in the matter by collectively interpreting the substance of the grading criteria (speaking duration, individual effort, illness) as legitimate explanations for divergent achievement in school. The fact that Ivy's very good grade is not given special consideration suggests that it is not to be understood as a special achievement, but as an ordinary horizon of expectation.

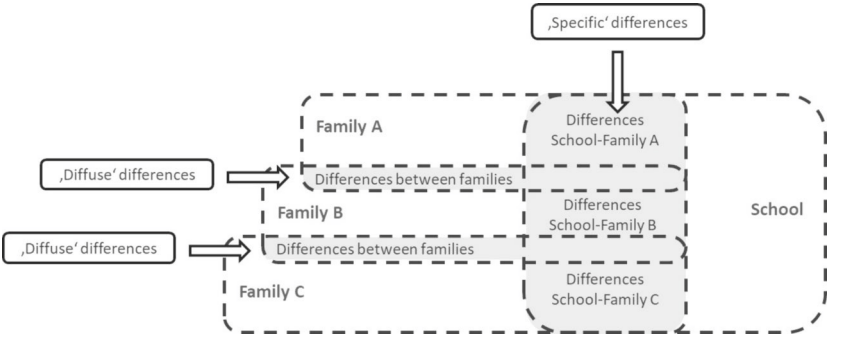
The case of the Iversen family shows that family and school practices together co-produce an intersection in which educational practices are seamlessly related to one another without rupture. Furthermore, other students' lower achievement, which is also mentioned, illustrates the thesis that the social order of the intersection always exists in relation to other families and students, whose lower-rated performance the members of the Iversen family define themselves against. In other words, the relational dynamic does not unspool solely within the Iversen family, but only through the practical participation of multiple families.

6 Conclusion

This paper has sought to show, firstly, that school and family cannot be seen as separate institutions, but rather create an intersectional space at their junction. Secondly, it discusses the fact that educational inequalities result from educational practices that make up the intersection between school and families. Furthermore, educational inequalities are not prefigured by macro social structures. Rather, they are practical bundles and constellations in and between the two institutions, in which children and adolescents position themselves and are positioned. Comparative relational dynamics in which all parties tacitly recognise their place within an unspoken hierarchy play a key role in creating educational inequalities. Three aspects of these relational dynamics can be particularly highlighted with regard to their impact on educational inequality.

The first is 'interfamilial; that is, it involves different families. Difference is processed when teachers (mostly implicitly) compare different families to one another. Through 'other families', a constellation of participants comes into view that has not received attention so far in either school or family research. Currently, families emerge in research primarily as (admittedly different) systems of interaction in relation to themselves (Krinninger 2015; Audehm 2007) or in their relation to social institutions such as school. Accordingly, school research tends to focus on individual families, rather than the constellation of families within a school class, for example. Focusing on the intersections between families, conversely, could broaden the analytical perspective on family-school relations and thus also develop a new perspective on inequality. What is specific about differences between families is that they remain diffuse in terms of inequalities and are barely concretised in pedagogical practices (see Diehm et al. 2013; fig. 7). Obviously, differences are produced and negotiated (as the descriptions of practices at the comprehensive school and within the Iversen family show). However, in order to decide whether these differences are institutional 'orders of educational inequality', every comparison needs an 'external' reference against which the dimension of educational inequality can be 'measured', and which the school represents.

Figure 7: Educational inequalities in the intersection (own illustration).



Accordingly, the second relational dynamic is established between the constellations of the family and those of the school. The specific structuring of this intersection on the school side indicates that different categories are used and that they are given different significance. While Juvan's parents' lack of academic support or resources, which he highlights, are not considered, racialised differences are used to mark a mismatch. Thus, this analysis indicates that differences between families lead to inequality. This is documented both in Juvan's case (in the maths teacher's perspective, which springs from and reinforces a relational dynamic involving his and other families) and in the Iversen family's practical positioning vis-à-vis the school. It is primarily the school's unspoken achievement order in terms of performance and behaviour (Budde et al. 2022) that represents the 'external' reference of inequality.

Third, other families are of essential importance to a family's — or families' — relationship to school and vice versa. The relation between different families co-constructs the organisation of the intersection. Educational inequalities emerge as the joint product of educational practices at the intersection of different constellations, and they arise at/out of the intersection of these two spheres. This fluid relational dynamic in the space where family and school overlap shows that families and schools are more diverse and less separable than is often assumed.

However, as the analysis also shows, the structure of the intersection reflects an imbalance between school and the family. it's the assignment of institutional responsibilities, which are primarily preconfigured by schools and delegated to families, shows a clear bias in favor of schools. While families as pedagogical institutions would also exist without schools, schools could not exist without families. Hence, schools determine when and in what context an intersection can arise. This can be clearly seen in the example involving Juvan. But school and its tasks also 'spill over' into the practices of the Iversen family. Therefore, educational inequalities can be seen as the outcome of divergent educational practices in school and the family –

with the normative horizons of school predominating. In contrast to existing studies, which, for example, use Bourdieu's habitus thesis to examine relationships between schools and individual families (Lareau 2011; Kramer 2016), the benefit of the perspective adopted here lies in its focus on relations and constellations. This also makes it possible to look at how social categories of difference are generated as a process at the intersection between the two institutions. In doing so, social categories are not taken a priori, for example, by deducing a familial habitus directly from the family's capital stock in each individual case. The categories that are ultimately negotiated at the intersection are only ever revealed in practice and can therefore also be the focus of empirical analysis.

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Doing Family at the crossroads of organisations and private lives

Karin Jurczyk, Maria S. Rerrich and Barbara Thiessen

1 Introduction

The Corona pandemic and its consequences, with several institutional lockdowns of offices, schools, and care-institutions etc. provide copious material for a large number of family practices which were empirically reconstructed by numerous empirical studies during the last two years (for example O'Reilly/Green 2021; Langer et al. 2022; Zerle et al. 2022, see also Grunau or Pustulka et al. in this volume). The course of the pandemic can also be regarded as a case study for illustrating the concept of Doing Family by Karin Jurczyk and her colleagues "par excellence" (Jurczyk 2020). To mention just a few aspects: The repercussions of COVID 19 intensified the need to "do family" as "doing boundary" and "balance management" between organisations such as schools, homes for the elderly, the labour market and families. At the same time, the need of creating a sense of "we-ness" and "togetherness" intensified for those family members who couldn't meet physically because of travel and interaction restrictions and the risk of infection, for example grandparents and grandchildren. It became even more apparent that the family is not a separate entity but is linked to structural contexts in general and to organisations in particular in specific ways. On the level of agency, it became obvious that individuals are the ones who – through their doings – establish connections (or draw boundaries) between private life and organisations and compensate structural breakdowns if necessary.

In the following, we will illustrate how this takes place both on a theoretical and empirical level. First, we will outline the contours of the theoretical concept of Doing and Undoing Family. Second, to have a closer look at the crossroads of organisations and private lives, we will focus on the societal embeddedness of family practices in general and then on the interconnections between organisations, professionals and the family using an empirical example from the field of Early Prevention as an element of social work.

2 (Un)Doing Family – the concept

Knowledge about how family members 'do' family and what doing family means has increased. The work of scholars such as David Morgan with his pivotal book on "Family Practices" (1996/2011), Janet Finch's concept of "Displaying Family" (2007) and Carol Smarts' "Personal Life" (2006) as well as numerous empirical investigations examining practices in micro-field studies (cf. Jurczyk/Ludwig 2020; Rönkä/Korvela 2009) stand out. Interestingly, the change from the "institutional to the agency paradigm" took place in English speaking countries much earlier than in German speaking ones (Schier/Jurczyk, 2007: 10). It was Kerry Daly (2003) who pointed out the short sightedness of family theories which ignore what happens in the everyday of families and are highly relevant for family members, e.g. time and space considerations, physicality and emotions. In "Family Connections", David Morgan (1996) argued that family is constructed individually in its qualitative specificity and is what people ‚do' through their multiple practices. "In doing (people) create and recreate the idea of family" (Morgan 2011: 177). Additionally, he stressed that we should prefer the term 'families' to 'family' because of families' diversity according to practices.

In her book "Personal Life", Carol Smart (2007) agrees with Morgan's understanding of families: a family is whoever counts him- or herself as belonging to it and belonging is the result of social negotiation processes (see also Bryceson/Vuorela 2002). She characterises families as having assumptions of personal interconnectedness, relationality and embeddedness and highlights the importance of emotions and memories. Going further than Morgan, she suggests using the term "Sociology of Personal Life" rather than "Sociology of Family" (Smart 2007: 28 f.) in order to prevent the reification of separating the public from the private and the white, heterosexual, middle class family from diverse 'alternative' families. According to her, 'Personal Life' takes place at many societal locations[1] – in contrast to the common understanding of family as happening in private spheres. Another milestone is Janet Finch's well-known concept of "Displaying Family" (2007). She argues that the construction of personal constellations as something that is happening gives them special meanings and designations. Following her line of argument, families not only use internal practices to define themselves as families but need to be recognized by external ‚others' as such. So relationships need to be displayed in order to have social reality, though the intensity of the need for display will vary in different circumstances and over time. But whatever the circumstances, the core message of displaying is 'These are my family relationships, and they work' (ibid.: 73).

1 This is close to the concept of Conduct of Everyday Life (Jurczyk/Voss/Weihrich 2016).

The concepts of Morgan, Smart and Finch all aim to de-essentialise and de-institutionalise family and to see it as the result of practices. By doing so, they contrast with the widespread functionalistic, normative and rational concepts of family, especially in German speaking family science and they are a crucial point of reference for the concept of Doing Family developed in Munich. All of them have contributed to various aspects of Doing Family. But there are not only important differences (see below)[2], more significantly there was neither a coherent connection between these studies nor had conceptual dimensions been developed systematically. This is why we – the Group of Family Sociologists at the German Youth Institute in Munich (see authors in Jurczyk 2020, Jurczyk et al. 2014, Keddi 2014, Schier/Jurczyk 2007) – developed a detailed concept of doing and undoing family since 2007. It is not only strongly informed by the work of national and international family sociologists who followed a praxeological perspective on families. It is also and mainly referring to two sociological theories: the social-constructivist theory of "Doing Gender" and the theory of "The Social Conduct of Everyday Life" ("Alltägliche Lebensführung")[3]:

- The ethnomethodological approach of Doing Gender underlines that gender is not a given or even perhaps natural category, but is constructed in socially and institutionally framed interactions (West/Zimmermann 1987). These processes of construction take place continuously but are contingent. For the doing family concept, we were lead to reject the assumption of the ‚natural' character of family and to highlight processes of social construction by interaction (Buschmeyer et al. 2020).
- The concept of the Social Conduct of Everyday Life conceptualises everyday practices in the context of economic, cultural and social resources and individual orientations. These significant daily practices aim to coordinate very different activities in various spheres of working and living with a specifically individual structured pattern of life conduct (Jurczyk et al. 2016). "The emphasis of the concept is on the fact that the system of life conduct is invariably *actively constructed*, *practiced* on an everyday level and *maintained*, as well as adapted, when neces-

2 One difference is, while family relations and the adequate practices are in the core of Morgan's concept, Jurczyk et al. underline the relation between familial agency and societal structures. Another difference is Morgan's and Smart's insisting on the use of 'families' instead of 'family' while Jurczyk and others try to define some basic characteristics of a family but with gradual differences.

3 Luise Behringer, Karl Martin Bolte, Wolfgang Dunkel, Karin Jurczyk, Werner Kudera, Maria S. Rerrich, G. Günter Voß and Margit Weihrich were involved with the project group Conduct of Everyday Life.

> sary." (ibid., p. 46).[4] For the Doing Family concept, we learned to focus on daily practices and on the interlinkages of life conduct between relevant persons, to frame it within societal structures and to specify dimensions of doing (Jurczyk 2020a).

We cannot go into details here, but in the following will focus on the core aspects of the Doing and Undoing Family approach.

2.1 Core aspects of the concept of Doing Family

What is Doing Family? In a nutshell, the term means: one does not simply have a family, family is performative. One has to do it and there is a more or less conscious need as well as effort to become and to be a family. This has always been the case, but the necessity of 'doing' family has been and continues to be intensified by processes of enforced modernisation and late or reflexive modernity (Heaphy 2007), understood as de-traditionalisation, individualisation and as post-Fordism, i.e., the blurring of boundaries (Jurczyk 2020a: 34 f.; Jurczyk 2014: 122 f.). Increasingly, traditions about, whether and how to live family, when, where and with whom, have vanished, have eroded or at the very least have been called into question. Cultural and structural framings and norms remain important, but they are multifaceted and contradictory, and options for deciding what a family means for the individual have increased. As a result, the family is no longer a clearly defined and uniform societal and legal institution nor is it a given natural resource for individuals as well as for society. Instead, it is the result of a permanent process of doing family relations in everyday life as well as over the life-course, interwoven with societal structures.

In contrast to other approaches in family research such as functionalism, rational choice, family morphology, family values etc., this praxeological approach of Doing Family does not primarily focus on studying various family types or on exploring attitudes, analysing time budgets or spelling out societal functions and hermeneutic meanings of the family. Doing Family focuses on the processes of how families emerge and how they are 'done' through practices. And moreover, it raises the question of how family is produced as a specific system of personal relations. Despite the praxeological understanding of family that means we still need to specify how we understand family as a result or as an aim of such doings. As a working definition, we suggest that the core conceptual dimensions of a family are mutual and more or less reciprocal: care, reliability or at least the intention of reliability, intergenerativ-

4 This approach has been further developed to a concept of familial life conduct, with a focus on coordinating and interweaving the different life conducts of family members (Jurczyk 2020a).

ity and privacy i.e., personal relationships in private contexts (see Jurczyk/Thiessen 2020: 122 f.).

That is to say we understand a family as a permanently executed practice centered on care obligations between generations in a private context. Accordingly, the concrete shape of a family can be contingent and fluid, there can be a multitude of families (Morgan 2011). This contrasts with concepts of the family as a 'norm' family, which assume heteronormativity, biological relationships, marriage and unilocality, i.e., living together in one household. We also distinguish two levels of producing a family: the level of organisation and the level of constructing identity of and within a family. On the one hand, at the level of organisational practices, there are all the activities that can be associated with "balance management". Some examples are the (potentially conflict laden) intertwining of the lives, interests, and needs of family members through coordinating and synchronizing individuals' lives in order to create family life, to find time to care and to have shared time for joint activities, as well as distributing rights and delegating duties. This includes creating boundaries between jobs, schools, care institutions, and the family – but interconnecting them as well.

On the other hand, at the level of identity, there is the symbolic construction of togetherness and corresponding practices (see also Groß in this volume). We can identify three ways doing this: First, social ties are created through processes of establishing family 'demarcations'. Individuals are included in and excluded from the group that is defined as a family (Nelson 2006), with varying constellations during the life-course. The question is, who is in and who is out, e.g., in step-families. Additionally, there is the understanding of oneself as belonging to a family adequately or whether this needs to be recognised by others. Second, intimacy and a feeling of belonging are constructed through the production of a sense of "We-ness" as defined by Galvin (2006): 'We are a family'. This can happen, for example, through sharing values, celebrating holidays the same way etc. Third, there are outward staging and/or performing processes and inward processes of reasserting the condition of being together and belonging together as a family. This is well-known as Displaying Family (Finch 2007) and includes the dimension of wishing to be recognized 'as' a family by others. Families that deviate from the current 'norm' family especially feel the need to prove they are functioning successfully as such. Some examples are foster families or families by adoption (Helming 2014; Bovenschen 2020) or queer families (Nay 2017) which display 'family' intensively.

Beyond this basic distinction of levels of the production of a family, there are several detailed dimensions of the Doing Family concept, which provide a close look into everyday life and are extremely helpful for empirical research (Jurczyk 2014: 129). Here, we can only touch on three of them. Using our doing family concept as an empirical program, they address different questions: Which dimensions of doing are focused? A distinction can be made between several dimensions of agency

such as the temporal, the spatial, the social, the medial, the dimension of significance, the emotional, the physical and the cognitive. These dimensions of action follow the approach of the Social Conduct of Everyday Life (see Jurczyk et al. 2016). How is Doing Family done? The mode of agency can be more or less routinised and/or ritualised, can change according to varying situations or can be casual. In this case, family issues must be decided anew as well as over and over again (ibid.). Who is the actor/who are the actors of Doing Family? These can be single individuals along their familial status according to gender and generation etc., subgroups such as siblings or grandparents and grandchildren, or the family group as a whole. Family can be a multi-local network and not simply the core family living together in one household, and it can include "elective or chosen relatives" ("Wahlverwandtschaften") as actors. This allows us to think of families as concentric circles of caregivers and care receivers. One aspect of this is especially relevant for this article: the understanding of directly interacting professional or semi-professional caregivers as specific types of actors in the context of families. We call these interactions the co-production of family with other societal actors (see below).

2.2 The continuum between Doing and Undoing Family

By now it should be evident that by using the term Doing Family, we do not merely have the happy gathering of family members around the kitchen table in mind. Doing Family should not be misinterpreted as successful family, whatever success means, and as functioning or not functioning along societal requirements, as in Parsons' structural-functional approach.

This is, first, because the production of family is always characterised by ambivalence (Lüscher 2012) on a range of closeness and distance. Care, whether for educating, for supervising, for meeting many needs, from loving attention to doing housework and much more, can be more or less successful and can be more or less associated with positive emotions such as trust and attachment. Doing Care can also mean shame and rejection (Klinger 2014; Brückner 2018). In general, relations can be lived more or less intensely and can change over time. Second, it is apparent that there are counter-movements of producing a family as a community: That is what we call Undoing Family, through practices such as actively forgetting and neutralizing relationships, targeted distancing or even dissolving relations (Kindler/Eppinger 2020). Third, domestic violence or at least severe conflicts and tensions can mark the 'dark sides' of family life. These harmful practices do not directly intend to destroy relationships. Sometimes they aim at just the opposite, at staying together – but through the use of power in unequal gendered or generational relations. Here, care can be the medium for the misuse of personal dependency. Such practices usually produce distance, disrupted, or at least unsettled relations.

We assume that family life typically takes place on a continuum of doing and undoing and that 'tipping points' between doing and undoing could be identified in empirical reconstructions. From a life-course perspective, family appears to be a gradual more or less of intense and reliable care-relations. In practice, these are dynamic and variable and include who is 'in' and who is 'out' of the family. Thus, belonging to the family can be independent of the formal kinship relation, for example as a grandparent, a nephew or a niece or a parent.

3 The embeddedness of family practices

Coming to the question of crossroads between family and organizations, one has to ask how doing family is embedded in and shaped through societal contexts and which scope of action such contexts leave for family actors. To understand Doing Family is more than simply reconstructing micro-processes of interaction. The family is merely one subsystem of society – albeit a decisive one because of its focus on care. There are many subsystems (such as the labour market, the welfare state, the legal system) that are interconnected. In other words, 'doing' takes place within the framework of complex societal institutions and corresponding organizations, and this is especially true given the conditions of late modernity (Heaphy 2007). We argue that by and large there is a lack of systematic theoretical understandings of these interconnections. To recognise them, we propose varying levels of analysis (see Jurczyk/Meysen 2020, S. 44 ff.).

First, and most generally, we follow sociological theories of "structure and agency" (Giddens 1988) and "subject-orientation" (Voß/Pongratz 1997; Jurczyk et al. 2016) which assume mutual influences between individual agency and societal organisations. We have demonstrated this in detail with the theoretical approach and empirical research on the Social Conduct of Everyday Life (Jurczyk/Rerrich 1983). One of the empirical fields was studying to what extent working time regimes determine the conduct of everyday life. We found that these structural conditions have to be appropriated individually (but also allow appropriation) and thus need to be understood in the entire context of an individual's everyday life and biography (Jurczyk 1993).

One has to take into account, secondly, that various spheres and actors are granted differing ranges of power, resources and thus influence. Social and medical services and professionals in education and social work are positioned in the powerful interrelationship between individual appropriation and agency on the one hand and social structures and legal regulations on the other. Their mediation work represents the functional core of public education and care activities in the modern welfare state. This complex mix of individual practices, professional guidance and state framing in the production of family can be captured more precisely with the

concept of governmentality (Foucault 2000). Foucault conceives of the coupling of forms of power and processes of subjectivation programmatically, in which technologies of the self and technologies of power are seen as interlocking practices (Foucault 2000: 50). The offer of social services and the professionals acting in them can be analysed precisely with the governmentality concept as a support as well as an active influence on the way of life and even more: as promotion of self-government and self-optimisation (Kessl 2005).

Third, a distinction must be drawn between differing layers of society, as Bronfenbrenner (1976) has done in his socio-ecological model of society. He distinguishes the micro, meso and macro levels and suggests a systematisation of relevant environments from the perspective of the child. He, too, concedes that these environments interact and overlap. For our understanding of 'crossroads', the meso level is the most direct and the most important one, as it connects networks, social, educational and health organisations (see below).

Fourth, and most useful, is Barbara Hobson's (2013) version of the 'capability approach'. It, too, takes the relevance of structures, organisations etc. as its starting point, but aims to understand the degrees of freedom of action. This concept builds upon Amartya Sen's work which provides a multidimensional framework for analysing individuals' unequal capabilities and the resources of people and their agency. Hobson, too, makes a distinction between 'layers of context', but, more interestingly, she introduces two mechanisms entailing experiences of agency that are crucial for transforming capabilities into real room to maneuver: These are the perceived scope of alternatives and the sense of entitlement.

All four theoretical approaches point out that agency is not simply determined by acting within structural frameworks such as organisations, even though these are highly relevant for Doing Family, but rather that families have considerable leeway to form what they make of these framings. And all of these approaches highlight the interdependency of subsystems. Families depend on the welfare state and the labour market economy, but they, too, depend on families, because without the provision of family care output, neither the administrative state nor the labour market can survive. This is especially relevant in family centred welfare-regimes, which assign most care work to families and thus substitute some of these services via low-level social security benefits.

With a social theory perspective, Doing Family can only be understood as embedded in powerful societal structures. A mere micro-sociological perspective is not sufficient, although the empirical reconstruction of personal relationality within these interdependencies and multiple layers of society is challenging. Beside the individual constellations, for options and variations of Doing Family, national specifics and historically developed relations between welfare state regimes, state regulations, civil society and family are decisive (Daly 2000). Thanks to increasing options of delegating privatized family work (such as raising and educating

young children or caring for other vulnerable family members) and cooperation with organisations such as kindergartens, schools, and residential homes, new combinations of familial and societal responsibility have emerged. Under these conditions, the embeddedness of Doing Family has to be concretised by a closer look at social and educational organisations that interconnect with the family and how this interconnection takes place.

4 The interconnections between organisations, professionals, and the family

Legal regulations, welfare state arrangements and labour market requirements, the power, needs and services of educational and care organisations for family members as well as the offers and guidelines of social work and other services provide the framework for the everyday lives of families. This is where the logic, demands and 'modi operandi' of various organisations come together. Furthermore, they are confronted with the "internal logic" of families which does not follow functional demands of being a 'good family' by producing well-educated children and employable and skilled labour.

It is important to note that the organisations themselves are by no means free to act according to their own philosophy, ethics, and norms of their tasks. This is mainly because they operate within the framework of social legislation, the local service structure, as well as the market economy and have to compete with other organisational care providers. The basic structure of the welfare state, i.e., the specific mix of the state, the family and the market, is crucial (Busemeyer et al. 2013). For example, social and educational organisations have to take time and money restrictions based on legal regulations into account. Nevertheless, they follow and incorporate norms about successful families, good parents (especially mothers) and good children (especially daughters). These influence and have an impact on how professionals of these organisations regard families and how they interact with them. Even so, these norms and the interrelationship between family and organisations change from time to time and depend, for example, on the welfare regime. But how do organisations come into contact and affect families in practice?

Professionals are the ones who usually translate organisational requirements and constraints into practices while interacting with families. As co-producers of the social, they operate at the interface of the private sphere and various public spheres, such as social and educational organisations (Jurczyk/Thiessen 2011). On one hand, organisations provide the framework for professional activity within social services. Professionals act and must act within the specifications of their organisations, such as the number of persons they have to care for or the time structures of schools or their religious perspectives and codices etc. On the other hand, professionals do not

merely act following the guidelines of their organisations as such. They, too, interpret and form how they interact with families. And they, too, follow their own interests, individual norms and values and – last but not least – the requirements and restrictions of their own daily lives, including their families. This can lead – in addition to clashes with the interests and values of the families involved – to clashes and contradictions between the requirements and expectations of the various spheres of professionals' lives.

The Doing Family approach is helpful for understanding these complex processes of interaction. Concerning a 'Making Family' approach and its differences to Doing Family, we argue: Social and educational organisations 'make' the family only on a meso level, they make it through cultural norms and hidden or outspoken values, given by legal regulations, by organisational rules, restrictions, and resources (e.g., for time and money). Professionals act as a link between their organisation and their clients, in their interactions they 'do', i.e., co-produce, family but they do not make it. In our opinion, in this context the term 'Making Family' only covers the aspect of professionals following (societal, legal, individual) specific norms about how a family ought to be. And it includes the power to decide about granting or taking away (financial, emotional, practical etc.) support through legal entitlement. But all of this has to be done in specific sequences, settings, and dimensions of practices. In the following we will illustrate this with one example – the field of early prevention in Germany, more precisely the interaction between midwives and family members.

4.1 An empirical example: early prevention (Frühe Hilfen)

Since 2006, a child protection scheme called the Early Childhood Intervention (ECI) Program for preventing neglect of and violence towards infants and children (Sann 2008) has been established in Germany. Its objective is to help practitioners to identify risks and burdens in families sooner and more effectively and to provide appropriate support for families with a high risk of child neglect. Socially and educationally disadvantaged families are the main target group (Renner et al. 2018). Since the implementation of nationwide programs of early prevention, child care and education have been politically conceived as a shared private and public responsibility (BMFSFJ 2002). Rather than being seen as a 'natural' task of mothers they are now regarded as a task requiring special skills and competencies. Nowadays, social and health services work together to facilitate access to families, and the use of specially trained family midwives is of particular importance.

Implementing the principles of strengthening families' own resources and mobilising their self-help potential is perceived as crucial. But empirical studies have shown that the focus of 'strengthening strengths' in professionals' practice can occasionally shift to the transmission of expert knowledge as well as in unequal working

alliances between professionals and clients. One example is the ethnographic study by Rettig et al. (2017). They examined the professional activities of family midwives working with teenage mothers as the family actors being addressed. A central pattern of the interaction in the "doing" of midwifes and mothers proved to be the production of motherhood ("mother in the making", ibid.: 58 ff.) by family midwives. Citing the low level of education, problematic biographies (e.g., related to addiction) and the childbearing age of these young mothers, the family midwives were skeptical about their mothering skills. Rettig and her colleagues' analyses identified few traces of shared situational production of motherhood and thus of family based on the strengths of these young women.. Rather, it was evident that family midwives' interventions aimed at "making mothers" or "mothers in the making" (ibid.) according to their own concepts and presumably the concepts of their organisation as well.

This was evident in ambivalent interactions. On the one hand, the empirical reconstructions revealed how "reassuring, counseling and caring" for mothers enabled them to make motherhood possible and was open for the young mothers' own needs as well (ibid.). This can be termed as Doing Family together, i.e., the co-production of family. On the other hand, they brought to light how family midwives conceived of themselves as "maternal midwives" whose central goal was to strengthen a mother-child dyad. This included the exclusion of fathers who were seen primarily as problem bearers and troublemakers (ibid.: 74). Here, the question of "who is in and who is out," which is one essential aspect of Doing Family, was subject to significant intervention by the professionals. In another observational sequence, a family midwife attempted to steer the client's training plans in a differing direction (from sales to a skilled trade, ibid.: 63), pointing out that employment and family tasks would then be more compatible. In doing so, the professional was not reflecting that she was interfering with the family's 'balance management'.

In processes such as these, care for and the upbringing of children are again stereotyped as female terrain (Thiessen 2012). Family midwives construct 'family' in their professional activities enforcing their patterns of interpretation on their clients (Rettig et al. 2017). The problem here is not only that clients experience themselves as incompetent yet again. Families' genuinely own Doing Family practices and specific ways of creating "we-ness" may also be upset. This counteracts the central goal of early childhood intervention – supporting the parents' educational and relational competencies in order to create secure attachments.

This brief example shows only some aspects of the complex practices of producing and co-producing family. The co-production of family by professionals influences the way Doing Family is carried out by family members and this is closely linked to social power relations. With the help of the governmentality concept, the intertwined Doing Family practices in co-production by family members and professionals can be deciphered even more precisely. Underlying each of these are (different) models of e.g. 'good' motherhood, each of which reflect performatively ap-

propriated and publicly negotiated models. A more intensive application of the Doing Family concept to the field of early prevention would allow for a deeper investigation of many other aspects, such as the organisational and symbolic production of family, the modes of action, the representation and staging of 'good' motherhood, the dimensions of time and space and much more.

5 Conclusion: toward a precise use of the Doing Family concept

To summarize our arguments, three aspects stand out. First, it is tempting to use the term Doing Family as a catchword for many things indiscriminately and, in doing so, to forfeit its analytical accuracy and content. We suggest that it is essential to spell out what is meant by the use of this term in its various dimensions and that the advantages of this concept will only come to light if one does so. This means much more than just claiming to look at 'family practices'.

Second, seen through the precise and focused lens of the Doing Family concept, family can be perceived as a fluid result of practices and their societal framings and, as such, as (1) changeable, (2) contingent, and (3) gradual. For this, the embeddedness of Doing Family is crucial. The result is a broad understanding of what a family is and can be. Also, within the programmatic framework of the concept one can reconstruct the diversity and contingency of family life empirically and in detail. Furthermore, one can avoid incorrect assumptions and generalisations about 'the' family.

Third, as we have seen through the midwife example, there is a crucial difference between Doing Family (that is the micro-sociological perspective of interaction) and Making Family (that is the meso-sociological perspective of framing and influencing by professionals authorized with decision making power and resources). Located between doing and making is the interaction between family members and professionals since it takes place at the level of micro-interaction. But by the same token, professionals represent and transport societal and individual norms and the expectations and requirements of their organisations. Using the Doing Family approach, one can reconstruct the power of organisations dealing with families as well as the dynamics, interactions, and conflicts between family members and professional actors.

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II Practicing the family/families in welfare state contexts

Doing family right

The impact of childhood institutions on family practices, parental norms, and social distinctions

Eva Gulløv

1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the impact of childhood institutions (especially day-care centres and schools) on contemporary forms of family. Although there have been very different traditions for care and schooling outside the family in the various western European countries, these institutions have come to play an increasingly important role in society and in the organisation of family life. In recent decades, we have seen a strong international focus on how institutional programmes can help overcome social, cultural and economic differences in children's backgrounds through teaching and pedagogy, and a much greater interest in children's development of competences, especially during early childhood. Although the actual organisation and funding varies, the trend across Western European countries is that governments are making considerable efforts to ensure that all children not only attend school, but also are well prepared for school by their parents and various pre-primary programmes.

Tatjana Thelen and Haldis Haukanes (2010: 1) describe this development as a shift towards a "deprivatisation of childhood and parenthood", where children's development and upbringing are seen as a public rather than a purely private concern. Today, schools and increasingly also facilities for preschool children are seen as an indispensable part of children's path into society. If children are to develop the necessary skills and insights, professional guidance and organised environments are needed, as is systematic collaboration between parents and childhood professionals.

Consequently, parenthood has also become an area of societal interest. Authorities and childhood professionals expect parents to organise family life in ways that support the work of childhood institutions and to raise their children to be 'educationable' and prepared for institutional life. As I will show in this chapter, childhood institutions thus have the impact of standardising parental practices and priorities.

However, I will also argue that they influence perceptions of differences among families. Since children are grouped according to age, it is possible to compare their actions and skills – indeed, every aspect of their development from their first years of life. Whenever specific children's behaviour gives cause for concern or parents' lifestyle, values or upbringing practices conflict with institutional norms, professionals will emphasise what constitutes normal and desirable behaviour. In a sense, childhood institutions function as a public stage where children and parents face an audience of professionals, other parents, and children who take note of their actions and react with either approval or condemnation. In this way, these institutions not only define and authorise behaviour within the institutional realm; they also exert control over every-day routines and practices in family homes, as well as impact interactions, assessments, and distinctions among parents.

I find it important to reflect on these standardising and differentiating dynamics that occur around childhood institutions in order to understand their implications for family life and norms of child-rearing. I ground my argument in the Danish context, where I have conducted a range of ethnographic studies in childhood institutions over the last 30 years. Compared to other European countries, Denmark – like the other Scandinavian countries – is characterised by high levels of employment among both mothers and fathers, and correspondingly high rates of public childcare in the form of pre-school and after-school facilities despite the fact that attendance is neither mandatory nor fully subsidised (but with reduced tariffs for low-income families). Thus, the latest statistics indicate that 89.7 per cent of all children aged one to three years attend out-of-family care, while 97.5 per cent of all three- to six-year-olds are enrolled in kindergartens[1] (Statistics Denmark 2015). The attendance rate in after-school programmes is approx. 92 per cent for the youngest schoolchildren (age 5–7) (KL 2020). While Denmark might be extraordinary in the number of children who attend these pedagogical services and in the degree to which authorities are involved in the upbringing of especially the youngest children, similar tendencies are seen elsewhere. I therefore find the Danish case a suitable jumping-off point for a more general discussion on the influence of childhood institutions on family practices.

To understand the influence of childhood institutions on family life, one must consider how the status of the child has changed over the past century. I will there-

1 The contemporary early childcare system in Denmark is a voluntary state-subsidised system consisting of dagpleje (care provided in a private home), and vuggestuer (nurseries), both serving children aged from six months to three years. Three-year-old children attend børnehaver (kindergartens) until starting primary school at the age of six. Many of those working in these institutions are certified pædagoger (preschool teachers), who have bachelor level qualifications from a university college. Public funding covers approximately 75 per cent of costs, with the remainder paid by parents.

fore begin by briefly outlining various transformations in generational relations including the impact that the rise of education systems has had on ideals of childhood and parenthood. In the sections that follow, I will argue that the growing influence of childhood institutions is partly a result of the increased interest of authorities, and partly of the institutional form itself, where the coordination of many individuals requires a standardisation of both children's and parents' behaviour. However, as I will return to at the end of the chapter, this standardisation also creates a distinction between those who are able and willing to conform to institutional norms and those who are not. This normative dimension has implications for parenting priorities as well as for everyday routines and practices in homes.

2 Altered views of the child

Over the last century, there have been considerable changes in perceptions of children's needs, development, and status worldwide, including most western European countries (Cunningham 1994; Elias 1998; Wyness 2006). These changes reflect a number of processes that have radically altered social ties (e.g., increased influence of state bodies, new forms of production, changing demographics, urbanisation, democratisation, gender relations), leading to new models and functions for the family as institution, including the place and role of children. The expansion of educational, legal, and child-welfare systems has influenced ideas of what constitute appropriate places and practices for children and parents. The spread of schooling has been particularly important in this regard (Haukanes/Thelen 2010: chapter 1); not only did it result in a physical separation of children and parents, it also institutionalised a mental distinction between the generations (Faircloth 2014: 40). As noted by historian Harry Hendrick, the removal of children from the workforce reduced their economic value and changed their social significance in broader society. They became regarded as dependent, ignorant, and innocent and therefore in need of special treatment and instruction to acquire necessary and approved knowledge (Hendrick 1990: 46). Gradually, schools became a common feature of childhood, or in David Lancy's (2008) words: "Fast-forward to the twenty-first century and we find a world where childhood without schooling is unthinkable" (ibid.: 305).

The expansion of formal schooling and changed notions of childhood and children are closely intertwined. Their removal from adult life promoted a view of children as fundamentally different from adults, at the same time creating a new awareness of children's needs, particularities, and vulnerabilities. Thus, throughout the 20th century, a shift occurred from more authoritarian forms of interaction with children to a more 'child-sensitive' form based on knowledge and systematic reflection regarding means and methods of upbringing (Elias 1998: 208; Gilliam/Gulløv 2017: chapter 2). Describing a similar process in the USA, sociologist Vi-

vianne Zelizer (1994: 209) argues that the "twentieth-century economically useless but emotionally priceless child displaced the nineteenth-century useful child". She continues: "the sentimentalization of childhood intensified regardless of social class. The new sacred child occupied a special and separate world, regulated by affection and education, not work or profit". Thus, the same process that removed children from adult workplaces and required them to spend their days in institutions specifically designed to support their development and education increased their symbolic worth.

Just as parents are not generally reliant on their children's work, children are no longer dependent on their parents' knowledge to be able to function in society. Teaching relevant knowledge has become a matter for specialists. However, as argued by sociologist Norbert Elias, this does not mean that children and parents are no longer intimately interlinked (Elias 1998; Gilliam/Gulløv forthcoming). Rather, the more children's status has increased, the greater the social importance attached to parents' treatment of their offspring. And the more children's upbringing has become a matter of public concern, the greater society's scrutiny of parental practices. As a consequence of these processes, the social recognition and status of parents have increasingly been linked to the behaviour of their child.

It is tempting to assume that the increased role of professionals in children's upbringing would make parenting easier, but, in fact, it has led to higher expectations concerning parents' involvement in their children's lives. This relates to what Haukanes and Thelen describe as a paradox inherent in the modern understanding of childhood: "Whereas the children and family life were privatised, the public influence on children was intensified. As child/ state relations changed, parent/state relations followed suit, leading to new forms of family policy and state intervention" (2010: 14). Thus, rather than two opposing tendencies, the institutionalisation of childhood and the increased focus on family life and parenting practices must be seen as two aspects of the same process. As childhood is regarded, more than ever, as foundational for later life – what sociologist Frank Furedi (2002) terms "childhood determinism" – and children are therefore seen as vulnerable and at risk, but also precious and unique, there is a stronger need to ensure their safety and wellbeing, as well as to nurture their potential. The awareness of this need has led to the continuing expansion of formal education and to a general awareness of the significance of a secure family environment, caring and emotionally sensitive parents, and strong family bonds. Scholars in a wide range of countries have identified the spread of what has been termed "intensive parenting" (Lee et al. 2013); that is, an enhanced effort to treat and teach children in the right way, but also to ensure that parents are capable of providing the necessary support (see also Faircloth et al. 2013; Sparrman et al. 2016; Akselvoll 2022). This rationale emphasises the need for parents to dedicate time and effort to the wellbeing, stimulation, and education of their children, yet it also calls for professional care and education that stimulates and is sensitive to

the needs of the individual child, and for a strong and well-functioning partnership between the two (Dannesboe et al. 2018).

3 Increasing state involvement

As stated above, the changed view of children is also linked to the growing interest of the state in the upbringing and education of the next generation. As early as the beginning of the 20th century, the sociologist Emile Durkheim argued that for a modern state to maintain social order, it must be involved in the education of the next generation (Durkheim 1956 [orig. 1922]). Their development is too important to be left to parents' arbitrary practices and has therefore increasingly become a matter for professionals in special institutions designed for this purpose.

In the Scandinavian countries, the state is particularly involved in children's lives and upbringing. Children and their welfare are now part of a range of political and economic priorities and labour market initiatives, and childhood institutions constitute a fundamental part of the fabric of society (Ellingsæter 2006; Gilliam/Gulløv 2017). Over the past 100 years, the state's involvement has come to entail a range of different institutions, and ways of certifying professionals in the fields of childcare and education and regulating their work, resources, and time. Starting with the establishment of schools and asylums for young, impoverished children during the nineteenth century, in all three Scandinavian countries, the state has gradually expanded the time children spend in institutions. The number of years of compulsory schooling has increased, the education system has expanded, and nurseries, kindergartens, after-school care, youth programmes, music classes, and sports activities have been established, all with the aim of ensuring that children are cared for and stimulated, regardless of their social background. In this process, the perception and handling of children's needs have been professionalised, gradually shifting from the private concern of families to a matter of general interest that is best managed in specialised educational institutions regulated by the state. In the case of Denmark, the result of this process is that, today, almost all children spend a large chunk of their waking hours in various education and care institutions from infancy until reaching adulthood. Thus, the legitimate formative process for the individual involves a sequence of standardised educational programmes, each authorised to define what serves children best and intervene whenever parental dispositions do not appear to be conducive to the wellbeing or development of the child.

While it is not a new development that adult society and politicians have a strong interest in children's upbringing or that children spend a lot of time in schools and other educational institutions, the scale of the investment and effort and the degree of coherence between the different stages of the educational process are unprecedented. In the Danish context this is seen, for instance, in mandatory testing of all

children's language skills at the age of three and again at five to make sure they are sufficiently proficient to cope with the demands of school (Holm 2017). Or in the extensive efforts to smooth the transitions between kindergarten, school, and after-school care. Through various inter-professional activities and detailed descriptions of each child's strengths and weaknesses, professionals in kindergartens seek to provide schoolteachers with knowledge allowing them to work with the individual child in the best way possible (Christensen 2020). The comprehensive assessment of educational readiness is also indicative in this regard. Since 2010, municipal educational counsellors have been legally obliged to assess every child in grade 8 and again in grade 9 in order to identify and counsel those pupils who do not "have the professional, personal and social prerequisites necessary to complete upper secondary education" (BUM 2010). This systematic registration of pupils' competences is intended to ensure coherence between primary and secondary education. Because education has become the established and legitimate path to status, and because formal certification is a prerequisite for almost all well-paid jobs, a whole industry has developed around the transitions between different stages. From nursery to kindergarten, from kindergarten to school, and from school to youth education, professionals strive to guide children's way to the next educational level and to ensure that all children know what is expected of them, regardless of their family background. In this way, the education system has gained in prevalence, influence, and scope.

It is also relatively new that this endeavour includes the youngest children, at least in the Scandinavian context[2]. Thus, recent decades have seen an increased political focus on enrolling as many children as possible in nurseries and kindergartens – especially in cases where there is a fear that the child's parents are unable to carry out the task adequately, such as parents who are outside the labour market, who are mentally or physically ill, or who have recently arrived in Denmark as immigrants. In Denmark, this has resulted in outreach activities informing target groups about the benefits of nurseries, but also in the demand that parents receiving public benefits must be available for work – a demand that implies that they must be willing to place their young children in the care of someone else. These efforts seem to have the intended effect, with a comparatively high percentage of preschool children attending nurseries and kindergartens (OECD, Family database 2021). Besides teaching the children basic skills, such as how to dress themselves and use the toilet, and elementary knowledge of, for instance, numbers, colours and traffic rules, the focus is on training behavioural skills such as proper ways to solve a conflict, how to be considerate towards others, and to respect institutional rhythms and schedules and

2 According to the OECD, Denmark is the country that spends most public funds annually on ECEC settings per child and ranks fourth when expenditure is compared to total GDP – after Sweden, Norway and Iceland (OECD, Starting Strong 2017).

follow adult instructions. In short, there is a notable effort to familiarise young children with institutional norms from as early an age as possible, with particular focus on social interactions in groups and self-control.

A third new trend is the introduction of policies attempting to identify social problems at an early stage. Partly inspired by economist James Heckman's argument about the greater profitability of investing in early childhood education (Heckman 2008), and partly by the conviction that early experiences are foundational for later life, a strong political interest in identifying and preventing potential problems during early childhood has emerged. This entails the systematic assessment of every child's development, as well as an intensified focus on monitoring how children are treated at home. When something is identified as potentially harmful or as hindering the child's continued development, interventions encourage parents to recognise the problem and their own responsibility, and to comply with the proposed remedy. Thus, the 'early intervention' paradigm is not only preventive, safeguarding the child's development; it also regulates parents' practices and way of life. Moreover, as childhood professionals are required to react to any suspicion of deficiencies in the care provided in the home (and in extreme cases, to remove the child from the parents), there is real power behind their assessments and the actions they propose. Although professional educators always have been in a position of power in relation to parents, the increased institutionalisation of children has given them – and the apparatus of social authorities – far more effective instruments for identifying potential developmental deviations at a much earlier stage. The balance of authority and power thereby shifts towards the system of childhood institutions, making parents more aware of the need to do their best – not only for the sake of their child, but also for their own sake. This entails adjusting their parenting practices to fit the norms and advice they meet in their daily encounters with childhood professionals in order to ensure their child develops in the right way and to protect the family's status and respectability.

However, it must be stressed that this regulatory function could not be exercised without the general acceptance and trust of parents. Nor can the widespread enrolment in preschool education and care be seen purely as a result of pressure from the authorities. Although parents are a diverse population and have different experiences with their childhood institutions, and despite growing concerns over the quality of the day-care facilities in Denmark over the last decade, surveys continue to show a generally high level of satisfaction among parents (Ministry of the Interior and Housing 2012; Statistics Denmark 2022). Thus, it seems that most parents send their children to kindergarten and school because they trust that it will benefit their child and they comply with the requirements because they agree with the educational principles and objectives. Institutional effectiveness is not just a matter of external regulation or organisational design; it depends on parental support, which

in turn is linked to psychosocial mechanisms such as shame and trust, a sense of (in)adequacy, and a fear of social disapproval (cf. van Krieken 1986).

4 A need for strong cooperation

Coining the term 'politicisation of parenthood', sociologists Anne Lise Ellingsæter and Arnlaug Leira (2006) point to the range of policy measures in Scandinavia intended to help parents to balance work and family and take proper care of their children (e.g., subsidised parental leave, days off when children are sick, child benefit, and state subsidised day-care). As they state: "The Scandinavian welfare states pioneered the transformation of parenthood into political issues" (2006: 2). Elaborating, Leira describes this as a simultaneous process of 'de-familisation', where much of the upbringing and care of children is done by professionals, and 're-familisation', where parents receive support in caring for their children. Both processes reflect the significance attributed to parenthood by authorities. Yet they also show the extent to which child-rearing today is based on collaboration between parents and childhood professionals (see also Göbel/Bollig in this volume); a collaboration that requires mutual responsiveness, and especially a willingness by parents to align their parenting practices with professional guidelines.

In their study of Danish kindergartens, educational anthropologists Karen Ida Dannesboe, Dil Bach, Bjørg Kjær, and Charlotte Palludan describe how parents are required to support the work done at the institutions their child attends and adapt their own lives accordingly:

> "Parents are prompted to submit to institutional routines and take care of practicalities. Furthermore, they are expected to align family life and activities at home to institutional values and norms. This is considered crucial in enabling pedagogues to perform their job of cultivating children at the institution. […] As such, the cultivational work is also directed at parents; they are not only partners but also targets for pedagogical intervention" (2018: 470).

Again, it is important to stress that parents do not just passively accept the demands they face. They do what they think is best for their children and the generally high attendance at parents' meetings reflects their eagerness to not only stay informed but also to discuss pedagogy and practical matters concerning their children's lives (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut 2017). The many and varied questions parents pose pedagogues and teachers in their everyday encounters and on digital platforms reveal a huge interest among parents in doing the right thing in relation to their children, demonstrating how professional advice and guidelines are generally recognised by parents as important and relevant (Akselvoll 2016; Dannesboe et al. 2018).

In this way, children's upbringing has become a joint venture between parents and professionals, with the role of professionals extended to teach parents how best to take care of their children, but also how best to support the work of these professionals. Today, 'proper' parenthood involves extensive and time-consuming familiarisation with the activities that take place in nurseries, kindergartens and schools, and a willingness to provide the necessary support enabling professionals to carry out their work with the children. In a sense, the balance between families and childhood institutions has tipped: from institutions providing support to help and relieve working parents, to a central and defining part of children's upbringing demanding parental support. Thus, being a 'good parent' requires an effort to adapt family life to fit the institutional rhythm, which is an accepted aspect of parental responsibility.

Looking more carefully at what is required and demanded of parents, it becomes clear that much relates to the everyday functionality of the institution. To be partners in the joint venture of upbringing, parents need to: ensure that their children come prepared and do their homework; ensure that their children go to bed at a decent time so they are fresh and well-rested; provide healthy meals and sufficient exercise; organise stimulating activities outside school or day care that supplement and support their child's learning within the institution; stay informed about activities and plans through daily updates on digital platforms; attend meetings; and speak to their children about topics brought up in school or day care. In short, they must organise life at home in ways that support institutional frameworks (Sparrman et al. 2016; Bach et al. 2020; Gulløv/Kampmann 2021). The expectations for children likewise reflect the conditions of everyday institutional life. Children must learn to get along with others and exhibit well-balanced behaviour; avoid conflicts; align with the institutional rhythm; and do as their teachers ask – not only to learn in preparation for future demands, but equally to ensure the smooth running of institutional life (Gilliam/Gulløv 2014).

In this way, the institutional form itself has an impact on the norms that children and parents alike must learn and the expectations they face. However, the influence on upbringing norms of this functional dimension of institutional life appears rather unnoticed. Or rather, the functional aspect makes the norms appear self-evident – as the way things have to be done without the need for further reasoning. The combination of a widespread and comprehensive education system supported by various authorities and everyday institutional routinisation in the form of specific schedules and patterns of interaction means that almost all children and families in Denmark are exposed to a quite powerful structure of similar institutional routines, demands, priorities, and norms. This also means that the standards upheld by the various institutional regimes not only define routines for children's education and care at day-care centres and schools and influence everyday practices and priorities in family homes; they also have a moral impact, shaping what is perceived as good or bad behaviour for children and for parents.

5 Standards and distinctions

As the status of the child has changed, the role as parent has become both more extensive and more socially demanding. Parents' commitment to their children is assessed by other parents and authorities alike. They are expected to support their children's motor, linguistic, moral, cognitive, and social development, which requires the child's participation in both institutional and extracurricular activities, as well as close monitoring of their children's emotional wellbeing at kindergarten and school. The disapproval shown to parents who are seen as irresponsible, neglectful, or unengaged indicates the social and cultural importance attached to parenthood today. It also explains why parents in Denmark, as elsewhere, have become increasingly dependent on specialists, advisers, teachers, and pedagogues to ensure their children's ongoing age-appropriate development – their own honour and social respectability are at stake.

Since the vast majority of all children attend childcare institutions, there is ample opportunity to compare and assess not only the individual child's abilities and development, but also parents' efforts and care. In this sense, childcare institutions have become a stage where parents face an audience of professionals and other parents who notice, acknowledge, or distance themselves from the practices and interactions with the child that they observe. Several Scandinavian family studies have shown how parents are aware of the signalling effects of their parental practices for professionals and other parents, suggesting that they try to comply with professional recommendations and institutional norms (e.g., Akselvoll 2016; Bach 2014, 2017; Bach et al. 2020; Gilliam 2022; Palludan 2012; Sparrman et al. 2016; Stefansen/Skogen 2010; Stefansen et al. 2016; Aarseth 2014).[3] Despite variations in parents' backgrounds and lifestyles, the general picture painted by these studies is that children's behaviour and parental practices are seen as reflecting the family's social standing. A social and moral hierarchy is used to rank humans and their behaviour as more or less acceptable and civilised (Gilliam/Gulløv 2017). This is seen, for example, in Dil Bach's study of the upbringing practices of affluent families in a privileged neighbourhood in Denmark (Bach 2014, 2017). Here, interviews with mothers and their diary entries reveal a strong focus on their children's behaviour and reflections on their own upbringing practices – not least with regard to who they want their children to be friends with and which homes they want them to visit. As Bach shows, childrearing sets boundaries between 'the civilised' and 'the uncivilised', where those who do not practise an 'appropriate' and well-balanced style of parenting risk being seen in a negative light by other parents, as well as by professionals. As Bach (2017:232) states: "Because children's behaviour, wellbeing

3 Similar observations have been made in studies in other European countries, see e.g., Ellmer 2020, Jaeger 2021.

and future opportunities are seen as determined by parental input, and because parents thereby are held accountable for their childrearing strategy and made interdependent with their children, childrearing becomes a distinctive practice".

My own ethnographic observations in kindergardens and interviews with parents and teachers confirm that children and parents' behaviour affect their social standing. Across specific sites, it is apparent that it is not only staff who register if a child wears clothes that are not well-suited for the season, has poor dental hygiene, or behaves in a rough and disruptive manner; other parents also notice and distance themselves from such families, encouraging their child not to befriend this child (see e.g., Gulløv 2014). Furthermore, as such matters are primarily noticed when dropping off or picking up children at day-care centres and schools, the institutional framework becomes the normative foundation for making judgements. In short, parents seem to be acutely aware that their social reputation is related to the way they interact with and raise their children, just as they are conscious that their child's behaviour in the institution will be interpreted as a reflection of their parenting practices and the general moral habitus of the home (Gilliam/Gulløv 2017: 260 f.).

All of this indicates how childhood institutions influence standards for upbringing and thereby subtly contribute to distinctions between those parents who comply with and thus confirm the institutional standards and those parents who do not. That is, between those who, through their actions, appear to be respectable and responsible parents who know and recognise the established norms and the work of childhood professionals, and those who are unable or unwilling to let institutional norms guide their organisation of daily life and relations to their children. In this sense, the influence of childhood institutions is much greater than just the provision of education to specific children. Implicitly, the childhood institutions have institutionalised complex sets of norms that have implications for the social interactions between children, children and teachers, parents and professionals, as well as in and between families. They influence what and who is deemed appropriate or inappropriate both within and outside the institutional settings, and thus have an impact on the subtle dynamics of social status within society more generally, which, in turn, have an impact on the priorities and practices of individual families.

6 In conclusion

Despite the fact that most families are deeply dependent on day-care centres and schools and that these institutions are an integral part of modern childhood, their implications for contemporary notions of child development, upbringing, and family life are rarely discussed. Instead, it seems that the doings of families and children's lives in institutional settings are generally studied as separate domains, with

the latter often further divided into preschool research and school research. My intention here has been to start a discussion about what the pervasive institutionalisation of childhood means – not just for children and childhood, but for parenthood and family life – in terms of the impact on interactional norms, social dynamics, and societal divisions.

Today, childhood institutions are indispensable elements of children's upbringing and everyday family life. They provide children with a place to be while their parents work and compulsory state-sanctioned education, teaching them the knowledge and social skills required in adult life. While parents may be critical of specific issues in relation to the quality of their children's life in institutions, they generally seem to endorse the fact that much of childhood is spent in various institutions, accepting childhood professionals' ways of stimulating and handling children and respecting the institutional framework. As I have explored in this chapter, there are three key factors that can explain why this shift in power from the domestic sphere to childhood institutions has been so successful. The first factor is the perception of childhood as a vulnerable but fundamental period in life that requires special support and attention. By extension, the second factor concerns the state's interest in making sure that the next generation grows up to become good and competent citizens, which has led to high levels of investment in the development, expansion, and professionalisation of the education system. The third factor has to do with the institutional structure itself. Despite continuous changes in the content, purpose, methods, and administration of such institutions, the very fact that they organise many people in one place necessitates the individual's conformity with institutional structures. This applies not only to individual children but also their families, who must adapt their everyday rhythms, routines, and activities to the binding institutional form. As the importance attributed to the education system has increased, so too has the impact institutions have on what it means to be a child and a parent, and what counts as proper conduct, proper ways of bringing up children, and proper ways to organise one's life. Of course, these are not unambiguous or immutable standards, but norms that change over time, subject to constant negotiations between different social groups in varying positions of power. Nevertheless, the institutional form itself implies a certain degree of stability. The mere fact that the imposition of norms takes place through daily routines over an extended period of time creates a certain inertia.

This standardising effect has social implications, albeit in quite subtle ways. As the childhood institutions have been authorised to set standards for children's lives and upbringing, they also define what and who deviates from these standards, with implications for the ways parents organise their family life, see themselves and others, and choose to comply with or distance themselves from established notions of appropriate conduct. In this way, childhood institutions have become central organs of society; a backbone of social control that not only defines and authorises

behaviour in the institutional setting but also influences everyday routines and practices in homes, as well as parental interactions and how they assess each other's practices. The strong influence of childhood institutions that I have highlighted in this chapter may be a particular feature of Scandinavian societies; however, a tendency towards an increased focus on early childhood institutions and schools can also be observed in other western European societies, with the aim of ensuring the nation's future social and economic stability. However, to fully understand the implications of the increasingly influential role of childhood institutions in different countries, there is a need for cross-cultural studies – not least studies exploring the impact of these institutions on notions of good family life and for how it is actually done.

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Covid-19 and 'the making of families' in (post)welfare state

Thomas Grunau

1 Introduction

In western superstition Friday the 13th is considered an unlucky day. In Halle on the River Saale, as well as in several other regions of Germany and Europe, Friday, March 13, 2020 was the day that daycare centers and schools had to close for the first time during the Covid-19 pandemic. Millions of children who had previously spent several days for numerous hours in educational institutions were now to remain at home for an uncertain period of time. Both the general public and the social sciences perceived this moment as a turnaround. A decades-long process of institutionalising (early) childhood had been interrupted. Especially in West Germany, there was a nationwide expansion of childcare facilities, which was intended to enable parents to better reconcile family and work and children to benefit from high-value, school-preparatory educational processes. However, the requirement to restrict physical contact outside the home led to a temporary break, which was (and is) described with the buzzwords of re-traditionalisation or re-familialisation. Whereas work tasks and hours had previously started to converge between the genders, with the onset of the pandemic there would have been a relapse into old patterns. Depending on the occupational field, women, rather than men, reduced their working hours, lost or quit their jobs. The main burden of families' new or full-time childcare responsibilities resulting from the closure of schools and childcare facilities was therefore almost certainly shouldered by mothers (Allmendinger 2020; Collins et al. 2020; Zoch et al. 2020; Kulic et al. 2021). The collapse of childcare landscapes has also led to a severe restriction of participation and educational opportunities for children of daycare[1] and primary school age (Andresen et al. 2020). The danger of an increased reproduction of social inequality in (post)pandemic times also brings the family as a central factor into the focus of research.

1 The term daycare here refers tot the field of public early childhood education and care and consists of center services like Krippe (age 0–3), Kindergarten (age 2–6) and also family day care (age 0–3).

Despite these impressions and scientific findings, from a welfare state perspective the question arises whether in the context of the first two major waves of the pandemic one can actually speak of a return to the so-called traditional family. I would like to approach this question in the following paper, in which I have a look at processes of making family in welfare state practices and discourses and how these have changed since the beginning of the pandemic. My argument proceeds as follows: First, I outline a welfare state approach towards childhood and family. In doing so, the welfare state is described in a broad understanding that extends beyond the concrete policy of a government and also encompasses a political sphere fought out in arenas. Hereafter I look at the process of transition from a distributive to a social investment type of welfare state, which is central to Western Europe. Then I would like to discuss to what extent the pandemic represents an interruption in this process. It turns out that there were at least two phases in the making of families in the context of the pandemic: one of irritation and one of restoration of the social investment pattern of (early) childhood.

2 A welfare state perspective towards childhood and family

When 'family' is spoken of in the following, it does not mean a natural fact that comes about through blood relationship. Instead, family is seen as a historically changeable construct. However, even if family is a social construct, this does not mean that family does not have great significance as such in terms of social practice. It is the very fact that family as an idea has such a normative impact that it influences the everyday life of participants (Winkler 2002). A welfare state perspective assumes in this context that (ideas of) childhoods and families are constituted in and through a specific social and economic order (Mierendorff 2018). Accordingly, the importance of society for the production of historically changeable family patterns is examined. The concept of the welfare state is useful here to emphasize that it is not singular policies that determine social practice. Instead, common characteristics are sought in the nexus of political and everyday doings and sayings (Mierendorff 2019). From this perspective, the political can also be understood as a public sphere in which the shaping of social order is contested. It cannot be reduced to elected officials or committee structures, but encompasses places where the struggle for consent and interpretive sovereignty proceeds. Doing family takes place in relative autonomy, but nevertheless in a welfare state context, that frames the everyday coexistence of families and thus enable specific family forms and rather limit or even hinder others. Thus both childhood and family are assigned a prominent position in the social structure of Western European welfare states (Grunau/Mierendorff 2022).

The potential of such an approach lies in detecting transitions in the pattern of making families in welfare state contexts. In the case of Western Europe a transition

from a distributive welfare state to a social investment state can be noted (Lessenich 2013). Germany is an excellent example of this transition. After the Second World War, the country was initially governed by the principle of strong restraint on the part of the state with regard to families. The establishment of appropriate conditions led to the middle-class nuclear family becoming accepted as an ideal and, for many people, as an empirical reality. The guiding assumption, supported by attachment theories of the time, was that preschool children should grow up first and foremost in the arms of the family. At that time, educational processes were to be safeguarded by the mother in particular. Although the state should monitor and control the family's educational achievements and abilities, it should intervene in its concerns only in extreme cases (Grunau/Mierendorff 2021; Esping-Andersen 2002).

By the 1970s at the latest, however, this paradigm began to falter. A crisis of the welfare state was discussed. Step by step, the welfare state's benefit principle was reorganised: Instead of interventions in case of emergency, preventive measures should be used to avoid long-term social and economic costs. For example, Esping-Andersen (2002) criticised the German welfare state as ineffective. An early start should be made by supporting children from disadvantaged families through institutional education programs. By the turn of the millennium at the latest, this social investment paradigm was gaining ground. Early childhood care services were expanded and the use of these services was aimed at so-called risk groups in particular. Under the slogan "auf den Anfang kommt es an" (literally: "it all depends on the beginning" comparable with the slogan: "no child left behind"), a network of medical, pedagogical and psychological controls was created to identify developmental problems as early as possible and to deal with them by means of systematic measures (see Jurczyk et al. in this volume, Dahmen et al. in this volume). The public and political perception of the family changed from a provider of to a potential threat to child development. In Germany, this is especially the case for single parents, families with many children or families with a so-called migration background, who are seen from the outset as potential risks (Grunau/Mierendorff 2021, 2022; Betz/Bischoff 2018). In the terms of 'doing difference', there is a shift of responsibility to the families mentioned. The reasons for social inequality are mainly or even exclusively assumed to lie in specific characteristics of the children and their families of origin and accordingly not in structural conditions (Diehm 2016).

3 Covid-19 and the making of family – methodological aspects

How did the emergence and political treatment of the Covid-19 pandemic affect the described shift towards a social investment state? How does the making of families unfold in pandemic times? I would like to explore these questions in the following. Since I understand the welfare state from a relational perspective as a nexus of polit-

ical and everyday doings and sayings, I have investigated different levels of the social in several sub-projects: firstly, the level of social legislation, secondly the legitimisation of the measures against the pandemic (and its consequences) on the media level, and thirdly the negotiation processes between private and public education on the level of families and day-care centers. That means, I explored regulations on the containment of the Covid 19 pandemic, media reports, and interviews with parents and directors of day-care centers. In the following, I would like to focus mainly on the political regulations and media reports.

From a methodological perspective, I am guided by the Situational Analysis according to Adele Clarke (Clarke 2003; Clarke et al. 2015). From this point of view, the pandemic can be seen as an arrest of action under inhibition (Mead 1938) that leads to the emergence of social arenas in which it is fought out how the state of social crisis can be overcome. In the sub-project presented here, a collection of material was made on the discourse level of the media of approx. 600 print and online articles in which the Covid-19 pandemic is discussed in the context of (early) childhood, family and educational institutions. The sampling was designed contrastively with different publishers, target groups, but also phases of the pandemic ("Lockdown 1", "Lockdown 2"). The media reports were placed in the context of political regulations. Analytically, the project was oriented towards the mapping procedures of situational analysis (Clarke 2003) as well as the distinction between a temporal and a spatial structuring of the discourse in Nonhoff's hegemony analysis (Nonhoff 2007).

4 First wave: "Parents are obliged to perform their duty..."

Let's get back to Friday the 13th in March 2020. During this period, the Covid-19 pandemic began to spread across Europe. After initial reservation, the situation was defined politically and publicly as a social problem (Blumer 1971). This increased the pressure for political action. The level of knowledge about the SARS-CoV-2 virus was still low, but there was initial empirical experience as well as prior expertise about previous viral diseases. Not surprisingly, virology was the dominant science for producing politically significant knowledge during this period.

Two assumptions were crucial here: on the one hand, older people and those with previous illnesses would have an increased risk of a fatal course of the disease triggered by the corona virus, and on the other hand, children would hardly develop any symptoms, but would spread the virus strongly. This objectification of children as main spreader was the dominant assumption during the initial phase of the pandemic and led to widespread policymaking. This can be summarised in a brief way with the strategy: Daycare facilities are the first to close and the last to re-open. That is what happened in large parts of Germany. Consequently, this led to a housification of childhood and family. The social investment pattern described earlier was

interrupted. But it would be short-sighted to speak of a return to the traditional family. It is true that family was equated with a domestic community, which was a major challenge, especially for transnational families (Bollig/Eßer 2019). Accordingly, the boundary between "family" and "non-family" was once again identified with the boundary of the household. Moreover, it was primarily women who did the care work which had been shifted back into the private sphere. However, at the same time, in the majority of cases women were not released from their employment duties, which led to a double burden. In addition, parents should adapt and fulfil the requirements from school and daycare at home. The blurring of private and public spheres, already described before the pandemic (Jurczyk/Szymenderski 2012), thus, reached a formerly unknown dimension in many families.

The following fragment of the COVID discourse illustrates the previous description. It is part of a report of a press conference by the former Minister President of North Rhine-Westphalia, Armin Laschet, in which the closure of schools and kindergartens was announced.

> "On Friday, the cabinet of North Rhine-Westphalia also decided in a special cabinet meeting that all schools would be closed on Monday as a precaution. On Monday and Tuesday, teachers will still be available for backup care ("Notbetreuung"). A ban on entering day care centers will apply from Monday onwards. 'Parents are obliged to perform their duty to educate their children,' said Prime Minister Armin Laschet (CDU) on Friday. It is now urgent to protect older and weaker people from the insidious threat, as the virus is particularly dangerous for them, he added. Therefore, the prime minister urgently warned against giving children to grandparents for care. 'I am aware that this distancing of any family, the distancing of grandchildren and their grandparents, makes every heart ache.'" (FAZ 2020)

The explained interruption of the social investment pattern is shown in the short extract in a striking way. Whereas school and pre-school childcare facilities were expanded in the past decades to preventively counter the danger of reproducing social inequality, the opposite take place here. The closure of institutions is framed as a precautionary measure. Although the intervention is regretted in emotional terms ("makes every heart ache"), the spatial separation of children and their grandparents is nevertheless presented as quite without alternative. The distancing is in consequence a demand for the return or production of a neolocal nuclear family. Accordingly, there is a reference to the German constitution, which states that the upbringing and care of children is the primary duty of parents. The family or the parents, potentially a danger to the children's education in the social-investment pattern, in this case becomes a catch-all for the children, who in turn are now seen as a potential danger to society and especially to elders. Admittedly, the insidious threat in the

empirical example is still the virus. But the children are seen as its most important physical host and thus become a danger themselves.

5 Second wave: "There is a threat of high social subsequent costs."

Even though the articulation presented in the last section became a hegemonic project (Nonhoff 2007) in the first phase of the pandemic in Germany, this does not mean that there were no opposing positions in the discourse on children and families. This aspect will be addressed in the following chapter. But at first, sharply falling incidences ensured that schools and childcare facilities reopened in the early summer of 2020. In autumn, though, the number of cases rose again and there was once again nationwide discussion about tougher political intervention to contain the pandemic. The pattern just presented persisted, but lost legitimacy. It was possible to draw on experience from the first phase of the pandemic. Moreover, knowledge of the assumed situation of children gained social recognition. Not only virological requirements for action, but also long-term economic and psychological consequences for children if public child care facilities were to close again were discussed. There were now calls to keep the economy and accordingly care facilities open as well. In public and political debates, the focus was on current children, but they were addressed in their future roles as students or employees. While children were objectified as main spreaders of the virus in the first phase of the pandemic as described above, here an objectification of children as future human capital is taking place. The concern of the children in the here and now is actually the concern for the future adults. For the sake of children, day care centres should be the last to close this time and the first to reopen toward the end of the lockdown. Overall, there was a shift from housification at the beginning of the pandemic to an attempt to re-normalise the pre-pandemic state. This was justified, among other reasons, by a distrust of the educational achievements of families. In addition, concerns have been raised that the number of child welfare endangerment incidents in the home environment may have increased. Parents or families were therefore seen as a potential danger to the well-being of children. Thus, it can be said that there has been a return to the social investment paradigm in political discourses and actions. This is also supported by the fact that in the second wave of the pandemic, specific risk groups were identified rather than families in general.

The aspects described can be illustrated by the following discourse fragment. The example is rather special in that the open letter of two politicians from different federal states and parties appeared very early (in April 2020). The articulations of the contribution at this time were on the one hand familiar (in the sense of the time before the pandemic), but on the other hand unusual, since at this point in the pandemic the pattern of housification presented above dominated the discourse.

One of the two politicians, Joachim Stamp, was also Minister for "Children, Family, Refugees and Integration" at the time – in the cabinet of Armin Laschet, from whom the analysed quote in the last section comes. Accordingly, the restoration of the social-investment pattern was advanced from within the own ranks.

> The shutdown of daycare centers exposes the youngest members of our society to the most restrictions. After all, every day without a daycare impacts our children's educational and developmental opportunities. While some educationally strong families can compensate for this, others are overburdened [...]. For children who do not grow up with German as their mother tongue at home, there is a break in learning our language. Children from disadvantaged backgrounds need a daily structure and regular meals at daycare centers or elementary schools. From a child's perspective, it is unacceptable that this loss of educational justice is accepted almost with a shrug of the shoulders. From a developmental psychological perspective, it is devastating. We are increasingly putting ourselves in a situation where, in addition to the economic consequences of the crisis, there is also the threat of high social subsequent costs [...]. (spiegel.de 2020)

As already mentioned, the guest contribution at "Spiegel Online" is remarkable because it was written by two politicians from different federal states and, what is more, across party lines. In this way, both an urgency and a lack of alternatives (Laclau 2005) are already marked in the context of the article. This refers to the discursively produced necessity of a return to institutionalised childcare. The demand to keep educational institutions open as long as possible is legitimised from two directions. The open letter firstly refers to the high burden on families and children and thus to those affected who would suffer from the closure of daycare centres. Secondly, however, it is made clear that there would be an existing interest in opening up early education institutions beyond those directly affected, thus making children and their (working) parents a common good of a (pedagogical) public. Alongside the distinction of children as concretely affected and as public common good runs the distinction between present, acute problems and concerns and risks that will have an impact only in the future. Viewing children as developmental beings to avoid future dangers is, as noted above, a signature of the social investment pattern of early childhood. The loss of institutional education leads to economic and "social subsequent costs" that would be unacceptable. Social impacts of the pandemic are hereby described in terms of costs and placed in an economic context.

This is where the intragenerational differentiations come in. While all children would need institutionalised care, specific educational losses would mainly affect certain groups. "Educationally strong" families are consequently contrasted with disadvantaged ones. The latter include those "who do not grow up with German as their mother tongue at home" because they did not learn "our language". The

possessive pronoun "our" is used to contrast non-native speakers and a hegemonic mainstream society. Through this othering (Said 2017), speaking a language that is not German is made a potential deficit and, in pandemic times, a threat to the educational success of the corresponding children. However, it is not only the reference to speaking German that is remarkable, but also where it is placed in the text. Thus, before the text sequence there is a reference to be "overburdened" and after that the term "disadvantaged backgrounds" and associated characteristics (lack of daily structure; regular meals). Not speaking German joins an chain of equivalence of risk factors for successful educational processes beginning in early childhood, which functions as a justification order for the return to institutionalised childcare. And this argumentation in turn is a central sign of the pattern of socially invested childhood.

6 Conclusion – children as danger vs. children in danger

Starting from the "unlucky day", Friday the 13th 2020, when many daycare centres and schools in Germany and Europe had to close due to the spreading Covid-19 pandemic, this contribution posed the question of how the emergence and political treatment of this disease did affect the previously stated shift from a distributive to a social investment welfare state. More precisely, it was about the often shared assumption that the pandemic had led to a (temporary) return to the traditional family.

To answer this, a broad understanding of the welfare state was presented, which goes beyond singular policies and (also) understands the political as a sphere that is formed in public arenas. Welfare state practices thus have an influence on the making of family insofar as they enable certain family configurations and limit or even prevent others. Conversely, the pattern of a welfare state can only be reconstructed in the interplay of family, state and market (Honig 2011; Joos 2003). A transition from a distributive to a social investment welfare state that has been taking place for several decades was outlined. In Germany, this pattern has prevailed in a special way since the turn of the millennium. In essence, the view of families is changing from a provider to a threat to child welfare. The focus here is on so-called risk groups. With a view to media reports and political regulations, this article examined the extent to which the pandemic has caused an irritation in this process. One empirical anchor example for each of the first two pandemic waves was therefore analysed in depth.

It became apparent that the family, or rather the making of the family, plays a central role in the course of welfare state "doings and sayings" in the context of the pandemic. First, there were the closures of educational institutions in spring 2020. Here, an irritation of the social investment pattern occurred. However, as could be seen, this was restored during the second pandemic phase at the latest. It is signif-

icant in this context that in the second wave of the pandemic, not only virologically based calls for action were dominant, but also economic, educational and psychological arguments were considered relevant. In the first wave, children were predominantly seen as an acute danger to contemporary society. In the second wave, on the other hand, it was more their learning losses that were seen as a danger to future society. But children were more strongly understood as beings in danger. It is also important to emphasise at this point that at the beginning of the pandemic, all children were addressed, while later a focus was placed on specific risk groups where a potential for learning losses was identified. It is striking that in both cases (children as danger vs. children in danger) an objectification of children takes place.

In spring 2020, parents or families were considered responsible to take care of their children. In the fall of the same year they were considered accountable for the children's lack of learning and other problems. Accordingly, the strategy of the first wave of the pandemic was one of housification, while in the second wave it was an attempt to re-normalise the social investment paradigm of childhood. In summary, the patterns of administration of care and administration of education can be contrasted in context of the first two waves of the pandemic in Germany.

It should be noted that there was an irritation of the social investment pattern of childhood and family especially in the first phase of the Covid-19 pandemic. In social arenas, family was hereby often equated with a domestic community. But in my view, it would not be helpful to assume a re-familialisation. It is more productive to speak of a constant adjustment of the relationship between private and public education. And the pandemic has provided a special pressure to adjust. It would be short-sighted to speak of a return to the traditional family. The reason for this is that families were confronted with different, synchronous tasks that did not exist in this way in the golden age of the neolocal family. Life was concentrated in the domestic space of family members living together. However, the demands from daycare, school and the workplace persisted at the same time. This led to multiple burdens. The pandemic made visible, or more visible than in pre-pandemic times, a crisis in caring, where paid work tasks conflicted with household work such as childcare, which serve to sustain and reproduce life itself. For many families, this meant having to spend a full day teaching, entertaining and educating children, while at the same time trying to work more demanding or unusual hours, whether on or offline. So if one wants to speak of a return, then of a return of the oikos, the pre-modern domestic unit of economic and private life. This raises the question of how the making of family in (western) welfare state contexts will be shaped in the future if working from home becomes a permanent solution for more and more employees. However, this article does not yet have an answer to this.

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Intergenerational dynamics of family practices among young adults and their parents living together during the pandemic

Paula Pustulka, Justyna Kajta and Jowita Radzińska

1 Introduction

Studies dedicated to families and intimacy point to a certain paradox, in which modern families are on the one hand characterised by the precariousness of 'drifting' on the ocean of rapid social change and the pervasive crisis of relational stability (Adams 2010: 504), and, on the other hand, they are marked by the immutability of individuals' aspirations to sustain and foster good family bonds (Jamieson 1998). The COVID-19 pandemic – as a significant and multiscalar social crisis – in many regards highlighted these conflicting visions of family life and necessitated changes in the practices of 'doing' (Morgan 1996) and 'undoing' family (Höppner et al. 2022) (see also Grunau in this volume). This happened as intergenerational relations became more externally governed by state policies whilst family members were suddenly confined into togetherness at home for longer periods of time.

As argued by Höppner and colleagues (2022), age and generationality (re)organised doing family through extended care requirements, given that care and educational institutions, as well as many workplaces, closed their doors. The pandemic also contributed to families' 'undoing' via social distancing on the one hand, and relational strain caused by overcrowding, on the other (Prime et al. 2020). In other words, coresiding with one's loved ones during the pandemic could simultaneously be described as a major source of increased stress caused by impossibility of doing and displaying family on one's own terms (Radzińska/Pustułka 2022) and was pointed out as the last bastion of support and solidarity (Pustułka/Buler 2022).

The practices of doing family often had to be revisited during the pandemic in the context of the above dichotomy, being suspended in-between the positive emotional and social impact of having a family in the same household (Kajta et al. 2022) and the challenges that stemmed from living together in the trying times (Prime et al. 2020). With increasing research on various constellations of family members who shared a home during the pandemic, the differentiation of the given moment in the

family life-cycle (cf. McGoldrick et al. 2016) and the importance of age for 'undoing' family during the crisis came to the fore (Höppner et al. 2022). More specifically, the dynamics of family life under COVID-19 were hugely contingent on the ages of those representing different family generations sharing a space, alluding to the heterogeneity of family practices relative to codependency, capital and strength of bonds (cf. Stanley/Markman 2020; Cantillon et al. 2021; Pustulka/Buler 2022).

In this chapter, we focus on a particular context of 'doing family' (Morgan 1996) through practices of coresidence, as observed in the dyads of young adults (18–35-year-old) and their parents who lived together during the key period of lockdowns introduced in response to the pandemic in Poland in the 2020–2021 period. Analysing a specific subset of 40 interviews, we discuss three main scenarios of how family dynamics unfold in terms of experiencing intergenerational coresidence. The main research question is: What are the main patterns of intergenerational family dynamics, evident from family practices, observed among young adults and their parents living together during the COVID-19 lockdowns? Therefore, the chapter is contributing au-courant knowledge about (un)doing intergenerational family in times of crisis (cf. Höppner et al. 2022).

2 Doing family through co-residence during the pandemic

Familyhood in the modern world refers less and less to the imposed, functional meanings of blood ties, instead centralising relational closeness and practical support (cf. McCarthy/Edwards 2011). The turn to practice theory in social sciences, in family studies particularly evident in the works of Morgan (1996, 2011), means that family has become something that requires ongoing activity and engagement. In other words, family is about the practice of doing rather than just stasis of being (cf. Radzińska/Pustułka 2022), thus indicating that 'doing' can also be threatened by 'undoing', especially during crises (Höppner et al. 2022). Practices allow individuals to give their family life some structure without necessarily drawing meaning from the functional embedding of kin structures in an institutional or systemic context (Morgan 1996: 11). Looking at practices offers a way of capturing both permanence and variability or fluidity in the processes of doing and undoing family, as these transpire in the construction of 'the self' as relative to the proximity relationships created with others. The study of family practices thus emphasises the rituality, negotiability, and processuality of actions within relationships and family life, as well as the multilevel evaluations of these practices (McCarthy/Edwards 2011: 88).

Modern family life retained its ambivalence during the COVID-19 pandemic. On the one hand, researchers found that relationships in the families became strained as the practices of doing family became more contained and concentrated to the family space (Stanley/Markman 2020). In line with Morgan's classic study (1996),

practices with non-coresidential kin members became delocalized and diffused. Isolation and distancing contributed to undoing of families (dissolution of bonds), while sharing space caused family conflicts to be reported more commonly (Prime et al. 2020; Höppner et al. 2022). On the other hand, studies also pointed to how a semblance of normalcy could be attained through routine everyday family practices (e.g., sharing meals; cf. Cantillon et al. 2021) and celebration of special occasions and holidays (Radzińska/Pustułka 2022). Maintaining contact and caring for relationships became particularly important during the COVID-19 pandemic (Höppner et al. 2022), but as material and emotional resources were depleted, a tightening of circles of support to closer relationships could be observed (Radzińska 2022; Schwiertz/Schwenken 2020).

Through the lens of doing family, coresidence practices belong to the sphere of navigating relationships in regard to both the quality of bonds and the housing conditions (cf. Holdsworth/Morgan 2005). Beyond the pandemic context, the housing situation is conceptualised on the basis of relational (the composition of the household and 'temperature' of relations within it) and spatial aspects (housing space and opportunities for each household member to have undisturbed and properly equipped space) (Lips 2021; Kajta et al. 2022; Walper/Reim 2020). It has been argued that, similar to other family relationships, the bonds between young adult children and their parents have evolved towards having a less hierarchical nature (cf. Woodman/Wyn 2014). Although differences in social status mean that it is primarily the middle-class youth who benefits from prolonged support (Sørensen/Nielsen 2021), it is generally accepted that all parents build a type of 'scaffolding' to assist young people with their transitions (Scabini et al. 2006), both out of the house and more broadly – in terms of reaching independence (Holdsworth/Morgan 2005).

In short, it is today not uncommon to continue living together, with the parents providing young grownups with economic, social and emotional assistance (Beer/Faulkner 2011; Woodman/Leccardi 2015). For the sake of context, it should be mentioned that compared to the European average age of leaving home (26,4), Polish young adults stay at family homes longer, until 28,1 (Eurostat 2020). Taking into account longer time perspective (2011–2019), the rates of coresidence were never below 88,3% for the younger cohort (18–24), and 43,4% for the older cohort (25–34) (Eurostat 2022). Importantly, rates for both age cohorts have increased recently. Compared to the data from 2019 (88,4%, 43,9%, respectively), in 2021 it stands at 94,4% and 48,8%. We assume that the pandemic could contribute to this noticeable change.

In line with the above data, international research shows the pandemics delay-effects for reaching independence, housing context included (Luppi et al. 2021). Even in the regimes where housing independence was considered important prior to the COVID-19 outbreak, reversed transitions (cf. Woodman/Leccardi 2015) – known as 'boomeranging' – were reported (Vehkalahti et al. 2021). Pre-existing intergenerational dynamics, embedded in both the structural aspect of family capital and its

relational 'temperature', stood out as crucial factors for offsetting the challenges of living together during lockdown (Walper/Reim 2020; Lips 2021).

Considering this state-of-the-art, this chapter contributes an analysis of the recent qualitative data on the experiences of young adults and their parents living together during the pandemic, focusing on 'doing family' and housing situation.

3 Study & methods

The chapter is based on the analysis of the data coming from the first wave of an intergenerational (multi-perspective) Qualitative Longitudinal Research (QLR) conducted in accordance with Neale's (2020) methodological proposal in the framework of a multi-component research project entitled *Becoming an adult in times of ultra-uncertainty: intergenerational theory of 'shaky' transitions* (ULTRAGEN). The broader study, which has begun during the pandemic (2021), examines the impact of social crises on the transitions-to-adulthood. Given the unpredictability of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, digital research methods were implemented, and in-depth individual interview techniques were adapted to an online research environment. The project was approved by the relevant Research Ethics Committee.

During the first wave of this QLR (May-November 2021) 70 interviews with members of 35 families were collected. Young adults (aged 18 to 35; n=35) and one parent of each (n=35) were interviewed separately. Participant recruitment followed a purposive qualitative sampling and accounted for several criteria: residing in larger cities, heterogeneity in terms of gender, education and age (in case of young adults), or regarding gender and socio-economic background (in case of their parents).

Taking into account that this chapter is dedicated to the experiences of coresidence, 20 pairs (40 interviews) living together during the pandemic were subsampled and analysed here. In the remaining dyads, young adults lived independently, e.g., with partners or the non-interviewed parent. Among the 20 selected cases, 13 families lived together on a regular basis, with no prior experiences of living apart. Further seven families framed their pandemic coresidence as temporary, specifically occurring as a result of the young adults' boomeranging (i.e., moving back to their parents' homes). In three dyads who shared space during lockdown, the young adult has already moved out again by the summer of 2021. In the remaining four pairs, the situation was in flux. The interviewees' characteristics are presented in Figure 2 and 3 at the end of the chapter.

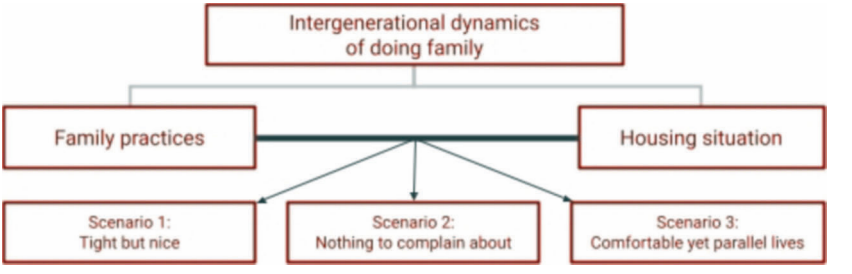
Data analysis was based on the interpretive paradigm and inductive approach facilitated by software-assisted data analyses. For this chapter, thematic approaches were used, as we focused on the interviewees' narratives regarding housing situations as well as relations with parents/children emanated in doing family/family practices. The initial case-by-case analysis was followed by multi-perspective review

of dyads, cross-case comparisons and elaborating of the emergent, saturated patterns. By juxtaposing the intra-family narratives, intergenerational similarities and differences in the experiences of coresidence could be tracked. As a result, three scenarios of intergenerational coresidence were described.

4 Exploring intergenerational corona co-residence

The first aspect taken into account in the analysis are the relations and practices of doing family narrated by young adults and their parents. These encompass the presence and frequency of mutual, everyday practices, family support practices, as well as potential conflicts that affect togetherness and cause family undoing, all understood as shaping the overall sense and evaluation of doing family (cf. Morgan 1996; McCarthy/Edwards 2011). The second aspect appearing as important is the spatial one, operationalized mostly through the housing situation and satisfaction with one's residence (Lips 2021; Walper/Reim 2020). Based on these aspects, we discern three main scenarios of intergenerational coresidence during the pandemic. Our conceptual model is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Aspects and scenarios of 'doing family' through intergenerational coresidence during crises



4.1 Scenario 1: Tight but nice

The first scenario highlights the stories of families whose spatial capabilities are limited, yet their relations can be described as close, marked by shared practices of doing family. Although the pandemic-related lockdown resulted in some short-term challenges, these were not narrated as a primary problem, but rather as circumstances to consider within the more complex situation. In Scenario 1, structural challenges do not translate into family relations: household members support each

other and some of them highlight rather upsides of the rediscovered family practices during the lockdown.

To illustrate, two cases of father-daughter pairs will be presented: Magda (20) and her father Witold (46), and Nina (18) and her father Bartosz (46). In both cases, the household consisted of parents and their two children. Both families shared a challenge of limited space (small apartments) that gained significance in the pandemic context. It was especially reported as difficult for the young adults. As Magda experienced online learning in one room with her sister, Nina had to rearrange a living room to have online dancing lessons:

> We have two rooms (in the flat), [I share one] with my sister. Sometimes it's hard, because when we're two, well, when there were these online lessons, it was hard. I had lessons, she had lessons, here something, there that: a total confusion. (Magda)
> I had to chase everyone out of the living room because I just had to be alone. I moved all the furniture around so I had space [for dancing classes]. I simply connected through Zoom, with the camera. I stood at a chair and did exercises for 1.5 hours. In the winter, at 8 pm, so in the dark with artificial light, in the living room. It was not cool and that's what I remember as the worst of it. (Nina)

The limited space in the dwelling was also narrated by the women's fathers. However, both of them referred to having insufficient economic capital that could otherwise allow them to make an investment into alternative properties. Importantly, next to financial aspects, the family life-cycle (cf. McGoldrick et al. 2016) transpired as a relevant argument in housing decisions because the fathers envisioned the adult daughters being gone quite soon, rendering the space sufficient in their minds. Thus, the potential housing transition of young adults was mentioned as one of the reasons for staying in the current place. Simultaneously, as Witold highlighted, the situation on the housing market has been challenging for nearly everyone in Poland. Based on his own experiences of prolonged coresidence with his parents (until he accumulated enough capital to get a mortgage on a flat), his practices reflect the intersection of family and market logics: as he is not able to provide his daughter with housing capital, he exerts no pressure on her to move out:

> We have a mortgage on the apartment, but it's not a big apartment, so with two children, we're also getting tired (of it), so to speak. We are tired in the respect that the daughters have grown up. When they were small, there was no problem. (...) Now they have company of their own. It's tight. It's just tight.

The fathers' perspective was shared by the daughters as they would like to move out but had not been formulating precise plans. Importantly, these structural challenges do not translate to relational ones. Although the pandemic was described as a little tiring because of the limited space and some tensions, both pairs admitted that they experienced mostly good family relations during the pandemic:

> [During the pandemic] we certainly saw more of each other, (...) which is kind of positive because we learned something new about ourselves, and somehow started to act differently. There were also some nicer moments. We spent more time together, we could do more, tell more stories, get to know each other more closely. That's some positives there. But it was also an occasion to argue. That's the truth (...) but I think [we experienced] more positives than negatives. (Witold)

In this excerpt, we can see a clear evocation of doing family through shared time, stories and interaction (cf. Morgan 2011) in the modern way. This importance of strengthening bonds on the basis of disclosure of intimate information and trust (cf. Jamieson 1998) was also present in the daughters' accounts. Their stories confirm that young adults, even in the absence of economic/housing capital, see their families as a source of relational backing (cf. Holdsworth/Morgan 2005), with parents identified as someone one can count on:

> [Because of remote learning/work] there was a lot of time when we were together, locked in the house, so we just had to learn and switch to spending more time with each other. It seems to me that however it affected us, it only got better. We started talking to each other more, and certainly nothing got worse (...) I enjoy spending time with my parents. (...) I can always talk to them when I have a problem, they will always help me. (Nina)

As regards the pandemic times, the narrators expressed both continuation or intensification of previously existing practices of doing family: talking to each other, celebrating dinners, watching movies, spending time gardening. Doing family is here aligned with supporting the external activities of family members in education and work. It can be argued that the families from Scenario 1 were able to not only draw on the relational resources but confirm and strengthen them during the crisis.

4.2 Scenario 2: Nothing to complain about

Through the second scenario we describe families whose situation is comfortable in terms of both spatial conditions and relations. As living together was already comfortable pre-pandemic, the COVID-19 did not bring revolutionary changes to 'doing family'. On the contrary, those equipped with material-relational resources could

more easily open up to the non-obvious benefits of the pandemic, for example by spending more time with each other or taking care to deepen their relationships.

Stories from two pairs, encompassing a mother-daughter and a mother-son dyads, both living in relatively spacious properties, are presented as illustrations. Dorota (43) shares a rented flat with her husband and two daughters, including the interviewed Pola (19). Beata (47) and her son Dominik (22) also live in a four-person household (with Dominik's father and younger sister). Importantly, Dominik returned to his family home temporarily due to the pandemic and remote education. Since both pairs perceived their housing conditions as comfortable, the experience of the pandemic triggered a more conscious appreciation of the ease of everyday existence:

> We rented a big flat [before the pandemic] because we needed such a four-room space. (...) We are very happy because the flat is big and nice. (...) We have a park behind the fence (...) Even though it's not our flat, we feel comfortable here and I'm happy at the moment (Dorota).

As regards the housing and relational situations, the assessment of the impact of the pandemic on the quality of everyday life as minor or even positive for relationships can be seen in Beata's narrative:

> I really didn't feel it, this pandemic. I didn't notice that this pandemic has somehow affected children or us because we are locked down.

Spending time together on a daily basis was a continuation of the pre-pandemic habits, with the benefit of having more time than before. Familiality, which today increasingly refers to relational closeness and practical support (cf. McCarthy/Edwards 2011) was tested during the period of the pandemic when home confinement intensified family relationships. The pairs who continued to enjoy spending time with each other afterwards felt that they had a really good relationship:

> When we spend time together, we talk, watch tv (...) Yesterday we went to the allotment all together; this time is really not too much, because I can work even seven days a week (...) When there are moments like that, sometimes, we'll sit down and play a game, we'll even have a laugh. More than once they've waited for me to get back from work, I was on late shift, at 10 pm. I'm back from work and we played (games) too. As much as we can, we make time for each other, as much as time allows (Beata).

An essential criterion for coresidential convenience was the available space, not necessarily expressed in square metres but related to having one's own/exclusive room (cf. Lips 2021). During the pandemic-related remote activities, this directly trans-

lated into more comfortable working and learning conditions. Pola, for example, highlighted that the comfort of their confinement was a result of the number of family members staying at home. She was aware that it would have been difficult to create similarly consoling conditions for a fourth person:

> We're at home a lot and we had to learn to put up with each other. When we were at home (...) my mom worked remotely, and my sister and I were here. Only my dad would go to work (...) There would be no room for him anymore; I don't know where he would sit. I don't know if it was a big influence, but we probably had to be more in tune to endure it (Pola).

In Scenario 2, the daily practices of being together and emotional closeness provided capital to better cope with the hardships of the lockdowns. With good relationships and sufficient resources, even returning home because of the pandemic – 'boomeranging' (Vehkalahti et al. 2021) – was seen more through the lens of benefits than losses and limitations:

> I [did not] feel any more control or anything like that (...) Certainly, the exam session at home was easier for me, I don't know why, maybe also from experience and habits from previous exams it was easier for me, but also from the fact that I was home, I didn't have to go anywhere, get ready, I was in front of the computer (Dominik).

Even controversial issues such as a parent's caregiving seemed easier to accept and even in some cases appreciated:

> I wouldn't be able to live alone. I think it would be beyond me. (...) I like to be aware for now that there are my parents watching over everything I do. So I'm fine with that. I wouldn't want to be entirely on my own for the time being (Pola).

The slight reduction in comfort expressed by the interviewees was related to the life outside of the family, namely the necessity of reducing contacts in the wider social networks and challenges of learning/working remotely. There was no 'undoing family' as these aspects had little to do with the dwelling quality or relationships with the coresiding loved ones.

4.3 Scenario 3: Comfortable yet parallel lives

The third scenario of coresidential coexistence concerns dyads living comfortably but leading rather parallel lives. For the most part, the stories here demonstrate the impact of limited practices of doing family on the parent-child bonds that are rooted

in the everyday and routine sphere, regardless of the objectively very good housing situation. The two case examples concern one mother-son and one mother-daughter pair, wherein some sort of 'family undoing' – understood as weakening of bonds (Höppner et al. 2022) – has happened prior to the COVID-19 crisis.

Despite sharing a dwelling, some young adults and their parents exhibit narrow relational practices (cf. Morgan 1996). This can be observed in the stories of a two-person household formed by Danuta (44) and her son Mateusz (21). They were very consistent in their evaluation of their bond as 'fine' but also weakening. While their stories are aligned, the mother expressed some resentment towards Mateusz becoming disinterested in family practices, for instance treating celebrations and everyday family time as an unwelcome duty:

> (Being together) happens less often. We sit down, talk about some things, eat something. It's no longer that I go to the movies with him, or go to the beach with him. He doesn't want to go with me anymore. He has his friends, he has his girlfriend and he spends time with them. He joins us at the Christmas table because he has to. (…) Otherwise he won't propose it, won't see the need to go to his grandparents on the weekend, for example. I have to drag him. (Danuta)
>
> Simply put, I'm entering adulthood and I forget about meetings with family, rather focus on my profession, studies and friends (Mateusz)

For this family, the pandemic became an accelerator of 'undoing' and detachment, increasing the overall absence of the young adult in family life. Mateusz could use the 'risk of a virus' as a valid excuse not to see his family too often. The pandemic-related rift was deepened by the fact that while Danuta appreciated remote work giving her more time for her family, her son continued his previously started relationally independent life.

Underscoring how the particular moment of the family life-cycle (McGoldrick et al. 2016; Höppner et al. 2022) played a significant role during the pandemic, we see here that even if the family is well-equipped and not ridden by conflicts, both generations discover that the time has come for family practices to become less intensive, as the young adult thinks about prospective paths and independent relations, rather than bonds in the family (cf. Holdsworth/Morgan 2005). Thus, as the relational practices are becoming separate from doing family, more consideration is given to moving out, despite the fact that the housing situation in the family of origin is comfortable and spatially non-problematic:

> His girlfriend lives with her parents, although she has a possibility (separate flat) to live on her own. She wants to live with her parents, because she's fine with her parents, and he says the same thing, that he doesn't want to move out, because he's fine living with me. I think that if they agree that

> they need to live together, the two of them, then that decision will be made then. (Danuta)

Another example comes from the case of Anita (18) and her mother Julita (46). The daughter underlined that the pandemic did not have any spatial repercussions for her, as she is an only child who has an entire floor in a suburban house at her disposal. At the same time, both Anita and her mother highlighted that the family dynamics have shifted and are marked by fewer and fewer practices of doing family:

> When I was a kid, we had a movie night every Friday, (a family) film screening, some walks (...) Now it's basically nothing. (My) parents still have Friday screenings, but I told them that I don't want to spend time with them in this way, because we don't talk during these screenings, or even discuss the films afterwards, we don't say what we liked (...) so it's all the more pointless. (...) There are no such shared moments of togetherness (anymore).

Even though puberty is theoretically behind them, Julita seems to recognize that her daughter is more distant. Zooming in on spatial practices, we can see the mother-daughter tensions being illustrated by Julita's wish to manage her daughter's life and space, and Anita's struggle for control over the home-defining practices:

> She is changing a lot. Yesterday we had a big argument about me (...) restricting her, not listening to her needs, (about the fact) that she doesn't ask me to make her bed, and I make her bed. So I explain to her why I am making her bed, because she gets up, takes the quilt off (...) and we have a cat who goes outside and brings in all sorts of things with her, along with ticks. I just ask her "Honey, cover the sheet (...) because it's dangerous and unsanitary". And that's the only thing I ask. But of course, (...) this bed is a symbol of our arguments (...) a symbol of the misunderstanding; (it's) where this boundary is.

Although the family could continue living together, the temperature of the relationship has dropped and both mother and daughter saw fewer motivations for living together. While Julita is worried that her daughter's departure will be hard for her, she also recognizes that it might be time for her daughter to move out for relational reasons.

When relationships are strained but extensive capital is available, the young adults and their parents can together seek solutions of making coresidence bearable, including separation of living spaces and enforcing rules on who is in control of which room and why. Hence, the trials of corona coresidence in the face of relational strain could be realised mostly in households with very comfortable housing, i.e., those owning or renting dwellings that met or exceeded family needs.

5 Discussion & Conclusion

Three scenarios of the interlacing family practices and housing situations were discovered in our analysis and discussed in this chapter. Each of the scenarios has been illustrated with the cases of young adult-parent pairs, allowing for multiperspectivity and cross-validation of findings in the context of doing family rather than at the individual level.

Two of the scenarios cover close intergenerational family relations illustrated by numerous practices of togetherness (cf. Morgan 1996). They are distinguished, however, by different spatial circumstances. The first scenario was observed in families coresiding in limited, 'tight' spaces, whereas the second pertained to comfortable dwellings where more spatial freedoms were available by default. In the scenario where space was limited but family practices were warm and frequent, both young adults and their parents could downplay the obvious disadvantages of limited space, especially difficult during the lockdown. The upsides of the situation (more time spent together, emotional support) were highlighted here. Thus, in the case of pre-existing good relations and everyday practices, pandemic and 'forced' togetherness could translate into intensification and appreciation of 'doing family' as a response to difficult times. For the second scenario where interviewees had 'nothing to complain about', both spatial and relational aspects seemed to be in order, regardless of the COVID-19 lockdowns and risks. The comfort of cohabitation was drawn from having intimate space for working/learning and was buttressed by continuation of the previously existing family practices. The pandemic was not narrated as having a huge impact on family dynamics.

The third scenario describes the situations in which the household members have a relatively large housing space and, simultaneously, rather weak relations. The latter are evident from quite limited practices of togetherness, consistent with family that has been undone (Höppner et al. 2022). Although the families were satisfied with the spatial aspects of their housing situation, simultaneous absence of the family practices of togetherness triggered both generations to contest sharing of the home-space. As a result, these families have seen the increased prominence of family discussions on young adults seeking independence. For them, the crisis might become a catalyst for changing family housing situations but was less commonly a reason for new family practices emerging.

Taking into account all scenarios, it can be argued that having enough space for going through the pandemic lockdown did not have a uniform effect on the families of the coresiding young adults and their parents. It seems that the embeddedness of the pre-pandemic family everyday practises matters here. When spatial aspects are not narrated as challenging, the difference lies in the 'temperature' of relations and the quality of the time spent together. While the pandemic has caused intensification, maintenance or modification of the previously existing family practices, it did

not create completely new ones in the families with limited practices of everyday togetherness. In this qualitative sample, we did not find any cases in which weakness of relations would overlap with limited/tight housing conditions. Overall, it should be noticed that research involving interviewing family dyads can result in the recruitment of the pairs of young adults and their parents who have good (enough) relations to take part in the project together. This might point to the known self-selection bias in family research.

Seen through the prism of the existing literature, our findings confirm that the pandemic – like previous crises – had significant effects on doing family and family practices (cf. Pustułka/Buler 2021; Radzińska/Pustułka 2022). One of the areas specifically of note were housing situations in which multigenerational families found themselves (cf. Walper/Reim 2020; Timonen et al. 2021; Lips 2021), as they could make or break the family during the coronavirus crisis, mostly when spatial confinement translated to strained relationships. We argue that the pandemic introduced new dynamics into intergenerational settings of family spaces, engendering new/modified ways of thinking about family as being done or undone (Höppner 2022) in connection to age, generationality and family life-cycle (McGoldrick et al. 2016). However, the shape of pandemic family dynamics depended on both spatial conditions and the previously (non)existing everyday family practices and relations.

Initial struggles were directly linked to the family's housing situation and caused by a sudden need to share limited space when 'stay-at-home' directives came into effect. Both young adults and their parents spoke of various consequences linked to suddenly being forced to spend the entirety of their time in close spatial proximity. Next to spatial rearrangements, more emotional work was also needed in the realm of managing space, resolving tensions and negotiating relationships that stemmed from different relational expectations. Simultaneously, some young adults also highlighted certain benefits of spending more time with their immediate family, especially parents, in regard to family practices focused on quality time and emotional closeness (cf. Morgan 1996). Their narratives are complemented by the perspective of their parents, who usually had to manage not only their own emotional, spatial, and material needs, but also those of the household and family members overall.

Like any qualitative inquiry, the study has certain limitations in terms of non-generalisability. However, unlike aggregated quantitative data, in-depth interviews can foster disentanglement of the specificity encroached in personal experiences of families. Taking into account the longitudinal character of the project presented in the paper, the next wave of interviews (planned for early 2023) will let us add a temporally comparative time perspective to the presented results. We will be able to see how these pandemic-related family practices and experiences evolve in the individuals' narratives over time.

Figure 2: Sample Part 1

	Young adult			Parent			Coresidence situation		
	Pseudo-nym	Gender | Age	Educational / Labor Market Status	Pseudo-nym	Gender | Age	Labor Market Status	Housing type	Number of household members	Type of coresidence
1.	Marek	M 25	PhD student	Izabela	F 50	academic teacher	own apartment	4	temporary: 2 months during lockdown
2.	Szymon	M 23	student/ part-time job in food industry	Kaja	F 44	public sector official	own apartment	2	permanent
3.	Anita	F 18	high-school student	Julita	F 46	researcher/freelancer	own house	3	permanent
4.	Julia	F 20	student/ part-time job in food industry	Piotr	M 47	academic teacher	rented apartment	3	permanent: every other month because of joint custody
5.	Pola	F 19	recent high-school graduate/ job at a call centre	Dorota	F 43	academic teacher	rented apartment	4	permanent
6.	Klara	F 19	recent high-school graduate	Olga	F 42	homemaker	own house	5	ongoing boomeranging
7.	Dominik	M 22	student/part-time retail job	Beata	F 47	chemist	own apartment	4	temporary: few months during pandemic
8.	Bartek	M 24	student/looking for a job	Klaudia	F 52	psychologist	own house	2	ongoing boomeranging
9.	Wojtek	M 19	recent high-school graduate/ working part-time in hospitality	Malkolm	M 45	entrepreneur	own house	7	permanent

Figure 3: Sample Part 2

	Young adult			Parent			Coresidence situation		
	Pseudo-nym	Gender | Age	Educational / Labor Market Status	Pseudo-nym	Gender | Age	Labor Market Status	Housing type	Number of household members	Type of coresidence
10.	Damian	M 23	student/ looking for a job	Krzysz-tof	M 49	storehouse manager	own apartment	4	permanent
11.	Mateusz	M 21	student/ part-time job in food industry	Danuta	F 44	banking specialist	own apartment	2	permanent
12.	Stefan	M 19	recent high-school graduate	Agata	F 44	beautician	own apartment	3	permanent
13.	Kamila	F 21	student/summer job	Ilona	F 52	call centre employee	own apartment	4	permanent
14.	Tymote-usz	M 24	service clerk	Maryla	F 57	kindergarten teacher	own house	7	ongoing boomeranging
15.	Nina	F 18	high-school student	Bartosz	M 46	municipal official	own aparment	4	permanent
16.	Eliza	F 21	student/ job in retail	Andrzej	M 45	manager/taxi driver	own apartment	4	permanent
17.	Magda	F 20	intern at the public institution	Witold	M 46	dispatcher at post office	own apartment	4	permanent
18.	Weroni-ka	F 31	entrepreneur	Antoni	M 56	manager	own house	5	permanent: two separate households in one house
19.	Mirek	M 27	new entry-level job in logistics	Jurek	M 60	pensioner/ dog breeder	own house	3	temporary: few months during pandemic
20.	Igor	M 31	office worker	Edmund	M 55	modeller	own apartment	3	permanent

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III Practicing the family/families in education & social work

"Doing parenthood" within ambivalent orders of recognition

Almut Peukert

1 Introduction: who is considered a parent and what is a family?[1]

Of general knowledge – at least in sociological, social work and anthropological research – is the fact that conceptions of the family institution and daily practices of families have pluralized. Moreover, the diversity of families has become more visible over the past decades. However, we can still observe that some families are more equal or rather, different than others. Therefore, some questions arise that may be worth examining: Who is considered a parent and what is a family?

In the last few decades, same-sex relationships have been decriminalised across several nations worldwide, and gradually "rainbow families" or families that differ from the heterosexual nuclear family norm are experiencing less marginalisation and achieving more legal recognition. In regions such as the European Union, significant legal changes have been observed: for example, the introduction of same-sex marriage and the right to adopt for same-sex couples (Ayoub 2016). Social movements such as the women's and LGBTIQ* movements have played an integral role in this change. However, we have not reached a point where societal recognition for all relations of mutual care and responsibility has been achieved, and legal barriers for LGBTIQ* and multi-parent families continue to exist (Teschlade et al. 2020). Against this backdrop, I discuss the question posed above. Such socially and legally complex yet highly relevant questions have substantial implications for everyday family life. My considerations originate from the sociological research project "Ambivalent Recognition Order. Doing Reproduction and Doing Family beyond the Nuclear Family."[2] The focus of this research project is to understand how people create, become,

1 This article is based on the keynote address from the international conference "The making and doing of family in, through, and with education and social work" held in Trier in 2021.

2 The research project was funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) from 2018 to 2021 and led by Christine Wimbauer (Humboldt-University of Berlin), Mona Motakef (TU Dortmund), and Almut Peukert (University of Hamburg) (WI 2142/7-1, MO 3194/2-1, PE 2612/2-1). Our team members, Julia Teschlade and Leoni Linek, and our student assistants,

and remain a family (or not) against the backdrop of the changing and ambivalent order of recognition. For this purpose, we interviewed different family constellations with lesbian, gay, trans*, pan, and poly parents in Germany.

Based on the interviews with families beyond the heterosexual two-parent norm, I analyse the recognition of non-normative families and parenthood. How are parenthood and family practiced and what are the kinds of experiences of social inequality, inclusion, and/or exclusion that these families cope with? These questions led me to the reconstruction of family narratives. Considering inclusion and exclusion as key characteristics of recognition order, I focus on two specific fields relevant to social work: stepchild adoption and interactions with educational institutions. I argue that a careful examination of scientific as well as societal concepts and definitions of parenthood and family is mandatory: Concepts of family and parenthood must be more strongly differentiated, to avoid being caught in an overly simplistic conception of who is considered a "parent" or "non-parent" or who can be recognized as a "family" or "non-family" entity.

I begin by presenting a brief overview of earlier research in the field of queer kinship and families in chapter 2, hint at crucial theoretical frameworks on recognition and "Doing Family" in chapter 3, and present the research design in chapter 4. In chapter 5, the findings section, I discuss aspects of inequality produced by the recognition order that the families interviewed need to deal with. As a crucial finding, in the conclusion presented in chapter 6, I discuss the entanglement of the ambivalent order of recognition at the macro level, with the notion of "Doing Family" or everyday family practices at the micro level.

2 State of the art: queer parenthood and family-making

Research on queer parenthood and family-making in different disciplines is constantly evolving (for an overview, see e.g., Biblarz/Savci 2010; Goldberg 2010; Hicks 2011; Golombok 2015; Peukert et al. 2020b). The body of research encompasses studies that reconfigure the family narrative in the non-heterosexual world by creating "families of choice", which depend on elective ties rather than bloodlines (Weston 1991; Weeks et al. 2001). Researchers have also studied pathways and transitions to parenthood (e.g. Patterson/Tornello 2011; Kokanović et al. 2018; Teschlade/Peukert 2019), different forms of family creation such as foster care and adoption (Goldberg et al. 2011; Goldberg 2012), donor conception (Chabot/Ames 2004; Mamo 2007; Nordqvist 2014), and co-parenting (Bender/Eck 2020; Wimbauer 2021). From an intersectional perspective, research demonstrates how social stratification, class, or

Julia Bringmann, Lena Mobers, and Elena Mayeres, were engaged in data gathering and analysis. I am thankful to the entire research team for our thought-provoking discussions.

"race" cuts through cohorts defined by sexuality (Moore/Brainer 2013; Mamo/Alston-Stepnitz 2015; Gabb 2018; for an overview, see Teschlade et al. 2020).

Researchers have studied how queer parenthood is discursively produced against the background of legal hurdles and institutionalisation, considering different national legal contexts (Butterfield/Padavic 2014; Goldberg/Allen 2013). The focus is on the question of how law (co-)constitutes, facilitates, and hinders parenthood and family systems (Helms 2016; Kazyak/Woodell 2016; O'Donnell 1999). The main criticism points to the legal construction of the family as an exclusive and restrictive interpretation of what constitutes a valid and legitimate family relationship. It fails to recognise the diversity of family structures experienced by an increasing number of family groups. By recognising certain relationships as "family," the state confirms that these have some positive benefit for wider society. These valuable relationships are worthy of regulation and protection, and the rights and responsibilities of those within them will be recognised and enforced. By contrast, denying legal recognition to non-traditional families strips them of validity and self-worth, and deprives weaker family members of protection (O'Donnell 1999: 78). This "othering" taking place at the legal level continues in the everyday life of queer families (Perlesz et al. 2006; Dionisius 2021; Hartmann 2014; Nay 2017). The limited research available in the pedagogical field shows that sexual and gender diversity is rarely a topic in pedagogical practice (Schmidt et al. 2015) or that queer families find themselves in social work contexts (e.g., schools, daycare centres, or government offices for youth welfare) between experiences of ignorance and othering (Riegel 2017; Leland 2021).

3 Theoretical perspectives: recognition and "doing family"

In the analytical framework of the research project, we draw on theories of recognition, heteronormativity, and coupledom, and integrate a praxeological approach considering the practices, interactions and "doings" of social actors, such as the "doing family" concept (Morgan 1996; Jurczyk 2020a). From a micro perspective, we examine how families experience legal and institutional frameworks and how they act, sometimes obstinately, within these contexts. To grasp theoretically social structures in their relation to practices and social interactions, we combine the praxeological approach with pragmatist approaches and symbolic interactionism (all of them grounded in the interpretative paradigm).[3] We capture social structures as more or less stable social entities such as institutions, organisations, stratification systems, and cultural values (Strauss 1978, 1993; Peukert 2015). While structural conditions constitute frames for situated interactions and practices, the structures themselves

3 On the similarities between practice theory and pragmatism cf. Bogusz 2009.

are reproduced or questioned within interactions. Hence, interactions and structures co-constitute each other.

Honneth (1992) theorises society as an "institutionalized order of recognition"(own translation), in which historically changeable cultural norms define who can be recognised. He distinguishes three ideal-typical forms of intersubjective recognition: love, right, and social esteem. Developing on Honneth's social order of recognition, we integrate Judith Butler's conceptualisation of recognition in order to grasp the heteronormative order of society: Heterosexuality, in this sense, is the unquestioned norm in the spheres of "love" and "law", which implies that deviating from this norm can hardly be legally and socially recognised. It helps us understand what people have to do in order to become recognised. From a queer theoretical perspective, Butler (2012) points to the ambivalences of relations of recognition and focuses on the frames of orders of recognition: How do norms determine whose subjectivities are considered recognisable? Norms have a regulating function that is both enabling and constraining. The subject must conform to these normative conceptions in order to become first apprehensible — apprehension being a form of knowing and perception — and consequently intelligible. Systematically interwoven with heteronormativity is a coupledom. Both result in the powerful norm of the heterosexual couple (with children) as the basis for the model of the "normal" or nuclear family.

From a praxeological perspective, we ask: how do queer families or families beyond the heteronormative construct "do family" in order to become recognisable? For the analytical focus on practices, the doings (Sacks 1984), we use the "Doing Family"-concept in the tradition of Morgan (1996, 2011), Finch (2007), and Jurczyk and colleagues (Jurczyk et al. 2014; Jurczyk 2020a; see also Jurczyk et al. in this volume). According to Jurczyk (2020b: 29), on the one hand, "doing family" is about coordination and everyday organisation to render the family as a shared context that is practically livable in everyday life. On the other hand, under the aspect of meaning-making and social cohesion, it concerns processes in which the family is created in everyday interactions as a special kind of network that is meaningful for its members. This happens in joint action, in mutual reference to each other, and in the symbolically charged representation as a family. Consequently, I argue that parenthood is not simply about being or becoming a parent, but one must do or take actions to fulfill the role. These interactive processes are contingent, such that the production of parenthood can succeed in situ, but also fail.

4 Research design

In this article, I draw on data from a larger sample of LGBTQ* families interviewed in Germany. My research is part of the abovementioned project *Ambivalent Recogni-*

tion Order. Doing Reproduction and Doing Family beyond the ‚Nuclear Family', in which we focused on how LGBTQ* people create, become, and remain a family (or not) against the backdrop of changing and ambivalent orders of recognition. Germany presents an interesting case, as same-sex marriage and adoption were legalised in 2017. Yet, significant legal inequalities and hurdles for LGBTQ* families in Germany remain. For instance, at the time of data collection and article writing, the law was that for lesbian couples, the non-birth parent must adopt the child to be legally recognised as a parent. In contrast, the 2021 coalition agreement of the 'traffic light' coalition states that the government plans to abolish stepchild adoption and newly regulate the legal recognition of lesbian parenthood. In another scenario, multi-parent families face legal hurdles because no legal provisions exist for multiple parenthood in Germany, and legal parenthood is only possible for single parents or pairs of parents. Hence, families with more than two parents (LBGTQ* co-parents, heterosexual patchwork, and co-parenting families) must decide who receives and who relinquishes parental rights, with implications for power and (in)equality in the family.

The research design, including data collection, theoretical sampling, data analysis, and theorisation of empirical results, was following the grounded theory approach (Strauss/Corbin 1990; Charmaz 2014; Strauss 1987). We interviewed 13 self-identified LGBTQ* (or non-heterosexual) families. As we talked to some informants twice (first with all family members and second as a couple or individually), we conducted a total of 19 family, couple, and individual interviews between 2018 and 2019. All interview data were translated and anonymised; names used in this article are pseudonyms. We appropriated the term "family" as a sensitising concept for everybody who reliably takes care of children or intends to do so in the future, irrespective of whether this is done as a sole parent, couple, or within a multiple-parent constellation. All adults who deemed themselves part of the family were interviewed together; we did not interview children. As leading sample criteria, we interviewed LGBTQ* families who have or plan to have children.

Couple and family interviews as the method of choice for data collection serve as documents of inner familial negotiations about family and parenthood, also capturing the embedded conflicts and orientations (Wimbauer/Motakef 2017; Heaphy/Einarsdottir 2012). Moreover, interviewing parents together allowed us to witness their interactions and reconstruct their negotiations in situ; for example, about who will start, how they choose to share their story, and whether they interrupt or complement each other (Peukert 2015). The dynamics in narrating their negotiations about family and parenthood and the embedded conflicts and orientations are crucial data and reveal the merit of interviewing them together. The narrative interview technique was employed, beginning with the opening question "How did you become a family?" and followed up with broad questions intended to encourage interviewees to share stories about getting to know each other or becoming a couple, their negotiations about having a child together, daily routines of engaging in and

managing paid and family work, and questions about legal and social recognition and discrimination.

From the total sample, I discuss two cases in this article. The first family, Carolin and Mara, have been married for two years and are mothers of a common child. Since Carolin gave birth to the child, she was immediately recognised as the child's legal mother. Mara, however, had to adopt her child through the complex "stepchild adoption" procedure, which took almost a year. In the meantime, both parents are registered as mothers on the child's birth certificate. The second case, Friederike and her ex-partner, Charlotte, recently ended their partnership. They had been a couple for 12 years. When they met, Charlotte already had a little child (Annika), from a couple relationship with the child's father. During the relationship between the two women, Friederike became a relevant parent for Annika in everyday family life. Legal parenthood, however, is exclusively shared by Charlotte and Annika's father, who lives more than 3,000 km away and does not participate in day-to-day care responsibilities. At the time of the interview with Friederike, Annika lived in alternation with her mothers: one week each with Charlotte and Friederike.

5 Findings

In the following presentation of my research findings, I focus on two arenas: 1) trials of recognition in the field of stepchild adoption, and 2) recognition in interactions in the context of educational institutions. In both arenas, we can observe the interactions between parents and institutions. Through interactions, I mean not only direct, face-to-face interactions in the Goffmanian sense, but also when interviewees are implicitly addressed or not addressed as parents or families, institutionally and normatively. In both arenas, the fragility and "making" of family and parenthood became especially evident in the material.

5.1 Trials of recognition: stepchild adoption

Negotiating pregnancy within the legal context of stepchild adoption

Among most lesbian couples, both women can or must (usually) negotiate and decide who in the couple should become pregnant. In addition to practical bodily implications such as pregnancy and birth, this also has legal implications: German law assumes the "ideal of a coincidence of genetic, [natal; A.P.], legal, and social parenthood" (Schwab 2011: 46). According to the German Civil Code, this means: The mother is the woman who gives birth to the child (§ 1591 BGB). The legal protection of dual motherhood in the sense of joint parental care has so far only been possible through stepchild adoption. Even after the introduction of the "Marriage for All Act", the partner of the woman giving birth is not legally considered to be the mother

(for related criticism, see, among others, Chebout/Richarz 2018). The introduction of "co-motherhood" is increasingly the subject of political discussion and will be reformed according to the coalition agreement of 2021.

How do lesbian families experience this legal framework and how do they act within these contexts? In general, the lesbian families we interviewed experience the necessity of adoption as a hurdle and degradation of the parenthood of the non-birth mother. A detailed analysis shows that stepchild adoption is already having an effect on families far in advance, as in the case of Mara and Carolin. We interviewed them once before and once after the birth of their child (see also Peukert et al. 2020a). The couple recounted how they already anticipated obstacles from the youth welfare office (Jugendamt) in the adoption process when deciding which of the two partners should become pregnant. The two decided that Carolin should be the first to become pregnant. Thus, by virtue of her pregnancy and the child's birth, she was automatically granted legal parenthood. In the interview, Carolin recalled what it could have meant from her point of view if Mara had become pregnant:

> "…then I would have a, a worse salary check, I would have separated parents who do not live here, I would not necessarily have the best preconditions that one says; yes, so we find you good as a second mother. This was the reason why we said, I will start, because now they cannot do anything to me."

Carolin names aspects that could be used against her in the adoption proceedings as a non-birth mother who is part of a non-heterosexual relationship: she provides economic reasons such as her income as well as her own family of origin as a potential threat to a positive decision about her "appropriateness" as a parent. She develops a defensive position, indicating that she interprets the normative and legal framework of the adoption procedure as a threat to her family.

Precariousness of being a parent

The couple also talks about their experiences after their child's birth. Here, we can observe how the knowledge of the lack of legal recognition as parents and the necessary adoption procedure shows Mara's fragile position as a parent.

> Mara: But I also found it a crazy moment to leave the hospital, because I thought to myself, "this can only be a mistake, that we are now allowed to go home with this worm [little baby]."
> Carolin: Then they had just let us go, that was also such a strange feeling.
> Mara: So that they just let us go, that, that someone doesn't come running after us and say, oh, excuse me, no, stupid, how, how could you assume that you were really allowed to do that? So, of course, you still have to do twenty courses and three certificates and, uh, in general, we won't let you have a child. …

> Carolin: That came then with the adoption later again from time to time, (laughing slightly) the feeling.
> Mara: Yes. (laughs gently) fear. ... That already existed. Or it was still there, uh, so latent, but that you can then just leave and that you are then just sitting again in the home, where you were two before and then you are suddenly sitting there with three, that was uh, already crazy. I still remember that I went to the supermarket (...) and I thought it was totally weird that everything was so normal. ... and I thought to myself, wow, cool, I 've had this experience somehow, I now have a child.

Mara, in particular, expresses how vulnerable and precarious she feels in her situation as a lesbian mother. She could not imagine simply being allowed to leave the hospital without any discussions after the birth of her child. She describes her fears of not being allowed to be a parent, that the child might be taken away from them if she cannot provide more certificates and complete more courses, etc. At the same time, she is very happy and describes a surreal feeling about having a child.

The sequence particularly shows the emotional balancing that lesbian parents must perform against the background of an ambivalent order of recognition. On one hand, they can become parents as a matter of course and leave the hospital with the child. On the other hand, legal procedures, such as stepchild adoption, call their parenthood into question.

Gaps between being a parent in everyday life and a non-parent in institutional and legal contexts

Against this background, Mara reports why it was so important to her to start the stepchild adoption process as early as possible:

> "For me, it's actually like that, that makes a difference for me since uh these letters also go to me and I'm allowed to sign them. Before, I could only pass them on, that was also a bit of a strange feeling. And, it was actually one of the reasons why it was super important to me not to wait with the adoption. (...) it's not the most important things now, sure, the most important thing is somehow, how you get along with him [the child] in everyday life. But I actually feel more like a second-class mother when, whenever there's something to sign (laughing lightly), I can just say, here, I'm not allowed or I have to take the letter with me, uh I can't register him at any daycare center. I can actually do nothing in that sense. Um and it was never the case that something didn't work out because of that (...), it's actually more like um yes, it's a stupid feeling when you actually think you could do it exactly like that, but you're just not allowed to."

Mara expresses her discomfort through the example of official letters because they are not addressed as a family. Only Carolin is addressed as the child's parent, and this has a double sense: the letters are addressed to Carolin in the literal sense; simultaneously, the letters address Carolin as a single-parent family, while Mara is made invisible.

Mara cannot identify any "hard" consequences for everyday life. Does this mean that there is no discrimination? I argue, no, because not addressing her as a parent makes her a "second-class mom." She phrases this as a "strange feeling". The discrepancy that the feelings create becomes clear: in everyday life and their "Doing Family" and "doing parenthood," she is a self-evident and equal parent. However, the official institutions do not address her as a parent. She is incapable of action by law. My argument here is that the implications of law are to be considered on the one hand on a family organisational level, for instance, who can register the child for kindergarden. On the other hand, strong emotional consequences and vulnerabilities become apparent: Mara is not addressed by institutions as a parent. She must emotionally manage the discrepancy between being a parent in their "Doing Family" and not being intelligible and recognised as a parent in official settings.

5.2 Recognition in interactions: educational institutions

Obstacles in "doing family" outside the home

As Morgan (2011) emphasizes, family practices need not necessarily only take place in "homes". In LGBTQ* families, "doing family" and associated everyday practice becomes interesting, especially outside the "private" sphere, since implicit norms and social assumptions become relevant here (Leland 2021). According to Friederike, the participant from the second case, the factual demands of everyday family life conflict with legal framing.

> "Oh, at the doctor's it's really (...) I hate going to the doctor with Annika. (...) In the beginning I always tried to pass it on to my ex-partner, because (...) I'm not really allowed to make a decision. So. But the reality of life is different. The reality of life is that the child is sick. It is not life-threateningly ill, it will not need surgery, but it still needs medical care. The other partner cannot. The father lives abroad. (...) So. Then, of course, I go to the doctor with the child. And of course I just hope that the child doesn't (laughing lightly) blab and say something like that. That was always my first hope when she was little. Hopefully she won't say anything (laughing slightly) that will betray us that I'm not the biological mother. That is, I'm always a little worried about this."

A classic situation in which Friederike is caught in the gap between not being the legal mother but caring for the child is during a visit to the doctor. From the narrative, it becomes clear that Friederike's suffering consists not only in the rejection of her own wishes to be legally recognised as a mother, but also in the actual problems that arise from the fact that Friederike does not enjoy any legal recognition as a parent.

The "unreal mother"—paradoxes of being a social mother

Further paradoxes of social mothering became apparent in the interaction with Annika's school. Friederike remembers an interaction with teachers at a parent–teacher conference:

> "I went there and I was greeted by Annika's two teachers. We sat like this at the table and they stood like this and waited. Then they asked me, are you coming alone? And I was like, yes. Yes, but it's a pity. We would have really liked to meet the real mother (laughing slightly). And I went like, uh? The real mother is sitting in front of you, so I don't know."

Friederike pretends to not understand what the teachers mean by the "real" mother. With Finch (2007), she displays their constellation as a family and enacts herself as a parent. In this context, display is the process by which Friederike conveys to herself and the teachers that her actions constitute "doing family things"; thereby, she confirms or at least tries to confirm that she has the "position" of a mother (ibid.: 67). The teachers speak of the "real" mother, which contains an implicit, ambivalent recognition of Friederike as a mother, even if she is not regarded as "the real mother." Friederike rejects this: "The real mother is sitting in front of you". Because of her everyday family involvement, she expects to be addressed as a "real" mother in recognition of her care work and the parent-child relationship between Annika and herself. However, Friederike is being treated as a "failing parent" by the teachers. This relates to a partial invisibilisation of her care work and a hierarchisation of her relationship with the child as "real" and "non-real."

In connection with my previous findings, emotions play a key role. Friederike feels like she is being excluded, although she engages in a great deal of care work—more than the father who is recognised as a legal parent. This can become problematic if, at some point, the focus is no longer on the children's issues, but on the parents' conflicts about their social and legal non-recognition versus recognition.

6 Discussion and conclusion

Based on the interview sequences of the two families, this article illustrates that in the case of stepchild adoption and in the interactions with medical and educational institutions, family-making does not occur exclusively within families in the "private" sphere. Rather, it involves negotiations between families, parents, children, and other relevant actors and institutions. Thus, two fundamental questions emerge for the "Doing Family" concept as well as for associated research: "Who are the parents?" and "What if two (or more) mothers, fathers, or, generally, more parents are involved in 'Foing Family?'" The answers differ depending on which arena we examine, whether it is law, everyday life, social work, social sciences, or policies.

The focus on the everyday practices of families shows that the definition of parenthood is inadequately regulated by law (Peukert et al. 2018; Linek et al. 2022). From a family life course perspective, it becomes clear that people separate, caring family members leave, or new ones join; that is, as the concept of "doing family" emphasises, a family is a fluid social arrangement (Morgan 2011). At first glance, this is contrary to the logic of family law, which is directed toward stability. A second look reveals that families, in their "Doing Family" practices and despite the inherent fluidity therein, are also fundamentally oriented toward stability and reliability in their social relationships.

At present, an adequate institutional legal response to the concurrent nature of family fluidity and stability is lacking. This applies not only to same-sex families, but also to patchwork families and other constellations. If we examine the consequences for the "doing family" these changes imply that the work of demonstrating one's family relationships becomes more complex. It requires more "work" on the part of relevant participants to become intelligible as parents, as family (Butler 2012). With Finch (2007: 73), the need to display family increases as a way of stating, "These are my family relationships, and they work". Moreover, we need stronger differentiation within the concept of parenthood. While currently there are only two distinct legal options, parenthood or non-parenthood, my findings show that involvement in a family can be diverse and it can change from a family life course perspective.

Furthermore, I have highlighted the intertwined nature of the process of "doing family" and the institutional "making of family." Occasionally, the "Doing Family" approach is criticised for overemphasising the "agency at the expense of structure," as Morgan (2011: 66) points out. Therefore, in future research, the normative, legal, and societal frames must be considered for non-heterosexual family constellations and, more generally, for "doing family" in all constellations. As I have empirically shown, looking at orders of recognition is instructive for an understanding of "doing family" as families (inter)act within these social frames, (re)produce as well as change them. In this relational approach, interactions and practices can be theoret-

ically thought of in conjunction with persistent and changing structures of recognition orders.

Lastly, as I have shown, emotions and feelings in particular play a role in "doing family," especially when it comes to supposedly rational areas such as adoption processes or legal recognition. This aspect should be given further attention in future studies.

7 Literature

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Doing family in welfare practices of early preventive services[1]

Stephan Dahmen, Amanda Edler and Helga Kelle

1 Introduction

The concept of "doing family" (Jurczyk/Thiessen 2014; Jurczyk/Lange 2020) has mainly focused on the everyday practices of family members and has put the everyday life of families into the centre of attention. For instance, Morgan (2011), a central proponent of the "doing family approach", defines his concept of "family practices" as "what people 'do' and in doing create and recreate the idea of family" (Morgan 2011: 177). Only recently, the role of welfare professionals and normative templates of family (for instance specific ideas of the family as it is reflected in specific, more or less familiarised welfare regimes, see Leitner 2003) is acknowledged for in the "doing family" literature. For instance, Jurczyk and Lange (2020) confirm that welfare professionals "are co-constructors of the family and not only participate in the UnDoing of Family, but also directly influence it in part"[2] (ibid.: 43). Nevertheless, the respective volumes (Jurczyk/Thiessen 2014; Jurczyk/Lange 2020) run short of contributions that analyse welfare practices. In our perspective, a "doing family" approach that strictly focuses on intra-familial everyday practices and the situated co-constructive activity of family members is at risk of an "interactional reductionism" (Levinson 2005; Diehm et al. 2012). While we agree that a focus on everyday practices and the situated co-constructive activity is pivotal for understanding the contemporary family, we also assume that a strict orientation to the local interaction order is at risk of neglecting both the trans-situational character of doing "family" as well as its embeddedness in specific categorisations inherent in the definitions of need and merit in the welfare state context.

1 Internationally, the social services context we address in this contribution is known as Early Prevention and Intervention. We use the term Early Preventive Services to stress the preventive logic of the German system of "Frühe Hilfen" (literally: early support) in distinction to Child Protection.

2 All translations of German quotations are the author's own.

In this paper, we approach the concept of "doing family" slightly differently. Instead of focusing on the practices of family members and their everyday life, we argue that practices relevant to the fashioning of contemporary families may happen in situations in which family members are not physically present, for instance in case-meetings of social workers or in any other instance of welfare practices that deal with families or their members. Building up on research that analyses the production of "clienthood" (Gubrium/Holstein 2001; Hall et al. 2003[3]), we focus on "ways the participants jointly categorise clienthoods and produce case descriptions" (ibid.: 18) and consider clients' identities as positions "which are constantly being negotiated, justified and argued" (ibid.), while often explicitly referring to the construction of "parental identity" and "motherhood". We argue that a significant site of "doing family", that is "what people 'do' and in doing create and recreate the idea of family" (Morgan 2011: 177), happens in the diverse sites of human service production. Accordingly, our contribution examines the way professionals talk about the family as a specific way of "doing family". We aim at a conceptual refinement of the "doing family" concept: we highlight its entanglement with legal administrative categorisations of the welfare state, thus the discursive and trans-situational character of "doing family" practices when human services are involved.

Our research is based on ethnographic material collected in professional case-conferences. Early preventive services have been gradually implemented in Germany at the municipal level as a consequence of a new federal law on child protection in 2012 (BKiSchG). It comes with a legal obligation to install an "early, coordinated and multiprofessional offer" (§§ 1, 4) and to provide "binding network structures in child protection" (Art. 3), which include all institutional actors in the health, social and education systems and led to the establishment of so called "early support networks"[4]. The term "early" support highlights that these networks are supposed to provide services "from pregnancy and early childhood with a focus on the 0–3 age-group" (NZFH 2016: 13). They are addressing all (expectant) parents and their children in terms of health promotion (universal/primary prevention) but also focus on "families in difficult situations" (ibid.) in order to ensure that risks to the well-being and development of the child are recognised and reduced at an early stage. Within the early support networks, the case conferences constitute an important site for coordination and delivery of services: Firstly, they serve as a "hub" in which new incoming cases are discussed and distributed to specific family midwives.

3 The 2003 collected volume of Hall and Juhila contains four contributions explicitly referring to the construction of "parental identity".

4 We use the term "Early Support Networks" as a literal translation of the German expression "Netzwerke Frühe Hilfen" (cf. footnote 1). These networks form a constitutive element of the Early Preventive Services.

Secondly, they serve as a site in which eligibility and the appropriateness of "early support" is scrutinised and decided on.

2 Policy context: early support networks and child protection policies in the German welfare state

Since the 2000's, German child welfare policies are undergoing a shift towards "prevention whilst strengthening protection" (Parton 2006: 976). This double orientation finds expression in a number of reforms. On the one side, it is reflected in the large-scale implementation of early support networks (Wolff et al. 2011; Ostner/Stolberg 2015; Ostner/Mierendorff 2014). On the other side, excessive media coverage of fatal cases of child abuse has led to an increased level of activity in the legal-administrative domain and to a stronger interventionist and protectionist orientation. For instance, new legal regulations (c.f. the German Federal Child Protection Act, BKiSchG 2012) introduced mandatory reporting protocols for dealing with child protection cases on the level of youth welfare offices. The same law reduced the hurdles for different professions for the disclosure of information on potential child protection cases. On the other side, the last decade has witnessed an expansion of preventive measures. For instance, since the early 2000's different policy initiatives have taken up the development of so-called preventive "early warning systems". Initially developed in the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia, they were taken as a blueprint for the creation of "early support networks" on the level of the federal state. A National Center for Early Services (Nationales Zentrum Frühe Hilfen–NZFH) was established, and new legal regulations led to the mandatory implementation of early services for parents in the first three years of their children's lives. "Early Services", according to the definition of the NZFH, form local and regional support systems that provide practical support in everyday life and promote the relationship and parenting skills of (expectant) mothers and fathers (NZFH 2016).

Echoing international developments, these policies are characterised by a "turn to parenting" (Ostner et al. 2017), an explicit focus on "early" (the age-group 0–3) identification of "risks for the development of children" (BKiSchG §1 (3). These developments bear similarities to early intervention policies in the UK, which "had its origins within a social investment rationale and has morphed across domains with particular implications for child protection" (Featherstone et al. 2014: 1736). Similarly, the double orientation of the German child protection (both prevention and protection) is characterised by an ambivalent strengthening of a statutory control approach on the one side, and a marked commitment to prevention and cooperation in child welfare on the other side (Wolff et al. 2011).

In Germany, the federal law prescribes that the local child protection service (Jugendamt) is responsible for the establishment and governance of the networks. The

multi-level federalist governance structure of the German welfare state leaves a high degree of autonomy at the level of the municipalities and cities, no additional prescriptions are made. Therefore Ostner et al. (2015: 623) speak of experimentation in implementing and practicing newer forms of parenting support. As a consequence a high heterogeneity of "early support networks" can be observed in Germany (Bode/Turba 2014). While in some municipalities early support is part and parcel of the child protection system with a clear mandate of intervention, in other municipalities the networks mostly focus on the development of low-threshold support services for families. Some municipalities also try to combine both strategies (Schäfer/Sann 2014: 78). Usually involving a wide range of professions and organisations these networks constitute a multi-agent, multiprofessional, transorganisational field "under construction" with a considerable margin of maneuver in its operational governance.

3 State of research

In recent years, researchers have become increasingly interested in the effects and the implementation of early preventive services. As described above, child and family related welfare practices take a much wider stance than protection from harm or abuse in the sense usually understood in child protection; early support networks aim to take action earlier rather than detect, investigate and respond to crises. "Earlier" in this context thus has a double meaning: on the one hand, it refers to age (i.e. 0–3 year olds) and, on the other hand, it refers to the primary preventive approach. Until now, little is known on how practitioners on the frontline deal with the entanglement of "early prevention" and "protection". Ostner and Stolberg interpret the entanglement of support and control that comes with the "early intervention"-paradigm as a problematic rejuvenation of the "the long historical root of parenting support as a control on parents" (Ostner/Stolberg 2015: 630), while Merchel (2008) suggests that "early support" interventions are at risk of mixing up the precarious balance between protection mandate of the state and a family service orientation that builds on a right to support (see also Schone 2010; Dahmen 2018). Featherstone et al. (2014) speak of an "unholy alliance of early intervention and child protection" (Featherstone et al. 2014: 1738), and Frost and Parton (2009: 165) argue that this may ultimately lead towards a more "muscular interventionist stance targeted at those deemed 'hard to reach'".

German early prevention and intervention policies seem to have taken a similar development: Commenting on the target group-definition of the NZFH, Schäfer and Sann (2014) point to a significant extension of controlling interventions into preventive measures. Focusing on family midwives, they report potential conflicts between the newly assigned task of "control" and their traditional professional task of provid-

ing (health) support (ibid.: 77). Similarly, studies comparing different professions involved in child protection report significant differences regarding to the mandate, the relations to clients, the definitions of responsibility and the type of every-day knowledge used (Alberth et al. 2014).

These findings also involve different implicit conceptions of family and of generational order: while workers from Child Protection Services operate with a legally codified concept of parental care and responsibility and an implicit normative orientation to a normal middle class family, family midwives with a professional socialisation as health professionals focus on clear health and care related needs of children and operate with an unquestioned idea of care responsibilities of the mother (Bühler-Niederberger et al. 2013). On the basis of social workers' narrations of child protection cases, Alberth and Bühler-Niederberger (2017: 153) show that "approaches to parents are strongly gendered and organized around mother-focused routines" – the image of the "overburdened mother" was an overwhelmingly recurrent topic in case narrations.

Harnessing the concept of "doing family" (Jurzcyk et al. 2014), Rettig, Schröder and Zeller (2017) reconstruct how "family" is produced by family midwives. They suggest that family midwives construct family mainly as a "female care relationship" (ibid: 365) referring to a potentially deficient "mother in the making" (ibid: 372). That is why they consider the term "mother midwife" as a more appropriate characterisation of the central profession in the German early preventive services. Analysing case-meetings of early support professionals, Cloos, Gerstenberg and Krähnert (2019) show that case-processing was strongly oriented towards respect to the relevance and documentation requirements of the child protection agency. However, interview based-research shows that family midwives quite reflexively deal with the tensions and conflicts that result from the task of "supporting" families and the often implicit assignment of "control" when involved in high risk cases (Zeller et al. 2020).

However, most studies focused either on interactions with clients or on meetings with homogeneous professional groups (see Cloos et al. 2019). Research conducted on the "doing family" within the framework of case-conferences, and the boundary work regarding prevention and intervention are scarce and are mainly based on interviews (Bühler-Niederberger et al. 2014; Franzheld 2017). There is only limited research investigating meetings between different professions (however see Saario 2015; Nikander 2003; Retkowski 2012) and the collective construction of cases in the context of the double orientation of the German child protection system.

4 Analytical perspective: doing family in welfare practices

In contrast to the focus on everyday practices in families prevalent in the doing family literature, we argue that practices relevant to the fashioning of contemporary families also happen in situations in which family members are not physically present, for instance in case-meetings of social workers (e.g. Nikander 2003), or in any other instance of welfare practices that deal with families or their members.

For the reconstruction of "doing family" on the level of welfare practices, our project draws on practice theory (Schatzki 2002) and applies a combination of ethnographic methods, including participant observation of case-meetings in early preventive services and early support networks as well as an analysis of official regulatory documents and forms that are used for the processing of cases. We follow Nicolinis (2017: 101) methodological position of a "connected situationalism". We argue that the unit of analysis should not be restricted to a single scene of action or performance of "doing family", rather the situated performance "is inextricably linked to what is happening in another 'here and now' or what has happened in another 'here and now' in the past" (ibid: 102). Such an approach reflects our insight into the methodological necessity of exceeding the boundaries of what can be observed in situ (see e.g. Kelle 2015; Dahmen 2022). For instance, when social workers consider a family applying for an early support programme, specific institutionalised routines are activated to determine their needs, preexisting, explicit (often legal) and implicit categories are made relevant, and specific data regarding the case is recorded and documented – all of which prefigure the situation, yet only come into existence in people's activities. The combination of a reconstruction of practices and document analysis in our research project is based on Smith's (2001) approach of institutional ethnography, which focuses on documents that help mediate between official forms of knowledge and practices on site: "[…] texts (or documents) are essential to the objectification of organisations and institutions and to how they exist as such. […] exploring how texts mediate, regulate, and authorise people's activities expands the scope of ethnographic method beyond the limits of observation" (ibid.: 160)

In such a perspective, legal rules and prescriptions written down in policy documents and organisational forms structure, mediate, and translate institutional and organisational practices. They act as "higher order regulatory frames" (Smith 2005: 200) that prefigure but do not determine the course of local activities. Already on the level of policy design, early preventive services come with specific ideas and categories of the family, for instance, regarding their needs and the appropriateness of specific (preventive or protective) interventions. Nevertheless, Smith starts from the standpoint of particular actors in everyday situations and constellations in order to reconstruct institutional and organisational prefiguration. As the literature review has shown, we may expect diverse instances of "doing family" embedded in the

process of institutional categorization. We identify professional meetings as a central site in which case construction is materialising in situated "doings and sayings" (Schatzki 2002). Furthermore, particularly organisational scholars point to the fact that meetings constitute highly relevant sites for the reproduction of organisations (see e.g. Belliger/Krieger 2016). They constitute a "key process that actually produces and reproduces organizations and individual attitudes and perceptions about them in an ongoing fashion" (McPhee/Zaug 2000, cited in Scott, et al. 2015: 21). We follow a particular strand of organisational research which conceives meetings as a central site of "sensemaking" (Weick 1995; Weick et al. 2005; Scott et al. 2015) in which groups work together through ongoing symbolic interaction to understand events that occur in their environment, interpret them, and develop collective, coordinated responses. In the following analysis, center stage is given to the way cases are collectively categorised and classified. A special focus will be put on the way cases are made "institutionally actionable" (Smith 2005), that is, "talked into being" in "the generalized forms in which they become recognizable and accountable across the local settings of institutional work" (ibid.: 186). We conceive doing family as an ongoing accomplishment of professionals that draw on, mobilise and activate specific institutionalised resources (amongst others, specific juridico-legal definitions of eligibility for services and professional knowledge). We conceive "doing family" through and in Social Work as a collective (epistemic) categorisation practice (Bergmann 2014) in which acceptable organisational descriptions and case-categories are produced.

5 Empirical Analysis

The data presented here stems from a larger corpus of material collected in the context of the DFG project "Risk-assessment and case processing in early prevention and child protection". In two large cities in North Rhine-Westphalia, professionals working in the municipal early support networks were observed and interviewed, and documents were collected that guide and structure their work practice. The following material is an excerpt from an observation protocol of a meeting of professionals that takes place in the local youth welfare office. In addition to coordinating the municipal early support network, the staff of this office is also responsible to decide on incoming requests for early intervention measures. Their task is to see whether the request for a family midwife or a family health and paediatric nurse (FGKiKP) should be granted.

The process of deciding on a request for an early support follows a specific, organisationally prespecified process: For instance, an official guideline urges professionals to consider specific eligibility criteria. Family midwives are defined as a "*pre-*

ventive offer": "the offer of a family midwife is located in advance of a help in education[5]" and conceptualised as having "***no control mandate*** *in the framework of child protection*" (emphasis in original, our translation). The document then describes that the goal of a support through family midwives is the "*life practical support of (becoming) mothers/fathers"; the "promotion of health of mother and infant"* and the support of parents in "*building relationships and becoming more self-reliant with their infant"*. The document also describes exclusion criteria for the eligibility of a family midwife (parents have to "*voluntarily* accept" the support and that there are no indications that the child's wellbeing is "*endangered*").

However, these institutional guidelines do tell us little about the local implementation of these rules and their interpretation on the ground. In practice, referring to Weick's sense-making perspective, the organised, patterned character of early intervention is "developed and maintained through continuous communication activity, during which participants evolve equivalent understandings around issues of common interest" (Weick 1995: 75). Thus, on the local level, applying rules to cases requires an interpretative stance by the parties involved.

In the following extracts, we analyse how participants in case meetings achieve local coordination through collectively establishing categorisations of cases. By mapping the everyday-level emergence of organisational practice, we attempt to describe the "category-generative and category-reinforcing work" (Nikander 2003: 125) in the interprofessional meetings in question and show how cases are constructed not least through referring to specific constructions of the family's needs and characteristics. In the course of a case conference, the staff members discuss requests at least in pairs. First, the staff member who received a request (in this case, Ms. Preuss) presents it in short sentences to her colleagues.

> Ms Preuss says "the mother" had made a request for a family midwife. She has another older child and is now pregnant. The delivery date is just within a week. She had the older child when she was 16 and had Ms Kramm as her family midwife at that time. The father of the current baby is not the father of the older child. The first child was born by emergency caesarean section and then had to be transferred so that she could not breastfeed the baby directly. As a result, breastfeeding was no longer possible, even though the

5 "Help in education" [Hilfen zur Erziehung], refers to a specific legal code (§27, SGB VIII) in German youth welfare legislation. It states that parents have a right to receive support "if an upbringing in accordance with the best interests of the child or adolescent is not guaranteed and the assistance is suitable and necessary for his or her development" (§27 SGB VIII, own translation). Albeit conceived as a formal right of parents for support, it usually involves a more profound assessment of the capacity of the parents to care for the children and requires a formal demand by the parents. As such it implies a specific construction of deficient parenthood (see Schrödter et al. 2020).

> mother had wanted it. The mother said she wanted to resume her training as a part-time geriatric nurse after maternity leave. That would also mean shift work. According to the mother, the father would then stay at home with the child. However, he is a first-time father and as Ms Preuss understood, the mother thinks that the father is a bit too careless and clueless about the matter. He would always say that he would manage it. The mother is worried whether she would notice if something did not go so well. That is why the mother asked the father if it is okay for him to have another person coming to advise him. He said he was fine with that. Ms Preuss says the pregnancy is going without any problems. However, the woman has not taken a birth preparation course and does not have a follow-up midwife. Ms Deuter says in a mixture of amusement and irony that everything is "tutti" again. *(Excerpt from observation protocol 9, Amanda Edler)*

Within the extract we can see that specific characteristics are attributed to the mother: It is noticeable, for example, that the mother's age is discussed retrospectively with reference to her being a minor when she had her first child. This characterises the woman as a 'teenage mother', although she is now in her mid-20s.The reference to breastfeeding and the highlighting of the mother's desire to breastfeed does not appear in the official guidelines, nevertheless, it connects to the image of a responsible mother, equipped with knowledge of developmental benefits of breastfeeding. The image of 'responsible motherhood' also becomes relevant in the mention of the mother's planned return to education after maternity leave as well as in her concern about whether the child's father will be able to adequately care for the baby despite his lack of experience. Contrastively, the mention of the lack of antenatal classes and the aftercare midwife invokes the impression of irresponsibility, which is directly understood and evaluated by the colleague with the ironical expression everything was "tutti" again, thus labeling the request as a somewhat 'clear case'. In this form of processing the request a case is paradoxically constructed before the team decides whether it is a case for early support or not.

The staff member responsible for the enquiry reports the case in a decidedly condensed manner. A range of categorisations and events are turned into and presented as a meaningful whole, a process Czarniawka (2004) has termed "emplotment". The presentation of a complex case in narrative form enables people "to talk about absent things and to connect them with present things in the interest of meaning" (Weick 1995: 129). At the same time, within the narrative, the case is already preformatted in specific institutional categories and meanings: specific characteristics of the case are highlighted – for instance, the mention of the first cesarean birth or the father's voluntary acceptance of help ("he is fine with it") as well. The plot creates a picture of a family where early prevention has been provided in the past, with a mother asking for support who is both responsible (wanting to breastfeed, continuing her ed-

ucation) and irresponsible (missing prenatal classes, potentially absent due to shift work) and a frivolous, inexperienced father. Different aspects of the situation become arranged into a narrative plot that produces a specific outcome – in this case – a potential eligibility for a family midwife.

The purpose of passing on all this information is to provide the colleagues with a picture of the family or the situation through certain categorisations, which form the basis for assessing whether the request is a potential case for a family midwife – and thus a case for early support or not. For this purpose, the responsible staff member gathers information about the family that is suitable in the context of the practice of "case assessment" in order to design a "case of x" (Bergmann 2014: 20). The categorisations and typifications link to a "tacit knowledge" (ibid., our translation) that the professionals acquire and share by gathering experience and through "learning on the job" (ibid.). By categorising and typifying the family situation, staff produces and translates a complex reality into (organisationally and situationally) acceptable categories, thus making the request "institutionally actionable" (Smith 2005).

This practice becomes particularly relevant against the background of the need for constant boundary work in early prevention services. Negotiating, defining, and updating boundaries is one of the central aspects of the case work of professionals. This includes the negotiation of responsibilities of the professionals involved in a case beyond professional and organisational boundaries as well as the constant demarcation of the offer of the family midwife from more intervening measures granted by the youth welfare office (see above). This also becomes clear in the further course of the case review:

> Ms Preuss then asked the mother if she had ever received help from the Youth Welfare Office, since she had had her first child very early. The mother denied this. However, Ms Preuss had found a file on the son and also a "JGH file" [juvenile court[6]]. In the course of the case meeting, now the question is whether she would look into the file again first. Ms Deuter: "Just when she says she had nothing..." [meaning no help from the Youth Welfare]. She continues that sometimes it would only have been a consultation or something, which was then forgotten, but this "everything is fine, I don't care about anything for now ... and then the files ... strange". Ms Preuss says that they should have a look at the "JGH" and the "ASD" [meaning a file of the general social services at the Youth Welfare Office], might be the older son, "maybe custody or contact". She would like to take a look first. Ms Deuter agrees and says that if there is more, it would be good to talk to the woman again first. Ms Deuter and Ms Preuss discuss that Ms Deuter should request the files. Ms Deuter says that Ms Preuss should call Ms Kramm (the potential family

6 In Germany, the Youth Welfare Office provides support to minors in case the latter are indicted by a penal juvenile court, in accordance with § 52 SGB VIII.

> midwife) today and tell her that she has an enquiry that they are still looking into, and "does that ring a bell". Ms Preuss says that she could then give the mother feedback next week. Ms Deuter asks whether the father is "known". Ms Preuss denies that and says she would check it directly. "He also has a JGH." Ms Deuter laughs: "Very nice! Before that we have somebody that is prone to violent behavior to take care of the child. Wonderful." *(Excerpt from Observation Protocol 9, Amanda Edler)*

In this sequence, we see that the construction of the case is a collective issue. For instance, Ms Preuss questions the veracity of the mother's statement that she has not been in contact with the youth welfare office in the past and mentions an existing case-record. The discrepancy between the mother's statement and the existence of files raises suspicion ("strange"). This leads the group to check the record of the father, who also has a juvenile court case-file. The image of the case in-the-making is put into question, and participants agree upon to take a look into the case files before proceeding to a decision. The (ironic) comment by Ms Deuter ("very nice…") articulates what is known about the case with what is conjectural, not known. As the father has a juvenile court case file, there is a possibility that he has a disposition to resort to violence. The collective sensemaking through narrative accounts of cases (see Weick 2012) allows to discern unwanted consequences and raise collective awareness in order to make a case 'decidable'.

In a more general sense, we see that a variety of material and discursive supports for the construction of the case are employed. Specific institutional vocabularies, implicit, tacit knowledge about the appropriate age of parental responsibility, but also case files and the technical infrastructure (personal computer and database) that make this information accessible within the meeting. In addition, a form of boundary work becomes evident (Klatetzki 2013). The whole process of examination is not only scrutinised against the question of eligibility and fit of an early support, but also regarding the question of whether "there is more". This wording – "if there is more" – is a recurring ethno-category in the data collected. It refers to a permanent mode in the case assessment practice of early support, which arises from the necessity to distinguish the preventive offer of early support from the more interventive field of help in education (HzE) or even potential child protection cases. The formal rule that family midwives should only be granted in cases in which no endangerment of the child welfare exists (see official guideline above) leads, paradoxically, to the constant (practical) need to prove "if there is more". What we encounter here is an instance of boundary drawing in which the limits between prevention and intervention are negotiated and interactionally accomplished. While the official definition of "family midwives" is fixed in relevant textual devices, it needs to be continually re-actualised, negotiated and adapted to specific cases. This explains the vigilance and the suspicion displayed by Ms. Preuss when it comes to the mother's ambiguous

statement regarding previous support. The collective work of categorisation thus, on the one hand, serves to establish the case as lying below a certain threshold (that of a potential child protection case). At the same time, in the course of the constant review of the boundary, the organisational requirement to comply with responsibilities and to ensure procedural formality is dealt with. Nevertheless, a clear demarcation between early prevention, the more interventive measures of help in education or a child protection case is often blurry. Although the formal rules of the youth welfare office contain criteria that exclude early intervention services, everyday practice with the cases reveals a continuum in the simultaneity of preventive and interventive measures. This means that the professionals have to deal with a flexible, case-specific delimitation and the negotiation of responsibilities on a permanent basis.

As a conclusion, we see that the "higher-order regulatory framework" (Smith 2005: 200) of a clear distinction between early support measures and more interventive measures that is at the core of recent reforms of the German child protection system leads to an increased need for coordination on the local level, in order to define if a family is "at risk" or not. The ethno-category "is there more" functions as a proxy that can be called upon by professionals to evaluate the demarcation between preventive and interventional measures for each individual case.

6 Conclusion: doing family as categorisation work in welfare practices

In this contribution we argued that institutional realities are not simply "there", much more, they are structured through specific frames, concepts and categories that are partly embedded in texts that "are central in subordinating individual subjectivities to institutionally generated realities" (Smith 2005: 187–88). We have described that already on the policy level, early support operates with contradictory, ambiguous goals. On the one side, they are conceived as low-threshold, voluntary and supporting measures for all (expectant) parents regarding the care of children (prevention) – on the other side, they are supposed to be strongly inscribed in a network that increasingly focuses on an early identification of potential child protection cases and families in "problematic situations" (NZFH 2016). As we have shown, contradictions arising from this twofold orientation do also condense in the everyday practices of welfare professionals, more particularly, in case-meetings when they have to decide upon the eligibility for a family midwife. The local definition of early prevention establishes a clear, binary separation between "controlling" (potentially involuntary, more invasive child-protection) and "preventive" measures. In doing so, it depicts a clear image of the ideal-typical client of early support and maintains specific, clearly distinguishable juridico-legal case categories. Based on our data, we have shown that in everyday practice, the 'official' definition of early support needs to be re-enacted locally. While textual devices identify, stabilise and institutionalise

specific case-categories, they ultimately have to be talked into being through a communicative process. Our contribution has shown that this involves different forms of boundary drawing. Firstly, boundary work as a categorisation practice between preventive support and controlling interventions. Secondly a form of boundary drawing regarding the question if a family is considered as an appropriate case for family midwives. With reference to Burkhardt Müllers (2017) distinction between a "case of" (for instance, an overburdened mother) and a "case for" (for instance a case for a family midwive), our data shows that both dimensions of case-construction are inextricably intermingled.

We argue that the categorisation work described in our case-study constitutes a specific instance of "doing family". In order to make a case decidable, case workers need to take the information they have gathered about the family, and about the mother in particular, and put it into a plot that can be translated into organisationally and situationally acceptable categories. Case workers narrate the 'story' of the family and the mother in a way that already draws inferences regarding the appropriate intervention and specific legal-jurisdictional categories of support. For instance, the focus on previous pregnancies, health status and age of the mother make sense when considering that family midwives primarily are health professionals and early support measures often focus on the parent's competencies to deliver appropriate care (Patschke 2016). This claim is supported by previous research that shows that the way "family" is "done" within welfare practices strongly differs according to different welfare support measures or professional context (see e.g., Bühler-Niederberger et. al 2013; Zeller et al. 2020; see also Jurczyk et al. in this volume). Adding to this research, our example shows that the doing and making of family seems to be entangled with legal administrative categorisations of the welfare state as well as with tacit and implicit knowledge on appropriate motherhood. Only through translating and applying this knowledge in a collective process, the case becomes an institutionally actionable reality.

For future research, we firstly suggest to broaden the research focus on the various sites and practices which participate in the doing and making of families. Secondly, we highlight the need for a stronger contextualisation of these practices: How the way families are "done" strongly depends on the context of particular practices, and specific local constructions of family are done with reference to different contexts. Against the background of a practice-based perspective (Schatzki 2002; Nicolini 2017), the doing and making of families, and the situated positioning of actors unfolds within a specific practice. In this view, it is the practices themselves that determine what the participants have to do in order to fulfill the respective practical goals and requirements (Dahmen 2022). Research that foregrounds the inherent logic of practices accentuates the embeddedness of doing family in particular practices that, in our empirical examples, are designed to provide services and functions of preventive family support.

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Practices of doing difference in relation to families

Reflections on the collaboration of early education and early intervention

Simone Seitz and Catalina Hamacher

1 Introduction

The current discourses on early education in individual countries are interwoven with international agendas and in this context influenced by two overarching trends. On the one hand, the increased output orientation and standardisation in education in line with the OECD's Large-Scale Assessment Studies is intensively debated (Pereyra et al. 2011). On the other hand, a growing relevance of high-quality education oriented towards equity and inclusion can be observed in the discourses, referring to the 2030 Agenda (United Nations 2015, 2017). Both trends coincide with higher degrees of enrollment in institutional (all-day) types of early education. These international impulses are each discursively processed at national level in specific ways and change meanings in relation to the varying traditions and regulative frames. In the case of Germany, both impulses come up against a field in early education that is still structurally characterised by an overarching insufficient availability of childcare, especially for young children up to the age of three, as well as a clear shortage of qualified staff in the field of early education (Fachkräftebarometer 2021; Baader et al. 2019). The coverage rate of care and education for young children in Germany has been rather low in international comparison for a long time, with types of half-day care dominating, and is still inconsistent in many regions. Critically discussed in that context are first of all the inequality-reinforcing effectiveness of habitus-related practices of families when enrolling their children and of kindergartens when allocating the (often rare) places for young children (Hogrebe et al. 2021). At the same time the staff's field of work in kindergartens have become much more complex and multi-layered in the last decade, e.g., in terms of documentation of children's development and interprofessional collaboration (Kuhn 2013: 17; Cloos 2017).

Overall, in Germany the increasing institutionalisation of (early) childhood is intensively discussed and often described as the central challenge for early education

(Tervooren 2021) while inclusion-related quality requirements for early education are hardly taken up in that frame (Seitz et al. 2012; Seitz et al. 2021). Similarly, indicated changes for the system of early intervention, which was established to support families and children in case of developmental problems or a diagnosed "disability" of young children are rarely discussed, even though early intervention has predominantly worked in the home of families and outreach with children and their parents (Sohns 2010). The increasing early enrollment of young children in (inclusive) kindergartens, thus, obviously affects the structure and practice of early intervention– for the relationship between professionals and families as well as for the collaboration and networking with early education institutions like kindergarten (Seitz 2012; Seitz/Hamacher 2021). In summary, relations between kindergartens and families on the one hand and early intervention centres and families on the other hand, are deeply influenced by the fact that more children enter kindergarten earlier in their lifetime. Inversely, the described developments are accompanied by far-reaching consequences for the positioning of families in policies and in the educational practice.

In the following, we will take up the related research desideratum by looking at specific processes of attributing (special) needs to young children under the condition of collaboration of (inclusive) kindergartens and early intervention centres and discussing them in the light of the relationship between early education and families. For this purpose, we first summarise the state of the art of research on the role of families in relation to kindergartens as well as in relation to early intervention from the perspective of educational (in)equity and inclusion in order to make our analyses more understandable by means of empirical examples. In the conclusion, this is made clear with regard to the production of inequality-relevant difference.

2 Families and children's enrollment in early education and early intervention

Early education in Germany is deeply shaped by federalism. Regulations and laws are decentralised which leads to considerably varying frame conditions and a heterogeneous implementation of the required education partnership between kindergartens and families in the different regions (Knör 2022). In contrast to many other countries, early education in Germany is part of the child and youth welfare services and not of the school system. For this reason, the relationship between families and kindergartens is discussed here in a specific way and has been the subject of various debates during the last decades (Friedrich 2011).

In the political debates at the international level, the enrollment of young children in kindergartens is predominantly associated with the reconciliation of parents' employment as well as with the promotion of children considered "disadvan-

taged" and their targeted support, which brings up high requirements on the professionalism of educators (Garvis et al. 2021). Policy discourse often emphasizes that children from families with a low socioeconomic status benefit in particular ways from high-quality early education (Siraj-Blatchford et al. 2002). In Germany, the increasing early enrollment of young children is is also associated with changed family situations in terms of dual-income. In addition, there is a noticeable number of references to the disappointing results of the large-scale-assessment studies (PISA) and the related idea of early and effective acquisition of competencies in the frame of institutional education (critically: Seitz/Finnern 2015). In particular, supporting children from families with assumed family-related problems is often higlighted (Knör 2022; Seitz et al. 2012), and an expanded access to families is legitimised, among other things, by the regularly proven strong correlations between social situatedness and children's educational success in the German education system (Ditton 2013). In consequence, and according to the educational programmatic imperatives about "education from the very beginning", policy debates often adress kindergartens for being responsible for the early reduction of social and educational inequialities (critically: Krönig 2018). In this context, the recent development of transforming kindergartens to family centres is closely associated with the early identification and reachability of "at-risk families" in a targeted manner (Knör 2022). Under the claim of being open to families in the social and cultural environment, those family centres include support services for children as well as counselling and educational services for families (Engelhardt 2016: 10; Diller 2010: 144). In this way, normative demands in the context of early education are linked with compensatory offers in the sense of social pedagogical paradigms and the whole families are focused on as pedagogical addressees in early edcuation (Geib et al. 2020).

The early intervention system which can be seen as a parallel system is rarely brought into focus in this context, despite the fact that the majority of children that benefit of early intervention live in economic poverty and get diagnosed in a rather diffuse way as "at risk of disability" (Weiß 2010). Since most of the very young children remained in the families until the age of three or four, when the early intervention system had been implemented in the 1970s, early intervention was dominated until 2013 by types of outpatient offers for young children aged zero to six, indicated by pediatricians and taking place either in the families' homes or in early intervention centers. The system was conceived as an interdisciplinary field aimed at compensation and inclusion (integration, to use the old term). At the regulatory level, both interventions for the medical rehabilitation of a diagnosed child and related services are thus grouped under the heading of early intervention, which provides an interdisciplinary coordinated system of medical, medical-therapeutic, psychological and special educational services (such as diagnosis, early identification, therapy, support, parental counselling and networking). Early intervention has therefore long been seen as a bridge between families with very young children who are con-

sidered to have special needs and regular or special types of kindergartens, although in Germany, in contrast to other European countries, early intervention services end when children enter school (Wohlfart 2021; Drabble 2013; Carpenter et al. 2009).

In the discourse on early education in kindergartens, influenced by inclusive early education research, a right-based approach is widely accepted, concretised in concepts that build on participation seen as a social practice (Prengel 2014; Seitz et al. 2021). In contrast, the scientific discourse around early intervention is recognizably shaped by the mandate to provide individualized support and training to young children who are considered at risk of disability (SGB IX), in order to ensure their future participation and to generate the acceptance of a "disabled" child in its "specificity" in the family (Blackburn 2019). The direct involvement of families and caregivers in the support process is therefore often mentioned as a unique feature of early intervention compared to kindergarten (Weiß 2019: 24). While this was initially dominated by the notion of parents as co-therapists who are coached by early intervention staff on how to teach their child to develop and learn according to norms, this has shifted over the last two decades or so to a view of families as experts on their child and partners with professionals (Odom/Wolery 2001) – but often still associated with a shared focus on children's school readiness. In that early intervention discourse, the early enrolment of young children in kindergarten is partly adressed as a risk, in the sense that the importance of the family orientation postulate is diminished (Sarimski 2013). This suggests that the relationship to the family in early intervention has long been substantially different from how it has been conceived in early education. Taken together, it can be said that the positioning of families in the early intervention discourse is significantly different from that in the early education discourse, which has implications for the following findings and reflections on the collaboration of both systems.

3 Inclusive education, early education and early intervention

In addition to the quantitative expansion of childcare for young children, a specific challenge of the elementary sector is the current quality of inclusive early education (Seitz et al. 2012; Seitz et al. 2021). Framework conditions for inclusive education in kindergartens in Germany (above all group size and childcare ratios) differ considerably between regions in Germany (Autorengruppe Bildungsbericht 2020). Another characteristic is a significant increase in the number of children whose development is assessed as potentially at risk and who receive early intervention support (ibid.: 88; Bollig 2013).

This is accompanied by the aforementioned structural changes along the interface of two pedagogical fields – early education and early intervention. Since 2010, services of early intervention can be used in kindergartens and thus shift more

strongly into early education facilities (framework agreement North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), § 131 SGB IX). This is initially a clear impulse for change in the early intervention system, which until then, as an interdisciplinary service, focused on the family and was primarily active in outreach work, especially with young children who were mostly not yet enroled in institutional care and education (Sohns 2010). The resulting high barriers of bringing early intervention by specialized institutions to young children and their families has long been under (self-)critical discussion in the field of early intervention (Richter-Kornweitz/Weiß 2014). An early entry of young children into institutional care thus challenges the early intervention system on the one hand to self-assure with regard to the claim of interdisciplinarity and addressing families across the entire social spectrum, and on the other hand to conceptually coordinate its own educational framework with kindergartens (Hamacher 2020). This also implies new collaboration requirements with early intervention for the kindergarten institution, as well as for reflection and readjustment of the cooperation with families (Geib et al. 2020; Hamacher 2020). However, research findings indicate that early intervention in kindergartens is still often characterized by separative and individual therapeutic measures (Wölfl et al. 2017: 36 f.) and that feedback from early intervention specialists to everyday kindergarten life is rare (Seelhorst et al. 2012; Seitz/Korff 2008; Seitz/Hamacher 2019). In addition, inclusion research shows that models for implementing child-centered support in everyday kindergarten life and avoiding the exclusion of individual children prove to be a crucial hinge (Feuser 1984; Seitz/Korff 2008: 28; Seitz et al. 2021), as this influences children's perception of diversity and their social behavior (Joyce-Finnern 2017).

Overall, it can be stated that the embedding of inclusion-related professional action in multi-professional organizational cultures as well as the subject-related knowledge discourses, which still diverge considerably between kindergarten and early education centres (Hamacher 2020), are not yet related to the postulate of close cooperation between different professions and organizations within the framework of inclusive early education (Sulzer/Wagner 2011).

As we show in more detail in our study on cooperation between early education and early intervention (Seitz/Hamacher 2022) in North Rhine-Westphalia, cooperative practices in inclusive early education do not necessarily lead to a fruitful combination of different perspectives and thus "automatically" to an increase in the quality of inclusive education (Hamacher 2020). One of the reasons for this is that the missions of early intervention and early education cannot easily be brought together without contradictions, and that this has consequences for participation and inclusion, but above all for the (re)production of inequity in practices of collaboration. This is exemplified by the fact that in the organisational knowledge discourses of kindergartens and Early Intervention Centres, different understandings of participation are used, which, in summary, are more clearly associated with co-determination and agency of children in kindergartens, while in Early Intervention Cen-

tres this is more strongly associated with future-oriented social participation and is thereby thought of in presuppositional terms (Seitz/Hamacher 2022).

In view of the structural fact that the granting of early intervention, and thus the attribution of an individual need for support, is dependent on the consent of the parents, it becomes apparent here that the cooperation between kindergarten, early intervention and the family is fraught with conflict. This is because, as a result of the early entry of children, and at the same time the increasing task of documenting children's development, the responsibility of educational professionals with regard to the assessment of children's development increases and requires communication with families. In addition, the cooperation of kindergartens with families now comes into communication with the structures and practices of cooperation with families on the part of early intervention. Specifically, educators often find themselves in the situation of convincing families of young children to enter into a diagnostic process, which, according to the law, must result in a documented diagnosis of "impending disability" (SGB IX; Section 46) in order to be able to apply for early intervention (Hamacher 2020) and to coordinate the necessary support with early intervention centers and specialists.

It has been shown that in case-related cooperation between early childhood education and early intervention, it is primarily inequality-relevant constructions of difference that are used with regard to the children's family circumstances as soon as there is a structural dependency on the creation of a "risk" (Hamacher 2020). Due to the high developmental differences, especially in young children, fragile diagnoses of developmental deficits are used, which are often linked to hegemonic notions of normality (Seitz/Hamacher 2021; see also: McLaughlin et al. 2016: 14), but then lead to pathologization.

Overall, the concept of "educational partnership" has long been an elementary component of both early education (Fröhlich-Gildhoff 2013) and early intervention (Sohns 2010), but when it comes to inclusion-oriented cooperation between early education and early intervention in the sense of interprofessional networking, it is clear that many practice-relevant issues and embedded ambivalences and practice-relevant questions remain largely unresolved.

4 Positioning of families in early education and early intervention

The dual structure of the tasks of enabling parents to work and acting as a compensator when family education is deemed "inadequate" runs through the historical development of daycare centers (Thon et al. 2018). The focus has always been on targeting children in so-called "disadvantaged" living conditions – combined with the aim of reducing inequality through early education. Compensatory functions of early education were therefore at the center of controversial discussions, especially in the

1990s, and are still brought into the debate today with reference to the above-mentioned output orientation (see also critically: Seitz/Hamacher 2021). Among other things, the criticism refers to the deficit view that is directed at families (Betz et al. 2019) and can thus be distinguished from notions of normality. This is because compensation is often justified in contrast to what is defined as a "good" family and developmental environment for children, from which a deficit is assumed (Zehbe/Cloos 2021; Joos et al. 2018; Knör 2022).Regardless of this, approaches to compensatory education via preventive instruments, which were thought to have been overcome, are flourishing again in the context of the empirical findings on a particularly close link between socio-economic status and educational success in the German education system (Ditton 2013).

Preventive and early measures with regard to educational and developmental trajectories initially appear to be a compellingly logical strategy (critically: Seitz/Hamacher 2019). However, the offers and reactions based on this are often activated in particular in relation to families that are seen as being at risk for an "optimal" development of a child. Characteristics such as a low level of education of parents, a low socioeconomic status or unplanned parenthood are often identified as risk factors (critically: Bollig 2013; Hamacher 2020). The construct of a childhood at risk that has been created in this way is contrasted with the concept of a "normal" childhood. A large number of studies point out that certain life situations, such as economic poverty for children, are definitely associated with concrete negative consequences (Groos/Jehles 2015; Andresen/Hurrelmann 2007). Therefore, such dynamics do not seem surprising at first glance, but children are often assigned a child-related (special educational) need for support even before they start school due to an ascriptively attributed risk, which as a negative labelling is momentous for their later educational career (Seitz/Finnern 2015; Grüter/Kottmann 2018).

As mentioned above, in the field of early intervention parents and caregivers are explicitly called upon to contribute to the promotion of their children (Sohns 2010) and concrete support services not only refer to the child and its development, but are also directed towards counselling parents on parent-child interaction. The family is thus identified as an essential resource for child development. Parental concerns are therefore of high importance in the context of early intervention (Lütolf et al. 2019: 28 f.; Klein 2019). Taking together the considerations made so far, it becomes apparent that the activation of cooperative relationships between early education and early intervention centres and the relocation of early intervention practice to kindergartens is highly significant for the cooperation with families and their positioning. This is taken up further in the following and discussed with research findings from a completed study.

5 The positioning of families in collaboration of early education and early intervention

The substantive aim of our study "Collaboration of Early Education and Early Intervention" (2016–2019), the results of which we refer to, was to gain closer knowledge about how collaboration of Early Education and Early Intervention can contribute to strengthening children's participation when they are explicitly asked to collaborate (in more detail Seitz/Hamacher 2019; Hamacher 2020; Hamacher/Seitz 2020; Seitz/Hamacher 2022). In the present contribution we focus on selected findings regarding the positioning of families within the collaboration.

5.1 Research design

To address the research question, the regulatory, conceptual and practical levels were interlinked to allow a deeper understanding of conceptions, regulations and action guiding orientations regarding interprofessional collaboration of early education and early intervention. On the basis of quantitatively evaluated online questionnaires (see in detail Seitz/Hamacher 2019), qualitative data was collected by means of group discussions and focused observations. The data was analysed using Documentary Method (Bohnsack et al. 2010; Nohl 2017; Bohnsack 2017) which draws on the sociology of knowledge in the tradition of Karl Mannheim (1979 [1931]) and asks in a praxeological understanding which action-guiding orientations are documented in what is said (Bohnsack 2017), or what underlies it. In this way, implicit structures of meaning (orientation frameworks) can be reconstructed. Additionally, interviews with parents were conducted, categorised with content analysis (Mayring 2010) and analysed specifically in order to relate them to the previously evaluated data. The study covered seven regions in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW). The focus in this article is on the practical level of action within the collaboration with regard to the positioning of families. We illustrate our considerations exemplarily by means of reconstructions of dense sequences of a group discussion and an interview with a parent.

5.2 The family in the focus of case constitutions

In a group discussion in the outskirts of a large city in North Rhine Westfalia, two professionals from the early intervention centre are present, as well as two pedagogical professionals and the head of the kindergarten. Just before, the actors have been talking about the common interface of working with families. The following sequence gives an example of how the accessibility of families in the cooperation is raised and addressed by a specialist from the kindergarten (group discussion 5, paragraph 4, 2018):

> "For the collaboration with the parents (short pause), I think it has pros and cons. In a kindergarten it's OK to have conversations without the (short pause) feeling that a superior institution wants to impose something on me or tell me that my child has something. On the other hand, there are also parents who need exactly that in order to understand that their children need more. […] Depending on which families we have, we watch them accordingly. In this case, for example, we notice that the access to Early Intervention is very difficult for them […]. There are families whom you need to say "OK, we'd rather do it at the Early Intervention centre", because you might reach the parents better, because the kindergarten might be a nice place to play, but might not be taken as seriously as another institution."

In this sequence of the group discussion, it becomes clear that one experience dominates: There are various parents who can either facilitate or complicate cooperation between early education and early intervention. This is preceded by the assumption that the kindergarten is perceived by parents as a familiar place. On the one hand, this has a positive connotation, since conversations with families can take place at eye level in the kindergarten, and on the other hand, it is implicitly designed as problematic if certain families seem to be difficult to address via professionals. Since there is an assumption that the kindergarten is taken less "seriously" by families, the involvement of early intervention is relied upon if families only unwillingly connect to the early intervention logic. The fact that professionals perceive and identify an additional need – in the sense of an need for early intervention – of a child is outlined as a challenging situation for the collaboration with families, which can be better dealt with being supported by the early intervention professionals. This experience is generated at the beginning of the group discussion in narrative mode and is deepened again later. The actors from the kindergarten present here consistently perceive the early intervention centre as a cooperation partner whose status can facilitate accessibility in the sense of the parents' consent to the activation of additional support. This is based on the assumption that Early Intervention is attributed a higher level of professionalism also by the parents, and that they thus support the educators in their negotiations with the parents.

The kindergarten as a "familiar place" is thus assumed as ambivalent, because the required informal partnership between parents and professionals seems to be accompanied by a loss of the latter's expert status, as it were, and this makes the negotiation about a perceived deviance in the child's development more difficult. At the same time, practices of doing difference become visible both between children and between Early Education and Early Intervention, because the child has to be clearly declared as one who "has something" and "needs more" and thus explicitly establishes a difference from the norm, although this is not described in more detail, but remains diffuse. There is a productive twist to the contexts, because the

attributed higher expert status of the Early Intervention staff is used efficiently to align the perspective of the families with that of the professionals. Overall, in the group discussions (more precisely Hamacher 2020), families are strikingly often attributed a fundamentally sceptical attitude towards Early Intervention, which may underlie the experiences of the professionals.

In many group discussions, the regulatory dependency on the consent of families is presented as a problem to be tackled jointly, as cooperation between the kindergarten and early intervention center can be made more difficult or prevented by the parents. Families become particularly relevant for starting interprofessional collaboration when their actions are classified as an act of "undoing difference", in that they oppose the "right thing" – namely early intervention – and thus appear unreachable for the professionals (Hamacher 2020). Parental resistance to the declaration of the child as having "something" must therefore ultimately be resolved through various cooperative efforts in order to obtain the consent of the families in the alliance (Seitz/Hamacher 2021). In this way, the actions of the professionals are guided by the logic of differential action based on the developmental norm of the child and their family.

With another sequence from an individual interview with a mother, we show below how the collaboration with professionals is reflected from the families' point of view and then interweave the respective analyses (Interview 2, parent, 2018):

> "Because I actually go through the world with my eyes open […] Well, when you are a parent yourself, your view is actually like that. […] I actually try to take these blinders off regardless of my motherhood and just see "Hey, he just needs help and it won't disappear on its own and that's it". At the first moment you think, "Yeah, what have you done now? What was your education like?" Sure. So the perception of the kindergarten was also the one we have. And it was good that it was addressed very early. […] And we are simply people who are very open and deal with it very openly and don't directly say "it's not true".

The sequence illustrates a mother's perspective on both, working with early intervention professionals and on the process of identifying a specific early intervention need for her child. In this context, the mother refers to the distinction between parents who are easy to reach and those who are not – as in the previous excerpt from the group discussion. This is illustrated by the example of "openness", which in this sequence ensures smooth communication with professionals and stands for the family's accessibility. This form of positioning makes it clear that the mother assigns herself to the former and thus to the accessible parenthood. This refers to the mother's own field of vision, which from her point of view is linked to "motherhood" and thus naturalized. According to her, one of the criteria of accessible parent is the openness that is emphasized, which first of all marks the willingness to agree to an

impulse on the part of the professionals in order to be able to develop concordant perspectives on the same phenomenon.

If this sequence is related to the course of the group discussion just reconstructed, it becomes clear that an intervention in family systems can only have its implied effect if the professionals are granted expert status and at the same time cooperation at "eye level" is possible. In this context, "opening up" could mean that the parents allow themselves to be normalized because their own perspective can obviously be influenced by that of the professionals. The fact that one's own educational practices are questioned here in retrospect also implies that one feels called upon as a parent to be a "good" parent, to recognize and use opportunities for early support and to compensate for the "deficits" postulated here, and could therefore also be understood as an act of subjectivising normality (Foucault 1977).

Early intervention, which is attempted to be enforced in this way, thus calls on experts, parents and eductors to make decisions while neglecting the children's right to have a say. Addressing the mother as the responsible person evokes her consent to submit to the logic of support. If one assumes that parents fear a stigmatisation of the child outside the "norm" through social practices of doing difference and interpret observations by professionals as indications that aim at norms, the demarcation to the "non-normal" is marked and maintained by both parents and professionals. If, on the other hand, parents do not agree to these, this is often interpreted by the professionals as an individual sensitivity of them and the Early Intervention procedure is described as an important network in the sense of child protection.

Parents thus appear to be under pressure to successfully influence their child's educational success through their actions and decisions (Betz et al. 2019). The increasing standardization of child development in related policies (ibid.) can thus be read as a powerful call to identify, describe, and remedy even diffusely perceived developmental deficits at an early stage, for example through early intervention. This implies on the one hand the assumption of the effectiveness of such measures in the sense of an adaptation to the norm, but on the other hand the essentialization of difference through an unambiguous diagnosis to be accepted by consensus. The guidelines can thus be read as an indication of increasing normative practices.

6 Discussion

In the context of the justification and conception of diagnostic procedures in childhood, systemic ways of thinking about children and their development have come to the fore in recent decades. With particular reference to the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health of Children and Adolescents (World Health Organization 2007), these are often used as arguments to justify diagnostic tools and associated educational interventions (Pretis 2016). In this context, refer-

ence is made both to the educational sector and to a child's family environment. This can aim to contextualize the child's actions and activate potential in the child's environment (Geib 2020). However, as our study illustrates, this perspective can also take an unintended turn in the context of cooperation between early education and early intervention, because in the specific individual cases, problems of the family are constituted along ideas of normality, which are ultimately interpreted as problems of the child, so that cooperation can be legitimized along the perceived problematic situation of a child and their family.

Following our analyses (see also Hamacher 2020; Seitz/Hamacher 2022) interventions only follow the compilation of deficit-oriented characteristics of children's developmental processes and that measures are carried out accordingly. This can be explained by the fact that Early Intervention is only approved, even in the context of inclusive settings, if the child is made into a child "of risk" who differs from the norm (critically: Hamacher 2020). The professionals addressed in the investigated project are thus also called upon to act according to the logic of early warning systems in alliance with the mandates of early intervention and consequently find themselves in a field of tension. On the one hand, it seems necessary to develop diversity-sensitive and participation-promoting structures and practices in collaboration and, on the other hand, to ensure early intervention for individual children through corresponding practices of doing difference. Simultaneous demands of "early identification" and the implementation of an inclusive practice thus have an impact on professionals and on the cooperation with families via different mediating instances.

Contentwise and summarizing our study shows that in many cases the socioeconomic and ethnic background of children is read as predictor of developmental risk in the frame of collaboration. Family-related risks are constructed through the collaboration of Early Education and Early Intervention and fostered by technological concepts of normalcy as guiding principles. Family-related risk constructions go hand in hand with hegemonic practices and the collaboration of Early Day Care and Early Intervention becomes a space where families are asked for subjectivation as different and for disciplining.

The increasing implementation of Early Intervention in kindergartens in Germany could thus lead to more practices of legitimating specific interventions based on inequity-related constructions of family risks and child-related identifications of "difference" linked to them (Hamacher/Seitz 2019), which implies corresponding critical observations. Achieving the acceptance of difference in the sense of a "disability" on the part of the addressees and their families is a central special educational concern that ensures the subdiscipline as specific. It also seems to prevail in the cooperation between early education and early intervention reflected here. In the cooperation with families addressed as "problematic", resistance is apparently often interpreted as an insufficient processing of a "disability" of one's own child

and negotiated accordingly with power between professionals and parents (Amirpur 2021).

A next step for research could therefore be to analyse in more detail the role of institutions in the production of "disabled" children and the families of "disabled" children with respect to educational inequity. Furthermore, with a view to the changing interface between kindergartens and early intervention centres, it could be asked how settings, attitudes and oriental frames of early intervention influence the early education system and how settings of special education are reinstitutionalised in mainstream kindergartens. As could be shown, the implementation of early intervention in early education is structurally dependent on practices of doing difference in terms of dichotomous classifications (disabled/non-disabled), as this is the only way to generate resources.

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The making and doing of migrant (m)others in Germany – subjectivation in the context of early childhood education and care

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1 Introduction

> "The mother, today, is to be more than a technician in child guidance. […] She has been incorporated as an actual or potential ally into pedagogic programmes advocated by reformers. […] If she plays her part well, the child's future life chances will be immeasurably enhanced; if she fails through ignorance or impatience to realize or to actualize such a learning scheme, woe betide her child when he or she enters school." (Rose 1990: 178)

The above quote from Nikolas Rose outlines an ongoing social process that is restructuring family life in (post-) modern societies: the realignment of public and private responsibility. In German academic discourse, this is referred to as a "new attention to families" (Fegter et al. 2015). Among other things, this attention is associated with an activation of parental responsibility, an "expertisation and pedagogisation of everyday family life" (Thiessen/Villa 2010), an intensified focus on early childhood development and an increase in pedagogical support for and intervention in families (Jergus et al. 2018; Oelkers 2018).

However, in German early childhood education and care (ECEC), not all parents are included to an equal degree in pedagogical and educational programmes. On the one hand, Rose and Pape (2020), in their ethnographic study of childbirth-focused programmes, find that the participants primarily represent socially privileged groups (183). On the other hand, Betz and Bischoff (2018), using a discourse analysis of government policy documents, find that parenting abilities are politically defined as deficient especially when parents are judged to have a low socio-economic status, low levels of education, are single parents, have a 'migration background', are 'culturally different' or lack German language skills (39f.). The effect of these political differentiations is exemplified by interviews with day care professionals, in which nationality, culture and poverty present as partially interchangeable and problema-

tised categories (Betz/Bischoff 2017: 108f., 114; 2018: 40). Based on these social differentiations, the target groups of parenting education and the needs of participants are defined.

Ultimately, the addressees of ECEC in Germany, such as parenting education programmes, are selected and addressed within a nexus of various intersectional categories of inequality and difference, such as gender, class and migration. Operating within this context are differentiating and hierarchising ideas of 'good' vs. 'inadequate' parenting and corresponding problematisations of 'parenting competences' (Jergus et al. 2018; Oelkers 2018).

Othering processes, such as those by which individuals are identified as migrants in racialising or culturalising ways, and the negative effects that can accompany these processes are increasingly reflected in broader academic and political discussions. Concepts of heterogeneity and diversity have also become more established. However, 'the migrant' continues to be a relevant professional and organisational category for potential addressees of social work and ECEC (Amirpur/Schulz 2022). The same applies to 'the mother' and the intersection of these two categories: 'the migrant mother' or migrantified motherhood. Corresponding positionings, attributions and invocations within ECEC in Germany have not yet been systematically analysed.

Research on power and knowledge relations have so far predominantly focused on broad international and national discourses (e.g., Henward 2018; Hunkin 2018) or on specific conceptualisations of care and education (Ailwood 2020; Aslanian 2022). Our study, on the other hand, places an ethnographic focus on actors not only as "globally embedded subject[s]" (Chandler 2013), but as subjects embedded into specific, local ECEC arrangements of parenting education in Germany. We will present empirical data from two parent groups. One group is closely linked to a federal parenting education programme in Germany. The other group became largely independent of this programme over time. We explored how parents who have children below the age of six and are perceived as 'women' and 'culturally different' are constructed as 'migrant mothers in Germany'. We will show that, empirically, the figure of the 'migrant mother' serves as an essential, intersectional reference point in the context of ECEC as she reconstructs the hierarchical practices in this field. In order to elaborate the nature of this process, we will first outline our theoretical and methodological perspective as well as our data corpus. We will then present some key findings from our analysis before discussing our research in light of recent academic debates on the interrelations between education, migration, family, and gender in ECEC.

2 Theoretical and methodological perspective

To capture the making and doing of migrant (m)otherness in Germany's ECEC field as a process, we draw from Foucauldian notions of subjectivation, knowledge and power. Foucault uses the term 'subject' in two different ways: An actor becomes "subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge" (Foucault 1982: 781). Along with this, 'subjectivation' is a formation process in which submission and self-modelling interact. Considering Foucault's definition of "the exercise of power as a mode of action upon the actions of others" (ibid.: 790), a certain scope of action must be given, since it is within this simultaneity of submission and mastery that directing action becomes possible: "Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free" (ibid.). Through this simultaneity of submission and mastery, the subject appropriates power in creative ways and integrates it into an identity which continuously develops: "The subject is […] an entity that performs its own creation but whose performances are built into orders of knowledge, into plays of force and relations of domination" (Bröckling 2016: 2).

Subjects are historically and spatially embedded into discourses and therefore depend on the reproduction of discursive truths or legitimate knowledge. The 'reiteration' of power inevitably implies discontinuities and deviation, and it also destabilises actors to some extent in their ability to perform as subjects, but mere resistance against this ongoing reiteration entails the risk of social exclusion or devaluation (Butler 1997: 11–16). Therefore, every performance as a subject is permeated and interpellated by a multiplicity of complementary but contradictory discourses and carries these contradictions within itself (Bröckling 2016: 2). A subject thus exists as being and becoming "in the gerundive, as that to be scientifically examined, pedagogically advanced, therapeutically supported, informed, legally sanctioned, aesthetically presented, politically administered, economically made productive, etc." (ibid.).

Building on these assumptions, Bosančić developed the analytical category of "subject positions" for empirical investigations of interactions between actors and discourses (Bosančić 2019: 93). Subject positions comprise discursively constructed subject conceptions and identities which are accompanied by "interpretive schemes, frames, storylines and dispositifs" (ibid.). Subject positions constitute belonging and therefore differentiate, normalize, stereotype, and thus include or exclude. As described by Butler, normative subject positions re-constitute in a process of repeated acts of recognition, which, according to Ricken, can be operationalised as practices of addressing and re-addressing (Ricken 2013: 92–94). Through this, actors are not merely integrated into verbal and non-verbal social practices but constituted as 'someone' and a 'self' in the first place. Actors are inevitably exposed to "addressings", i.e., they are forced to relate to being addressed in certain ways

and to the subject positions referenced herein – e.g., by interpretatively adopting, transforming, shifting, denying or rejecting them (Keller 2012: 102). Accordingly, (re-)addressings can be understood as an interactive practice of other- and self-positionings, in which subject positions and identities are processually (re-)constructed.

In our data analysis, we will draw from all of the aforementioned theoretical and methodological approaches and primarily use a terminology of subject positions, power and knowledge. Moreover, we will use the terminology of 'other- and self-positionings' to emphasise that relations between actors, subject positionings and corresponding practices of convergence and distinction emerge processually.

3 Data

Reconstructing the 'doing and making of migrant mothers' in ECEC requires a variety of empirical data. We therefore chose an ethnographic approach. However, the data collection period between September 2019 and September 2020 was interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic, and the collection of data was therefore less systematic than originally planned. As a result, our material includes:

a) observation reports, transcripts from several semi-structured and ethnographic interviews as well as documents from one parenting education group and its federal umbrella programme. This group (group 1) exclusively aims at the integration of children identified as migrants into ECEC services.
b) five in-depth interviews with the parental guide and participants of another group of parents (group 2) which, over time, was hived off from the aforementioned federally funded programme and continued to be run by the parental guide on a voluntary basis.

In both groups, the interviews with the participants were (to be) accompanied by the parental guides, although it was also possible to provide translators, and participants were free to choose the place and time of the interviews. As a first finding from the field, we interpreted this as a self-positioning of the parental guides as guardians of the participants. Access to both groups was rather uncomplicated. In key informant interviews and ethnographic interviews, participants repeatedly emphasised the groups' high reputation in their respective communities and the parental guides' exceptionally high level of professionalism. In consequence, our collected data should be quite useful for our analysis of normative subject positions, other-positionings, and knowledge and power relations in the field, but it somewhat limits our perspective on the actual modes of subjectivation and the participants' self-positionings. Due to the relatively small number of investigated cases,

we generally assume that there might be more subject positions and, in particular, modes of subjectivation than those that we found in our data. However, since little research has been done on the subjectivation of social actors as 'migrant mothers' in the context of ECEC in Germany, we are certain that our analysis at least offers some initial insights.

4 Analysis

For our analysis of the empirical data, we pursued four questions: 1. How are participants selected?2. What subject positions are the participants provided with? 3. What other- and self-positionings of the participants can be found in the data? 4. What hierarchies of power and knowledge are being (re-)produced in this context? We will reflect on these questions as interrelated during our analysis section but answer them one by one in our conclusion.

In terms of its target group, the analysed parenting education programme explicitly refers to 'migrant parenthood', equating it with a 'specific culture' of the parents. On closer examination, the programme understands 'migrant parenthood' mostly as 'migrant motherhood.' The programme's major focus on mothers is justified on the part of the parental guides and the project coordinators by the idea that women are more willing to participate, and that the earlier labour market integration of 'migrant fathers' limits their time for participation.[1] We saw this in both groups. Men (fathers) were explicitly excluded from group 1, and initially excluded from group 2.[2] Both parental guides argued that women would feel more comfortable without men given their cultural and religious backgrounds.[3] Hence, already on the level of how participants are addressed, the group formats that were investigated draw from culturalising associations of migration with Islamic religiousness and traditional family images. This includes assumed gender relations that are seen as grounded in a) the families' own virtues and beliefs, and b) the socio-structural conditions embedding them. In effect, there is a gender-specific 'migrantness' that is attributed to women and their (current) life situation, so the 'migrant mother' – as a woman – becomes the key person of her child's (early) upbringing and advances to the primary addressee of parenting education. Consider this example from group 1:

1 Document analysis of official concept papers of the state-funded programme and Parental Guide Interview, Group 1

2 During our field phase, among the participants in Group 2, there was one father among about 20 participating women, as well as a voluntarily engaged "German elderly man" (Parental Guide Interview, Group 2).

3 Parental Guide Interview, Group 1 and Parental Guide Interview, Group 2.

> "B: Well, you roughly know, because we work in cooperation with day care centres, the parents who could make a good use of it, with a cultural background, I would say [laughing]. So, the parents with a cultural background, we roughly know. From the locations sometimes, also from the day care centres. And also, the day care directors are very, very nice and they tell us, she or her could really make use of it and she wants to learn a bit more, do a bit more […]" (Parental Guide Interview, Group 1)

The quote exemplifies a hierarchical and intersectional other-positioning that can be found regularly throughout our analysed data: The 'migrant mother' becomes selected and problematised as the primary addressee of parenting education. To this end, first a 'cultural background' is identified as a specific characteristic that allows for positioning mothers as 'culturally different' as compared to an assumed majority of the society. In a next step, 'migrant parenthood' is transformed into 'migrant motherhood.' By ascribing 'cultural (m)otherness' to the women personally, an individual need for educating and activating the 'migrant mother' is derived and linked to her subjective willingness and motivation.

The practices in the federal programme reflect these asymmetrical assumptions with respect to knowledge and power in ways not unusual in the field of social work. The programme's materials contain norms of early childhood education which are set as superior or complementary to the participants' knowledge, and which become continuously Germanized over the course of their amalgamation with German language training. In addition, the parental guide observes the mother-child interactions on site and invokes an ideal of 'responsive motherhood,' which entails attention to the child's needs and prioritizing them.[4] In group 1, the 'migrant mother' is thus not merely addressed as a subject 'insufficiently qualified in educating her child', but also as a subject 'insufficiently qualified in caring for her child'. Concurrently, both parental guides describe the materials as inappropriate to the participants' actual abilities or needs and distance their work from a 'focus on deficits'. In group 1, which continues to operate under the umbrella of the federal programme, the attributions of deficits to the participants found in the materials are mitigated by adopting the programme's wording of 'educational inspirations' or by addressing the mothers as 'capable if motivated', and as 'great moms doing their best while being challenged in multiple ways by their living situation as a (recently) migrated person.'[5]

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4 "Go and see what he [the child] needs"; "If she is not well, you have to put her [the child] to bed" (Observation Reports, Group 1)

5 "What they say is that in Germany you're never finished, you're always getting letters, you always have to go somewhere. […] Sometimes when they have an appointment somewhere else in the morning, they have to go there, too, of course. But some of them attend for an hour and then excuse themselves. It's okay, it's all right. But as I said, sickness or sickness of a child can be a reason for not attending. And the weather sometimes. But I have to say, hats

The participants of both groups prefer to position themselves as 'strangers to the German language' and 'strangers to an (ECEC) system that relies on tacit knowledge' e.g., in relation to implicit practices of everyday (day care) life and the (pedagogical) goals behind them, or in relation to the implicit rules of behaviour in the day care centre. This tendency of the participants to resist a subjectivation as persons who need to self-optimize as educators or caregivers for their children is important, because it places at least some of the responsibility for disclosing tacit knowledge to mothers and children – and thus responsibility for integration (into ECEC) – on German society and its institutions such as day care centres. In contrast, the available position of the 'self-optimizing caregiver or educator of one's own children' ascribes this responsibility primarily to the mother herself.

Rejecting the materials' deficit attributions, and in accordance with the participants' self-positionings as 'strangers to the German language', both groups focus on supporting the participants in acquiring German. However, gaining command of the German language becomes associated with the participants' willingness, motivation and courage to connect socially. The participants are repeatedly advised to actively participate in formal or informal language learning, and to privately seek contact with German speakers.[6] In turn, the participants describe both groups as German language-related formats. In keeping with this perception, the participants submit to their own responsibilisation and interpellate themselves and each other.[7] In consequence, the field discursively ties the acquisition of the German language to a whole chain of associations about how to successfully assimilate as a 'migrant mother' in Germany:

> "[…] But then comes the war and it was very bad and we are here, had to (..), it's hard. But (..) I, um [sighs] how can I say this? When I'm under stress // Um (..) I say, I thought, I have to be a role model for my children, for my friend [feminine form], for my husband, for everybody. They can't understand what life is here in Germany. […] For example, I was the first in my family to learn German. Yes. // For example, the older daughter was very sad, she didn't want to stay here, she wanted to go back [laughing]. And she [laughing], yes. Oh [sighs] yes, that's why I thought, I have to start, so that they see and yes, okay, we have to learn German, that's the first step. And also, for the other women, I/sometimes, or not sometimes ALWAYS we have to, we have to learn German, if we can speak well, then we have the possibilities, so society is opened, opened for us. And now they have noticed, for

off, actually hats off, they're always heroically out there." (Parental Guide Interview, Group 1).

6 Parental Guide Interview, Group 1; Parental Guide Interview, Group 2; Observation Reports, Group 1

7 Observation Reports, Group 1 and Interviews of Participants 1–4, Group 2

> example my friend [feminine form] has not yet done an integration course, because they have small children. But when we cook together in a course and I talk to the others, to the guests and they say: '[name of the interviewee] you can explain to us, we have to learn German' [laughing]. Well, that helps, that makes more, I don't know in German, confidence, // self-confident, yes." (Interview of Participant 4, Group 2)

The quote illustrates the linkage of German language acquisition with access to and participation in German society, with women's opportunities and empowerment, and with the intersecting role of the mother, who is primarily responsible for her own assimilation and that of her children. As a migrant and (married) woman, the interviewee expresses a keen commitment to participating in society, which she associates with gaining educational and professional opportunities, and to becoming independent of German-language support. Young children are depicted as a constraint to learning German and taking advantage of opportunities. Alongside the ideal of the 'self-sufficient woman', the norm of the 'working mother' is latent here. In further material, a culturalising and gendering logic is reproduced when independence from translational support is repeatedly emphasised only in relation to the husband.[8] As a migrant and mother, the subject is interpellated as someone who should acquire German primarily for the sake of her child. The German language is characterised as an inevitable tool for becoming a 'capable mother', namely one who actively engages in the child's early education.

The use of the German language is made a public duty of the 'migrant mother'. In particular, it is linked to participation in parents' nights and conversations with day care professionals:

> "[...] Sometimes it's really like that, it's also about the day care professionals' conferences with the parents. And ok, should I go or not? And when I go, do I understand everything, do you think? Yes, please, I say, shoulders back and head up. And first of all, you have to present yourself and stand there as a mum, and that is very important. Especially for your child it is very important, mum takes it seriously and mum is there for me, she is going." (Parental Guide Interview, Group 1)

The approach exemplified in this quote is similar to 'on-the-job learning', with activity emphasized over language skills as a criterion for being and becoming a 'capable mother.' As 'migrant mothers,' the actors are interpellated to become active mediators for their child's educational interest. Here, the subject position of the 'responsive mother' is actualised and expanded, so that the needs of the child are not only

8 Observation Report, Meeting of the Parental Guides and Observation Report, Parental Guide Certificate Award of the Parenting Education Programme

perceived and met but are also confidently represented in the institutional context. It is thus not only German language skills, but also the courage to speak and thereby individually confront systemic exclusion that is discursively set as the norm for the 'model migrant mother' who overcomes insecurities and acts confidently on behalf of herself and her child with regard to all educational matters.

As a counterpart of the 'model migrant mother,' there is another subject position: the mother who loses contact with, and access to, her increasingly German-speaking child. Such maternal passivity is associated with depression and trauma following (forced) migration and with feelings of shame or insecurity regarding the unquestionable dominance of the German language. It is represented most powerfully in various participants' self-positionings.[9]

Since the child's integration into ECEC institutions is equated with the child's participatory and developmental opportunities in general, the activation of the 'migrant mother' is intertwined with the overall integration of her children into German society. Attending supportive or educational activities such as parenting education or self-help-groups is defined as a performative moment of the actor's 'integration efforts.' Against this background, the motivation or activity versus passivity of the 'migrant mother' are psychologised and characterised in ECEC contexts as an opportunity or, conversely, a risk for the child's integration into society. Concurrently, having young children is viewed as a risk for the migrant mothers' integration into education and the labour market. In turn, the act of becoming a 'model migrant mother' serves as a success story for women who accept support and thereby actively overcome the subject position of a 'failed migrant mother' who would have decided to withdraw into the private sphere.

This relation of knowledge and power is reflected not only in the subject positions available for both groups' participants, but also in those available for the parental guides. The latter, as such, can actively serve as a role model. The degree to which they do so varies, however. Also, a state of 'permanent becoming' is crucial to the part they play. At the awarding of the parental guide certificates, this story is repeatedly performed:

> "Michaela announces a short introduction of the parental guides. They rise and line up next to her. Michaela asks Selma to begin. Selma clears her throat,

9 "Well, our children have already had a difficult life, and that's why I try to be there for my children as a mother. Sometimes it's very difficult, because I have to be strong and I don't feel strong. And I want to be there for my children, but sometimes I don't know how to cope with it. But I have to do it. Because they don't deserve anything else." (Interview of Participant 4, Group 2); "[…] well, yes, my husband and I always try to learn at home [the German language] (.) always, or (.) with the children [laughing], a little bit, not much actually, I learn because I'm always afraid of them forgetting our mother language" (Interview of Participant 3, Group 2); "In the beginning, you are depressed." (Interview of Participant 2, Group 2).

> steps forward, introduces herself with her full name and reports which group she is leading. She smiles a little nervously and says – And yes, I am a mother of four myself and this is my first job – She explains that she was asked by the day care centre whether she could imagine leading a group here. At first, she was very nervous about it, but over time she has gained a lot of self-confidence. [..] Now she can transfer this self-confidence to the participants of her group, Selma says. Strong developments can be observed here. The women are doing more and more things on their own, such as conversations in the day care centre or school, where they would never have gone before without their husbands. She learned a lot during her time in the project, Selma says. She thanks the team. […] Applause and cheers. Selma smiles and steps back." (Observation Report, Parental Guide Certificate Award of the Parenting Education Programme)

Here, the parental guides position themselves and are positioned as 'migrant mothers' among others. However, there is a hierarchy. The subject position of the 'model migrant mother' is largely embodied by pedagogically professionalised parental guides, while the pre-professionalised parental guide in the report quoted above is still in the process of becoming a 'model migrant mother,' yet at an advanced level. Chosen either by day care professionals or by project employees among former participants, the pre-professionalised parental guide represents someone who proved worthy of being positioned as a parental guide 'in the making' and who works up to four hours per week, which itself is framed as a first step towards (gendered) labour market integration.

The two fully professionalised parental guides that we observed and interviewed during this study both self-position as 'mentors' and role models of their participants. In group 1, the parental guide self-referentially addresses topics of settling in Germany, of handling corresponding challenges (while having children), and of everyday family life in Germany.[10] In doing so, the parental guide invokes possible paths of 'good migrant motherhood' through the life experiences making her a 'model migrant mother' and less explicitly through her professionalised knowledge as a parental guide. Against the background of such expertise, the parental guide is accepted as an authority who can legitimately make judgements regarding the subjective emotionality of the participants.

Similarly, parental guide 2 adopts a frame of reference hat situates migrant motherhood not only in the everyday context of family, education and work, but also in the political public sphere.[11] She explains her motivation for initiating the group and its activities – in which the participants frequently address the public and aim for social recognition of migrated people and of cultural diversity in the

10 Observation Reports, Group 1

11 Parental Guide Interview, Group 2

community – by describing herself as a mother who will not acquiesce to racism suffered by her children in German society. She thereby serves as an example of a new identity assumed by the 'migrant mother', that of an actor for social change motivated by her own children's future well-being. This implies an interpellation of the participants, insofar as they are addressed as mothers and migrants who, as such, can perform as co-creators of the group's activities.

All interviewed participants of group 2 describe their children's well-being and healthy development as their top priority. This is associated with the child's participation in the day care centre, which is further described as indispensable for the mothers' participation in language or integration courses. At the same time, the day care centre is positioned as a partially non-inclusive institution for non-German-speaking children and as an institution without a 'proper', i.e., school-like, educational mandate. Concerning their children's negative experiences in German society, some participants additionally blame themselves for having left their home country, and for exposing their children to flight or to their new life in Germany.

When asked what it is like for her to be a mother in Germany, one of the interviewed participants of group 2 describes it as an exhausting and difficult search for balance, because "you cannot allow everything that is possible here, but you cannot forbid everything either".[12] When asked how she is currently dealing with this, the interviewee and the parental guide who is acting as an interpreter both start laughing. The parental guide comments: "You just brought up a painful subject. For all of us", and thus generalises the search for balance as a universal experience of all 'migrant mothers'. The interviewed participant elaborates:

> "The most difficult thing about your question is that we have to establish a balance between our own ideas of values, of customs, of traditions, of basic religious attitudes that we have brought with us, which we would like to pass on to our children […] and that the children will also experience many other influences, and see many other things, and I always try to tell my children that we should not become a copy of people in this society and that they will never become a copy of us, but that there has to be a middle way somewhere. So that you don't blindly imitate everything, um, but somehow maintain your own identity. But you still have to adapt to the extent that you can cope." (Interview of Participant 1, Group 2)

In this quote, the participant describes migration as being in conflict with parenting. The aim of good parenting is to balance the child's appropriation and rejection of knowledge and practices. On the one hand, the participant describes her child as potentially open to (too) many influences from outside the family. On the other

12 Interview of Participant 4, Group 2

hand, the child is assumed to be carrying a familial and cultural identity that has to be maintained and should only adapt as much as necessary in Germany.

The parental guide's laughter and her comment during the quoted interview may be interpreted as her conviction that, in the end, even the 'model migrant mother' cannot fully control her child's future in German society. In another interview conducted solely with her, she refers to the previous interview and, in this context, describes not only the 'migrant child' but also the 'migrant mother' as an 'open and transforming identity':

> "[…] for example, like [person] today, she said, yes, if the children get naked [in the day care centre], what's going to happen with them? And so on. I have a lot of understanding for that and I would then tell her, yes, exactly, I always had those fears too and so on and so forth. But then I would try to explain […] that, maybe, from the other perspective, there could also be a reason why you raise children like that. And then I would go back and say, but that doesn't mean that you necessarily have to do it the same way and that you will also/you yourself might also change, so that the attitude you have today might be different in five years and, um, that you also don't know how your child will develop and that you, um, also have to prepare for that. We try to pass on our values to our children, but that doesn't mean that they will keep them, let alone put them into practice. And that it is a consequence of living in a foreign place." (Interview Parental Guide, Group 2)

Here, the 'migrant mother' is positioned as an initially powerless participant, as far as her child's and her own development in Germany are concerned. She is seen as fearful of the possibility of her child developing 'wrongly' in German society and ECEC. As a 'stranger to the system,' she can only prevent this by becoming familiar with it. Only on this basis will she supposedly be truly capable of remaining resistant to certain aspects of educational systems in Germany. Again, this provides for a subject position of a highly competent, active mother – a 'model migrant mother.' Likewise, the parental guide repositions as such a role model. She depicts herself as an expert on the subjective emotionality and development of 'migrant mothers' and describes her approach as slow and gentle guidance regarding (ECEC) system knowledge and practices. This practice of gently guiding the 'migrant mother' via education, role modelling, and gradual exposure implies an ongoing approximation of the 'migrant mother' to the prevailing knowledge and power hierarchies in Germany.

5 Conclusion and Discussion – Governing ECEC via the 'migrant mother'

To conclude, we will first answer our four leading research questions and then inquire into the implications for gender- and migration-related governmentality and subjectivation studies in the context of ECEC.

Firstly, we can infer from our analysis that participants of the investigated groups are selected through official documents, materials, interactive positionings and direct address as 'culturally different', 'female', 'socio-economically deprived', 'child-raising', and – for all of these reasons – as only potentially 'active subjects' who are 'in need of educational and German-language support' in order to achieve an active state. Our data suggests that one or more of the above aspects are highlighted in various ways when the participants are addressed, and this provides multiple opportunities to attribute deficits or potential to the participants.

Secondly, in our data, we were able to identify two main subject positions that the participants are provided with during their participation in the parenting education groups. The first subject position radicalises the inherent deficits that each participant is addressed with as a beginner: It is the subject position of a (potentially) 'failed migrant mother', who withdrew from responsibility for herself and her child and who seeks shelter in the private sphere, fearfully hoping for the best for her children, but unable to guide, educate, or even care for her children, since her withdrawal ensures that she will remain a disoriented, uneducated and passive migrant woman herself. As a counterpart to this, there is the subject position of the 'model migrant mother.' She embodies activeness and sovereignty and overcomes cultural and educational exclusion step by step on her own and her children's behalf. She proves worthy to serve as a role model for other 'migrant mothers', which is why she can play the part of a subject who, during a permanent act of becoming, moves up the career ladder of a specifically gendered and 'migrantified' field of parenting education, and presumably beyond.

Thirdly, we were able to identify other- and self-positionings of the participants in our data that complement the subject positions described above. We were able to identify two main types of other-positionings: There are quite openly 'deficit-oriented' positionings of the participants, mainly expressed through the programme's materials and organisational set-up. However, both parental guides engage with these other-positionings only indirectly when they either relativise the federal programme's framework and materials as mere 'educational inspirations' and shift the focus to language acquisition (group 1), or even formally detach their group context from the programme (group 2), with the effect of politicising its participants as something akin to activists who claim social recognition for themselves in German society. In both cases, the participants are positioned as 'capable if motivated', which qualifies them to become all-important subjects of individual and societal change. As a complementary counterpart, we were able to identify other-positionings of the

'migrant child' as an ever evolving and transforming object of parenting. This, in turn, serves as an important relata for positioning their mothers as potentially flexible, self-transforming subjects.

In sum, our data indicates that there is a distinct complex of power and knowledge in the broader context of parenting education in Germany. Its inherent hierarchy builds on an amalgamized norm of 'modern education', 'maternal passion' and 'German culture'. 'Migrantified' actors play an important role in submitting to these norms and at the same time mastering them. As subjects, the actors are offered key positions as model 'migrant mothers in Germany'. As such, they do not only maximize their chances of achieving subjective freedom and self-sufficiency but also serve as useful co-facilitators of a migrantified, gendered regime of 'modern education' in Germany.

Our findings on how the participants of the investigated groups are being positioned as 'migrant mothers' with reference to a broader, neo-liberal regime of migrantification and gendered responsibilisation in Germany (Chamakalayil et al. 2022) coincide with findings from other empirical studies. Arriving at results similar to our own, Nordberg (2015), for example, was able to show ethnographically that actors find themselves positioned as 'migrant mothers' in various contexts and must find ways to relate to these other-positionings. In contrast to our research, this study focused on the actors' self-positionings across different institutional contexts. However, Nordberg states that "following from the understanding of the 'self' as an embedded subject, it becomes analytically meaningful to explore notions of locality, of places and spaces of formal and informal interaction." (ibid.: 68)

Our study revealed some particular relations between power, knowledge and subjectivation in the field of parenting education. Such research proves worthwhile in theoretical terms, as it makes broader Foucauldian assumptions regarding contemporary forms of governing (under conditions of neoliberalisation) more tangible. With our narrow focus on the field of parenting education in Germany, we were able to show that here, governing as a "conduct of conduct" (Rose/Miller 1992: 184) becomes visible as a mostly implicit interplay between actors, discourses and subjectivation in which group participants become selected, individualized, responsibilised and activated as 'migrant mothers in Germany'. As such, these subjects are key to an ongoing exercise of power, not only in society more broadly, but also in the narrower field of ECEC.

They play this key role because, as 'migrant mothers', they are being mobilized and mobilize others as individuals, no matter which of the two available subject positions that we identified in our study they take up or decline to adopt. Those who choose to embody the 'model migrant mother' directly represent values of individualism, responsibilisation, activeness and, therefore, the deservingness of being selected as a 'role model', which in turn secures their integration as a 'modernised', albeit (m)othered self. In effect, the subject position they take corresponds with the

neoliberal, 'enterprising' or 'entrepreneurial self' (Rose 1990, Bröckling 2016). As an alternative to taking this position, participants are 'free' to serve as a contrast to that model – the disoriented, uneducated and passive migrant woman who is incapable of taking appropriate care of her children. With either 'choice', the 'migrant mother' is key to representing a subject position amidst 'standards for conduct' (Rose/Miller 1992: 184) for a neo-liberal regime of a migrantified, gendered society and its system of early childhood education and care.

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Doing 'shared care' in between family and early childhood education and care

Sabrina Göbel and Sabine Bollig

1 Introduction: The hierarchical order of education and care in present discourse on family-ECEC-relationships

When asking about the mutual influences organisations have on what we as a society understand as family and how their members organise their everyday family life in relation to those, then kindergartens, nurseries and preschools inevitably come into view in addition to schools. Since its early beginnings in the 19th century, extra-familial early education and care has nowadays established itself as an infrastructure available to all families from children's birth until they go to school (see Gullov in this volume), and due to that, has also significantly contributed to the normalisation of the pedagogicalised family (Losecke/Cahill 1994) and the related intensification of parenthood (Faircloth/Hoffmann/Layne 2013). A closer look into the history of early childhood education and care (ECEC) services, however, reveals that their links to the family have always been diverse. Rooted in a dual mission of children's education on the one hand and poverty reduction on the other (Vandenbroeck 2006), the links to family historically ranged from supporting families in reconciling work and family life, to supervising, supplementing or even countervailing families' educational, health and care tasks in line with national or local politics and the providers' own facility-specific pedagogical concepts and values frameworks.

In the last 20 years, however, the relationship of ECEC to the family – as the private counterpart to public education, upbringing and care – and the associated demarcations between public and private care responsibilities have changed considerably. Although increasing investment in public ECEC is seen as a solution both to the care crisis of late-modern societies and to the education crisis that Germany in particular has been plunged into in the context of persistently poor PISA results, the professional debate has come to a head in recent years primarily with a view to a comprehensive "education dispositive" (Thon 2022). Even though the dependence of the family on the care services of ECEC became wildly apparent in the course of the recent COVID-19 pandemic, the past years initially showed a clear hierarchisa-

tion and prioritisation of education over care (von Laere/van Houtte/Vandenbroeck 2018). Education, understood in a broas sense of supporting early learning, is determined to be the primary goal of pedagogical action, while care is merely conceptualised as a natural phenomenon or a prerequisite of education rather than a professional practice itself (Aslanian 2017: 324) – a devaluation that can be traced back to the close connection of care to basic physical needs.

On the other hand, the Social Code for Child and Youth Services (SGB VIII) in Germany anchors a threefold and unranked mission of ECEC, consisting of *Bildung* (teaching and learning), *Erziehung* (child-rearing and values education) and *Betreuung* (care and supervision). However, only two of these three tasks have explicitly been included in the designation of the currently prevailing model of cooperation between family and ECEC services – the "*Bildungs- und Erziehungspartnerschaft*" (educational and child-rearing partnership). Similar to its international establishment as the quality standard for the relationship between parents and ECEC professionals, this concept of an "educational partnership" has also been enshrined in the ECEC guidelines of all 16 federal states in Germany. Under the premise of the 'equal contributions' that the family and ECEC make to the upbringing of the children, this concept calls for a close and cooperative partnership between professionals and parents, which is, however, primarily justified by the improvement of children's educational opportunities (Alasuutari 2020, Betz et al. 2020). However, the fact that *Betreuung* (care) is not explicitly mentioned in these partnerships should not only be understood as an indication of how strongly family-ECEC relationships are oriented towards investing in the next generation of human capital as early as possible (Lange 2012). It is also related to the rather hollow understanding of *Betreuung* in the German discourse (Hünersdorf 2021), in which the term does not include the more comprehensive relationships with children that are meant by the English term 'care'. Rather, *Betreuung* is mostly understood as a client-oriented and reliable provision of extra-familial child supervision and high-quality care and nutrition. This also implies that care is here understood as a commodified service based on contractual relationships, which is probably the reason why it does not play such an important role in the ideal of a partnership-based close cooperation (von Laere/van Houtte/Vandenbroeck 2018).

Against this background, the shift in responsibilities in the field of early childhood described above has not only produced new and more intensive relationships between public and private early education, but has above all fostered a fragmented and ambivalent understanding of the relationship between ECEC and the family. This can take at least on two polarised configurations, neither without tension: on the one hand, there is an educational partnership ideal that blurs the boundaries between the family and ECEC in the sense of what Lange (2012) calls the 'educational colonisation of the family'. And on the other hand, there is a care-related service relationship that goes hand in hand with market-oriented service concepts, such as

the legal obligation to conduct customer satisfaction surveys (Frindte/Mierendorff 2017). Both configurations of family-ECEC relations tend to overlook the complex and highly interdependent care relationships among children, parents and professionals, which are currently not yet fully conceptualised in research and practice.

2 Shared care – conceptual perspectives

Recently, however, there is a growing international academic interest in recognising care as an integral part of ECEC (e.g., van Laere/von Houtte/Vandenbroeck 2018, Aslanian 2017, for Germany: Bilgi et al. 2021), which is driven by an understanding of care as a relational process of "being with and for the other" (Maio 2018). To highlight the characteristics of such a substantial understanding of care, most authors rely on the literature on feminist ethics of care, prominently worked out by Tronto (1993). In her view, care encompasses several processes: caring about (recognition of a need), caring for (the willingness to respond to a need), care giving (direct action) and care receiving (reaction to care giving), which ultimately create social spaces of 'caring with' within personal relationships, institutions and at the interfaces of public and private care spaces (Tronto 2010). This also includes plural kinds of caring activities that are additionally conceptualised not only as close bodily interaction (like nursing), but as manifold materialised, situational and organisational practices (Aslanian 2017), which furthermore shine a different light on the relationships among parents, children and ECEC institutions. For example, Andenæs (2011) describes everyday childcare as highly interconnected "chains of care" between day care centres and families, involving a variety of parental and institutional care practices, such as informing, preparing, and discussing and so on. These interrelated practices thus shed light on the cooperative nature of caring for children as a joint task between parents and professionals. And similar to transnational families whose multilocal daily lives span national borders (e.g., Merla/Kilkey/Baldassar 2020), these interlinked practices also traverse time and space in the sense that care is built not only on conditions of presence but also on (rhythmic) physical absences of caregivers. In a similar vein, Singer (1993) introduced the term "shared care" to refer to the fact that both family-based and professional care are highly intertwined with practices in the respective other context. In this sense, it is a shared practice that is accompanied by various challenges, such as a certain loss of control due to the need to hand over some authority to the other party.

This article takes up this understanding of *shared care* as multiple practices that unfold between day care centres and families. It is linked to the ethnographic PART-

NER study (Betz/Bollig 2023)[1],which, starting from the diagnosis of a too narrow and ambivalent version of the relationship between day care centres and families in the concept of "educational partnerships", has directed the focus to the multitude of interactive-situational, material and organisational forms of shaping the relationship between day care centres and families.

To this end, however, we will not only shed light on the complexity of multifaceted practices of shared care between family and ECEC spanning from customised services to a multifaceted array of holistic care giving practices. We also apply a different understanding of 'sharing'. Pedagogical approaches to shared care usual use the term 'shared' to point to the desired balance between practices in the home and ECEC in order to make it easier for children to adapt their lives to both contexts (Ahnert/Lamb 2003: 1044). Similar to the understanding of educational partnerships (e.g., Epstein 1990), they are thus underpinned by an understanding of sharing in the sense of commonalities that are related and coordinated in such a way that they are as similar as possible. However, such a normatively narrow view of sharing is not suitable for elaborating the diversity of care practices mentioned above. Rather, we also refer to an open understanding of sharing that can be divided into activities as diverse as the common use of something, the breaking down of something into individual and heterogeneous parts, or the making a part of a larger set to which a number of people contribute. Accordingly, 'shared care' unfolds through a variety of not only commonly shared but also separated, divided or sequential and consecutive care practices, mandates and responsibilities. This explorative approach to shared care also implies that although we are inspired by care ethics and its broad concept of care, we do not analytically follow its normative dimensions. Rather, we ask about actual practices of shared care in order to analyse the fragmented, ambivalent, discursive structuring of the relationship between day care and family as part of practicing the family in ECEC contexts. To this end, it is helpful to explicitly consider the institutional framework conditions under which shared care between family and ECEC takes place in Germany.

1 From 01/2019 to 06/2022, the alliance project "Good partnerships in early childhood education and care. The interaction of organisations, practices and actors as a basis for inequality-sensitive quality development" (PARTNER) was carried out together between Gutenberg University Mainz (Head: Tanja Betz) and Trier University (Head: Sabine Bollig). The research team at Trier University consists of Sabrina Göbel, Angelika Sichma, Anna-Lena Bindges and Nadja Schu. The project was funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research by code 01NV1812B.

3 Shared Care as a practice of relating family and ECEC

3.1 Institutional contexts of shared care between private and public upbringing of children

With regard to its legal institutionalisation, the practices of shared care between family and day care centres take place in a field of tension, which results from the fact that although ECEC services (nurseries, kindergarten, family day care) are conceived as an elementary area of the education system in Germany, they do not legally belong to it. Rather, they are part of child and youth welfare, codified in Social Code Book VIII. The educational and care mandate of the various ECEC services (§§ 21–24 SGB 8) thus differs fundamentally from school, which has its own educational mandate independent of the family and grounded in Article 7 of the German Basic Law. In contrast, in child and youth welfare, the right to educate and rear the children is only 'transferred' from the parents when they make use of this extra-familial support (Roth 2010: 44 ff.). § 9 SGB VIII explicitly obliges the providers and professionals to respect the basic direction of education determined by the parents, i.e., to accept the parents' chosen lifestyles, attitudes, religious and ideological values, etc.. Conversely, the independent mandates, rights and duties of day care facilities vis-à-vis the family are derived primarily from the child protection laws, i.e., from their legal obligation to recognise child welfare risks emanating from the family and to work together with the family to find a solution (§ 8a SGB VIII). Already at the level of legal institutionalisation, the relationship between family and ECEC thus spans service, substitute family upbringing and an independent mandate to safeguard the child's well-being (protection mandate). However, as a result of the discoursive upgrading of the educational mission described above, the original family-supporting function of child day care facilities has shifted more and more in the direction of family-supplementing educational work, which is now seen as a core component of a 'normal' good childhood.

The complex positioning of parents as customers, partners or addressees of ECEC is also reflected in the tripartite contractual 'socio-legal triangle' on which services of early education and care are based in relation to children's entitlement to the provision and financing of a spot in a day care centre. This triadic constellation also includes private law contracts between day care facilities and parents, in which the latter are addressed both as customers and as co-producers of ECEC as a 'public good' (Baader/Bollig 2019). Accordingly, obligations to cooperate are also formulated within these contracts, ranging from compliance with the house rules of the facilities to actively entering into an educational partnership with the professionals. In addition, expectations of parental involvement are also formulated informally via various leaflets, information brochures and other forms of direct and indirect address.

With a view to this complex figuration of the relationships between day care and family, PARTNER research shows how the mentioned intensification of family-ECEC relationships is not only driven by the educational dispositive, but also by increasingly complex care relationships. How these are negotiated on a day-to-day basis among professionals, parents and children will be examined in more detail below using four examples from field research on shared care in German ECEC centres.

3.2 Methods

The analyses presented here have been elaborated in the PARTNER project through several weeks of participant observations of everyday practice in four ECEC centres for children aged two to six years. These observations were complemented with interviews with management, professionals and parents as well as recordings of parent-professional discussions (see also Betz/Bollig 2023). The facilities were selected according to their location and socio-spatial environment (country/town, social structure, sponsorship) as well as the size of the facility with a view to obtaining a diverse range of facilities. The resulting data set was analysed from the outset according to the analytical methods of grounded theory (Clarke 2005), combining mapping, coding and detailed analysis of individual practices with the writing of analytical and theoretical memos (Breidenstein et al. 2020).

In the following we will present detailed accounts of practices observed in the field research which we subsumed into diverse categories and dimensions of 'shared care'. We will first draw attention to fundamental practical challenges in the mundane everyday negotiation of shared care between day care centres and families. Then, processes and forms of transfer or retransfer of care tasks and responsibilities will be analysed, allowing us to identify a central practice of shared care: the creation of bureaucratised and temporalised care mandates.

3.3 Shared Care as *differentating between care tasks and care responsibilities:* Everyday challenges of sharing care

The necessity, but also the challenges, of not simply contractually regulating the concrete sharing of care between parents and professionals, but of renegotiating it every day, becomes clear in the everyday and causal character of the following scene. Here, through a process of cautiously exploring the scope of the parents' primary care obligations, shared care is realised by a situational separation of care practices and care responsibilities:

> A mother comes with her daughter to the group in the morning. The child is wearing new plush slippers in the form of unicorns. The mother is carrying the worn-out old pair with firm soles in her hand. The child proudly presents

> her slippers to the professional and to the other children. Beate [professional] mentions to the mother that she finds these plush slippers quite dangerous, particularly on the stairs. The mother responds affirmatively that she would also prefer the other shoes. After the mother has said goodbye to her daughter (but is still in the room), Beate instructs the child to be careful with those shoes and to be particularly careful on the stairs and hold on tight to the railing. (ECEC Centre G, Participant Observer SG[2])

The dynamics of this brief situation show how, in the diffuse space between respect for parental rights and the fulfilment of the institutional mandate, the main responsibility for the child's care is located here with the parents – and this also true during the time the child spends in the institution. The mother initially only affirmatively agrees with the professional's direct statement on the dangerousness of the slippers, without, however, deriving any further tasks for herself from this. The professional seems to accept this, but not without addressing the girl directly and, thus, making sure that she at least deals with these slippers. By doing this in the presence of the mother, however, it is also signalled that the centre cannot fully guarantee the child's safety under these circumstances. Rather, the child must ensure her own safety – which ties in with the fact that the mother had previously relinquished her responsibility for safe footwear in view of the child's own will. Thus, a shift of responsibility from the mother to the child is made appropriately visible by the professional, who in the event of a later accident (slip or fall of the child) also can refer to this as a kind of implicit agreement with the mother ("Well, as I told you …"). This scene thus shows how shared care is realised in everyday and inconspicuous negotiation of handing over the "care object", and in which a distinction is drawn between caring practice and caring responsibility, and divided situationally among parents, professionals and children.

Such subtle negotiations of shared care also draw attention to the tension between the transfer of care tasks to the centre and the primary right of parents to make care-related decisions – even when it comes to the nature of the child's care in the day care centre itself. The less offensive way of negotiation seems to make sense here because it ensures that joint care is made possible even in the case of slight dissent. Pronounced expectations or even criticism of the parents in such cases that are not yet explicitly legitimised by child protection could be interpreted as a violation of boundaries or an attack on the parents' right to raise their children. At the same time, this method of implicit negotiation ensures that the professionals do not have to take responsibility for care decisions that they themselves cannot influence. However, this rather casual, fluid and situational division of responsibilities and ac-

2 Sabrina Göbel

tual care activities reaches its limits when conflicts have to be addressed, like in the controversial issue of how to deal with (potentially) sick children.

Even if the respective responsibilities of the ECEC centre and the parents if the child is ill seem to be explicitly and unambiguously regulated in the care contract between the parties, disputes about the modes of sharing care of supposedly sick child appear consistently in practice. In this context, some parents try to explicitly initiate a division of care responsibility and practice ("I take responsibility for ensuring that my child can stay in ECEC"), which in turn is rejected and invalidated by the professionals by pointing on their unique responsibilities which cannot be shared. Although the professionals here also argue that it is not conducive to the well-being and healing process of the individual child if they have to stay in the facility when signs of disease occur, their most weighted argument here arises from the independent mandate for caring for a group of children. Hygienic considerations (in order not to infect other children) as well as the effort that would be necessary to adequately care for sick children, are pointed out here. Accordingly, shared care here reaches its limits, as professionals claim responsibilities for the group and the maintenance of the whole service, while the parents are only ever responsible for their child. As a result, the negotiations on shared care here also take place in explicit conflictual disputes about what "being ill" means in detail – whereby these negotiations often drag on for a long time and also include negotiations determining what kind of care is actually at stake – the commodified individual care service that the parents insist on as contractual partners or the rather diffuse question of the 'right care' in the context of different understandings of child welfare and/or organisational necessities.

> One entry in the group book (in which the professionals record the relevant situations and information of the day for their colleagues) arouses my interest. I remember well the situation last week when Niko had to be picked up by his grandfather because of diarrhoea. The entry refers to the mother's reaction. She subsequently contacted the facility by phone, asked if the procedure was really necessary and complained about the quarantine imposed. She claimed that her son had no complaints at home. A similar call had already happened a month before, where there had been no issue at home either. (ECEC Centre H, Participant Observer SG)

The two examples thus give an impression of the mutual dependencies that parents and day care professionals experience in their situational and ongoing negotiations of shared care. However, not all practical forms of shared care take place in this interactive way. Another essential aspect of sharing care is thus its temporality – or the temporal division of care practices, which compensates for the absence of parents as legal guardians and primary carers during the day time. The following examples

show practices of a priori and posteriori authorising care activities, which, as diverse forms of producing asynchronous shared care, differ above all in their degree of bureaucratisation.

3.4 Shared care as *authorised care*: (re-)distributing care responsibilities

First, we examine the organisation and legitimation of redistribution processes between private family care and institutional care in childcare facilities, which can be described as 'authorising care'. In particular, situations involving quasi-medical physical contact with the child turn out to be care practices that seem to require explicit parental authorisation, as they are not sufficiently covered by the general wording of the care contract that is concluded between the childcare centre and the family at the start of care.

One childcare practice in the ECEC centres that seems to require such explicit consent is the application of sunscreen to the children's skin, which becomes a problem every year when the children are increasingly exposed to the sun in the outdoor areas of the centres at the beginning of the summer. The question of whether daycare centre staff are allowed or even required to apply sunscreen to the children is not clearly regulated by law and creates a tension between the risk of causing skin intolerance by applying sunscreen or even just interfering with a sensitive area of parental care practices, and the breach of professional duty of care towards the children if they suffer a skin-damaging sunburn during their stay at the daycare centre. As a result, centres tend to protect themselves as best they can, resulting in rather bureaucratic solutions to this tension, as in the following example:

> Next to the door, a conspicuous red sign is hanging, with the following message in bold font: "**Please remember to return the sunscreen form"**. There are similar signs hanging on the info board next to group doors and throughout the upper floor. (In the "sunscreen form" the parents can mark with a check whether their child is allowed to use sunscreen from a well-known drugstore, as no allergies are present, or whether another sunscreen brought from home should be used). I also observe Ingrid (professional) placing dabs of sunscreen on the children's hands and shows them how they should rub it in. On a narrow shelf, are several tubes of sunscreen, some have a child's name written on them. The professional seems to know precisely which child is allowed to receive which sunscreen. (ECEC Centre G, Participant Observer SG)

The practice described in this sequence shows well that applying sunscreen is not something that can be done 'just like that' in the centres and in a similarly informal way as in the previous example. The use of the sun protection data form follows the idea of obtaining the parents' consent individually and in advance in order to only

then be able to access the child's body as a particularly protected asset. With regard to this shared care in the sense of explicitly authorised care, the form fulfils two functions: Firstly, it documents that the daycare centre is acting within the framework of a mandate explicitly assigned at the beginning of each summer, and secondly, specific materials to be used can be agreed between the centre and the family.

The publicly visible notices and the urgency with which parents are asked to complete the form not only underline the high value that the facility places on these procedures for obtaining written consent and authorisation from parents and guardians. They also emphasise the ambivalence of this procedure. After all, this practice of obtaining an explicit written care order in advance of creaming restricts the facility's ability to make its own decisions and take responsibility. If the parents have not given their consent, no sun cream can be applied and the child cannot actually be left outside, which not only significantly restricts practical work at the ECEC, but also the child's well-being.

This hierarchical arrangement of shared care, in which the professionals can only carry out specific acts of care on the basis of updated and detailed care mandates by each parent, is also expressed somewhat more implicitly in the fact that the professionals appear to avoid touching the child's body as much as possible when applying the sun cream – even with the explicit consent of the parents. The educator here, for instance, only applies the sun cream without touching the children's skin and instructs them to rub it in themselves. This is certainly also done to protect the professionals themselves and to promote the children's independence. However, the child's body has also become a 'risk zone' in recent years, not only because of the increased awareness of potentially allergenic substances, which has sensitised parents and led to polarising debates with regard to 'correct care behaviour'. Professionals also report that the discourse surrounding borderline offences in daycare centres, including child abuse, has led to an increasing reluctance to touch children's bodies directly (Cekaite/Bergnehr 2018). Against this backdrop, the way in which sun protection is approached here could also support the interpretation that specific practices of sharing care are evidently becoming established in the field of body-related care tasks, in which the child's body is once again marked as a special 'family territory'.

However, the approach taken here of explicitly obtaining parental permission for certain body-related care activities in addition to the already contractually regulated responsibilities also leads to tensions within day-to-day care practice, which are related to the nature of its bureaucratisation. If the parents' permission is missing because they have forgotten the note or have not presented it in time, the professionals are forced to either carry out unauthorised care activities in order to avoid sunburn or to impose new restrictions on the child, which in turn puts extreme strain on the relationship between child and carer. Accordingly, the time difference between the care agreements with the parents and the care needs of the children also be-

comes a problem in these time-shifted practices of shared care, which are established through documented prior authorisation from the parents.

3.5 Shared care as *compensated care*: becoming together apart and involving parents retrospectively

This temporal complexity in the negotiation and division of shared care between children's primary guardians and ECEC facilities also becomes apparent in practices where this authorisation is produced retrospectively – through subsequent or compensatory care acts, as becomes apparent in this scene which occured at a pick-up situation in an ECEC centre:

> Gregor's mother enters the day care centre. Bella (teacher) passes her an accident report and says that Gregor hurt himself today. They talk about this briefly and I hear the mother say that it's only a minor injury. The mother signs the report and goes to find her son. As the two of them are walking towards the exit a little while later, Margit (professional) comes into the hall and asks the mother if she has already received the accident report. The mother says yes. Margit goes to Gregor, who is already at the doorstep. She pulls up his bangs and lays her hand on his forehead to feel it. Margit says to Gregor's mother: "Oh ok, it's not bad. You can still see it a little here." The mother says: "No worries, no worries. This happens all the time." Then they say goodbye and leave the day care centre. (ECEC Centre G, Participant Observer AS[3])

Minor injuries or accidents of children are an occasion for the ECEC centre to retroactively involve the parents as primary caregivers in the care process, whereby this practice is also increasingly structured and secured by a bureaucratic process in the facilities we researched. Accordingly, an important role in this process of shared care is played by the accident report form, which is handed out to the parents and informs them retrospectively not only about the incident, but also about the measures taken by the professionals. With their signature, the parents confirm both. At the same time, handing out the report form not only opens up the possibility of a conversation between the professional and the parents, but seems to virtually demand it, as was apparent in this scene. The professional's renewed control of the child thus takes the simple handing over of the form and supplements this with additional acts of care that performatively make visible that the child's injury was not simply dealt with technocratically, as the handing over of the document might suggest. Rather, in this situation, Margit conveys not only that all professionals (not only the one directly involved) knew about the incident, but also that attention

3 Angelika Sichma

was paid to the child's injury in a comprehensive and temporally stretched sense, which the accident form cannot depict in this way and perhaps even threatens to obscure in its bureaucratic manner. The repeated inspection of the child is thus to be understood as a kind of performative act of the care that has taken place in the day care centre.

In general, the handover times at the daily end of the institutional care time are strongly characterised by such time-delayed care practices, be it that the children tell what happened to them, be it that the professionals tell of events that trigger "downstream" parental care acts such as compassion for what was suffered, or comforting or blowing on a wound that has long since ceased to hurt . In contrast to the form, in these performances, parental acts of care are marked as primary and actual care, which can be taken over for a certain time by substitutes, but ultimately never replaced. In this respect, a difference between private and institutional care is also reproduced here in a performative way that is visible to all participants (Thelen 2014). Accordingly, the daily transition situations are also to be understood as the core events in which the diffusion of care relationships produced by the absence of the parents is reunified in the sense of a catch-up arrangement. Shared care accordingly unfolds not only in a rhythm of separation/reunification, but temporally interrelated prior and subsequent care authorisations.

4 Discussion

The bureaucratised, temporalised and rhythmised forms of shared care outlined above not only demonstrate the diverse and everyday ways in which the interconnected care relationships among parents, professionals and children are realised in a way that reproduces the ambiguous figuration of public and private early childhood care described above. They also allow us to shed a more differentiated light on the described hierarchisation and prioritisation of education over care in political-programmatic documents and, in part, also in research.

With respect to the educational function of day care facilities, processes of attributing and rejecting responsibility have already pointed out the powerful position of professionals vis-à-vis parents within their collaboration (Alasuutari 2020, Betz; 2020). However, the cited studies focus primarily on the educational function of day care facilities and thus contribute to its prioritisation. In contrast, the present article examines the shaping and structuring of the relationship between day care and family by focusing attention on the care function of day care facilities and taking a practice-analytical perspective on shared care that goes beyond a mere commodified understanding. In particular, these multiple negotiations of shared care and associated situationally constellations of care tasks, responsibilities and authority as well as care relationships destabilise the binary distinction between parents and

professionals, and between private/family care and public/institutional care. In addition, examining various care practices from a practice-analytical perspective exposes other forms and ways of constituting the relationships among parents, professionals and children as well. The reification through practice of the distinction between primary and derived care authority reveals parents to be highly powerful actors within shared care – both when they are present and during the time when they are absent.

Both the example of the plush unicorn slippers and the sunscreen example highlight the caution with which professionals proceed and the legitimising efforts institutions undertake with respect to processes of negotiating and transferring care responsibilities. In addition, the care function – understood as an institutional service provision and form of support that complements the family – can come into conflict with the day care centre's other functions, such as its child protection mandate. The production of shared care comes under particular tension in situations in which – as in the example with the sick child – there is active wrangling over the question of care authority and the respective responsibilities of day care and the family. More or less bureaucratic procedures have proven to be one of various possible ways of producing shared care that attempt to neutralise these tension-filled ambiguities between public institutional and family-based care – but also produce new ones.

Ultimately, this perspective demonstrates that shared care does not only take place between professionals and parents. Spatial-material aspects, such as the care contract between the parties, injury documentation and posted notices at certain locations, also become visible as relevant actants structuring situational, day-to-day negotiations of shared care. Rather than speaking of divisions, transfers and performances of care activities and responsibility between persons, we believe that, following Latour (2005), it seems more appropriate to speak here of translation processes among actors, actants and activities as elements of a care network or arrangement. In doing so, shared care is distributed among numerous human and non-human actors and actants, and it is the interactions among them that give rise to concrete possibilities for the individual persons involved to develop and thus also pass on concrete care-related skills and care actions.

In the end, the analysis of the empirical examples draws attention to the fact that not only does shared care unfold through multiple practices, but also that ECEC institutions and families cannot be regarded as accurate separated entities or spheres with precisely definable boundaries. Rather, our research points to Thelens (2022) argument that care is to be understood as a boundary object between the private and the public, an object which also regulates the particular entanglements between the state and the family. Thus, particularly in the negotiations of shared care, ECEC institutions appear as places of doing/practicing family, where family members not only become aware of care responsibilities, tasks and priorities of care relations and obtain an understanding of how ECEC institutions understand them

as family. These negotiation processes – regardless of whether they are bureaucratised, temporalised or situational – go far beyond a commodified understanding of Betreuung and are always to be un-derstood as relational practices of determining the relationship between ECEC and family.

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IV Research paths on practicing the family/families

Tattooing Family – doing and displaying family through tattoos by young people in residential care

Lisa Groß

1 Introduction

The present paper focuses on young people in residential care contexts as actors of doing and displaying family. Despite their heterogeneity, young people who grow up in residential care settings temporarily or long-term are united by the fact of their living (at least for some time) spatially separate from their "family of origin" as part of the foster care system. A glance at the biographies of these young people reveals that it is not uncommon for them to repeatedly (have to) change their place of residence during their time in care: for example, they might move into different group homes, foster family structures, back to their family of origin or into supervised housing. Their biographies are characterized by transitions between different settings, meaning that they grow up "in between" public institutional and private familial care arrangements. Accordingly, they (must) also produce "family" in a processual and interactive way at the intersection of the institutional and the familial (see for instance Schäfer/Thole 2018). For the young people, residential care is also associated with a constant grappling with their own ideas, needs and practices with respect to the concept of "family": what is family to them and who exactly do they count as part of their family – their biological parents, their foster parents, their caregivers in the group home, their biological siblings, the other children in the group home and/or other significant people in their life? To whom do they feel they belong and what practices are linked to this?

Prior studies in the field of residential care research have shown that young people's grappling with their familial belonging can also change over time. Thus, from a praxeological perspective, family must be understood not as something static and predetermined, but rather as 'doing family' in everyday interactions and 'displaying family' to others (cf. Jurczyk 2020a; cf. Finch 2007). Following the Doing Family concept, family can be understood as something that is "flexible (changeable), contingent (always possible in a different way) and gradual (more or less)" (Jurczyk

2020b: 14[1], see also Jurczyk et al. in this volume). This includes understanding family as something that does not end "at the household boundary of the so-called nuclear family" (Jurczyk et al. 2014: 10), but also, for example, thinking of friends or elective relatives as actors in the doing of family (cf. Jurczyk 2020c: 40 ff.). Against this background, family is understood in terms of how the actors produce and understand it in each case. Conversely, this means that it is worthwhile for social work in residential care to focus on young people as actors in the doing of family – this also involves understanding their lifeworld and their independence of thought in the doing of family.

However, little is known about how young people performatively structure their consideration of these questions and how they produce, maintain and live out familial relationships in everyday life and across their life course. Fundamentally, we know that young people frequently express their perspective on their (life)world and their place in it in creative ways (Maurer 2017), such as by writing song lyrics (Wresnik 2015), making creative photo collages (Eßer/Köngeter 2015), doing graffiti (Schnoor 2009) – or even by getting tattoos (Groß 2022). Photo collages, tattoos, etc. are to be understood as artifacts in which social relations materialize (Lueger/Froschauer 2018). Artifacts also play a role in Doing and Displaying Family and are understood in this context as "tools for display" (Finch 2007: 77). In the course of addressing the potential for further conceptual development, however, Jurczyk (2020c) points to the research desideratum that the significance of artifacts in Doing Family practices is still not sufficiently taken into account (cf. ibid.: 37).

Tattoos can be understood as a unique point for accessing the subjective lifeworlds of their bearers because these artifacts are directly connected to their bearers' bodies. In my exploratory, qualitative dissertation (Groß: 2022), I analyzed the linguistic, embodied and visual dimensions of family tattoos as a way of gaining access to the familial lifeworlds of young people in residential care settings in Germany. The study examined the role played by tattoos, which are becoming increasingly popular with adolescents in general, in doing and displaying family and how tattoos can be fruitfully brought to bear for social work research and practice in residential care contexts, in which understanding clients' own lifeworlds is seen as a core aspect of professional practice (cf. Galuske 2013: 57).

In my contribution to this volume, I will present those results from my dissertation that are particularly interesting with regard to the topic of the edited volume. To this end, I will first unfold the theoretical perspective of understanding tattoos as artifacts in Doing and Displaying Family practices, before going on to examine the methodological approach – here in particular the inclusion of artifacts in a study applying grounded theory. Subsequently, using excerpts from the empirical material, I will point in particular to two aspects that are especially exciting with regard

1 All translations of German quotations are the author's own.

to the topic of "young people in/out of residential care as actors in Doing/Displaying Family": first, Doing Family in the absence of family and second, UnDoing Family in fragile and fluid (quasi-)familial relationship dynamics. Abstracting, I will then address what is at the core of Doing and Displaying Family with tattoos by young people in/out of residential care. In the process, I will demonstrate that this core revolves around the (re)presentation of familial belonging over time. Finally, at the end of the paper, I will again tie this in with the theme of the book and discuss what the results mean for our common cross-cutting topic of "The making and doing of family in, through and with education and social work".

2 Tattoos as artifacts in practices of doing und displaying family

A very obvious feature of tattoos is their close connection to their bearers. This is apparent in relation to three important characteristics of tattoos: first, the tattooed symbols are meant to be permanent; second, they cannot be easily 'taken off' (unlike jewelry, for example); and third, it is possible to interweave the tattooed symbols with a unique subjective meaning in connection to one's personal lifeworld (cf. Bammann 2006: 36). Think, for example, of tattoos with the names of one's children or tattoos that express one's music preferences, hobbies or scene affiliation. These subjective attributions of meaning certainly do not apply to all tattoos, and in the words of Bammann (2008), sometimes a tattoo "is simply a tattoo, gotten for the sake of getting a tattoo" (ibid.: 264). Nevertheless, the question 'What does the tattoo mean?' seems to be omnipresent in both everyday empirical and scholarly work on tattoos. A review of the literature on tattoos (Groß 2022) reveals that few scholarly publications explicitly address references to the family in tattoos – despite the fact that from an everyday empirical perspective, these seem to be quite widespread in society: think, for example, of tattooed names or birthdates of newborn or deceased family members or different ways of inscribing 'family'.

However, what has been a strong focus of the previous literature on tattoos and can serve as a point of departure are examinations of the production of belonging through tattoos. This has typically concerned group or scene affiliation (cf. Hertrampf et al. 2003; cf. Bammann 2008; cf. Sanders/Vail 2008). In this context, tattoos can be understood as a "feature of subcultural belonging" (Lobstädt 2005: 234). However, belonging to the family 'group' is seldom mentioned in this context. With regard to family and tattoos, Sanders and Vail (2008) come to the following conclusion:

> "One of the most common responses to my question, 'How did you go about deciding on this particular tattoo?' was a reference to a personal associate with whom they had a close emotional relationship. Some chose a particular

> tattoo because it was like that worn by a close friend or a member of their family. Others chose a design that incorporated the name of their boyfriend, girlfriend, spouse or child or a design associated with that person." (Ibid.: 45 f.)

As Lueger and Froschauer (2018) argue, "social relations are not only anchored in specific forms of relationships, they also become manifest in the artifacts that express these relationships and indicate to others what they are dealing with" (ibid.: 31). In this sense, "many artifacts are positioned at the intersections between people, set them in relation to one another and thus modify structures and processes within society" (ibid.: 25). Artifacts also play an important role in the concept of 'displaying family', where they are understood as "tools for display" (Finch 2007: 77). In this sense, a theoretical question concerns to what extent tattoos emerge as 'tools for displaying family' – particularly in connection with "narratives" (ibid.), another tool in processes of displaying family.

Sanders und Vail (2008) speak of "displaying tattoos" (ibid.: ix), referring conceptually to processes of making tattoos visible and placing them in the limelight. Accordingly, 'displaying family with tattoos' involves both depicting family in the sense of a visualization and/or verbalization as well as making family visible to others and oneself. Gabb (2011), who studies family relationships as well as "troubling displays" (ibid.: 38), likewise refers to displays in tattoos and discusses – citing Back (2007) – tattooed names of partners or children as "displayed upon the skin" (Gabb 2011: 49).

3 Methodological approach

According to Normann (2003), the strength of qualitative research approaches lies in their ability to capture the "idiosyncrasies of subjective utterances" (ibid.: 9) and facilitate "meaningful access to the patterns of interpretation applied by children and adolescents in their respective life circumstances" (ibid.). Normann (2003) and other primarily biographical studies of residential care communities focus on the narrative dimension. With regard to qualitative social research more generally, one might speak here, in the somewhat provocative words of Eisewicht (2016), of a "language-obsessed and object-neglecting social science mainstream" (ibid.: 115), even though this is somewhat less true of research on residential care settings. Indeed, a few studies in this field do examine artifacts, such as Eßer and Köngeter (2015), who investigate photo collages in group homes, or Keitsch and Pooch (2017), who conceptualize "artifacts as an empirical point of access to studying living spaces within residential care settings" (ibid.: 195). Returning to the potential of this approach, examining artifacts – and especially tattoos, as artifacts particularly close to the body – enables us to take into account visual and embodied dimensions of expression in

addition to the narrative dimension. Nevertheless, doing justice to the multidimensional nature of the close, lifeworld-based connections between tattoos and their bearers poses a significant challenge in terms of identifying an appropriate methodological approach.

The exploratory qualitative study examining the tattoos of young people in residential care settings took an object-related methodological approach based on a constructivist reading of grounded theory (Charmaz 2014). Proceeding from the core assumption that tattoos are unique in their direct connection to their bearers, data collection took the form of tattoo-focused, photograph-supported interviews. This form of interviewing made it possible to focus the data collection process on both the bearers of the tattoos and on the artifacts themselves (by taking pictures of the tattoos). The interviewees were free to decide whether and which of their tattoos to show in the interview situation. A total of 16 people (9 female and 7 male) aged 18–25 were interviewed. All interviewees in the sample have at least one tattoo. At the time of the interview, some were still living in residential care, while others were no longer. As indicated in the interview transcripts, the period of time during which they lived in residential care ranged from one year to eighteen years. The dataset for the dissertation study encompassed a total of 16 interviews and 57 photographs of 58 tattoos. All 16 interviewees had at least one tattoo that referred to family.

At the beginning of the dissertation study, the focus was not yet on family tattoos, but on tattoos of young people in residential care and the general (and rather methodological) question as to what extent tattoos provide access to the lifeworlds of their wearers. The dissertation's later focus on the production and representation of family with tattoos emerged in the course of the analysis of the first interviews and the result that family becomes thematic in at least one of the tattoos of each interviewee. In the interviews, no exmanent questions were asked about the topic of 'Doing and Displaying Family'; instead, inquiry focused more generally on the tattoos and the stories behind them. If the interviewees addressed family themselves in the course of the interview, follow-up questions were asked where appropriate.

The Doing Family concept as a theoretical approach sensitized the analysis of the empirical material to understanding the family as the interviewees themselves understand it. The analytical distinction between Doing, Undoing, and Not Doing Family (cf. Jurczyk 2020b: 10) helped with the borderline question of which of the tattoos had a family connection and were thus analyzed in greater detail within the framework of the focused codings. Doing Family is understood as the production of family with the tattoo, Undoing Family as processes of distancing or detachment from family with the tattoo, and Not Doing Family can be understood as tattoo-related practices in which family does not play a role or does not become thematic. Thus, tattoos without family references can also be found in the data corpus, such as the tattoo of a cannabis leaf, tattoos related to music preferences, etc. Among the family tattoos, there are tattoos that have an immediate family reference, such as

the tattoo "Mom" and other tattoos where the interviewees make a family meaning visible in the narrative about the tattoos. For example, the tattoo of a rune that the interviewee got with a peer from the residential group, whom he describes as his "quasi-sister".

There are a total of 28 tattoos in the sample in which references to family were produced. These ranged from tattoos of family members' names or birth dates, to stuffed animals, cars, or flowers that respondents associated with specific family members, to tattooed images representing significant times with their family, and symbols such as a heart or, as mentioned above, a rune – to name just a few examples (Gross 2022). The interviews were fully transcribed and anonymized. Sketches of the photographs were made for publication in order to obscure personal data in the tattoos (such as birthdates or names) as well as the body parts involved. In applying this methodology, it became apparent that this research approach must be understood as exploratory not only on the empirical level, but also from on a methodological level due to its linking of textual and visual material. The examination of visual material has long been rather marginal within the grounded theory tradition, although work on visual grounded theory by Konecki (2011, 2019) as well as Mey and Dietrich (2016) opens up a possible way forward here. The data analysis involved linking constructivist grounded theory (cf. Charmaz 2014) with visual grounded theory (cf. Konecki 2011; 2019; cf. Mey/Diedrich 2016). This made it possible to analyze the different types of data in relation to one another and still take into account their unique intrinsic logics. The interview materials were analyzed on the basis of the steps of 'initial, focused and theoretical coding' recommended in Charmaz's (2014) constructivist grounded theory approach. The visual materials were analyzed complementary to and in connection with the interview materials in a manner fundamentally rooted in visual grounded theory (cf. Mey/Dietrich 2016).

In the following, I will present excerpts from my dissertation (Groß 2022). First, I will use empirical material to spotlight Tattooing Family, focusing in particular on two findings that I think are particularly exciting with regard to the book and the topic of "young people as actors of Doing/Displaying Family": first, on Doing Family in the absence of family and, second, on UnDoing Family practices of young people with their tattoos in the midst of fragile and fluid relationship dynamics. While I unfold this close to the empirical material, on an abstact level the following chapter seeks to describe what the young people are expressing with their family tattoos. Here the focus is on the (re)presentation of familial belonging over time.

4 Tattooing Family as inscribing, showing, (re)presenting and interpreting family

Getting a tattoo generally can be understood as a biographical event that is literally 'inscribed' on the body. Asking the interviewees *when*, *from whom* and *with whom* they got their tattoos revealed highly divergent dynamics. For example, P (the first letter of her pseudonym) got a tattoo of the names of her sister and her cousin from and with peers from her group home (secretly, without the knowledge of the educators in the room), meaning that her tattoos arose from a peer-group-related dynamic. However, there are other examples in the data in which family relationship dynamics were the occasion for practices of doing and displaying family via tattoos. For example, the death of her grandmother initiates T.'s wish to have her name and her favorite flower tattooed. I., meanwhile, has seven birds tattooed on her, representing the seven worst years of her childhood and adolescence. And O., together with a peer from the residential group, gets a tattoo of a rune connecting the two of them. Thus, biographically significant times evoke practices of doing and displaying family in specific ways (cf. Finch 2007: 72 f.).

The tattoos are part of this particular doing and displaying family in the sense of inscribing, showing, (re)presenting and interpreting family (Groß 2022). They do so by creating a representation that remains on the skin and can thus be "preserved." This can be illustrated with the example of T's tattoo (Groß 2022: 164 ff.).[2]

> Interview T (lines 13–21, Groß 2022: 164):
> "T: And so here's one [shows her tattoo, rolls up her clothes somewhat to do so]. This is my grandma, she raised me (.) and I always said, when my grandma passes away, then (.) she is definitely (.) coming under my skin. Now my grandpa has just recently passed away, now he will be added as well. (.) Yeah. That is actually / so that is actually really important to me. Not that I would forget them / God's, I would never / just (.) yeah so this feeling of always having them with me. Yeah. Exactly.(.)"

2 The name in the original tattood was pseudonymized in the printed sketch of the tattoo, all sketches from Groß 2022.

Here, T's tattoo is a form of symbolic expression that creates a form of physical closeness to physically absent people and displays her connection to them in a way that is visible to herself and to others. The discussion of the absence of family can be seen in the data material not only in relation to the loss of a family member, but also in relation to a separation from the family during their time in inpatient care. For example, C., another intervieew, had the character "Mama" tattooed on her during a phase in which communication with her mother broke off (Groß 2022: 167).

An experienced absence of certain family members is the reason for this specific drawing and interpretation practice for both T. and C. In the process, family members who are experienced as physically absent and not 'tangible' are brought closer again with the tattoo. In a way, the bearers of the tattoos use their tattoos to dissolve the distance to family members caused by their physical absence. At the same time, they establish with the tattoo the presence of the family members bound to their own body. Family is (re-)presented here with the tattoo. Doing family emerges in the young people's practices with respect to tattoos in that family is either literally depicted on the skin and inscribed on the body as part of the tattooing process, and/or it is verbalized in the form of narratives and subjective interpretations. Moreover, these practices of tattooing and displaying one's tattoos can also elicit care practices related to protecting the young person's bodily integrity in interactions with family members or residential caregivers.

Given that the audience to whom something is signified as family is particularly relevant for 'displaying family' practices (cf. Haynes/Dermott 2011: 155), displaying family through tattoos is particularly evident when the tattoos visually depict 'family' to oneself and others. However, practices of doing and displaying family in relation to tattoos cannot be clearly distinguished from one another – instead, they can be understood as interwoven and in interaction with one another. The same is true for practices of 'doing' and 'undoing' family. Undoing family can be understood as a "counter-movement to the production of family, but nevertheless still in relation to it" (Buschmeyer et al. 2020: 114) that can find expression in the form of an "active distancing" (ibid.). While "not doing family" makes no reference to the family at all (cf. Jurczyk 2020c: 36), processes in which tattoos address the topic of family, but in a way that produces and depicts distance and dissociation from the family, can be

described as 'undoing family'. Thus, in processes of undoing family through tattoos, family is not produced, but is rather symbolically dissolved, or one symbolically distances oneself from it. This process of dissolution and distancing is expressed in a unique way via the tattoo.

The dataset also includes tattoos that make visible practices of "undoing family" – in the sense of detaching and distancing oneself from family – as is the case with I., who got a tattoo of seven birds and discusses in the interview that these birds stand for the seven worst years of her life (Groß 2022: 190 ff.).

> Interview_I. (lines 94–110, Groß 2022: 190):
> "I.: So yeah that began um (.) so um (.) I had a difficult childhood. And um (.) so starting at age 10 or so / so when I was 10 it began / so that was actually, starting at that moment, the worst period (.) so / until now actually / it's never been better / and I just thought to myself with these birds, just um that I would at some point get this / this same freedom, I thought that, so / so this just stands for those years as a whole and just (.) as I said, previously I didn't / so yeah previously I didn't have any freedom and um (.) yeah I don't know how I can explain it exactly. It's just difficult, I think, also something like that, because a person themselves knows best why they did something like that, but sometimes it's just / it's difficult to put into words. (.) So you put it into a picture, right?"

The example of the tattoo of the 'seven birds' also makes apparent how harmful practices of 'doing family' (cf. Kindler/Eppinger 2020: 141 ff.) during the period before foster care can lead to a subsequent 'undoing family' in the sense of an explicit distancing and dissolution from the family, which is then expressed in the tattoo. While in the above example of the "mom" tattoo, an attempt is made to bring the family or the mother bring closer, here the tattoo is used to distance the bearer from her family. It is characteristic here that for her, tattoos are connected to her experiences and she uses tattoos as means not only to record "stupid times", but also to let these negative experiences appear in "positive pictures". Here the tattoo thus also functions as a coping strategy by means of which the distancing is accomplished.

Moreover, the tattoos referring to the death of a family member demonstrate how a termination or dissolution of physical contact due to death, which might at first glance be understood as 'undoing family', can actually lead to a more intense production and depiction of family connection in/despite physical absence and thus to practices of doing and displaying family. Here, the tattoo serves as a means of expression, as a way of bringing absent persons physically closer to oneself in a symbolic way by getting tattoos of their names, by immortalizing them on one's skin and thus displaying to others the connection despite absence.

Both interview excerpts demonstrate that doing and displaying family through tattoos primarily takes place via (re)presentation and interpretation of significant familial relationships. However, there is great diversity within the sample as to who is counted as family in each case – members of the 'family of origin', or sometimes also fellow group home residents, who are (re)presented as 'quasi'-family – as is the case with O (Groß 2022: 156 ff.).

> Interview_O (lines 14–38, Groß 2022: 157):
> "Um for me, the thing with the tattoos is just that I wouldn't want to um just simply get any old one, but rather it should just have a deep meaning for me. And um yeah this meaning doesn't need to be in the past but can also maybe have to do with planning for the future or just simply a deeper meaning for ME. And um (.) yeah so I got one (.) um around two years ago with a friend of mine together. Um so we have the same one. […] And we both got this as just a kind of bonding rune because I've known her now for (.) almost 11 years. We grew up together in the group home (.) um and yeah never drifted apart. We are practically brother and sister and thus we thought about it for a long time and then did it."

> Interview_O (lines 656–670, Groß 2022: 158):
> "I: // Can you say more about this, how did you get the idea, did you draw it yourself, or what?
> O: Um no it was just always clear to us, even though a lot of people said that yeah we should have a go at being in a relationship, um it was always clear to us, "no we don't want to", we instead just want a more familial connection, simply because that is always usually more sustainable in the long run than those relationships always are. And um particularly as there was just never / never really love involved either, but rather always a kind of brother-sister behavior. And um that's why we thought, yeah um since we are not actually blood relatives and that's easy to say, we want to um deepen it kind of a little more and um so that our connection will be really clear. And even though she isn't actually [related] by blood, um then by tattoo."

Here, O's tattoo serves as a symbol of a 'quasi'-sibling relationship that is expressed through getting the same tattoo and the associated representation of physical similarity. An attempt is made here to compensate for the lack of a blood relationship, which is often cited within society as a powerful point of reference for the constitution of family (cf. Jurczyk/Thiessen 2020: 116), through the embodied dimension of the tattoo. At the same time, this tattoo sensitizes us to two specific characteristics of peer relationships within residential care that have largely been neglected in previous research on such facilities. First, for some young people, whether peer relationships in residential care facilities are friendships, sibling relationships, or romantic relationships is subject to interpretation and negotiation. Second, the tattoo also makes clear that peer relationships do not necessarily end when young people leave the facility, but can continue and become familialized. They are sometimes far less temporally limited than the young people's relationships to the staff at these facilities.

The biographies of young people with experience of residential care are characterized by transitions between private familial and institutional care structures. For them, the question of what 'family' is, who belongs to it and who does not is particularly critical. In this context, constellations of family relationships can be characterized as fragile, precarious, uncertain or even (with respect to care relationships in residential care facilities) as temporally limited and subject to change over time.

Two central conclusions emerge from this chapter in particular: first, family is present even when it is supposedly absent (due to a spatial separation, a break in contact or death). Or to put it differently: Doing Family works even in the absence of family. And second, the question "who belongs to your family?" is one that can be answered in many different ways for young people in/out of residential care, and for each individual the answer can sometimes change over time. Some include their birth parents and birth siblings, others deliberately do not include them, some include foster parents, affirmers or residential peers, deceased family members, spatially absent family members, etc. In this context, family tattoos can be understood as creative signs of expression that represent family affiliation.

5 Tattooing family means tattooing belonging

The essential *core* of the reconstructed practices of doing and displaying family through tattoos in the residential care context involves the *(re-)presentation of familial belonging across time* (Groß 2022). The young people interviewed do and display family through their tattoos as a way of constructing belonging in constellations of fluid or fragile family relationships. The primary aim of their tattoos is to reassure themselves of their familial belonging across time and make it visible to others. An examination of the time points they select to get tattoos shows that this happens to an increased extent whenever what is being tattooed (such as a certain level of connection to the family) was previously in question in some way or when familial relations have changed. For example, as explained above, C. gets her tattoo during the break in contact with her mother and T. after the death of her grandmother. Constructions of belonging can thus be understood as production and representation processes involved in doing and displaying family. In this way, familial belonging cannot be understood as a given, but is "made" into such (Jurczyk 2018: 144) and can change in a processual way, leading to the emergence of "dynamic forms of belonging" (Eßer/Köngeter 2015: 122).

Another particularly relevant aspect with respect to tattoos is negotiation of the "plural forms of family belonging" (Schäfer 2020: 339) or "multiple belongings" (Täubig et al. 2015: 220) characteristic of the residential care context, which arises with respect to tattoos in various ways: for example, via negotiating forms of belonging to the family, the group home community as 'quasi-family' (see here Finkel 2004: 227) or peers as 'quasi-siblings', but also via ensuring the survival or preservation of the forms of family belonging inscribed in the tattoo. Due to their longevity and proximity to the body, tattoos make it possible to reinforce and stabilize subjective positionings of belonging at the intersection of private familial and institutional care arrangements in a particularly inscriptive way. The empirical results from the dissertation study overall show how young people use a durable tattoo to create permanence within fluid, fragile and/or absent relationships or express their striving for freedom and detachment from family care structures, in the sense of undoing family.

6 Obtaining an image of young people as actors in doing and displaying family

Taking up the title of the edited volume by Jurczyk, Lange and Thiessen (2014), which implies that family in general must be understood as something that is not (or no longer) self-evident, that seems to require greater and greater legitimization the less it corresponds to the societal image of the family or the more dynamic and fragile

familial relationships become (cf. Jurczyk et al. 2014: 22 ff.), we might say that the tattoos of young people in residential care settings make reference to this non-self-evident nature of family by depicting in visual form, interpreting and displaying to themselves and others family as they understand it.

Tattoos can be understood as artifacts tied to specific meanings and conveying specific symbols that are deeply interconnected with their bearers and their life-worlds. The study data summarize and capture how family is interpreted ("interpretative work of the actors", Morgan 1996: 192) and symbolically visualized by the bearers through their tattoos. The tattoos, which always have a preservative nature, also reveal how constructions of meaning in relation to the family can transform across the life course. This in turn confirms the processual and dynamic understanding of the production of family essential to the 'doing family' concept (cf. Jurczyk 2020b: 13 f.; cf. Schneider 2014: 208).

Jurczyk, Lange and Thiessen's (2014) thesis that family "represents a joint achievement by the actors involved with respect to themselves and to others, with an identify-forming character" (ibid.: 11) could be confirmed in the empirical analyses. While the authors use this term primarily to draw attention to the inner-familial and the public spheres, it takes on another connotation with respect to tattoos: examining tattoos in which family is produced shows that, on the one hand, family is inscribed on the body as a way of assuring oneself of one's familial belonging (in the sense of 'doing family' internally, Jurczyk 2020c: 30). On the other hand, in that the tattoo is made visible to others, family is also produced externally, for the outside world. Another distinction in this context refers to whom the tattoo is shown: family members ('internally') or non-familial actors ('externally') – even though here the boundaries between 'internal' and 'external' must be understood as fluid and dynamic and are (re-)produced in social interactions (see also Eßer/Krinninger in this volume).

With regard to the overarching theme of this volume, "the making and doing of family in, through and with education and social work", this paper investigates young people in residential care as central actors in practices of doing and displaying family. The study showed that examining the tattoos of young people in residential care contexts can create a point of access to these young people's subjective interpretations of their lived experiences. This perspective follows the principles of lifeworld-oriented social work, which is characterized by understanding the "stubbornness" of clients' lifeworld-related meaning-making (Thiersch 2020: 40) and taking their subjective perspectives on their own lives "seriously" (ibid.).

Overall, while the study of tattoos is a mostly new and perhaps very specific perspective for residential care research, some of the reconstructions generated confirm previous findings, such as the fundamental importance of family in the residential care context in general (Sievers et al. 2015), and doing and displaying family in particular (McIntosh et al. 2011; Eßer/Köngeter 2015; Gwenzi 2018; Schäfer 2020),

as well as – more specifically to this context – constructions of belonging and relationships of closeness and distance to the institution and the family (Göbel et al. 2020). At the same time, the results introduce new nuances to the discourse regarding practices of doing and displaying family – such as the significance of bodily artifacts for practices of displaying, (re)presenting and interpreting family. With respect to implications for residential care practice, it can be said that social work professionals seeking to take the premises of lifeworld-oriented practice seriously face the challenge of obtaining an 'image' of their clients' lifeworld perspectives. Alongside narratives, forms of creative expression like photographs, drawings or even tattoos can be understood as points of access to young people's lifeworlds and should receive greater attention both in social work practice and on the level of research methodology.

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Doing family by means of adoption

The depiction of long-term adoption in films for children and young people

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1 Adoption as a prototype

Adoption plays a significant role in society as a form of alternative family formation. Especially in times of diversification of family forms (e.g. Jurczyk 2017: 5), which leads to a lack of a universally valid definition of family, the adoptive family offers clues for the classification of kinship relationships. For example, by looking at adoptive families, it is possible to examine which factors beyond biological descent relationships explicitly make a group of people a family in the first place. Moreover, societal attitudes toward adoption can offer clues to attitudes such as strong biologism (Ruggiero 2014: 35).

The following work relates to underage adoption, the primary goal of which is the creation of a stable family structure for the children involved in it (Bovenschen et al. 2018a: 4). Adoption in this study is consequently defined as a care relationship between at least two people who are characterized by parent-child relationships in terms of age, but who have no biological relationship to each other (Reinhardt 2017: 20). Under examination here are third-party adoptions, which are considered a classic form of child adoption in the sense of child and youth welfare (Fendrich/Mühlmann 2016: 4). By looking at this example, a contribution can be made to answering the question of family-constituting factors (Fisher 2003: 337). Since each country has its own adoption law, Germany will be used as an example for some points.

The use of the motif of adoption is particularly relevant in children's and youth films, in which the thematization of the creation of a family unit has a dual function. As family entertainment films, children's and youth films have a significant share in cinema production (Kurwinkel/Schmerheim 2013: 9). Thus, these films are characterized by a high complexity of themes and levels of interpretation, which make them interesting for adults as well. Hence, this specific genre reaches a particularly broad mass of recipients (Kümmerling-Meibauer 2010: 12 f.). Based on this, it can

be assumed that the mere depiction of the adoption of a non-biological child in children's and youth films has an opinion-forming effect on a large part of society. For science, such film formats also offer, as a third function, the possibility of gaining insights into a field that is hardly, if at all, accessible (Akremi 2019: 1203).

Due to the exemplary character of adoptions as well as the high relevance of children's and youth films on the formation of opinions, the following question will be examined: How are doing family practices between an adopted child and his or her social parents presented in a cinematic way in children's and youth films?

2 The de-bounded family as an everyday doing family

Since the beginning of industrialisation, a societal change can be traced that leads to an economisation of society (Schimank/Volkmann 2008: 382). The individual is confronted with the imperative of actively shaping his or her entire professional and non-professional life (Voss 2007: 98). These new demands lead, among other things, to postmodern family life being conceived like a business enterprise. With regard to adoptive families, this demand for an active family design can trigger a particular pressure to succeed – namely, in terms of building a sustainable relationship between the children and those adopting them.

As a result of the expanded self-organisation, the gainful employment of adult family members is being dissolved, which inevitably also affects private life and changes the conditions of everyday family life (Jurczyk/Schier 2007: 12 f.). Especially the aspect of the spatio-temporal dissolution of boundaries between work and private life has a strong impact on family and social relationships, as interpersonal contacts are at least made more difficult, and in some cases even prevented (Voss/Weiss 2014: 42). In adoptive families, parents may initially find it difficult to adjust their lives to caring for the child. When a child is born to the mother, she usually has several months to prepare herself, her environment, and her schedule for everyday life with a child. Adoptive parents often wait months or even several years before they are granted a child, usually relatively unexpectedly from one day to the next, so that they inevitably have to abruptly change their previous personal schedule. This means, e.g., that at least one parent suspends his or her own professional activity for at least one year from the time the child is admitted in order to take over the care of the child (BAG 2019: 56).

Jurczyk (2014) asks how families manage to establish togetherness and provide care. Care must be provided in the form of nurturing, caring, educating, providing, and giving. Jurczyk (2020) traces the doing family to two basic forms of interaction between individual members: balance management and the construction of community (see also Jurczyk et al. in this volume). Specifically, the production performance takes place through common actions and undertakings, through mutual ref-

erence to each other, and through a symbolically charged representation as a family (Jurczyk 2014: 61; Jurczyk 2020: 29 f.). The latter happens, e.g., through rites of passage such as family celebrations and traditions, family-cycle rituals, and everyday life events that have been specially created and installed in a cyclically recurring manner, thus leading to a sense of "we" (Keddi 2014: 97). In addition to the family members themselves, public actors from the economy, churches or associations also have an impact on the production of the family (ibid.: 64 f.). For adoptive families, the youth welfare office and adoption agencies also play an important role.

Due to the constant need for their own production or the complex balancing act that takes place in the process, families represent a system susceptible to disruption (Jurczyk et al. 2014: 12). This is especially true when they are exposed to particular pressures, as is the case, for instance, with the increased pressure to legitimise in foster and adoptive families. Helming (2014) used the example of foster families to discover peculiarities of doing family in families with social rather than biological kinship. A first characteristic lies in the practice that social parents can choose the children, which contradicts the claim of unconditionality with which children should be taken. A second characteristic is that the strangeness of the body must be overcome, which is automatic in a biological-physical kinship. Overall, similarities in appearance or character traits and behaviors must be actively sought and thus established to a particular degree. Social networks, such as family and friends, can play either a supporting or a hindering role in this process. If doing family is already a challenge with young children, adolescence presents a double burden. Children in social families experience a double strangeness during this time. They are neither psychosocially nor biologically like their parents (Helming 2014: 84). Naming, such as mom or dad, therefore has a particularly high symbolic significance in the production of social family (see also Schäfer 2020). Consequently, even more than in biologically determined families, rituals take on an important role in establishing the necessary sense of "we". The casual nature of upbringing, which expresses an acceptance of the child as it is, is equally essential. In summary, it can be stated that the topic of strangeness and the establishment of familiarity has a special and comparatively greater significance in the establishment of social families than in biological ones.

The synopsis of international publications confirms adoption as an important measure of youth welfare and as a good developmental opportunity for the children involved. Most adoptions, over 80 percent, proved to be stable and thus offered the adolescents a permanent new family. Problems were found mainly among late-adopted children who had had difficult experiences prior to adoption (Bovenschen et al. 2018a: 6). In this context, some psychological studies were able to identify a stronger tendency towards attachment difficulties (Van den Dries et al. 2009), behavioural problems (Juffer/van Ijzendoorn 2005) and developmental delays (Brodzinsky/Steiger 1991) compared to non-adopted children. In addition, it was

possible to gather general conditions which speak for or against the success of an adoption. These influencing factors can be found in the individual characteristics of the child as well as in the characteristics of the adoptive family and in the general conditions. On the child's side, the development of family relationships is primarily influenced by the child's age and previous experiences, such as emotional and behavioral problems, sexual abuse or previous relationship breakdowns. Significant influencing factors on the part of the adoptive family are the parenting behavior and the way the child's behavioral problems are handled, a younger age of the adoptive parents, and a short duration of the adopting person's relationship and motives for adoption. The general conditions have a negative impact on the stability of the adoption, especially when the adoptive family was poorly prepared or followed up and the information about the child's history is inadequate (Bovenschen et al. 2018b: 29). These study findings may provide clues to the characteristics of adoptive families and to the establishment of a family unit.

3 The exploratory reconstruction of doing family by means of sociological film analysis

Considering the low level of research, an exploratory qualitative method was chosen (Flick 2017: 27). The aim was to reconstruct the cinematic representation of the relationship between the child and the adopting character, as well as the accompanying attitudinal and opinion offerings that children's and adolescent films offer their viewers to establish familial unity in adoptive families (Helfferich 2009: 21; Kümmerling-Meibauer 2010: 22). In order to examine films qualitatively, sociological film analysis is appropriate (Dimbath 2013: 403). Since there has been little research on the relationship between adopted children and the adopting parents in general and none at all by means of a film analysis of various children's and adolescents' films, an evaluation based on Grounded Theory according to Strauss and Corbin (1999) is suitable.

At the beginning of the analysis, the complete story of the respective film was summarized in order to understand the role of the portrayal of adoption in the overall context (Mikos 2015: 76). Furthermore, an analysis of the most important characters was made in order to be able to include their character in the evaluation (Faulstich 2013: 99 ff.). As part of the contextualization, the year of release, the genre, and the country of origin of the film are also considered. The entire film was examined for the scenes in which the relationship between the adopted child and the adopting person played a role. These sequences were analyzed in view of the image composition and spatial symbolism, as well as the lighting and color design. In addition, the individual settings of the sequences were examined with regard to the setting size, the setting perspective, the sequence of events, the dialogues and

the facial expressions as well as gestures of the characters. Findings from psychology and media studies were considered. The analysis took place with the help of the analysis software MAXQDA directly on the film material, since a verbalization of the impressions would mean a strong reduction of the significant symbols (Gräf et al. 2017: 32; Hickethier 2012: 28).

Jim Button and Luke the Engine Driver (2018)

In 2018, the German classic novel Jim Button and Luke the Engine Driver by Michael Ende was adapted into a film. The film is a German production by director Dennis Gansel. The two protagonists are the orphan boy Jim Button and the locomotive driver Lukas. Jim is kidnapped as a baby by pirates and accidentally taken to the very small island of Lummerland, which is home to his adoptive mother Mrs. Waas and Luke as well as two other people. Mrs. Waas does not tell Jim for a long time that she is not his birth mother. As time goes on Jim begins to wonder about the fact that he is black and Mrs. Waas is white. When Luke has to go on a journey with his locomotive Jim decides to accompany the locomotive driver and uncover his biological origins. Towards the end of the film, the orphan boy gets the chance to ask a wise dragon about his ancestry. However, he does not use this opportunity. The characters analyzed were Jim Button and Mrs. Waas.

Maleficent (2014)

The 2014 film Maleficent by US director Robert Stromberg looks at the fairy tale Sleeping Beauty from the perspective of the evil fairy. The U.S. production tells how the fairy Maleficent curses the king's daughter named Aurora to prick herself on a spindle on her 16th birthday and fall into a death-like sleep. This state could only be dissolved by the true love's kiss. Thereupon, the royal couple decides that their newborn child should grow up far away from them with the good fairies. In the course of time Maleficent of all people takes more and more care of the girl and becomes a mother figure to her. When Aurora, despite all precautions, pricks herself on a spindle and falls into the predicted sleep, the kiss of her social mother Maleficent turns out to be the saving kiss of true love. The characters analyzed were Maleficent and Aurora.

Despicable Me (2010)

Despicable Me is an animated film, which was directed by the French Pierre Coffin and the US American Chris Renaud in 2010. Needing help with a crime, he adopts three girls named Margo, Edith and Agnes with the intention of returning them to the orphanage after the crime is completed. Over time, however, a close relationship

develops between Gru and the children. Gru's opponent takes advantage of this and kidnaps the girls. As a result, Gru rescues the three children and promises them to never let them go. The end of the film shows how the everyday life of the four becomes normal and they become a family.

4 The doing family in adoptive families in children's and adolescent films

The analysis of the three films shows that the ideal-typical realisation of the doing family in adoptive families in children's and youth films takes place in seven phases:

Stage 1: First contact

The first contact between the adolescents and the accepting persons usually takes place unplanned and without focus on the possible development of a relationship. The prospective parents show a strong distance to the children and the children also behave reservedly. The picture is very different from common adoption practice in Germany. In third-party adoptions the first contact between the child and the adoptive applicants for the purpose of adoption is initiated and accompanied by staff from the respective adoption agency. These check the suitability of the adoptive applicants and prepare the potential parents for their tasks and the specifics of adoption, such as possible attachment problems with the children (Bovenschen et al. 2018a: 51 ff.; Bovenschen et al. 2018b: 38). Preference is given to married couples as parents. Single persons, as is the case in the films, are only granted adoption in special cases (BAG 2019: 53 ff.).

In addition, the personality of the parents is checked for a reflected self-concept and the general life satisfaction as well as the educational guiding ideas are assessed. Furthermore, economic security must be guaranteed (ibid.: 52 ff.). All of these prerequisites are not tested in any way in the three films and, moreover, are not fulfilled in their entirety in any of the films. The dark fairy Maleficent has been deeply hurt and disappointed by Aurora's father, causing her life satisfaction to turn into frustration (M, 00:19:57-00:22:01). She shows no educational guidance and even wants to harm the child with a curse at the beginning of the film (M, 00:30:36-00:33:10). Gru, as a villain, shows behavior deviating from the norms of society. He torments children, e.g., by destroying their toys (DM, 00:03:23-00:04:09), and lies to the three girls at their first encounter by pretending to be an answering machine (DM, 00:05:30-00:06:33). Nothing is known about Mrs. Waas prior to her encounter with Jim. No statements can be made about her general satisfaction with life, her self-concept, or her ideas guiding her education. Moreover, she does not apply for adoption, but is appointed the role of mother by the king of the island (JB, 00:02:28-00:05:06). The economic stability required of adoptive parents in Germany is not explicitly men-

tioned in any of the films, but seems to be present in all three cases. Maleficent, e.g., is the ruler of an empire (M, 00:23:58-00:25:59), Mrs. Waas owns a grocery store (JB, 00:07:04-00:08:30), and Gru has a job as a villain and lives in a smaller suburb, which is why he can be counted among the middle class (DM, 00:04:36-00:04:59).

Overall, it can be stated that the first contact between the children and their later adoptive parents is not only characterised by a very distant relationship and a lack of attempts at relationship building. Furthermore, the portrayal of the primary encounter is very atypical, since in the films it takes place by chance and without the presence of a state welfare authority.

Stage 2: Beginning of the adoption relationship

The beginning of the adoption relationship is clearly verbalized and labeled as such in two of the three films. In the selected films, two of the four classic reasons – involuntary childlessness, altruism, single people, and same-sex couples – for adoption are addressed as triggers for adopting a child (Fisher 2003: 338 f.). In addition, it is noticeable that all three adopting individuals are single. Since none of the films portrays a desire for children on the part of the adoptive parents, it does not seem as if this is the decisive reason for adopting a child. In this respect, the adoption can be understood as a selfless and thus altruistic act.

All three cases differ from our social reality, where adoption is a highly formalised process lasting several months. In Germany, in addition to the employees in adoption agencies, as representatives of the state, the adoptive parents and, depending on their age, the children must consent to the adoption (Bovenschen et al. 2018a: 51 ff.). In Despicable Me, the children are old enough to at least be asked about on whether they want to be adopted by Gru. Moreover, in adoption practice, married couples are preferred as parents. Single persons, as is the case in all three films, are only granted adoption in special cases (BAG 2019: 53). The distant relationship between children and parents at the beginning of the adoption relationship seems very realistic considering the strangeness of the body. This physiological strangeness represents one of the characteristics that distinguishes social parenthood from biological parenthood, as there is no biological-bodily relationship in third-party adoptions (Helming 2014: 77).

Stage 3: Shared experiences

The third phase takes up the most space in this process. In it, the common experiences of the two groups of people are mapped. Experiences that are accompanied by positive emotions, such as happiness, joy or fun, appear to be particularly important for the development of the "we" feeling (Keddi 2014: 97). In this phase, the children's openness and trust in the adopting parent also strengthens. This behav-

ior contributes in a special measure to the fact that the parents cannot escape their own emotions towards the children. In addition, the children reveal interest in the parent, the parent's life and past, and the parent's wishes and dreams, and show gratitude for the relationship and the caring services of the accepting person. The parent begins to protect the children from physical and emotional dangers, such as injustice. In addition, parents provide care for children by, e.g., feeding them, tucking them in, fixing their clothes, driving them to appointments, or putting them to bed. Many of these caregiving activities are perpetuated and, in conjunction with rituals such as family or birthday celebrations, represent an important element in establishing a sense of "we" (Keddi 2014: 97). In addition, parents increasingly show their children more respect and tenderness, signaling to them that they fully accept them.

The significance of the care services depicted in the films, such as the care, support, and upbringing of the children, is an elementary component of the definition of family (Jurczyk 2014: 66). The physical and emotional protection that the social parents provide to their children in the cinematic realizations can be understood as an aspect of care. Furthermore, the importance of the presented common undertakings, actions and rituals is also reflected in the everyday life of social families. Recurring actions, such as family celebrations and traditions, family-cycle rituals, and everyday life events are essential elements in establishing the sense of we in biologically and socially based family forms (Helming 2014: 75; Keddi 2014: 97).

The casualness of parenting staged in the evaluated materials expresses the acceptance of the child by the accepting person (Helming 2014: 86). The unconditional acceptance of the children, which is expressed primarily in the respectful treatment of the adolescents by the parents, is clearly present in the films. In this, the depiction of the production of family contradicts previous research that precisely questions this unconditionality in social families (Helming 2014: 74). Moreover, the films portray the spatial level, especially in the form of cohabitation, as particularly important for familial living. However, the fact that this has to be coordinated to a special extent in times of postmodernity is not addressed (Jürgens 2001: 42).

The aspect of positive emotions as a constituting element remains unconsidered in previous research. In all three films, however, it is of particular significance for the production of family in the adoptive families. Furthermore, the behavior of the children in the analysed data material is striking. This plays an important role in the creation of closeness to the adoptive parents. Thus, the children show openness and gratitude towards the latter, show them a high degree of trust and sometimes also take responsibility for caring for the adults. In contrast, previous research on the success of adoptive families considers children's behavior primarily as a possible disruptive influence in the establishment of a family unit. This is especially true for emotional and behavioral disturbances (Bovenschen et al. 2018b: 29).

Stage 4–6: The crisis

After the phase of shared experiences and growing together, in all three films there is one experience that triggers a crisis in the relationship. This situation is accompanied, especially on the part of the children, by negative feelings such as anger and sadness. Anger is expressed, e.g., in Maleficent, when Aurora confronts Maleficent about whether she knows that there is a curse on her. When Maleficent makes it clear to her that it was her who cursed Aurora, and then approaches her to reassure her, the girl says very firmly: "No! Don't touch me. You are the evil in the world. You" (M, 01:04:48-01:04:55). The emotions shown also express the children's disappointment in the behavior of the accepting persons in both other selected films. The children's trust in their parents is broken, which is why they emotionally distance themselves from them.

In at least two of the three films analysed, the thought of returning to the birth parents plays a role in triggering the crisis. In Jim Button and Luke the Engine Driver, the crisis situation arises because Jim realizes that he cannot be Mrs. Waas' biological child due to the difference in skin color. As a result, he decides to go away with Luke to learn about his biological parentage (JB, 00:16:10-00:17:29).

Across the films, the beginning of the crisis is characterised above all by the spatial distancing of the children from their parents. It is remarkable that all three accepting characters willingly let their children go without much argument. Maleficent lets Aurora run away, even though she rides after her in later sequences (M, 01:07:18-01:09:59). Mrs. Waas is asleep when Jim says goodbye to her and leaves (JB, 00:17:29-00:18:11). Gru takes the girls to the car of the home's director, who has come to pick them up (DM, 01:08:03-01:08:54).

With the onset of the crisis, the desire to overcome the distance created by it also sets in. This need is found both on the part of the parents and on that of the children. In addition, feelings of guilt appear and a longing develops in the spatial separation, which comes from both sides.

During the crisis, the parents become particularly close to their children and seem to discover their love for them.

The end of the problematic situation is expressed in the search and finding of physical closeness between the children and their parents. This renewal of physical intimacy, in comparison to the one before the distancing, is increasingly initiated by the parents. Concomitantly, the spatial closeness is restored. The end of the crisis, at least in Despicable Me and Maleficent, is accompanied by the parents saving and thereby protecting their children. In doing so, the bond with the children is restored. The mechanism is shown particularly impressively in the scene where Gru has to risk his own life to regain Margo's trust (DM, 01:19:49-01:21:51). On the emotional level, the reunion between the parents and the children is accompanied by joy and happiness.

In social families, the double strangeness (Helming 2014: 84) has been observed, which can be a stressful situation for the whole family during the children's puberty. However, it involves an identity problem that is grounded in the biological and psychosocial differences with the parents.

The crises shown in the film suggest that a family based on adoption, in contrast to the normal family, is so different from the norm that its creation must be accompanied by problematic situations.

The presentation of the crisis suggests that the breach of trust in children by social parents can have devastating effects on the relationship. Nevertheless, by emphasising the parents' turning to the children, by overcoming obstacles, the making of family can be positively affected. In previous studies, especially a high degree of sensitivity and a secure attachment representation by the accepting persons are considered positive for the production of family (Bovenschen et al. 2018b: 44 f.). This is especially true if the children have attachment disorders due to previous negative experiences, such as a stay in a home (Bovenschen et al. 2018b: 43). This is the case in the films with Despicable Me, in which the three girls were placed in an orphanage before being adopted by Gru.

Since the course crisis is characterised by efforts by the parents for the children and their end is accompanied by physical, spatial and psychological closeness as well as positive emotions, it seems that the relationship between the children and their social parents takes place in crises. Thus, the production of family in adoptive families would be described as a process that virtually requires crisis moments.

Stage 7: Normalisation

In the last phase of the crisis situation, the spatial proximity is consolidated and a close relationship between the children and their parents is established. This is exemplified in the relationship between Maleficent and Aurora, who unite their two kingdoms, that of the humans and that of the moors (M, 01:25:55-01:27:58). The love between the two parties is explicated both verbally and in the form of actions. In addition, the children proudly share their successes with their parents. The depicted actions of this phase involve other people to a particular extent – e.g., Aurora's coronation involves the inhabitants of the moors, the good fairies, and the prince (M, 01:25:44-01:27:58).

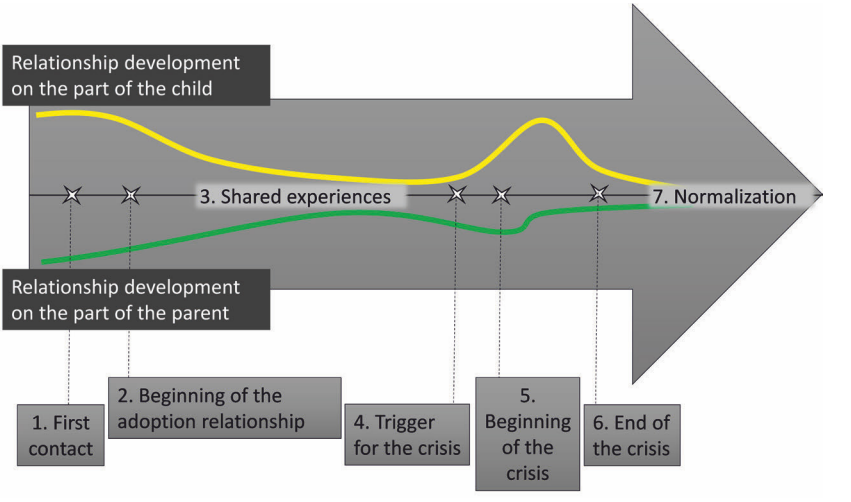
The designation of this final phase as normalisation stems from the absence of crisis. To what extent this portrayal is oriented towards the staging of normal families cannot be said without further research. The extent to which it is oriented toward the everyday life of normal families cannot be determined either, as there is no such thing as natural family action (Jurczyk et al. 2014: 11). If the two basic forms of interaction between family members, balance management and the construction of community, are used as a reference, this last stage appears as a successfully pro-

duced family. The spatial closeness combined with the feeling of mutual love depicts balance management. The close relationship and sharing of successes, as well as the inclusion of the social environment in the actions between the children and their parents, can be understood as doing family.

The phase model of cinematic staging

The question about the representation of doing family practices between the adopted child and his social parents in children's and youth films can be answered to the effect that the staging is a process in seven phases, in the course of which the representation of the closeness-distance relationship between the children and the parents, the behavior of the parent towards the children as well as the behavior of the children towards the parents and the representation of the emotions of both parties change. What exactly the changes in the seven individual phases of the ideal-typical staging of the production of family in children's and youth films look like has already been elaborated. A summary illustration of the results can be found in Fig. 1.

Figure 1: Representation of the doing family in children's and youth films (Own illustration)



There it can be seen that the relationship between the children and their accepting parents is characterised by a great distance to each other during the first contact. A rapprochement between the two parties begins, which intensifies with the start of the adoption relationship, especially on the part of the children. In the course of the phase of shared experiences, the children and their parents become very close to

each other. The individuals begin to distance themselves from each other as the crisis is triggered. This development is greatly accelerated with the onset of the crisis on the part of the children. The adolescents quickly and significantly distance themselves from their parents. The latter start an opposite movement and become much closer to their children with the onset of the crisis. With the end of the crisis, closeness is also restored on the part of the children and intensifies in the course of the last phase, normalisation.

Through this abstract representation, it becomes clear that the creation of a familial unit in adoptive families is depicted as a crisis-laden process in cinematic portrayals. It appears that the creation of family in adoptive families requires the joint overcoming of difficulties. This can be seen, on the one hand, in the fact that the end of the crisis is marked by special physical and psychological closeness between the children and their parents. On the other hand, it can be deduced from the fact that the final phase of normalisation is staged without conflict.

5 Family constituent factors and research desiderata

According to the present considerations, it seems as if the filmmakers primarily consider shared experiences and overcoming difficulties as family-constituting factors. Furthermore, positive emotions, such as happiness, joy, and fun, during the joint activities and the spatial proximity between the persons are relevant. At the beginning of the relationship, it is mainly the children who overcome the distance through their openness and establish closeness. They also condition the establishment of family through trust in the accepting persons, gratitude to their parents, and interest in and care for the parent. In the course of the crisis, the parents take over the establishment of closeness. They solidify the development of a family unit through caring and protective services, respectful treatment of the children, integration of the children into their daily lives, and overcoming obstacles. Since adoption can be considered a prototype for the new family forms, it can be assumed that the family-constituting factors just mentioned are applicable to all forms of social parenthood. This ideal-typical portrayal of the production of family in adoptive families enters the viewers' attitudes and opinions as well as patterns of action and identity templates as a cultural model (Kümmerling-Meibauer 2010: 22).

The present study can be understood as exploratory regarding family-constituting factors in social families. The results have significance for the representation of the course of the production of family in adoptive families in children's and youth films. To what extent the results can be transferred to the everyday life of social families has to be investigated by means of further research. For this purpose, some suggestions can be found in the following.

The evaluated children's and youth films depict the creation of family in adoptive families as a process that requires a crisis and its overcoming. This is accompanied by a breach of trust between the parents and their children. Further research should be conducted especially in light of the consideration of why relationship development is portrayed as being in crisis. For example, the portrayal of doing family in social families could be compared to that of biologically based kinship relationships in films. Furthermore, it could be interesting for the investigation of family-constituting factors in times of pluralisation of family forms to find out how the crisis-like cinematic staging is received by the audience. This could be analysed separately for members of socially founded and biologically founded families by means of guided interviews. Furthermore, the occurrence, course and overcoming of crises in adoptive families could be examined, e.g. with the help of problem-centered interviews.

Another proximity-generating and thus family-constituting factor in the children's and youth films is the behavior of the children. They show themselves turned towards the parents and grateful and show the accepting persons a great deal of trust and partly also care. In particular, since previous research tends to understand the actions of adolescents as possible disruptive factors, but does not see them as having the responsibility (or position) to positively influence the relationship, the question arises as to what attitude social parents have towards this issue (Bovenschen et al. 2018b: 29). For example, a quantitative questionnaire could be used to determine accepting individuals' expectations of their children. These results could influence the adoption process at several points, such as the selection of adoptive applicants and when problems arise in the production of family.

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Family generational relations in the context of refuge and asylum

Methodological reflections on the investigation of doing and displaying family

Jiayin Li-Gottwald, Manuela Westphal, Samia Aden and Franziska Korn

1 Doing and displaying family, multi-dimensional family relations and educational configurations in refugee families

There is an emerging body of work on family, education and migration studies (Herwartz-Emden 2000; Krüger-Potratz 2013; Geisen et al. 2013; Riegel et al. 2018). Many studies focus on general pedagogical practice with refugee children in a range of educational settings, such as schools, as well as in the fields of youth welfare and social work (Brinks et al. 2016; Hartwig et al. 2018). While timely, this body of work pays little attention to intergenerational family relations and child-rearing practices in the context of refugee/forced migration studies (Westphal/Aden 2020). Given that (forced) migration tends to expand family structures and familial upbringing in terms of both membership and context, despite limitations posed by powerful legal and political norms (Aden/Westphal 2021), it is crucial to address how family structures and relationships are changed and reorganised under refugee/asylum conditions and how they are intertwined with educational practices.

In the field of sociology, international family research no longer defines the family as simply a societal unit, but rather as the interplay of various everyday discursive family practices that are informed by different social structures and cultural norms. Instead of taking family as "being", researchers explore how people are "doing and displaying family" (Finch 2007: 67; Jurczyk 2014). This is the process by which individuals, and groups of individuals, convey to each other and to relevant audiences that certain actions constitute "doing family things". They thereby confirm that these relationships are "family relations", emphasising "the fundamentally social nature of family practices" and taking families as sets of interactive activities that are associated with particular family values (Finch 2007: 66).

In particular, attention is given to the desire to be recognised and perceived as a "good" family (Dermott/Seymour 2011: 70). This is noticeable in marginalised mi-

grant and refugee communities, in which positioning the family as a good and functioning unit is particularly evident (Westphal 2018; Westphal et al. 2017). The practices of making a good family and parenting are reorganised, affirmed and renegotiated both within and outside of the family. Walsh (2015) examines the "displaying family" of migrants in a northern English city and draws attention to the impact of the "multiple audience" on familial practices. She argues that "displaying family" is challenged locally as well as transnationally and is accompanied by ambivalent expectations. Elsewhere, Reynolds and Zontini's (2014) study comparing Italian and Caribbean immigrant families in England demonstrates clear limitations to "doing and displaying family" that result from postcolonial framing and restrictive EU migration policies. Despite this, the families are shown to react logically and transformatively to these obstacles by establishing a "resilient family bond" (p. 263).

Because of empirical difficulties in research on family-based child-rearing (Matthes 2018), there is a small body of recent empirical work on family upbringing and education in Germany. For instance, Müller and Krinninger (2016) developed the notion of "pedagogical figuration in transition" (p. 146) in order to understand the practice of family-based child-rearing, indicating the significance of the interdependencies between a family's inner and outer world, as well as the family's history and its present situation. In the context of migration, Hamburger and Hummrich's (2007) account of the pedagogical relevance of both generation-different (parents/ children) and generation-same (siblings/ peers/ cousins) relationships has come to the fore in their research into family and migration. In identifying the multidimensional nature of family relationships, they propose that migrant family relations need to be closely studied in regard to three distinct factors: firstly, the migrant families' social contexts both in their countries of origin and the host location; secondly, pedagogically relevant persons and groups (i.e. parents and those serving a parental function, guardians, educators, and teachers); and finally, institutions. Thus, rather than locating generational relations solely within family units, the respective concept for migrant families encompasses a broader social and cultural scope. Pedagogical figurations in the migrant context, then, require consideration of the relevant social contexts and associated persons.

This paper aims at reviewing the reflections we have made on our research design. The focus is on the conditions that have arisen from the Covid-19 pandemic-post-pandemic period and the ethical challenges that have accompanied each step of our research to date. We begin with our research design, then turn to broad ethical issues faced in our research. Afterwards, we present our current approach to fieldwork and examine the choices, dilemmas, and opportunities that confront us.

2 Research design of the project "Change and Dynamics of Family Generational Relationships in the Context of Flight and Asylum" (DyFam)[1]

The DyFam project explores how family structures, relationships and child-rearing practices are (re)produced, organised and negotiated in everyday life in the context of flight and asylum. Focusing on refugees from an East African country, we strive to amplify less studied voices with regard to family practices in Germany. Family and value systems in African societies are varied and manifold, with numerous countries and a mix of tribes and regions that each have their own unique characteristics (Sauer et al. 2018). In addition, colonisation, industrialisation and international migration all play an important role in the constant changes evident in the family constellations of African societies (Kleist 2017). In this study with families from Somalia, there was a need to focus not only on the most easily recognisable nuclear family unit, but also on extended family structures, in addition to other intersections like religion, educational background, etc. (Aden 2016).

Based on the theoretical perspectives outlined above on child-rearing family constellations and migrants' transnational family relations, particularly with respect to "doing and displaying family", the project fieldwork took the form of in-depth home visits in several German cities. This fieldwork revealed the interconnectedness between extended generational relations, asylum-related experiences, such as family separation, structural and everyday racism, vulnerability and transnationality in family child-rearing. Thus, our aims are, firstly, to contribute to the further development of a theory of family upbringing; secondly, to overcome normative constraints in the consideration of the family; and, finally, to map the reality of the "Migrationsgesellschaft" (migration society) in family theory and empirical studies. To be more specific, the research pursues the following questions:

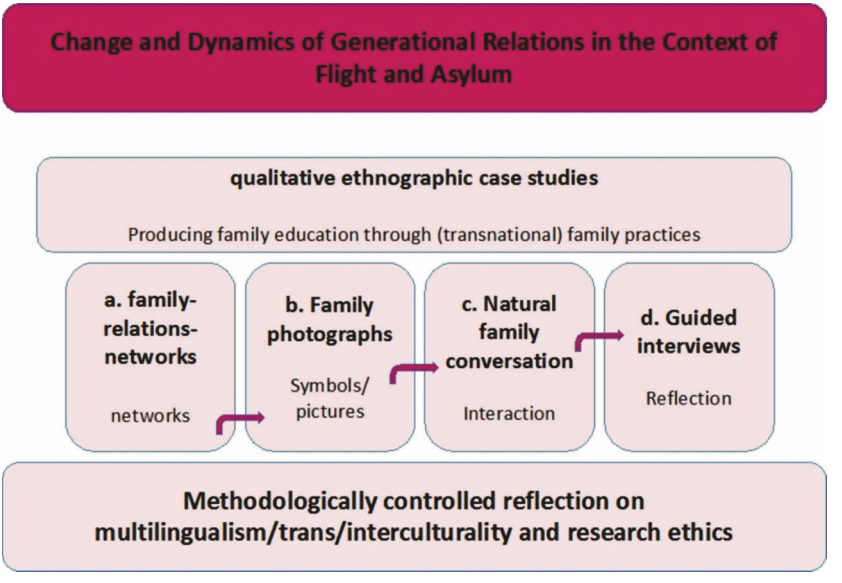
- How are family structures, family relationships and educational practices (re-)established, organised and negotiated in the transnational context of flight from Somalia to Germany?
- What appears to be the understanding of "family" and child-rearing in the Somali-German community?
- How do family dynamics work and change, and what are the significant child-rearing constellations and practices in generational family relations?

1 The DyFam project is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Project leader: Prof. Dr. Manuela Westphal. Team members: Dr. Sina Motzek-Öz (to 02/21), Dr. Jiayin Li-Gottwald (from 04/21), Samia Aden (MA), Franziska Korn (MA), Anita Hubo (BA)

- What interdependence (Elias 1978) exists between extended generational relations, forced migration and asylum experiences and transnationality in the context of family-based child-rearing?

Taking a qualitative ethnographic approach, various research methods were applied for field access and data collection in multiple research stages. By collecting different types of data, such as fieldnotes from family visits, family photographs, family conversations and interviews, we hope to capture practices of family and education through various approaches, and explore the experiences and logic of child-rearing practices (Westphal et al. 2019). Thus, in a transnational context, we examine the symbolic, interactive and reflexive construction processes behind family-based child-rearing based on the example of Somali immigrant families. We take a methodological transnationalism approach (Amelina/Faist 2012) and consider the worldwide transnational network practices of Somali families taking place at multiple locations. In short, the figure below illustrates the project research design and the interplay between different data collection steps and methodological reflection regarding language, transnationality, research ethics and methodological challenges:

Figure 1: Research Design of Project DyFam (own illustration)



3 Research methodology and reflection

3.1 General ethics and challenges in ethnographic studies in the context of refugee families

Ethics have been a major topic of academic discussion in the area of ethnographic studies and is a subject of great interest to researchers in migration studies. This is due not only to the specific nature of ethnographic research, which requires close interactions with human beings, but also to the specific positionings of refugee and immigrant communities. Challenges in ethnographic research with refugees and migrants predominantly concern ethical aspects such as sensitivity to trauma, vulnerabilities related to the forced migration/flight and asylum process, as well as communication and linguistic capabilities and trans-/interculturality. While we have clearly face contact, communication and language issues in the current study, we have also witnessed the effects of trauma, family fragmentation and the extended family system.

3.2 Research challenges and (im)possibilities during the pandemic

Two chronological periods

During the early research phase of the project, the Covid-19 pandemic, which began in March 2020, presented an enormous challenge. The conditions we encountered created a tension between the core foundation of ethnographic home visit-based research (social intimacy) and the social realities of a pandemic situation (social distancing). In order to give a clear sense of the immense impact of the pandemic on our project, we have drawn on data from two distinct chronological periods that also record the experiences of the research team. By juxtaposing and discussing our own field experiences with those of the study subjects, we illustrate the complexity of ethnographic family research in a refugee context within the unique environment of a pandemic.

Virtual working practices: the Covid-19 outbreak and lockdown

Given the urgent global public health situation, the principle of non-maleficence in ethnography rose to the fore (Murphy/Dingwall 2001). Although the concept of "doing no harm" in ethnographic research usually refers to non-physical and non-medical risks (ibid.), the Covid-19 pandemic changed the scope of this principle. This resulted in health and safety issues being prioritized; health risks to both the research subjects and researchers were of utmost concern. As the pandemic situation required strict health and safety rules to protect the families and researchers, the research team drafted its own health and safety measures and rules at the very beginning of the project (Oct. 2020). In this draft, we firstly reviewed the vulnerable

situation of refugee families during the pandemic, for whom social distancing was hard to follow because of their precarious working environment and poor living conditions (i.e. Nowicka 2020). In the hope of accessing the field, we also altered our data collection methods to more digitally-based and outdoor modes, such as online questionnaires and "walking interviews" (Kinney 2017).

Despite our optimism, following the partial lifting of pandemic restrictions in the summer of 2020, a second hard lockdown took place in the winter of 2020. To this end, and with careful consideration of (and in accordance with) the Covid-19 national emergency laws and local regulations, both the fieldwork and efforts to access the field were postponed. In the period that followed, one established team member left the project, new team members were recruited and onboarded between February and April 2021. The research team shifted primarily to Zoom meetings and virtual work practices; occasionally, physical meetings were undertaken with Covid-19 testing protocols in place. Since fieldwork was not possible, the newly rebuilt team once again reviewed its research strategies. The major changes put into place and the work undertaken during lockdown included structuring the theoretical frameworks, methodology training, reflecting on our research ethics and design, and so on. While some of these frameworks followed standard procedures, the detailed plans were individually tailored to the project in their entirety.

Accessing the field: the introduction of the vaccine and lifting of social restrictions

Early in 2021, the Covid-19 vaccine became available in Germany and the number of people who had received two jabs continually rose. In order to defend the unique strengths of on-site field observation in ethnographic research, we continued with our initial plan for home visits – a situation that was made possible by the vaccines. This was complemented by new strategies to meet the challenges encountered in the context of migration and flight and in the particular circumstances of a pandemic. We believe that researchers' immersion in the everyday realities of family life enables us to observe complex phenomena and gain a sense of the unspoken rules that govern participating families' child-rearing practices. Studies have called for greater attention to be devoted to "sensing" and "making sense" alongside "watching" in ethnographic research. Body, sense and place are intertwined in the process of meaning-making (Rodaway 2002). Thus, it is vital for our researchers to be present in the physical space in which child-rearing occurs and to make sense of their own human experiences while doing so.

However, this approach still required great caution in order to maintain the health of all those involved, create trust among the research participants, and ensure the occupational safety of the researchers. Attempts to access the field were only encouraged if researchers were fully vaccinated and took Covid-19 tests both before and after the field visit. Although the current situation with respect to the

pandemic may look very hopeful, it is still important to be aware of any future unpredictability. We are reconsidering the plans we made during the outbreak of Covid-19. This might consist of interacting with participants at a playground, or meeting the families at an outdoor café or nearby park. This would still give the researchers the chance to build trust with the research participants and exchange information with them.

3.3 Reflections on current fieldwork

The impact of Covid-19 on our potential participants and gatekeepers

After all researchers being fully vaccinated, we have started to access the field. Instead of relying on the same point of contact to recruit all families, we have approached a variety of different gatekeepers – a "multi-method" approach to field assessment. Our gatekeepers include private contacts, such as friends and families, and various migrant self-advocacy associations, avoiding field contacts through social workers/social work institutions. It is important to note that gatekeepers have great impact on our field experiences. In particular, their experiences during the pandemic shaped our access points to the field. This became especially evident when we encountered the withdrawal of one of our gatekeepers and some potential participants. The citation below is an exchange between a gatekeeper and our research team:

> Hello Mia, Corona has messed everything up again. There are many rules. I don't think it would make sense for Anne to come. There are only a few parents in the parents' café and we have a lot to sort out.. internship doesn't make sense either for the time being...kind regards from Dune[2]

Ms. Dune is head of a parents' café at a local school. She contacted the research team after reading a press release about the DyFam project. The team met her and later developed a constructive relationship with her. It seems that contact with her has been put on hold as a result of her experiences during the pandemic, as expressed by her opening her sentence with the word "Corona", which seems to emphasise the damage caused by the pandemic. The comparison she draws between "messed everything up" and "many rules" describes the "mess" caused by the virus in the parents café, whereas her repetitive use of "make no sense" suggests that she would like to take a break from her contact with the research team "for the time being".

While disappointment and uncertainty have been familiar to us throughout the pandemic, other encounters with the gatekeepers and the field have been

2 All names are pseudonyms. the text message was originally written in German and translated by the author. Mia and Anne are both researchers from our team.

overwhelming and exciting. Our fieldnotes record that one of our researchers was driven around an urban area by one of our gatekeepers for four home visits on a single afternoon. The families were prepared, the gatekeeper was organised and the home settings were stimulating. Such field-accessing experiences have enabled us to look at our data with various lenses, perceiving the action of accessing the field as a socially constructed truth in which each individual participant is part of the process of knowledge-making. Our hope is that the multiple methods used to access the field may capture the complex interactions between our research participants, ourselves, our gatekeepers and the research settings, thus making a significant contribution to our future reflections on research methodology.

Sampling and kick-off meetings

At the time of writing, a number of meetings with seven different families have taken place in different cities and towns in Germany. Following the project fieldnote guidelines, detailed fieldnotes have been carefully recorded by each individual researcher immediately after each meeting. After the first visit with each participating family, the team created a family relations network map outlining the relations within each family, and it is our intention to collect further data based on this information. It is important to note that the start of data collection is itself a complex journey. The predominant challenges during this period of field access have been building contact, trust and relationships with our participating families. There were a number of reasons for our uncertainty, including Covid-19 social distancing, our assumption that we were attempting to access a "hard-to-reach" group, the failed first attempt at field access (see the example of Ms. Dune), and time and resource constrains stemming from our project plan. In addition, we assumed that possible hesitation and reluctance from potential participants might relate to concerns about the impact of participation on their asylum status, on their family stability, and the social and linguistic differences between the participants and the researchers. In the end, as newcomers to the field, we were also uncertain whether the contacts we initiated would develop into a stable field relationship. Nevertheless, despite all the unpredictability, our later fieldwork has proved that the participating families we have recruited trust us and are willing to remain in contact.

It is worth noting that our early experiences accessing the field ultimately inspired us to be more flexible, patient and engaging. We have constantly sought new strategies. For instance, despite our best efforts at producing printed trilingual information sheets (in Somali, German and English), our potential participants have not always appeared to fully understand the written information provided. We noticed from initial meetings that our participants were more comfortable with oral communication, so we created a recruitment/information video to introduce our project using pictures and verbal explanations in German and Somali. In order to overcome linguistic and communication difficulties, we recruited a student assis-

tant who is fluent in Somali, German and English and is familiar with the research field. We also changed our communication strategies. Rather than using the written forms so popular in the academic world – letters or emails – we chose to make spontaneous phone calls, send voice messages, WhatsApp messages and Facebook direct messages. It was clear that this is the preferred means of communication for many of our participants.

4 Reflexivity in ethnographic fieldwork and its impact on doing and displaying family

Not only have we continuously updated our data collection strategies as a result of our field experiences, our research methodology has continually shifted as well. In particular, the strong sense of co-constructing the research data between the researchers and the participating families is worth mentioning. Working together to make the family relationship cards is an example of collaborative "doing and displaying family" that took place during our research. In order to reveal who belongs to the family, and borrowing Viry and Herz's (2021) concept of transnational family from a network perspective, we designed a family relationship map in which the participants to fill in their family members. The making of the family relationship maps was a complex and situational process. While some maps were made by the researchers and families together, with the researcher serving as an instructor and/or scribe, one participating family insisted on completing the map as "homework", leaving the researcher out of the actual filling-in process. Because the family relationship maps were co-constructed, the concentric circles refer to the emotional and/or geographical and/or genealogical distance between family members as a way of understanding transnational family practices.

The negotiation process of making the family relationship maps is an example of the co-construction of the research data and the involvement of the researchers in the process of generating the "doing and displaying family" data. Similar experiences of researchers' involvement in "doing and displaying families" occurred during our subsequent family visits. For instance, one researcher was invited by a participating family for Sunday breakfast. After arriving, the researcher was led to a furnished breakfast table complete with elegant table arrangement, well-polished cutlery and a set of white porcelain plates. The older son was eating quietly, whilst the parents were helping the younger ones spread butter on and cut their bread rolls. The clean and polished table setting and the harmonious family interactions during breakfast suggested a strong practice of "doing and displaying family" in which the family breakfast practices were conveyed to and understood by the researcher, who was portrayed as the outsider at the scene.

The research team is very aware that we were never observing a family as if we were not there. We were very aware that our existence in the field transformed the events that occurred. By way of reflection on the methodology, our own social positions as a research team have dramatic impact on the research outcomes. For example, one of our original plans was to look at family photos and symbolic items displayed in the homes of our participants. During our initial visits, we noticed that this typically Western middle-class way of "doing and displaying family", which was expected by the academic researchers, is not practiced by our participants. They rarely display photographs in the home. This encounter further increased our confidence in pursuing a sensory ethnographic approach (Pink 2015) to data collection. In other words, we ought not to focus solely on "seeing" and "speaking" but must be prepared to open our ears, noses and other senses to comprehend the field. Such experiences have also enabled us to focus our attention on a non-Western and post-colonially-informed ethnographic approach (Meißner 2020) in the context of refugee and migrant families, within which the world is not "primarily perceived by sight" (Oyewumi 2005: 4).

As researchers, both as a team and as individuals, our own race, gender, linguistic and social backgrounds contributed to our observations, fieldnotes and interviews. As a multicultural and multilingual team, our collective thinking and doing, as well as our intersectional identities as individuals and researchers and our power positions influenced our research design and the outcomes of 'doing and displaying family'. This is exemplified by the fact that each of us built different field relations with the participating families, in which different data emerged. For instance, our Asian female researcher, who is a mother, shared a similar life stage as well as immigrant and parent identity with some of the participants, and the data that emerged in her fieldwork were closely related to motherhood, friendship and future life planning. Concurrently, when our researcher with a Somali background, who is not a parent, visited the same participating family, her data revealed a clear focus on the topics of racism and discrimination. Reflecting on these experiences, it is important to note that the "doing and displaying family" we present in our study is an interactionally co-constructed judgement of value and practice by the researchers and participating families.

5 Final reflections and possible contributions

Despite the immense challenges and occasional frustrations, the pandemic and our research interests in the dynamics of and changes in intergenerational family relations and child-rearing in the refugee and asylum context have provided opportunities to carefully review and re-evaluate our research strategies. Our theoretical and methodological design and strategies have been constantly tested, shaped and al-

tered by our theoretical frameworks and field experiences during the pandemic. As our research is oriented on a "participatory family research perspective" (Walsh 2015: 85), we understand the importance of the actions of both research subjects and researchers in the process of knowledge construction. Using different methodological approaches, we draw attention to power (inequities) and vulnerabilities in research relationships, as well as hierarchies within families. By adopting a flexible ethnographic perspective, we also seek to develop a more flexible approach to the uniquely situated reality (Blommaert/Jie 2010) in which our research is taking place. We consider the pandemic and our participating families as the particular points in time and space that are uniquely relevant to our project.

The effort of carrying out research during such an uncertain time offers us a chance to understand the lived experiences of family-based child-rearing during the pandemic among refugees and immigrant families as it unfolds. The nexus of the pandemic and our Somali research subjects has led to not only challenges but also opportunities for us to develop a more innovative, flexible, situational and reflective approach to our research. In this paper, we argue that the challenges of research in the refugee/asylum context, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic, had a profound impact on our ethnographic research on family-based child-rearing. However, they have also given rise to reflection and methodological innovations that have the potential to contribute to both theory and policy.

Throughout the pandemic, the research team has adopted a step-by-step mode of practice requiring intensive reflection. By concentratedly discussing the processes, ethics, impact and knowledge production in our research, we aim to apply openness, courage, and creativity to develop and test innovative and unconventional ways of carrying out our ethnographic study. Our intention is to conduct our ethnographic research with refugee families using novel approaches and methods, but also to be sensitive to the creativity, challenges, and chances we face due to an accident of history. By doing so, we hope to make contributions theories of child-rearing and "doing transnational family" (Westphal et al. 2019) as well as to the multi-sensory and sensuous methodological developments within ethnography (Jackson 2018; Pink 2010, 2015) and family research. To conclude this paper, we would like to draw attention to our connectedness and solidarity with those in our field, who are the genuine inspiration for pursuing this study. We endeavour to contribute to knowledge about the practice of solidarity (Motzek-Öz et al. 2021) between researchers and research subjects during a worldwide pandemic.

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