

INSIDE RESEARCH REPORTS

Research Domain: Generations and Life Span Development

Michael-Sebastian Honig & Sascha Neumann (Eds.)

(Doing) Ethnography in Early Childhood Education and Care Proceedings of an International Colloquium at the University of Luxembourg

Research Report
October 2012

**(Doing) Ethnography in Early Childhood
Education and Care
Proceedings of an International Colloquium
at the University of Luxembourg**

Research Report
October 2012

Research Domain: Generations and Life Span Development

Michael-Sebastian Honig & Sascha Neumann (Eds.)

**(Doing) Ethnography in Early Childhood
Education and Care
Proceedings of an International Colloquium
at the University of Luxembourg**

Research Report
October 2012

© University of Luxembourg, RU INSIDE

ISBN 978-2-87971-822-4

Bibliographical reference :

Honig, Michael-Sebastian/Neumann, Sascha (Eds.) (2012). (Doing) Ethnography in Early Childhood Education and Care. Luxembourg: Université du Luxembourg.

Cover Layout : apart.lu

Printed by : Reka print+, Ehlerange, Luxembourg

Table of Contents

Introduction (English Version, p. 7 / Deutsche Fassung, S. 13)

Michael-Sebastian Honig/Sascha Neumann 7

(Re-)Constructing the Field of Ethnographic Research in Early Childhood Education and Care

Sascha Neumann 21

»Sprachliche Bildung« im Kindergarten ethnographisch erforschen? Reflexionen über methodologische Herausforderungen

Isabell Diehm/Veronika Magyar-Haas 33

A Child's Dropout and a Nursery's Secondary Adjustment – Linking Longitudinal, Organizational, and Institutional Ethnography in ECEC

Oliver Schnoor/Claudia Seele 53

Die Aufführung des Beobachtens – Eine praxisanalytische Skizze zu den Praktiken des Beobachtens in Kindertageseinrichtungen (English Version)

Sabine Bollig/Marc Schulz 73

Exploring Continuities and Discontinuities for Teacher Candidates between University and Early Childhood Classrooms

Laurie Katz/Judith Green 85

"And You Bill, Do You Want a Shot?": The Importance of Children's Visual Culture in Longitudinal Ethnographic Research with Children

William A. Corsaro 111

Assembling the Resident Child – Membership in Residential Care

Florian Eßer 133

Possibilities and Potentials of Ethnographic Research on Infantile Sexuality

Julia König 153

Lost in transition? Children's agency during transition from ECEC to Primary School (Abstract)

Christina Huf 171

List of Authors..... 173

**University of Luxembourg, Research Unit on Individual and Social Development
(INSIDE), Research Axis “Early Childhood: Education and care”**

**Publications and Presentations on Ethnography in
Early Childhood Education and Care..... 175**

INTRODUCTION

Michael-Sebastian Honig / Sascha Neumann

This is the second publication in a series of research reports presented by the research axis “Early Childhood: Education and Care” of the “Integrative Research Unit on Social and Individual Development” (INSIDE) at the University of Luxembourg which intends to render visible the on-going research activities of the axis¹. It is a documentation of the contributions to the international colloquium “(Doing) Ethnography in Early Childhood Education and Care” that took place in April 2011. The colloquium was preceded by an open call for papers and was attended by eighteen researchers from six different countries. On the one hand, this meeting constituted an important step in the process of establishing and consolidating ethnographic research on early childhood education and care at the University of Luxembourg, a process which was set in motion with the appointment of the respective professorship in autumn 2008. On the other hand, it contributed to the growing network of international childhood studies, thus continuing the axis’ efforts already demonstrated at a conference two years ago about “The German-speaking Childhood Studies in an International Context”².

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE IN LUXEMBOURG

Luxembourg is a country with a dual structure of non-familial care and early education. While the *éducation préscolaire* (preschool education) for four- to six-year-old children is legally regulated since 1963 and is formally integrated into the education system since 2009 (*cycle un*), there has traditionally been rather few publicly organized non-familial care for children before school age. This has changed since the beginning of the new millennium, prompted mainly on a supranational level by the European Union and the OECD pursuing primarily employment political objectives. Since the introduction of the *Maison Relais pour Enfants* (2005) there has been a rapid development. The number of places for children up to twelve years of age has almost triplicated between 2005 and 2010. Alongside the public sector there are numerous private care arrangements – in comparison to other European countries the commercial sector provides a particularly big proportion of places; even the majority in the case of the under-three-year-olds. Nonetheless, the de-

¹ The first publication of the working paper series was released in December 2010 as: Neumann, S. (Ed.) (2010). *Beobachtungen des Pädagogischen. Programm – Methodologie – Empirie*. [Observations of the Pedagogical. Programme – Methodology – Empirical Findings]. Luxembourg: University of Luxembourg.

² See: Honig, M.-S. (Ed.) (2009). *Ordnungen der Kindheit. Problemstellungen und Perspektiven der Kindheitsforschung* [Ordering Childhood. Problems and Perspectives of Childhood Studies]. Weinheim/München: Juventa.

mand still significantly exceeds the supply. In 2011, there were 77.500 children between the ages of zero and twelve living in the Grand Duchy, 48% of whom do not have the Luxembourgish nationality. This ratio is even 5% higher than in the adult population.

Another characteristic of the Luxembourgian system of early education and care lies in the fact that the growth and development of the early childhood education and care sector in Luxembourg was not accompanied by a domestic science of early education since there has virtually been no corresponding scientific infrastructure. Compared to other countries, Luxembourg forms a case of special interest insofar as the expansion of pedagogical facilities has taken place without a respective scientific observation and supervision. Meanwhile, this rapid growth of institutional care has spurred questions as to its quality and the qualification of pedagogical staff. This is one of the main reasons for the establishment of an own research domain on the subject at the university.

THE RESEARCH AXIS “EARLY CHILDHOOD: EDUCATION AND CARE”

The University of Luxembourg is quite young and strives to find its place within the international arena of research and higher education. It was founded in 2003 and has today about 5700 students, more than half of them with foreign origins. The academic staff of the three faculties and two interdisciplinary centres comes from 25 different countries. Languages of instruction are English, French and German, accompanied by Luxembourgish as an additional language of everyday interaction. With its research priority “Education and Learning in Multilingual and Multicultural Contexts” the university puts a special emphasis on educational science.

Established in autumn 2008, the research axis “Early Childhood: Education and Care” focuses on two key areas. In addition to the social monitoring of extra-familial and out-of-school education and care in Luxembourg, its research activities also centre on ethnographic research in the field of public and private care arrangements. With this, the axis pursues a double objective: On the one hand, it accompanies and supports the development of an institutional sector of early childhood education and care within the context of social change in Luxembourg. This happens at least in part in close cooperation with the family ministry. On the other hand and in the framework of a newly founded university, it strives to establish an ambitious research program and to position itself within international debates. In this sense, the policies and practices of early childhood education and care are a major topic of research and are investigated with respect to processes of institutionalisation and changing childhood(s). Ethnography, here, is the method of choice, since

it allows to explore the practical accomplishment of childhood as an aspect of institutionalised social orders based on the empirical observation of local practices. With this approach the axis' profile is constituted in a twofold way: First, in the context of the social studies of childhood, it places the early phase of life into the centre of attention. Second, in the context of educational research, it puts a special emphasis on the practices of pedagogical programmes and their constitutive contribution to the formation of contemporary childhoods³. From this vantage point, the axis also aims at contributing to the professional development of early education and care in Luxembourg. Thus, theoretical progress and practical application are related in its empirical studies. How they can actually contribute to research and development ultimately depends on a thorough consideration of the scope, potentials and also the limits of ethnographic approaches to the policies and practices of early childhood education and care in Luxembourg. These reflections form the background for the publication at hand.

THE COLLOQUIUM “(DOING) ETHNOGRAPHY IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE”

The contributions to the colloquium which are documented in this research report aimed at exploring the potentials and pitfalls of ethnographic research in the field of early education and care. This project was motivated not least by the observation that ethnographic approaches to this field have gained considerably in international importance during the last years and have become a new source of knowledge production next to quantitative studies on the effects of attending day care or the traditional programmatic and practice-oriented discourse about the tasks and purposes of early childhood education and care. Thus, a critical mapping of the current situation is not only justified but urgently required in order to consolidate ethnographic research as an independent research programme.

In educational research as well as in childhood studies there exists a range of different conceptions of ethnography. On the other side, there are also international differences in research traditions and socio-political conditions of the field of early childhood education and care. In German-speaking countries the “pedagogy of early childhood” constitutes a sub-discipline of educational sciences for about 150 years, whereas in other countries the realities of familial and non-familial education and care do not fall within the scope of a single corresponding scientific domain but are investigated from different disciplinary per-

³ From 09/2009 to 12/2012 we conducted an ethnographic study on the practices of non-familial education and care in Luxembourgian *Maisons Relais pour Enfants* (EDUQUA-MRE; see Neumann and Schnoor/Seele in this volume).

spectives. Not least, there are various topics for ethnographic research in the field of early childhood education and care, as for example questions of quality and effects of institutional care, development diagnostics, agency and peer culture in early childhood or the institutional and biographical transitions between family, day care and school. Against this background the contributions to the colloquium addressed the following questions: What are the merits of an ethnographic approach for describing the realities of education and care in early childhood settings? How does this approach alter our view of the field and institutions of early childhood education and care? What are the perspectives that can be gained for the topics and methodology of qualitative educational research? Finally: What are the concrete objects of ethnographic research in the field of early childhood education and care?

Therefore, the colloquium dealt not only with the results of ethnographic studies and their methodical critique, that is, it was not for the sake of ethnography in and of itself. The central questions were rather *how ethnographic research can open up new perspectives on the field of early childhood education and care, describe its realities and connect to other research domains and disciplinary approaches*. It was of particular interest to all participants to find out how and in what way ethnographic research produces a different knowledge about a field that is usually conceived of only in terms of the structural opportunities it offers for processes of education and development. From this vantage point the colloquium discussed the specific contribution of ethnographic research to key issues in current debates on early education and care. To put it bluntly, it was not just about ethnography *in* the field of early childhood education and care, but about ethnography *of* the field of early childhood education and care, that is, about *the objectification of early education and care through processes of ethnographic investigation*. From the point of view of the philosophy of science, the interrelationship between object constitution and methodology in ethnography was debated. This methodological approach helps to widen our view beyond the conventional boundaries of the legally and institutionally defined sphere of non-familial early education and extend it onto the relations and interrelations between the social forces that constitute the field.

THE PRESENT DOCUMENTATION OF THE COLLOQUIUM

The format and programme of the colloquium resulted from the preceding considerations and followed the model of the annual “Ethnography and Education Conference” in Oxford (UK). Hence, it was a basic prerequisite that the completed papers were circulated in ad-

vance so that, firstly, all participants could read and work through them prior to the conference and, secondly, there remained more time for discussion at the conference itself. In one day and a half, merely ten papers were presented. They only provide a glimpse on the diverse range of the prevailing and controversial research topics in the field of early childhood education and care. But the very detailed and differentiated discussions of each paper allowed achieving the stated objectives of the colloquium and justify the publication at hand. All contributions followed different approaches and gave different answers to the key issues in question. They can be understood as differently accentuated empirical contributions to a methodology of ethnographic research or as object-related analyses of broader research problems and contexts.

The first part of this working paper comprises three texts that problematize the research setting as such, while the second and third parts focus on further theoretical contexts: childhood sociology, education research, questions of professionalization. All contributions develop their arguments on the basis of empirical observations and of experiences from doing ethnographic field research. Furthermore, they connect to issues of broader social relevance such as questions of quality development in day care settings, training of professional staff or transitions between preschool and school, just to name a few. The documentation concludes with an overview of presentations and publications of the research axis “Early Childhood: Education and Care” that are pertinent to the subject matter of the colloquium and that illustrate the theoretical approach of the axis as well as its contribution to the current reorganisation of extra-familial early education and care in Luxembourg.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As organisers of the conferences we are greatly indebted to all referees for their willingness to engage in the colloquium and to put their research up to discussion in light of the aforementioned questions. We also thank them for their approving the publication of their papers in the present format. Regrettably, for reasons of copyright, we were not able to include the paper by Christina Huf which in the meantime has been accepted for publication by the journal *Ethnography and Education*. We are, however, grateful to her for allowing us to reprint the abstract of her article that summarises the key points of her argument. We also thank the two discussants Helga Kelle (Frankfurt/Main) and Liz Brooker (London) for their invaluable contributions to the constructive and controversial debates on the authors’ texts and presentations.

We owe special thanks to Sabrina Göbel. She prepared the manuscript with great diligence and attentiveness and accompanied the seemingly endless story of this publication with constant patience. Last but not least, we would like to record our debt to Professor Ferring, director of the research unit INSIDE, for the financial support of the realisation of this project.

EINLEITUNG

Michael-Sebastian Honig / Sascha Neumann

Die Forschungsachse „*Early Childhood: Education and Care*“ der Forschungseinheit „Soziale und individuelle Entwicklung“ (INSIDE) an der Universität Luxemburg legt mit dieser Publikation die zweite Veröffentlichung in der Reihe ihrer Forschungsberichte vor, die über die laufenden Forschungsaktivitäten der Achse berichten.⁴ Sie dokumentiert die Beiträge des internationalen Kolloquiums „*(Doing) Ethnography in Early Childhood Education and Care*“, das im April 2011 stattfand. An diesem Kolloquium, dem ein offener *Call for Papers* vorausging, haben sich seinerzeit insgesamt achtzehn Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler als Diskutanten und Referenten aus sechs verschiedenen Ländern beteiligt. Das Kolloquium stellt einerseits eine wichtige Etappe im Prozess der Konstituierung ethnographischer Forschung über nichtfamiliale Bildung und Betreuung in früher Kindheit an der Universität Luxemburg dar. Andererseits ist es ein Beitrag zur Vernetzung der internationalen Kindheitsforschung. Das Kolloquium setzt in dieser Hinsicht Bemühungen fort, denen sich auch die schon zwei Jahre zuvor veranstaltete Tagung „Die deutschsprachige Kindheitsforschung im internationalen Kontext“ widmete.⁵ Dieser Prozess hatte mit der Einrichtung eines entsprechenden Lehrstuhls an der Universität Luxemburg im Herbst 2008 begonnen.

FRÜHKINDLICHE BETREUUNG UND BILDUNG IN LUXEMBURG

Luxemburg ist ein Land, das über eine duale Struktur nichtfamilialer Betreuung und vorschulischer Bildung verfügt. Während die *éducation préscolaire* (Vorschule) für die 4-6-Jährigen seit 1963 gesetzlich geregelt und seit 2009 auch formell in das Bildungssystem integriert ist („*cycle un*“), gab es traditionell kaum eine öffentlich finanzierte nichtfamiliale Betreuung von Kindern im vorschulischen Alter. Das hat sich seit Beginn des neuen Jahrtausends geändert; der Impuls ging vor allem von der supranationalen Ebene der Europäischen Union und der OECD aus und hatte primär beschäftigungspolitische Gründe. Seit der Einführung der *Maisons Relais* (2005) ist die Entwicklung stürmisch verlaufen. Die Zahl der Plätze für Kinder im Alter von bis zu 12 Jahre hat sich in diesen Einrichtungen zwischen 2005 und 2010 fast verdreifacht, für Kinder im Alter von bis zu 3 Jahren – allerdings ausgehend von einem sehr niedrigen Niveau – mehr als verdreißigfacht. Neben den öffentlich

⁴ Die erste Veröffentlichung der Reihe ist im Dezember 2010 erschienen als: Neumann, S. (Hg.) (2010). Beobachtungen des Pädagogischen. Programm – Methodologie – Empirie. Luxembourg: Université du Luxembourg.

⁵ Vgl. hierzu: Honig, M.-S. (Hg.) (2009). Ordnungen der Kindheit. Problemstellungen und Perspektiven der Kindheitsforschung. Weinheim/München: Juventa.

finanzierten Einrichtungen existieren weiterhin zahlreiche privat-gewerbliche Betreuungsarrangements; auch sie haben in den vergangenen Jahren zugenommen. Bei den unter 3Jährigen stellt der kommerzielle Sektor – anders als in vielen europäischen Staaten – sogar die Mehrheit der Betreuungsmöglichkeiten. Dennoch übersteigt die Nachfrage das Angebot erheblich. In Luxemburg lebten 2011 rund 77.500 Kinder im Alter von bis zu 12 Jahren, von denen fast 48% keinen Luxemburger Pass haben; dieser Anteil ist noch einmal rund fünf Prozent höher als in der Erwachsenenbevölkerung.

Ein weiteres Charakteristikum des Luxemburger System nichtfamilialer Betreuung und vorschulischer Bildung ist der Umstand, dass anders als in den meisten Ländern der Ausbau frühkindlicher Betreuung und Bildung nicht durch eine einheimische Wissenschaft von der Erziehung in früher Kindheit unterstützt wurde, weil es eine entsprechende wissenschaftliche Infrastruktur nicht gab. Luxemburg ist insofern der interessante Fall eines Ausbaus pädagogischer Infrastruktur ohne eine nationale wissenschaftliche Grundlegung und Begleitung. Die rasante Expansion institutioneller Betreuungsstrukturen hat indes rasch die Frage nach ihrer Qualität und nach der Qualifizierung der Fachkräfte aufgeworfen; dies ist ein wesentlicher Grund dafür, dass an der Universität ein entsprechender Arbeitsbereich eingerichtet wurde.

DIE FORSCHUNGSACHSE „EARLY CHILDHOOD: EDUCATION AND CARE“

Die Universität Luxemburg ist eine noch junge Hochschule, die sich sehr darum bemüht, ihren Platz in der internationalen Forschungs- und Ausbildungslandschaft zu finden. Im Jahre 2003 gegründet, hat sie heute rund 5.700 Studierende, von über die Hälfte nicht aus Luxemburg stammt. Die Professoren und Dozenten der drei Fakultäten kommen aus 25 verschiedenen Ländern. An der Universität sind Englisch, Französisch und Deutsch Unterrichtssprachen, im Alltag wird außerdem viel Luxemburgisch gesprochen. Mit ihrer Forschungspriorität „Erziehung und Bildung in multilingualen und multikulturellen Kontexten“ setzt die Universität einen besonderen Akzent auf die Erziehungswissenschaft.

Die seit Herbst 2008 bestehende Forschungsachse „*Early Childhood: Education and Care*“ bearbeitet im Kern zwei Schwerpunkte. Neben der Sozialberichterstattung über außerschulische Bildungs- und Betreuungsverhältnisse im Großherzogtum Luxemburg widmet sie ihre Aktivitäten der ethnographischen Forschung über öffentlich finanzierte, privat-familiale und gewerbliche Betreuungsarrangements. Damit verfolgt der Arbeitsbereich eine doppelte Aufgabe: Zum einen unterstützt und begleitet er die Entstehung eines institutionellen Sektors frühkindlicher Bildung und Betreuung im Kontext des sozialen Wan-

dels in Luxemburg. In diesem Zusammenhang bestehen u.a. enge Kooperationsbeziehungen zum Luxemburger Familienministerium. Zum anderen bemüht er sich im Kontext der Etablierung einer neuen Universität um ein anspruchsvolles Forschungsprogramm, das sich in der internationalen Debatte zu positionieren sucht. In diesem Sinne macht die Abteilung Politik und Praxis frühkindlicher Erziehung und Bildung zum Thema ihrer Forschung und betrachtet sie unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Institutionalisierung und des Wandels von Kindheit. Ethnographie ist dabei einer der Forschungsstrategien der Wahl, denn sie erlaubt, ausgehend vom empirischen lokalen Geschehen die praktische Hervorbringung von Kindheit als Moment institutionalisierter sozialer Ordnungen zu beobachten. Damit kann sich der Arbeitsbereich in zweifacher Weise profilieren. Einmal rückt er im Kontext einer sozialwissenschaftlichen Kindheitsforschung die frühe Lebensphase in den Mittelpunkt; zum anderen betont er im Kontext der erziehungswissenschaftlichen Bildungsforschung die Praxis pädagogischer Programme und ihren konstitutiven Beitrag zur Formierung zeitgenössischer Kindheiten.⁶ Unter diesem Blickwinkel will die Abteilung zugleich einen Beitrag zur fachlichen Weiterentwicklung der Kindertagesbetreuung in Luxemburg leisten. Theorieorientierung und Anwendungsorientierung sollen in den empirischen Studien aufeinander bezogen sein. Was sie in Forschung und Entwicklung leisten können, hängt allerdings wesentlich davon ab, wie grundlegend sie sich mit Reichweite, Potentiale und auch Grenzen ethnografischer Zugänge zu Politik und Praxis der Kinderbetreuung in Luxemburg beschäftigen. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist die vorliegende Veröffentlichung zu sehen.

DAS KOLLOQUIUM „(DOING) ETHNOGRAPHY IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE“

Das Kolloquium, dessen Beiträge der vorliegende *research report* dokumentiert, verfolgte das Ziel, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen ethnografischer Forschung im fröhpädagogischen Feld auszuloten. Anlass für dieses Vorhaben war nicht zuletzt die Beobachtung, dass die ethnographisch-kulturwissenschaftliche Forschung im Feld frühkindlicher Bildung und Betreuung in den letzten Jahren international stark an Bedeutung gewonnen hat und sich neben quantitativen Studien zu den Effekten des Besuchs von Kindertageseinrichtungen und einem traditionellen programmatisch-praxisreflexiven Diskurs um die Ziele und Aufgaben der frühen Bildung zu einer neuen Quelle des Wissens über das Feld etabliert hat. Dies rechtfertigt nicht nur den Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme, sondern macht sie auch

⁶ Seit dem Spätsommer 2009 führt die Forschungsachse „Early Childhood: Education and Care“ eine ethnografische Studie über Praktiken nichtfamilialer Betreuung und Bildung in Luxemburg durch (EDUQUA-MRE; siehe die Beiträge von Neumann und Schnoor/Seele in diesem Band).

notwendig, wenn es darum gehen soll, ethnographische Forschung als einen eigenständigen Forschungsansatz zu konsolidieren.

In der Erziehungswissenschaft liegen genauso wie in der Kindheitsforschung viele unterschiedliche Konzeptionen ethnographischer Forschung vor. Umgekehrt existieren in der internationalen Forschung unterschiedliche Vorstellungen und politisch-soziale Gegebenheiten des frühpädagogischen Feldes. Im deutschsprachigen Raum repräsentiert die Pädagogik der frühen Kindheit seit rund 150 Jahren eine Teildisziplin der Erziehungswissenschaft; während die Betreuungs- und Bildungswirklichkeit von familialer, quasi- und nichtfamilialer Bildung, Betreuung und Erziehung in anderen Wissenschaftskulturen nicht mit einer eigenen Wissenschaftsdomäne korrespondiert, sondern von unterschiedlichen Wissenschaften konzeptualisiert und untersucht wird. Nicht zuletzt gibt es vielfältige Themenbereiche ethnografischer Forschung im Feld frühkindlicher Betreuung und Bildung. Dazu zählen u.a. Fragen der Qualität und Wirkung institutioneller Tagesbetreuung, der Entwicklungsdiagnostik, *agency* und *peer culture* in früher Kindheit oder die institutionellen und lernbiographischen Übergänge zwischen Familie, Kindergarten und Grundschule. Vor diesem Hintergrund stellen sich Fragen, die über die einzelnen Beiträge hinweg Thema des Kolloquiums gewesen sind: Was leistet die ethnographische Forschungsstrategie, wenn es darum geht, die Bildungs- und Betreuungswirklichkeit in frühpädagogischen Feldern zu beschreiben? Wie verändert sich der Blick auf die Institutionen und das Feld der Frühpädagogik, wenn sie zum Gegenstand ethnographischer Forschung werden? Welche Perspektiven lassen sich daraus für Methodologie und Problemstellung einer qualitativen Bildungsforschung gewinnen? Schließlich: Was sind überhaupt die Gegenstände ethnografischer Forschung im Feld von *Early Childhood Education and Care*?

Im Mittelpunkt des Kolloquiums standen daher nicht lediglich Ergebnisse ethnografischer Forschung und ihre methodische Kritik, das heißt: Es ging nicht um die Ethnografie um ihrer selbst willen. *Im Mittelpunkt stand vielmehr die Frage, wie ethnografische Forschung das frühpädagogische Feld erschließen kann.* Welchen Blick wirft Ethnografie auf das frühpädagogische Feld, wie kann sie seine Wirklichkeit beschreiben, und welche Anschlüsse ermöglichen diese Beschreibungen an andere Forschungsdomänen und disziplinäre Zugänge? Dabei ging es insbesondere darum, in welcher Hinsicht und in welcher Weise ethnographische Forschung ein differentes Wissen über ein Feld erzeugt, dessen Wirklichkeit gewöhnlich lediglich als eine Gelegenheitsstruktur für Bildungs- und Entwicklungsprozesse in den Blick gerät. In dieser Perspektive diskutierte das Kolloquium den Beitrag der ethnografischen Forschung zu Schlüsselthemen der aktuellen frühpädagogischen

Diskussion. Dabei ging es – zugespitzt formuliert – nicht um Ethnographie *im* frühpädagogischen Feld, sondern um Ethnographie *des* frühpädagogischen Feldes, anders gesagt: um *die Vergegenständlichung von frühkindlicher Bildung und Betreuung in den Prozessen ethnographischer Beobachtung*. Wissenschaftstheoretisch gesprochen stand die Wechselbeziehung zwischen Gegenstandstheorie und Methodologie in der Ethnografie zur Diskussion. Dieser methodologische Ansatz öffnet den Blick über die herkömmlichen Grenzen des rechtlich und institutionell definierten Bereichs nichtfamilialer Kleinkinderziehung hinaus auf die Relationen und Wechselbeziehungen zwischen den sozialen Kräften, die das Feld konstituieren.

DIE VORLIEGENDE DOKUMENTATION DES KOLLOQUIUMS

Daraus ergaben sich der Fokus und das Programm des Kolloquiums. Das Format des Kolloquiums ist an den *Ethnography & Education* Konferenzen orientiert, die jährlich im September in Oxford (UK) stattfinden. Ihr grundlegendes Element besteht darin, dass die ausführlichen Papiere bereits vor der Konferenz vorliegen. Dies erlaubt zweierlei: Zum einen können sich die Teilnehmer auf die Diskussion bereits vorbereiten, zum anderen ist auf der Konferenz mehr Zeit zur Diskussion. Entsprechend wurden in rund eineinhalb Tagen des Luxemburger Kolloquiums lediglich zehn Papiere präsentiert. Sie bieten nur einen Ausschnitt aus der Vielzahl aktueller und kontroverser Themen frühpädagogischer Forschung; aber die Diskussionen waren so ausführlich und differenziert, dass die Beiträge den Anspruch des Kolloquiums einlösen konnten und somit auch eine anschließende Publikation in der vorliegenden Form rechtfertigen. Alle Beiträge verfolgten unterschiedliche Ansätze und gaben unterschiedliche Antworten auf seine Schlüsselfrage. Sie lassen sich mit unterschiedlichen Akzenten als empirische Beiträge zu einer Methodologie ethnografischer Forschung oder als gegenstandsbezogene Analysen weitergehender Fragestellungen und Forschungskontexte lesen.

Der erste Teil dieser Dokumentation umfasst drei Beiträge, die das Forschungssetting problematisieren, während der zweite und dritte Teil den Akzent auf weiterführende theoretische Kontexten legen: Kindheitssoziologie, Bildungsforschung, Fragen der Professionalisierung. Alle Beiträge jedoch entwickeln ihre Argumente auf der Basis empirischer Beobachtungen bzw. Erfahrungen aus dem Prozess ethnographischer Feldforschung. Zudem schließen die Beiträge an Themen an, die auch gesellschaftlich große Bedeutung haben. Dazu gehören etwa Fragen der Qualitätsentwicklung in Kindertageseinrichtungen, der Ausbildung von Fachpersonal oder der Transitionsprozesse von Kindertageseinrichtungen

zur Schule, um nur einige zu nennen. Die Dokumentation wird abgeschlossen mit einer Übersicht über Publikationen und Präsentationen der Forschungsachse „*Early Childhood: Education and Care*“, die für das Thema des Kolloquiums einschlägig sind und darüber hinaus die theoretische Herangehensweise und die Beiträge der Achse zur Reform außerfamiliärer Bildung und Betreuung in Luxemburg veranschaulichen.

DANK

Als Organisatoren des Kolloquiums danken wir allen Referenten für ihre Bereitschaft zur engagierten Beteiligung an diesem Kolloquium aber auch dafür, ihre Forschungen im Horizont der angesprochenen Fragen zur Diskussion gestellt und der Veröffentlichung in der nun vorliegenden Form zugestimmt zu haben. Aus urheberrechtlichen Gründen musste für diese Publikation leider auf den Abdruck des Beitrages von Christina Huf verzichtet werden; er ist zwischenzeitlich bereits von *Ethnography & Education* zur Publikation angenommen worden. Gleichwohl danken wir ihr dafür, dass sie uns für die Dokumentation des Kolloquiums ein Abstract ihres Textes zur Verfügung gestellt hat, in dem die Kernaussagen ihres Beitrages dokumentiert sind. Darüber hinaus danken wir aber auch den beiden Diskutanten Helga Kelle (Frankfurt/Main) und Liz Brooker (London) für ihre wertvollen Beiträge zur gleichermaßen kontroversen und konstruktiven Auseinandersetzung mit den Texten und Präsentationen der Autoren.

Besonderen Dank schulden wir Sabrina Göbel (früher Universität Trier, jetzt Universität Gesamthochschule Kassel). Sie hat mit großer Sorgfalt und Umsicht die Druckvorlage hergestellt und die unendliche Geschichte dieser Veröffentlichung mit schier unerschütterlichem Gleichmut ertragen. Nicht zuletzt aber gilt unser Dank Professor Ferring, dem Direktor der Forschungseinheit INSIDE, für die finanzielle Unterstützung bei der Umsetzung dieses Vorhabens.

(RE-)CONSTRUCTING THE FIELD OF ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE⁷

Sascha Neumann

ABSTRACT

In the slipstream of increasing research activities in the fields of childhood studies and child-care research ethnographic studies became during the last decades one of the key resources for the production of knowledge about early childhood education and care (ECEC) in western industrial countries. Against the background of the growing significance of ECEC-related ethnography and going out from a review of relevant literature the paper intends to enquire about the current state of the art of ethnography in and on ECEC by addressing the basic question what it is about. In order to give an answer to this question the argument draws attention to the status the field of ECEC has in different studies for the production of ethnographic knowledge. Is the “field” treated as an object to be studied or – if not – as what is it considered then? After working out that the idea of ‘field’ in ECEC-related ethnography mainly is defined in relation to a certain place the paper detects two different forms of ECEC-related ethnography which, in turn, correspond to two different variations in the relation established between the field and the issue of ethnographic investigations. The discussion thereby brings to light that ethnography in ECEC is not equivalent to what could be understood as ethnography of ECEC. In a further step, this result is reflected in the horizon of the limitations the circulating conception of the field in ECEC-related ethnography has for its investigation as well as for the development of a distinctive understanding of its own subject. To overcome these limitations the paper finally draws on the distinction of field, site and place as it may allow establishing ECEC as a field for ethnographic investigations in a full sense.

1. SOME INTRODUCING REMARKS: ETHNOGRAPHY IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE BETWEEN CHILDHOOD STUDIES AND CHILDCARE RESEARCH

In recent years, issues of education and care in early childhood (ECEC) have become some of the most relevant topics of the professional and political debate about the condition and design of education systems in the western industrial countries. Until today, the constantly rising importance of ECEC is not least associated with a significant increase of research on ECEC. Apart several well-known large-scale and longitudinal studies concerning the effec-

⁷ A revised German version of this paper will be published in *Zeitschrift für Soziologie der Erziehung und Sozialisation (ZSE)* / [Journal of Sociology of Education and Socialization], Vol. 33, 2013, 1.

tiveness of childcare institutions for child development, school readiness and other learning outcomes (cf. i.e. ECCE, 1997; EPPE, 2004; NICHD, 2005; OECD, 2001 & 2006), also a growing number of qualitative studies (cf. i.e. Hatch, 2007) helped to make ECEC becoming a recently quite prominent subject under scientific observation. They not least have contributed to establish a research field which meanwhile even seems to be on the way to prove its argumentative significance for professional and political decisions concerning the further development of the ECEC sector in different western countries. This applies as well to approaches related to the field of ECEC and associated to the spectrum of ethnographic research, a development which has doubtlessly one of its causes in an ongoing process which led ethnography becoming a kind of a new “orthodoxy” in childhood research (Qvortrup, 2000) as well as in educational sciences.

Back to 2006, Buchbinder et al. presented the results of a literature survey in the “Journal for early childhood research”, in which they attempt to work out the expectable extraordinary benefits resulting from ethnographic methodology for childcare research. In their article they give not only an overview of relevant ethnographic studies dedicated to the field of childcare but also try to develop an order of the field of investigations by distinguishing between so-called “caregiver-centered”, “mother-centered”, “child-centered” and society oriented research perspectives which at the same time are regarded as different possible levels of childcare practice to be addressed by childcare research. Their discussion proposes also a model for ethnographic research on child care, which emphasizes especially the need to focus not only on the single experience of a special group of actors within the field (caregivers, providers, parents, and children) but also on the relationships between them.

What they are taking into account by this is the fact that the field of ECEC is more defined by the relations between different actors than by the social position and perspective of one single group. Such a ‘holistic approach’ (Buchbinder et al., 2006, p. 58), so their argument, allows to go far beyond the narrow focus of conventional research on center-based child care which regularly deals with child care quality in terms of the developmental effects the attendance of a childcare center has for the children (op. cit., p. 46). Following them, it goes beyond insofar as it “infuses child care research with key insights concerning the contextual landscape of childrearing and social and emotional development” (op. cit, p. 58). This remark makes clear, however, that the literature review presented by Buchbinder et al. is mainly interested in how ethnographic studies can contribute to enhance the effects of child care practices for the individual development of children. By do-

ing so, they are responding to an argument stressed by Weisner (1996) ten years earlier and are positioning ethnographic research in ECEC explicitly not in the context of ethnographic research in general, but first of all in opposition to the international mainstream of child care research. Going out from this point of interest they succeed to avoid narrowing their discussion on any kind of a sophisticated self-referential debate on methodological aspects of doing ethnography. In other words, they do not consider ethnography as an approach that has its end in itself or finds its audience just among ethnographers themselves. However, this is done at the cost of a limitation of their perspective which can be found in the finalization of child care research in general and ethnography of ECEC in particular to issues of children's development. Finally, it seems in such a way as if ethnographic studies would have to do with the same objectives which they also share with the mainstream of childcare research.

Against the background of the wide variety of issues and objects ethnographic studies in childcare settings have paid their attention to, and which were also listed in the review, this reading must appear as a pretty woodcut-like unification. This is certainly the case with respect to the various disciplines, research fields and application contexts different ECEC-related ethnographic studies are embedded in or refer to. Thereby Buchbinder et al. do not only ignore that most of ECEC-related ethnographies come from the rich tradition of ethnographic investigations operated in the area of childhood studies from the very beginning, but also, that childhood ethnographies were "at the forefront [...] in ethnography's own history" (James, 2007, p. 256; see also Lange & Mierendorff, 2009). Thus, the question what ethnography in ECEC is in particular about must be still regarded as an open one. In other words, it is actually at least as difficult to say what counts as ethnographic research on ECEC in a narrow sense, as it is difficult – according to Hamersley's well known statement (1990) – to assess what counts as ethnography at all.

Although the raised question here seems to be a rather simple or – at least – a basic one, it is not a question that answers itself. A first reason for that is quite obvious: The term "ethnography" does not refer to a certain distinct object but to an interdisciplinary research strategy which can be applied to almost every object or issue of research and, not least, often enough is mixed-up with other (qualitative) research strategies. Precisely, although ethnographic methodology determines the object in favor of ethnographic observation, it does not yet determine the object of ethnographic research in a concrete case. As Buchbinder et al. (2006) alongside their review have shown this applies not least to ECEC-related ethnography. A second reason has to do with one of the characteristic hallmarks of

ethnographic research practice itself. Typically, the central reference point of ethnographic observations is not a concrete object, but something that in terms of ethnographic methodology is described as the “field”. However, in ethnographic research the relationship between the “field” as the reference point of observations and the actual object of study is traditionally more or less an arbitrary one (cf. Candea, 2007). This means in consequence, that the “field” alone does not yet reveal in what ways ECEC-related ethnography differs from ethnography in general, because neither the ethnographic methodology nor the field itself allows defining the object of ethnographic studies exhaustively. In respect to this, one can assume that the designation of the field of investigations is not meaningful enough to get an answer to the question what ECEC-related ethnography really is about.

Based on this initial problem exposition the argument in the following attempts to come closer to an answer to this question by drawing attention to the status the field of ECEC has in different studies for the production of ethnographic knowledge. Precisely, is the “field” treated as an object to be studied or – if not – what is it then? So, instead of taking for granted that doing fieldwork in ECEC is already equivalent to research about ECEC the contribution intends to reconstruct the field of ECEC-related ethnography by exploring different types of relationships ethnographic studies in this area establish between their object and the field in which ethnographic research is conducted. Without attempting to deliver another review of ECEC-related ethnographic literature, the paper intends to open up the landscape of ECEC-related ethnographic research systematically in the light of the different status ECEC has in terms of being a field of ethnographic investigations. So, the approach here to the “research field” of ECEC-related ethnographic “field research” is more a methodological than an issue-related one, although it will not question whether ECEC-related ethnography is done in a ‘proper’ way or not. Accordingly, the focus is corresponding to the overarching question how that what we ordinarily regard as “ECEC”, is treated and constructed as a field by its ethnographic observation? It is against this background, the title (“Under observation”) of this contribution comes to its full meaning. On the one hand side, it refers to the simple fact that ECEC meanwhile has become an important field of ethnographic investigations. On the other hand side, it refers to the epistemologically grounded assumption that it is the observation itself which produces what has to be observed. In this sense, “observation” is not only supposed to be an indispensable activity central for ethnography to gain knowledge about its field, but also as that mode in which the field as such is constructed, albeit this may be done in different ways. So, what shall be done here is a kind of a second-order observation, which is precisely characterized by the

fact that it has nothing else to its object than the objectifying effects of observation itself (cf. Luhmann, 1998). In the light of this epistemological premise, I would like to connect two other steps to this initial problem exposition to take the reasoning further. In a first step I will work out distinguishable forms of ECEC-related ethnography that correspond to different variations in the relations established between the field and the issues of ethnographic investigations. This will be done by focusing exemplarily on ECEC-related ethnographic literature. A second step then will summarize the results with respect to the state of the art of ECEC-related ethnography and will be dedicated to the questioning of the limits the different virulent conceptions of the field have for the understanding of ECEC-settings. This will be done in the light of a differentiation between place, field and site, which not only allows to overcome possible misunderstandings on what ECEC-related ethnography in fact is about, but also to make ethnography of ECEC becoming distinguishable from other forms of ethnographic investigations in similar settings.

2. "EACH SQUARE IS A QUADRANGLE BUT NOT EACH QUADRANGLE IS A SQUARE": ETHNOGRAPHY IN ECEC AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF ECEC

Usually, ethnographic studies put more emphasis on an appropriate presentation of their methods, their sample of investigated sites and – last but not least - their findings than on the discussion of the way in which they came to what in the end is drawn on as the field of ethnographic research practice. In other words, the question how the field as such has been established through the observation process itself is not a question which routinely is paid great attention to. This has a lot to do with the traditional ethnographic imagination which considers the field as a pre-given and locally bounded place that is supposed to exist in and of itself, and insofar also independent of any perspective of observation (see for profound critics of this imagination i.e. Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; Marcus, 1995; van Maanen, 1996; Salzman, 1986). The traditional imagination of the ethnographic field seems as well to be very common to anthropological research on childhood of which ECEC-related ethnographies make up a big part (cf. Fog Olwig & Gulløv, 2003, p. 7). Although especially child-centered ethnographic studies resp. ethnographic childhood studies usually attach great importance to the reflection of the adult researcher's role and observation practices in terms of their possible effects on what happens between children and in respect to the goal to gain access to children's cultural worlds (cf. i.e. Connolly, 2000; Corsaro & Molinari, 2000; James, 2007; King, 1984; Mandell, 1991), rather little attention has been paid to the localizing practices involved in ongoing field research. Significant with regard to the traditional imagination of the field in ethnography is also the mere fact that – as Buchbinder et

al. (2006, p. 51) complain – especially the perspective of parents resp. that of mothers seldom is considered in ECEC-related ethnography as parents themselves are rarely present in the field of an ethnography which is primarily center-based in its core. Even studies which pretend to integrate different perspectives and different kinds and levels of everyday practices (cf. i.e. Ben-Ari, 1997a, b; Hughes & Westgate, 1997; Jung, 2009) are limited in their investigations on what can be observed not just on a single site, but nevertheless *on-site*. This in turn illustrates that the field investigated in ECEC-related ethnographies is mostly defined in relation to a locality. Accordingly, whenever there is a change in the perspective or in the concrete subject of investigation which as such is supposed to be ‘absent’ on-site, researchers tend to move to another location. So, in ECEC-related ethnography the field is widely considered as identical to only one perspective or, in short, to a certain place.

Although the field in ECEC-related ethnographies is primarily defined in relation to a certain place which usually corresponds to the different institutional settings where childcare and education is offered by professionals, this is only one aspect to be emphasized in respect to the leading question about the particular status the field has for the production of ethnographic knowledge. It means at first not more than what one is seeking to find out in the field is mainly determined by what is supposed to happen while staying at a certain place. Against this background one can notice that the degree of arbitrariness in the relation between the observed field and the investigated object in ECEC-related ethnography is limited to some extent right from the beginning. In turn, the question may be connected how large the range of arbitrariness really is. A look at the diverse landscape of ECEC-related ethnographies reveals quite easily that only a small number of ethnographic studies conducted in ECEC-related institutional settings deal with issues which are directly linked to the production of knowledge about the ECEC sector. It must be considered, however, that most of them address furthermore at least one other subject that hardly can be categorized as particular for ECEC-related research. To give an example one can i.e. refer to Ben Ari’s studies of early childhood education in Japan (Ben-Ari 1996; 1997a, b). Focusing on interactional resp. on body practices between professionals and children as well as on organizational practices in the context of local quality assurance measures they are in the end dedicated to an analysis of the reproduction of cultural values in Japan as well as to social change due to the process of globalization. In the same way, Eva Gulløv’s large ethnographic study about the placing of children in day-care is oriented towards the overarching analysis of children’s and childhood’s position in contemporary Danish society and

must rather be considered as a contribution to a social anthropology of modern childhood than to research on ECEC in particular (Gullø, 2003; 2008). This applies as well to studies on social reproduction in childcare settings as it is more likely that they address the effects of social inclusion and exclusion in institutionalized childcare settings for the children's social and individual development than considering them as a constitutional part of everyday life in ECEC settings, even when they are strictly focusing on interactions between teachers and children (cf. Nelson & Schutz, 2007; Palludan, 2007). Apart from this, one encounters only a very small number of studies that in a narrow sense can be considered as a kind of ethnography of ECEC in terms of its everyday practice and in the horizon of different institutional frameworks. In other words, contributions to an ethnography of the kindergarten, the day care-centre, the nursery, the crèche or the infant school represent an absolute minority (c.f. i.e. Holligan, 2000; Honig, Joos & Schreiber, 2004; Jäger, 2008; Jung, 2009; Strandell, 1997; Tobin et al., 1989; 1998). In contrast, there are the numerous studies in the areas of childhood studies, developmental childcare research as well as in applied practice-based research that, though they are including a wide variety of ethnographic fieldwork in ECEC-settings, are not associated to the objective of producing particular knowledge about ECEC in terms of its everyday practices, their special logic and the significance all that has for the ongoing emergence of ECEC as a world apart from others in contemporary socially differentiated societies.

The question now is what does this mean in respect to the status ECEC-settings have as a field in the landscape of ECEC-related ethnography. First of all one has to admit that *ethnography in ECEC is anything but equivalent to ethnography of ECEC*. Considering this, as well as the fact that the field is first and foremost defined in relation to a certain place which is usually identified as a childcare center, a kindergarten or anything similar, one can, secondly, recognize the twofold meaning the concept of field has in ECEC-related ethnographic investigations. *In a first sense*, the field serves without exception as a site where ethnographic observation literally 'takes place', and that means, precisely, as a scene for observations related to almost any kind of issue that has to deal with research on and with children. This applies especially, as we have seen, to ethnographic studies in the context of childhood studies and childcare research on children's individual and social development. *In a second sense*, it is not only considered as a site where ethnographic fieldwork is conducted but both as a real object of ethnographic studies. This applies in particular to the relatively small number of studies which in a more narrow sense are to be regarded as an essential part of an ethnography of institutionalized ECEC. Thirdly, one can recognize

that studies in which the field of ECEC is treated as an object are predominantly focusing on institutionalized ECEC settings and nothing else. In summary, therefore we can notice: While *ethnography in ECEC addresses* the field first of all as a local site, *ethnography of ECEC* knows only one possible site, which is usually recruited from the nationally varying shapes of institutionalized ECEC-settings.

3. FIELD, SITE AND PLACE: DISTINGUISHING ETHNOGRAPHY OF ECEC BY DRAWING DISTINCTIONS

When considering the current state of the art in ECEC-related ethnography in terms of the status the field of ECEC itself has for the majority of ethnographic works, it is quite difficult to avoid a more sobering conclusion. Currently, in ECEC-related ethnography it seems to be more likely that any new study in ECEC-settings will be about anything else than that it will make an essential contribution to an ethnography of ECEC. Against this background, it has to appear as less promising to hope that further research, which – if you ask a scientist – is actually always needed, will change the situation. One of the causes for that could in my opinion be seen in the circumstance, that ECEC-related ethnography until now has missed to discuss the circulating conceptions of the ‘field’ used by ethnographic research and, in consequence, has not developed a well reflected and differentiated understanding of the methodological status they have or should have in concrete examinations.

To make this assumption more plausible one can refer especially to Karen Fog Olwig’s and Eva Gulløv’s anthropological reader published in 2003 which brings together several ethnographic studies which are all dealing with the question of the social and cultural construction of children’s place in contemporary societies. In their introduction the editors not surprisingly relate their reflections to various circulating understandings of ‘place’ in the sociological and anthropological research on children and childhood. By doing so, they encounter not least the central role the concept of ‘place’ has played in anthropological theory and method. What they – according to Gupta & Ferguson (1997) – emphasize then is, *inter alia*, that it was especially the category of ‘place’ which has provided the central methodological reference point for ethnographic fieldwork, while it simultaneously remained largely unquestioned. Following Olwig and Gulløv, the imagination that the field is identical to a certain place had serious consequences for the whole range of childhood studies in earlier periods of anthropological research, although it now has lost its analytical plausibility (Olwig & Gulløv, 2003, p. 6). It did not only cause a lack of sensibility for children’s perspectives concerning their place in society, it also led to the taken-for-granted assumption that “clearly demarcated” field sites indicate the way to find children as mem-

bers of a particular social group (ibid.). Accordingly, studies about children and childhood were mostly limited to particular places established for children, such as schools, playgrounds or kindergartens – a fact, which not least can explain why ECEC-settings play such a dominant role in ethnographic childhood studies (see also James, 2007, p. 258). In order to help to overcome these limitations, the editors point out that “it is important [...] not to equate institutions as places for children with children’s places. Places constructed for children do constitute important frameworks of life for children. They do not, however, determine children’s lives, nor do they preclude the existence of other kinds of places that may be of central importance for children” (Olwig & Gulløv, 2003, p. 7).

Against this background, the high concentration of childhood studies in ECEC-settings can be regarded as a heritage of the long tradition of ethnographic research which was based on the assumption that fields primarily exist as places corresponding to a special group of actors. To overcome the identification of place, site and field how it was established in the slipstream of traditional ethnography, one could for example refer to a distinction developed in the ongoing controversial debate about what Marcus saw emerging in the 1990’s as ‘multi-sided ethnography’ (cf. Marcus, 1995). What is meant by this is the threefold distinction of site (or ‘space’), ‘place’ and ‘field’ as proposed by Cook, Laidlaw and Mair (2009, p. 57 and p. 63) in a recent contribution to this discussion. According to the authors, this distinction has the advantage that the idea of localism that characterises the traditional ethnographic concept of the field could be abandoned altogether. As a consequence, the field is something like the ‘un-sited’ object of ethnographic research. This then means that “a valid ethnographic field need not correspond to a spatial entity of any kind, and need not be a holistic entity ‘out there’ to be discovered” (op. cit., p. 68). That is, it is not mandatory to explore (different) local sites in order to get a portrait of the field; rather, the field can also be regarded as represented at one single site. However, applying this lesson to the situation of ECEC-related ethnography one can firstly state the necessity to draw a distinction between the imagination of the ECEC-setting as a place that can serve as a site for ethnographic studies of any kind and another imagination, which looks upon the site, where ethnographic fieldwork is conducted, as a venue among many others *of (and not in) the field of ECEC*. While in the first sense, the notion of ‘site’ remains connected to a certain place and represents as such a *site of a location*, the site in the second case is considered only as a *site of observation*.

The second imagination is still plausible if one takes into account that ethnographic studies carried out in ECEC and on ECEC are embedded in multi-sited arenas where differ-

ent actors like professionals, politicians or parents with different expectations and social positions come together. To put it in another way, instead of regarding the field of ECEC as a locally bounded place where children are cared for and educated by adult professionals, it has to be considered as a trans-local 'space' of relations that are empirically noticeable as mutual observations in which both researchers and significant actors are involved in. So, to reconstruct the field of ECEC empirically it has formally to be described as an institutionalized environment of observations that transcends concrete ECEC-settings without lying just outside of them. This, of course, has consequences for the constitution of the 'object' of ethnographic research on ECEC. As the field of ECEC would no longer be treated as identical with a single setting or a landscape of institutions and their every day life, it seems to be quite obvious that ECEC-related research is much more and something different than what it is supposed to be in the common sense of the dominant scientific and political discourse. By exposing and exploring the scattered phenomenality of ECEC as it comes to light in a perspective that focuses on the environment where ECEC is constantly objectified anew through being observed by different actors, ethnographic research can open up the opportunity to develop different knowledge on what constitutes the reality of education and care in early childhood. In doing so, it will not least be able – while succeeding empirically – to make itself distinguishable as an autonomous area of research which claims for a field of its own provenience. If further research is needed, then this could be the way it should to take.

REFERENCES

- Ben-Ari, E. (1996). From mothering to othering: organization, culture and nap time in a Japanese day care center. *Ethos* 24 (1), 136-164.
- Ben-Ari, E. (1997a). *Body projects in Japanese childcare: Culture, organization and emotions in a preschool*. Richmond: Curzon Press.
- Ben-Ari, E. (1997b). *Japanese childcare: An interpretive study of culture and organization*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Buchbinder, M., Longhofer, J., Barrett, T., Lawson, P., & Floersch, J. (2006). Ethnographic approaches to child care research: a review of the literature. *Early Childhood Research*, 4 (1), 45-63.
- Candea, M. (2007). Arbitrary Locations: In Defense of the Bounded field-site. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13 (1), 167-184.
- Cook, J., Laidlaw, J., & Mair, J. (2009). What if there is no elephant? Towards a conception of an un-sited field. In M.-A. Falzon (Ed.), *Multi-sited ethnography. Theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research* (pp. 47-72). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Connolly, P. (2008). Race, Gender and Critical Reflexivity in Research with Young Children. In P. Christensen & A. James (Eds.), *Research with Children. Perspectives and Practices* (pp. 173-188). London: Routledge.
- Corsaro, W., & Molinari, L. (2000). Entering and observing in children's worlds. In P. Christensen & A. James (Eds.), *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (pp. 179-200). London: Falmer.
- ECCE (European Child Care and Education) (1997). *Cross national analyses of the quality and effects of different types of early childhood programs on children's development*. Report submitted to European Union DG XII: Science, research and development. RTD action: Targeted socio-economic research. Brussels: EU.
- EPPE (The effective provision of pre-school education project) (2004). *Final report: A longitudinal study funded by the DfES 1997-2004*. Nottingham: Department for education and skills.

- Fog Olwig, K., & Gulløv, E. (2003). Towards an anthropology of children and place. In K. Fog Olwig & E. Gulløv (Eds.), *Children's places: cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 1-19). London: Routledge.
- Gulløv, E. (2003). Creating a natural place for children: an ethnographic study of Danish kindergartens. In K. Fog Olwig & E. Gulløv (Eds.), *Children's places: cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 22-38). London: Routledge.
- Gulløv, E. (2008). Institutional upbringing: A discussion of the politics of childhood in contemporary Denmark. In A. James & A. James (Eds.), *European childhoods: Cultures, politics and childhoods in Europe* (pp. 129-148). London: Palgrave.
- Gupta, A., & J. Ferguson (1997). *Anthropological locations: Boundaries and grounds of a field science*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hammersley, M. (1990). *Reading ethnographic research*. London: Longman
- Hatch, J. A. (Hrsg.) (2007). *Early Childhood Qualitative Research*. London: Routledge.
- Holligan, C. (2000). Discipline and normalization in the nursery: The foucauldian gaze. In H. Penn (Ed.), *Early Childhood Services: Theory, policy and practice* (pp. 134-146). Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Honig, M.-S., Joos, M., & Schreiber, N. (2004). *Was ist ein guter Kindergarten? Theoretische und empirische Analysen zum Qualitätsbegriff in der Pädagogik*. Weinheim: Juventa.
- Jäger, M. (2008). Alltagskultur im Kindergarten. Lebensweltliche Ethnographie aus ethnologischer Perspektive. In B. Hünersdorf, C. Maeder, & B. Müller (Eds.), *Ethnographie und Erziehungswissenschaft. Methodologische Reflexionen und empirische Annäherungen* (pp. 141-150). Weinheim: Juventa.
- James, A. (2007). Ethnography in the study of children and childhood. In P. Atkinson (Ed.), *Handbook of Ethnography* (pp. 256-257). London: Sage.
- Jung, P. (2009). *Kindertageseinrichtungen zwischen pädagogischer Ordnung und den Ordnungen der Kinder: Eine ethnographische Studie zur pädagogischen Reorganisation der Kindheit*. Wiesbaden: VS.
- King, R. A. (1984). The man in the Wendy House: researching infants' schools. In R. G. Burgess (Ed.), *The research process in educational settings: Ten case studies* (pp. 117-139). Lewes: Falmer.

- Lange, A., & Mierendorff, J. (2009). Methoden der Kindheitsforschung. Überlegungen zur kindheitssoziologischen Perspektive. In M.-S. Honig (Ed.), *Ordnungen der Kindheit: Problemstellungen und Perspektiven der Kindheitsforschung* (pp. 183-210). Weinheim: Juventa.
- Luhmann, N. (1998). *Observations of modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mandell, N. (1991). The least adult role in studying children. In F. C. Waksler (Ed.), *Studying the social worlds of children* (pp. 38-60). London: Falmer.
- Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1), 95-117.
- Nelson, M., & Schutz, R. (2007). Day care differences and the reproduction of social class. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 36 (3), 281-317.
- NICHD (Early Child Care Research Network) (2005). Early child care and children's development in the primary grades: Follow-up results from the NICHD study of early child care. *American Educational Research Journal* 42, 537-570.
- OECD (2001). *Starting strong: Early childhood education and care*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- OECD (2006). *Starting strong II: Early childhood education and care*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Qvortrup, J. (2000). Macroanalysis of childhood. In P. A. Christensen, & A. James (Eds.), *Research with children* (pp. 77-98). London: Falmer.
- Palludan, C. (2007). Two tones: The core of inequality in kindergarten? *International Journal of Early Childhood* 39 (1), 75-91.
- Salzman, P. C. (1986). Is traditional fieldwork outmoded? *Current Anthropology* 27 (5), 528-530.
- Strandell, H. (1997). Doing reality with play: Play as a children's resource in organizing everyday life in daycare centers. *Childhood* 4 (4), 445-464.
- Tobin, J., Wu, D., & Davidson, D. (1989). *Preschool in three cultures*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Tobin, J., Hsueh, Y., & Karasawa, M. (1998). *Preschool in three cultures revisited: China, Japan and the United States*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

van Maanen, J. (1988). *Tales of the field. On writing ethnography*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Weisner, T. S. (2002). Ecocultural understanding of children's developmental pathways. *Human Development* 45 (4), 275-281.

»SPRACHLICHE BILDUNG« IM KINDERGARTEN ETHNOGRAPHISCH ERFORSCHEN? REFLEXIONEN ÜBER METHODOLOGISCHE HERAUSFORDERUNGEN

Isabell Diehm / Veronika Magyar-Haas

ABSTRACT

Ethnographically Researching »Language Education« at Kindergarten? Reflections on methodological challenges

By the example of an already completed explorative study by order of the District of Offenbach in Germany, this contribution sketches and discusses different methodological challenges for ethno-graphic research in the educational action field of »Kindergarten«.

The request by the District of Offenbach to explore children's language behavior at various Kindertagesstätten was hardly a coincidence. It was embedded in a still ongoing discourse, in the context of which early (language) support counts among the most often quoted education-political semantics, as well as in a context which is characterized by a certain degree of language support activism. The latter comes along with extended diagnosis procedures which, however, do not provide any insights regarding the question of how language is practiced in everyday situations at educational institutions. Accordingly, in the course of our research we have analyzed by way of "participant observation" (Geertz) everyday language practices at three socio-structurally different Kindertagesstätten and have reconstructed the conditions for language education. While following Martha Nussbaum's concept of literacy, language education was understood as the ability to deal communicatively with one's own environment as well as a basic condition for political participation, autonomy and influencing one's environment.

The contribution focuses primarily on three aspects which seem to be relevant under methodological aspects and are here systematically taken into consideration: In this context, firstly, the influence of public education-political discourses on the observed practice is analyzed, but at the same time – in the sense of meta-reflection – also on participant observation itself. Secondly, the problem of normativity, which diametrically contradicts the demand for ethnomethodological indifference, is further differentiated. The relevance of this aspect is on the one hand due to our referring to a normative, universalistic theory of the Capabilities Approach which is of particular relevance for our research. On the other hand it results from those normative orientations as being predominant for the educational action field. Finally,

thirdly, there shall be a reflection on the question of in how far the presented methodological challenges result from the peculiarities of contract research or if they are common in case of ethnographic research in the educational field.

1. PROBLEMAUFRISS: ETHNOGRAPHIE IM PÄDAGOGISCHEN HANDLUNGSFELD

Seit inzwischen weit mehr als einem Jahrzehnt richtet sich die erziehungswissenschaftliche Aufmerksamkeit verstärkt auf die Ethnographie als einen Forschungszugang, welcher pädagogische und erziehungswissenschaftliche Frage- und Problemstellungen unter neuen Foci methodologisch und methodisch auszuleuchten vermag. Thole (2010, S. 33) spricht in Anlehnung an Reckwitz (2000) von einer „neue[n] Ethnographie“. Sie stelle eine Forschungsstrategie dar, die es insbesondere erlaube, „soziale Praktiken und ihre Performativität empirisch in den Blick zu bekommen“. Ihr komme eine „besondere Relevanz für die Analyse des Pädagogischen zu“ (Thole, 2010, S. 33), weil sie im Gegensatz zur frühen Ethnographie, welche sich vor allem durch einen statisch-registrierenden und nachvollziehend-verstehenden Blick auszeichnete, nun in zunehmendem Maße mit der „Identifizierung und Rekonstruktion der Prozesse der Herstellung von Wirklichkeit“ befasst sei (ebd., S. 31). Ihre Leistungsfähigkeit definiert Thole (ebd., S. 29) wie folgt: „Die Ethnographie des Pädagogischen besitzt die Kompetenz, die Kultur, die Modulationen, Prozesse, Praktiken und Praxen, Handlungsformen und Deutungsmuster in pädagogischen Handlungsfeldern unter Rekonstruktion der pädagogisch-programmatischen, strukturell-institutionellen und organisatorischen Rahmenbedingungen, der Latenzen und Immanenzen der hier wirkenden gesellschaftlichen Dispositive, der personellen und organisatorischen Professionskultur sowie der Lebensbedingungen, Lebensentwürfe, der Inszenierungspraktiken und der zu identifizierenden Wege der Adressat/innen durch die Biographie aufzuschließen und in Texten zu präsentieren“.

Mit neueren Publikationen (Thole, Heinzl, Cloos & Köngeter, 2010; Hünersdorf, Maeder & Müller, 2008) liegen weitere metatheoretische Reflexionen über das Verhältnis von Pädagogik und Ethnographie(-forschung) vor. Dabei wird, einerseits, programmatischer gefragt, „was ethnographische Forschung zur Erschließung des erziehungswissenschaftlichen Gegenstandes“ beitragen könne (Hünersdorf et al., 2008, S. 13), wobei die „Dezentrierung des pädagogischen Blickes“ sowie die Distanznahme „zu den Zielen der Institutionen des Erziehungssystems“ (ebd.) als zentrale Beiträge der Ethnographie angesehen werden. Andererseits werden unterschiedliche Desiderate aufgezeigt, von denen hier pri-

mär zwei hervorgehoben werden sollen: Konstatiert wird die weiterhin mangelnde Berücksichtigung der „Chancen und Grenzen einer ethnographischen Forschung im Kontext der Pädagogik“ (Thole et al., 2010, S. 12) sowie die Vernachlässigung der Frage, „ob und wenn welche Besonderheiten und spezifischen Probleme sich im Gegensatz zu anderen Disziplinen im Kontext einer erziehungswissenschaftlich orientierten Ethnographie ergeben“ (ebd.). Zentral für die Beiträge des Sammelbandes „Auf unsicherem Terrain“ (Thole et al., 2010, S. 13) sei die These, dass ethnographische Zugänge „in besonderer Weise [ermöglichen], Modulationen eines »guten« Unterrichts, einer »guten« sozial- oder erwachsenenpädagogischen Praxis sowie deren Wirkungen zu identifizieren“.

Dabei bleibt u.E. erstens, das relevante Element der *Normativität* unterbeleuchtet, das nach unserem Dafürhalten einen zentralen Aspekt einer Ethnographie im pädagogischen Feld ausmacht. Zweitens wird nicht explizit thematisiert, inwiefern diese normative Orientierung am »Guten« bzw. »Gelungenen« oder zu »Verbessernden« – jenen klassischen pädagogischen Orientierungsgrößen – dann zum *forschungsmethodologischen Anspruch der Indifferenz* in einem problematischen Verhältnis stehen mag. Ethnographische Forschung orientiert sich erkenntnistheoretisch zu einem Gutteil an der interaktionistischen (Goffman, 1994) und der ethnomethodologischen Tradition (Garfinkel, 1973). Ihnen sei, so Kelle (2004, S. 637), „das Interesse an alltagskulturellen Aktivitäten in ihrer situierten *Durchführung* (Hrvg. i.O.) gemeinsam“. Die „Angehörigen der beforschten Kultur“ verwendeten *Methoden*, um eine gemeinsame Wirklichkeit zu etablieren und aufrechtzuerhalten – damit wäre eine erste Prämisse der Ethnomethodologie benannt. Das Verhältnis zu diesen verwendeten Methoden, welche alltagsweltliche Konstruktionen der Akteur/innen repräsentierten, erwiese sich dabei als nicht (notwendig) reflexiv, auch seien sie in der Regel diskursiv nicht verfügbar und würden nicht explizit gemacht, vielmehr verfügten die Akteur/innen über das so genannte „tacit knowlegde“, eine Form impliziten Wissens, das situationsangemessen mobilisiert werde. „Die Teilnehmer ‚wissen wie es geht‘, sich in der eigenen Kultur kompetent zu bewegen, aber sie wissen es nicht zu erklären (...)“ (ebd.). Unter professionstheoretischen Perspektiven wäre diese Prämisse im Rahmen eines pädagogischen Kontextes zu hinterfragen bzw. zumindest zu ergänzen um die Möglichkeit, dass die Teilnehmer/innen als professionelle Akteur/innen – bis zu einem gewissen Grad – wissen, was sie tun und diesem Wissen die Vorstellung vom »guten« pädagogischen Handeln innewohnt. Die zweite zentrale Prämisse der Ethnomethodologie macht deren „normative Enthaltbarkeit“ aus, jene *ethnomethodologische Indifferenz*, die vorgibt, sich normativer

Bewertung dessen zu enthalten, was beforscht wird. Diese Indifferenz ziehe eine deskriptive und analytische Forschungshaltung nach sich, so Kelle (ebd.). Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Prämissen wird nachvollziehbar, dass die Frage nach dem *Wie* der Konstruktion von Wirklichkeit das zentrale Anliegen ethnomethodologischer Forschung ausmacht. Um Herstellungsprozesse adäquat rekonstruieren zu können, bedarf es auf diese selbst bezogen jener normativen Enthaltbarkeit. Die skizzierte ethnomethodologische Heuristik der Enthaltbarkeit und Indifferenz beansprucht zunächst einmal einen Raum für Mikroanalysen zur Verfügung zu stellen, der normativ nicht aufgeladen erscheint.

Dieser Anspruch, so unser Einwand, kommt selbst einem normativen Geltungsanspruch gleich, insbesondere, wenn explizit danach gefragt wird, „was eine gute ethnographische Forschung in Bezug auf pädagogische Handlungsfelder“ (Hünersdorf et al., 2008, S. 13) ausmache. Darüber hinaus unterliegt dieser Anspruch ansatzweise einer Verwechslung: Der heuristischen Vorgabe nachzukommen, sich als Beobachterin normativer Bewertungen zu enthalten, sollte u.E. nämlich nicht dazu führen, die normative Aufladungen pädagogischen Handelns und Argumentierens im Feld ethnographisch unbeleuchtet zu lassen, wenn sie im Feld vorkommt, sich ihrer Wirkung zu verschließen und sie mithin einfach auszuklammern.

Unseren folgenden, auf der Reflexion eines von den Autorinnen durchgeführten ethnographischen Forschungsprojektes basierenden Überlegungen ist die *These* unterlegt, dass bei der Analyse des so gewonnenen empirischen Materials die den pädagogischen Feldern innewohnende *Normativität* in die Interpretation der pädagogischen Wirklichkeit(en) einzubeziehen wäre. Da jedoch pädagogische Kontexte in unterschiedlichen Formationen und Facetten spätestens seit der Veröffentlichung der ersten PISA-Ergebnisse im Jahr 2001 eine vermehrte öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit und bildungspolitische Normierung sowohl diskursiv als auch faktisch erfährt, scheint uns neben der systematischen Reflexion historisch gewachsener Normativität pädagogischen Handelns auch die explizite Berücksichtigung derjenigen normativen und wirkmächtigen Kräfte notwendig, in die pädagogische Settings eingewoben sind.

2. PROJEKT BESCHREIBUNG: SPRACHLICHE BILDUNG IM KINDERGARTEN

Die nachstehenden methodologischen Ausführungen erfolgen auf der Basis der erwähnten Studie, die im Zuge eines Auftrages des Kreises Offenbach konzipiert wurde. Das Anliegen des Auftraggebers war es dabei, einrichtungsspezifische Analysen zum *Sprachverhalten* in

Kindertagesstätten des Kreises zu erhalten, um mögliche und allerorten geforderte Sprachfördermaßnahmen gegebenenfalls gezielt konzipieren und anbieten zu können.

In Abgrenzung zu diversen sprachdiagnostischen Verfahren wurde für die Studie ein ethnographischer Zugang zu sprachlichen Alltagspraktiken gewählt, da unser Untersuchungsinteresse nicht dem Sprachvermögen einzelner Kinder, sondern dem Stellenwert galt, den Sprache und literacy im pädagogischen Alltagsgeschehen haben. Die leitende Annahme war dabei, dass der beobachtbare Alltag, der Materialien zum Einsatz bringt, Gruppenregeln relevant werden lässt und ritualisierte Abläufe nötig macht, das jeweilige pädagogische Arrangement einer Einrichtung reflektiert. Weiter schien uns die *ethnographische* Erforschung sprachlicher Bildung pädagogisch dann als relevant, wenn unter diesem Terminus mehr verstanden wird als die Lese- und Schreibkompetenzen oder das Verständnis und die Wiedergabe vom Sinngehalt unterschiedlicher Texte. Sprachliche Bildung, wie sie hier in Anlehnung an Martha Nussbaums Konzept von literacy (Nussbaum, 2000, S. 7) verstanden wird, spricht unterschiedliche sinnliche Ebenen an und beinhaltet die Fähigkeit der kommunikativen Auseinandersetzung mit dem eigenen Umfeld ebenso wie sie schließlich als Grundvoraussetzung für politische Partizipation, Selbstbestimmung und Einflussmöglichkeiten auf das Umfeld fungiert. Im Anschluss an dem Capabilities Approach sensu Nussbaum lässt sich argumentieren, dass bei der Aneignung von Sprache nicht allein das subjektive Moment, sondern vor allem die Befähigung des Einzelnen, sich sprachlich mitzuteilen, zu positionieren und auszudrücken, die performativ und im Dialog vorangetrieben wird, aus einer pädagogischen Perspektive unerlässlich ist. Dementsprechend wurden über die Forschungsfrage, *wie* Sprache im Kindergartenalltag gelebt wird, hinaus die vorhandenen institutionellen Ressourcen in den Blick genommen, die ausmachen, was als pädagogisches Arrangement bezeichnet wird.

Die Beobachtungsstudie wurde in drei sich soziostrukturell unterscheidenden Kindergärten von je einer Woche Dauer pro Einrichtung durchgeführt. Auch wenn nach derart knappen Beobachtungsphasen nicht zu klären ist, welche Befunde lediglich singulären Ereignissen und Vorkommnissen in den Kindergruppen geschuldet sind und welche Befunde tatsächlich das Alltagsgeschehen widerspiegeln, vermag die Studie Schlaglichter auf das sprachlich-kommunikative Milieu in den einzelnen Kindertagesstätten und die dort bestehenden Spracherwerbsmöglichkeiten zu werfen.

Die skizzierten Bezüge zu bildungspolitischen Vorgaben, öffentlichem Interesse an der Sprachförderung in der frühen Kindheit sowie normativen theoretischen Ansätzen

werden im Folgenden in ihrem Verhältnis zueinander systematisch und eingehender diskutiert.

3. KRÄFTESPIEL ZWISCHEN FELD, BILDUNGSPOLITIK, ÖFFENTLICHKEIT UND NORMATIVITÄT

Der pädagogisch-ethnographische Forschungskontext ließe sich nach unseren empirischen und analytischen Reflexionen als Wechselspiel ineinander greifender Kräftefelder verstehen. Dabei wurden neben dem beobachteten, pädagogischen Kindergartenalltag drei weitere Bereiche rekonstruiert: Erstens, das Kräftefeld der aktuellen öffentlichen und bildungspolitischen Diskurse zur frühen Sprachförderung, in welches die beobachtete elementarpädagogische Praxis und unsere ethnographische Forschung eingebettet waren (3.1); zweitens, das Kräftefeld der Normativität, das sich sowohl auf Seiten der Disziplin wie der des Handlungsfeldes der Pädagogik, als auch auf Seiten der Forscherinnen in ihrer Bezugnahme auf den normativen, universalistisch angelegten Ansatz der Capabilities zeigte (3.2) sowie drittens das Kräftefeld der Auftragsforschung, welches die Herausforderungen einer ethnographischen Forschung im pädagogischen Feld nicht erst erzeugt, sondern vielmehr pointiert und verstärkt (3.3).

3.1. DER KONTEXT DER FORSCHUNG: ÖFFENTLICHKEIT UND BILDUNGSPOLITIK

Die Intention der Auftraggebers, der Entwicklung von Sprachfördermaßnahmen zunächst einmal die Untersuchung dessen voranzustellen, was im Hinblick auf Sprache und Kommunikation den pädagogischen Alltag einer Kindertagesstätte überhaupt ausmacht, erschien bemerkenswert in einer Zeit, in der ein fast schon »blinder Sprachförderaktivismus« immer stärker um sich zu greifen droht.

Frühe (Sprach-)Förderung zählt seit Jahren zu den meist bemühten bildungspolitischen Semantiken in Deutschland und wird seit dem so genannten „PISA-Schock“ als ein unbedingtes Erfordernis elementarpädagogischer Praxis allseits reklamiert. Erwartungen und Anforderungen gehen seither dahin, die sprachliche Entwicklung der Kinder schon im Kindergartenalter gezielter als bislang geschehen zu fördern, um den späteren Schulerfolg zu sichern. Die Sprachkompetenzen der Kinder bei Schuleintritt sollen auf diese Weise soweit entwickelt werden, dass sie dem Anfangsunterricht der Grundschule problemlos folgen können. Dies gilt insbesondere für Kinder, deren Erst- bzw. Familiensprache einwanderungsbedingt nicht Deutsch ist (vgl. Apeltauer, 2007). Insofern handelt es sich allererst um zweckorientierte, instrumentelle Überlegungen, die einen Zusammenhang zwischen einer frühen Sprachförderung und der späteren Lesekompetenz herstellen. Dass Migran-

tenkinder geringere Bildungschancen besitzen, zeigt das PISA Konsortium in 2001 eindrücklich auf. In diesem Zusammenhang wurden verschiedene, speziell für Migrantenfamilien konzipierte Bildungsmaßnahmen wie zum Beispiel das kindergartenergänzende Hausbesuchsprogramm für vier- bis sechsjährige »Home Instruction for Parents of Preschool Youngsters« (HIPPY), oder das 18 Monate andauernde und Familien mit Migrationshintergrund sowie bildungsbenachteiligte Familien adressierende Opstapje-Projekt durchgeführt (vgl. Dirim 2006, S. 257). Beide Programme adressieren die Eltern, insb. die Mütter und finden zu Hause statt, wodurch auch implizit deutlich wird, wem primär die Verantwortung für den Sprach- und Bildungserfolg der Kinder zugedacht wird.

Auch in den seit einigen Jahren erst existierenden Curricula für die pädagogische Arbeit in Kindergärten und Kindertagesstätten der einzelnen deutschen Bundesländer wird mit großem Nachdruck auf die Bedeutung einer sprachlichen Bildung in Kindertagesstätten gesetzt. Hinzu kommen konkrete bildungspolitische Vorgaben, welche zu einer inzwischen flächendeckenden Einführung von Sprachtests vor der Einschulung und vielfältigen Förderaktivitäten im Bereich der Elementarpädagogik geführt haben. Entwickelt wurden unterschiedliche Verfahren zur Sprachstandserhebung, zumeist als Mess- oder Screeninginstrumente, sowie ein breites Spektrum an Sprachfördermaßnahmen und -programmen (zur systematischen Darstellung vgl. Lütje-Klose, 2007), die sich mittlerweile in weitgehend allen Bundesländern finden, und zwar als eine vollkommen heterogene, von Einrichtung zu Einrichtung divergierende Praxis, deren Wirksamkeit und Fördereffekte bislang noch kaum evaluiert worden sind. Dabei werden die Kinder getestet, begutachtet und kategorisiert (vgl. Kelle 2009, S. 98). Dem vermessen Kind der Forschung steht jedoch der blinde Fleck pädagogischen Alltagsgeschehen im Elementarbereich gegenüber, denn die ausufernden Diagnoseverfahren liefern keine Erkenntnisse darüber, wie Sprache im Alltag pädagogischer Einrichtungen gelebt wird und welche Befähigungsräume in den Bildungsorganisationen geboten werden.⁸

Ziel unserer Studie war, diesem Desiderat ein Stück weit zu begegnen und die Tragfähigkeit und den Ertrag eines ethnographischen Forschungszuganges gegenüber individualdiagnostisch orientierten Forschungsmethoden des Vermessens und Testens der Kinder zu erproben. Dabei interessierte die erziehungswissenschaftlich überaus sinnvolle

⁸ Ähnliche Kritiken finden sich auch in überregionalen Tageszeitungen, so etwa in dem Artikel „Sprachförderung im Kreuzfeuer“ von der Anglistin Rosemarie Tracy in der Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung (FAZ) am 31.3.2011, Nr. 76, S. 8 oder in dem Beitrag „Die Magie der Frühförderung“ von der Erziehungswissenschaftlerin Margrit Stamm in der Neun Züricher Zeitung (NZZ) vom 24.1.2011, Nr. 19, S. 40.

Frage nach kommunikativen Kontexten und situativ eingebetteten sprachlichen Interaktionen im Kindergartenalltag.

Diese Ausführungen hinsichtlich der bildungspolitischen Vorgaben und Projekte im Kontext sprachlicher Bildung implizieren nicht nur die normativen Aufladungen des Sprachförderbereichs, sondern auch die der Studie: bereits bei der *Konzeptionalisierung* wurde der ethnographische Zugang als »guter« Zugang angesehen. Ein Projekt, das bildungspolitisch relevante Fragestellungen behandelt, kann sich scheinbar einer (Selbst-)Politisierung kaum entziehen, da es in diesem politischen Kontext eingelassen ist und sich dazu verhält – diesem affirmativ oder kritisch gegenüber. Die Auswahl der Forschungsmethode spiegelt eine Positionierung der Forscherinnen wider, die notgedrungen normative Züge enthält.

3.2. DIE NORMATIVITÄT DER PÄDAGOGIK – UND DER PERSPEKTIVEN DER ETHNOGRAPHEN / ETHNOGRAPHINNEN

Im Anschluss an Marianna Jäger (2008, S. 142, Hrvg. i.O.) lässt sich die „Alltagskultur im Kindergarten“ sowohl als „*interpretative*“ als auch als „*normative Realität*“ beschreiben, „die den Kindern täglich handlungssteuernd entgegentritt in Form von Verhaltenserwartungen der Lehrperson, bzw. der Institution, von Objekten, Raumgestaltungsarrangements und zeitlichen Ordnungen“. Zugleich führt dieser Alltag pädagogische Normen mit sich, die auf Seiten der Professionellen ebenso auf eigene normative Vorstellungen treffen und mithin Wirkung entfalten. Auch sie sehen sich pädagogisch hochgesteckten Erwartungen ausgesetzt und sind den bildungspolitischen Vorgaben und pädagogischen Anforderungen verpflichtet, die Bildungsprozesse auf Seiten der Kinder befördern zu sollen/wollen. Pädagogische Normen wie eine Erziehung zur Selbständigkeit/Autonomie oder eine Erziehung der Anerkennung orientieren mithin das professionelle Handeln, fließen ein in pädagogische Konzepte und fundieren pädagogisches Argumentieren und Urteilen. Dies umso mehr, wenn die pädagogische Praxis durch semantische und rhetorische Aufrüstung, wie im Falle der (fach-)öffentlichen Sprachförderdebatten, unter Druck gerät.

Neben der Normativität der Praxis (Profession) lassen sich zahlreiche subtilere Beispiele für die normativen Orientierung der Forscher/innen und womöglich auch der Disziplin anführen. Diese zeigt sich bei der Wahrnehmung und Protokollierung des Alltags durch die Beobachterin ebenso wie bei der Auswahl einer bestimmten Szene für einen Aufsatz oder Vortrag – sofern sie von einer »gelungenen« oder »mislungenen« pädagogischen Situation zeugt:

Die Kinder stehen in einer Schlange vor dem Tisch, an dem das Mittagessen in Büffet-Form aufgestellt ist. Die Erzieherin Anna erklärt, dass sie sich nach dem gestrigen Tag eine neue Sitzordnung überlegt habe. Die „Kleinen“ werden an einem Tisch mit den Erzieherinnen sitzen. Die „Großen“ sitzen zusammen, dürfen aber nicht lachen, wenn die Kleinen sich bekleckern. Eine weitere Erzieherin in der Gruppe, Petra, sagt den Kindern, dass sie sich Reis aussuchen könnten und sie gebe ihnen Salat. Sie fragt, wo Pedro und Francesco seien und sagt: „Ich weiß nicht, wie oft ich den beiden hinterher renne“. Die beiden Vermissten kommen herein. Petra geht zu ihnen und führt sie zum Tisch. „Du sitzt da und du da oben“, sagt sie zu ihnen. Sie bindet den beiden ein Geschirrtuch um den Hals. „Die Großen können anfangen. So, es wird nicht rumgespuckt, es wird alles probiert“, sagt sie. Die Kleinen nehmen ihre Teller zuletzt und stellen sich auch in die Schlange. „Den“, ruft Pedro und greift nach einem Teller am Tisch. „Nein, du kriegst einen anderen Teller heute“, sagt Petra bestimmt und wendet sich Francesco zu: „Du bleibst hier, hab ich gesagt“. „Nicht schon wieder essen“, ruft ein Mädchen. „Wieso haben sie Tücher an?“, fragt einer der größeren Jungs. „Weil sie noch kleckern und ich hab keine Lust, die fünfmal am Tag umzuziehen oder sie in der Kleckerbluse in den Ruheraum aufs Bettzeug zu legen“. Francesco fängt an zu weinen. „Ich versteh nicht, du musst auf Deutsch mit mir sprechen“, sagt die Erzieherin laut. Sie stellt sich direkt hinter den dreijährigen Francesco, der seinen Kopf schüttelt und vom Stuhl abzustiegen versucht. Sie hält mit den Händen des Jungen das Besteck, klopft mit der Gabel und dem Messer auf den Tisch und sagt „Das ist Gabel! Das ist Messer! Du musst nicht immer heulen. Du musst das lernen“, sagt Petra, stellt sich auf und geht in die Richtung des Büffets. „Wenn der immer aus der Flasche trinkt, dann lernt der das nicht“, sagt sie den anderen Kindern zugewandt. „Wenn du mehr willst, dann stehst du auf und holst dir noch“, sagt die Erzieherin in die Richtung von Francesco.

Inwiefern diese Sequenz für den Kindergartenalltag paradigmatisch sei, lässt sich nach einer teilnehmenden Beobachtung von fünf Tagen nicht sagen. Die Szene macht jedoch transparent – und darin liegt u.E. auch das Potential einer kurz angelegten Ethnographie –, was vor einer Beobachterin *Sagbar* ist. „Du musst auf Deutsch mit mir sprechen“ scheint durchaus *sagbar* in einem Kindergarten, welcher sehr stark auf Bewegungsförderung und Sprachförderung insbesondere für Kinder mit Migrationshintergrund in eher „segregierender“ Form setzt, und in dessen Einzugsgebiet überwiegend sozial benachteiligte Familien wohnen. Auffallend war jedoch – im irritierenden Kontrast dazu – die Platzierung der Bücher im Flur und in einigen Gruppenräumen: nämlich weit oben, auf denjenigen Regalen, die von den Kindern ohne Hilfe der Erwachsenen nicht erreicht werden konn-

ten. Während in den beiden anderen „beobachteten“ Kindergärten der Anteil der Kinder mit Migrationshintergrund eher gering ausfiel, lag der Anteil in dieser Kita bei über 50%. In der Szene tritt das Normierungsverhalten der Erzieherinnen äußerst unverhohlen, mittels Passivkonstruktionen und des Hilfsverbs „musst“ zu Tage. Derartige direktive Satzstrukturen – mit Aufforderungscharakter – lassen keinerlei Fragen, Zweifel, Stellungnahmen oder andere Verhaltensweisen zu. Sowohl die Art des Sprechens der Erzieherin, als auch der unpersönliche, namenlose, objekthafte Umgang mit Francesco in der Situation hat einen gebieterischen, ja gewaltförmigen Charakter. Diese Sprechweise wird von der Erzieherin durch die Notwendigkeit und das Gebot des „Deutsch-sprechen-Müssens“ legitimiert. Die deutsche Sprache wird als Grundkategorie des gegenseitigen Verstehens und Kommunizieren-Könnens absolut gesetzt. In einem pädagogischen Kontext, in dem der Anteil der Kinder mit Migrationshintergrund mehr als 50% beträgt, und in den gerade zahlreiche Dreijährige aufgenommen wurden mit ihren selten normgerechten Verständigungsform und ihren eher „persönlichen Sprachen“ beim Ausdrücken von Bedürfnissen, Freuden, Willen und Traurigkeit. Durch das Nichtzulassen bzw. die Nichtanerkennung anderer, weiterer Verständigungsmittel – wie zum Beispiel anderer Sprachen oder leiblich-gestischer Kommunikationsmittel – wird in der Interaktion alles, was nicht auf Deutsch geäußert wird, entwertet und diffamiert.

Sogar das Weinen des Jungen erscheint unverständlich. Unverschleiert tritt in der Szene die Hegemonie der deutschen Sprache auf und wird zugleich durch ein Paradoxon ad absurdum geführt: die intendierte „Sprachförderung“, im Sinne einer „Praxis der Unterweisung im Offiziellen“, wie Paul Mecheril und Thomas Quehl (2006, S. 363) formulieren, erscheint fast grotesk durch die Anwendung von unvollständigem, artikellosem Deutsch bei der Benennung der Gegenstände „Messer“ und „Gabel“. Im Gestus des „monolingualen Habitus“ (Gogolin, 1994) wird auf das „Deutschsprechen“ rekurriert, was auch immer das für die drei- bis vierjährigen Kinder bedeuten soll. Der Mythos der einen Sprache, bzw. die Konstruktion einer monolingualistischen Gesellschaft lässt einerseits die „Hybridhaftigkeit“, Offenheit und Historizität der Sprache, andererseits die alltagsweltliche Viel- und Mehrsprachigkeit der Gesellschaft vollkommen außer Acht. Daraus mag auch resultieren, dass sogar in wissenschaftlichen Studien und insbesondere in unterschiedlichen Sprachstandserhebungen von einem „geringen Sprachvermögen“ bei Kindern mit Migrationshintergrund gesprochen wird, ohne zu explizieren, dass damit nicht die Sprachkompetenz an sich gemeint sein kann, vielmehr das Vermögen, die legitime Verkehrs- oder Nationalspra-

che zu sprechen (vgl. Mecheril & Quehl, 2006, S. 367). Bis heute sind Zwei- und Mehrsprachigkeit – jenseits neuerer (bildungs-)politischer Proklamationen – noch immer mit Defiziten und defizitärem Aufwachsen konnotiert. Für den englischen Kontext zeigen Eve Gregory und Ann Williams (2006, S. 312ff.) neue Forschungsperspektiven auf, indem sie „inoffiziellen Schriftsprachpraktiken“ nachgehen und dadurch die Perspektive von den „Defiziten“ hin zu den multilingualen und multikulturellen Potentialen der Gesellschaft verfolgen. Paul Mecheril und Thomas Quehl (2006, S. 370) zeigen eindrücklich auf, dass das Missverhältnis zwischen monolingualer Anforderung und faktischer sprachlicher Vielfalt insbesondere dann prekär wird, wenn in den „sich monolingualistisch verstehenden Bildungszusammenhängen bilinguale Kinder mit einer Realität konfrontiert sind, in der sie gleichsam einen Teil ihrer selbst entweder nicht oder nur in jenen kuriosen und unöffentlichen Bereichen des Öffentlichen leben können, die den »Anderen« oder »Fremden« vorbehalten sind“. Als „Produzent so genannter ethnischer Nischen“ sieht Hans-Joachim Roth (2006, S. 350) das monolingual verfasste Bildungswesen an, solange die Migrationssprachen in den Raum der Familie verwiesen werden und im öffentlichen Raum illegitim bleiben.

Distinktionsschienen verlaufen jedoch nicht nur zwischen den unterschiedlichen Sprachen, sondern auch innerhalb einer, hier der deutschen, Sprache. Divergenten Sprachvarianten werden unterschiedliche Werte und Anerkennung zugeschrieben, worin sich der hegemoniale Charakter der Sprache zeigt. Dass und wie in ihr soziale Unterschiede sichtbar und reproduziert werden, hat etwa Bourdieu (1982) eindrucksvoll rekonstruiert. Analog dazu kann es aus einer sozialwissenschaftlich orientierten pädagogischen Perspektive im Hinblick auf sprachliche Bildung nicht nur um die Frage gehen, inwieweit Kinder grammatikalisch korrekte deutsche Sätze produzieren können, vielmehr – in Anlehnung an Gogolin, Kelle, Mecheril und Quehl – um die Frage nach legitimen und illegitimen Sprachpraxen und Sprecherpositionen, nach Machtverhältnissen hinsichtlich dessen, wer zum Sprechen befugt ist.

Aus den bisherigen Darstellungen geht die Verstärkung der Normativitätsproblematik durch theoretische Ansätze der Forscher/innen bei der Analyse der Beobachtungsprotokolle im pädagogischen Forschungsfeld markant hervor. Es existiert eine wissenschaftlich fundierte Debatte um Erst- und migrationsbedingten Zweitspracherwerb, die Mehrsprachigkeit als eine Ressource begreift, diese als Norm anstrebt, und zugleich der skizzierten *Normalität* des „monolingualen Habitus“ entgegenstrebt, auch wenn sie daran erst sehr langsam etwas zu verändern vermag (vgl. Leu, 2007). Die Analyse der Beobachtungsproto-

kolle ist in den Horizont dieser Diskurse eingebunden und beinahe unvermeidlich politisiert.

Auch bei einer expliziten Orientierung an der Heuristik der ethnomethodologischen, „normativen Enthaltbarkeit“ sind die teilnehmenden Beobachtungen von der Normativität einer Vorstellung der »guten Praxis« und »guten Sprachförderung« nicht gänzlich befreit. Insbesondere, wenn die die Forschung begleitenden Theorien bereits normativ angelegt sind, wie etwa der Capabilities Approach, an dessen literacy-Begriff sich das Forschungsprojekt orientierte. Dieser Ansatz, der in der Diskussion um Sprache bislang keine Berücksichtigung fand, wird im deutschen Kontext mit Fähigkeitenansatz oder Befähigungsansatz übersetzt (vgl. Otto & Ziegler, 2008). Er wurde von Martha Nussbaum in Auseinandersetzung mit dem politischen Liberalismus bzw. dem Konzept der »primary goods« von John Rawls' (1972) sowie mit den Ansätzen des Ökonomen Amartya Sen konzipiert, um „to articulate an account of how capabilities [...] can provide a basis for central constitutional principles that citizens have a right to demand from their governments“ (Nussbaum, 2000, S. 12). Die Philosophin betrachtet die Platzierung von literacy auf ihrer vagen, offenen und oft kritisierten „list of central human capabilities“ als diskutabel. *Literacy* sei weniger zeitlos, sie ist „a concrete specification for the modern world of a more general capability that may have been realized without literacy in other times and places“ (2000, S. 77f.). Literacy wird insbesondere im vierten Item „Senses, Imagination, and Thought“ ihrer Liste formuliert, welche Folgendes umfasst: “Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think and reason – and to do these things in a »truly human« way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing, and producing self-expressive works and events of one’s own choice, religious, literary, musical and so forth. Being able to use one’s mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise.“ (Nussbaum, 2000, S. 78f.) Unseres Erachtens fungiert literacy insofern als eine wesentliche capability, als sie die meisten anderen capabilities anbahnt und zu ihnen quer liegt.

Die Anschlussfähigkeit des Ansatzes von Nussbaum für pädagogische Auseinandersetzungen im Hinblick auf sprachliche Bildung zeigt sich insbesondere auf zwei Ebenen. Erstens auf der inhaltlichen Ebene der literacy, welche in den Konzeptionen von Nussbaum nicht eng gefasst und gerade nicht auf das Sprachvermögen reduziert sind. Zweitens auf

der methodischen Ebene, denn die besondere Stärke und Anschlussfähigkeit des Capabilities Approach für ethnographische Forschung liegt u.E. darin, dass dieser bei der Analyse der zentralen Frage, what someone „is actually able to do and to be“ (Nussbaum, 2000, S. 71), sowohl die individuell-persönliche Ebene als auch die politisch-institutionelle Ebene mitberücksichtigt und zu rekonstruieren vermag. „And we ask not just about the resources that are sitting around, but about how those do or do not go to work“ (ebd.). Der Schwerpunkt liegt dementsprechend auf den Fragen, welche Ressourcen bereitgestellt werden und wie mit diesen umgegangen wird, um human flourishing zu ermöglichen, bzw. konkreter: Damit jeder über Wahlmöglichkeiten verfügen kann, um die eigene Vorstellung vom guten Leben zu verwirklichen, für das literacy eine Grundvoraussetzung darstellt. In diesem Sinne steht literacy für eine umfassende sprachliche Bildung, die den Zugang zur Welt über Sprache eröffnet und umgekehrt die Verbindung des Individuums zur Welt ermöglicht. Analog dazu geht es nicht primär um die subjektiven Aneignungsprozesse von Kindern, sondern zu betonen sind die wechselwirksamen interaktiven und intersubjektiven Bezüge. Eine so verstandene sprachliche Bildung, welche nach Zehnbauer und Jampert (2007, S. 33) als integrierter Bestandteil der kindlichen Persönlichkeitsentwicklung und Umweltaneignung zu verstehen sei, hebt sich relativ eindeutig von sprachwissenschaftlichen Positionen ab, die tendenziell an systematischen Sprachförderkonzepten interessiert sind. Sprachliche Bildung im oben dargelegten Sinne ist ein mehrdimensionaler, eigensinniger, individueller, bruch- und sprunghafter und keinesfalls ein einheitlicher, linear verlaufender Prozess (vgl. Zehnbauer & Jampert, 2007, S. 34). Insofern kommt den äußeren Verhältnissen eine Schlüsselrolle zu. Sie dienen auch im Sinne Nussbaums als Ressourcen und notwendige Voraussetzungen, um (Sprach-)Bildungsprozesse zu befördern. Eine Reduktion des Begriffs »literacy« auf deutschsprachige Kompetenzen wäre auch in Anlehnung an der Perspektive von Gregory und Williams eine Verkürzung und ein Rückfall in eine ausländerpädagogische Sichtweise, in der Bildung auf die Kompensation konstruierter Defizite angelegt ist (Dirim, 2006, S. 259), statt auf die Nutzung mehrsprachiger Ressourcen. Die Frage des Capabilities Approach: »What someone is actually able to do and to be?« eröffnet die Möglichkeit, in einem normativ gesetzten Rahmen eine ethnomethodologisch relevante offene Beobachtungsperspektive beizubehalten.

Wir argumentieren dahingehend, dass eine normative Orientierung und eine ethnographische Forschung sich gegenseitig nicht ausschließen, und umgekehrt: Die Auffassung, eine »gute« ethnographische Forschung könnte sich diversen Normativitätsproblematiken

entziehen, scheint uns mythische Züge zu tragen. Dass in der sog. erfahrungswissenschaftlichen Pädagogik das Normproblem bloß eine „scheinbare Isolierung“ erfährt, hat Jörg Ruhloff bereits 1979 (S. 66ff.) eindrücklich aufgezeigt und resümiert: „Obwohl die erfahrungswissenschaftliche Erziehungswissenschaft nicht umhin kann, einer Normvorstellung von Erziehung zuzuarbeiten, bleibt das Normproblem auch in ihrem Rahmen ungelöst“ (Ruhloff, 1979, S. 104). Auch im Anschluss an den nicht nur soziologischen Methodendiskussionen der 1960-er Jahre zeigt Hans-Dieter Feil 1974 die Unmöglichkeit der Wertfreiheit der Erziehungswissenschaft auf. Im klassischen Rückgriff auf die theoretischen Ansätze der Vertreter einer „Normativen Pädagogik“ wie Herbart, Schleiermacher und Dilthey, grenzt er diese Positionen von denen der „Empirischen Pädagogik“ ab, um anschließend die Zweifelhaftigkeit der Differenzierung zwischen Normativität und Empirie zu skizzieren. In Anlehnung an Karl-Heinz Flechsigs Modell der experimentellen Unterrichtsforschung von 1967 zeigt Feil auf, dass „in den empirischen Forschungsprozeß unweigerlich normative Entscheidungen, Voraussetzungen und Annahmen einfließen, die oft nicht als solche erkannt werden (können)“ (Feil, 1974, S. 9) und propagiert demzufolge die *Transparentmachung* der der Forschung zugrunde liegenden Normen, denn dies sei „der einzige Weg, die empirische Methode vor einer Dogmatisierung zu bewahren und damit die »unwissenschaftlichen Laien« vor einer Entmündigung durch »absolut objektive« empirische Forschungsergebnisse zu schützen und sie selbst entscheiden zu lassen über Normen und die daran angebundene Forschungsergebnisse“ (Feil, 1974, S. 11). Auch wenn die ethnographische Forschung in der methodischen Systematisierung von Feil keinen Raum findet, scheint es relevant zu rekonstruieren, inwiefern normative Ansätze der Pädagogik bzw. der für die Pädagogik als bedeutsam erachteten Theorien der so genannten Nachbardisziplinen den beobachtenden Blick im ethnographischen Forschungsprozess vorzustrukturieren und zu prägen vermögen.

So notwendig die normative Enthaltbarkeit und ethnomethodologische Indifferenz als eine heuristische Ausgangsposition ethnographischer Forschung erscheinen mögen, so verkürzend und die Komplexität des Alltagsgeschehens reduzierend könnte sich dieses Diktum für die Erforschung „der sozialen Hervorbringung von Maßstäben im Kindergarten“ (Honig, 2004, S. 27) erweisen. Um die von Feil befürchtete „Dogmatisierung“ empirischer Methoden abzuwenden, wären unterschiedliche und potentielle Einflussgrößen, so etwa die Normativität der Akteur/innen, reflexiv verfügbar zu halten.

3.3 POTENZIERUNG DER GEMENDELAGE DURCH AUFTRAGSFORSCHUNG

Eine Auftragsforschung vermag die Möglichkeiten einer idealen, »guten« Studie durch unterschiedliche Faktoren einzugrenzen und zu desillusionieren: seien es gesetzte ökonomische oder zeitliche Rahmenbedingungen; Einschränkungen durch eine – etwa für ethnographische Forschung – viel zu spezifische Forschungsfrage; erwartete, konkrete Handlungsvorschläge; produktive Subversivität der Mitarbeiter/innen in den zu beforschenden Feldern etc. Auftragsforschung mag ein besonderer Kontext sein, obwohl die skizzierten Zwänge im Rahmen einer universitären Forschung ähnlich gelagert und durchaus vergleichbar scheinen.

Eine Auftragsforschung bringt die skizzierte Problematik nicht von vornherein hervor, sondern verstärkt das Spiel der ineinander greifenden Kräfte lediglich. Auftraggeber, so in unserem Fall der Kreis Offenbach, gehen interessengeleitet vor. Sie suchen nach *legitimatorischen Grundlagen* für einmal getroffene oder zukünftig zu treffende (sozial-)politische Entscheidungen. Diese richten sich in aller Regel an sozial verträglichen und/oder bildungspolitisch aktuellen Vorgaben aus – etwa dem derzeit aktuellen Primat der frühen Sprachförderung. Die unter Punkt 3.1 dargelegten Ausführungen umreißen die Einflussfaktoren, welche im Kontext von Auftragsforschung wirksam werden (können).

FAZIT: ERZIEHUNGSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE ETHNOGRAPHIE?

Mit unseren methodologischen Reflexionen zum Verhältnis von Ethnographie und Normativität wollten wir die These stark machen, dass eine Ethnographie im pädagogischen Feld die dort wirksamen normativen Kräfte mitzubedenken hätte: diejenigen, die im Feld explizit oder implizit anzutreffen sind, auch diejenigen, die den beobachtenden Blick der Forscherinnen lenken und sie motivieren, z.B. bestimmte beobachtete Szenen zur Interpretation auszuwählen sowie schließlich diejenigen, die gesellschafts- und bildungspolitisch diskursive Relevanz entfalten, und zwar bezogen auf die pädagogische Praxis und potentielle Auftraggeber.

Unter dem Begriff »pädagogische Ethnographie« subsumierte Zinnecker (2000, S. 383) „alle Studien, die sich gemäß der (...) Methodik von Feldforschung auf pädagogische Handlungsfelder beziehen“. Ethnographische Forschung, die lediglich in einem pädagogischen Handlungsfeld angesiedelt ist, erscheint uns jedoch nicht als hinreichender Grund, um von einer pädagogischen Ethnographie zu sprechen. So ist z.B. ethnographische Forschung in der Institution Schule denkbar, die weitgehend unbeeindruckt vom organisationalen Kontext z.B. die Interaktionen unter Teilnehmer/innen mikroanalytisch in den Blick

nimmt. Was als pädagogische Ethnographie bezeichnet werden will, müsste zumindest organisationspezifische Kontextbedingungen der jeweiligen pädagogischen Handlungsfelder, die unter Beobachtung stehen, systematisch einbeziehen. Wir haben in unserer Kindergartenethnographie unterschiedliche Kontexte des Sprechens identifiziert, die organisationspezifische Besonderheiten aufweisen, so machen z.B. die so genannten Freispielphasen einen solchen Kontext aus, welcher wiederum das Sprechen und die Kommunikation präformiert. Sie sind in dieser Art nur im Kindergarten vorzufinden, eher nicht in der Schule, sie erfahren eine spezifische Ausgestaltung allererst durch die Kinder, Erwachsene sind eher abwesend, sie greifen lediglich moderierend mit Blick auf Konflikte oder den Umgang mit Material ein. Weil es deshalb viel Raum für kindliche Gestaltung, Eigeninitiative und Reaktionsmöglichkeiten gibt, kann es passieren, dass es zu verzögerten Reaktionen kommt, die unter anderen Kontextbedingungen so nicht möglich wären. Ein Kind greift zum Beispiel eine Frage oder Bemerkung eines anderen Kindes seiner Spielrunde sehr viel später auf in einer Antwort wieder auf. Im Augenblick erscheint dies vollkommen unvermittelt, erweist sich aber situativ – gemessen am Vorangegangenen – als absolut stimmig. Pädagogische Arrangements wären mithin genauer zu identifizieren und zu markieren, um situierte Praktiken des pädagogischen Alltags analytisch bestimmen zu können.

Eine Verortung der Forscherin als Erziehungswissenschaftlerin wäre womöglich als ein erstes, relevantes Merkmal zur Identifizierung erziehungswissenschaftlicher Ethnographien heranzuziehen, denn eine solche Positionierung wirkt auf das eigene Selbstverständnis, das wiederum einen Beitrag für die Wahrnehmung im Feld leistet. In jedem Fall kann als Anforderung an die erziehungswissenschaftliche Ethnographie gelten, dass sie sich der von uns unter Punkt 3 rekonstruierten und systematisierten Einflussgrößen reflexiv versichert und diese reflexiv einholt.

Der Beitrag war insbesondere mit der Rekonstruktion der Brisanz und des Einflusses der »Kräftefelder« auf die Ethnographie des Sprachverhaltens im Kindergarten befasst. In diesem Zusammenhang ließ sich mittels ethnographischer Forschung nicht nur im Bezug auf das Sprachverhalten, sondern auch im Bezug auf das Soziale im Kindergarten Wissen (re)produzieren. Die mittels teilnehmender Beobachtung gewonnenen Erkenntnisse könnten u.a. massiv zur »Entzauberung« eines (Sprach-)Förderaktivismus beitragen, sofern diese Erkenntnisse mit Blick auf daran geknüpfte Theoriebildungsprozesse nicht als marginal entwertet werden (vgl. auch Thole, 2010, S. 28) und einen Widerhall im Kontext öffentlicher und bildungspolitischer Debatten fänden.

LITERATUR

- Apeltauer, E. (2007). Sprachliche Frühförderung von Kindern mit Migrationshintergrund. *Info DaF*, 34 (1), S. 3–36.
- Bourdieu, P. (1982). *Die feinen Unterschiede: Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Dirim, I. (2006). Eine andere Perspektive auf Migrantenfamilien. Wertschätzung, Bildungspotentiale und Unterstützungsformen. In P. Mecheril & T. Quehl (Hrsg.), *Die Macht der Sprachen: Englische Perspektiven auf die mehrsprachige Schule* (S. 255-261). Münster: Waxmann.
- Feil, H.-D. (1974). *Erziehungswissenschaft zwischen Empirie und Normativität*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Garfinkel, H. (1973). Studien über die Routinegrundlagen von Alltagshandeln. In H. Steinert (Hrsg.), *Symbolische Interaktion. Arbeiten zu einer reflexiven Soziologie* (S. 280-293). Stuttgart: Klett.
- Goffman, E. (1994). *Interaktion und Geschlecht*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag.
- Gregory, E., & Williams, A. (2006). Arbeit oder Spiel? ‚Inoffizielle‘ Schriftsprachpraktiken im Leben zweier Communities im Osten Londons. In P. Mecheril & T. Quehl (Hrsg.), *Die Macht der Sprachen: Englische Perspektiven auf die mehrsprachige Schule* (S. 213-230). Münster: Waxmann.
- Gogolin, I. (1994). *Der monolinguale Habitus der multilingualen Schule*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Honig, M.-S. (2004). Wie bewirkt Pädagogik, was sie leistet? In M.-S. Honig & M. Joos (Hrsg.), *Was ist ein guter Kindergarten? Theoretische und empirische Analysen zum Qualitätsbegriff in der Pädagogik* (S.17-38). Weinheim: Juventa.
- Hünersdorf, B., Müller, B., & Maeder, C. (Hrsg.) (2008). *Ethnographie und Erziehungswissenschaft. Methodologische Reflexionen und empirische Annäherungen*. Weinheim: Juventa.
- Hünersdorf, B., Müller, B., & Maeder, C. (2008). Ethnographie der Pädagogik: Eine Einführung. In Dies. (Hrsg.), *Ethnographie und Erziehungswissenschaft. Methodologische Reflexionen und empirische Annäherungen*. Weinheim: Juventa.

- Jäger, M. (2008). Alltagskultur im Kindergarten. Lebensweltliche Ethnographie aus ethnologischer Perspektive. In B. Hünersdorf, B. Müller & C. Maeder (Hrsg.), *Ethnographie und Erziehungswissenschaft. Methodologische Reflexionen und empirische Annäherungen* (S. 141-150). Weinheim: Juventa.
- Kelle, H. (2004). Ethnographische Ansätze. In E. Glaser, D. Klika & A. Prengel (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Geschlecht und Erziehungswissenschaft* (S.636-650). Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.
- Kelle, H. (2009). Kindliche Entwicklung und die Prävention von Entwicklungsstörungen. Die frühe Kindheit im Fokus der childhood studies. In M.-S. Honig (Hrsg.), *Ordnungen der Kindheit* (S. 79-102). Weinheim/München: Juventa.
- Leu, H. R. (2007). Die Bildungsdebatte in Deutschland – heute und vor dreißig Jahren, Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede. In K. Jampert, P. Best, A. Guadatiello, D. Holler & A. Zehnbauer (Hrsg.), *Schlüsselkompetenz Sprache. Sprachliche Bildung und Förderung im Kindergarten, Konzepte, Projekte und Maßnahmen* (S. 19-23). Weimar: Verlag das netz.
- Lütje-Klose, B. (2007). Sprachstandserhebungen im Vorschulalter. In T. Fleischer, N. Grewe, B. Jötten & K. Seifried (Hrsg.), *Handbuch der Schulpsychologie, Psychologie für die Schule* (S. 133-144). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Mecheril, P., & Quehl, T. (2006). Sprache und Macht. Theoretische Facetten eines (migrations-)pädagogischen Zusammenhangs. In Dies. (Hrsg.), *Die Macht der Sprachen: Englische Perspektiven auf die mehrsprachige Schule* (S. 355-382). Münster: Waxmann.
- Mecheril, P., & Quehl, T. (Hrsg.) (2006). *Die Macht der Sprachen: Englische Perspektiven auf die mehrsprachige Schule*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2000). *Women and Human Development. The Capabilities Approach*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Otto, H.-U., & Ziegler, H. (Hrsg.) (2008). *Capabilities – Handlungsbefähigung und Verwirklichungschancen in der Erziehungswissenschaft*. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag.
- Rawls, J. (1972). *A theory of justice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Reckwitz, A. (2000). *Die Transformation der Kulturtheorien. Zur Entwicklung eines Theorieprogramms*. Weilerswist: Velbrück.
- Roth, H.-J. (2006). Praktische Gelingensbedingungen und theoretische Grundlagen des Zweit-Sprachunterrichts. In P. Mecheril & T. Quehl (Hrsg.), *Die Macht der Sprachen:*

- Englischsprachige Perspektiven auf die mehrsprachige Schule* (S. 343-354). Münster: Waxmann.
- Ruhloff, J. (1979). *Das ungelöste Normproblem der Pädagogik*. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer.
- Sen, A. (1987). *The standard of living*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Thole, W. (2010). Ethnographie des Pädagogischen. Geschichte, konzeptionelle Kontur und Validität einer erziehungswissenschaftlichen Ethnographie. In W. Thole, F. Heinzl, P. Cloos & S. Köngeter (Hrsg.), *»Auf unsicherem Terrain« Ethnographische Forschung im Kontext des Bildungs- und Sozialwesens* (S. 17-38). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Thole, W., Heinzl, F., Cloos, P., & Köngeter, S. (2010). Einleitung: »Auf unsicherem Terrain« Ethnographische Forschung im Kontext des Bildungs- und Sozialwesens. In Dies. (Hrsg.), *»Auf unsicherem Terrain« Ethnographische Forschung im Kontext des Bildungs- und Sozialwesens* (S. 11-13). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Zehnbauer, A., & Jampert, K. (2007). Sprachliche Bildung und Sprachförderung im Rahmen einer ganzheitlichen Elementarpädagogik. In K. Jampert, P. Best, A. Guadatiello, D. Holler & A. Zehnbauer (Hrsg.), *Schlüsselkompetenz Sprache. Sprachliche Bildung und Förderung im Kindergarten, Konzepte, Projekte und Maßnahmen*. (S. 33-37). Weimar: Verlag das netz.
- Zinnecker, J. (2000). Pädagogische Ethnographie. *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*, 3 (3), 381-400.

A CHILD'S DROPOUT AND A NURSERY'S SECONDARY ADJUSTMENT. LINKING LONGITUDINAL, ORGANISATIONAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY IN ECEC⁹

Oliver Schnoor / Claudia Seele

ABSTRACT:

Longitudinal ethnography in the context of ECEC has been promoted by Corsaro and Molinari (2000, p. 180) by arguing that "the whole time children are developing individually, the collective processes that they are a part of are also changing." Drawing on organizational theory and institutional ethnography, we would like to build on and extend this argument by saying that local cultures and participatory networks in Early Childhood Education and Care are embedded in organizational processes and routines that are also changing. Moreover, a central assumption of our accompanying research project in a recently established Luxembourgish Maison Relais pour Enfants (MRE) is that the institutional structure of the daycare center is not settled once and for all, but develops and changes in interaction with its environment, that is with the expectations and demands of relevant stakeholders.

Accordingly, our concern in the present paper is with a basic question in current ethnographic research on ECEC, i.e. the question of the relationships, possibly the systematic linkage, between pedagogical institution and the everyday social experiences of children. Usually, this relation is conceptualized in one direction: The organized care for a high number of children in a context governed by adult rules and pedagogical interventions provides the 'framework' for the development of a distinctive peer culture. This, in turn, enables learning and socialization insofar as the cultural and organizational environment is "interpretively (re)produced" (Corsaro) within the context of the peer culture, which thus actively contributes to social reproduction and change. Our paper aims at contributing to this research field by following the reverse, complementary direction: It explores the processes through which the concrete social experiences of children, their embeddedness in specific social contexts, and their learning progresses are observed and interpreted, and finally lead to a (re)construction and change of institutional practices in the pedagogical organization.

Although institutionalization in early childcare centers is a continuing and never completed process of enacting institutionalized values and principles in everyday practices

⁹ A revised German version of this paper will be published in *Zeitschrift für Soziologie der Erziehung und Sozialisation (ZSE) / [Journal of Sociology of Education and Socialization]*, Vol. 33, 2013, 1.

(Honig, 2003), there may be particular temporal conditions which favor the observability of institutionalization processes. These are presumably 1) during the foundation and start of work, 2) at times of intensive contact with the institutional environment or the stakeholders, respectively, and 3) times of crisis and conflict situations.

All of these conditions have been met during the course of our research, as will be illustrated by an ethnographic case study of one child that has been taken out of the center by his parents after one year of his enrolment. His seemingly lacking adaptation to the institution's practices and collective culture triggered a serious crisis and in turn led to some dramatic changes in the center's daily routines. As will be shown, these measures primarily serve to increase the institution's legitimacy by adjusting to the perceived expectations of its environment.

Before presenting and analyzing the case study, we will briefly introduce the ways in which organization and interaction have been related in research on ECEC and how our questions are situated within this context. Secondly, we will give an overview of organization theory and then deal with the different but interconnected methodological approaches of longitudinal, organizational, and institutional ethnography in more detail. In the remaining part of the paper, after outlining our methods and positioning as researchers, we will proceed with the description of the case and the analytical abstractions drawn from it. Through the combined perspectives on the case study, last but not least, the constitutive role of children, as observers and as observed, in processes of organizational change in ECEC can be revealed.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS: THE ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH PROJECT¹⁰

Our paper is based on an ongoing research project that investigates a recently (in 2005) established type of childcare center in Luxembourg, the so called *Maison Relais pour Enfants* (MRE), which is characterized by extended opening hours and flexible enrolment periods for children. These novel institutions – in particular the MRE-*crèche* for 0 to 4 year-old children we are investigating – are a means of increasing both the number of childcare places and the opportunities for parents to make use of the services. At the same time, they are meant to provide a high pedagogical quality. With this array of tasks, practical difficulties seem likely to arise, e.g. in planning activities, synchronizing time schedules or fostering group life. Consequently, the initial research interest of the project was to find out how

¹⁰ The project is titled 'Betreuungswirklichkeit und Bildungswirklichkeit. Die Pädagogik der Maison Relais pour Enfants' (EDUQUA-MRE) and was designed and started at the University of Luxembourg by Michael-Sebastian Honig and Sascha Neumann in 2009. This paper is in large parts inspired by the ongoing work and discussion within the whole project team.

educational quality is practically accomplished under the highly deregulated organizational conditions. Moreover, since *Maisons Relais* are faced with different, sometimes contradictory interests (see Majerus, 2009 for a detailed explanation of the official goals of the MRE), the basic question is how MRE deal with these various expectations of different stakeholders (parents, professionals, policy makers, children etc.). How are these external societal demands translated or transformed into institutional practices and routines? In other words, the organizational focus is widened by an institutionalist perspective. Accordingly, the ethnographic study doesn't merely focus on single children or interactions between adults and/or children, but puts the question of pedagogical quality in the organizational and institutional context of everyday practices.

Institutionalization in early childcare centers is a continuing process of enacting institutionalized values and principles in everyday practices (cf. Honig, 2003). Of course, these processes are never completed; however, there may be periods when they are more pertinent and more obvious than during other periods. Particular temporal conditions which favor the observability of institutionalization processes are presumably 1) during the foundation and start of work, 2) at times of intensive contact with the institutional environment or the stakeholders, respectively, and 3) times of crisis and conflict situations.

All these conditions have been met during the course of our project. During a six-months pre-phase in 2009 we had the opportunity to accompany the establishment and initial designing of the day care center, including the planning process, the first decisions regarding the structuring of groups, space, timetables etc., the onset of the nursery's service and the initial negotiations with the institutional environment. At the same time, the institution was almost constantly in contact with external observers. Besides us, the researchers, these were above all the parents of the first enrolled children, who were present during the first weeks of their children's 'familiarization'. In the course of the first year, also the third motive for intensified institutionalization occurred. Especially this latter point will be the subject of a case study we would like to unfold below.

ORGANISATION AND INTERACTION IN ECEC

Early Childhood Education usually perceives its own organizational form as something separate from, even interfering with or inhibiting the educational practices and interactions between adults and children (Honig, 2003, p. 120). This view has already been questioned by the sociology of childhood in that also the enabling and facilitating effects on children's collective learning and development were made visible. The organized care for a

high number of children in a context governed by adult rules and pedagogical interventions provides the 'framework' for the development of a distinctive *peer culture*. This, in turn, enables learning and socialization insofar as the cultural and organizational environment is "interpretively (re)produced" (Corsaro) within the context of the peer culture, which thus actively contributes to social reproduction and change. The direction in which the relationship of organization and interaction is conceptualized thus moves from the organizational 'frame' to the children's practical activities.

Our concern, too, is with this basic question in current ethnographic research on ECEC, i.e. the question of the relationships, possibly the systematic linkage, between pedagogical institution and the everyday social experiences of children. However, it also takes into account the widely neglected question of how these relations are embedded in a wider environment of external expectations, educational and care policies, and societal demands. Although there are some elaborated research frames and programs in educational theory that see the educational organization as an intermediate to society and not merely as a given set of preconditions for children's learning (esp. Honig, 2003; Honig & Neumann, 2004), only a few studies, like the ethnography of Petra Jung (2009) on the duality of 'pedagogical order' and 'children's orders' in day care centers, have realized this approach empirically. We aim at contributing to this research field by shedding light on particular aspects of these relations, namely the processes through which the concrete social experiences of children, their embeddedness in specific social contexts, and their learning progresses are observed and interpreted, and finally lead to a (re)construction and change of institutional practices in the pedagogical organization. In other words, our paper follows the *reverse*, complementary direction compared to most research.

The question whether children might be involved in processes of change of the organization itself raises the related question where children can be located within the theoretical frameworks of organization research. In what sense do they belong to the organization, in what sense to the environment?¹¹ And if they belong to the environment, how do they come to be institutional actors? Answering these questions seems to be crucial in order to catch the *specificities* of organizations in Early Childhood Education and Care. But first, a brief chapter on basic issues in organizational theory will serve to prepare the ground for our argumentation.

¹¹ This is a general and by no means unusual type of question in organizational studies: "Are customers members of the organization, or are they part of the environment to which the organization must adapt?" Weick, 1969, p. 27, referring on Barnard, 1948.

ORGANISATION THEORY: CHANGE, ENVIRONMENT, AND LEGITIMACY

Early theorizing on organizational behavior has been criticized for being ahistorical, acontextual, and aprocessual (Pettigrew, 1985), but this is no longer true since the last decades. The notion of organizations as stable entities has been revised by a huge amount of theoretical and empirical studies focusing on two interrelated issues: change and environment.

An overview of about twenty accounts of „Organizational Transformation“ has extracted a commonly used distinction, between “first-order change” and “second-order change” (Levy & Merry, 1986) whereby the former stands for a “variation within a given system which itself remains unchanged”, as opposed to the latter which means “changing the system itself [...] in the nature of a discontinuity or logical jump” (Watzlawick et al., 1974; cited *ibid.*, p. 7). Another description speaks of “evolutionary change” on the one hand, meaning “modest adjustments”, and “revolutionary change” on the other hand, meaning “serious upheavals and abandonment of past management practices involving finding a new set of organizational practices” (Greiner, 1972; cited Levy & Merry, 1986, p. 6). It seems promising to apply this distinction as a sensitizing concept for investigations of developments in the field of ECEC-organizations. Do second-order changes occur here, and on what levels of social action?

Furthermore, organizational change is considered throughout in terms of “adaptation” to the environment. A literature review from as early as 1982 considers different perspectives on adaptation processes. The various approaches differ in questions like: What or who is adapted? Who and where are the agents of change? Do organizations merely accommodate to uncontrollable changes or do they rather adapt proactively? (Goodman, 1982) It has also been asked whether organizations themselves are “cultural engines” that promote or change institutions in their environment (Zucker, 1988; for a more detailed comparison of these positions see Jung, 2009). The latter position seems to be a special variation of the general viewpoint, drawn from evolutionary theory (along with most of the terminology and thoughts), that “the organism creates its environment.” (Mead, 1956; cited in Weick, 1969, p. 26). This creation is supposed to be tied to processes of selection and attention.

Weick later contributed to more concrete models of the “*enactment*” of organizations and their environments. His notion of educational organizations as “*loosely coupled systems*” (Weick, 1976) was elaborated by Meyer and Rowan (1977) who maintained that organizations adapt their *formal structure* to the institutionalized myths in their environ-

ment while their control over *activity structures* decreases. By achieving formal *isomorphism* with their environments, organizations gain legitimacy by symbolic means rather than by efficient attainment of goals.

The concepts of the '*new institutionalism*' have greater potential to grasp the phenomenological variations and complexities of organizational change in a more subtle way than the simple alternative of first-order and second-order change. *Ethnography*, in turn, allows to tackle theoretical questions concerning the relationships between organization and environment, between daily practices and legitimacy and so on, through empirical investigation of actual processes.

METHODOLOGY: ETHNOGRAPHY AND ITS ADJECTIVES

Longitudinal Ethnography: Corsaro and Molinari (2000, p. 180) promote longitudinal ethnography by arguing that "the whole time children are developing individually, the collective processes that they are a part of are also changing." Furthermore, they suggest to "document the nature of children's membership in these local cultures and their changing degrees or intensities of membership and participation over time and across social institutions."

In the context of research on schooling, these aims have already been moved toward questions of organization by Andrew Pollard. He conducted a twelve-year longitudinal ethnography on pupil careers and documented "the progression of organisation, activity structures and routine tasks in each class [...] together with the responses of the children to such provision." (Pollard, 2004, p. 291)

In terms of pure duration, our own study may not necessarily be more "longitudinal" than most ethnographies are, but with respect to the rapidly developing setting of the *Maison Relais* and the frequent changes in everyday routines, it probably offers as much opportunities for temporal comparisons as 'usual' longitudinal studies. (After all, 'longitude' in research should be a matter of social processes, not of total time. See also the thoughts on order and change in Strauss, 1993, p. 250ff.)

Organizational Ethnography: We would like to build on and extend the above argument of Corsaro and Molinari by saying that local cultures and participatory networks in Early Childhood Education are embedded in organizational processes and routines that are also changing. The question then is how and to what extent these forms of social order are related to one another and in what way the processes of change are interdependent. More

precisely, with the above mentioned concepts of institutional organization theory in mind (e.g., Meyer & Rowan), we would ask: How and to what extent is the long-term development of children's social memberships connected with changes in a) the formal structure and b) the structure of activities of the organization?

As indicated above, change is *the* central issue in contemporary organizational theory. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that longitudinal (in part ethnographical) methodologies, especially case studies, have been widely promoted in this context of research (Huber & Van de Ven, 1995). Apart from stressing the temporal dimension, it is less clear, however, if approaches under the label of "organizational ethnography" are capable of meeting all of the current theoretical challenges, for instance regarding the relationships between an organization and its environment. Important volumes titled "Inside Organizations" (Jones, Moore & Snyder, 1988; and also Gellner & Hirsch, 2001) or „Ethnography in Organizations“ (Schwartzman, 1993) suggest rather fixed borders which ethnographers are meant to cross. Consequently, some approaches emphasize the *being there*-quality of ethnography. Much of the results reveal an *informal* realm of cultures, symbols, stories and the like (Jones, Moore & Snyder, 1988) as opposed to the 'monolithic' image of organizations in earlier sociological theory. However, there are also other voices. Gellner and Hirsch themselves write: "Rather than working inside an organization, the anthropologist sometimes researches at the 'interface' between organizations and 'the people'" (p. 4). The question of "Inside or Outside" and the process of gaining access to organizations are being used to approach the very core questions of theory. We would agree with this standpoint and hold that (organizational) ethnographers, being natural outsiders or "professional strangers" respectively, should not try to "go native", but rather stay close to the boundaries or in those social areas where the boundaries are set, negotiated, protected, rearranged etc. A recent account of "Organizational Ethnography" (Ybema et al., 2009) goes one step further and draws on the discussion about "multi-sited" or even "un-sited" fields in ethnography where pre-given boundaries are dissolved altogether (see also Sascha Neumann's paper by for this colloquium).

Institutional Ethnography: The transgression of such boundaries and the movement of field research across the sites and levels of social reality is an essential feature of the so called "Institutional Ethnography" by Dorothy Smith and others. Her important monograph is subtitled "A sociology for people" (Smith, 2005), thus its aim is to reveal "how people's doings in the everyday are articulated to and coordinated by extended social relations that

are not visible from within any particular local setting and just how people are participating in those relations" (p. 36). It investigates – to give an example in the field of education – the experience of becoming a "single parent family" in interaction with public schools (Griffith, 2006).

According to its protagonists, institutional ethnography deals with organizational and institutional phenomena *not* from the viewpoint of an organization and its development. However, this viewpoint seems to us an issue in its own right, also in research on Early Childhood Education and Care. Here, organizational and longitudinal ethnography could provide a complementary perspective in their efforts to track processes of change and long term developments of organizational structures and institutional practices. Vice versa, institutional ethnography could contribute to longitudinal studies on the everyday social life in daycare institutions, especially on children's activities, by heightening their sensitivity to organizational aspects like the respective roles and functions of children.

This brief discussion of ethnographic methodologies highlighted the large common ground rather than the differences. What all these approaches have more or less in common is their ambition to overcome the dichotomy of the micro- and macro-level of social reality.

DOING ETHNOGRAPHY: FIELD ACCESS AND MULTI-METHOD STRATEGY

Our position as a research team in the MRE is somewhere *between* the organization and its environment – in a sense we are *created* by the staff as having this "intermediate" position. This can shortly be illustrated with respect to the permissions or refusals of access to different times and places. As accompanying research team we have, for example, received a key for the front door and even our own locker in the locker room. We were allowed to come and go beyond the official bringing-times of the parents. Nevertheless, there are times and places where we are not permitted access. Above all, these are the weekly meetings of the team in the office, but also parent-teacher-talks. Hence we also belong to the actor groups that constitute the 'audience' of the institution. This intermediary standpoint has, for example, the advantage that the practical *and* representational functions of "activities" can be gauged.

The following case study centers on two (complementary) kinds of methodical approaches which, at first glance, roughly relate to two sides of organizational processes. On the one side, we draw on our field notes that were generated on the base of our actual

presence in the everyday practice, especially in the rooms of the two children's groups. On the other side, we use protocols of our conversations with the staff, particularly with the center's director, in which we jointly unfold the stories "behind" routines as entrenched solutions of practical problems.

The latter serve to evoke descriptions and narrative accounts of management practices, negotiations with actors in the environment and other aspects. Here, both the organizational development and the social and cultural life of children are disputed. These narratives are thus always linked to the observed practices in that these practices explicitly or implicitly act as a reference point – they form the subject that is talked about, recounted or explained. The stories that emanate from our conversations are multi-perspectival in the sense that they center on events that are observed from different sides and draw on the perspectives not only of researchers and staff but also refer to parents' and children's views and expressions.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH BORIS?

Boris is one of the first children enrolled in the daycare center when it first opens its doors in October 2009. At that time he is nearly two years old and is described in our early observation protocols as a 'communicative' and 'vivid' child, quite active in exploring his environments and initiating interactions. Yet, from the very beginning on, he doesn't seem to participate much in any peer activities. Instead, he interacts mostly with adults or plays on his own. This however doesn't pose much of a problem, especially as the initial weeks of the center's existence are characterized by an almost 'family-like' ambiance with sometimes more adults than children staying in the room. Educators, researchers, and parents who accompany their children throughout their first days in the center are willing partners of interaction and help Boris settling in. Apparently, Boris enjoys the attention paid to him by all these adults and he seems to do quite well in his new surroundings. He often babbles and vocalizes mostly incomprehensible sounds and syllables or just shouts loud and joyfully.

As the first months pass by, the center increasingly gets filled with more and more children and, consequently, with more and more noise. But, the louder his environment becomes, the more silent gets Boris himself. The 'language barrier' seems to make things particularly difficult for him, as he only rarely uses or repeats the (Luxembourgish, German or French) words directed at him by the adults. From time to time, we observe how the

educators try to make sense of his still incomprehensible utterances. In this context they also discuss his plurilingual experiences at home and in the center.

29.03.2010

Boris is at the focus of talk during lunchtime. As usual he utters some syllables or words. Nathalie, the director of the center, says to her colleagues (in Luxembourgish): "We should take a course in Russian, then we would at least understand what he is talking about." I ask if that was Russian he was speaking. She answers that it wouldn't really be *any* language. "Boris doesn't even *repeat* any words. When we say 'e guten Appetit' before eating, he *never* says it with us." She explains that his mother speaks German with him, his father French, and together they speak Russian.

I ask her if the parents said something about their wishes concerning language. She denies and states that the parents would above all be glad he had settled in so well here. He was in another nursery before, but always kept crying and wanted back home. "But we have to figure out how to proceed, because now he is already two." [...]

Boris whines along 'artificially' (he doesn't cry). He also stares vacantly into space, not taking up eye-contact. Elisabeth moves her arm up and down in front of his face and clicks her fingers: "Hellooo? Everything alright?" He just keeps on whining "Eeehh!" (which sounds a bit like the French word „un“) – so Elisabeth says „Deux!“ (as she has done at other times, too). Nathalie comments: "What could that possibly be supposed to mean?" I say: "But *this* is *not* Russian!" Elisabeth adds: "That's *international*." We laugh. After a short break Nathalie tries a serious translation: „I hope I can attract all of someone's attention just for myself." There is quiet approval.

[...] As I write this down, Boris' mother is just coming to pick him up. As she takes him up on her arms she says: "Give the puppet [Puppeeee] to Luc... Merciiii... And give him the caterpillar [Raupeeee] ... Merciiii...!"

As the number of children in the center gradually increases and day-to-day activities become more and more routinized, Boris often seems quite 'passive', just standing around or sitting somewhere, and he vocalizes less often than before. The educators, who were more permissive and responsive to his 'special' situation and needs in the beginning, now become ever more occupied with organizational routines and management tasks.

While other children adapt more or less easily to the institution's developing routines¹², Boris seems somehow to be 'left behind'. He doesn't actively participate in the center's routinized practices or in other children's activities and sometimes the educators' practical performances seem to be disturbed by Boris' 'maladaptive' (passive) behavior.

His activities which are documented throughout the whole year in numerous observation protocols can certainly be understood as cultural routines or as *interpretive reproduction* (like his playing with greeting formulas, giving and taking of objects, imitation of sounds etc.). These activities and forms of expression, however, are closely related to the cultural forms of adults, or, more precisely, to the adult ways of speaking and interacting with children. In contrast, he still only very rarely participates in peer activities. In this respect, his opportunities for participation decrease as the whole social setting is changing.

12.11.2010

Boris is brought by his father in the morning. Alex immediately approaches Boris to greet him and plays with him for a short while close to the entrance door. Meanwhile, the educators discuss (in Luxemburgish) that Boris had been quite difficult yesterday and that there seems to be no other child in the center talked about as much as about him. Boris now sits all alone on the ground in front of the door and appears a bit 'lost'. As he starts to cry, Anne sits down next to him and he calms down for a while.

Before breakfast time, Boris walks out of the bathroom with his pants down and stops to stand still in front of the door. The educators repeatedly call out to him: "Boris, pants up!" But he only passively looks down at his legs, and resumes staring into the air in front of him until someone comes to pull up his pants and leads him to the breakfast table.

During the morning, Boris stays sitting at the table – at first he does some painting with Elisabeth, then he plays a game with wooden rings together with one of the childcare assistants. He seems more active and cheerful now, also verbalizing some incomprehensible sounds. However, from time to time he starts crying again. The assistant explains that he always does that when other children are crying or screaming.

Later at the lunch table, Kevin and Alex repeatedly greet me with "Moien!" and Boris cheerfully joins in, saying "Moien Claudia!" As Monika hears this she is quite surprised and excitedly tells Elisabeth about it. Boris is much more active now than in the morning or

¹² By developing individual and collective strategies like, for example, playing with the dishes, making noises, and imitating each other while waiting for their meals or until they are called to the bathroom after eating; playing with other children while the adults are occupied writing journals or preparing activities, etc.

during lunchtime – he is laughing, verbalizing and singing. I can understand some Luxembourgish words like “bis moien”, “äddi”, “ech kommen” or names of other children. He repeats these expressions while still sitting at the table and also later in the bathroom.

During bedtime, only very few children remain in the room while the others are sleeping next door. The educators comment that it would be pretty quiet now. Boris sits on the carpet alone, smiling and babbling along... He plays with a hat that is shaped like a birthday cake and sings “Happy birthday to you” and later also the French song “Alouette” (at least some words of it).

By the end of the year 2010, Boris appears as ever more absent-minded in our observation protocols, just staring into space, seemingly unaware of his surroundings. However, his behavior only turns into a serious problem as he breaks out of his apathetic attitude more often by crying out loudly with no apparent reason. The educators describe his behavior as “strange” or “weird” but cannot themselves define or explain it more precisely. By now he is becoming an “organizational problem” (Ben-Ari, 1996, p. 153).

Boris' parents are quite worried about his wellbeing in the center. At this moment, the “familiarization-stage” (where the parents stay with their children in the room during their first days in the nursery in order to make it easier for them to settle in) is repeated after Boris has been enrolled in the center for more than a year. During a week or so, one of his parents always stays with him in the center for several hours each day, calming him down when he gets too excited, encouraging him to play (and to speak). One day we can observe Boris with his father. He keeps on crying very often but also lets himself being smoothed quite easily. However, he always stays in close proximity to his father and directs his attention almost exclusively at him, showing him toys or repeating his words.

As we learn in our conversations with the center's director, Boris' parents later complained that the children in the center were not learning social behavior and that there would not occur enough language promoting activities. Learning social behavior (like sharing and conflict resolution) and promoting Luxembourgish are two of the main wishes or expectations expressed by many parents in the information sheets they fill out upon their child's entry into the center (also by Boris' parents). His parents had even made a list with the actual words Boris could already speak in each language, to ‘prove’ to the director how few there were. In fact, they accused the center only to keep the children in care, and not to *educate* them.

23.11.2010

Nathalie: „The father told me he had not known until now that we would work according to a situation-oriented approach. ‘Laissez-faire’ he says. I said it isn’t the same as ‘laissez-faire’. He thinks our children were too aggressive. And we wouldn’t encourage them to share with each other. I don’t think this is true at all. I wanted to ask you if you had a feedback on that. How do you see it?”

Oliver: “I totally agree with you.”

Nathalie: “When the parents are in the group the whole day long, we are nervous and uneasy, because we are under observation, and this also affects the ambiance and the children. You observe, too, but it’s a different kind of observation. The parents’ observation is ... also an evaluation.”¹³

The quarrel with the family finally ends in Boris’ being taken out of the center by his parents. As a response (at least in part) to the ‘crisis’ caused by Boris’ dropout, we observed some dramatic changes in the center’s daily routines such as, for instance, the introduction of a blackboard during ‘morning conference’ designed explicitly to further promote children’s language learning. While the morning conference was initially considered as an opportunity to increase children’s participation in everyday decision making processes, it now appears as quite an adult-centered activity that builds on a more school-like approach to learning (where the educators first pronounce the words in Luxembourgish – for example colors, numbers, weather – and the children shall then repeat them). Moreover, the creation of a developmental index (in spreadsheet format) for each child is given more priority now and organizational measures are taken to integrate this task more easily into the daily routine (like introducing special activities for the observation of specific developmental domains).

Mid-January 2011

Oliver: „What thoughts were connected with the blackboard? It was about language promotion, wasn’t it? Was that the main idea?”

Nathalie: “Yes, one main idea. It’s for example about learning to draw connections, like between the letter ‘A’ and the word ‘apple’. We do this *anyway*. We do something and talk about it: Now we sit down, this is a chair, that’s a table, etc. Even when we do *motoric* activ-

¹³ One of our early and ever repeated claims in the strive for access and rapport was that we do not intend to evaluate or judge the pedagogical practice but describe it in its own terms, or rather in terms of how it deals with internal and external expectations and demands...

ities: Language is *always* there. The conference [as it is now designed] was mainly about showing the parents that we *explicitly* do something about it. Because parents asked for it. [...]

Oliver (commenting on the conflict with Boris' parents): "How did this disruption come about? There was this day when the father went home again with Boris..."

Nathalie: "Yes, it was Tuesday. Wednesday, the mother should have come with him, but she didn't show up. Then we called them, and they said they had taken the week off. They would call us back later. Then, on Monday there was this friendly e-mail: "Herewith we dis-enroll our child."

Oliver: "Really friendly?"

Nathalie: "Yes, *very* friendly. Things like: We had a 'waiting room concept'; we wouldn't work with the children properly... That was really hard! A strong experience. Then you begin to think, did we do something wrong? How should we react?"

Their reaction was to introduce and reinforce more 'visible' formats of learning and development, like the blackboard and the developmental indices. Thus, instead of using this first serious 'crisis' in the institution's life circle as a chance to defend and to clarify their pedagogical approach, that was centered on a conceptualization of the child as an active learner (child-centered approach), the institution adapted to the (conceived) parental expectations which focused more on learning outcomes than processes. The professionals are well aware that the described measures primarily contribute to the *representation* of their pedagogical work in front of their clientele, that is, the parents, while the actual support of individual development and promotion of language learning occur 'invisibly' in everyday interactions. The aim is thus to increase the institution's legitimacy.

ANALYTIC ABSTRAKTION FROM THE CASE STUDY

We want to approach the initial question, how organizational change can be related to children's development and socialization, at first by seeing the latter through the lenses of organization sociological theory. The already mentioned stage of "familiarization", a time of approximately three weeks provided for the child to get accustomed to its new institutional surroundings, is called *Adaptatioun* in Luxembourgish. This adaptation of children – framed as desirable and prearranged – does not proceed in a predictable or uniform way so that the underlying conceptions of the model are hardly identifiable in reality. Moreover, Jan's story shows that a "familiarization", in the truest sense of the word, that is as an adap-

tation to the institution's requirements by way of establishing familial interactive patterns and intimate adult-child relations, is hardly realizable if, in the long run, everyday practice in the institution is marked by rather non-familial circumstances and interactions. Normally, further adaptations are necessary to succeed in the specific social setting of an organization with all its shortcomings and regulations. Because these are by no way total, but mediated by the idiosyncratic routines of a peer culture, these adaptations have been described by Corsaro (1985, p. 254ff.) with Goffman's concept of "*secondary adjustments*". By secondary adjustments a member or resident of an organization is "getting around the organization's assumptions as to what he should do and get and hence what he should be", that is "the individual stands apart from the role and self that were taken for granted for him by the institution". (Goffman, 1961, p. 189)

Boris' adjustment, however, just didn't occur. At least in a social and cultural sense he does not adjust to the institution (even when he personally "stands apart" in the sense that he temporarily withdraws his attention from his surroundings or just "mirrors" the overly demanding impressions). In fact, he developed behaviors that can (partly) be identified as *consequences of organized care*, while at the same time they seem *incompatible* with its practical and organizational requirements. With his behavioral and expressive responses the portrayed child calls the organizational form of education and care *as such* into question. At the same time, his responses seem to get in the way of the practical "flow" of organized care. However, this is not alone due to his lack of participation or insufficient social and verbal competencies (as there are other children in a comparable situation who do not pose such a problem). Only when he starts to give permanent signals that cannot be ignored (like his recurrent loud crying, often with no obvious reason, and his simultaneous withdrawal and refusal of contact) does he really challenge the everyday pedagogical practice.

Thus, Boris' story also demonstrates how, in reverse, the institution's success depends on the children's indirect adaptations (secondary adjustments) to the organization. If these adjustments are absent, children will sooner or later show "inappropriate" or "maladaptive" behaviors and/or forms of expression. This way they put the institution *itself* under the pressure to adapt to the children, a form of pressure that may be reinforced by the children's parents.

But the situation on the side of the institution is not that different: Adaptations cannot be made arbitrarily but have to comply with several requirements and external de-

mands. On the level of the single daycare center the scope for substantial adjustments is quite limited. Thus, secondary adjustments of daycare centers seem to us to be characterized by pretending to implement second-order change (vis-à-vis their institutional environment), while settling for first-order changes in the everyday practice.

Nonetheless, the institution managed to use this critical incident to initiate and promote its own advancement. As the director told us, the plans to reorganize activities already existed for quite a while, but it was difficult to implement them with the whole team. Some have "slowed it down". The situation of heightened external pressure was a good opportunity for her to establish these new routines. Alongside, the institution seems to "learn" how to externalize failure in a more confident and self-assertive way and to avoid the attribution of some particular children's problems to the institution itself. If child care centres are adequately counted among those "Permanently Failing Organizations" (Meyer & Zucker, 1989) that never accomplish their explicit goals but still continue to survive, then these observations should contribute to explain how they manage.

To further characterize this process for the institution the model of the *loosely coupled system* (see above) seems useful. However, it takes a closer look to specify in which way the coupled elements are linked in this case and how the couplings come to be *loose* or *tight*. How and why does the institution get under such a pressure that is comparable to the children's situation in that the institution has to develop routines for the purpose of "getting around", one could say, "the environment's assumptions as to what it should do and get and hence what it should be"? The answer may be found, with the case study in mind, in the specific constellation of observer positions and opportunities to articulate expectations, which in its extreme (though not necessarily unique) form is so characteristic for institutions in the realm of ECEC.

In the course of the repeated "familiarization" of their child, the parents simultaneously have to be permitted entry into the "interior" of the institution, i.e. in that spatio-temporal realm in which the staff members carry out their daily routines and activities. Only after that border-crossing does the parents' vehement critique set in. The institution reacts with the establishment or restructuring of activities (like the blackboard) and with measures to make activities more visible to external observers (like the developmental index), whereby also the latter heavily affect the performance of daily work with the children.

In general, an essential part of the theory of decoupling between the formal-rational structure and the activities of an organization does not fit in Early Childhood settings: In their important publication that was largely based on schooling, Meyer and Rowan held: "In place of coordination, inspection, and evaluation, a logic of confidence and good faith is employed" (1977, p. 340). Exactly this logic permanently tends to be broke open and made impossible in nurseries. Consequently, decoupling of formal structures and activity structures is possible only to a very small extent.

Thus, it seems to be a specific feature of Early Education organizations (if not a feature of pedagogical organizations in general) that 'institutionalized myths' are implemented *into* the activity structure in order to represent 'efficient' work processes. Ethnographic studies in the field of Early Education (e.g. Bollig, 2004) have already shown that institutional everyday life is strongly determined by the pedagogical *presentation activities* (a term we derive from Goffman's concept of "self-presentation activities" in Goffman, 1959).

All in all, it doesn't make much sense to locate daily educational activities and interactions in the 'internal' realm of the organization and representative formal structures in the 'external' realm. Accordingly, issues like language promotion are not naturally 'here' or 'there', but eventually migrate from the 'inner realm' to the 'outer borders' and back again.¹⁴

However, there is a kind of 'loose coupling' of these presentation activities, namely it is rather decoupled regarding the *children's* development and its observation and interpretation by the adults. In this sense, Meyer and Rowan's assumption suits well, that organizations "incorporate the practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work and institutionalized in society [...] *independent of the immediate efficacy*". (1977, p. 340; emphasis added).

The tendency of decoupling at this point of the organizational web becomes likely because the 'external' observers, particularly the parents, are not just the representatives of their children but may also be agents of highly institutionalized interpretive patterns, as in the case of Boris' parents. Our report should have made apparent the practically legitimizing use of instruments which draw on myths of scientific rationality, like the developmental index (used by the nursery) and the grammatically classified vocabulary (used by

¹⁴ Besides, organizational change must also be understood in the context of institutional change. The demand for language promotion for example must be put in the context of the fundamental shift in education and care policies – an issue that cannot be covered in this short paper.

the parents), but also educational forms that are taken for granted in schooling, like the blackboard.

But still there is a *loose* coupling that remains important. The analyzed story should also have shown that children participate in social processes that constitute and can even lead to change on the organizational level. We would argue that in principal there are two different ways in that children eventually contribute to organizational practices and change:

1. As audible *commentators* on the everyday pedagogical practice of the institution in that they, verbally or non-verbally (e.g., through the expression of emotions), potentially *point to* essential aspects of practices and routines
2. As *observed* participants in this everyday practice, since the observations made on them are communicated by different actors in the institutional field and can be used to pursue their respective interests

Therefore, it is essential that children – be they part of the “environment” or not – are constantly present in the day-to-day practice of the institution, as participants as well as observers. Hence, especially the *speaking* children can get potentially “difficult” or even “dangerous”.¹⁵ But also *screaming and crying* children, like the example of Boris has shown, pose special challenges in that they permanently articulate non-fulfilled needs and expectations.

This perspective on the role of children also helps to, empirically, cast a different light on another topic of childhood sociology – that is the *marginality* of children. They can be referred to as *outsiders* (Zeihner, Büchner & Zinnecker, 1996) also in an organization sociological perspective and, moreover, in a socio-epistemological (Neumann, 2008) sense. Which multiple consequences arise from the fact that pedagogical institutions have to face children as observers of their practice and how the proceedings within the institution might become intelligible through this fact, are questions that so far have scarcely been in the focus of theoretical and empirical attention.

¹⁵ This topic and respective field notes are going to provide a further extension of the study and thoughts presented here.

REFERENCES

- Ben-Ari, E. (1996). From Mothering to Othering: Organization, Culture, and Nap Time in a Japanese Day-Care Center. *Ethos* 24 (1), 136-164.
- Bollig, S. (2004). Zeigepraktiken. How to Do Quality with Things. In M.-S. Honig, M. Joos & N. Schreiber (Eds.), *Was ist ein guter Kindergarten?* (193-225). Weinheim: Juventa.
- Corsaro, W. A. (1985). *Friendship and Peer Culture in the Early Years*. Westport: Ablex Publ.
- Corsaro, W. A., & Molinari, L. (2000). Entering and observing in children's worlds. In P. Christensen & A. James (Eds.), *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (pp. 179-200). London: Falmer.
- Gellner, D. N., & Hirsch, E. (Ed.) (2001). *Inside Organizations. Anthropologists at Work*. Oxford: Berg.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday.
- Goffman, E. (1961). *Asylums*. New York: Doubleday.
- Goodman, P. S. (1982). *Change in Organizations. New Perspectives on Theory, Research and Practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publ.
- Griffith, A., & Smith, D. E. (2004). *Mothering for Schooling*. New York: Routledge.
- Honig, M.-S., & Neumann, S. (2004). Wie ist ‚gute Praxis‘ möglich? In C. Beckmann et al. (Eds.), *Qualität in der Sozialen Arbeit* (pp. 251-282). Wiesbaden: VS.
- Honig, M.-S. (2003). Institutionen und Institutionalisierung. In: L. Fried et al. (Eds.), *Einführung in die Pädagogik der frühen Kindheit* (pp. 86-120). Weinheim: Beltz.
- Huber, G. P., & Van de Ven, A. H. (Eds.) (1995). *Longitudinal Field Research Methods. Studying Processes of Organizational Change*. London: Sage.
- Jones, M. O., Moore, M. D., & Snyder, R. K. (Eds.) (1988). *Inside Organizations. Understanding the human dimension*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Jung, P. (2009). *Kindertageseinrichtungen zwischen pädagogischer Ordnung und den Ordnungen der Kinder. Eine ethnographische Studie zur pädagogischen Reorganisation der Kindheit*. Wiesbaden: VS.
- Levy, A., & Merry, U. (1986). *Organizational Transformation. Approaches, Strategies, Theories*. New York: Praeger.

- Majerus, M. (2009). Ziele der Maisons Relais. In M. Achten et al. (Eds.), *Maisons Relais pour Enfants. Le manuel – Das Handbuch* (pp. 27-35). Luxembourg: Editions le Phare.
- Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83 (2), 340-363.
- Meyer, M. W., & Zucker, L. G. (1989). *Permanently Failing Organizations*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Neumann, S. (2008). *Kritik der sozialpädagogischen Vernunft. Feldtheoretische Studien*. Weilerswist: Velbrück.
- Pettigrew, A. M (1985). *The Awakening Giant. Continuity and Change in Imperial Chemical Industries*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Pollard, A. (2004). Towards a Sociology of Learning in Primary Schools. In S. Ball (Ed.), *Routledge Falmer Reader in Sociology of Education* (pp. 285-299). London and N.Y.: Routledge Falmer.
- Schwartzman, H. B. (1993). *Ethnography in Organizations*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Smith, D. E. (2005). *Institutional Ethnography. A Sociology for People*. Lanham: AltaMira.
- Strauss, A. (1993). *Continual Permutations of Action*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Weick, K. E. (1976). Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 21 (March), 1-19.
- Weick, K. E. (1969). *The Social Psychology of Organizing*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.
- Ybema, S. et al. (2009). *Organizational Ethnography. Studying the Complexities of Everyday Life*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Zeiber, H., Büchner, P., & Zinnecker, J. (Eds.) (1996). *Kinder als Außenseiter? Umbrüche in der gesellschaftlichen Wahrnehmung von Kindern und Kindheit*. Weinheim: Juventa.
- Zucker, L. G. (1988). *Institutional Patterns and Organizations. Culture and Environment*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publ.

THE PERFORMANCE OF OBSERVATION AN ANALYTICAL SKETCH OF THE PRACTICES OF OBSERVATION IN CHILDREN'S DAY CARE CENTRES

Sabine Bollig / Marc Schulz

ABSTRACT

In our paper we present a short ethnographic analysis on activities of observation and documentation in German day-care facilities for young children. The educators perform these observations to gain knowledge about the individual learning processes of each child. All curricula for day-care centers which have been worked out in each Bundesland (federal state) in Germany in the last ten years identify these observations as the core of the pedagogical work in early childhood. Thus all day-care centers are faced with the task of implementing these forms of observation and documentation.

Educational scientists in Germany are very engaged in serving observation programs and procedures for this purpose. Also they perform studies to evaluate the implementation and effectiveness of these programs. But very little attention, however, is paid to the situated processes of observation and documentation themselves. Scarcely any research has been done on how the observations of the professionals are conducted in situ and transferred into pedagogical reflection and planning, and what practices are employed in order to carry out the gradual transformation from observation to planning. Due to this lack of interest in an explication of the everyday routines the potential is wasted to discover the internal logic of the field of action by looking at the way new practices in the field become routine. This is the reason why we argue for an ethnographic perspective on practices of educational observation in children's day-care centers. With respect to practice theory (Reckwitz & Schatzki) we understand the observation as a local and practical occurrence in day-care facilities and therefore focus on the implicit logic of practice and its anchoring in bodies, artefacts and routines. We investigate the diverse ways in which observational knowledge is processed in the facilities themselves, in order to highlight these in their constitutive and not merely representative contribution to the practice of observation.

This perspective is the starting point for our paper in which we refer to two pieces of research: the ethnographic research project "Professional support for learning and education in children's day-care centers", conducted by Peter Cloos and Marc Schulz (University of Hildesheim); Sabine Bollig refers to the ethnographic project "Children's bodies in practice. An

ethnography of the processing of developmental norms in paediatric preventive check-ups and school-entry health examinations" (Goethe University Frankfurt, Helga Kelle).

In the empiric part of the paper we focus on a specific practice of observation and documentation in day-care centers: the reading aloud of observational records. The point at which this reading aloud takes place, the discussion of the observations among the team, is a special point of passage for the practice by which something is gradually transferred from the observations of a childcare worker into an activity agreed on by the team. Referring to two video-recorded scenes we show that the practical meaning of the reading out loud does not merely follow the pragmatic need to convey information, nor does it aim specifically at the interpretation of the situation documented, as envisaged by the observation programme. On the contrary, our analysis shows that the observational record is being aestheticized and creates a context which is able to mobilize the experiences of the listeners in the physical co-presence of narrating and listening. In these practices of reading aloud in the team meetings a procedural and performative interplay between 'orality' and 'literality' is established. This interplay transforms the observations in a double way. First, into a narrative, what makes a situation of joint understanding possible. Second, but parallel, it gives the observation records the authorisation to 'speak' about the observed situation and the child – and thus transform it in a materialized documentary. This practice of interplaying orality and literality enables the practitioners to deal with their different forms of observational knowledge. We analyse this practice accordingly as a 'creative reproduction' of procedural guidelines.

A revised full German version of this paper will be published in Zeitschrift für Soziologie der Erziehung und Sozialisation (ZSE) / [Journal of Sociology of Education and Socialization], Vol. 33, 2013, 1.

THE PERFORMANCE OF OBSERVATION AN ANALYTICAL SKETCH OF PRACTICES OF OBSERVATION IN CHILDREN'S DAY CARE CENTRES

The following abstract will give you an overview on the paper we would like to discuss with you. Firstly we introduce to you the context of the discussion of the professional observations of children in Germany. Secondly we are going to a short introduction to the ethnography of professional observations. Thirdly we sum up with a brief outline of the paper (esp. the ethnographic analysis) we would like to discuss with you in the seminar.

(1) CONTEXT

In recent years the phase of (early) childhood and with it day-care centres for children under the age of six (e.g. nurseries and kindergartens) have come to the attention of educational policy-makers, educational economists and finally the public, as the 'actual' beginning of the institutionalized, life-long acquisition of education¹⁶ (cf. Fthenakis, 2003; KMK/JMK, 2004; Leu, 2005; Spieß, 2010). While day-care centres have been referred to in Germany as the elementary area of the educational system since the 1970s, they are, from a legal point of view, still institutionalized as child and youth services facilities, and thus fulfill primarily family-supporting functions. Their statutory mandate is therefore a three-fold one: *Erziehung* (education/upbringing), *Bildung* (education in a more scholastic sense, or/and supporting the self-learning processes of the child) and *Betreuung* (care).

The shift in the responsibilities of children's day-care centres in recent decades, away from their service function as places of *Betreuung* and *Erziehung* towards a place of *Bildung*, is therefore linked in more ways than one with the question of the independent educational mandate of children's day-care centres. Firstly, in educational terms, this is concerned with the appropriate representation and support of learning processes in early childhood; secondly, in terms of the child, it is about the functions and purposes of this educational work. Rather than focusing on selection, as in the school setting, the point of reference here must be the compensatory and emancipatory content of educational work in the area of welfare institutions. Thirdly, in terms of families, it is about the inclusion of the parents, towards whom the day-care centres have a complementary and supportive role. Fourthly, in terms of the providers, it is about preserving the plurality of the provider land-

¹⁶ Translator's note: here and elsewhere in the paper, 'education' and 'educational' are used to translate 'Bildung' and its compounds. In the following we are going to use the phrase 'education' to draw your attention to the self-learning processes of children.

scape in youth welfare, which makes it impossible for the state to establish binding curricula like in schools (cf. Leu & Remsperger, 2003).

In recent decades a variety of efforts have been made to profile this independent educational mandate of the day-care centres as non-scholastic places of education: in all 16 Bundesländer (German federal states) directives for pedagogical work at day-care centres have been elaborated in cooperation with the provider associations (so-called 'curricula' or 'recommendations'). At the same time the training and further education of kindergarten teachers¹⁷ has been reformed and the area of early childhood education is being reinforced in university programmes.

Attention was focused in particular on what is known as process-oriented observation and documentation of children's educational processes, as a key tool of education-related work in day-care centres (cf. Laewen & Andres, 2002). This form of observation aims at identifying the themes, resources and potential of children, and discovering their individual learning pathways. The observation is meant to give the kindergarten teachers insight into which forms of educational support and stimulation these children require and thus to enable them, together with the children, parents and colleagues, to develop "individual curricula" (Andres, 2002) for the children. The importance ascribed to these process-oriented observations for the profiling of independent educational work in day-care centres is demonstrated by the fact that all the curricula of the individual Bundesländer identify these observations as the core of pedagogical work. Thus all German day-care centres are faced with the task of implementing these forms of observation and documentation. Consequently, a considerable amount of observational procedures, manuals and training courses have emerged in recent years.

The observation procedures prevalent in Germany are in part adaptations of international procedures, such as the Learning Stories devised in New Zealand (cf. Carr, 2001) or the schemata approach of the English Early Excellence Centres (cf. Whalley, 2001; Arnold et al., 2010). Alongside these are numerous proposals for open forms of observation which are not linked to explicit procedural models. In contrast to diagnostic assessments (e.g. development tables, language assessments) the common feature of all these programmes of observation is that they aim at the actual activities with which children discover the world, alone or with others. They look at children's educational processes from an

¹⁷ The training of 'Kindergarten teachers' in Germany shows 'considerable discrepancy – students can attend vocational training (with a duration of a maximum of five years of training) or a study programme at universities or universities of applied sciences. Still, attending a study programme is a rather recent development.

actor perspective. In keeping with this, the observation procedures are not just treated as instruments for recording educational activities, they are also meant to strengthen the child-oriented dialogue between kindergarten teachers, parents and children, and thus commit the teaching personnel to child-oriented educational work in the centres – and at the same time qualify them for this work.

This national and international interest in the observation and documentation of children's individual educational trajectories, and in ways of optimizing these, seems to be determined by the 'right attitude' towards the child: the process-oriented procedures are tailored towards the positive appreciation of the child subject and its fundamental Unverfügbarkeit ('undisposability') (cf. Giudici, Krechevsky & Rinaldi, 2001; Hatch & Grieshuber, 2002; Schäfer, 2010). To put it succinctly, they offer the professionals manuals on how to (mentally) adjust their view of children's activities and professional ways of decoding them, which also change their subsequent manner of dealing with children. Even if the attribute of 'explorative observation' or of the 'explorative attitude' towards the child actor (cf. Nentwig-Gesemann, 2008) suggests a fundamental analogy with ethnographic approaches, a search through the dominant research publications and manuals on observation and documentation in day-care centres makes it clear that these types of work are based more on educational theory than observational theory (cf. also Honig, 2010). What kindergarten teachers do when they observe is thus mainly dealt with on programmatical level of education (cf. Hatch et al, 2001; Steudel, 2008; Schäfer, 2010).

Accordingly, the few German research works available on the processes of observation and documentation are mostly evaluative in conception and interested in the output of the implementation of observation procedures. The main concerns here are the conditions and prerequisites for the introduction of observation procedures, their proper application and above all the effects which the introduction of this observational practice has on the attitude and knowledge of the childcare workers and their interactions with children and parents (e.g. Weltzien, 2009; Leu et al., 2007). Very little attention, however, is paid to the processes of observation and documentation themselves, and scarcely any research has been done on how the observations of the professionals are conducted in situ and are transferred into pedagogical reflection and planning, and what different practices are employed in order to carry out this gradual transformation from observation to planning. Due to this lack of interest, within research on early childhood education, in an explication of the everyday routines practised, the potential inherent in the detailed description of the

practices of observation is wasted – the potential to discover the internal logic of the field of action by looking at the way new practices in the field become routine.

This is one of the reasons why we are using this paper to argue for an ethnographic perspective on practices of educational observation in children's day-care centres, a perspective which understands this observation as a local and practical occurrence in day-care centres; and which also foregrounds the way in which childcare workers use their expertise in the field to implement new calls to action. We therefore advocate investigating the diverse ways in which observational knowledge is processed in the facilities themselves, in order to highlight these in their constitutive and not merely representative contribution to the practice of observation in day-care centres.

(2) AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF PROFESSIONAL OBSERVATION

From the perspective of the analysis of practice (cf. Schatzki, 2002; Reckwitz, 2002, 2003), we conceive the observation and documentation of children's educational processes here as a local and collective practice of knowledge in which institutional requirements, practical issues and social and material resources interact with one another. Here we follow studies in the context of "social studies of work" (Bergmann, 2006; Heath, Knoblauch & Luff, 2000). Such studies have established that new procedures and methods in professional practice are not simply applied or 'implemented', but have to be modified in situ and thereby made 'usable', in order to be able to develop the technologies inscribed in them. Thus new instruments, methods and practices not only change practice, but go through many re-interpretations and adaptations while being put into practice. They then prove their practicability as "a specific tool, put into effect in performance, for a purpose in a concrete context" (Rammert, 1999, p. 7). Our concern is therefore to interrogate the everyday practice of observation in day-care centres precisely with regard to this 'being put into practice'. The knowledge which is necessary for the creation and reproduction of practices is thus not understood as an attribute of persons, but as an attribute of the practices. In keeping with this, research approaches aiming to analyse practice mainly focus on the implicit logic of practice and its anchoring in bodies, artefacts and routines (cf. Reckwitz, 2003).

This perspective is the starting point for our article, in which we refer to two pieces of research: the research project "Professional Support for Learning and Education in Children's Day-care Centres", conducted by Peter Cloos and Marc Schulz (University of Hildesheim), takes an ethnographic look at practices of observation by kindergarden teachers (cf.

Schulz & Cloos, 2011). It reconstructs the institutional production and handling of children's educational processes, borrowing from the understanding of socio-pedagogical case work (cf. Müller, 2006), as case modulations.

Sabine Bollig refers to research from the project "Children's bodies in practice. An ethnography of the processing of developmental norms in paediatric preventive check-ups and school-entry health examinations", which was conducted in Frankfurt (Goethe University) under the direction of Helga Kelle (Kelle, 2010a; Kelle, 2010b). This project compiled ethnographic studies on the practices of medical developmental diagnostics, whereby Sabine Bollig's yet-to-be-completed dissertation focuses on the 'distributed practices' of developmental observation in the intergenerationally structured investigations (Bollig, 2008; Bollig & Tervooren, 2009). In the Frankfurt research project, two different forms of examination used in early diagnostic developmental observation were included (preventive check-ups and school-entry examinations); the available results thus primarily raise awareness of the local and institutional resources which help to produce, stabilize and legitimize a specific 'observational knowledge'.

(3) OUR PAPER:

In our paper we focus on a specific practice of observation and documentation in day-care centres which is particularly well suited to supporting our argument for research into the practices of observation and documentation: the reading aloud of observational records in day-care centres. This reading aloud to colleagues is not necessarily envisaged as part of the suggested procedure for observation and documentation in children's day-care centres, but is common practice. The point at which this reading aloud takes place, the discussion of the observations among the team, is a special point of passage for the practice by which something is gradually transferred from the observations of a childcare worker into an activity agreed on by the team. This represents an element in the process of what is called the 'observation cycle' which, with its spiral-shaped progression ('observation – documentation – discussion – decision – action'), is used in nearly all observation programmes. The idea is that the children are first observed, then these observations are recorded in writing and the records are interpreted by means of various changes of perspective and in dialogue with colleagues (ideally with children and parents too). This then forms the basis for subsequent teacher planning with regard to the individual educational support offered to the observed child, which then in turn forms the starting point for new observations. In our text, after a brief outline of the theoretical framework, we present two video-recorded

scenes in which observational records are read out during team meetings (cf. Mohn & Hebenstreit-Müller, 2007). The analysis will show that the practical meaning of the reading out of observational records in team meetings does not merely follow the pragmatic need to convey information, nor does it aim specifically at the interpretation of the situation documented, as envisaged by the observation programme. On the contrary, our analysis of the practice of reading aloud shows that the observational record is being aestheticized. For those present this creates a context which is able to mobilize the experiences of the listeners, and which makes possible a situation of joint understanding, in the physical co-presence of narrating and listening. Our analysis refers here to an understanding of an aesthetic of the performative (cf. Schechner, 1994; Fischer-Lichte, 2004; Schulz, 2010) and uses this to identify the performative character of team meetings.

Reading aloud, however, not only offers a specific benefit in relation to the transformation of individual observation into a joint interpretative activity, but also for the processing of the observation documents within the observation cycle. This is due to the fact that within these performative transformations the documents also receive authorisation to speak about the observed situation and the child. We analyze this practice accordingly as a 'creative reproduction' of procedural guidelines which enables the observation cycle to actually begin.

This small glimpse of a specific practice of observation in day-care centres offers good evidence, in our view, of the contribution which can be made by an ethnographic approach to the processes of observation and documentation in children's day-care centres. Observation itself ceases to be thematized solely as a subjective process of perception and learning and is decoded as a collective, socio-material and performative practice – which gives insight into how observational knowledge is produced. In this way observational practice can also be released from the finalizing tendency of educational theory; i.e. it is possible to ask openly what benefits observational practices offer in the situated activity of the day-care centres. This is briefly outlined in the final part of the paper.

We will submit this paper in German before the colloquium, and will show the video sequences during the session. These are taken from a published DVD by Mohn and Hebenstreit-Müller (2007), but correspond to similar observations from the ethnographic research project of Cloos and Schulz.

REFERENCES

- Andres, B. (2001). Beobachtung und fachlicher Diskurs im Kontext des Bildungs- und Erziehungsauftrags von Kindertagesstätten. *Kita Debatte Brandenburg*, 2, 7-12.
- Arnold, C., and the Pen Green Team (2010). *Understanding Schemas and Emotion in Early Childhood*. London: Sage.
- Bergmann, J. (2006). Studies of Work. In R. Ayaß, J. Bergmann (Eds.), *Qualitative Methoden der Medienforschung* (391-405). Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt.
- Carr, M. (2001). *Assessment in Early Childhood Settings. Learning Stories*. London: Sage.
- Fischer-Lichte, E. (2004). *Ästhetik des Performativen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.
- Fthenakis, W. E. (Ed.) (2003). *Elementarpädagogik nach PISA*. Freiburg i.B.: Herder.
- Gerwig, K. (2009). *Bildungs- und Lerngeschichten. Grundlagen – Praxiserfahrungen – Anregungen*. DVD. Ein Film von Kurt Gerwig. Idee, Konzeption und fachliche Begleitung: Deutsches Jugendinstitut (DJI). Kaufungen: AV1 Film + Multimedia.
- Giudici, C., Krechevsky, M., & Rinaldi, C. (Eds.) (2001). *Making learning visible: Children as individual and group learners*. Reggio Emilia, Italy: Reggio Children srl.
- Hatch, J. A., Grieshaber, S., Halliwell, G., & Walsh, K. (2001). Child Observation in Australia and the USA: A Cross-National Analysis. *Early Child Development and Care* 169 (1), 39-56.
- Hatch, J. A., & Grieshaber, S. (2002). Child Observation and Accountability in Early Childhood Education: Perspectives from Australia and the United States. *Early Childhood Education Journal* 29 (4), 227-231.
- Heath, C., Knoblauch, H., & Luff, P. (2000). Technology and social interaction: the emergence of 'workplace studies'. *British Journal of Sociology* 51 (2), 299-320.
- Hirschauer, S. (2008). Körper macht Wissen – Für eine Somatisierung des Wissensbegriffs. In K.-S. Rehberg (Ed.), *Die Natur der Gesellschaft. Verhandlungen des 33. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Kassel. Bd. II* (pp. 974-984). Frankfurt a.M. & New York: Campus Verlag.

- Hörning, K. H. (2004). Soziale Praxis zwischen Beharrung und Neuschöpfung. Ein Erkenntnis- und Theorieproblem. In K. H. Hörning & J. Reuter (Eds.), *Doing Culture. Neue Positionen zum Verhältnis von Kultur und sozialer Praxis* (pp. 19-39). Bielefeld: transcript.
- Honig, M.-S. (2010). Beobachtung (früh-)pädagogischer Felder. In G. E. Schäfer & R. Staeger (Eds.), *Frühkindliche Lernprozesse verstehen. Ethnographische und phänomenologische Beiträge zur Bildungsforschung* (pp. 91-101). Weinheim: Juventa.
- Kelle, H. (Ed.) (2010). *Kinder unter Beobachtung. Kulturanalytische Studien zur pädiatrischen Entwicklungsdiagnostik*. Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich.
- Krämer, S. (1998). Das Medium als Spur und Apparat. In S. Krämer (Ed.), *Medien, Computer, Realität. Wirklichkeitsvorstellungen und Neuen Medien* (pp. 73-94). Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.
- Kultusministerkonferenz/Jugendministerkonferenz (KMK/JMK) (2004). *Frühe Bildung in Kindertageseinrichtungen. Gemeinsamer Rahmen der Länder*. Bonn: Verlag.
- Laewen, H.-J., & Andres, B. (Eds.) (2002a). *Forscher, Künstler, Konstrukteure: Werkstattbuch zum Bildungsauftrag von Kindertageseinrichtungen*. Weinheim: Beltz.
- Laewen, H.-J., & Andres, B. (Eds.) (2002b). *Bildung und Erziehung in der frühen Kindheit: Bausteine zum Bildungsauftrag von Kindertageseinrichtungen*. Weinheim: Beltz.
- Latour, B., & Woolgar, S. (1986). *Laboratory life. The construction of scientific facts*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Leu, H. R., & Remsperger, R. (2004). Bildungsarbeit in der Praxis: Beobachtungsverfahren als Ergänzung zu curricularen Vorgaben. In I. Wehrmann (Ed.), *Kindergärten und ihre Zukunft* (167-180). Weinheim u.a.: Beltz.
- Leu, H. R. (2005). Die Bildungsdebatte in Deutschland – heute und vor dreißig Jahren. In K. Jampert et al. (Eds.), *Schlüsselkompetenz Sprache. Sprachliche Bildung und Förderung im Kindergarten* (19-23). Weimar & Berlin: Verlag das netz.
- Leu, H. R., Flämig, K., Frankenstein, Y., Koch, S., Pack, I., Schneider, K., & Schweiger, M. (2007). *Bildungs- und Lerngeschichten. Bildungsprozesse in früher Kindheit beobachten, dokumentieren und unterstützen*. Weimar & Berlin: Verlag das netz.
- Lipp-Peetz, C. (Ed.) (2007). *Praxis Beobachtung: Auf dem Weg zu individuellen Bildungs- und Erziehungsplänen*. Berlin: Cornelsen Verlag.

- Mohn, B. E., & Hebenstreit-Müller, S. (2007). *Kindern auf der Spur. Kita-Pädagogik als Blickschule*. Göttingen: IWF.
- Nentwig-Gesemann, I. (2007). Forschende Haltung. Professionelle Schlüsselkompetenz von FrühpädagogInnen. *Sozial Extra*, 5 (6), 20-22.
- Rammert, W. (1999). *Technik. Stichwort für eine Enzyklopädie*. Technical University Technology Studies: TU Berlin, Institute for Social Sciences.
- Reckwitz, A. (2003). Grundelemente einer Theorie sozialer Praktiken. Eine sozialtheoretische Perspektive. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, 4, 282-301.
- Reim, T., & Riemann, G. (1997). Die Forschungswerkstatt. Erfahrungen aus der Arbeit mit Studentinnen und Studenten der Sozialarbeit/ Sozialpädagogik und Supervision. In G. Jakob & H.-J. v. Wensierski (Eds.), *Rekonstruktive Sozialpädagogik* (pp. 223-238). Weinheim: Juventa.
- Rustemeyer, D. (2003). Medialität des Sinns. In D. Rustemeyer (Ed.), *Bildlichkeit. Aspekte einer Theorie der Darstellung* (pp. 171-194). Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.
- Schäfer, G. E. (2010). Frühkindliche Bildungsprozesse in ethnographischer Perspektive. In: G. E. Schäfer & R. Staege (Eds.), *Frühkindliche Lernprozesse verstehen. Ethnographische und phänomenologische Beiträge zur Bildungsforschung* (pp. 69-90). Weinheim: Juventa.
- Schäfer, G. E. (1999). Fallstudien in der frühpädagogischen Bildungsforschung. In: M.-S. Honig, A. Lange, H. R. Leu (Eds.), *Aus der Perspektive von Kindern? Zur Methodologie der Kindheitsforschung* (pp. 113-131). Weinheim: Juventa.
- Schatzki, T. E. (2002). *The site of the social. A philosophical account of the constitution of social life and change*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Schechner, R. (1990). *Theater-Anthropologie. Spiel und Ritual im Kulturvergleich*. Reinbek & Hamburg: Rowohlt.
- Schulz, M. (2010). *Performances. Jugendliche Bildungsbewegungen im pädagogischen Kontext*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Schulz, M., & Cloos, P. (2011). Professionelle Bildungsbegleitung in Kindertagesstätten. *neue praxis*, 2, (i.E.).

- Shusterman, R. (2005). *Leibliche Erfahrung in Kunst und Lebensstil*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Spieß, K. (2010) (Ed.). Frühkindliche Bildung und Betreuung: Hintergründe und Bewertungen aus ökonomischer Sicht. *Vierteljahrsheft zur Wirtschaftsforschung*, 3, 5-10.
- Stedel, A. (2008). *Beobachtung in Kindertageseinrichtungen. Entwicklung einer professionellen Methode für die pädagogische Praxis*. Weinheim & München: Juventa.
- Viernickel, S., & Völkel, P. (2005). *Beobachten und dokumentieren im pädagogischen Alltag*. Freiburg i.B.: Herder.
- Weltzien, D. (2009). *Beobachtung und ErziehungsPartnerschaft. Abschlussbericht der wissenschaftlichen Begleitung*. Herausgegeben vom Protestantischen Kirchenbezirk Ludwigshafen.
- Whalley, M. (2001). *Involving parents in their children's learning*. London: Sage.
- Wolff, S. (2000). Dokumenten- und Aktenanalyse. In U. Flick, Uwe, E. v. Kardorff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *Qualitative Forschung. Ein Handbuch* (pp. 502-513). Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt.

EXPLORING CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES FOR TEACHER CANDIDATES BETWEEN UNIVERSITY AND EARLY CHILDHOOD CLASSROOMS

Laurie Katz / Judith Green

ABSTRACT

Teacher education programs are being challenged to raise the quality of pedagogical skills and academic content in their teacher candidates. Features for improving teacher quality are not isolated experiences; e.g. occurring in field-based classrooms, supervision component of the field experiences, or university coursework, but should involve a planned integration of experiences that will permit a seamless educational opportunity for teacher candidates. This ongoing ethnographic study examines the cross-institutional dialogues that occur among those supervising the ways teacher candidates are learning to be early childhood educators. By tracing teacher candidates across group borders this study examines the consequential nature of the communication among participants in supervisory meetings within a 3rd grade field experience that is part of a Prek-3rd grade, graduate teacher education program in the United States. In this field experience two candidates are placed in the same classroom creating an innovative feature in the program that differs from the traditional 1 candidate: 1 mentor teacher model. Concepts of Agar's languaculture and rich points are used to illustrate how candidates take up pedagogical and instructional practices within their program that support or constrain their teaching. Intersections between two languacultures are explored; the supervision component of the program (LC1) and the 3rd grade field experience component (LC2). Ethnographic methods consisting of 3rd grade field based classroom observations, formal and informal interviews of the supervisor, two candidates and mentor teacher and artifacts from the program and field experience are used to pose research questions seeking to understand the norms and expectations as well as the frames of reference of both languacultures. Findings focus on two frame clashes between the two languacultures according to interpretations of lesson planning and the role of lead teacher. First, while LC1 perceived the lesson plan as a product representing each of the candidates' competencies to engage in lesson planning, LC2 perceived the lesson plan as a more fluid and collaborative process among the team (two candidates and mentor classroom teacher) that was always changing during their planning and implementation of classroom activities. LC1's perception of the lead teacher role as one candidate competently performing all activities of a teacher was found ineffective by LC2 in working as a team to address the curricular needs of the students.

This study makes visible how an ethnographic logic of inquiry provides a systematically and theoretically grounded approach that enables researchers to [step back] from their presuppositions about teacher preparation, and explore the local, situated, and contextualized processes and practices of the LC2 team that constitute the everyday opportunities for learning of pedagogical practices teacher candidates have in their clinical experiences with other components of their program.

INTRODUCTION

Today, US teacher education programs, including programs preparing early childhood educators, are being challenged to raise the quality of pedagogical skills and academic content of teacher candidates. A publication (2008) of the National Association for the Education of Young Child, the Workforce Designs: A Policy Blueprint for State Early Childhood Professional Development Systems, describes barriers to developing highly qualified staff including ineffective career pathways as well as a comprehensive and integrated professional development system. In response to these concerns states are beginning to form articulation agreements between associate and baccalaureate degree programs or with credit-bearing community based training and education opportunities. Some of the professional development activities directed toward improving teachers' pedagogical skills are through mentoring experiences to educators in classrooms. In fact, all prek-12th grade teacher education programs seeking to improve the pedagogical skills are being encouraged to become more of a practice-based profession similar to the medical fields (Wilson, Ball, Bryk, Figlio & Grossman, 2009) These calls assume that features for improving teacher quality will not be isolated learning experiences occurring only in field-based classrooms, but will be integrated within the framework of teacher preparation programs. In such integrated programs, participants who are typically in field experiences and other parts of the program include the teacher candidates, supervisors from the teacher education program and mentor teachers in the schools. These calls further assume that the planned integration, when accepted by participants, will lead to clear articulation of program requirements, instructional expectations, and quality support for enhancing the candidate's performance. Underlying the integration of the university program content and practices is a tacit assumption that participants in this process will have, or will develop common understandings and knowledge about qualities of teaching that teacher candidates will develop, and that the planned integration will permit a more seamless educational opportunity for these candidates.

This study examines the cross-institutional dialogues that occur among those supervising the ways “students” are learning to be teachers. By tracing teacher candidates across group borders; i.e. from the university classroom to the early childhood classroom, this ethnographic study examines the consequential nature of the communication among participants in supervisory meetings. Specifically, this study explores how, and in what ways, norms and expectations that the supervisor brings to the discussion of how the teacher candidates are planning for and implementing instructional opportunities for students. Through an analysis of the discussion among field and university participants, we explore how the discourse makes visible ways in which the teacher preparation program’s goals support or clash with the norms and expectations constructed by the mentor teacher and teacher candidate(s) in the field. As part of this analysis, we identify for whom, and in what ways, the supports and clashes are consequential, i.e. the teacher candidate(s), the mentor teacher, the team in the field and/or the university supervisor, and through her, the supervisory component of the program. By using an ethnographic logic of inquiry to explore intercultural points of contact between the field-based experiences and the supervisory component of the teacher education model, we examine similarities and differences in cultural expectations of the different actors.

The analysis of the discourse is part of an ongoing ethnographic study of the integration of field-based experiences within an early childhood teacher preparation program. In this study we analyse the discourse construct within and across a series of supervisory sessions in a 3rd grade field experience for teacher candidates. This teacher preparation program is a graduate, prekindergarten-3rd grade state licensure program in a research intensive university in the Midwest of the United States. In the field experience part of the program, two teacher candidates are placed in the same classroom, creating what the developers of the program view as an innovative feature, one that differs from past practices. The goal of the study is to identify the opportunities for learning created when there are two teacher candidates with the mentor teacher, rather than the typical 1 candidate: 1 mentor teacher model.

ETHNOGRAPHY AS EPISTEMOLOGY: FRAMING OUR LOGIC OF INQUIRY

This study is informed by recent arguments about ethnography as a way of knowing, i.e. as epistemology, (Agar, 2006) and as a philosophy of research (Anderson-Levitt, 2006). From this perspective, the process of engaging in ethnographic study constitutes a logic- in- use involving a non-linear system guided by a recursive, iterative and abductive reasoning pro-

cess (Agar, 2006). Ethnographers “construct this system in order to learn what members of a particular social group (termed as insiders) need to know, understand, produce and predict as they participate in the events of everyday life within the group” (Green, Skukauskaite & Baker, in press). From this perspective, the goal of the ethnographer is to enter and learn from a group that is viewed as having its own developing social processes and practices where cultural knowledge is being socially constructed in and through the everyday discourse and interactions among members of the social group. The challenge for the ethnographer, who does not share the language and cultural assumptions of the group, is to make visible these assumptions of the group through h/h own cultural lens. In other words, the ethnographer brings her own presuppositions that are part of her frame of reference about the group being studied that will influence h/h perceptions and interpretations of the actions and events within the group. Studying a social group, according to Agar (1995), refers to learning the boundaries of a group and how a group constructs a languaculture. Agar developed the concept of languaculture to describe how language and culture are interdependent and inseparable, meaning that language is permeated with culture and culture is constructed through language in use by the social group (Green, Skukauskaite & Baker, in press). According to Agar, ethnography involves an encounter between two languacultures, abbreviated LC1 for the native languaculture of the ethnographer and the audience, and LC2 for the language culture of the studied group. Culture is the ethnographic product, a translation between a source and target (LC1 and LC2). The ethnographer begins to make visible the languaculture of the group being studied by identifying rich points. Rich points, conceived by Agar (1996) are defined when the ethnographer as the outsider is confronted by incomprehensible moments and/or unmet expectations of the group being studied.

In this study, the concept of languaculture was used to illustrate how teacher candidates take up pedagogical and instructional practices within their teacher education program that support or constrain their teaching. During a teacher education program, teacher candidates learn to become competent teachers through different social groups/languacultures; e.g. their field-based classroom, the program’s supervisory component of the field placement and content coursework. In addition to the practices that the teacher candidates learn from these groups, they enter teacher education programs with their own sociocultural histories; i.e. their beliefs about how the classroom should be organized, how children learn and from their own schooling experience. Embedded in these

histories are their perceptions of what it means to be a teacher and what roles and practices teachers assume in the classroom. For this study, languaculture 1(LC1) is interpreted as the supervision component of the teacher education program and languaculture 2 (LC2) is the field-based experience; i.e. the 3rd grade classroom involving the two teacher candidates and the mentor classroom teacher. In LC1, the supervision component has a set of guidelines and practices for all their teacher candidates to implement while they are in their field placement settings. These practices are designed to prepare them to become competent teachers, meaning that by the end of their program they have successfully met specific standards/licensure requirements set by their own state, NCATE and/or professional teacher organizations.

THE CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS OF THE STUDY

This section presents a report of the early childhood teacher preparation program in order to understand the two languacultures being studied and the relationships between teacher candidates and their developing languacultures within their program. Figure 1 presents a sketch map of the five phases of the teacher education program consisting of coursework and field experience placements. However, to better understand how teacher candidates cross boundaries of these languacultures, we describe each context of this program through the lenses of two candidates, Amy and Brad (all names are pseudonyms).

Phase 1: Summer I

During the month of June, Amy and Brad, both European Americans in their early 20's graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in human development and family studies and about one week later began a graduate teacher preparation program in early childhood. They entered this 14 month program with about 58 other candidates who would be following the same program from beginning to end, i.e. taking the same courses and following the same types of field based experiences.

Amy and Brad's first contact with the program staff as "teacher candidates" was at an orientation session held with all the teacher candidates who were beginning the program. Program staff at the session was the two program managers, a representative for the Office of Academic Affairs (OAA) and faculty advisor. The faculty advisor welcomed the candidates to the program and explained her role: a) the candidates' formal advisor, b) overall responsibility for the program and candidates meeting licensing and other graduation requirements, c) conducting training for university supervisors, and d) directly ad-

dressings course and field placement problems of candidates not addressed through course instructors or program managers. The OAA representative reviewed licensure and degree requirements. The majority of the session was conducted by the program managers. They had previously divided the candidates into two groups termed “cohorts” and proceeded to meet with their respective groups. During this time, the program managers assisted members of each cohort get acquainted with each other and started guiding them through their program schedule. Amy and Brad were placed in the same cohort. Managers further explained their roles: a) organize course and field placement schedules, b) secure the field placements for all the candidates; c) monitor field placements and “trouble-shoot” where university supervisors need assistance, and d) instruct all of the supervisory seminars related to their classroom placements.

The first course, “Equity & Diversity in Education,” is a week-long intensive course before summer term 1. Placement of this course is an effort to emphasize from the beginning program principles of social justice, excellence and opportunity for all children. Summer courses primarily focus on foundations of education, use of technology in the classroom and theories of learning. Candidates enroll in one subject content course, “literacy block.” During the first four phases of the program, content from four literacy courses are integrated into this literacy block that the two course instructors, each teaching a cohort, organize within morning, afternoon or evening blocks of time.

Amy and Brad along with the other candidates meet with their mentor classroom teachers for their preschool and elementary field-based classrooms at a gathering coordinated by the program managers. In addition to meeting their mentor teachers, they spend time in both classrooms “Preschool/Elementary Immersion”. An immersion period in the classroom provides opportunities for candidates to understand a) the classroom within the context of the school and its local community, b) the mentor teacher’s beginning preparation regarding classroom organization and curriculum development, and c) some of the students’ interests, strengths, and needs. The preschool placements are within the surrounding urban and suburban areas of the program but most of the elementary placements are located in urban environments; specifically to provide candidates experiences involving a more diverse student population who represent a range of ethnic, linguistic, cultural and socio economic backgrounds as well as ability levels.

All the candidates are assigned to their placements based as much as possible on candidates’ preferences regarding grade level and distance to the school. Since there is on-

ly one classroom with two candidates in the elementary field placements, program managers sought potential volunteers for this new field experience and participation in this study. Amy and Brad volunteered. They had known each other before they entered this program and considered themselves as “friends” through attending the same high school and some of the same undergraduate education courses. They agreed to this field experience with the understanding that they would: a) complete the same classroom activities, written assignments and total weeks of the field experience as the other candidates and b) be evaluated individually on a pass/fail rubric for their field placement performance using the same procedures and assessments as the other candidates. The only reported difference would be in their student teaching requirement of eight weeks between them; two more additional weeks required for one candidate.

Phase 2: Fall Session

During fall session, candidates enrolled in content courses such as social studies, math and science as well as continuing the literacy block with assignments to implement in their field placements. Courses were generally held once per week for 2 and ½ hours for about 10 weeks. The faculty advisor coordinates course assignments among the instructors in an effort to prevent any interference with daily activities of the classroom and to ensure candidates have sufficient time to complete their assignments.

In September, candidates begin their preschool field placement twice a week (Wednesdays and Thursdays) and complete their preschool field experience by “student teaching” daily for at least 5 days towards the end of November. In student teaching, the candidate is primarily responsible for developing and implementing the activities for that period of time. Candidates enroll in a Reflective Seminar where the program managers provide the teacher candidates with the opportunity to explore the beliefs they bring to teaching and continue to construct an emerging professional identity. In this course candidates also connect with their supervisors. Denise is the supervisor for Amy and Brad as well as 6 other teacher candidates; all individually placed in preschool classrooms. She is a doctoral student of Turkish descent and her third year as a supervisor. Denise’s supervisory roles involve; a) about once every two weeks conducts classroom observations of the candidates and provides them with individualized feedback regarding instruction, classroom management, and planning, b) reviews and provides support to lesson plans, c) debriefs individually with candidate and classroom teacher to resolve any arising issues and

d) arranges periodic three-way conferences (between candidate, mentor teacher & supervisor) to review the performance of the candidate in their field placements.

Phase 3: Winter Session

In January, candidates re-enter their elementary field placements in the same manner as their preschool placements; Wednesdays and Thursdays, while they participate in college courses on Mondays, Tuesdays and Fridays for about ten weeks. Candidates continue to have assignments from these courses to implement in their elementary placement, similar to the practice in the fall session between their courses and preschool placement.

Amy and Brad's 3rd grade classroom is part of a Prek-5th grade school of about 400 students in a low-income neighbor where buildings are being demolished or renovated into more upscale housing primarily for professional adults of middle to upper middle class socio-economic levels. The school had been closed for remodeling and reopened in 2007 as a year-round school. This school calendar delivers the same amount of total days of classroom education and vacation as traditional calendars but is distributed differently throughout the year. For example, this school started in July and ends in June where most of the other placements began in August and ended in late May/June.

The school's population consists of students from low socio-economic levels with 88% of the students receiving free and reduced lunch. The students' ethnicity is 92% African American and 8% European American descent. The 3rd grade classroom is considered representative of the school population consisting of 25 students; 12 girls and 13 boys; 23 students of African-American descent, two of European-American descent and 21 receive free lunch, two reduced lunch. Megan, mentor teacher, is female of European-American descent with a Masters degree in education and about 17 years of teaching experience in elementary grades of urban schools. Program managers decided to ask Megan to be part of this new field experience due to her previous experience as a mentor in the program. Although this was her first experience supervising two teacher candidates together during the same period, she enthusiastically accepted this invitation responding that she had participated in co-teaching with another classroom teacher on science activities and found this an enriching experience for the students. She, in turn, thought having two candidates provided opportunities to conduct more hands-on activities and projects with her students as well as time to focus on individual student's academic needs. It's important to note that Megan, Brad and Amy considered this particular classroom a challenging learning environment. Megan remarked several times during the study to both Brad, Amy, and the re-

searchers that this set of students involved children with the most management issues that she had experienced during her many years of teaching. Several of the students exhibited ongoing inappropriate, off-task behaviors such as standing on chairs, hitting and arguing with other children making it difficult at times to continue lessons.

Denise continues her assignment as supervisor to Amy and Brad in their elementary placement, a consistent practice with all the supervisors who have developed relationships with their assigned candidates from their preschool settings. Amy and Brad re-enter their elementary field placement a week later than the other candidates due to the year round school calendar. One of the goals of the 2x/week elementary field experience is for candidates to become familiar and learn how to conduct all classroom routines, the curriculum for all the subject areas and other activities of the mentor teacher in this classroom. Usually, this is accomplished by observing and/or assisting the mentor teacher and then being the primary person to implement each of the activities.

Phase 4: Spring Session

This phase is dedicated to 'student teaching' in the elementary placements where each candidate becomes the "lead teacher" daily (5 days/week) for 6-10 weeks. The only course that the candidate is enrolled during this phase is the elementary field based seminar. As lead teacher, the candidate is primarily responsible for the development and implementation of the curriculum during student teaching. Where the candidate primarily assists the classroom teacher during the third phase; in the fourth phase the mentor teacher assists the teacher candidate. Most candidates at the beginning of the spring quarter implement their student teaching for at least six weeks. The program manager and Amy and Brad had initially decided that Amy and Brad would conduct their student teaching for 8 weeks (4 weeks each) so each candidate had the opportunity for being primarily responsible for classroom activities but understanding that the two candidates and mentor teacher may operate as a team in many aspects of the classroom. Again, Amy and Brad would end their student teaching later than most of the other candidates due to the year-round schedule.

One of the roles of the supervisor is to assess the candidate's performance in their elementary field experience through assessment checklists based on domains of the Praxis III Assessments. Praxis III assesses performance skills of beginning teachers in classroom settings and is used by states or local agencies empowered to license teachers. These assessments consist of a framework of knowledge and skills that contains 19 assessment criteria in four interrelated domains. These domains include a) Planning: Organizing content

between University and Early Childhood Classrooms

knowledge for student learning; b) Management: Creating an environment for student learning; c) Instruction: Teaching for student learning; d) Professionalism: Teacher professionalism (ETS, 2011). Amy and Brad as well as the other candidates were introduced to this evaluation process in the following ways; a) In practicum seminars during the third phase; b) Used by each candidate as part of a self-evaluation checklist; and c) Embedded in a form entitled “(university’s name) 3-Way Evaluation & Conference Form” and reviewed in three formalized conferences conducted in each field placement among the supervisor, mentor teacher and candidate(s).

Phase 5: Summer II

During this final program phase, candidates enroll in the “Capstone” course to complete “capstone projects” that demonstrate a candidate’s abilities to address particular NCATE standards. These projects are connected to three of the program’s themes: 1) Exploring the Inner Life of Teachers narrative; 2) Experiencing and Understanding Diverse Cultures; and 3) Planning Curriculum, Content Knowledge and Pedagogies.

Summary of Actors

Amy and Brad’s teacher education journey involves their membership in two developing languacultures addressed in this study. Primary actors in LC1: Amy and Brad, program managers, Denise (supervisor) and faculty advisor. LC2 primary actors: Amy and Brad, Megan (mentor teacher) referred to as “team” when addressing all 3 actors.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Ethnographic methods were employed to gain an insider view of the two languacultures and to capture the intersections of the supervision component with the 3rd grade field placement. The following research questions sought to understand the norms and expectations of the two languacultures by identifying the frames of reference of the supervisor, mentor teacher and two teacher candidates. 1: What are the norms and expectations that the supervisor brings? How does her frame of reference complement or contrast with the norms and expectations of the preservice teachers and the mentor teacher? 2: What are the frames of reference of the mentor teacher? How does her frame of reference complement or contrast with the norms and expectations of the preservice teachers and the supervision component of the teacher education program? And 3: What are the frames of reference of the two preservice teachers (individually and together)? How do their frames of reference

complement or contrast with the norms and expectations of the mentor teacher and the supervision component of the teacher education program?

Data collection occurred primarily during program phases three and four (January-June) while Amy and Brad were in their elementary field placement and consisted of classroom observations, formal and informal interviews and artifacts. Corpus of data included 24 classroom observations with field notes occurring 1-2 observations/week that focused on lessons conducted by the candidates as well as interactions among team members. Two sets of formal interviews were conducted individually with the mentor teacher, two teacher candidates, and supervisor at the beginning and end of the data collection period with additional informal interviews throughout. Interviews focused on a) field-based activities (e.g., lesson planning and implementation of lessons) b) participants' perceptions of the field experience model and how this model contributed to or inhibited growth and learning to become a teacher, and c) roles and responsibilities of the mentor teacher and two candidates during the daily classroom activities. Formal interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Artifacts were collected such as lesson plans, email communications, supervisor written observations, researchers' reflective logs, assessment forms and three-way conferences.

The research team consisted of three female researchers; two of whom were directly involved in the data collection and all three in the study's analysis and interpretation. One of these researchers was Denise, supervisor to Amy and Brad. Denise acted as the cultural guide for bringing to her supervision role the languaculture of the supervision component of this program. Steps were taken to separate aspects of the supervision of the candidates and their other coursework from aspects of the study. For example, the team was informed when data (e.g. interviews, classroom observations, field notes) was to be collected for the study and when it was collected for supervision responsibilities. Another example involved observations conducted by the researchers. While the supervisor usually observed in the classroom, typical of supervisory observations of all candidates, the other researcher observed through a two-way mirror. This was an action decided upon due to a) the physical size and instructional format of the classroom, b) management issues of several of the classroom students and c) to observe many aspects of the classroom where the supervisor would be more focused on aspects of the candidates' related to performance assessment purposes.

Data analysis began with the identification of rich points that were incomprehensible or unexpected to the researchers. Rich points were the starting points for analysis. Green, Skukauskaite, Baker (in press) state rich points provide “anchors for tracing the roots and routes of cultural knowledge development in order to build grounded warrants for the knowledge necessary to understand the phenomena from an insider point of view.” Through the process of tracing the rich point, a domain analysis was created by implementing Spradley’s (1980) semantic relationships to identify the norms and expectations of the frames of reference within each of the languacultures.

FINDINGS

Findings are reported through two rich points: 1) lesson planning and 2) acting as the “lead teacher”. Although the two rich points are connected, first each rich point is described followed by a rationale for the incomprehensible nature of the rich point. Then, frames of reference are identified between LC1 and LC2 (i.e. the supervision component and the team) to understand how the languacultures support or constrain the candidates’ learning. Table 1 provides an outline of parts of the analysis according to LC1 and LC2 frames of reference.

First Rich Point: Lesson planning

The first rich point occurred when the two candidates were in their 5th week of their elementary field placement where they attended twice per week. In this rich point, Denise found the nature of Amy and Brad’s lesson plans very different from the other candidates that she had supervised for the past 3 years. Furthermore, the procedures for the timing of the lesson plan to be developed, implemented and reflected upon with the supervisor weren’t followed. Denise found this incomprehensible due to LC1’s importance placed on lesson plans and procedures for completing lesson plans that were shared with the candidates in several ways. For example, a hard copy of a lesson template was given to the teacher candidates and reviewed during several field placement seminars and also discussed and required during weekly supervisory contacts.

In analyzing this rich point, LC1 and LC2 frames of reference are identified from semantic relationships of Spradley’s sequence, function, and rationale related to the lesson plans. According to LC1, completing the template is a sequence in lesson planning. Candidates were required to individually develop lesson plans while they were in their elementary field placement 2x/week as well during their student teaching. The act of developing

between University and Early Childhood Classrooms

these lesson plans involved completing a written template that included standards, objectives, learning activities or procedures, materials, accommodations for students with special needs and reflection piece after lesson is completed. For LC1, the function of the lesson plan serves as an indicator the teacher candidate is capable of “planning” a coherent lesson that demonstrates aspects of teacher competency. After the candidate implements the lesson the candidate is directed to reflect on the lesson verbally and/or in written form with the supervisor by assessing strengths and weaknesses of the lesson and making changes in one’s teaching for future lessons. The rationale for LC1 requiring the candidate to complete this assignment(s) is that lesson plans represents a candidate’s competencies to plan a lesson and later reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of that lesson is a reason to do lesson plans. This rationale is reflected in the candidate’s evaluation that addresses Praxis III: Domain A (see Table 1 for specifics of Domain A) Denise attempts to adapt the lesson plans in a manner that relates to Brad and Amy’s field placement and in a format that she can still assess their individual competencies of lesson planning; however, the frames of reference between LC1 and LC2 continue to differ according to sequence, function, and rationale for lesson planning. Denise writes in her reflective log in April how she explains in her conversation with Amy about the expectations for the lesson plans; however Amy responds that doing lesson plans in her way (not the way of the supervision component) made “sense to her”.

We talked about her individual lesson plans, which did not include the elements of our university lesson plan format, it was still hard work, and an extended version of daily/weekly/hourly plans. I explained to her that the goals, standards, rationale, procedures, assessments, accommodations, and reflection parts are important and why. She understood but said that doing her lesson plans in her way made sense to her. I talked about how different components should be there and she needs to select a focused lesson among all the activities and write out a detailed lesson plan for that particular lesson.

The two candidates thought it was important to learn how to develop a lesson plan but the sequence of writing lesson plans and giving them to the supervisor wasn’t helpful to their learning process for becoming a teacher. One of their reasons for not completing the lesson plans was how they considered the function of lesson planning as an ongoing process that occurred collaboratively between the two candidates and between the two candidates and their mentor teacher.

The transcript below is part of an interview with a researcher and Brad at the beginning of their field placement when they were present in this classroom Wednesdays and Thursdays during February and March. Brad discusses how he and Amy's planning go through several iterations of changes before they were implemented; therefore, the need to discuss these changes with the supervisor didn't seem necessary because the plans were always changing and the reflecting of the planning was done among the teaching group.

Researcher: So when you were here two days, how did you plan things?

Brad: Ann and I would meet on Tuesdays in between (university) classes. And we would bring ideas together what we need to discuss with Megan. And on Thursdays, we would all meet to reflect on the week and then discuss what was going on next week, as far as, I would try a math lesson and Ann would try a social studies lesson, or what kinds of assignments we would be working on and who would need to pull out students for assignments.

In this transcript, Brad discusses an ongoing nature of planning; i.e. Thursdays the team reflects on activities they conducted that week and then, would plan for activities they would implement the following Wednesday and Thursday. From this group discussion, Brad and Amy individually write some of their ideas on paper of what they each want to do and discuss those ideas with each other (e.g. Tuesdays between university courses) and further discussed them with Megan on Wednesday in their field placement. Content of their planning included subject standards, preparation for testing needs of specific students and assignments from university courses that were required to be implemented within their field placement. The cycle of planning continued in this format each week.

Second Rich Point: Lead Teaching

The second rich point arose during Amy and Brad's student teaching requirement when they each were to assume the lead teacher role for a required four weeks. Before implementing their student teaching, decisions were made among the two candidates, mentor teacher and supervisor, who would first assume the lead teacher role, (with the other candidate assuming the role afterwards), the timing of this role, and the involvement of instructing, planning and other expectations for carrying out this role. The rich point occurred when Denise heard from another researcher that the student teaching plan wasn't being followed and that Brad was the lead teacher when in fact it had been previously de-

between University and Early Childhood Classrooms

cided that Amy would, first, assume the lead teacher role. Denise was surprised to receive this information because she thought the plan had already been decided and she as the supervisor wasn't informed or involved in a discussion of any change by the teaching team. Denise was not only surprised of the change in whether Amy or Brad was the lead teacher but by following this rich point she further learned that Amy and Brad's lead teacher roles were different than how they were previously decided in past discussions with Denise.

Differences in frames of reference regarding the lead teacher role between LC1 and LC2 were identified from this rich point in Spradley's function and means-end. LC1 perceived the lead teacher role as being the one person to primarily plan and implement routine classroom events such as planning and implementing subject lessons, assessing students, and meeting with parents. According to the guidelines of the supervision component (LC1), while the teacher candidates are in their field experience twice per week, they learn all parts of the "classroom teacher's" roles so when they are the lead teacher during their student teaching experience they have learned to plan and conduct all the activities of the classroom teacher. In other words, in this field placement, as lead teacher, the candidate assumes responsibility for primarily developing short and long term lesson plans, implements these lessons as well as being responsible for the daily classroom events for the entire class while the other teacher candidate (Brad or Amy) and mentor teacher (Megan) assist the lead teacher.

While LC1 perceived the lead teacher as the sole person acting in this role, LC2 perceived the lead teacher acting in multiple roles such as co-teaching, helping, and monitoring the entire class in order to make quick decisions according to classroom activities and roles of other team members. A reason for the difference in lead teacher between LC1 and LC2 in their frames of reference was that classroom structure of LC2 wasn't conducive to LC1's interpretation of lead teacher. In LC2, the team were all considered "teachers" and accountable for planning, implementing specific activities and students in the classroom during the majority of the time the teacher candidates were in the classroom. For example, earlier in the field placement preceding the student teaching, the two candidates and mentor teacher each assumed responsibility for a group of 6-7 students in the classroom for about 2hrs/day where all team members were instructing a group simultaneously. The decision to form groups was decided upon by the teaching team because it was a) easier to manage and address the needs of the students in smaller groups (e.g. more hands-on activities and individual support), b) more opportunities for the candidates to lead and plan

activities, assess the students' performance and have more direct contact with the students and c) address the 3rd grade standards that the classroom teacher was responsible for covering. The implementation of the groups varied according to the curriculum, new ideas from the members of the teaching team, and management issues of the students. For example, Amy, who wanted more experience in teaching social studies, would lead a group of students in a social studies activity, while Brad, who wanted more experience with math, would lead a group of students in a math activity and Megan would conduct a read-aloud with a group to address one of the English Language Arts standards. All students would receive the same learning experiences in each of the three activities. Groups also served as tools for literacy centers, science projects and other subject areas.

Differences in the frames of reference between LC1 and LC2 also related to the functions for being a lead teacher. Where LC1 thought that the format of the supervision component prepared candidates to be competent teachers, LC2 found the teaching of the entire class as one group didn't address the curricular needs of the students. Amy and Brad with Megan's support tried to "co-teach" the students in one large group but quickly found that it was difficult to obtain the students' attention. Megan agreed that it was important for beginning teachers to learn all the parts of the classroom; however, they had already learned these activities during the time they were in the classroom 2x/week. Further, Megan reflected on her own student teaching experience as well as her years of experience in the classroom and considered that the most difficult role of a competent teacher involved learning how to make "on your feet" decisions during the classroom day to accommodate for any of the students' emergent needs. She described these decisions and involving events such as ending an activity and beginning another or making changes in any of the team members' roles (e.g., from acting as a "helper" by working with an individual student to acting as a teacher by leading a group). Below is an email to the Zeynep from Megan in May explaining what she'll be observing during the candidates' student teaching experience.

Keep in mind that when you are observing, you might see one or two of us in "helper" positions while one teaches. We agreed that the lead teacher would be the one who makes these "on your feet" decisions based on the needs of the students for that particular part of the lesson. A few students enter the room after a transition period (recess, lunch, specials classes, restroom breaks) and are having problems settling down and focusing on the lesson; students sometimes enter the room needing special attention, counseling, etc.; there often are several

between University and Early Childhood Classrooms

needy situations occurring simultaneously. Getting a high percentage of engagement sometimes takes a while. This is when the lead teacher might decide to change the way the lesson is delivered and the roles of the other two teachers. It should be noted in your plan that they function as co-teachers who support the instruction. (May 3)

In this email, Megan describes some of the roles of the lead teacher as co-teaching, helping and “making quick decisions on one’s feet.” A connection between rich points 1 and 2 is noted in a frame clash between LC1 and LC2 that occurred between the act of lesson planning during the candidates’ lead teacher role according to Spradley’s functions and means-end. This excerpt from an interview on May 29th with Megan, Amy and Brad highlights the dynamic nature of the planning process and the relationship of planning with the lead teacher.

Amy: So we scrapped what I planned. Yesterday at our meeting, he (Brad) said they’re not getting this. So he created this so he really planned for his own center today.

Brad: We’re co-student teaching from the center that I was teaching yesterday. I took it to Amy. I said, ‘Amy, this is what they’re not understanding. I would like to do this with tomorrow’s center. Created the worksheet and then we went about centers – scrap what she did. So that’s where the co-student teaching comes in. Because I didn’t say, ‘Hey Amy: ... this isn’t working so I’m (Amy) going to change this in my plans. Scrap what I was doing and then I planned that. Yes, I planned the overall throughout the week and the lesson plans...

Brad: but it’s “co” because I went to her and said this isn’t working... let me take over this part for tomorrow and do this...

Amy: And we talk about everyday ...what happened today ...what should we do tomorrow? Literally, it’s so funny because I’ve been taking notes...It never looks like this the next day. I never actually end up doing what I had planned because they didn’t get it, they really got it, We’re always talking about what can we do... what should I do, what should I do... and I’m going to them asking what I should plan for tomorrow.

In this scenario Amy is the designated “lead teacher” but Brad also perceives his role with Amy as co-teaching because he is instructing a center. In his center, he assumes responsibility for students that aren’t obtaining particular skills and discusses with Amy a

change in plans he would like to make at his center (by presenting another activity in a worksheet he designed because his students needed more practice on a particular skill.

Confusion of roles

One of the recurrent patterns in the data was the participants' (i.e. Denise, Brad and Amy) confusion of their roles. Denise considered her role as "supervisor" with these Amy and Brad different from her supervision of candidates individually placed in their classrooms. She reflects in her log on June 10th:

Pedagogically, my support for these two student teachers was similar in a way, but I could see they had a well-working co-teaching team who can provide lots of feedback and I did not feel concerned about the pedagogy part. I was not needed for some part of this experience. I was there with my observations and conversations, suggestions, but the team functioning well to find their answers in planning and teaching. That is why what we require did not always fit what happened within team dynamics. I also took on the responsibilities to ensure they have teacher competency to teach their classroom alone when they graduate and also followed student teaching requirements with them so they won't have issues finishing successfully their programs.

Denise tried to give each of the candidates her individualized support with their pedagogical practices through planning, implementing and reflecting on lessons but found these procedures were carried out among the team. She also tried to observe specific candidates as "teachers" or as the lead teacher but wasn't always aware of when candidates were in these positions since these positions changed according to the needs of the students. Denise describes her role as the supervisor being more of an administrator; e.g. giving permission to the candidates to leave the placement in times of illness, or job interviews.

The candidates also stated many times during this field experience their confusion regarding expectations from the supervision component vs. the classroom. Amy reflects upon her experience in an interview on June 3rd:

I think we were confused the whole time, just trying to figure out what works for us, what works for the kids, what works for the university, what needs to...get done. I think originally we thought we were going all three be working together. But then we found out that we needed, which makes sense, we all needed to have lead days, so that everyone has these lesson plans accounted for, then it got away from us all three working together, and it became more

of what is this persons' role, we know that you are planning the lesson then you should be the teachers and what is these two person doing

Amy's use of phrases... what works for us (i.e. two candidates in one classroom), what works for the kids (classroom students), what works for the university (the supervision component) and what needs to get done (e.g. curricular needs of classroom students) demonstrates her frustrations between the expectations of the two languacultures. Her phrase when we found out what we needed so everyone has these lesson plans accounted for – demonstrates her understanding of the supervision component and their intentions to carry out these lesson plans but the clash between LC1 and LC2 (but then it got away from us all working together) chose them to work as a team; according to the expectations of LC2.

Several times, Brad and Amy claimed they weren't given clear expectations or guidelines about their field experience placement. However, they were explicitly informed several times to complete the same expectations as the other candidates in the program. These expectations were also explained in the candidate handbook, supervision seminars and several times from the supervisor. At the end of the field experience Brad and Amy rejected the need for guidelines from LC1 and thought they were obtaining the experience they needed (and even more) from LC2. Brad states "That's frustrating that we even needed the guidelines...Amy & I are gonna get the practice in that we need". Amy further states, "I think we're getting more-honestly." Clearly Brad and Amy had all intentions of following the guidelines of the supervision component but the classroom dynamics demanded that their roles and plans be flexible and change several times during the day if needed.

CONCLUSION

In summarizing the two rich points, it was found that frame clashes existed between the two languacultures in their frames of reference according to interpretations of lesson planning and lead teaching. In the first rich point, LC1 perceived the lesson plan more as a product representing each of the candidates' competencies to engage in lesson planning, while LC2 perceived the lesson plan as a more fluid and collaborative process that was always changing during their planning and implementation of classroom activities. The analysis of the second rich point found that LC1 perceived the lead teacher role as one candidate competently performing all activities of a teacher, however, the teaching team found LC1's interpretation of lead teacher ineffective in working as a team to address the curricular needs of the students. For example, the team decisions for each of the members to be

responsible for planning activities, assessing student learning and making instructional changes in a center warranted all members to act as teachers and work in a coordinated fashion among each other. One of the main differences between the languacultures' frames of reference was LC1's focus on specific skills a candidate should perform in order to be a competent teacher, whereas LC2 focused on decisions and actions within a team to address the needs of the students in this 3rd grade classroom. The candidates had intentions of implementing LC1's expectations; e.g. assignments and requirements of being a candidate within this program. However, LC1's emphasis on one candidate primarily planning and implementing lessons in a classroom wasn't conducive to LC2's roles of their team, thus reflecting a shift from LC1 to LC2. It appears that LC1's interpretation of the Praxis III assessments were based more on assessing products from the candidate's performance in the field placement classroom vs. the process of teaching in the classroom; e.g. a complete lesson plan vs. lesson planning. One of the current initiatives in raising teacher quality is to better prepare teachers to be more accountable for their students' progress; a focus of this field based placement. An example is the development of the Teacher Performance Assessment Plan (www.aacte.org); a formative assessment model to increase teacher quality that contains embedded signature assessments such as analyses of students' work, child case studies, observations of student teaching and planning and instructional units.

This study makes visible how an ethnographic logic of inquiry provides a systematic and theoretically grounded approach that enables the researcher to [step back] from their presuppositions about teacher preparation, and to explore the local, situated, and contextualized processes and practices of the classroom team that constitute the everyday opportunities for learning of pedagogical practices teacher candidates' have in their clinical experiences with other components of their program (Green, Castanheira & Yeager, 2011). As a supervisor Denise held assumptions about the type of teacher competencies she ought to be looking for to assess each of these teacher candidates. For example, she attempted to conduct classroom observations of Amy and Brad and expect lesson plans similarly to her other teacher candidates. A supervisor, without an insider view of LC2, might have provided a negative assessment of each of the candidates and/or discounted this classroom as an appropriate field placement for candidates to enhance their pedagogy. The identification of rich points helped to provide the researchers with an insider perspective and find two intersecting languacultures in the program that had conflicting frames of reference for Amy and Brad. Thus, where a lesson plan assignment from Amy and Brad may be out of align-

between University and Early Childhood Classrooms

ment with LC1, their roles of planning and instructing positioned them as part of LC2. Agar states (2006) “culture becomes visible when differences appear with reference to a newcomer, an outsider who comes into contact with it” (p. 5). Thus, LC1 and LC2 became visible when rich points were identified by the researchers. There could be big or little differences depending on the rich points identified by the researcher. An unexpected finding was that studying an alternative field placement of this program but requiring the candidates to follow the same guidelines as LC1 produced many rich points highlighting the supervisor’s assumptions that may not have arisen (or with different rich points) if LC2 was a traditional triad model.

Amy and Brad, similar to many candidates are transitioning from being a student to a teacher. During this professional transition they are members of many languacultures. In some sense, it is inevitable that candidates will be confronted with conflicting languacultures during their journey to become competent teachers. As programs seek to prepare candidates to address a diverse population as well as strengthen their pedagogy it will be important for teacher preparation programs to embrace frame clashes as opportunities to revisit their interpretations of procedures and policies and revise them in a manner that addresses the ongoing situated nature of classrooms.

REFERENCES

- Agar, M. (1995). *Language shock: Understanding: the culture of conversation*. New York: William Morrow.
- Agar, M. (1996). *The professional stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography*. New York: Academic Press.
- Anderson-Levitt, K. (2006). Ethnography. In J. L. Green, G. Camilli & P. B. Elmore (Eds.), *Handbook of complementary methods in education research* (pp.279-296). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum & Associates for AERA.
- Educational Testing Service. *Praxis III Assessments*. New Jersey: Princeton.
- Green, J., Skukauskaite, A., & Baker, W. D. (in press). Ethnography As Epistemology: An Introduction To Educational Ethnography. In J. A. Arthur, M. Waring, D. Coe & L. Hedges (Eds.), *Research Methodologies and Methods in Education.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Heath, S. B. (1982). Ethnography in education: Defining the essentials. In P. Gillmore & A. Glatthorn (Eds.), *Children in and out of school: Ethnography and education* (pp.33-55). Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- LeMoine, S. (2008). *Workforce Designs: A Policy Blueprint for State Early Childhood Professional Development Systems*. Washington, DC: NAEYC.
- Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Wilson, S., Ball, D. L., Bryk, A., Figlio, D., & Grossman, P. (2009). *Teacher Quality: Education Policy White Paper*. Retrieved from National Academy of Education website: <http://www.naeducation.org>.

Table 1: Frames of Reference from Languacultures 1 & 2

Rich point	Domain Analysis	LC1 (Supervision Component)	LC2 (Teaching Team)
Lesson Planning	Sequence X is a step in Y	A teacher candidate's demonstration of completing the lesson plan template is a step in lesson planning	Teacher candidates bringing ideas to the team of activities to conduct with the students is a step in lesson planning
	Function X is used for Y	A teacher candidate's completion of a lesson plan template & reflection of that plan with the supervisor is used to assess a teacher candidate's knowledge of lesson planning	An ongoing team process to plan for the curricular needs of the students is used for lesson planning
	Rationale X is a reason for doing Y	An assignment that represents a teacher candidate's competencies to plan a lesson and later reflect on strengths & weakness of that lesson is a reason to do this assignment. Artifact: Praxis III: Domain A1-A4*	An assignment for the supervisor that demonstrates a teacher candidate's ability to write a lesson plan
Lead teacher	Means-end X is a way to do Y	One teacher candidate demonstrating that s/he is primarily responsible for a) planning and implementing lessons and b) implementing daily classroom events is a way to do lead teaching Artifact: Praxis III Domains*	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One teacher candidate engaging in the overall curricular planning is a way to do lead teaching 2. Co-teaching & assisting with other team members is a way to do lead teaching 3. One teacher candidate making decisions during the classroom day to accommodate students' emergent needs is a way to do lead teaching
	Function X is used for Y	A teacher candidate demonstrating the skills to conduct an entire classroom of students is used for assessing the lead teacher	A teacher candidate demonstrating the skills to meet the curricular needs of the students is used for assessing the lead teacher

*Domain A: Planning, Organizing Content Knowledge for Student Learning

A1 – Demonstrating knowledge of Content

A2 – Knowing your students

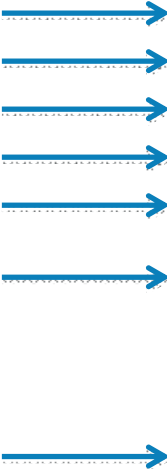

A3 – Developing Learning Goals (1.States goals/objectives clearly & writes them in the form of student learning.

A4 – Making learning Connections (4. Plans lessons that help children make connections with other content areas.)

Figure 1: Timeline of the Program

Elements and Phases of the program	Months of the Early Childhood Education Program													
	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	April	May	June	July
Phase 1: Equity & Diversity course	6/11-15													
Summer Term 1 Courses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflective Seminar • Media & Technology in Education • School as a Profession • Intro: Educational Psychology 	6/18-7/20													
Summer Term 2 Courses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field-based seminar • Literacy Block 	7/23-8/24													
Elementary Immersion	8-27-9/1													
Preschool Immersion	9/4-9/20													
Phase 2: Fall Session Courses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early Childhood Teaching & Learning: Math 1 • Early Childhood Teaching & Learning: Science 1 • Early Childhood Teaching & Learning: Social Studies • Classroom Communities & Issues of Guidance • Literacy Block • Preschool field placement seminar 	9/19-12/7													
Preschool Practicum 2x/week	9/19-11/8													
Preschool Student teaching	11/14-11-21													

between University and Early Childhood Classrooms

<p>Phase 3: Winter Session Courses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion: Teaching Children with Physical and Sensory Difficulties • Early Childhood Teaching & Learning: Math II • Early Childhood Teaching & Learning: Science II • Literacy Block • Family Participation in Early Childhood Programs <p>Elementary practicum 2x/week</p>	<p>1/3 <u>3/7</u></p> 	
<p>Phase 4: Spring Session Student teaching Seminar</p>		<p>3/25 <u>6/6</u></p>
<p>Elementary Student teaching</p>	<p>4/1</p>	<p> 6/6</p>
<p>Phase 5: Summer II: Capstone</p>		<p>6/16 <u>7/16</u></p>

“AND YOU BILL, DO YOU WANT A SHOT?": THE IMPORTANCE OF CHILDREN'S VISUAL CULTURE IN LONGITUDINAL ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH WITH CHILDREN

William A. Corsaro

ABSTRACT

In this paper I discuss methods and findings of a six year ethnographic study of Italian's children's peer culture as they make the transition from preschool to elementary school and finally to middle school. My focus is on the importance of the children's visual culture in their school projects, peer relations, and also their literacy development. Furthermore, the paper examines the role of the children's visual culture in their relationship and communications with the researcher over the course of the study. I argue that children's visual culture helped me to overcome the limitations of traditional research on children and to appreciate and incorporate children's active role into the research process. It became clear to both the children and researcher that the children were much more skilled in artistic production than the researcher. In the process the ethnographic study became research with rather than on children.

INTRODUCTION

In this presentation I discuss the importance of Italian children's visual culture in their acquisition of literacy skills and their transition from preschool to elementary school. By visual culture I refer generally to both processes of visual communication through art work of various kinds as well as children's actual artistic productions. This conceptualization is in line with my notion and definition of children's peer cultures as a set of activities or routines, artifacts, values and concerns children produce and share with each other (Corsaro, 2009, 2011; Corsaro & Eder, 1990). In this case the very activity of artistic productions are part of routines in the peer culture which flow from children's appropriation and use of information and skills in their participation in projects and school work in school cultures of preschool and elementary school. The artifacts are actual artistic and literacy productions—pictures, written texts, letters, and other aspects of school projects—which are produced by children alone, with peers or teachers and peers. As we will see some aspects of the children's visual culture are also related to their interactions with me as a researcher and friend over the course of seven year ethnographic study.

FIELD SITE AND METHOD

This paper is based on a seven year longitudinal ethnography of a group of children as they finished preschool (*scuola dell'infanzia*) and made the transition to and completed elementary school (*scuola elementare*) in Modena, Italy. The focus of this study was on understanding children's transition from preschool to elementary school (Corsaro & Molinari, 2005). In the study I worked with my Italian colleague, Luisa Molinari. I carried out the actual ethnography, observing the 21 children as they went about their everyday activities with peers and teachers over a five-month period (February through June 1996).

I then made the transition with the children to first grade, and continued daily observations in the four first-grade classrooms (of about 18 children in each class) for the first four months of the school term. I also conducted a one month period of observations as the children completed first, second, third, and fifth grade when the children finished their time in elementary school. Luisa Molinari and I interviewed a subsample of eight (they finished elementary school) and 2003 (after their second year of middle school). We also interviewed the preschool teachers in June 1996 and the elementary school teachers in December 1996, as well as in June 1997, 1998, 1999, and 2001.

PRIMING EVENTS, VISUAL CULTURE, AND EARLY LITERACY IN THE SCHOOL CULTURE

In this talk I focus primarily on children's visual culture in the school and peer culture of the preschool in Modena and how it relates to their transition from preschool to elementary school and their experiences in elementary school. For this reason visual culture is often part of what I call **priming events** in the children's lives. Priming events involve activities in which children, by their very participation, attend prospectively to ongoing or anticipated changes in their lives. Such events are crucial to children's social construction of representations of temporal aspects of their lives because children's social representations arise not simply from thinking about social life but rather from collective, practical activities with others (Corsaro & Molinari, 2000, 2005).

Key formal priming events during the final months of preschool for the children were two visits to the elementary school where the preschool children met their future first grade teachers and their students (fifth graders finishing elementary school). During these visits the fifth graders took the preschoolers under their wings showed them around the school, discussed with them activities and projects in their classrooms, and shared their experiences they had with the preschooler's future teachers. After returning from

these visits the children discussed with their preschool teachers how the elementary school itself as well as activities there differed from the preschool and routine activities of their preschool experiences. A few weeks later three year olds from what in Italy is known as the *asilo nido* (child care and education for children from around 18 months to 3 years of age) visited the preschool to meet their future teachers and see the preschool. Now the process was completed in reverse with the children about to finish preschool taking the three year olds under their wings and describing their school and teachers.

Other priming events were more informal and part of the school and peer culture in the preschool. The children often talked of first grade (an elementary school) as a place where they would learn to read and write and do homework. In this talk I focus on priming events related to literacy.

Teachers introduced children to thinking about literacy through several short and long term projects. One project involved the children using their skills in artwork to begin to develop an orientation to and use basic literacy skills. The project involved each child using the first letter of her or his name as the center point of a drawing. In the Figure 1 below we see how Luca has inverted the L of his first name to portray his taking a shower on an Italian beach during the summer.

Figure 1 Luca’s Picture of the Beach Scene



In addition to the use of the first letter of his name, Luca has also printed his first and last name (Luca Ghita) in the picture. He also drew other things you would see at an Italian beach such as cabanas, sand, birds, and other objects. He described these different objects to the teachers who wrote out in cursive his descriptions for him. In Figure 2 we see another picture by Simona in which the S of her name is used to draw an imposing snake in a beautiful jungle scene. Simona has not printed her name, but rather the date at the top of her picture. Again the teachers have written out Simona's descriptions of various aspects of the scene in her picture.

Figure 2 Simona's Picture of a Snake in the Jungle



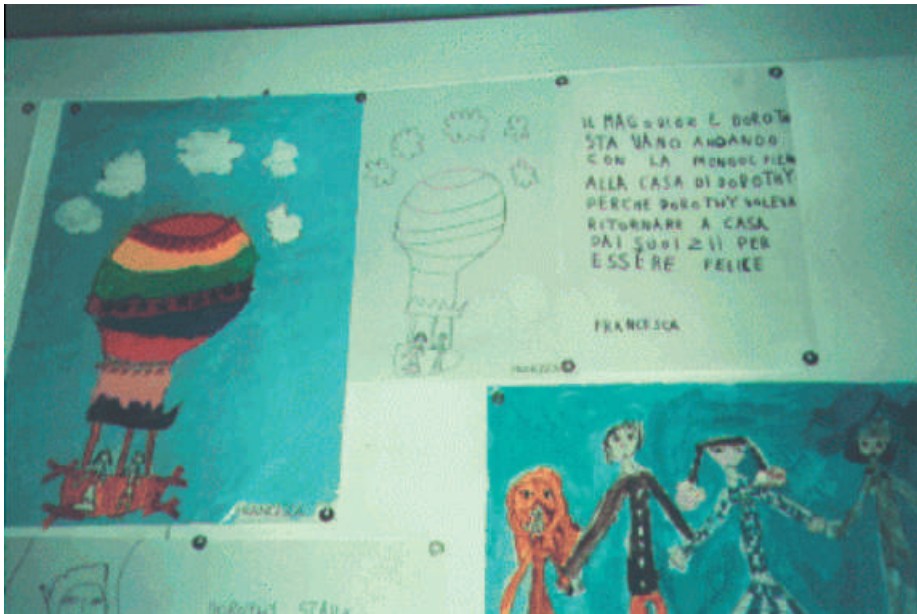
In one long term project the teachers and the children carried out a number of literacy activities that involved reading, discussing, and reproducing the story of the *Wizard of Oz*. The literacy activities occurred over a period of five months and involved several overlapping phases and types of activities. In the first phase the teachers and children read and discussed the book over a period of about 4 months. They read a chapter or so a week usually in daily meetings that lasted about an hour. However, the teachers did not simply read the story and show pictures to the children. Rather each chapter was read, discussed and debated. These debates were very lively and children were encouraged to ask questions and to make comments. Nearly all of the children participated in each discussion and in some meetings the children and teachers spent more time debating than actually reading.

In phase two, during the reading of the last two chapters of the book, the teachers and children began work on a large mural which depicted the emerald castle in the background and images of each of the four main characters (Dorothy, the Tin Man, the Lion, and the Scarecrow) standing in front of the castle. The children worked in small groups with the teachers designing various aspects of the highly complex and impressive artistic production. Group work on the art project lasted around three weeks.

In the third phase, having completed the reading of the story, each teacher now worked individually with the children. In these dyadic sessions the teachers asked children questions about the story, their favorite character, their favorite scene, and so on. The children’s responses were recorded on audio tape. Later these responses were written up in a small workbook in which the children copied their narratives that the teachers had printed out for them. In this same workbook each child drew a picture of their favorite character and printed the name of the character under the picture. These teacher-child sessions occurred over about a three week period.

In the fourth phase the children and teachers again discussed the story in a group meeting and each child was asked to pick a different scene to recreate with a personal drawing. In the group discussion a set of scenes reproducing the entire story was decided upon as well as which child would draw which scene. Over a two to three week period the children, working in small groups with the teachers, made sketches of their selected scenes. Each child then described his or her sketched scene to the teacher and with spelling help then printed out this description on a separate piece of paper. In Figure 3 we see Federica’s sketch and description as well as her later beautiful drawing based on the sketch.

Figure 3 Federica's Sketch and Drawing



We see in Figure 3 that Federica has sketched a large air balloon floating in the clouds with two people. She printed her own description of the scene which can be summarized into English (using Federica's punctuation and grammar) as follows: “The wizard of oz and Dorothy went with an air balloon to Dorothy's house because Dorothy wished to return home with her aunt and uncle to be happy.” She then printed her name under the text. The children then again in small groups with the teachers produced their pictures in paintings and collages. These productions were displayed on the classroom walls with the sketches beside each artistic production of the scenes. The children, teachers, parents and many grandparents observed and admired the productions.

In the fifth and final phase during a meeting in the last week of school in late June, the teachers had the children take down their paintings. They then collectively reproduced the story a final time by having each child place his or her scene in the proper order on the floor in the middle of the discussion circle. Again as in the reading of the story this exercise was done with a great deal of debate. Finally, on the last day of school the children took home their individual paintings as well as a book of photocopies of each of the children's sketches and descriptions of the various scenes. Now they each had their own copy of the *Wizard of Oz* that they had collectively produced.

In this group project lasting around five months, the children and the teachers participate in collective and individual activities which involve several literacy skills (reading,

writing, understanding the structure and sequence of events in a story, and depicting and reproducing the story artistically). Thus, we can see that the children with the help of the teacher reconstruct and appropriate a literacy event in an individual and collective way.

Overall, the projects introduce the children to new knowledge and encourage their development of social, cognitive, and literacy skills. Further since the projects occur over historical periods in which collective and individual contributions are made, discussed, evaluated and reproduced, *the children are impelled in a natural way to anticipate changes in their everyday activities in the school and in their lives more generally*. Thus, the projects can be seen as preparing or priming children for elementary school where they will be participating in similar literacy activities and using and developing further their cultural knowledge, artistic, and literacy skills.

PRIMING EVENTS AND LITERACY IN THE PEER CULTURE

The most notable aspect of priming in the peer culture occurred in the last 2 months of preschool. In this period the children displayed a keen interest in literacy activities during free play and other routines in the peer culture. This interest was first apparent in relation to a routine that had developed between me and the children. Early on in the research, the kids asked me about what I was writing in the small notebook in which I recorded field notes. I responded that I wrote down things they said so that I could remember them later. Also I often showed the notebook to the kids, telling them that most of what I wrote was in English. The kids inspected the book, and during the first 2 months of observation they often asked to draw pictures in it. Beginning in the third month, however, they began to print and write things in the notebook.

The kids usually printed their names or the names of their friends or siblings. They also began to print the names of the things they drew. In June the children printed and wrote in the notebook every day. During the last two months of the school term 16 of the 17 children who attended school regularly printed or wrote something in my notebook.

The children’s interest in literacy was also apparent in other peer activities. In their drawings they often reproduced words or phrases from stories read to them. They also discussed how they would read and write in elementary school. Consider Example 1 below from my field notes in which a girl, Stefania, tells me what to write in my notebook.

Example 1 A Letter for Luciano's Sister

June 14, 1996 A Letter for Luciano's Little Sister

I am sitting at a worktable with Luciano, Stefania and several other children. Luciano is printing a letter to his sister. Stefania tells me to write what Luciano is doing in my notebook. So I do in Italian and show it to her:

Luciano scrive una lettera per la sua sorellina.

Luciano then suggests that Stefania also write a letter to his sister which she does with Luciano's help. It reads:

Cara Luisa,

TANTI BACIONI DA STEFANIA LUCIANO E DA BILL (MANY BIG KISSES FROM STEFANIA LUCIANO AND BILL)

This example is interesting not only because it demonstrates the children's skills in writing, but also because it displays their awareness of my interest in their literacy skills. The kids not only inscribe data into my notebook, but they also tell me what they think is important about the peer culture to include in my notes.

VISUAL CULTURE AND LITERACY IN FIRST GRADE

The kids brought certain expectations about "work" to the first grade, as a result of their experiences in priming events in preschool. During the first weeks of school the frequently asked about *i compiti* (homework), as they saw that the initial activities were very similar to those of the preschool rather than the more work-related experiences they had anticipated. In fact, the children received no real homework assignments during the initial weeks of the first grade, even though they asked about it almost daily. During the first week, one of the teachers, Arianna, jokingly remarked to me that the children kept asking about *i compiti, i compiti*, as if that was all there was to the first grade.

In the first weeks of school the children were introduced to several types of structured educational tasks: these included literacy activities involving reading and writing, exercises involving the classification of various objects from their physical and social worlds into groups which was the first step in mathematics, and art projects. Initial literacy activities included reading and writing words, phrases, and eventually short narratives. The teachers first concentrated on names by creating tasks and games in which the children learned to read and write all their classmates' names. Then the teachers drew the

children’s attention to the letters in each name – for example, asking the children to group together all names beginning and ending with certain letters. These tasks were followed by activities in which the children read and then copied various rhymes or poems from the blackboard or posters.

In first grade I had my own desk and sat with the students and did their assignments with them. My knowledge of Italian grammar and ability to write the various assignments was only slightly beyond the level of the students. By the end of second grade the children surpassed me. However, I stayed ahead of them in mathematics at least until fifth grade. During this time children continued to inspect my notebook which was now a large one like they used in elementary school. They also routinely drew pictures and printed things in my notebook as we can see in Figures 4 and 5.

Figure 4 Luca and GianMarco Draw and Print in my Notebook in First Grade

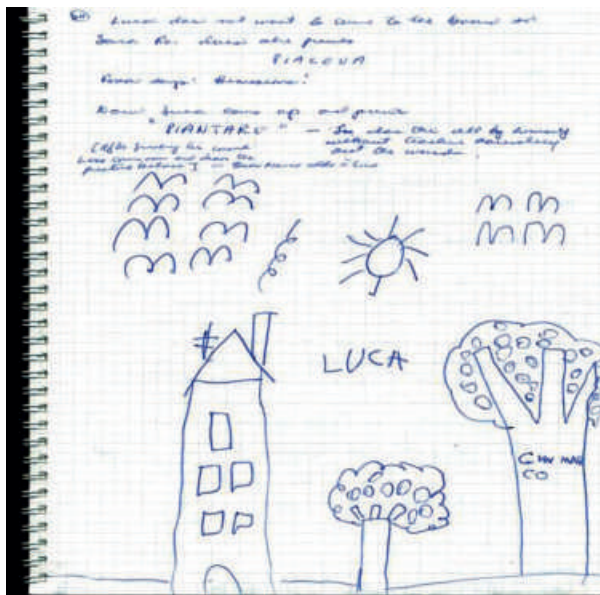
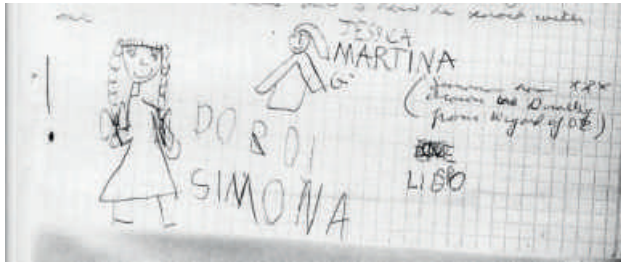


Figure 5 Simona Prints Her Name and Draws a Picture of Dorothy from the Wizard of Oz



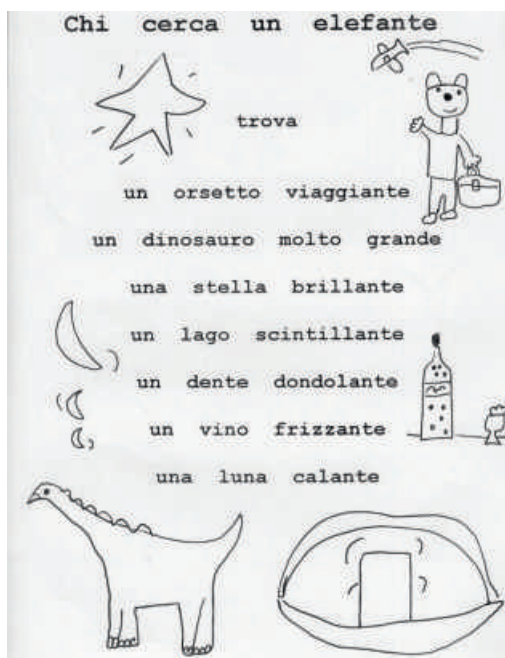
In Figure 4 Luca has drawn a house and the sky with birds and the sun and printed his name. His friend GianMarco draws two trees and prints his name in the trunk of the tree. In Figure 5 Simona first printed her name and then drew the picture of the girl with pigtails. I asked who the girl was as it was obviously not a self-portrait. Simona said: "Don't you remember that it is Dorothy from the Wizard of Oz!" She was referring to our early shared activity of reading the story in preschool. She then printed "DORDI" next to the picture. Then Jessica and Martina came over and printed their names and Martina drew a picture of herself. This activity of inspecting my work in printing and drawing in my book also occurred among the children themselves as the teachers allowed the children to move about and respond to each other's work routinely in first grade.

In addition to the literacy tasks and discussions described above, the teachers in all four classes used a standard work book for teaching children to read and write. In the workbook there was an exercise where a stock phrases were uses such as "He who looks for _____, will find_____." The children printed out the phrases on their papers than added words to fill the blanks. At first the teachers accepted almost any words the children used to fill in the blanks as they completed a sentence, but often praised the children's longer and more difficult words. I should add here that in Italian almost all words can be sounded out phonetically so children can more easily learn to read and write together. It also means there are few spelling errors and no need to teach spelling as a separate subject as with English in the United States.

After just a few days in using the workbooks the teachers suggested that the children add words that rhymed in Italian. Now the task was altered a bit as the semantics of the phrases the children came up with were less important than the creativity in rhyming. So for example the children worked with the word "un elefante" ("an elephant") in the first part of the phrase and then added things like "un orsetto viaggiante" a traveling bear in the

second. Many of the children’s productions on this task were highly inventive as we can see in Figure 6 below that the teachers and students in Prima C produced for me as a farewell gift when I finished my first round of observations in December, 1996. In the figure the teachers produce the stock phrases and fine filled in a selection of the children’s productions that were copied from the children’s worksheets and workbooks. The children then drew pictures to embellish the gift which were also similar to pictures they drew in their workbooks.

Figure 6 He How Looks For and Elephant Finds



Note in Figure 6 that the children produced creative phrases which were related to events in their peer culture (like the loose or dangling tooth), things that are attractive to them (a giant dinosaur) or are whimsical (a traveling bear). Also we see the children’s impressive artwork which was a major feature of their literacy productions in first grade. But now it is literacy (reading and writing) which is in the foreground and the artwork is more decorative and in the background as compared to projects in the preschool where the opposite pattern was the norm. Thus, we see how the first grade teachers build upon the priming in preschool to develop further the children’s literacy skills. It is interesting in line with the notion of priming events that the teachers still encourage, and the children very much enjoy, communicating visually through artwork as well as the printed word.

VISUAL CULTURE, LITERACY, AND LONGITUDINAL ETHNOGRAPHY

I was able to continue to observe and participate daily in the four first grade classrooms until the middle of December, 1996. After that point I continued observing in the classrooms during May and June in three of the later years of the children's time in elementary school. During my time away from direct observation I sent letters and small gifts to each classroom at least once a year. The children in each class responded to my correspondence and gifts with letters of their own. These letters were of the children's own creation as the teachers told them they could write and draw anything they wished to send to me. The letters and drawings I received were important data and displayed the children's visual culture, the developing literacy, and their ongoing relationship with me as a friend and researcher.

The letters I received during in February, 1997 during the children's second semester of first grade often contained artwork as well written messages. One letter I received from a girl, Jessica, in first grade class D was especially interesting in regard to visual culture and appears in Figure 7 below:

Figure 7 Jessica's Letter



The letter was primarily a drawing with people depicted speaking in word bubbles as in comic books. It is divided into two frames representing me in the United States in one frame and Jessica in Italy in the other. In the left frame Jessica drew an image of me throwing letters into the air on a partly cloudy day with my daughter, Veronica, watching in the

background. All the children had met Veronica who was two years older than they were and I often talked about Veronica in my letters to them. As I throw the letters into that air I say in the word bubble: "Ciao Bimbi Di Prima D E Viva La Prima D" ("Hello Kids of Prima D and Long Live Prima D"). In the right frame of the drawing the letters are falling from the sky on a sunny day in Italy and Guisi, the teacher of Prima D, is catching the letters and announces in a word bubble: "Are letters are arriving." Jessica stands next to the teacher and holds up her letter and says: "Ciao Bill E Viva Bill."

Another girl, Chiara, like many other students sent a letter with an elaborate drawing on one side and a detailed letter she printed on the other. Her drawing like that of Jessica also depicted children communicating with word bubbles and appears in Figure 8 below.

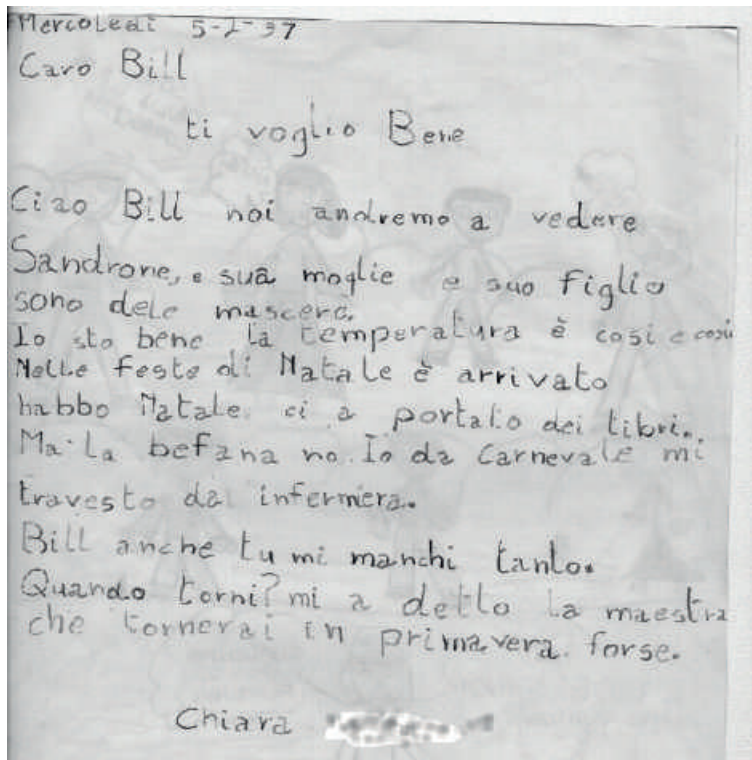
Figure 8 Chiara's Drawing



In her drawing Chiara has depicted herself as dressed in costume as a nurse for Carnevale which is always celebrated in preschools and elementary schools in Modena. Behind her we see several children from her class. On one side of her mouth she says in the word bubble: "Anyone want a shot?" Several of her classmates respond. The blond girl on the far left in the top row says: "I'm Afraid." The girl in the blue skirt (Gulia) in the top row shouts "Help." The girl on the far left tries to encourage her friend saying in essence: "Come on, Guila, have a little courage." From the left side of her mouth in the word bubble Chiara addresses me saying: "And you Bill. Do you want a shot?" The picture nicely captures the shared peer culture in celebrating Carnevale as well as bringing me indirectly into the festivities.

On the other side of the picture Chiara wrote me a detailed letter in Italian which can be seen in Figure 9 below.

Figure 9 Chiara’s Letter



In the letter Chiara begins with the date which was February 5, 1997. She then writes:

Dear Bill

I like you a lot.

Hi Bill we went to see Sandrone, and his wife and his son they were in costume.

I am doing well the temperature (or weather) is so-so.

Christmas arrived and santa Claus brought me so books.

But La Befana no. I for Canavale dressed up like a nurse.

Bill also I miss you very much.

When will you return? the teacher told me the you would return perhaps in the spring.

Chiara

After a salutation and telling me she likes me a lot. Chiara launches into a story about how they (I assume her class or perhaps all first classes) went to see some guy named Sandrone, his wife, and son and that they were dressed in costumes. Chiara seems quite excited about this and it probably happened recently, but she does not provide much context. I can infer that Sandrone and his family were probably part of some performance the children of first grade went to see at a theatre for Carnivale. She then tells me about Christmas and books she received from Santa Claus. Then she writes: "But La Befana no." La Befana is a witch who comes on the Epiphany or January 6th in Italy and usually leaves presents in children's shoes. It appears that La Befana did not come to Chiara's house this year and she is not so happy about it. She then tells me of dressing as a nurse for Carnivale which I could infer from the picture on the front of her letter. The letter ends on a more personal note as Chiara tells me she misses me a lot and asks when I will return, noting that the teacher told her I maybe coming back in the spring.

The letter contains a few errors in punctuation, but on the whole is very well written and flows in a creative way from recent news to less recent events and finally to personal discussion. It is very impressive for a child early in the second semester of first grade. Here also we see the visual culture of the picture blending nicely with the news of the letter – each part contributing in supportive and equal ways.

I continued to receive letters from the children in each grade of elementary school. In letters in later years there was a movement from less artistic and visual communication to a predominance of text. However, art work still occurred as embellishment to the textual narrative. For example, Chiara sent me a letter when she was in third grade which she printed out on a Christmas card with decorations provided by the teacher. She told me she had a new mathematics teacher that she liked very much. She also described things she did for the holiday of the Immaculate Conception and in preparation for Christmas like decorating a Christmas tree (and drawing a small tree) and making a Nativity crib or manger (and drawing a Nativity scene). She then goes on to tell me she is getting bigger and her shoe size has changed to 32 when it was only 30 the year before. Later she asked how I and my family was doing and made a design where I was to make a mark next to *Sto Bene* or *Sto Male*. Here again we see a nice mixture of visual and textual communication and also an element of peer culture in regard to making the marks for my answer. At the end of the letter she describes two field trips to a theatre and a movie she made with her class. This time in contrast to the first letter she provides excellent supportive context for interpreting

her narrative description. She ends her letter by wishing me a good Christmas and Happy New Year from your friend Chiara.

Chiara's noting of our continued friendship takes me to a last description of my final days in the elementary school in late May of 2001. The children were very excited about being in fifth grade and completing elementary school while at the same time a bit sad to be leaving the teachers they had been with for all five years of elementary school. They also knew that in middle school (where they had recently visited) that they would attend different classes with different teachers and would be making new friends as well as keeping old ones. Most of the children were also aware they would not be seeing me again on a regular basis and in some cases perhaps not again ever as they made this new transition.

I was very touched by a surprise birthday party the children and teachers organized for me in which they made cakes and pies and decorations with American flags. Children made individual gifts for me which again displayed their artistic skills and visual culture. Chiara for example made a card with a small window in the front. When you opened the window it said: "For Bill" in English. Then when you opened the card, a cake popped up with candles spelling out *Auguri* (Best Wishes) and she wrote "Happy Birthday Bill" inside. I have known Chiara since preschool and I also interviewed her and her family several times during elementary school and then later when she was in high school. Just last year I visited with her and her family as she now attends university and speaks fluent English. She will always remain a dear friend.

Such was not the case for many of the other children. One girl, Ally, anticipated our parting of ways in her bittersweet card she gave me for my birthday. On the front she printed "For Bill." When you opened the card four children pop up and are waving goodbye to an airplane high in the sky as I am returning to the United States. At the bottom of the inside it reads Happy Birthday and Ally signs her name.

I received other touching messages in a book the children gave to me entitled "*Per un Amico*" ("For a Friend"). Inside the children wrote messages about our friendship in English with help from their English teacher. I present three of the messages from Chiara, Luca, and Alan in Figures 10, 11, and 12.

Figure 10 Message from Chiara

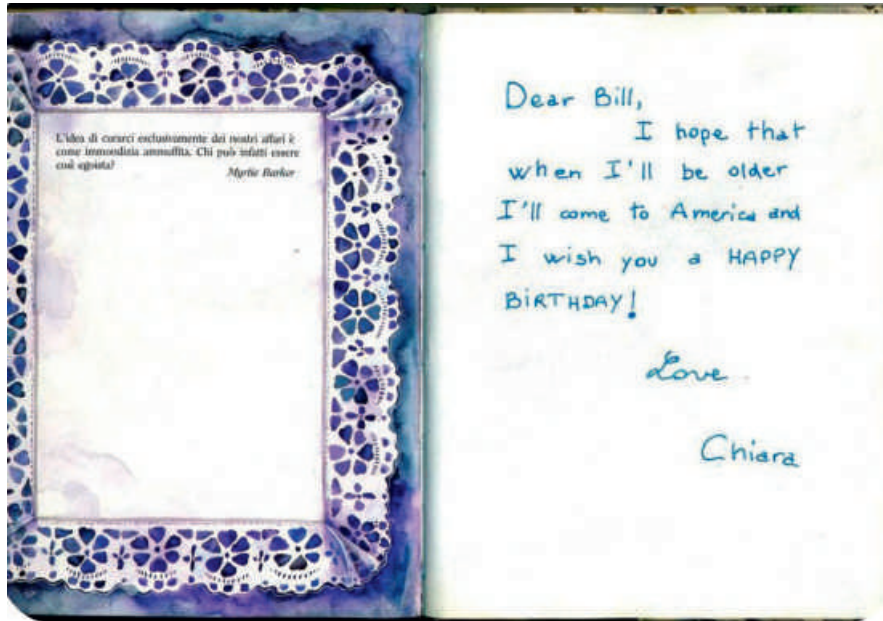


Figure 11 Message from Luca

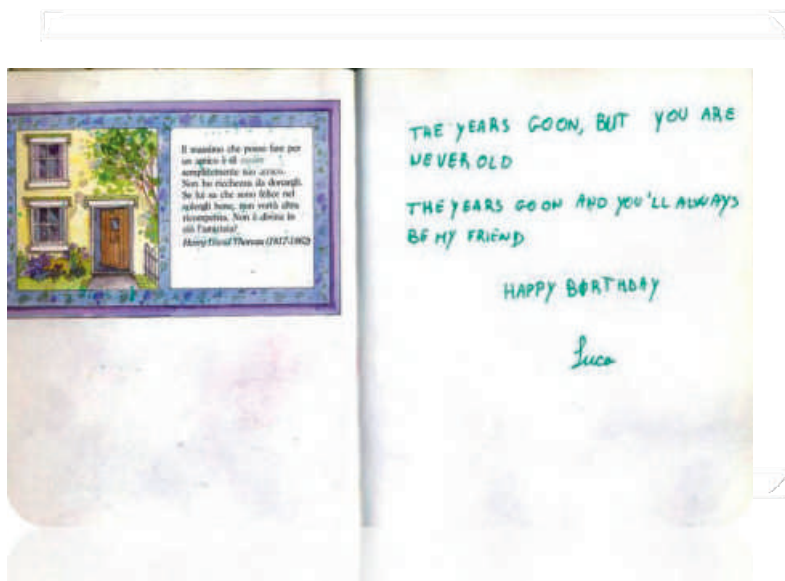
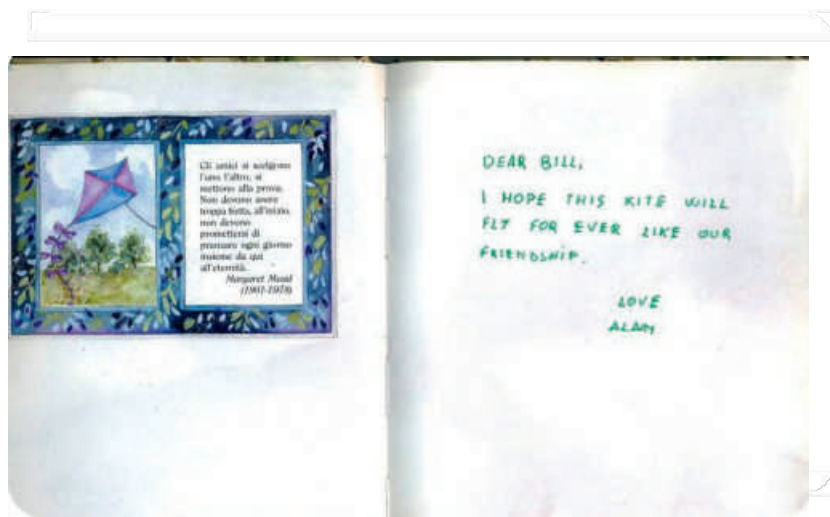


Figure 12 Message from Alain



CONCLUSION

We can see the important role that art work and the children's visual culture played in the development of literacy, their transition from preschool to elementary school, and in their communications with me as a friend and researcher. As you may have noticed I discussed letters I sent to the children and some case I also sent small gifts. However, I did not mention drawing any pictures of my own in my letters as I did not do so. The fact is that the children were much more skilled in artistic production than I was. I am not a good artist at all and the children were aware of this and it was important in our relationship as it reduced the power I had as a literate adult. In fact, it made our relationship as friends more equalitarian.

In conclusion I argue that the children's visual culture helped me to overcome some of the limitations of traditional research on young children and to appreciate and incorporate children's active role into the research process. In this way over time this longitudinal ethnography moved away from being research *on* children to research *with* children.

REFERENCES

- Corsaro, W. (2009). Peer culture. In J. Qvortrup, W. Corsaro & M. Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of child studies* (pp. 301-315). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.
- Corsaro, W. (2011). *The sociology of childhood*. 3rd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Corsaro, W., & Eder, D. (1990). Children’s peer cultures. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 16, 197-220.
- Corsaro, W., & Molinari, L. (2000). Priming events and Italian children’s transition from preschool to elementary school: Representations and action. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63, 16-33.
- Corsaro, W., & Molinari, L. (2005). *I compagni: Understanding children’s transition from pre-school to elementary school*. New York: Teacher’s College Press.

ASSEMBLING THE RESIDENT CHILD MEMBERSHIP IN RESIDENTIAL CARE

Florian Eßer

ABSTRACT

A long tradition of paying attention to objects can be found in history of education (Stieve, 2011). This interest in the materiality of educational practices has even been increasing for the last years. Thus it is common in early childhood education to speak of the environment as the third educator (Schmidt, 2004; Stieve, 2011; Liegle, 2010, S. 20). Objects and spaces are also treated as highly significant in recent ethnographies on child and youth work and school (e.g. Breidenstein, 2006, pp. 39ff.; Cloos et al., 2007, pp. 119ff.). The coincidence of a growing interest in objects and the emergence of an ethnographic perspective is by no means accidental (Rieger-Ladich, 2009, pp. 120ff.): Ethnographic approaches to research, with their “long tradition of researching foreign territories” (Köngeter & Cloos, 2010, p. 73), strongly suggest to value the relevance of objects in the constitution of educational practices. The association of nonhuman and human actors is also a core idea of actor-network theory (ANT), which works as an analytic framework for the paper (Latour, 1999, 2005).

The article is based on ethnographic field work in a German residential child care. It starts with those objects in the group homes which represent members. Examples for such objects are duty rosters which are put up to show which staff member is on “duty” when, the furnishing of shared spaces, or weekly schedules for each child. These objects take part in the production of different memberships for children and adults, which effect the facility as an educational institution: Weekly schedules and other nonhuman actors ensure that children are centred within the residential care unit and gain an exclusive form of membership. This practice of assembling stands in line with notions of childhood that understand children as primal and indivisible beings. Closely connected to that idea of childhood is the assumption that (small) children need at least one stable relationship to an adult caregiver. The residential child care unit as an organization takes account of this by providing a family-like setting for the children: a female “resident” member of staff spends a large part of the days and nights in the group home and is thereby supposed to ensure family-like continuity of supervision. Consequently the “resident’s” membership also implies the assembling of private objects that make the care unit a personal space for her.

Further on the "resident" is supported by two youth and childcare workers who take over individual shifts and assist her in her everyday work. Those colleagues who work in shifts and who are – unlike the "resident" – not at home at the care unit tend to criticize the resident's furnishing of the flat as not appropriate for children. In doing so a dichotomy is made up between a child-oriented education on the one hand and a family-like pedagogy on the other. Thus objects are involved in the production of a certain style of education as well as in conflicts over competing ideas of pedagogy.

In der Frühpädagogik besteht eine lange Tradition, Räume und Dinge als konstitutive Momente des erzieherischen Feldes mit zu denken. Das historisch bis auf Fröbel und Montessori zurück zu verfolgende Interesse an der sächlichen und räumlichen Umgebung (Stieve, 2011) hat sich bis in die aktuellen Diskussionen erhalten, in denen Orten und Dingen – bspw. als Dritte Erzieher in einem Konzept „indirekter Erziehung“ – eine prominente Rolle bei der Erziehung zugeschrieben (Liegle, 2010, S. 20; Schmidt, 2004; Stieve, 2011). Auch über die Frühpädagogik hinaus wird in anderen pädagogischen Feldern wie der Kinder- und Jugendarbeit oder der Schule Räumen und Sachen eine hohe Bedeutung zugemessen – in mehreren empirischen Studien wurde dieser Dimension ausführlich Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt (Breidenstein, 2006, S. 39ff.; Cloos u.a., 2007, S. 119ff.; Schulz, 2010, S. 85ff.). Dass es sich bei diesen Forschungen durchweg um Ethnographien handelt, erscheint keineswegs zufällig: Mit ihrem starken Feldbegriff bezieht Ethnographie immer schon Lokalität auf Sozialität und vice versa. Insofern scheint sie sich als Forschungsansatz mit ihrer „lange[n] Tradition in der Erforschung fremder Territorien“ (Köngeter & Cloos, 2010, S. 73) anzubieten, Räume und Objekte auch als maßgebliche Bestandteile pädagogischer Felder in den Blick empirischer Rekonstruktion zu nehmen.

Der vorliegende Beitrag setzt an derartigen Bemühungen an und führt sie in einem anderen pädagogischen Feld fort. Er liefert eine ethnographische Skizze einer stationären Wohngruppe einer Jugendhilfeeinrichtung.¹⁸ Dort wird für insgesamt sechs Kinder eine „Hilfe zur Erziehung [...] über Tag und Nacht“ (§ 34 KJHG) angeboten. In konzeptioneller Hinsicht handelt es sich um ein so genanntes familienanalogenes, bzw. familienähnliches Setting von Heimerziehung: Eine „innewohnende“ Mitarbeiterin verbringt einen Großteil der

¹⁸ Der Verfasser führte in dieser sowie in drei anderen Wohngruppen im Auftrag des Trägers eine Ethnographie durch, die das Ziel verfolgt, den pädagogischen Alltag zu rekonstruieren. Das Projekt wird von Stefan Köngeter und Wolfgang Schröer am Institut für Sozial- und Organisationspädagogik der Universität Hildesheim begleitet.

Tage und Nächte in der Wohngruppe und soll dadurch eine familienähnliche Betreuungskontinuität gewährleisten. Unterstützt wird die so genannte „Innewohnende“ von zwei weiteren Erzieherinnen und Erziehern, die Dienste übernehmen, sobald die Innewohnende „im Frei“ ist und ihr zudem im Alltag zuarbeiten. Die Kinder sind in der Regel relativ langfristig untergebracht, d.h. sie bleiben zumeist für mehrere Jahre in der Wohngruppe, bevor sie zurück in ihre Familien kehren oder ein selbständiges Leben beginnen.

Die empirisch-rekonstruktive Annäherung an das Feld der Heimerziehung soll hier zunächst über die kindheitstheoretisch motivierte Frage erfolgen, was es bedeutet, in dieser Wohngruppe Kind oder Erwachsener zu sein. Es soll, präziser, um die unterschiedlichen Zugehörigkeiten gehen, die für die unterschiedlichen Feldteilnehmerinnen und -teilnehmer hergestellt werden. Es mag zunächst irritierend erscheinen, dass die Beantwortung der Frage nach der sozialen Situierung im Feld ausgerechnet über ‚materiale‘ Phänomene wie Räume und Dinge erfolgen soll. Dies geschieht auf der Grundlage einer sozialtheoretischen Rahmung, von der die Trennung zwischen Sozialem und Natürlichem grundlegend infrage gestellt wird. Die von Bruno Latour für das Feld der science studies entwickelten Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie (ANT) liefert ein Beispiel für eine solche Fundierung (Latour, 1999b, 2005). Gemäß den Prämissen der ANT sind nicht-menschliche Akteure ebenso in das Netz sozialer Beziehungen verwoben wie menschliche. Folgt man diesen Annahmen, dann repräsentieren die besagten Objekte und Räume in den Wohngruppen nicht nur menschliche Mitglieder, sondern sind als „Mittler“ (Latour) ebenso an der Herstellung von Zugehörigkeiten beteiligt. Die Prämissen der ANT lassen Räume und Objekte einerseits nicht als Bühne bzw. Requisiten erscheinen, die von den (menschlichen) Akteuren bespielt werden um „Pädagogik“ aufzuführen, und andererseits auch nicht als kategorial von den Pädagoginnen und Pädagogen verschiedene Erzieher, die dem intentionalen Erziehungs Handeln eine Umwelt hinzufügen. Folglich werden auch Kinder, Erwachsene und ihre Zugehörigkeiten durch Räume und Dinge mit konstituiert, insofern sie „Kollektive“ (Latour)¹⁹ aus menschlichen und nicht-menschlichen Akteuren bilden.

Räume und Dinge erscheinen insofern nicht etwa als Dritte Erzieher neben Peers und Erwachsenen, da die kategoriale Differenz zwischen Subjekt und Objekt nicht aufrecht erhalten wird, auf der jene Differenzierung beruht: Sie sind als nicht-menschliche Akteure in Verbindungen mit menschlichen Akteuren verwoben, die sich nicht einfach auflösen las-

¹⁹ „Kollektiv“ („collective“) ist ein von Bruno Latour als Gegenbegriff zu „Gesellschaft“ eingeführtes Konzept, das sich „auf Assoziationen von Menschen und nicht-menschlichen Wesen“ bezieht (Latour, 2002, S. 376).

sen. Auch Kinder und Erwachsene sind folglich nicht von ‚ihren‘ Dingen und Orten zu lösen. Insofern lässt im Rückgriff auf die Latoursche ANT als heuristisches Konzept²⁰ jene ethnographische Annahme der Lokalität des Sozialen und der Sozialität des Lokalen Ernst nehmen. Hierzu wird zunächst in zwei Schritten die Herstellung der Zugehörigkeiten von und für Kinder rekonstruiert, um dann in einem dritten Schritt unterschiedliche Zugehörigkeiten von Erwachsenen hierauf zu beziehen.

1. DIE WOHNGRUPPE ALS ZENTRIERTER LEBENSORT

Die Kinder sollen mit ihrem Eintritt in die Wohngruppe zugleich ihren Lebensort dorthin verlegen. Als Kind zugehörig zu sein, bedeutet dort das Zuhause zu haben. Was zunächst trivial erscheinen mag, offenbart sich empirisch als vorraussetzungsvoller Herstellungsprozess: Einerseits wird erst im gelebten Alltag deutlich, was das abstrakte „Zuhause“ konkret bedeutet, andererseits zeigt sich, dass die Herstellung dieses „Zuhause“ unter den Bedingungen der Wohngruppe mit zahlreichen Ambivalenzen und auch Widerständigkeiten einher geht. Besonders im Verhältnis zur so genannten Herkunftsfamilie der Kinder wird die Herstellung der Wohngruppe als Lebensort insofern evident, als sich hier eine potentielle Konkurrenzsituation zwischen zwei Zugehörigkeiten ergibt. Hierzu sei zunächst eine Beobachtung angeführt, die sich ergab, als der elfjährige Christian von seiner Mutter nach einem gemeinsamen Wochenende zurück in die Wohngruppe gebracht wurde. Die Mutter verweilte noch einige Zeit stehend am Abendbrottisch. Christians neun Jahre alte Schwester Kathleen, die in derselben Einrichtung untergebracht ist, verbrachte den Sonntag mit der Wohngruppe und hatte auf einem Flohmarkt ein bisschen Geld verdient. Nun saß sie mit am Abendbrottisch:

Kathleen drückte ihrer Mutter die sechs Euro in die Hand fragte: ‚Tust du die dann in meine Spardose?‘ Sabine [die Innewohnende; FE] schaltete sich darauf hin ein und meinte: ‚Nee, das ist ja Quatsch, du bist die ganze Zeit hier, wieso soll denn dein Geld jetzt in der Spardose bei deiner Mutter sein?‘ Kathleen verteidigte sich: ‚Ja, aber dann kann ich das nächstes Mal, wenn ich bei ihr bin das Geld ausgeben.‘ Sabine ließ das aber nicht gelten: ‚Ja, also dann tust du es aber bitte hier in die Spardose, und sagst mir nächstes Mal Be-

²⁰ Die Prämissen der ANT werden nicht als strenges Instrumentarium ausgelegt, sondern als relativ frei zu adaptierende heuristische Werkzeuge – was übrigens ganz im Sinne ihres Begründers Bruno Latours ist, der sich stets dagegen gewehrt hat, dass die ANT eine geschlossene Theorie vorgeben könne, mit der die Wirklichkeit zu erklären sei (z.B. Latour, 1999a, S. 19-21; vgl. auch Rieger-Ladich, 2009, S. 126, der ebenfalls für eine undogmatische Handhabung von Modellen wie der ANT plädiert).

scheid davor, und dann kriegst du hier das Geld und dann kannst du es ja trotzdem noch mitnehmen zu deiner Mutter.' Kathleens Mutter folgte bis dahin dem Wortwechsel mit dem Geld in der Hand im Stehen neben ihrer sitzenden Tochter. Kathleen gab sich noch nicht geschlagen: „Ja aber wenn ich es dann vergesse?“ Worauf Sabine erwiderte: „Ja, dann musst Du halt dran denken!“ In diesem Moment gab die Mutter ihrer Tochter das Geld zurück, das Kathleen, wenn auch widerstrebend, annahm und wieder in ihre Tasche steckte. (19.09.2010)

Die kleine Szene ereignete sich in einer liminalen Situation, in der die Kathleens und Christians Mutter als Repräsentantin der Herkunftsfamilie in den Räumen der Wohngruppe zugegen ist. An der Auseinandersetzung sind eine ganze Reihe unterschiedlicher Akteure beteiligt: Kathleen, Sabine, Kathleens Mutter (die im Beobachtungsprotokoll ohne Namen bleibt), das Geld sowie zwei Spardosen – eine, die in der Wohngruppe steht und eine, die bei der Mutter ihren Ort hat. Besondere Bedeutung gewinnen hier die sechs Euro, die sich als Kathleens Geld zunächst in der Hosentasche des Kindes befinden, anschließend jedoch in die Hand der Mutter wandern. Diese soll das Geld, so Kathleens Bitte, mit nach Hause nehmen. Durch die Spardose bei der Mutter könnte Kathleen, obwohl sie dort selbst nicht physisch zugegen ist, mit ihrem Geld in der Wohnung eine Präsenz etablieren. Geld und Spardose haben hier – anders als die Kinder in ihrer Leiblichkeit – die Möglichkeit, zwischen Wohngruppe und Herkunftsfamilie zu wandern.

Allerdings verhindert Sabine mit ihrer Intervention, dass das Geld über die Vermittlung der Mutter den Weg in jene Spardose nimmt. Während Kathleen versucht, mit ihrem Besitz auch die eigene Zugehörigkeit auf die beiden verschiedenen ‚Familien‘ zu verteilen, besteht die Innewohnende darauf, dass sie das Geld in der Wohngruppe aufbewahren soll, in der sie „die ganze Zeit“ verbringt und die insofern ihr Lebensort sei. Auch wenn sie das Geld gerne bei ihrer Mutter ausgeben möchte, so soll sie es doch in der Spardose der Wohngruppe aufbewahren und dann dorthin mitnehmen. Eine doppelte Kontoführung konfligiert folglich mit der Form der verabsolutierten Zugehörigkeit, wie sie von Sabine als Vertreterin der Organisation gesichert wird und die eine gewisse Ausschließlichkeit für sich beansprucht – nicht nur was den Lebensort der Kinder betrifft, sondern auch was deren materiellen Besitz angeht, soll die Wohngruppe den primären Ort darstellen. Während es für Kathleen eine Dezentrierung ihrer Zugehörigkeit bedeutet hätte, wenn die Vertei-

lung des Geldes geglückt hätte, trug es durch das Verbleiben zur Versammlung von Kathleen in der Wohngruppe bei.

Das Geld ist hier nur ein Beispiel für viele weitere nicht-menschliche Akteure, die je nach Situation in die beschriebene Dynamik von Zentrierung und Dezentrierung eingebunden sind. So wurden beispielsweise Kinder ebenso daran gehindert, Spielzeug aus der Wohngruppe zum Besuch bei den Eltern mitzunehmen, wie vice versa Spielsachen von der Herkunftsfamilie nicht in die Wohngruppe gebracht werden durften. In anderen Fällen hingegen konnten Objekte tatsächlich einen Beitrag zur Dezentrierung von Zugehörigkeiten der Kinder leisten. So besteht eine relativ gängige Praxis darin, dass Eltern ihren Kindern Handys mitgeben, mit deren Hilfe sie miteinander telefonieren oder chatten können. Das Mobiltelefon ermöglicht eine Form der Kommunikation, die über die Face-to-Face Kontakte der Besuchszeiten hinaus stattfinden kann und die Kinder so auch während der Zeit in der Wohngruppe mit ihren Herkunftsfamilien in Verbindung hält. So bekam ein Junge von seinem Stiefvater eine Jacke geschenkt, auf deren Rückseite in großen Lettern der Schriftzug „Chorweiler“ prangt. Der Junge erklärte dem verwunderten Ethnographen, dass zwar die Wohngruppe in einem anderen Bezirk angesiedelt ist, seine Mutter aber in Köln-Chorweiler lebt. Die Jacke etikettiert ihren Träger folglich trotz seines abweichenden Lebensorts über die Grenzen der Bezirke hinweg als dem Stadtteil Chorweiler zugehörig.

Die bisherige Darstellung könnte nahe legen, dass es sich bei der Versammlung des Kindes²¹ in der Wohngruppe um einen stets konflikthaften Prozess handelt, bei dem eine gewisse Form der Zugehörigkeit gegen die Bestrebungen des Kindes und der Herkunftsfamilie hergestellt wird. Dies ist insoweit zutreffend, als sich der in die Fremdunterbringung häufig eingelassene Zwangscharakter im Konflikt der Zugehörigkeiten zwischen den beiden Familien zum Ausdruck kommt. Andererseits wird ein Großteil der Verbindungen, mit denen das Kind in der Wohngruppe versammelt wird, im Alltag ohne großes Aufheben eingegangen und in seiner Selbstverständlichkeit nicht weiter evident. Konflikte und gegen Widerstände geschlossene Verbindungen bieten jedoch den heuristischen Vorteil, dass in ihnen jene Versammlung explizit thematisch und dadurch sichtbar wird.

²¹ „Versammlung“ (bzw. auch im Plural „Versammlungen“) ist ein von Latour gebrauchter Begriff, mit dem er auf die Mobilisierung und Assoziierung unterschiedlicher Typen von Akteuren rekurriert, die gemeinsam jene Netzwerke bilden, aus denen Wirklichkeit besteht. Der Verweis auf die Versammlung des Kindes soll hier verdeutlichen, dass an der Hervorbringung des Kindes als Wohngruppenkind verschiedene Gegenstände und Räumlichkeiten als nicht-menschliche Akteure beteiligt sind, die in ihrer Assoziierung zum Wohngruppenkind ‚gehören‘ und nicht von diesem zu trennen sind (ähnlich auch Haraway, 1991).

Sie ließen jenen Herstellungsmodus von „Zuhause“ erkennen, wie er die Wohngruppe als pädagogische Institution kennzeichnet. Dieser ist übrigens bereits in der Bezeichnung „Herkunftsfamilie“ angelegt, mit der die Wohngruppe, in die das Kind aufgenommen wurde, gegen jene andere Familie abgegrenzt wird, aus der das Kind in der Vergangenheit kam. Im Modell einer Herkunfts- und einer Ankunftsfamilie wird „Familie“ in gewisser Hinsicht zum exklusiven Ort: Insofern es möglich ist, die Familie zu wechseln sind die Zugehörigkeiten zwar über die Zeit hinweg variierbar, hingegen ist zu einem festen Zeitpunkt nur eine Familie möglich. Auch in den familienanalogen Wohngruppen wird eine Form der Zugehörigkeit hergestellt, die diesem exklusiven Muster entspricht. Sowohl Herkunftsfamilien als auch Wohngruppen erhalten es insofern aufrecht, als sie das Kind so komplett wie möglich bei sich zentrieren. Kind (in) einer Wohngruppe zu sein bedeutet, ihr exklusiv und auch insofern absolut anzugehören, als über die temporäre physische Präsenz auch eine ständige Verortung gesichert sein soll – wozu zahlreiche nicht-menschliche Akteure (wie Geld, Spardosen, Kleidung und Spielzeug) mobilisiert werden. Während pädagogische Institutionen wie der Kindergarten oder die Schule Kindern in der Regel lediglich eine begrenzte Zugehörigkeit anbieten (z.B. durch die klare zeitliche Begrenztheit und relativ wenig Raum, um privaten Besitz mitzubringen), wird in der familienanalogen Fremdunterbringung durch die Versammlung unterschiedlicher Akteure an einer raum-zeitlichen Zentrierung des Kindes in der Wohngruppe gearbeitet.

Um dies nochmals auf den Ausgangspunkt der Ausführungen zu beziehen: Kathleen verbringt als neunjähriges Mädchen einen nicht unbeträchtlichen Teil des Tages außerhalb der Räumlichkeiten der Wohngruppe: Vormittags ist sie in der Schule, beinahe jeden Nachmittag besucht sie Freizeit- und Bildungsangebote, hinzu kommen Besuche bei Freundinnen und, nicht zuletzt, die Wochenendbesuche bei ihrer Mutter. Obwohl sie bei Weitem nicht dauerhaft präsent ist, wurde ihr von Sabine vorgehalten, dass sie doch „die ganze Zeit da“ sei – und eben nicht bei der Mutter. Auf der Grundlage der bisherigen Analyse kann gefolgert werden, dass die Dauerhaftigkeit der Anwesenheit trotz der temporären physischen Abwesenheit einerseits durch die Versammlung von persönlichen Objekten wie Geld, Spielzeug und Kleidung geschieht, die eine starke Verbindung zu ihren Besitzern aufweisen und diese mit der Wohngruppe assoziieren. Ferner geschieht diese Herstellung des Zuhauses der Kinder – und dies wird im nächsten Punkt auszuführen sein – jedoch auch durch eine Zentrierung ihrer Aktivitäten in der Wohngruppe. Maßgeblich beteiligt hieran sind in der Regel Wochenpläne.

2. DIE WOHNGRUPPE ALS ZENTRIERENDER LEBENSORT

In der Wohngruppe hängen für jedes Kind ein Plan aus, in den alle regelmäßigen außerschulischen und außer,häuslichen' Termine der Kinder für jeden Wochentag eingetragen werden (Therapiestunden, Vereinsaktivitäten, Musikunterricht etc.). Der Plan bewältigt zunächst eine organisatorische Aufgabe: Angesichts der Komplexität der Termine jedes einzelnen Kindes, der Vielzahl der in der Wohngruppe lebenden Kinder und der vielen unterschiedlichen verantwortlichen Erzieherinnen und Erzieher muss der Überblick über die fixen und verbindlichen Punkte im Wochenrhythmus jedes einzelnen Kindes gesichert werden. Diese Funktion erfüllt der Plan, indem er die Aktivitäten des Kindes in tabellarischer Form visualisiert. Dabei ist er mehr als nur ein „Zwischenglied“ (intermediary) (Latour, 2002, S. 382), das die Information unverändert weiterleitet, sondern wird insofern zum Akteur, als er eine eigenständige Rolle bei der Konstituierung dieses Alltags und der Herstellung der Zugehörigkeit des Kindes einnimmt.

Dies wurde am deutlichsten, als ein Kind neu in die Wohngruppe kam. Mit der Aufnahme des achtjährigen Marco wurde auch ein Wochenplan für ihn in der Wohnküche aufgehängt, in den zu Anfang kaum Aktivitäten eingetragen waren und der folglich viele Leerstellen aufwies. Für die Erzieherinnen und Erzieher der Wohngruppe war immer wieder Thema, dass Marco nicht genug Beschäftigung habe. Als der Ethnograph nach einigen Monaten in die Wohngruppe zurückkam, deutete die Innewohnende Sabine auf den inzwischen volleren Plan und kommentierte, dass er sich schön langsam fülle. Gleichzeitig wies sie auf die Schwierigkeiten hin, die das Füllen in Marcos Fall bereite, weil der Junge immer wieder von vereinsmäßig organisierten Freizeit- und Sportgruppen ausgeschlossen werde, bei denen er als nicht tragbar gelte.

Insofern bildet der Wochenplan nicht nur das Nachmittagsprogramm der Kinder ab und dokumentiert den Erfolg der Organisation beim Füllen des Plans, sondern produziert gleichzeitig Leerstellen, die ihrerseits wieder produktiv werden. In einer anderen Situation stand Kathleen vor ihrem Wochenplan und zeigte einer Erzieherin, dass sie an einem Nachmittag „noch gar nichts hat“. Die Lücke im Plan fungierte als Aufforderung an die Erzieherinnen und Erzieher, eine Aktivität für sie zu organisieren. Der Wohngruppe als Kind zugehörig zu sein, bedeutet folglich auch, dort einen Plan zu haben, an dem das Management des Alltags stattfindet. Gleichzeitig ergibt sich aus dem Plan der sonst nirgends explizierte Anspruch auf die Versorgung mit einem gut gefüllten Wochenangebot.

Der Plan bildet einen Knoten, der das Kind mit seinem Alltag auf die Wohngruppe hin zentriert und gleichzeitig nach einem bestimmten Schema organisiert. Die zu füllenden Spalten formieren den Alltag nach einem außerschulischen und doch curricularen Baukastenprinzip: Leistungen, die über Schule und Wohngruppe hinausweisen, werden außerhalb eingekauft und organisiert. Hierdurch entsteht ein intermediärer Sektor zwischen Freizeit, Bildung und Therapie, durch den die Kinder beschäftigt und erzogen werden. Kindheit in der Einrichtung zeichnet sich dadurch aus, dass Erwachsene – in diesem Fall: Erzieherinnen und Erzieher – die Verantwortung für die Gestaltung eines Alltags entlang unterschiedlicher Angebote und Aktivitäten entfalten, die zugleich unterhalten und bilden sollen. Der Wochenplan verweist nicht nur auf die Organisation einer institutionellen Aufgabe, die in der Verantwortung für das Management des Alltags der Kinder besteht, sondern leistet gleichzeitig einen Beitrag zur Institutionalisierung von Kindheit innerhalb der Wohngruppen. Dabei entsprechen die „enrichment“ activities“ in etwa einer Vorstellung vom Kind „as a project – soft, malleable and able to be developed and improved, with the ‚good‘ parent presenting a myriad of opportunities and support for the child to have a range of learning experiences“, wie es Vincent und Ball in einem Beitrag zur Organisation der Freizeit von Kindergartenkindern als typisch für Mittelschichtfamilien herausarbeiteten (Vincent & Ball, 2007, S. 1065). Die Räumlichkeiten der Wohngruppe bilden – im Gegensatz zu hergebrachten Konzepten von Heimerziehung²² – nicht selbst jenen einen relevanten Ort, an dem die Kinder exklusiv ihre außerschulische Freizeit verbringen, sondern erfüllt seine Aufgabe wesentlich durch Prozesse des Organisierens und Koordinierens weiterer Freizeit-, Bildungs- und Therapieangebote. Mit der Zentrierung des Kindes und seiner Aktivitäten auf die Wohngruppe bleibt nichtsdestotrotz der Anspruch auf eine Verantwortlichkeit für alle relevanten Lebensbereiche erhalten. Anders als etwa in der Kindertagesstätte oder der Schule, die als Institutionen die Idee einer funktional spezialisierten Zuständigkeit aufrecht erhalten können, wird mit der Zugehörigkeit zur Wohngruppe eine Fürsorge konstituiert, die sich auf alle Lebensbereiche erstreckt und diese miteinander vernetzt und somit ein ‚ganzes‘ Kind hervorbringt.

²² Vgl. dazu etwa die historischen Beispiele der Wohnstubenerziehung Pestalozzis (1799/1998) oder Wicherns (1975/1868) Pädagogik des Rauhen Hauses. Die Faszination vieler Pädagogen für die Heimerziehung schien gerade darin zu liegen, dass sie hier eine geschlossene, kontrollierte und homogene pädagogische Welt für die Kinder gestalten konnten.

3. DIE WOHNGRUPPE ALS HYBRIDER DIENST- UND LEBENSORT

Die Frage nach der Zugehörigkeit führte bisher zu menschlichen und nicht-menschlichen Akteuren, die Verbindungen zwischen Kindern und der Wohngruppe herstellten. Die damit implizit vorgenommene generationale Differenzierung liegt zunächst in einem Feld begründet, in dem diese Differenz permanent neu hergestellt wird und von hoher Bedeutung ist. Kinder sind Kinder weil und insofern sie einen Wochenplan haben, Erwachsene hingegen haben keinen. Implizit war damit auch eine wechselseitige Bezogenheit bereits angelegt: So repräsentieren Wochenpläne zwar Kinder, fordern jedoch Erwachsene auf, sie zu füllen und verbinden somit nicht nur Kinder und Wohngruppe, sondern beziehen mittelbar auch Kinder und Erwachsene aufeinander.

Dies führt zur Frage nach der Zugehörigkeit der Erwachsenen in der Wohngruppe. Folgt man wiederum den Dingen, die namentlich und direkt auf einzelne Personen verweisen, so wird man ebenfalls in der Essküche fündig: Während die Kinder dort unter anderem über Wochenpläne präsent sind, gilt dies für die Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter in Form eines aushängenden Dienstplans. In einem Kalender mit Monatsübersicht ist für jeden Tag je ein Anfangsbuchstabe eingezeichnet, der auf den Namen der Person verweist, die an diesem Tag als Verantwortliche oder Verantwortlicher im Dienst ist. Hierbei handelt es sich entweder um die Innewohnende oder, wenn diese frei hat, um die zugehende Erzieherin bzw. den zugehenden Erzieher, die in diesem Fall als so genannte „Vollvertretung“ fungieren. Am Ende des jeweiligen Kalendertags wird das Kästchen inklusive des Anfangsbuchstabens des oder der „Diensthabenden“ mit einem bunten Filzstift ausgekreuzt.

Im Gegensatz zu den Kindern sind die Erwachsenen somit nicht dauerhaft präsent, sondern werden vom Dienstplan alternierend für jene Tage in die Wohngruppe geholt, an denen sie die Leitungsfunktion inne haben und die Nacht dort verbringen – und können anschließend ausgekreuzt werden. Während Kinder in der Wohngruppe also auch dann anwesend gehalten werden, wenn sie physisch abwesend sind, ergibt sich die Bedeutung der Erwachsenen maßgeblich dadurch, ob sie an einem bestimmten Tag physisch präsent sein werden und eine bestimmte Funktion innehaben oder nicht. Der Dienstplan konstituiert ein Tableau alternierender Anwesenheiten und Verantwortlichkeiten innerhalb der Wohngruppe. Dadurch, dass er die Präsenz einzelner Erwachsener kommuniziert, trägt der Dienstplan das Thema der Anwesenheit und Abwesenheit von Erwachsenen in die Gemeinschaftsräume der Wohngruppe hinein und bietet sich für Anschlussnahmen an. So

stand eines Abends die zwölfjährige Clara mit einem Stift neben dem Dienstplan, während die zugehende Erzieherin Nicole in der Küche arbeitete:

Clara machte im Dienstplan zwei Kreuze – wodurch sowohl der heutige als auch der morgige Tag ausgestrichen waren. Anschließend wendete sie sich an Nicole und sagte: „Ja, heute ist der 11., heute kommt Sven.“ Daraufhin sah Meike auf den Kalender und meinte: „Nee, heute ist nicht der 11. und heute kommt auch nicht Sven!“ Darauf reagierte Clara demonstrativ mit einem enttäuschten: „Oooh“. Es waren alle folgenden Tage ausgekreuzt, an denen Sabine Dienst gehabt hätte.

Auch wenn die Kreuze im Dienstplan insofern folgenlos blieben, als Sabine trotzdem am nächsten Tag wieder in die Wohngruppe kam, führt die nach Diensten organisierte Zugehörigkeit dazu, dass die An- oder Abwesenheit einzelner Erwachsener als solche Relevanz gewinnt und sich in den Rhythmus des Alltags einschreibt. Mit dem regelmäßigen Wechsel der Dienste geht ein permanenter Austausch der erwachsenen Bezugspersonen einher, der für die Wohngruppe bedeutsam ist.

Die Kritik an solchen dienstförmigen Organisationsmodellen hat in der Heimerziehung eine lange Tradition und die Schaffung entsprechender familienanaloger Modelle stellt nicht zuletzt einen Versuch dar, dieses Problem zu bearbeiten (hierzu z.B. Niederberger & Bühler-Niederberger, 1988, S. 3ff.). So ist Sabine als innewohnende Erzieherin entsprechend der Konzeption familienanaloger Heimerziehung gewissermaßen die Garantin für die Nichtauskreuzbarkeit zumindest einer erwachsenen Person. Entsprechend kann sie zwar – wie alle anderen – auf dem Dienstplan durchgestrichen werden, trotzdem bleibt sie jedoch auch nach Dienstende präsenter als die übrigen Erzieherinnen und Erzieher. So ist sie als Innewohnende unter anderem auch für die Einrichtung der Wohnung zuständig und befindet sich dadurch in der Position, die Umgebung entsprechend ihren individuellen Vorstellungen zu gestalten. Bereits beim ersten Besuch des Ethnographen in der Wohngruppe wird deutlich, dass über die Art und Weise, in der sie von diesem Recht Gebrauch macht, Dissens herrscht:

Ich habe mich ein bisschen umgeschaut in der Essküche, die eigentlich von der Möblierung her genauso eingerichtet ist wie die baugleiche Wohngruppe einen Stockwerk tiefer. Allerdings sind die Wände nicht bunt gestrichen, sondern weiß und es hängen Blumenbilder an der Wand, die nach Ikea aussehen. Dazu ein bisschen rosa, so dass der Eindruck eines modernen Land-

hausstils entsteht, der gemeinsam mit den Nippes an die Auslage eines Laura Ashley-Ladens erinnert. Ich schaute mich um und meinte zu Sabine: „Oh, das ist ja interessant, weil es irgendwie ja so ähnlich ist wie unten, aber dann doch ganz anders von der Einrichtung her...“ Sabine antwortete darauf verteidigend, dass die Anderen sagen würden, das sei nicht besonders kindgerecht hier. Aber ihr würde es halt so gefallen und das sei nun einmal so, wenn man familienanalogue Unterbringung macht: Dann müssen die Kinder irgendwie auch mit dem leben, was die Erwachsenen hier so machen wollen. (16.09.2010)

Die Räumlichkeiten wirken zunächst irritierend auf den Beobachter. Obwohl die Wohnung nicht nur vom Schnitt, sondern auch von der Möblierung her ähnlich ist, so wie die ihm bereits bekannten Räumlichkeiten einer weiteren Wohngruppe, wirkt sie doch ganz „anders“. Auf die Markierung dieser Differenz durch den Ethnographen, reagiert die Innewohnende mit einer Rechtfertigung, in der sie eine kritische Haltung ihres Gegenübers insofern antizipiert, als sie auf die Ablehnung ihrer Kolleginnen und Kollegen („die Anderen“) verweist.

Sabine führt mit ihrer Antwort zwei grundsätzliche Differenzen ein: Erstens unterscheidet sie zwischen den übrigen Erzieherinnen bzw. Erziehern und sich selbst. Die ihrem Geschmack entsprechenden Bildern, Nippes und anderen Einrichtungsgegenständen verlängern ihre Präsenz exklusiv in den Wohnraum hinein und sind dort von „den Anderen“ nicht auszulöschen. Gleichzeitig wird der Kritik der Kolleginnen und Kollegen sowie der von ihr gesehenen Notwendigkeit der Rechtfertigung deutlich, dass der von ihr gestaltete Raum nicht vollkommen privat ist, sondern als Einrichtung der Wohnung einer Wohngruppe derart exponiert ist, dass er nicht nur die Verwunderung des Ethnographen, sondern auch einen Disput um die angemessene Gestaltung der (Erziehungs-)Organisation bilden kann. Diesen Konflikt ordnet Sabine – zweitens – in ein Schema ein, das zwischen Kindgerechtigkeit und Familienanalogie differenziert. Kindgerecht ist, wenn man Sabine wörtlich nimmt, was den Kindern gefällt. Hingegen führt das pädagogische Programm der Familienanalogie dazu, dass die Kinder im Zweifelsfall auch mit dem Leben müssen, was nicht zu ihnen als Kindern passt, dafür aber ihr als Innewohnender gefällt.²³ Durch die

²³ Wobei Kinder im Adjektiv „kindgerecht“ als abstrakte Kategorie erscheinen, der als Kindern ein allgemeiner Geschmack zugeordnet werden kann und nicht als die konkreten Kinder der Wohngruppe.

weibliche und ‚erwachsene‘ Ästhetik assoziiert die Einrichtung den Raum mit Sabine und nicht mit den Kindern.

Entlang der generationalen Differenz führt Sabine nun eine Reflexion über das pädagogische Programm der Organisation ein: Ihren pädagogischen Mehrwert bezieht die Wohngruppe gerade aus ihrer systematischen Nicht-Bezogenheit auf Kinder. Diese leben in den Räumen der Innewohnenden mit. Dabei lässt die zugrunde gelegte Unterscheidung („kindgerecht“ vs. „familienanalog“) nur zwei Möglichkeiten zu: Eine „kindgerechte“ Form der Einrichtung, in der die Innewohnende im für die Kinder geschaffenen Zuhause mit lebt oder eine Ästhetik, die primär der Erwachsenen gerecht wird und somit ein Zuhause für die Kinder im Zuhause der Innewohnenden konstituiert. Jenseits dieser konzeptionellen entweder-oder-Unterscheidung offenbart sich der Raum der Wohngruppe jedoch als hybrid: Neben der auf die Innewohnende bezogene Ästhetik der Einrichtungsgegenstände verweisen die unterschiedlichen Pläne und Aushänge, aber auch Fotos und Zeichnungen von Kindern auf die organisationale Erfüllung einer pädagogischen Aufgabe einerseits und auf die Präsenz der Kinder andererseits.

Die Zugehörigkeiten, so ließe sich resümieren, ergeben sich für die Erwachsenen einerseits aus einem Prinzip des Schichtdiensts und alternierender Verantwortungen, das alle betrifft – auch wenn Sabine als Innewohnende den größeren Teil der Dienste übernimmt. Diesbezüglich werden Erzieherinnen und Erzieher insofern relevant, als sie im Dienst sind und in der Zeit, in der sie physisch präsent sind entsprechende Aufgaben und Funktionen übernehmen. Gleichzeitig stellt die innewohnende Erzieherin eine andere Form der Zugehörigkeit her: Sie kann und soll ihre Präsenz über die dienstförmige Anwesenheit hinaus ausdehnen und die Wohngruppe auch als ihr Zuhause konstituieren. An dieser Verstetigung sind wiederum verschiedene nicht-menschliche Akteure beteiligt: Die Einrichtung der Wohnung irritiert mit ihrer Ästhetik nicht nur den Ethnographen, sondern fordert auch die Kritik der Kolleginnen und Kollegen heraus. Die Nippes und Bilder formieren somit nicht nur das Zuhause der Innewohnenden, sondern interpretieren auch ein pädagogisches Konzept der Familienanalogie, das nicht von allen Erzieherinnen und Erziehern mit getragen wird.

4. RESÜMEE

Die Rekonstruktion der Beobachtungsprotokolle ergab, dass es der Mobilisierung einer ganzen Reihe menschlicher und nicht-menschlicher Akteure bedarf, um Kinder so zu versammeln, dass die Wohngruppe ihr Zuhause darstellt. Ausgehend von einer relationalen

Sozialtheorie, wie sie u.a. von Bruno Latour geprägt wurde, konnte gezeigt werden, wie Kinder auch jenseits einer Unmittelbarkeit suggerierenden physischen Präsenz durch eine Vielzahl unterschiedlicher Verbindungen dort verortet werden. Eine nicht substantialistische Ontologie erlaubte zunächst heuristisch die Dezentrierung jenes Wohngruppenkindes, das insofern nicht von vornherein als einheitliches kindliches Subjekt vorausgesetzt werden musste (vgl. in ähnlicher Absicht auch Haraway, 1991). Jene ‚uneinheitliche‘ Betrachtung widerspricht insofern hergebrachten Vorstellungen, als das Kind spätestens seit der Romantik als prototypisch für eine ganzheitliche und ungespaltene Natur gilt, die nicht zuletzt auch den Ansatzpunkt zu einer Kultivierung durch Erziehung bietet (Baader, 1996; Esser, 2010, S. 292f.; Ullrich, 1998).²⁴ Jene kindliche Ganzheitlichkeit und Natürlichkeit ist nun eben nicht eine der Pädagogik vorgängige anthropologische Voraussetzung von Erziehung, sondern lässt sich als Formierungsprozess rekonstruieren, der in und durch die pädagogische Institution geschieht.

Da die Wohngruppe für die Kinder nicht nur ein funktionales Äquivalent zur Familie darstellen soll, sondern auch mit dem Konzept der Familienanalogie operiert, lassen sich die Erkenntnisse über die hierdurch produzierte Form der Zugehörigkeit in den Kontext aktuellerer Entwicklungen von Familie stellen. Der zunehmende Abschied von der Normalfamilie als Kernfamilie (Jurczyk u.a., 2009, S. 45) führte in den letzten Jahrzehnten zu einer Pluralisierung von Familienformen zwischen Eineltern-, Patchwork- und Mehrgenerationenfamilien. Damit einhergehen auch eine Dynamisierung der Familienarrangements und eine höhere Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass Kinder im Lauf ihrer Kindheit in unterschiedlichen familialen Konstellationen leben werden. Auch für Kinder in der Heimerziehung gilt entsprechend, dass sich ihr Zuhause mit dem Beginn der Erziehungshilfe verändert. Instrukтив ist, auf welche Weise in der Wohngruppe mit dieser veränderten Zugehörigkeit umgegangen wird: Insofern die Kinder auch in Abgrenzung gegenüber der so genannten „Herkunftsfamilien“ auf die pädagogische Institution konzentriert wurden. Aus der Pluralität der Familienformen ergab sich für die Kinder folglich keine Vermehrung der Zugehörigkeiten, sondern die Passage in die Wohngruppe sollte für die Kinder dort eine neue primäre Zugehörigkeit stiften. Das Zuhause verteilt sich nicht auf mehrere soziale Zusammenhänge, sondern wird in Form einer seriellen Exklusivität für die Wohngruppe entgegen der Herkunftsfamilie beansprucht. Jene Praktiken der Abgrenzung und der Herstellung von Exklu-

²⁴ Hierdurch lässt es sich nicht zuletzt vom modernen (primär männlichen) Erwachsenen absetzen, der sich im Zuge seiner ‚Kultivierung‘ von dieser ursprünglichen Natur entfernte (Haraway, 1989, S. 10f.; Richter, 1987).

sivität entsprechen nicht nur den Grundsätzen einer modernen westlichen Kernfamilie (Nelson, 2006; Smith, 1993),²⁵ sondern auch einer Vorstellung jenes ungespaltenen und unteilbaren Kindes, das auf ein Zuhause angewiesen ist (Oelkers, 2007).

Wesentlich uneindeutiger hingegen nimmt sich die Antwort auf die Frage aus, wie jener häuslichen Aufgabe der Versammlung des ganzen Kindes organisational gerecht werden soll. Das Prinzip einer familienanalogen Form der Heimerziehung mit einer innewohnenden Erzieherin als Äquivalent zur Mutter geht davon aus, dass dem Kind eine ebenso ganze Person entgegengesetzt werden muss, mit der es eine Bindung eingehen kann (Bühler-Niederberger, 1999, S. 334). Wiederum durch die Mobilisierung nicht-menschlicher Akteure wird die Wohngruppe zum Zuhause dieser Innewohnenden, ohne dadurch zur privaten Wohnung zu werden. Der Ort ist insofern von Hybridität gekennzeichnet, als neben der umfassenden Zugehörigkeit der Innewohnenden parallel noch eine dienstförmige Zugehörigkeit konstituiert wird, die sich auf den Schichtwechsel der zugehenden Erzieherinnen und Erzieher mit der Innewohnenden konstituiert. Eine Spannung zwischen den Logiken entstand, als die weiteren Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter die Einrichtung der Gemeinschaftsräume kritisierten und damit gleichzeitig die Art der Präsenz der Innewohnenden infrage stellten. Sie forderten eine „kindgerechte“ Einrichtung und somit eine primäre Ausrichtung der Wohngruppe an der Logik eines Arrangements für Kinder. Auch wenn die Erzieherin, so der implizite Anspruch, die Wohngruppe zugleich als ihre private Wohnung begreifen soll, hat sie sich bei der Einrichtung nicht an ihren persönlichen Bedürfnissen zu orientieren, sondern am Primat der Kindgerechtigkeit.

Neben Vorstellungen über die Bedürfnisse von Kindern wirken in der pädagogisch-konzeptionellen Antwort einer familienanalogen Erziehung auf das Problem einer Unterbringung von Minderjährigen außerhalb ihrer „Herkunftsfamilie“ auch (Binnen-)Differenzierungen von Kindheit gemäß des Lebensalters mit. So darf diese Wohngruppe, da sie eine konstante Bezugsperson für die kleinen Kinder nachweisen kann, im Gegensatz zu ausschließlich nach dem Schichtmodell operierenden Einrichtungen auch Kinder unter drei Jahren aufnehmen. Zudem führt das familienanaloge Modell auch dazu, dass die Wohngruppe in der Praxis von den Verantwortlichen des Jugendamts bevorzugt für die Aufnahme jüngerer Kinder – und weniger von Jugendlichen – angefragt wird. Spätestens an dieser Stelle werden auch Bezüge zu (anderen) frühpädagogischen Institutio-

²⁵ Nelson (2006) betont, wie sich auch in Familienarrangements, die jenem westlichen Standardmodell nicht entspricht, die Vorstellung einer modernen Kernfamilie bricht.

nen, wie Kindertageseinrichtungen, deutlich: Erstens stellt sich auch in diesen die Frage, inwiefern von einem funktional differenzierten Kind die Rede sein kann oder ob gerade in Bezug auf jüngere Kinder eine Einheitsannahme dominiert, die es bspw. schwierig macht, in Analogie zum Schulkind vom Kindergartenkind zu sprechen (Honig, 2002, S. 181). Hiermit wäre zweitens auch das Thema der Verteilung der Verantwortlichkeiten und Aufgaben zwischen jenen Institutionen (früher) Kindheit zwischen Familie, eventuell Heim und Kindertagesstätte angesprochen. Drittens ist auch die Frage der professionellen Rolle in der Arbeit mit jüngeren Kindern tangiert: Gerade im Feld der frühkindlichen Erziehung hat sich Professionalisierung immer auch im Kontext vom Diskurs um die notwendige Mütterlichkeit von Erziehung ereignet (Eßer, 2011; Sachße, 1986, 2003, S. 100f.) – was schließlich auch zu einer Reflexion über Genderaspekte in der (früh-) pädagogischen Arbeit führen müsste.

LITERATUR

- Baader, M. S. (1996). *Die romantische Idee des Kindes und der Kindheit. Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Unschuld*. Neuwied, Kriftel & Berlin: Luchterhand.
- Breidenstein, G. (2006). *Teilnahme am Unterricht. Ethnographische Studien zum Schülerjob*. Wiesbaden: VS.
- Bühler-Niederberger, D. (1999). Familien-Ideologie und Konstruktion von Lebensgemeinschaften in der Heimerziehung. In H. Colla u.a. (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Heimerziehung und Pflegekinderwesen in Europa* (S. 333-341). Neuwied u.a.: Luchterhand.
- Cloos, P., u.a. (2007). *Die Pädagogik der Kinder- und Jugendarbeit*. Wiesbaden: VS.
- Eißer, F. (2010). Von kindlichen Künstlern und selbsttätigen Lernern. Aktive Kinder in der Pädagogik um 1900. *Diskurs Kindheits- und Jugendforschung*, 5. Jg., 3, 283-294.
- Eißer, F. (2011). Geschichte der Sozialen Arbeit als Profession. In *Enzyklopädie Erziehungswissenschaft Online, Fachgebiet Soziale Arbeit (www.erzwissonline.de)*, i. E..
- Haraway, D. J. (1989). *Primate Visions. Gender, race and nature in the world of modern science*. New York u.a.: Routledge.
- Haraway, D. J. (1991). A Cyborg Manifesto. Science, technology, and socialist-feminism in the late twentieth century. In D. J. Haraway (Hrsg.), *Simians, Cyborgs and Women* (S. 149-181). New York: Routledge.
- Honig, M.-S. (2002). Institutetik frühkindlicher Bildungsprozesse. Ein Forschungsansatz. In L. Liegle & R. Treptow (Hrsg.), *Welten der Bildung in der Pädagogik der frühen Kindheit und in der Sozialpädagogik* (S. 181-194). Freiburg i.Br.: Lambertus.
- Jurczyk, K., u.a. (2009). *Entgrenzte Arbeit – entgrenzte Familie. Grenzmanagement im Alltag als neue Herausforderung*. Berlin: edition sigma.
- Latour, B. (1999a). On recalling ANT. In J. Law & J. Hassard (Hrsg.), *Actor network theory and after* (S. 15-25). Oxford u.a.: Blackwell.
- Latour, B. (1999b). *Pandora's Hope. Essays on the reality of science studies*. Cambridge u.a.: Harvard University Press.
- Latour, B. (2002). *Die Hoffnung der Pandora. Untersuchungen zur Wirklichkeit der Wissenschaft*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.

- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social. An introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford u.a.: Oxford University Press.
- Liegle, L. (2010). Didaktik der indirekten Erziehung In G. E. Schäfer, R Staege & K. Meiners (Hrsg.), *Kinderwelten – Bildungswelten. Unterwegs zur Frühpädagogik* (S. 11-25). Berlin: Cornelsen.
- Nelson, M. K. (2006). Single Mother "Do" Family. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68, 781-795.
- Niederberger, J. M., & Bühler-Niederberger, D. (1988). *Formenvielfalt in der Fremderziehung. Zwischen Anlehnung und Konstruktion*. Stuttgart: Enke.
- Oelkers, J. (2007). Heile Welt und Kinderstube. Performanzen der Erziehung im 19. Jahrhundert. In C. Wulf (Hrsg.), *Pädagogik des Performativen. Theorien, Methoden, Perspektiven* (S. 124-136). Basel & Weinheim: Beltz.
- Pestalozzi, J. H. (1799/1998). Über den Aufenthalt in Stanz. Brief Pestalozzi's an einen Freund. In A. Buchenau, E. Spranger & H. Stettbacher (Hrsg.), *Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. Sämtliche Werke. Band 13. Nachdruck der Ausgabe 1933* (S. 1-32). Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung.
- Rieger-Ladich, M. (2009). Menschen und Dinge, Akteure und Aktanten. Überlegungen zur Neubestimmung des Sozialen. In B. Grubenmann & J. Oelkers (Hrsg.), *Das Soziale in der Pädagogik* (S. 115-130). Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.
- Richter, D. (1987). *Das fremde Kind. Zur Entstehung der Kindheitsbilder des bürgerlichen Zeitalters*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer.
- Sachße, C. (1986/2003). *Mütterlichkeit als Beruf. Sozialarbeit, Sozialreform und Frauenbewegung 1871 bis 1929*. 3. Aufl. Weinheim u. a.: Beltz.
- Schmidt, K. (2004): Das Freispiel und der geordnete Raum. Die Praxis eines Programms. In M.-S. Honig u.a. (Hrsg.), *Was ist ein guter Kindergarten? Theoretische und empirische Analysen zum Qualitätsbegriff in der Pädagogik* (S. 157-192). Weinheim: Juventa.
- Schulz, M. (2010). *Performances: Jugendliche Bildungsbewegungen im pädagogischen Kontext. Eine ethnografische Studie*. Wiesbaden: VS.
- Smith, D. E. (1993). The Standard North American Family. SNAF as an ideological code. *Journal of Family Issues*, 14, 1, 50-65.

- Stieve, C. (2011). Inszenierte Dingwelten. Spiel- und Lernmaterialien in Kindertageseinrichtungen. In P. Cloos & M. Schulz, Marc (Hrsg.), *Kindliches Tun beobachten und dokumentieren. Bildungs-, professions- und beobachtungstheoretische Beiträge zu Bildungsbegleitung von Kindern in Kindertageseinrichtungen* (S. i.E.). Weinheim u.a.: Juventa.
- Ullrich, H. (1998). Ursprungsdenken vom Kinde aus. Über die widersprüchliche Modernität des reformpädagogischen Grundmotivs. In T. Rülcker & J. Oelkers (Hrsg.), *Politische Reformpädagogik* (S. 241-259). Bern u.a.: Peter Lang.
- Vincent, C., & Ball, S. J. (2007). 'Making Up' the Middle Class Child. Families, activities and class dispositions. *Sociology*, 41, 6, 1061-1077.
- Wichern, J. H. (1868/1975). Rettungsanstalten als Erziehungshäuser in Deutschland. In P. Meinhold (Hrsg.), *Johann Hinrich Wichern. Sämtliche Werke. Band VII. Die Schriften zur Pädagogik* (S. 374-534). Hamburg: Lutherisches Verlagshaus.

POSSIBILITIES AND POTENTIALS OF ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON INFANTILE SEXUALITY

Julia König

ABSTRACT

Ethnographic studies of childhood have rarely addressed the topic of sexuality as a personal structure of desires that constitutes in early age after the Freudian influences onto ethnographic researchers ceased in the middle of the 20th century (LeVine, 2007, p. 251). Recently, young children's sexuality is scientifically addressed rather as one side aspect, which falls under another, broader or more specific research interest – namely under questions of gender performance (Hoeltje, 2001; Tervooren, 2006), sex work/child labour (Woodhead, 1999; Montgomery, 2009), or abuse (e.g. though non-ethnographical, Clancy, 2009). Additionally, in almost all of the cited studies the children in question are older than the term “early childhood” suggests.

In the colloquium I would like to present my work on the constitution of infantile sexuality, regarding to my own ethnography on 3-to-6-year-olds. Embedded within a socio-historical concept analysis as well as drawing from psychoanalytical theory, social psychology and the approach of critical sexology I understand sexuality as a contradictory relation of an individual and bodily rooted dimension of subjective experience on the one hand with a specific historical-social dimension on the other.

In the empirical study I participatively observed children in two preschool institutions weekly for two hours over a period of six months and documented my observations and experiences in a detailed research journal. Narrative Interviews with each child's primary attachment figures complement the observation notes. Both the interviews and selected scenes from the observation material, that qualify as relevant for the research question as well as for the understanding of an individual child, are reconstructed and interpreted “depth hermeneutically” (German “tiefenhermeneutisch”, cf. Lorenzer, 1986; König, 2000).

In the colloquium I would like to present a case study of a 5-year-old girl and focus on an extract from the interpretation of the observational notes in the research journal. As the topic of sexuality as desire structure strongly implicates an intra- as well as intersubjective involvement of the researcher, I suggest reflecting systematically on this special involvement to get to the object of interest. This I regard as one of the most important presuppositions of qualitative social research.

PRELIMINARY REMARK

So far the text at hand is intended as a preliminary paper, presenting some of my work-in-progress PhD project. To address the possibilities and potentials of ethnographic research on infantile sexuality, I will firstly clarify what I understand to be the research object and thereby situate my work in the existing research field. This is especially necessary indeed, as the theme has been discussed highly controversial since its origination at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century; I will then in short outlines substantiate my interpretation of the term of infantile sexuality as personal desire structure by means of a historically situated concept analysis.

Presenting an example out of my own research in a Kinderladen²⁶ in Frankfurt/Main, I will try to show, how ethnographic research displays a wide range of possibilities to explore the inner dimensions of experience adding up to infantile sexuality. As the topic of sexuality as personal desire structure in an ethnographic context strongly implicates an intra- as well as intersubjective involvement of the researcher, I suggest to systematically reflect on this special involvement to get to the object of interest. As I regard this as one of the most important presuppositions of qualitative social research, I chose an example where the entanglement of the researcher is especially vivid.

At last I have to remark that I had to translate the excerpts from my research journal from German into English; unfortunately I cannot rule out that I might have distorted the content slightly during this process. As the language used in the journal contributes a lot to the interpretation, I just hope the latter will be comprehensible (although it is obviously always unfinished and open to comments as well as to critique).

1. INTRODUCTION

More than a century after Freud's systematic formulation and substantiation as one of the key subjects of psychoanalysis the question of infantile sexuality is still – or again – inconvenient; for that matter childhood sexuality might remain as the last shapeless “dark continent” not only of psychoanalysis (cf. Schmidt, 2005, p. 114). At the same time (observable) sexual practice of children is frequently grasped as deviant behaviour and is rashly put into the context of “sexualised behaviour” (a notion, that is in itself highly vague; cf. Burian-Langegger, 2005, pp. 10f.; Bancroft, 2003, p. xii; O'Sullivan et al., 2001, pp. 83f.). Throughout the literature and research on childhood sexuality there is furthermore no consensus as to what in fact is to be analysed or understood as infantile sexuality – it rather seems as

²⁶ German for a children's nursery in the tradition of antiauthoritarian education.

if the phenomenon itself defies exact definition. The scientific discourse generally splits into two opposite schools of thought on the issue: on the one side infantile sexuality is reduced to a scale of certain observable, measurable behaviours that are distinctively pronounced, but generally of equal form in early and adult age – and on the other side it is understood as an inner dimension of experience that qualitatively differs from adolescent or adult sexuality. Regarding to Gunter Schmidt's conceptual differentiation I will distinguish the "homologue" from the "heterologous" argumentation;²⁷ the first accentuates the similarities of infantile and adult sexuality whereas the latter holds on to the different quality of children's sexual experiences from the adults'. Not surprisingly, the differences of those two schools of thought are reflected to a certain extent in the methodology as well as in the methods of research.

In respect to the subject of children's sexuality the homologous tradition was established by the Berliner sexologist Albert Moll (1897; 1909) and based on his examination of his small and adult patients under a strictly natural scientific and also positivistic perspective 'from the outside'. Therewith Moll focused on the investigation of the development of sexual organs as well as on exact observation of sexual practice and behaviour of children, which he substantiated by presenting detailed cases. On the basis of his data he furthermore discussed the child as object of sexual practice and several aspects of sexual education. The heterologous model was originated at about the same time by the Viennese physician Sigmund Freud (1905). As widely known, Freud (who was trained as neuropathologist) himself endeavoured a natural scientific approach to his subject of research and was therefore early on started by the fact that his case histories "should read like short stories and that, as one might say, they lack the serious stamp of science" (1955 [1893-95], p. 160). In trying to get to the sense of the symptoms his patients presented to him, he then developed in close liaison with his first patients the so-called "talking cure". His truly revolutionary way from the medical categorisation of (sexual) pathologies to the sense of the symptoms led directly to the psychoanalytical concept of infantile sexuality: This implies for the process of sexual socialisation by means of the concept of "deferred action"²⁸ the impossibility to understand now, what only later evolves as the complex of social, individ-

²⁷ I apologize at this point for my translation, which is probably very poor as I refer to biological/medical terms. It does not sound perfectly congruent with the German notions Schmidt introduces as homolog vs. heterolog, but I hope, it explains the matter.

²⁸ Again we have the problem of a poor translation, even though it is now the official translation of „Nachträglichkeit“ in the Standard Edition. While the concept of „Nachträglichkeit“ implicates impacts of subjective experiences as effective evolvment of inner scenes, the translated notion of „deferred action“ implies a more deterministic, behavioral nature, which does not grasp the Freudian idea very well.

ual and biological components generally associated with sexuality (cf. Früh, 2005, pp. 99f.). As a consequence, adult sexuality cannot be grasped without reference to infantile sexuality, and only from this perspective the so-called polymorphous perverse, infantile sexuality can be called sexuality at all.

The homologue and heterologous tradition were then developed through the 20th century; without raising a claim to completeness I will only recall a few prominent representatives of both systematical traditions. To mention are on the homologue line certainly Alfred Kinsey, whose progressive and at the same time highly controversial efforts in the 1940s and 1950s were modelled after the natural sciences involving a central concern with empirical investigation, statistical methods, testing, experiment, and verification. Kinsey's successors at the Kinsey Institute at the Indiana University (former director John Bancroft and current director Julia Heimann) hosted ten years ago the biggest international conference on childhood sexuality (cf. Bancroft, 2003). Furthermore I would like to mention the dutch researchers Jany Rademakers and Theo Sandfort (cf. Sandfort & Rademakers, 2001) and finally Bettina Schuhrke's longitudinal study on two-to-six-year olds discovering of and curiosity about own and other people's genitals (cf. Schuhrke, 2005). In the heterologous tradition through the 20th century the concept of infantile sexuality was revised and progressed by structuralist (Lacan) and feminist psychoanalysts (from Karen Horney and Helene Deutsch, to the so-called French feminists Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva and Monique Wittig up to Jessica Benjamin). Recently also Judith Butler argued for an understanding of the love of the child as different from the adult's (cf. Butler, 2002, pp. 12ff.), and most surely Jean Laplanche's revision of the Freudian seduction theory is entirely based on the heterologous understanding. But also concepts like John H. Gagnon's and William Simon's "love scripts" (1973) or John W. Money's "love maps" (1986) are based on the idea that certain, during the childhood acquired experiences are sexualised only later in the adolescence and therefore qualitatively different from adolescent or adult sexuality.

Ethnographic studies of childhood have rarely addressed the topic of sexuality as a personal structure of desires that constitutes in early age after the Freudian influences onto ethnographic researchers ceased in the middle of the 20th century (cf. LeVine, 2007, p. 251). Recently, young children's sexuality is in a wider sense ethnographically addressed rather as one side aspect, which falls under another, broader or more specific research interest – namely under questions of gender performance (cf. Hoeltje, 2001; Tervooren, 2006), sex work/child labour (cf. Woodhead, 1999; Montgomery, 2009), or abuse (cf. f.i., though out of immanent reasons necessarily non-ethnographical, Clancy, 2009). Addition-

ally, in almost all of the cited studies the children in question are older than the term “early childhood” suggests.

At this point again we are confronted with differing conceptualisations transporting various meaning, this time concerning the concepts of ‘the child’ (which to some extent resemble the differentiations in conceptualising infantile sexuality as similar or opposed to adult sexuality). Without going into too much detail I would just like to recall, what I would call two of the main emphases in debates on childhood or ‘the child’, which do not need to be positioned as contrary views, even though practically they often are: On the one hand there is a strong interest in something mostly termed as “children’s culture” as an attempt to get an idea of the ways, children create their as well as ‘our’ (meaning the adult’s) world. Attention is then paid to the qualitative ‘otherness’ of children’s culture from the adults’ culture, and along with a critique of concepts like “socialisation” as not paying enough attention to the children’s agency, the focus lies on the social activity of children as participants interacting and negotiating with others and thereby producing everyday life at least as much as the elders (cf. Corsaro, 1996, p. 419; Hirschfeld, 2002, p. 611). Via this approach researchers are arguing for the need of a sensitivity, of a reflection of the third person perspective of the scholars themselves and their cultural everyday knowledge. On the other hand various researchers have accentuated the insights into the actual social construction of concepts like ‘the child’ and ‘childhood’, and in this context also ‘abandonment’ ‘child labour’ and many more – and have therewith stressed the need to get through to the manifold “diversity of life experiences masked” (Panter-Brick, 2001, p. 1) by these concepts, as Catherine Panter-Brick puts it. Referring to the matter of child abuse (among others) and its discursive framework Ian Hacking cuts to the chase of that matter in captioning his classic book on social construction “The social construction of what?” (Hacking, 1999). While the emphasis on the discursive production of the fact of ‘the child’ demonstrates the dependency of social actors from a certain (socially permanently negotiated) normative reference frame, it sometimes implies a slight tendency towards viewing children only as phenomena of certain socially productive powers and thereby ignoring the actual quality of their lives, social position and suffering.²⁹

Again, as I mentioned earlier: These two research approaches should not work against each other, as they simply emphasise different aspects of children’s lives and

²⁹ Obviously this is a matter of dispute; exemplary I would just like to refer to Judith Butler’s discussion of this issue, which she extensively analyses in respect to the category „woman/women“ in *Gender Trouble* (1990) and *Bodies that Matter* (1993).

should only be clearly distinguished in the analysis.³⁰ All in all, the question of whether or not or rather: under what circumstances an ethnographic approach to the topic can be beneficial, depends very much on the inherent notion of infantile sexuality. This is why I will preface my own ethnography with the following clarification of the notion of infantile sexuality I based my ethnographic work on.

2. ON THE NOTION OF INFANTILE SEXUALITY IN MY PHD PROJECT

The question that mostly interests me – and that I could make out as an academic void in the existing research field – is, how sexuality, understood as personal structures of desire, begins constituting in early age. Regarding the different concepts of children's sexuality, I introduced above, I tend towards the heterologous perspective for immanent reasons concerning my research interest. Even though I regard the extensive collection of behaviour investigations compiled by researchers in favour of the homologue model as well as of a positivistic approach as very informative, it is rather impossible to deduce from observations of sexual behaviour and development in a behavioural, clinical perspective conclusions about an inner dimension of experience, which is highly relevant for my research interest. Clearly, this inner dimension of experience is tightly connected to the first person perspective and will therefore to some extent presumably remain resistant or at least indistinct to research initiatives. It can nevertheless be figured theoretically, whereas the theoretical approach will simultaneously be dependent on empirical material, if it shall avoid the danger of becoming rigidly normative. It is exactly this problem Theodor W. Adorno discussed in his critique of deductively proceeding social research: Generalising the particular by subsuming it as certain kind under an already established system of categories, the researcher misses exactly the point that characterises the (research) object as unique.

This poses a somewhat cheerless prospect – the explanatory power of strictly quantitatively surveyed empirical data is rather limited concerning social as well as inner dimensions of subjective experience and exclusively theoretical explanations of these dimensions bear the risk of missing the point of social as well as individual dynamics and realities. The same argument is similarly put up by Ian Hacking in his analysis of “the making of kinds” – however, other than Hacking, who then analyses the functionality of discursive processes, Adorno adheres to the (im)possibilities of expression of the particular by using

³⁰ Interestingly and in this context, another similar debate evolved in the discipline of historical studies of childhood, probably best known as the debate following Philippe Ariès' *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (1960).

(theoretical) concepts. To recognise and not erase the peculiarity of the special in the interpretation, one would have to fulfil its individuality in specific constellations. So eventually, the gap is solely to be bridged by a more precise specification of the relation of theory and empirical (research) practise, which has to be interpreted. Still, there will always be a gap from the interpretation of the empirical material to theory that cannot be made completely coherent. Nevertheless, the general has to be made visible in the particular without alienating the particular of its idiosyncrasy. Following Adorno, Volkmar Sigusch claims for the project of a critical sexology both the need of an undogmatic interpretation of empirical data as well as what he calls “the necessity and terror of theory” (Sigusch, 2008, p. 523). Without theory the data remains blank material and cannot be brought into meaningful relation, but at the same time once established theory is pre-structuring perception and explanation. Between those two poles only undogmatic interpretation will be able to open up a vast space of possibilities that will then make the raw data either dance or simply fade away (Sigusch 2008, p. 433).

Otherwise, without theoretical categories we would not even be able to set up a research design. But to avoid the danger of simplifying subsumption of anything we did not expect in the first place to find within the empirical material, those categories have to be connected to experiences. Thereby it is of greatest importance to take the experience seriously, what Sigusch describes as interpreting it undogmatically. Interpreting the experience will then reconfigure its contextualisation and lead to more insights and slightly different, reinforced theoretical concepts in new constellations. Not surprisingly, one is reminded of Freud’s puzzlement when faced with the evidence of his case histories appearing like short stories.

Considering the reciprocity of the interpretation and the theoretical presuppositions I began my project with a socio-historical concept analysis regarding the notion of infantile sexuality. As this is the precondition for my ethnography, I will shortly point out the main argument.

As „infantile sexuality“ is widely acknowledged as a genuinely modern concept, I firstly examined the question of what is so modern about it. Within the concept itself notions of childhood/the child and sexuality blend into each other, what raises the question of how these concepts were related earlier. In an attempt to trace back the (pre)history of the concept of infantile sexuality, I reconstructed discussions on pederasty in classical Athens as one prominent example of an ancient thematisation of a connection of sexuality and

children or youths, which I analysed both in Plato's work and in reference to court disputes on the topic. Furthermore I discussed the relation of childhood/the child and sexuality in medieval times and therein connected the narratives on children and sexuality in mostly Middle High German and Old English literature to the findings of Ariès on Louis XIII.'s early childhood and sexual education (as documented in the diaries of the acting court physician Heroard) and the evolvement of a school system in the 18th and 19th century. Even though there are important differences between those diverging socio-historical situations in different epochs, which I cannot address at length in this paper, what proved to be similar in reference to the prehistory of the 'discovery' of infantile sexuality is the social emphasis on gender rather than on age and the status of sexuality as an instrument of expressing social status rather than something exclusively intimate or private. This is naturally related to the fact that the private sphere only evolved with the uprising of the bourgeois economy, what Thomas Laqueur showed clearly in his history of masturbation: Only through the anti-masturbation campaign that initiated in the beginning of the 18th century the evils of masturbation became a common threat to men as well as women and children in an almost democratic fashion (cf. Laqueur, 2003, p. 18). So when finally at the end of the 19th century children's sexuality was suddenly 'discovered', in this formulation lies both falsehood and truth: Obviously children have explored with their body parts also their sexual organs within processes of mastering everyday life and tasks, they could be conceived relevant sexual objects for adults and they had at least ideas about adult sexuality as they often shared unseparated living spaces. But the phenomenon as a discursive truth was born at this time - not by Moll or Freud, as it is often misconceived, but by a social change pertaining to experts as well as to the so-called common people throughout different social class positions. Genuinely modern about it were a new perception of generational differences and the idea of an ontogenetically evolving personality of the individual that enclosed both age and sexuality.³¹

Against this background an ethnographic approach to infantile sexuality has to be specified to the effect of what exactly is to be encircled by the research efforts. Resulting from the socio-historical analysis of the evolvement of the phenomena as notable, publicly important, and accompanied by the fitting concept, I came to a more concrete definition of the object of my research: Insofar I analyse infantile sexuality as a contradictory relation of an individual and bodily rooted dynamic of subjective experience entangled with a specific

³¹ As Eli Zaretsky showed recently in his study on the psychoanalytical movement, the modernisation of all live- and self-references is equally vivid in Freud's revolution of the concept of the unconscious as a personal unconscious (cf. Zaretsky, 2004, pp. 15-40).

socio-historical context. The relation itself thus emerges from the dialectic of internal and external nature as various stages of a process of materialisation. Thereby I argue for an emphasis on the cohesion of sexuality and subjectivity in the constitutional process of the psyche. In the ethnographic study I aimed for a more thorough understanding of the constitution of personal structures of desire in small children.

3. ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO INFANTILE SEXUALITY

Within the outlined context I analysed the development of the desire structure of three- to six-year-old children in an empirical study. Thereby I understand this developmental process as a constitution of (sexual) body-desires [Körper-Wünsche] within two conflicting fields of socialisation: the family on the one hand and on the other hand the interaction with peers within the bounds of the institution kindergarten. Infantile sexuality then results from the dynamic of the ambivalence inherent in the contradictory relation of the claims of the “inner nature” (the subject’s experiences defined through bodily needs) and the claims of the external nature (the forming in social interactions inherent in social practice).

In two research fields I therefore examined the pivotal problem within a qualitative design: how sexuality as a personal structure of desires constitutes itself in early age, and later becomes the basis for the development of phantasy and consciousness, of personal and social identity. At first I participatively observed thirteen three- to six-year old children in two kindergartens in Frankfurt (Main) weekly for two hours over a period of six months and documented my observations and experiences in a detailed research journal. The second research field – the family climate in which the children’s first experiences take place – I inferred from narrative interviews with each child’s primary attachment figures. In these interviews the parents are encouraged to recount on their perspective on their child’s needs and desires, on their sense and awareness of own desires in regard to their child, as well as they are elated to speak about their own sexuality and what they think about (their) children’s sexuality. Both the interviews and selected scenes from the observation material, that qualify as relevant for the research question as well as for the understanding of an individual child, are reconstructed and interpreted “depth hermeneutically” [tiefenhermeneutisch] (cf. Lorenzer, 1986; König, 2000).

In the following I will present an extract from the interpretation of the research journal on one five-year-old girl I named Ronja. I picked an extract in which the emotional entanglement between researcher and child become very apparent to make my point obvi-

ous: As the topic of sexuality as personal desire structure in the context of ethnographic research strongly implicates an intra- as well as intersubjective involvement of the researcher, I suggest to systematically reflect on this special involvement to get to the object of interest.

The excerpt at hand is primarily an interpretation of an entry of the 17th of November 2009. However, the interpretation of the whole case study is based on research journal entries from October 2008 to May 2009. With this extract I do not intend to present the whole case study on Ronja – instead, I will try to show at this little excerpt, how I implemented the so far suggested approach within the empirical research practice.³²

Excerpt from the empirical study

[...] Ronja is sitting on the researcher's lap in the "morning circle" and again behaves (like in a similar scene I discussed earlier) what is described in the journal as her "stretching out on my lap as if on a divan, which is actually pretty demanding and tiring for me" (17.11.09, p. 3). Here, again, "she leans back against me, and then she stretches and lolls around so that every now and then I have to go to great lengths to keep sitting casually on my chair and avoid undermining the arranged circle of chairs (even though I have a great mind to do so)" (ibid.). The emotions the researcher detects in herself and documents in the journal – to undermine the kindergarten rules and order, to feel "flattered" because she experiences herself as "desired object", what she finds "at the same time very amusing" (ibid.) – hint at an exiting and libidinous quality of the situation that the researcher enjoys as well as Ronja. Apparently researcher and child both appreciate the somehow regressive mother-and-child-like experience of an intimate togetherness, as the researcher does neither set a limit nor distances herself from Ronja. Ronja complements this (behaviour of the researcher) shortly afterwards, when she – against her usual habit – remains sitting on the researchers lap, when all the children rollick about to the chorus of "Die Affen rasen durch den Wald",³³ and snuggles up to her watching the other children run around mimicking little monkeys.

³² For the better understanding of the text I speak in my interpretation of myself as "the researcher" and do not refer to myself as "I", what I did in the research journal (as you will see in the direct quotations from the journal). I certainly do not believe that the two roles – "the researcher" and "the interpreter" – would not get mixed up in both the processes of observing and writing. I certainly interpreted already in the situation of participative observation and then afterwards in finding the right words to document my experiences in the journal. And as I interpret the journal entries on Ronja I am certainly affected by the emotions connected to the memories. Nonetheless I found it easier to distinguish the two roles in the interpretation, not least for the readers of my text.

³³ A popular German nursery rhyme about monkeys in the jungle looking and excitedly searching for a stolen coconut and its thief.

“When the monkeys find out, who actually stole the coconut – baby monkey – and the chorus changes from ,where is the coconut? who stole the coconut?’ to ,you stole the coconut, you stole the coconut, you stole the coconut!’ the children point rambunctiously at each other. Ronja turns around, points at me and grins while she pricks her finger into my belly. Willingly I sing at the next chorus ,i stole the coconut’, and Ronja is delighted. After the song she does not feel like stopping to tell me off because of the stealing of the coconut, what motivates me to pull – grudgingly and scowling – an imaginary coconut from behind my back and hand it over to her. Ronja is very amused and shares the imaginary coconut with her friend Magdalena, who watched everything, and together they rejoice in eating up their two halves.” (ibid., p. 5)

Here, too, Ronja uses the adult woman’s lap as a cosy feel good spot, from where she observes the other children, before she – inspired by the scene in the group – relates directly to the researcher and takes an interest in her belly. The fact that Ronja does not want to stop until she gets an (imaginary) satisfaction in the coconut as compensational object again stresses the libidinous quality in the situation. What is more, Ronja already defends the desired exclusiveness with the researcher at the beginning of the scene against other children, whose wishes for participation she rebuffs. This is, remarkably enough, encouraged and awarded by the researcher:

“As all the other children and the kindergarten teachers gather, Ronja spontaneously asks to sit on my lap, what I grant it willingly. As (Ronja’s friend) Magdalena, who has already saved a place for Ronja somewhere else, realises there is still a free spot next to me respectively Ronja, she sprints across the circle and sits down next to us. Then Annina arrives and asks, if she can sit on my other knee. Ronja has already made herself very comfortable and is sprawled all over my lap. I consider Annina’s question quickly and then ask Ronja intuitively, if she would be ok with that. As far as I can say, Ronja is very enthused about her sudden decisive power: she is all smiles and happily shakes her head: Nooo, she would not be ok with that. It immediately flashes through my mind that such questions probably do not belong to the usual everyday practice of the kindergarten – and I smile to myself about Ronja’s joy and satisfaction of excluding Annina. I promise Annina that she can sit on my lap next week, what she accepts and then faithfully sits down on some other chair.” (ibid., p. 2-3)

In this scene the desiring dispositions of the child as well as the researcher become very apparent. Ronja occupies the researcher in her sensual-childlike way and the re-

searcher herself not only lets Ronja do as she likes, “smiling to herself”, but reacts positively to Ronja’s wishes and actively endorses Ronja’s demands. Ronja may decide herself, if she wants to share the already conquered lap - and she happily decides to keep it exclusive. Both sides apparently produce and desire the state of (moderate) fusion.

Encouraged in her power by the researcher Ronja’s defences of the privileged position soon take shape even more distinctly: In exclusive control of things around her “throne” (as one of the interpreters termed it) and during the process of occupying the researcher respectively her body and of directing the other children away from her, Ronja develops increasingly aggressive impulses against other children.

“While the children run past as monkey horde, Ronja starts swinging her feet, with the result that she kicks the passing children softly and then from time to time a little more firmly. However, the kids are so absorbed in their running game that no child actually complains.” (ibid., 5)

While the pleasure of the enjoyed bodily closeness with one person increases insofar that Ronja refrains from the beloved running game in favour of exclusive snuggling, the demarcation towards the others becomes more sadistically: Around the exclusive, intimate space she draws the borders more aggressively and thereby defends the sphere of libidiously experienced togetherness. This delimitative and distancing character of Ronja’s aggression against other children becomes explicit in the scene, as Ronja does not strive to provoke individual children to incorporate them into the cuddly situation. She rather keeps them apart from her – and she does so in a way to let the others feel it. Within the material on Ronja throughout the six months there are many scenes that substantiate and sustain this element in her interactions with others. Not coincidentally, one of her favourite games in the play area is building huge and magnificent caves out of cushions, mattresses and blankets (f.i. 10.11.08, 17.11.08, 24.11.08, 01.12.08, 16.03.09, 23.03.09, 30.03.09, 20.04.09), then to define, who will be allowed in, and finally fight back imaginary or actual intruders. These activities she often announces loudly and pompously, and then she plunges into the activity with great power and energy. These proud announcements, on the other hand, shall not conceal the fact that these caves are at the same time despite their greatness rooms of withdrawal and separation from other children and from the adults view. Favourite activities within those caves are sleeping like a baby and being cared for completely, or herself putting babies to sleep and awaken them again, feeding, kissing babies goodnight, changing diapers and watch the babies sleep, sometimes also guard them against intruders

or keep them from getting out. Threats to these creations often produce excited battles and sometimes dreadful tantrums of Ronja herself, which most of the time only last as long as things do not go her way.

The aforementioned aggressively shaded dissociation of the other children is expressed in the scene with the monkey horde in a more subtle manner, as Ronja starts observing the other children in the circle decidedly and very thoroughly. Towards the end of the morning circle Ronja starts to fiddle extensively with some pictures she drew together with Magdalena that morning, while she keeps lolling around on the researcher's lap.

"Ronja has a few pictures – according to her, seven – rolled together and uses them as an extendible telescope. With this she spies around the group of children and adults in the morning circle whilst pulling it out and in again. Then she unfolds one of them and shows it to me. It depicts a meadow with a few flowers. Above them hovers a dark green figure, an Opa³⁴ as she tells me, with a significant long penis reaching down to the Opa's knees." (ibid., 7)

Ronja then starts to study the individual children in the morning circle again and again through her telescope. Thereby she nestles up tightly to the researcher, rubbing against her belly, what the researcher acknowledges with interest. From the aggressive demarkation to the other children on the basis of the closeness with the adult person Ronja starts to take an interest in her playmates out of this much distanced position. Through the self-made technical device she glances curiously onto the snippets her telescope allows, and studies what she sees of children and adults very closely, whereas she appears very calm and concentrated. While she distances herself from her friends and playmates through her instrument, she simultaneously zooms them up closely: Even though Ronja's telescope does not really enlarge what she sees through it, the viewed snippets gain the quality of a research object positioned under a magnifying lens and are therewith to a certain extent decontextualised. The detail that Ronja performs these investigations with a rather phallic object which depicts an Opa with a long dark green penis, and that she pulls her telescope permanently in and out may be interpreted in the larger context of the scene as one more element stressing her experience of power and superiority against the other children. When Ronja passionately fiddles around with the telescope, pleased with herself and her self-made and colourfully painted observation technique, she also expresses a desire in her instrumental and arbitrary, unauthorised investigation of the others. In the con-

³⁴ German for „grandpa“.

text of the penetrating quality of the observation – neither the children nor the adults can, or rather, do withdraw from her insistent glances – the Opa’s dark green penis Ronja specifically introduces to the researcher may be interpreted as a scenic detail integrated into the whole process of taking the others into possession.

The distance towards the playmates corresponds during the scene the actively requested affinity to the researcher, who Ronja cuddles up to. When she nestles close at the researcher’s belly it almost appears as if she would want to disappear or melt into it, while she enacts technically mediated distance towards the others. The situation’s interactive arrangement intensifies towards Ronja becoming one with the researcher – bodily, on the one hand, but on the other, Ronja also becomes one with the researcher’s concern of the participative observation of the children. Ronja seems to experiment with the new offer for identification that newly showed up in her living environment by the appearance of the researcher. How might it be to be an adult woman, who is interested in children and children’s games and who wants to write a book about that? How might it feel to be her and watch the children? And could it probably be advantageous to be on that – more powerful(?) – side of the interaction arrangement than on the one of the observed children? Striking in Ronja’s mimetic identification is especially the clarity of the element of observation, which was never communicated directly to the children. That again might tell of an great sensitivity being developed in the intimacy of the togetherness with the researcher, which could be one reason for such a delicate and precise identification with the other’s emotions and concern.

4. CONCLUSION

Even though all the suggestions in the interpretation have to be related to the rest of the material on Ronja – so that these suggestions will either be supported or appear different in the light of the other material – some aspects become apparent. Firstly, the dynamic of the emergence of bodily wants and wishes from complex interactions on the basis of the already established desire structures are indicated within the manifest and unspoken negotiations between Ronja and the researcher. Secondly, the extract highlights at least in incipient stages the relevance of taking the quality of the experience seriously for the matter of the use of categories in building up theses that will eventually add up to theoretical concepts. Considering own emotions and impressions as well as cautiously reflecting on sensations and phantasies can thus lead towards inconsistencies within the social scenes observed (and participated in). This again helps to understand the social dynamics and

relations within groups of children as well as in child-adult relations. In my view, this addresses one of the most important presuppositions of qualitative social research: the systematic reflection of the researcher's own subjectivity, which can then be related to the social fabric of (in this case: intergenerational) interactions.

On a methodological level I would like to remark at the end that I do not claim to produce or find a universal truth independent from time and social framework – which is the reason for contextualising my ethnography in the socio-historical concept analysis. My main concern is to strengthen the importance of the experience within social research, to enable and encourage the adherence to the analysis of the particular and to use the perception of peculiarities or idiosyncrasies for intimate insights into social spheres. This, as I have argued, requires an involvement of the researcher that enables her to refine the theoretical framework.

REFERENCES

- Ariès, P. (1960). *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*. Paris: Librairie Plon.
- Bancroft, J. (Ed.) (2003). *Sexual Development in Childhood*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Burian-Langeegger, B. (Ed.) (2005). *Doktorspiele. Die Sexualität des Kindes*. Wien: Picus Verlag.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that Matter. On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2002 [1997]). *Psyche der Macht. Das Subjekt der Unterwerfung*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.
- Clancy, S. (2009). *The Trauma Myth: The Truth about the Sexual Abuse of Children And Its Aftermath*. New York: Perseus Books Group.
- Corsaro, W. (1996). Transitions in early childhood: The promise of comparative, longitudinal ethnography. In R. Jessor et al. (Eds.), *Ethnography and human development* (pp. 419-458). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Freud, S. (1955 [1893-95]). *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 2: Studies on hysteria*. London: Hogarth Press.
- Früh, F. (2005). Warum wird infantile Sexualität sexuell genannt? In I. Quindeau, & V. Sigusch (Eds.), *Freud und das Sexuelle. Neue psychoanalytische und sexualwissenschaftliche Analysen* (pp. 97-111). Frankfurt a.M.: Campus Verlag.
- Gagnon, J. H., & Simon, W. (1973). *Sexual Conduct. The Social Sources of Human Sexuality*. Chicago: Gruyter.
- Hacking, I. (1999). *The Social Construction of What?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hirschfeld, L. (2002). Why don't anthropologists like children? *American Anthropologist*, 104, 2: 611-627.
- Hoeltje, B. (2001). *Kinderszenen. Geschlechterdifferenz und sexuelle Entwicklung im Vorschulalter*. Gießen: Psychosozial-Verlag.
- Laqueur, T. (2003). *Solitary Sex. A Cultural History of Masturbation*. New York: Zone Books.

- LeVine, R. A. (2007). Ethnographic Studies of Childhood: A Historical Overview. *American Anthropologist*, 109, 247-260.
- Lorenzer, A. (1986). Tiefenhermeneutische Kulturanalyse. In: König et al. (Eds.), *Kultur-Analysen* (pp. 11-98). Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.
- König, H.-D. (2000). Tiefenhermeneutik. In U. Flick, E. v. Kardoff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *Qualitative Forschung: Ein Handbuch* (pp. 556-569). Reinbek/Hamburg: Rowohlt.
- Moll, A. (1909). *Das Sexualleben des Kindes*. Berlin: Walther.
- Money, J. W. (1986). *Love Maps*. New York: Irvington.
- Montgomery, H. (2009). Are child prostitutes child workers? A case study. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 29, 3/4, 130-140.
- O'Sullivan, L. F. (2003). Methodological Issues Associated with Studies of Child Sexual Behaviour. In J. Bancroft (Ed.), *Sexual Development in Childhood* (pp. 23-33). Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Sandfort, T., & Rademakers, J. (Eds.) (2001). *Childhood Sexuality. Normal Sexual Behaviour and Development*. Binghampton: Haworth Press Inc.
- Schmidt, G. (2005). Kindersexualität. Konturen eines dunklen Kontinents. In B. Burian-Langegger (Ed.): *Doktorspiele. Die Sexualität des Kindes* (pp. 114-128). Wien: Picus Verlag.
- Schuurke, B. (2000). Young children's interest in other people's genitals. In Sandfort, T.G.M. & Rademakers, J. (Eds.), *Childhood sexuality. Normal sexual behavior and development. Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality*, 12, 27-48.
- Sigusch, V. (2008). *Geschichte der Sexualwissenschaft*. Frankfurt a.M.: Campus Verlag.
- Tervooren, A. (2006). Im Spielraum von Geschlecht und Begehren. Ethnographie der ausgehenden Kindheit. Weinheim & München: Juventa.
- Woodhead, M. (1999). Combatting Child Labour: Listen to What the Children Say. *Childhood*, 2, 6: 27-49.
- Zaretsky, E. (2004). *Secrets of a Soul. A Social and Cultural History of Psychoanalysis*. New York: Vintage.

LOST IN TRANSITION? – CHILDREN’S AGENCY DURING TRANSITION FROM ECEC TO PRIMARY SCHOOL³⁵

Christina Huf

ABSTRACT

Children’s transition to school is a key issue in early year’s education. Although research on transition increasingly includes children’s perspective, it has seldom been approached ethnographically. And yet, the concept of the competent child and children’s agency during transition has an important influence on the academic debate about transition to school: Many studies point at the illogical phenomenon that children’s agency seems to be reduced during transition and seek for answers how this paradox can be explained.

The paper is based on an ethnographic study on children’s transition from an Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) setting to school. Wishing to develop an analytical understanding how children’s agency changes during transition and how these changes are embedded into social and institutional structures, I took a comparative approach: Since ECEC in Germany and England has its roots in different traditions and takes different pedagogical approaches, the relationship between ECEC and school as well as the institutional structures differ between the two educational systems. Travelling back and forth between Germany and England, I accompanied a group of children in each of the two educational systems during their last year in an ECEC setting and their first year of school. Staying for three to five days each month as a participant observer, I took field notes, wrote ethnographic field reports and analysed them in the course of the research process. My analysis was based on the methodological ideas of the Grounded Theory and always implied two dimensions of comparison of data: The longitudinal dimension which asked for changes in children’s agency in the course of transition, and the comparison of children’s agency and its changes between the two fields.

Building on William Corsaro’s theoretical approach to children’s development, my work is based on the assumption that children share and at the same time create the orders they participate in, and wishes to enquire how specific interactional, social and institutional orders relate to children’s possibilities of participation. One of the findings I would like to discuss is the importance of peer- cultural routines during transition and how they relate to different forms of complicity with the teacher set tasks.

³⁵ The contribution of Christina Huf has been accepted for publication. See: Huf, C. (in press). Children’s agency during transition to formal schooling. In *Ethnography and Education*. Routledge: Francis & Taylor Journals.

LIST OF AUTHORS

Sabine Bollig

Goethe University Frankfurt

Email: bollig@em.uni-frankfurt.de

William A. Corsaro

Indiana University

Email: corsaro@indiana.edu

Isabell Diehm

University of Bielefeld

Email: isabell.diehm@uni-bielefeld.de

Florian Eßer

University of Hildesheim

Email: florian.esser@uni-hildesheim.de

Judith Green

University of California at Santa Barbara

Email: green@education.ucsb.edu

Michael-Sebastian Honig

University of Luxembourg

Email: michael.honig@uni.lu

Christina Huf

Goethe University Frankfurt

Email: huf@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Laurie Katz

Ohio State University

Email: katz.124@osu.edu

Julia König

Goethe University Frankfurt

Email: j.koenig@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Veronika Magyar-Haas

University of Zürich

Email: vmagyar@ife.uzh.ch

Sascha Neumann

University of Luxembourg

Email: sascha.neumann@uni.lu

Oliver Schnoor

University of Luxembourg

Email: oliver.schnoor@uni.lu

Marc Schulz

University of Hildesheim

Email: marc.schulz@uni-hildesheim.de

Claudia Seele

University of Luxembourg

Email: claudia.seele@uni.lu

**RESEARCH UNIT ON INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
(INSIDE)
RESEARCH AXIS “EARLY CHILDHOOD: EDUCATION AND CARE”**

***PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS ON ETHNOGRAPHY IN EARLY
CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE***

(last modified: August 16th, 2012)

Publications

Bollig, Sabine, & Neumann, Sascha (2011). Die Erfahrung des Außerordentlichen. Fremdheit/Vertrautheit als methodisches Differential einer Ethnographie pädagogischer Ordnungen. In *Zeitschrift für qualitative Forschung (ZQF)*, 2/2011, 199-216.

Fried, Lilian, Dippelhofer-Stiem, Barbara, Honig, Michael-Sebastian, & Liegle, Ludwig (2012). *Pädagogik der frühen Kindheit. Reihe Bachelor/Master*. Weinheim: Beltz.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian (2011). Auf dem Weg zu einer Theorie betreuter Kindheit. In S. Wittmann, T. Rauschenbach, & H. R. Leu (Hrsg.), *Kinder in Deutschland. Eine Bilanz empirischer Studien* (S. 181-197). Weinheim und München: Juventa.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian (2010). Beobachtung (früh-)pädagogischer Felder. In G. E. Schäfer, & R. Staege (Hrsg.), *Frühkindliche Lernprozesse verstehen. Ethnographische und phänomenologische Beiträge zur Bildungsforschung* (S. 91-101). Weinheim und München: Juventa.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian (2009). How is the Child Constituted in Childhood Studies? In J. Qvortrup, W. A. Corsaro, & M.-S. Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Childhood Studies* (pp. 62-77). Houndmills/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian (2009). Maisons Relais pour Enfants im Kontext: Perspektiven der Forschung. In Ministère de la Famille et de l'Intégration et al. (MFI) (Hrsg.), *Maisons Relais pour Enfants. Das Handbuch* (S. 54-62). Luxembourg: Editons le Phare 2009.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian, & Christian Haag (2011). Nationale Kinderbetreuung in Luxemburg. Eine Bestandsaufnahme. In Ministère de la Famille et de l'Intégration, Grand-Duché de Luxembourg (MFI) (Hrsg.), *Strukturen der Bildung, Erziehung und Betreuung für Kinder bis zu 12 Jahren (Non-formale Bildung und Betreuung in früher Kindheit*

- und im Schulalter, Bd. 1*) (S. 5-27). Luxembourg: Ministère de la Famille et de l'Intégration.
- Honig, Michael-Sebastian, & Neumann Sascha (Hrsg.) (in press). Themenschwerpunkt „Ethnographie der Frühpädagogik“. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie der Erziehung und Sozialisation (ZSE)*, Vol. 33, No. 1.
- Honig, Michael-Sebastian, & Neumann, Sascha (2011). Bildung jenseits von Familie und Unterricht. Programm und Praxis der Maison relais pour enfants. *Forum für Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, No. 312, November 2011, 28-31.
- Köpp-Neumann, Christina, & Neumann, Sascha (2010). *Pädagogische Qualität von Anfang an. Leitfaden für Fachkräfte zur Konzeptentwicklung in Kinderbetreuungsstrukturen*. Luxembourg: Ministère de la Famille et de l'Intégration.
- Lamprecht, Juliane, & Neumann, Sascha (2012). Das Geheimnis „guter“ Praxis. Qualitative Evaluationsforschung im sozialpädagogischen Feld. In A. Heimgartner, U. Loch, & S. Sting (Hrsg.), *Empirische Forschung in der Sozialen Arbeit: Methoden und methodologische Herausforderungen* (S. 249-263). Münster: LIT.
- Neumann, Sascha (in press). Unter Beobachtung. Das frühpädagogische Feld und die Ethnographie der Frühpädagogik. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie der Erziehung und Sozialisation (ZSE)*, Vol. 33, No. 1.
- Neumann, Sascha (2012). Some Children are More Different Than Others. Language Practices in Luxembourgian Nurseries. *Qualitative Research Journal (QRJ)*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 183-192.
- Neumann, Sascha (2012). Teilnehmende Objektivierung unter Anwesenden. Zum Verhältnis von Feldtheorie und Ethnographie im Kontext erziehungswissenschaftlicher Forschung. In B. Friebertshäuser, et al. (Hrsg.), *Ethnographische Forschung in der Erziehungswissenschaft. Felder, Theorien, Methodologien* (S. 57-70). Opladen: Barbara Budrich.
- Neumann, Sascha (2012). Pädagogisierung und Verdinglichung. Beobachtungen zur Materialität der Frühpädagogik. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, 58. Beiheft, 168-184.
- Neumann, Sascha (2012). Beobachtungsverhältnisse. Feldtheoretische Erkundungen zu einer Empirie des Pädagogischen. In S. Bernhard, S., & C. Schmitt-Wellenburg (Hrsg.), *Feldanalyse als Forschungsprogramm* (S. 221-242). Wiesbaden: VS.

- Neumann, Sascha (2012). Kindheit und soziale Ungleichheit. Perspektiven einer erziehungswissenschaftlichen Kindheitsforschung. In S. Siebholz, et al. (Hrsg.), *Prozesse sozialer Ungleichheit* (S. 141-151). Wiesbaden.
- Neumann, Sascha (2011). Welche Unterscheidungen machen einen Unterschied? Zur sozialen Selektivität der Sprachverwendung in luxemburgischen „Maison relais pour enfants“. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie der Erziehung und Sozialisation (ZSE)*, Vol. 31, No. 4, 349-362.
- Neumann, Sascha (2010). Die soziale Ordnung des Pädagogischen und die Pädagogik sozialer Ordnungen. Feldtheoretische Perspektiven. In S. Neumann (Hrsg.), *Beobachtungen des Pädagogischen. Programm – Methodologie – Empirie* (S. 79-96). Luxembourg: Université du Luxembourg.
- Schnoor, Oliver (2010). Auf dem Weg zu einer ethnografischen Erziehungswissenschaft. Tagungsbericht zur Konferenz "Ethnographische Forschung in der Erziehungswissenschaft. Felder, Theorien, Methodologien." 26.-28.11.2009, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main. *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Pädagogik*, Vol. 86, No. 3, 416-420.
- Schnoor, Oliver (in press). Die Pädagogik der Stimme. Auditive Ethnografie frühpädagogischer Ordnungsbildung am Beispiel sprechmusikalischer Distanzierungspraktiken. *Zeitschrift für Qualitative Forschung (ZQF)*, Vol. 12, No. 2.
- Schnoor, Oliver (in press): Early Childhood Studies as Vocal Studies: Examining the social practices of 'giving voice to children's voices' in a crèche. In *Childhood*.
- Schnoor, Oliver, & Seele, Claudia (in press). Organisationales Lernen ‚vom Kinde aus‘? Eine ethnografische Fallstudie zum *secondary adjustment* einer frühpädagogischen Einrichtung. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie der Erziehung und Sozialisation (ZSE)*, Vol. 33, No. 1.
- Seele, Claudia (2011). Zur Repräsentation von „Wissen“ und „Stimme“ in der frühpädagogischen Forschung. Tagungsbericht zur 20. EECERA Konferenz „Knowledge and Voice in Early Childhood: Who knows, who speaks, who listens? *Zeitschrift für Soziologie der Erziehung und Sozialisation (ZSE)*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 106-109.
- Seele, Claudia (2011). Zur Positionalität der Forschenden in der ethnografischen Bildungsforschung. Tagungsbericht zur „Oxford Ethnography and Education Conference

2010“, Oxford, UK. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie der Erziehung und Sozialisation (ZSE)*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 218-220.

Presentations

Haag, Christian, Neumann, Sascha, Schnoor, Oliver, & Seele, Claudia: *Aus der Perspektive von Kindern forschen? Methodologische und methodische Reflexionen* [Research from the Children's Perspective? Methodological and Methodical Considerations]. Workshop at the 23rd Congress of the German Association of Educational Research (DGfE-Kongress), Universität Osnabrück, Germany, 11.-14.03.2012.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian: *Instituetik von Kindertageseinrichtungen*. Ringvorlesung „Pädagogisches Handeln im Feld der Frühen Kindheit“, Universität Osnabrück, Germany, 03.07.2012.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian: *Wovon handelt die Frühpädagogik?* Festvortrag aus Anlass des fünfjährigen Bestehens des Kompetenzzentrums Frühe Bildung Niedersachsen. Stiftung Universität Hildesheim, Germany, 29.06.2012.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian: *Praxis und Politik früher Bildung. Beobachtungen beim Blick über den Zaun*. Parallelvortrag beim Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft. Universität Osnabrück, Germany, 13.03.2012.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian: *Thinking multiple childhoods. The hidden normativity of childhood studies*. Paper presented at the conference Multiple Childhoods/Multidisciplinary Perspectives. Interrogating Normativity in Childhood Studies. Rutgers University-Camden, NJ, USA, May 19-21, 2011.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian: *Ethnografische Begleitforschung?* Vortrag bei der Tagung „Ethnografische Forschung in der Erziehungswissenschaft. Felder – Theorien – Methodologien“. Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany, 26.-28.11.2009.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian: *Early childhood education and care: beyond generational orders? A research perspective*. Paper presented to the concluding conference of the 'The modern child and the flexible labour market' project of the Norwegian Centre for Child Research, Trondheim, Norway, April 28-30, 2009.

Honig, Michael-Sebastian, Neumann, Sascha & Seele, Claudia: *Von Diversität zu Differenz. Ethnographische Beobachtungen zum Umgang mit Plurilingualität in frühpädagogischen Settings* [From Diversity to Difference. Ethnographic Observations on Dealing

- with Plurilingualism in Early Childhood Education and Care]. Research Workshop at the International Conference “Ethnography and Difference in Educational Fields. International Developments of Educational Research“. Erlangen, Germany, 17.–19.11.2011.
- Neumann, Sascha: *Monolingualität, Multilingualität, Translingualität. Zur Sozialität von Bildung am Beispiel der Sprachförderung in luxemburgischen Kindertageseinrichtungen*. 29. Empirie AG der Kommission Sozialpädagogik in der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft. Bielefeld, Germany, 30.06.2012.
- Neumann, Sascha: *The Materiality of Being a Child: How Carpets and Furniture are Used in Early Childhood Education and Care*. 2012 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA). Vancouver/BC, Canada, April 15, 2012.
- Neumann, Sascha: *Some Children are more different than Others. About Social Selectivity and ‘Doing Diversity’ in Luxembourgish Day Care Centers*. AQR/DPR Conference “Will the Real Evidence please stand up: Politicising Qualitative Research“. Cairns/QLD, Australia, 23-25 August 2011.
- Neumann, Sascha: *Doing Quality. Ethnographic Research and Evaluation in Educational Settings*. 3rd International Conference on Education, Economy and Society. Paris, France, July 22, 2011.
- Neumann, Sascha: *Relationships of Observation. Field-theoretical Investigations of the Pedagogical*. Paper presented to the Conference “The Research Program of Field Analysis“. Universität Potsdam, Germany, May 25, 2011.
- Neumann, Sascha: *Under Observation. (Re-)Constructing the Field of Ethnographic Research in Early Childhood Education and Care*. International Colloquium “(Doing) Ethnography in Early Childhood Education and Care“. University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg, April 14, 2011.
- Neumann, Sascha: *Kindheit und Soziale Ungleichheit*. Internationale Tagung des Promotionskollegs der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung „Bildung und Soziale Ungleichheit“: „(Re-)Produktion Sozialer Ungleichheit. Prozesse – Bildungsorte – Diskurse“. Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Germany, 28.10.2010.
- Neumann, Sascha: *Unterschiedlich unterschieden. Ethnographische Einblicke in die generationale und kulturell-ethnische Ordnung einer luxemburgischen Kindertageseinrichtung*.

35. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie. Sektionsveranstaltung der Sektion „Soziologie der Kindheit“. Goethe-Universität Frankfurt/Main, Germany, 13.10.2010.
- Neumann, Sascha: *Das Geheimnis ‚guter Praxis‘. Ethnographische Evaluationsforschung im sozialpädagogischen Feld*. Jahrestagung der ÖFEB-Sektion Sozialpädagogik. Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt, Austria, 30.09.2010.
- Neumann, Sascha: *The Ethnographer's Field and the Field of Ethnographic Research. Reconsidering a Methodological Concept*. The Oxford Ethnography in Education Conference. New College, Oxford University, UK, September 7, 2010.
- Neumann, Sascha: *Die soziale Ordnung des Pädagogischen und die Pädagogik sozialer Ordnungen. Feldtheoretische Perspektiven*. 22. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft, Forschungsforum 14 „Methodologien einer Empirie pädagogischer Ordnungen“. Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany, 17.03.2010.
- Neumann, Sascha: *Teilnehmende Objektivierung unter Anwesenden. Methodologische Erkundungen zum Verhältnis von Ethnographie und Feldtheorie am Beispiel einer Empirie des Pädagogischen*. Internationale Tagung „Ethnographische Forschung in der Erziehungswissenschaft. Felder, Theorien und Methodologien“. Goethe-Universität Frankfurt/Main, Germany, 27.11.2009.
- Neumann, Sascha: *Feldtheorie als praktische Theorie. Das Pädagogische als Feld sichtbar machen*. Internationale Konferenz „Was tun mit dem Erbe? Die Kombination soziologischer Diagnose und politischen Engagements im Werk Pierre Bourdieus“. Bielefeld, Germany, 02.10.2009.
- Neumann, Sascha & Schnoor, Oliver: *Varianten des Pädagogischen in der sozialen Organisation von Zuwendung und Aufmerksamkeit – eine Perspektive der Forschung zur Frühpädagogik*. DGfE-Kongress 2012, Symposium 24 „Disziplinäre Grenzgänge: Zum Potential feldübergreifender empirischer Vergleiche in der Erziehungswissenschaft“. Universität Osnabrück, Germany, 13.03.2012.
- Schnoor, Oliver: *Knowing how to give voice to children ...and deal with screaming, babbling, and silence. Impressions from an ethnographic study in a crèche*. 20th EECERA Annual Conference “Knowledge and Voice in Early Childhood: Who knows, who speaks, who listens?” Birmingham, UK, September 7, 2010.

- Schnoor, Oliver: *Differenzen des Lernens – Differenzen der Lernforschung. Ethnografische und biografische Zugänge im Vergleich*. International Conference “Ethnography and Difference in Educational Fields. International Developments of Educational Research“. Erlangen, Germany, 18.11.2011.
- Schnoor, Oliver, & Seele, Claudia: *A Child’s Dropout and a Nursery’s Secondary Adjustment: Linking Longitudinal, Organizational and Institutional Ethnography in ECEC*. Paper presented at the International Colloquium “(Doing) Ethnography in Early Childhood Education and Care“. University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg April 15, 2011.
- Seele, Claudia: *Ethnicity and Early Childhood: An Ethnographic Approach to Children’s Perspectives*. Paper presented at the conference “Multiple Childhoods /Multidisciplinary Perspectives. Interrogating Normativity in Childhood Studies“. Rutgers University, Camden, NJ, USA, May 20, 2011.
- Seele, Claudia: *Young Children’s Ethnifying Practices: An Ethnographic Research in a Day Care Center*. Paper presented at the 1st Annual Convention of the Black German Cultural Society, German Historical Institute (GHI). Washington, DC, USA, August 19-21, 2011.
- Seele, Claudia: *Doing Difference in the Early Years. An Ethnographic Research on Dealing with Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Luxemburgish Early Childcare Settings*. Presentation at the Interdisciplinary Colloquium of the Doctoral School in Educational Sciences. University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg, October 26, 2011.
- Seele, Claudia: *Sprachliche Kategorisierung als Grundlage und Problem des Redens über Differenzen* [Linguistic Categorization as Premise and Problem for Talking about Differences]. Presentation at the Linguistics Conference for PhD Students (STaPs). University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg, March 30–31, 2012.

INSIDE

INTEGRATIVE RESEARCH UNIT
ON SOCIAL AND INDIVIDUAL
DEVELOPMENT

Université du Luxembourg
Campus Walferdange
Route de Diekirch
L-7220 Walferdange

www.uni.lu/recherche/flshase/inside