Symposium on Family Troubles: Care and Change in Diverse Contexts
Henley Business School, University of Reading, 16 September 2015

This inter-disciplinary symposium aims to explore family relations, care and ‘troubles’ in diverse contexts. The symposium will reflect on the powerful, often emotive discourses associated with ‘family’ in different cultural and policy settings and explore the (potentially troubling or troubled) changes, caring practices, and intergenerational relations that shape family lives over time and space in both the global North and South.

Parallel paper sessions will address the following themes:

- Meanings of ‘family’ and (troubling) changes in family lives
- Care and interdependencies in diverse household forms
- Support for ‘troubled’ families
- Responses to death and ‘bereavement’
- Life-limiting illness, dying bodies and family caring practices
- Policy framings of ‘troubling’ families

These contentious, emotive and sensitive issues pose questions and dilemmas for policy makers, practitioners and service users, as well as researchers and academics interested in issues of family change, care and support.

This event builds on earlier work on the theme of Family Troubles? sponsored by the Centre for Citizenship, Identities and Governance at the Open University. For related events and links, see http://www.open.ac.uk/ccig/research/families-relationships-and-communities/family-troubles, and watch this podcast for a presentation of the associated book, ‘Family Troubles: Exploring Changes and Challenges in the Family Lives of Children and Young People’ edited by Jane Ribbens McCarthy, Carol-Ann Hooper and Val Gillies, 2013, Policy Press.

This Symposium is co-sponsored by the Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers) Geographies of Children, Youth and Families Research Group, the British Sociological Association (BSA) Families and Relationships Study Group, the BSA Death, Dying and Bereavement Study Group and the Association for the Study of Death and Society (ASDS). It is funded by the University of Reading, the Open University and the Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers) Geographies of Children, Youth and Families Research Group.


Contact: Ruth Evans: r.evans@reading.ac.uk.

A Care and Justice & Participation and Communities research cluster event
Department of Geography & Environmental Science, University of Reading

[Logos of University of Reading, The Open University, Royal Geographical Society with IBG, ASDS]
## Programme

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<tr>
<td>9.30-10.15</td>
<td>Arrival, registration, tea &amp; coffee, <strong>Foyer, Henley Business School, Whiteknights</strong></td>
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<td>10.15-10.45</td>
<td><strong>Welcome &amp; introduction. Family troubles: care and change in diverse contexts: Room G15</strong>&lt;br&gt;Ruth Evans (University of Reading) and Jane Ribbens McCarthy (The Open University)</td>
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<td>10.50 -12.30</td>
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### Theme A: Meanings of ‘family’ and (troubling) changes in family lives: RoomG15

- Constructions, reconstructions and deconstructions of ‘family’ amongst people who live apart together (LATs).<br>Mariya Stoilova, Sasha Roseneil, Julia Carter, Simon Duncan and Miranda Phillips (Birkbeck, University of London)
- Negotiating ‘illegality’ in family settings.<br>Nando Sigona (University of Birmingham)
- Troublesome care? Exploring positive aspects of care between mothers and children who have experienced domestic abuse.<br>Emma Katz (Liverpool Hope University)
- A qualitative study of parental responses following child experience of trauma in Khayelitsha, South Africa.<br>Victoria Williamson, Cathy Creswell (University of Reading) & Sarah Halligan (University of Bath)

### Theme B: Life-limiting illness, dying bodies and family caring practices: Room G14

- Exploring the meaning and practice of ‘family’ for young people when a parent is at the end of life.<br>Nicola Turner (University of Nottingham)
- Think Family Project.<br>Anne Arber (University of Surrey)
- Antiretrovirals and accusation: negotiations of blame, care and HIV-treatment among young women in South Africa’s Eastern Cape.<br>Beth Vale (University of Oxford)
- An ordinary death: disjunctions between policy perspectives about end of life care and the everyday experiences within families of dying and death.<br>Kathryn Almack (University of Nottingham)

### Theme C: Policy framings of ‘troubling’ families: Room G03

- Mothers, children, and neoliberal ‘anti-poverty’ initiatives.<br>Rachel Rosen (University College London)
- Negotiating care, negotiating family? A critical review of aims and approaches in multi-dimensional, ‘whole family’ services for ‘troubled families’ in England.<br>Harriet Churchill (University of Sheffield)
- Violent children and structural violence: Re-signaling “RAD kids” to inform the social welfare professions.<br>Rachael Stryker (California State University)
- From ‘cradle to grave’? Supporting economic and financial transitions following bereavement: comparing policies and practice in Israel and Britain<br>Anne Corden (University of York) and Roni Holler (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

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<tr>
<td>12.30-13.20</td>
<td><strong>Lunch &amp; poster session: Foyer, Henley Business School</strong></td>
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| 13.20-14.30| **Plenary: Caringscapes, responses to death and family relations in urban Senegal: Room G15**  
- Presentation of findings of a Leverhulme Trust research project conducted by Ruth Evans, Jane Ribbens McCarthy, Sophie Bowlby and Joséphine Wouango.  
- Panel discussion with Avril Maddrell, University of the West of England, Isobel Bremner, Candle Project, St Christopher's Hospice and other leading academics, practitioners and policymakers. |
| 14.40 - 16.00| **Parallel session 2**  
**Theme D: Care and interdependencies in diverse household forms: Room G15**  
Partnered fathers bringing up their mixed-/multi- race children: an exploratory comparison of racial projects in Britain and New Zealand.  
Rosalind Edwards (University of Southampton)  
Negotiating family responsibilities in troublesome times: Children’s experiences of grandparents’ responses to domestic violence.  
Lucas Gottzén (Linköping University, Sweden) and Linn Sandberg (Stockholm University, Sweden)  
The unspoken family contract: how do one-child Chinese migrants in the UK negotiate their family responsibilities in China?  
Mengwei Tu (University of Kent)  
Parent-school interaction and risk management in plural Norway: the role of class, migration and gender.  
Hilde Danielsen with Synnøve Bendixsen (Uni Research Rokkan Centre, Bergen, Norway) |
| 14.40 - 16.00| **Theme E: Responses to death and ‘bereavement’: Room G03**  
Parental experience of loss by suicide.  
Emma Wadey (Nursing Standards and Safety Sussex Partnership Foundation Trust)  
Exploring the impact of death by suicide on family relationships.  
Sharon Mallon (The Open University)  
Grief encounters: children learning about and managing death and bereavement.  
Hayley Davies (King's College London)  
Death from a distance: loss, presence and regret in the narratives surrounding deceased parents of Latin American migrants in the north of England.  
Rosa Mas Giralt (University of Leeds) |
| 16.00-16.20 | **Theme F: Support for ‘troubled’ families: Room G14**  
Strangers and estrangement: young people’s renegotiations of birth and foster family relationships as they transition out of care.  
Jenny Driscoll (Kings College London)  
Communicating what we do: an exploration of family practices in the context of formal kinship care.  
Lindsay Hill (Brighton University)  
The doing of intensive family support in a cold climate.  
Robin Sen (University of Sheffield) |
| 16.20-17.20 | **Keynote lecture by Samantha Punch (University of Stirling): Room G15**  
Reflections on negotiated and constrained interdependencies within and across generations. |
| 17.20- 18.20 | **Drinks reception and poster session: Foyer, Henley Business School.** |
Abstracts and biographies for plenary sessions

Keynote Lecture: Reflections on negotiated and constrained interdependencies within and across generations

Professor Samantha Punch
School of Applied Social Science, University of Stirling

Abstract
Many theories and concepts of childhood studies have been developed in the Minority World and used in Majority World contexts but rarely is the learning process reversed. By drawing on examples of family interdependencies in the Majority World, this paper highlights a nuanced picture of processes of generationing. For example, it shows that in order to grasp the intricacies and complexities of the generational order, children’s agency should be explored in relation to the negotiated and constrained interdependencies within and across generations. In many parts of the Majority World with limited or no welfare benefits, relations of interdependence between parents and children, and between siblings are important over the life course, as family networks help to protect individuals against economic instability and social risks. However, this paper also illustrates how this more nuanced approach to children’s agency is useful for understanding children’s generational positioning in the Minority World. It suggests that by engaging in cross-cultural dialogue between the Majority and Minority Worlds our understanding of inter-generational and intra-generational relationships could be enhanced.

Biography
Samantha Punch is Professor of Sociology at the University of Stirling, Scotland. Her research interests are within the sociology of childhood and the sociology of development, including food practices in residential care; children’s work and education in Bolivia; the sustainable rural livelihoods in China, Vietnam and India; youth transitions and migration in Latin America; sibling relationships; young people’s problems in Scotland. She is author of Get Set for Sociology (2005, Edinburgh University Press) and editor of Sociology: Making Sense of Society (2013, Pearson), Global Perspectives on Rural Childhood and Youth (2007, Routledge), Children's Food Practices in Families and Institutions (2011, Routledge) and Children and Young People’s Relationships: Learning Across Majority and Minority Worlds (2013, Routledge).
Plenary: Responses to death, caringscapes and family relations in urban Senegal

Ruth Evans, Jane McCarthy and Sophie Bowlby will present the findings of a cross-cultural research project, *Death in the Family in Urban Senegal: Bereavement, Care and Family Relations*, funded by The Leverhulme Trust (2014-16).

Abstract

The loss of a close adult relative is a significant life transition that almost everyone experiences at some point in the lifecourse and which may have a range of material, social and emotional consequences for children and families. In this presentation, we present the preliminary findings of our qualitative study into responses to death, care after death and continuing bonds following an adult death in diverse families in Senegal.

The presentation will be followed by a panel discussion with Dr. Avril Maddrell, University of the West of England, Isobel Bremner, Candle Project, St Christopher’s Hospice, Rebecca Smith, Save the Children, and Prof. Rosalind Edwards, University of Southampton.

Biographies

**Isobel Bremner** CQSW, MSc, DipAdvSW, MBACP (Acc) DipGT is an Accredited Counsellor, Registered Social Worker, supervisor and trainer. She began her career working for 2 London Boroughs with children and families in the community, in care and in hospital for 14 years. Since 1994 she has worked for St Christopher’s Hospice as a social worker, trainer, supervisor, manager of the social work and bereavement service, and a childhood bereavement worker. She also interviews, trains and supports patient facing hospice volunteers. She currently leads: St Christopher’s Candle Project: an open access Childhood Bereavement Service; the Childhood Bereavement Programme: a Middlesex University validated post graduate certificate and diploma and Clinical Volunteer Development at St Christopher’s Hospice, South East London.

**Rosalind Edwards** is Professor of Sociology and Social Sciences Director of Research at the University of Southampton and a co-director of the ESRC National Centre for Research Methods. She is a co-editor of the *International Journal of Social Research Methods*, and an elected Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences. Rosalind has researched and published widely in the area of family lives and family policies as well as methodology. Her current research projects include a study of ‘troubled families’ and inter-agency responses at times of austerity over the past 130 years in collaboration with Val Gillies and Nicola Horsley and with the charity Family Action; and a project exploring the feasibility of working across qualitative longitudinal studies looking at care and intimacy in collaboration with Lynn Jamieson, Susie Weller and Emma Davidson. Rosalind’s most recent book publication is ‘Understanding Families Over Time: Research and Policy’ (2014, co-edited with Janet Holland).

**Avril Maddrell** is Associate Professor in Social and Cultural Geography at the University of the West of England, Bristol and Co-Editor of the journal *Gender, Place and Culture*. Her research interests include spaces, landscapes and practices of death, mourning and remembrance, pilgrimage and sacred mobilities; gender; historiography; and charity shops. Publications on geographies of death, mourning and remembrance include: *Deathscapes. Spaces for death, dying, mourning and remembrance* (Ashgate, 2010, co-edited
Rebecca Smith is the Children Without Appropriate Care Adviser for Save the Children UK where she supports multiple countries across the globe. She has over 10 years of international child protection experience, with the last 4 specifically focused on supporting vulnerable families, children who have been separated from their families, and children in alternative families. This has included: providing support to Governments and local partners on alternative care guidelines, national standards of care for child care institutions and both professional and community based social work training and supervision. Within Save the Children, Rebecca is the lead on child care reform with a specific focus on supporting family based care. This has included sharing lessons learned between countries, supporting research on kinship care, sharing best practices on foster care, and developing our Families First signature program in Indonesia. Rebecca is the co-chair of the global Children Without Appropriate Parental Care Taskgroup based in Geneva together with International Social Services and SOS Children’s Villages. Rebecca Smith coauthored the Alternative Care in Emergencies Toolkit (August 2013) as well as the Save the Children’s Intercountry Adoption Policy Brief (June 2012). Rebecca has a Masters Degree in Social Work and a Masters in Public Health from Columbia University.

Ruth Evans is an Associate Professor in Human Geography at the University of Reading and is principal investigator for the research project, Death in the Family in Urban Senegal, funded by The Leverhulme Trust (2014-16). Ruth’s research focuses on geographies of children, youth and families, caring relations and gendered and generational inequalities. She is an Editorial Board member for Gender, Place and Culture and has published widely on children’s caring responsibilities in families affected by HIV in Tanzania, Uganda and the UK, on young people’s participation and social exclusion in the UK, and on gendered and generational struggles over land access and inheritance in Ghana, Senegal and Liberia.

Jane Ribbens McCarthy is a Reader in Family Sociology at the Open University and is co-investigator for the research project, Death in the Family in Urban Senegal, funded by The Leverhulme Trust (2014-16). Jane has extensive experience of researching children and families, with groundbreaking publications in the fields of family sociology, youth studies and bereavement care and death studies. She is an Editorial Board member for the international peer-reviewed journal, Bereavement Care.

Sophie Bowlby is an Honorary Visiting Research Fellow at the University of Reading and is a Visiting Professor at Loughborough University. She is a consultant for the research project, Death in the Family in Urban Senegal, funded by The Leverhulme Trust (2014-16). Her research has focused on feminist analysis of the social and economic geography of urban areas in the UK, in particular, issues of access, mobility and the analysis of social relationships of informal care in time-space.
Abstracts and presenters for parallel paper and poster sessions

Parallel Session 1

Theme A: Meanings of ‘family’ and (troubling) changes in family lives

1. Constructions, reconstructions and deconstructions of ‘family’ amongst people who live apart together (LATs)

Mariya Stoilova, Sasha Roseneil, Julia Carter, Simon Duncan and Miranda Phillips

Birkbeck, University of London

Processes of construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of familial belonging lie at the centre of recent theorisations of intimate life. Questions about choice and givenness, relationality and autonomy, tradition and transformation have animated sociological explorations of how people experience, create, and envision their family relationships. The ways people define ‘family’ have become increasingly diverse, stretching the boundaries of a previously narrower constellation (Jamieson et al. 2006) to become something more individually particular and subjectively constructed, something that people ‘do’ (Morgan 1996), rather than were born into. While there has been some recognition that families can live across households (Finch 2007), this has largely been addressed in studies of divorce and re-partnering (Neale and Flowerdew 2007), non-resident or non-biological parenting (Ribbens McCarthy et al. 2003; Nordqvist and Smart 2014), and transnational kinship (Smart and Shipman 2004; Williams 2010). There has been relatively little acknowledgement that couples might also occupy separate residences. ‘Living apart together’ (LAT) relationships, in which couples do not live at the same address, have remained largely outside the attention of family sociologists.

Drawing on a recent ESRC-funded project, this paper explores how people who live apart from their partners in Britain describe and understand ‘family’. It investigates whether, and how far, non-cohabiting partners, friends, ‘blood’ and legal ties are seen as ‘family’, and how practices of care and support, and feelings of closeness are related to these constructions of ‘family’. It suggests that people in LAT relationships creatively draw and re-draw the boundaries of family belonging in ways that involve emotionally subjective understandings of family life, and that also refer to normative constructions of what ‘family’ ought to be, as well as to practical recognitions of lived family ‘realities’. This often involves handling uncertainties about what constitutes ‘family’.

2. Negotiating ‘illegality’ in family settings

Nando Sigona

Institute for Research into Superdiversity, School of Social Policy, University of Birmingham

Drawing on over hundred interviews with undocumented parents and young people in the UK, this paper explores the multiple ways in which legal status affects relationship within families, in particular focusing on two sets of relationships: between parents and children, looking in particular as decision making around legal status and risks related to status disclosure; and between parents, looking in particular to mixed status families and power relations shaped by status uncertainty.

3. Troublesome care? Exploring positive aspects of care between mothers and children who have experienced domestic abuse

Emma Katz

Department of Social Work, Care and Justice, Liverpool Hope University

Based on interview research with 15 mothers and 15 children (aged 10-20), this paper proposes a framework for exploring mother-child care practices in single-parent families that are in the process of recovering from domestic abuse. Building on previous childhood studies research into children’s perspectives on family, these interviews explored children’s and mother’s own perspectives on their care-giving.

Because of popular discourses about motherhood and childhood, it is often seen as troubling when children give care to their mothers. Research on domestic abuse frequently describes children’s care-giving in terms of taking on...
adult roles’ or being ‘parentified’. The desirable situation is constructed as one where mothers support children and children are returned to an ideal state of being innocent and free of responsibility.

This paper will, however, emphasise the complex ways in which the mother and child participants in the study constructed the meanings of the care that they were giving and receiving from each other. In families who had recovered the least, some mother-child supports did appear problematic. However, in the more recovered families, supports were mutual between mothers and children; they were giving each other compliments, boosting each other’s confidence and having fun together. Rather than spelling ‘trouble’, these supports seemed similar to those found in families who have not experienced major adversity. As such, the data produced in these interviews challenges the idea of these mothers and children as dysfunctional and ‘troubled’ in their family lives, and highlights, instead, their strengths and capabilities.

4. A qualitative study of parental responses following child experience of trauma in Khayelitsha, South Africa.

Victoria Williamson (University of Reading), Cathy Creswell (University of Reading), Sarah Halligan (University of Bath)

Objectives: Khayelitsha is a South African peri-urban settlement ("Township") with exceedingly high rates of child trauma exposure and corresponding rates of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Psychological services are extremely limited in Khayelitsha, meaning that parents are likely to be the main source of support for children post-trauma. However, the ways in which parents can best support child adjustment in high-risk communities has not been systematically evaluated and most research has been conducted with Western samples. For this reason, this research study aims to conduct a comprehensive, qualitative investigation of parental responses and experiences following child trauma.

Methods: Twenty children, aged 6-16 years, and their parent will be recruited for the study following child trauma exposure. Parents and children will complete measures of psychological adjustment and parent’s experiences of caring for a child post-trauma will be assessed by semi-structured, qualitative interviews.

Results: The symptom measures will be used to describe the sample and Thematic Analysis will be used to analyse the parent interview transcripts.

Conclusions: The results of this investigation may identify effective strategies used by parents to support a traumatized child in high-risk environments where standard support mechanisms may not be appropriate or feasible. An in-depth understanding of the experiences of parents post-trauma would be invaluable given the extremely high rates of child trauma exposure and lack of psychological services in such communities. This line of research may ultimately enable policy makers and health care providers to make better-informed decisions about how to address mental health issues in resource-limited settings.

Theme B: Life-limiting illness, dying bodies and family caring practices

1. Exploring the meaning and practice of ‘family’ for young people when a parent is at the end of life

Nicola Turner

School of Health Sciences, University of Nottingham.

Contemporary constructions of family in the global North stress the importance of family as a site for the nurturance of children into adulthood. Research suggests that when families face disruption and change, efforts to reconstitute family are underpinned by a moral imperative to put the needs of children first. This paper explores the impact of the anticipated death of a parent on young people's experience of family based on a qualitative study of young people living with a parent who is at the end of life. End of life care policy in the UK is informed by the notion of 'a good death' as one that takes place at home; therefore families are increasingly likely to be involved in caring for the dying. The normative construction of death as an extraordinary crisis accords the dying a special status and sets up a moral imperative to meet their needs. Drawing on semi-structured interviews with young people age 13-21 and nominated family members, I examine how the competing moral imperatives of caring for children and caring for the dying are negotiated and enacted through the relational practices of care that underpin family. I consider the extent to which the meaning of family is 'troubled' for young people when a parent is dying, the shifting dynamics of care within and across generations in families with a parent at the end of life, and the resources young people draw upon to help them negotiate change in this context.
2. Think Family Project

Anne Arber

Faculty of Health and Medical Sciences, University of Surrey

The think family project explores the needs of specialist staff working in acute cancer services and their experience and confidence in supporting parents with advanced cancer who have dependent children. About 24% of adults suffering from cancer are parents to children under 18 years of age and about a third of patients with breast cancer are reported to have young children (Rauch et al., 2003). Children with a parent with a life limiting illness can manifest significant distress and the remaining parent may have conflicting needs such that recognising the needs of children is very difficult. Four focus groups were conducted in two acute oncology settings with specialist oncology and palliative care staff. The findings from the study identify how the awareness of family needs and the needs of dependent children of a parent with advanced cancer can be low on the list of staff priorities. Specialist staff described how they identify with their patients as a parent themselves and this adds to the emotionally charged context of care and this results in some avoidance both by staff and by parents of the troubling issue of how to communicate with children. Paradoxically participants described how it was easier to support terminally ill patients and their children rather than those newly diagnosed with cancer due to the relative certainty regarding the outcome of the terminally ill parent and the support that could be accessed by referral to palliative care services. Staff take a reactive approach to family centred care, taking their cue from patients to initiate or request support for their children. Two specific training needs were identified for specialist staff. Firstly, the need for guidance on children’s developmental stages and how to communicate with children of different ages. Secondly further guidance was needed on assessing family needs and access to up to date resources. Following the focus groups a short training event was run with the aim to increase the confidence of staff working with patients with dependent children. This training event was piloted with specialist staff at one acute trust in conjunction with the charity Jigsaw South East.

3. Antiretrovirals and Accusation: negotiations of blame, care and HIV-treatment among young women in South Africa’s Eastern Cape

Beth Vale

Social Policy and Intervention, Linacre College, University of Oxford

Project Manager, Mzantsi Wakho - Adolescent Health Research

In this paper, I explore some aspects of how HIV-related blame and secrecy operate, ten years into South Africa’s antiretroviral treatment (ART) rollout. My analysis draws on the ethnographic vignettes of four HIV-positive young women (aged 18-19) and their mothers, collected during eight months of fieldwork in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. Through ART, these young women received much-needed treatment, recognition and care. Yet, by enrolling in HIV-services, they and their mothers also became vulnerable to scrutiny and indictment. Ignited by questions of viral transmission, the accusations propelled by ART-enrolment were distinctly gendered: As primary recipients of HIV-testing, as well prevention of mother-to-child transmission treatment (PMTCT), women risked being blamed for infecting their babies and their male partners. To safeguard their social standing and preserve intergenerational care, mothers and daughters engaged in precarious practices of telling and concealing aimed at ascribing, deflecting or diffusing blame. In clinics and homes, stigma and secrecy seemed entangled with denouncing and policing young women’s sexuality, and relatedly, preserving, and submitting to, the authority of female elders. In this respect, mothers were to daughters as nurses to patients, and blame was often enmeshed in the terms of care. ART was therefore animated by a nexus of blaming and silencing practices. By asserting social boundaries, these practices served as paradoxical and precarious attempts to preserve care, amid the damages of HIV/AIDS.

4. An ordinary death: disjunctions between policy perspectives about end of life care and the everyday experiences within families of dying and death

Kathryn Almack

Sue Ryder Care Centre for the Study of Supportive, Palliative and End of Life Care, School of Health Sciences, University of Nottingham
This paper is set against the backdrop of English end of life care policy which seeks to promote high quality care for all adults at the end of their life alongside statistics about an ageing population living longer and dying slower. It presents a retrospective account of the dying and death of an elderly man, my Dad, an ‘ordinary’ death from old age (nearly 90) and multiple co-morbidities. I draw on our experiences as a family (primarily from my perspective) through this period of time and how these map out onto the policy landscape that seeks a ‘good death’ for all. Family here means my parents, my siblings and our children but also our differing experiences of wider family and family-like networks of support. Issues include the difficulties in instigating palliative care in place of, or alongside, active treatment; discussions (or lack of) about preferred place of care (and death); the ways in which discourses about home being a proxy measure for a good death (good terminal care) and negative connotations associated with dying alone can impact on experiences into bereavement; mending and reconfigurations of relationships but also tensions and ambivalence that can arise within the ‘family’. I suggest that despite good intentions there are significant disjunctions between the ‘blunt’ tools of end of life care policy and the everyday experiences within families of dying and death and that these can impact on experiences for and between family members at someone’s end of life and reverberate on in bereavement.

Theme C: Policy framings of ‘troubling’ families

1. Mothers, children, and neoliberal ‘anti-poverty’ initiatives

Rachel Rosen
Department of Childhood, Families and Health, UCL Institute of Education, London

Feminist scholars have provided a series of trenchant critiques of neoliberal initiatives which purport to tackle poverty but which have the effect of re-traditionalising the gendered division of labour and gender roles, as well as side-lining demands for social and economic justice for women (e.g. Dobrowolsky and Jenson, 2004; Molyneux, 2006; Newberry, 2014). In different global contexts, anti-poverty initiatives elide women and children and naturalise women’s role in the care of children, holding mothers ever more individually responsible for their child’s successes and failures whilst neglecting the structural causes of poverty. This body of critical scholarship provides an essential reminder of the plasticity of terms such as gender (Unterhalter, 2014) and potential of co-option of principles of ‘gender equality’ and ‘rights’, as well as insight into the harsh materials impacts of such programmes where women’s low- and un-waged labour absorbs the vagaries of ‘flexible’ capitalism. Concurring with this critical commentary about women’s status and subjugation, this paper will consider what happens to ‘the child’ in such critiques. It will be argued that there is a tendency to posit poverty initiatives as benign for, in the interest of, or even of benefit to children, in ways which serve to position children against women. In contrast, the paper will contend that such initiatives are not neutral for children as individuals or a social group and can even serve to further retrench generational as well as gender and class inequities. The productivity of bringing both feminist and childhood studies insights to bear on neoliberal poverty initiatives will be considered.


Harriet Churchill
Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield.

Since the late 1990s there have been significant developments across the UK in coordinated, ‘whole’ family, multi-agency support and services targeted at families and children facing multiple adversities and problems. Some developments have been informed by international approaches and programmes in intensive and specialist family support. In England, the Troubled Families Programme and Extended Troubled Families Programme (ETFP) represented significant central government investment in these services orientated towards: improving child welfare and reducing numbers of children in need, reducing domestic abuse, reducing youth engagement in offending and ‘anti-social behaviour’, reducing school exclusions; supporting family members with ‘high health needs’, and promoting employment for those of working age reliant on out of work welfare benefits. In practice,
local authorities and service providers are developing a range of approaches and services. Informed by a critical constructionist social policy and sociological standpoint and drawing on two research studies (a research review of approaches and evaluations of intensive family support services, and an empirical study of an intensive family support service in England), this paper examines the aims, objectives and approaches to child-parent-family support and child-parent-family changes in these service contexts. Firstly, the paper critically reviews policy goals and frameworks within dominant ‘problem family’ and ‘children most at risk’ discourses. Secondly, the paper, considers alternative conceptions of, and approaches to, family support which, in addition to pursuing policy-driven aims and objectives, aim to develop practitioner-family relations which address issues of children’s rights, gender inequalities, discrimination and stigmatisation, and socio-economic disadvantage in ways that provide more comprehensive support and some re-negotiation of, and changes in, family meanings, family practices and family relationships on service recipients own terms. However, the paper recognises major tensions, complexities, limitations and challenges for more transformative and negotiated approaches to frontline practice in these family support and family interventions services.


Rachael Stryker

Department of Human Development and Women’s Studies, California State University.

This paper critically examines representations of children diagnosed with Reactive Attachment Disorder, or “RAD Kids”, and their construction as dangerous subjects in the United States. Based on ethnographic research within attachment therapy clinics, and among adoptive families, social workers, and medical professionals in the U.S. and Russia, the author suggests that notions of danger associated with “RAD Kids” actually reflect a social anxiety about the contexts of structural violence in which we are attempting to build families and raise children at the turn of the 21st century. The author culturally and historically contextualizes the signaling of “RAD Kids” as violent within literature on moral panics over children and youth. She explores how these representations function as an attempt to “resignal” public anxieties about the difficulties associated with building families through adoption, and especially, the adoption of formerly institutionalized children. The article provides a model for thinking about complex relationships between children, pathology, and power to inform the social work and social welfare professions, and particularly practice with children diagnosed with RAD.

4. From ‘cradle to grave’? Supporting economic and financial transitions following family bereavement: comparing policies and practice in Israel and Britain

Anne Corden (Social Policy Research Unit, University of York), Roni Holler and Paul Baerwald (School of Social Work and Social Welfare, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem).

Death of a family member can have substantial financial consequences upon bereaved families, potentially leading to economic hardship. Reduced income through loss of earnings, pensions, and state benefits may go alongside immediate and long-term expenditure on funerals, housing, transport and debts; and changes in economic roles and responsibilities. Such financial issues influence emotional and psychological experiences of grief. Recognizing potential negative impacts, welfare states have historically developed policies aimed at supporting economic and financial transitions following partner and family bereavement. These policies are varied in nature and relate to different spheres and systems, among them the social security system, work arrangements, the private pension system, subsidised services, social services and funeral provision.

Surprisingly, despite their significant role and their comprehensive and diverse nature, policies of this kind have rarely been the focus of scholarly interest and comparative analysis. This proposed presentation will seek to address this empirical and theoretical gap. Using quantitative and qualitative data drawn from a range of sources (including: official publications, guidelines and government websites), it will compare the British and the Israeli
cases to better understand the various ways these welfare states effectively implement a ‘cradle-to-grave’ ethos. Specifically, we will address the following questions:

- What are current systems for economic support of bereaved people in Britain and Israel?
- What works well in each country, and what problems arise?
- How might policies develop to fill current gaps, and address likely changes in populations and resources?
- What are the responsibilities and roles for social workers supporting bereaved people?

Parallel session 2
Theme D: Care and interdependencies in diverse household forms

1. Partnered Fathers Bringing Up Their Mixed-/Multi-Race Children: An Exploratory Comparison of Racial Projects in Britain and New Zealand

Professor Rosalind Edwards
University of Southampton

Partnering between people from different racial and ethnic populations is a feature of most post-industrial countries, resulting in 'mixed-' or 'multi-' racial and ethnic people and families. In turn, this situation raises questions around how parents may seek to give their children a sense of identity and belonging. In this paper I will explore how fathers in couple relationships where their partner is from a different racial background understand bringing up their children, drawing on a small-scale, in-depth comparison of fathers' accounts in Britain and New Zealand. These national contexts with their respective, uneasy, multi- and bi-cultural settlements, provide an interesting counterpoint, highlighting issues of family mixing in social and historical context.

Using Omi and Winant’s analytic concept of racial projects, I will reveal fathers’ activities towards and hopes for their children’s identity and affiliation as keyed into historically situated social, economic and political forces that shape and permeate the content of racial meanings. Particular national racial projects and racial new-liberalism are (re)created and reflected in the various typifications (ideal orientations) informing the fathers’ racial projects. These might be concerned with mixed, single or transcendent senses of belonging, in individual or collective ways, that were each in various forms of dialogue with race. Further, fathers’ approaches to side-stepping, resisting and/or accommodating racism and racialisation are informed by the fathers’ own positioning in national and historical racial hierarchies and oppression.

2. Negotiating family responsibilities in troublesome times: Children’s experiences of grandparents’ responses to domestic violence

Lucas Gottzén (Social Work, Linköping University, Sweden) and Linn Sandberg (Gender Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden)

Grandparenting is a burgeoning field of inquiry within research on intergenerational relations. In this paper we posit that sociology of childhood may expand and advance this research by studying how children contribute to grandparenting. We also argue that it is essential to explore circumstances where children are particularly vulnerable, such as domestic violence, in order to fully understand how children and their grandparents negotiate family relations and responsibilities. Based on qualitative interviews with 15 children and adolescents (12-18 years of age) exposed to domestic violence, this paper studies how grandparents respond to domestic violence, how children experience the responses, and how they negotiate their roles and responsibilities.

We understand family relations not merely as biological ties but as a set of social expectations; that is, ongoing negotiations that develop over time and in relation to one’s biography. The ways responses are narrated are consequently both reflections of what children expect grandparents to do and what they experience is possible to do in different situations. Although kin are often expected to help out in times of trouble there is no given model for how, in this case, grandparents should respond. Domestic violence may be a particularly complicated case given the stigma and shame that often accompany. Children may consequently employ different strategies to involve their grandparents, and grandparents may respond in different ways depending on gender, kinship position, and over time.

3. The unspoken family contract: how do one-child Chinese migrants in the UK negotiate their family responsibilities in China?
Mengwei Tu
School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research, University of Kent

China uniquely implemented a birth-control policy (1979). Three decades later there are more than 150 million only-children in China. Among the nation’s post-’80s generation, 65% come from one-child families. Apart from dramatically reduced size, Chinese families are also faced with a rapidly modernizing China with fast economic development, increasing desire for western affluence, and easier access for overseas travel and education. Since the 2000s, the one-child generation constitutes the latest wave of the new Chinese migration to the UK. This young and affluent migrant cohort is believed to be the result of concentrated family wealth and parental expectation on the only child.

However, what happens to the one-child migrants’ family responsibilities in China? How do one-child families function on a transnational level? Being the only child can intensify crucial aspects of a migrant’s life in terms of emotion, care and expectations. Given the great emphasis on filial piety in Chinese family culture, how do one-child migrants in the UK and their parents in China negotiate family support and obligations for now and for the future?

This qualitative paper is based on in-depth interviews with one-child Chinese migrants in the UK and their parents in China conducted in 2014. The paper investigates the dynamics of transnational one-child families in terms of capital flow, responsibility allocation and emotional (in)dependence. By examining the “unspoken family contract” in the nuclear three-member-family, the paper presents a changing role of filial obligations in a traditionally family-oriented culture.

4. Parent-school interaction and Risk Management in plural Norway. The role of class, migration and gender

Hilde Danielsen (with Synnøve Bendixsen)
Uni Research Rokkan Centre, Bergen, Norway

Norwegian society is becoming ever more globalized and multicultural, and class differences are increasing. As a result of these processes, new parenting norms, ideologies and practices are emerging and highlighting different ideas of parenting. In light of theories concerning risk society our research aims to investigate how parenting cultures are formed. What risks concerning parenting cultures are formed in different institutional settings? Are different parents concerned with different risks? Pursuing fieldwork in schools, governmental bodies and civil society and interviews with parents living in the socially and culturally mixed borough of Årstad in Bergen, Norway we will cast light on the role of class, gender and migration background in shaping various parenting cultures and forms of risk management. Årstad is a particularly interesting case study because of its mixed population, with both very resourceful inhabitants as well as inhabitants lacking important resources. In 1996, media reported that the head of the child welfare authority of Bergen warned against letting children grow up in parts of this borough. Since then several governmental, municipal and local actors have initiated projects and events in parts of the borough targeting specifically parents and children in order to create a safe environment for children to grow up in. In this paper we will look especially into the interaction between schools and parents and how parenting cultures are shaped in this interaction.

Theme E: Responses to death and 'bereavement'

1. Parental experience of loss by suicide.

Emma Wadey
Nursing Standards and Safety Sussex Partnership Foundation Trust

As a mental health nurse and accredited cognitive behavioural therapist I have nearly 20 years’ experience of supporting those who are suicidal and their families. In England, suicide is a significant public health concern, which following a decline in numbers has since 2008 seen an annual increase. For every person who dies by suicide, it is estimated that 6-10 people affected, with those who have an intimate attachment experiencing the bereavement more acutely.
To date, very little of the suicide literature has been focused on the role, impact or experience of families and loved ones who have been bereaved by suicide. Research conducted with bereaved participants has heavily relied on psychologically informed methodologies, with an emphasis on quantitative study designs. This is problematic as there is emerging evidence that quantitative studies are not discretely sensitive to fully appreciate individual impact and experience. In contrast the qualitative literature is mainly autobiographical narratives which are not subjected to thematic analysis or synthesis.

Current research has been biased towards either using a mixture of familial relationships to explore bereavement impact without fully exploring the possibility of difference between them. Parents whose adult children have died have been absent from studies. Using a grounded theory approach, up to 30 parents will be interviewed to gain an understanding of their experience. The initial findings will be presented.

A better understanding of parent’s experience of grief following suicide bereavement and the affect this has on their life will have many benefits at a micro and macro level. Provision of better information and timely access to interventions for those bereaved may assist in the prevention of further suicides, improve trust and satisfaction with health services, shape service design and provision, encourage community engagement and support the development of an evidence based care pathway.

2. Exploring the impact of death by suicide on family relationships

Sharon Mallon
The Open University

“... come and meet my mother and yeah, she is coping very well. But that doesn’t say that the rest of the family is coping very well...”.

Research on the impact of death by suicide has increased in recent years. The majority of studies suggest the consequences of these deaths include feelings of guilt and responsibility. Studies also indicate that surviving family members are most directly implicated in the aftermath of a suicidal death. However, studies have tended to focus on the reactions of individuals within families. To date, little consideration has been given to how these deaths impact on relations between family members. In addition, how bereavement reactions vary among members of the same family remains largely unstudied.

In this presentation, we analyze qualitative data from 79 bereaved family members to explore the impact of deaths by suicide on family relationships. We use our data to reflect upon how families are a source of support and in what ways they can be a source of tension in the aftermath of the death. Finally, we briefly consider how responses vary across the family and question to what extent a collective bereavement experience in the aftermath of a death such as suicide is possible.

We conclude by considering the implications for families, policy makers and service providers and suggest that specialist research and interventions targeting the family unit may represent the next step in providing appropriate support to survivors of suicide.

3. Grief Encounters: Children Learning about and Managing Death and Bereavement

Hayley Davies
King’s College London

In what ways do death and bereavement feature in children’s wider narratives about family and personal relationships? How do children learn about death and bereavement and manage their own and others’ grief? In this exploratory paper, I consider the qualitative accounts of children aged 8-10, drawn from a school-based field study in England about family and close personal relationships, undertaken over nineteen months. The school’s attempts to address the bereavements of a number of children at school through a project on death and burial – including a circle time story about the death of a pet, a visit to a graveyard, and inviting children to depict loss and change - are examined alongside children’s responses to the project. Secondly, I interrogate ‘disenfranchised grief’ (Doka, 1989) in two scenarios: both in the context of parental attempts to shelter children from the lived realities of death, and in relation to wider social sanctions upon who is grievable, and upon the spaces in which grief is deemed appropriate.
4. Death from a distance: loss, presence and regret in the narratives surrounding deceased parents of Latin American migrants in the north of England

Rosa Mas Giralt

University of Leeds

A growing literature focuses on the emotional dimensions of transnational relationships and the ways in which physically distant family members negotiate possibilities of co-presence or continue to provide moral and emotional support and care for their relatives across borders by ‘staying in touch’ and negotiating feelings of absence and longing. This paper aims to contribute to this area of research by considering the emotions that may accompany migrants’ experiences of missing the death of a parent left behind in the country of origin and the impacts that this may have for their family bonds and relationships with surviving relatives. Drawing from a research project conducted with Latin American and Latino-British families in the north of England, the paper explores the narratives presented by some of the adult participants when discussing transnational family and care practices in cases where such deaths had occurred. Loss and regret became powerful emotions which made participants revaluate their migratory trajectories, leading some to express a sense of permanent absence and non-closure and others to re-affirm the presence in their lives of deceased relatives.

Theme F: Support for ‘troubled’ families

1. Strangers and Estrangement: young people’s renegotiations of birth and foster family relationships as they transition out of care

Jenny Driscoll

Department of Education & Professional Studies, King's College London

This paper derives from a study of which the primary focus was the educational progress of looked-after children ageing out of care in England. 21 young people participated in the study over a three-year period, and were asked to take part in an interview in each of Years 11, 12 and 13. Findings suggested that initiatives devised to promote the educational attainment of children in care risk being undermined by continued deficiencies in social care and in particular by inadequate attention to the primacy of relationships in young people’s lives. In this paper I explore the effects of placement instability, separation from siblings and uncertain or poorly managed contact arrangements on young people’s experiences of care. I chart the way in which young people ageing out of care were increasingly likely to question their relationship with their foster families, while concurrently seeking to rekindle and/or renegotiate relationships with their birth family members. I consider young people’s ‘management’ of those relationships, including their feelings both of rejection by, and responsibility for, their birth families and discuss the reasons why young people tended to opt to live independently rather than ‘Staying Put’ with their foster carers once they turned 18. I question the effectiveness of the ‘corporate parenting’ model and draw on Hollinsworth’s theory of foundational rights, which incorporates considerations of relational autonomy, to reconsider the nature and extent of the state’s obligations towards children for whom it has taken on the role of parent, both during and beyond their legal minority.

2. Communicating what we do: an exploration of family practices in the context of formal kinship carer.

Lindsay Hill

Brighton University

In the UK formal kinship care is a term that is used to refer to statutory arrangements in which children who have experienced abuse are looked after by extended family members. Research has identified that carers and children are living in situations of disadvantages and that their needs for support can go unrecognised.

Kinship carers and the children they were caring for were engaged in collaborative action research. A research group comprised of seven kinship carers met for a period of twelve months. Kinship carers explored their caring practices through the lens of a resilience framework known as Resilient Therapy (Hart, Blincow and Thomas 2007). Photo voice was a method used to enable carers to reflect on their practices.

Kinship Carers acquired a language through which to talk about their family practices. The collaborative nature of the work increased their sensitivity to children’s experiences of care and their own needs as carers. The impact of the subtle processes of power and discrimination were revealed in the pictures they brought to the group.
Drawing on an ethic of care the paper highlights the importance of recognising and supporting the relational nature of care and maintaining a sensitivity to contextual issues which influence care giving and care receiving.

3. The Doing of Intensive Family Support in a Cold Climate

Robin Sen
University of Sheffield

The centrality of positive relationships between parents and professionals to successful child welfare practice is widely accepted in both the UK and internationally (Munro, 2011). However the creation and maintenance of such relationships where there are child protection concerns remains a significant challenge. Although research has reasonably consistently outlined the characteristics of empathic and sensitive professional practice on which successful parental engagement relies (e.g. Dale, 2004; Dumbrill, 2006), there is scant data on the detail of what such practice actually consists. The dedicated family key worker role in intensive family support projects often provides scope to develop longer term supportive relationships with families than in everyday child protection social work. Drawing on a qualitative cases study evaluation of an ‘edge of care’ intensive family support service in the north of England, this paper will examine the detail of key work support within the eight case study families. It will illustrate some of the ways in which relationships were successfully built despite a number of family difficulties and poor pre-existing relationships with the statutory services involved. It will go on to explore which family issues proved more intractable, despite intensive service input, and finish by considering the implications that might be drawn from the study for the delivery of ‘edge of care’ services within the context of a cold climate marked by continued austerity and policy discourse privileging substitute care.

References
Posters

1. Invisible children: Black and Minority ethnic children with life-limiting conditions
Wahida Kent
School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University

Context and Motivation for the Study
This study aims to explore palliative care and the needs of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) children with life-limiting conditions (LLCs).

The qualitative element will investigate support received by the main carer/parent of such children. Interviews will be conducted with the main carer/parent. It hopes to provide an insight into the lived experience of these families, and identify any barriers to accessing specialist services such as hospice care. Professionals working in this field will also be interviewed to explore their perspective.

The quantitative element will seek to describe the population of BME disabled children and those with LLCs. This will involve secondary analysis of the Millennium Cohort Study. The aim is to ascertain if there are any differences in terms of social demographics and illness patterns between ethnic minorities (as a group) and the British White population.

Why is it important?
There is little information about the experiences of such families. Research lacks the voice of parents in particular. Service-providers report low take-up of services from this group and wish to know the perceived or real barriers are, for them to make services more accessible to all sections of the population.

Advances in medicine mean that children who may not have survived previously are now living longer, and demographics also show growing numbers of the BME population in the UK. This study will give a cross-cultural perspective in terms of how such families respond to such a diagnosis, death, and bereavement.

2. Shades of Care. European Migrant Doctors and their Families
Teodora Manea (University of Exeter) and Cristina Teodorescu (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)

Doctors are providers of care, but care is not just a service that Western societies can afford to pay for. The marketization of care transformed doctors into a “labour supply”, a workforce pulled from Eastern to Western Europe in order to patch the care deficit. Care, and especially health care is a complex cultural phenomenon, and therefore it has its particularities, limits and specific structures, widely ignored by most of the Western health care employment policies.

We would like to move the discourse from economic frames of highly skilled migration toward the socio-cultural role of the family as an immediate web-of-care of doctors, by highlighting care interdependencies, responsibilities and vulnerabilities in their household.

Compared to other categories of migrants, it may be hard to identify doctors’ needs and vulnerabilities. Their qualification is recognised and they are paid fairly. However, our empirical study revealed other dimension of doctors’ vulnerabilities, and most of them required the emotional support of the family. The family’s role in migration, as initial driver to depart, to return or to settle abroad, may override the economic gain of it, showing the family as a main steering mechanism of migration.

The migration of a family member for short or long periods can lead to significant changes in family life. Therefore more and more families or couples have to choose between individual and common careers. Family migration decisions imply a complex choice between different life domains such as work, relationships, extended family, economic gains, community and friends.

3. Young Carers in Minamiuonuma Area in Japan: Analysis using a questionnaire survey provided to school staff of public elementary schools and junior high schools.
Tomoko Shibuya Igarashi
Seikei University, Carers Japan Young Carers Project
Young carers are children under 18 who provide care for family members with a chronic disease, disability, or mental illness. In Japan, the concept of "young carers" came to be paid more attention recently. This study analyzes a questionnaire survey provided to school staff of public elementary schools and junior high schools in Minamiuonuma area in Niigata prefecture. This is the first local survey of young carers in Japan, conducted systematically to school staff.

In this survey, 25.1% of the 271 respondents answered that there were possible young carers among the pupils they had been engaged as school staff. 65 respondents wrote the detail of these children: school grade (age), sex, family structure (lone parent or two parents, whether they live with grandparents or not), their relationship to the person with care needs, caring tasks they provide. The questionnaire also asked school staff how they noticed that the children were providing care, the reason why the children took on caring responsibilities, how caring responsibilities influenced school life of the children, how school staff reacted to the situation, whether they were able to consult someone and what kind of support they think to be able to do for the children with inappropriate responsibilities.

Results indicated that the majority of care recipients were mothers and siblings. The type of caring task children most frequently provided was "domestic tasks" and "sibling care." The most frequently cited reasons for these children assuming caregiving responsibilities were "belonging to a single-parent family" and "having younger siblings".

4. Adult Never-married Single Mothers in Taiwan and their Welfare Experience

Hung-ju Lai
Department of Social and Policy Sciences, University of Bath

Being only 6% of all single mothers in Taiwan, never-married single mothers (NMSMs) in Taiwan are a group of mothers which has been neglected for long time (Cheng, Wang, & Hsieh, 2008). Compared to teenage NMSMs, adult mothers are more likely to be without support, whether formal and informal (Shih, 2010). Also, in the case with single mothers in other East Asian countries, they and their children need to deal with the process of stigmatization, given that marriage is still the predominant form of marital status in this region. Following Goffman (1963), this research aims to understand the strategies of NMSMs in dealing with all kinds of stigma within the Taiwanese context, and how social policies can exercise to lessen their experience of stigma and improve their access to formal and informal support.

This research conducted in-depth interviews with 30 NMSMs in Taiwan, and used an ecomapping technique to elicit rich data and to visualize change in their support and networks. Preliminary findings highlight the importance of family support as a resource to manage the experience of being a stigmatized single mother, as well as challenges related to childcare, finance and housing. Portraits of the absent fathers and their families are also explored to understand what kind of stigma, or other difficulties, a patriarchal society can impose on mothers who unintentionally become NMSMs. Moreover, over time, NMSMs may be subjected to a ‘double stigma’ when being too welfare-reliant, or be able to benefit from more comprehensive reflections about their experience.

References

5. Initial findings and researcher reflections of a longitudinal study investigating different approaches to support vulnerable families

Emily Ball
Department of Town & Regional Planning, University of Sheffield

This presentation considers the increasing roll-out of intensive, family-based mechanisms of conditional support to tackle social exclusion and anti-social behaviour (ASB) in vulnerable social groups during the New Labour and
Coalition administrations. In particular, the presentation will discuss how political attention given to vulnerable or ‘troubled’ families is positioned in discourses of negligible parenting, where a parenting skills ‘deficit’ is constructed as a significant contributing factor to a ‘broken’ society. This presentation will outline the initial findings of a longitudinal PhD study, which considers the relationship between conditionality, support, and parenting in a localised context. A number of families and key workers from a range of organisations were tracked and interviewed over a six month period in order assess how project interventions, behaviour and circumstances have changed. Whilst the initial findings show evidence certain types of support are benefitting families subject to intensive interventions through practical and emotional support, sanctioning negligible parenting and inconsistent support models often inhibit other (often gendered) issues that need attention, in particular mental health issues and child-to-mother abuse.