



Post Migration Parenthood as Social Site for Learning and Negotiation

Understanding Parenting in the Context of a Bottom-Up
Programme Evaluation Study

Spark van Beurden

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Programme Evaluation Study

Post Migratie Ouderschap als Sociaal Domein voor Leren en Onderhandeling

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Sparky Lola van Beurden

geboren op 23 juli 1988
te Amsterdam

Promotoren:

Prof. dr. M.J. de Haan

Prof. dr. M.J. Jongmans

Beoordelingscommissie:

Prof. dr. G.T.M. Mooren

Dr. E. Ponzoni

Prof. dr. F.L. Tibbitts

Prof. dr. M.L.L. Volman

Prof. dr. M. de Winter

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General Introduction

Settling in another country can be ‘both a fragmenting and an empowering experience’.

Mary Louise Pratt (2008, p. 242)

This dissertation aims to contribute to new understandings of parenting, placed in Europe’s heterogeneous societies today. A marking aspect of our time involves a rapid complexification of cultural encounters and social relations, due to an acceleration of people’s migratory trajectories over the last decades as well as innovations in digital communications (Castles & Miller, 2009; Diminescu, 2008; Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Great part of the social and cultural heterogeneity in Europe is rooted in streams of mass immigration as part of decolonization, labour agreements between European and Mediterranean countries since the 1950’s, the opening of borders within Europe and ongoing conflict-driven relocation worldwide (Castles & Miller, 2009; Pratt, 2008). Many countries of departure as well as of arrival are nowadays characterised by a diversity of people and their historically informed social relations (Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Pratt, 2008). Technological innovation in human mobility and communication in addition, have led people to connect to, and stay connected to multiple places, communities and cultures simultaneously (Diminescu, 2008; Ghorashi, 2017; Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Whereas mobility enables and provokes encounters and interactions in physical proximity, digital innovations enable people to meet and interact at distance. As such, boundaries between ‘here’ and ‘there’ across cultural and national borders are not so fixed. Or, as Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004, p.1003) say, ‘[people’s] incorporation into a new land and transnational connections to a homeland or to dispersed networks of family, compatriots, or persons who share a religious or ethnic identity can occur at the same time and reinforce one another.’. In this accelerated interconnectivity multiple frames of reference meet between and within people continuously, making up the cultural and social heterogeneity of societies today.

One of the domains in people’s lives in which this heterogeneity meets, is parenting. A vast body of literature has invested its interest in migrant families as a group facing particular challenges in

parenting due to the impact of migration on their cultural and socioeconomic lives (see for example Cook & Waite, 20016; Deepak, 2005; De Haan, 2011; Kwak, 2003; Moro, 2014; Renzaho et al., 2011; Salvaterra Trovão, 2017; Zontini, 2007). Looking at the definition of parenting, it can be understood as a human social practice taking place in the context of child socialization within the family and extended social contexts (Van Beurden & De Haan, 2020; Grusec & Hastings 2008; LeVine, 2010; Raffaeta, 2018). Next to the physical survival and developmental well-being of children as essential aspects of child rearing, parenting aims to socialise children into a kinship, community and the social structures of society at large. As Levine (2010) defines:

‘Parenting is a goal-oriented activity, with cultural conceptions of desirable development setting the goals and prescribing the means. Parents invest resources, including their own time and energy, in their children’s health, development and learning according to conventional formulas derived from cultural models prevalent in their communities.’ (p. 5)

Following this definition, parenting is understood as *informed by* people’s cultural models as well as that it involves the *transmission of* those cultural models to subsequent generations. LeVine (2010) and Lancy (2014) describe a great diversity of parenting practices and perspectives across the globe, varying according to place and community. Throughout history, cultural models of parenting and parenting goals have transformed in relation to economic, political and cultural developments in societies (LeVine, 2010; Stearns, 2009; Weijers, 2010).

In contexts of *change of place*, as is the case with migration, diverse cultural models and social shifts meet within the family domain. As Pratt (2008, p. 242) writes, settling in another country can be ‘both a fragmenting and an empowering experience’. In this light, people with a family history of migration find themselves in the midst of the challenges heterogeneous societies bring forth as well as that they, consciously or unconsciously and for better or worse, engage in relevant and necessary practices and understandings of how parenting takes shape today. Understanding the complexities and potentials of parenting post migration is vital, because as a socializing practice of future

generations informed by and in transmission of cultural models it is closely interrelated with the functioning and well-being of families as well as of today's rapidly changing societies. As such, this poses relevant, urgent and interesting questions for our time: How do people in Europe experience and perceive parenting post migration and how do parenting practices take shape in this context? Which experiences, processes and contexts are informative, and possibly supportive, to people's parenting post migration? How can insights into parenting post migration today further inform professionals in their work with families, as well as policy makers in decision making on social support infrastructures for families in heterogeneous societies? And, how can these insights enhance our conceptual understanding of parenting as a human social practice that changes according to developments over time and across place?

In the following I look into existing literature on parenting and parenting support post migration, followed by a discussion on how we study the complexities of parenting post migration. Derived from this discussion, I then present the conceptual and methodological aim of this dissertation, its research questions, an introduction of the study and the outline of the chapters.

Parenting Post Migration

Looking at existing research on parenting post migration, studies show how migration has profound impact on people's parental experiences as well as on the enactment of parenting practices and the intergenerational transmission of cultural understandings and customs to children. Migration as the geographical relocation of people inevitably involves a disruption and rearrangement of one's familiar social contexts and relationships, and the cultural customs, assumptions and frames of reference embedded in them (Castle & Miller, 2009; De Haan, 2011). Disruption of one's informal social network when moving country can cause a vacuum of both role models and social support in an unfamiliar context. Resettlement also brings forth encounters with other, less or unfamiliar frames of reference and changes in people's socioeconomic status and resources, with many migrant families in Europe living in the lower social segments of society (Constant & Massey, 2005; Griga & Hadjar, 2014;

Sternthal et al., 2011; Tulin & Smith, 2020). Studies have reported how people's socioeconomic status intersects with cultural confrontations in parenting, with minority parents often being at higher risk of strained access to socioeconomic and institutional resources and facing issues of interethnic relations in public and political life (Castles & Miller, 2009; Constant & Massey, 2005; Elliot & Asseltine, 2012; Erel & Reynolds, 2018; Gkiouleka & Huijts, 2020; Griga & Hadjar, 2014; Merry et al., 2017; Moro, 2014; Mukanjari, 2020; Roosa et al., 2002; Sternthal et al., 2011; Tran, 2014; Tulin & Smith, 2020). Migration as such involves many aspects of people's lives, with consequences reported for parents' and children's overall well-being, mental and physical health, and family relations over several generations.

Whereas change of place is expected to *disrupt* self-evident models for cultural transmission within families, today's heterogeneity and interconnectivity as parts of changing societies may also *diffuse* and *renew* directions in parenting post migration. Studies show how people experience challenges and insecurities as part of cultural confrontations, disagreement or confusion, that question familiar cultural models and self-evident parenting practices (Belhadj Kouider et al., 2013; Kwak, 2003; Moro, 2014; Raffaetà, 2015; Renzaho et al., 2011). However, research also shows how people's connection to multiple places and communities simultaneously brings forth new understandings and models of parenting, as part of the cultural encounters and rearrangements of social practices and relationships provoked by migration (Cook & Waite, 20016; Deepak, 2005; De Haan, 2011; De Haan et al., 2020; Salvaterra Trovão, 2017; Zontini, 2007). Studies looking into social networks have found differences in network use of migrant families compared to non-migrant families, by which parents with a family history of migration employed both proximal and transnational contacts in their network in navigating multiple cultural frameworks (Du Bois-Reymond, 2009; De Haan et al., 2020). Within the rearrangement of people's social contacts post migration, family, friends, neighbours, and colleagues are found to be of great significance (De Haan et al., 2020). In particular, support from the ethnic heritage community appears an important factor in the strength of family relations over several generations (Kwak, 2003; Schweitzer et al., 2006). By discussing experiences and advice about diverse cultural customs, people place their parenting practices in perspective in relation to their culturally

heterogenous context and connections to multiple places and communities in which they raise their children.

Professional Parenting Support in Post Migration Contexts

Besides informal social ties as resources for support and knowledge exchange in parenting post migration, research has shown how people also make use of formal, or professional parenting support (Barlow et al., 2012). Two types of professional support can be distinguished based on the historical foundations and infrastructures by which they are organised (Ponzoni, 2016). On the one end, parenting support has been part of institutional social services of Western societies, organised by (local) government and charity organizations (Raffaeta, 2018; Stearns, 2009; Weijers, 2010). In the literature, the efficacy of mainstream, or institutional formal parenting support in contexts of migration is debated, as positive results are accompanied with the report of a significant divergence between this professional offer and people's needs and perceptions of effective support post migration (Barlow et al., 2012; Van den Berg, 2016; Bose, 2014; Cottam & Espie, 2014; Fabian et al., 2006; Gillies, 2005; Jonkers, 2003; Van den Broek et al., 2010; Ortiz & Del Vecchio, 2013; Tan et al., 2018). These findings raise questions concerning the fit of institutional infrastructures to people's particular post migration parenting context. On the other end, professional self-organised or 'bottom-up' parenting support has also been picked up by migrant communities, reaching different populations of parents as compared to institutional services due to the familiarity of the people, places, customs, languages and ways of organizing involved (see for example Hida, 2012; De Gruijter et al., 2009; Hermans, 2004; Hofland, 2012; Osman, 2017; Day et al., 2016; Renzaho et al., 2015; Van den Broek et al., 2010). As such, bottom-up organised parenting initiatives by migrant communities may be important and interesting social contexts in which people engage as a parent post migration, holding the potential to fill a gap in the professional field of parenting support. Little research is done concerning their outcomes or the processes taking place within them. Subsequently, little is written

about research procedures and processes in the evaluation of community efforts for parenting support within migration contexts.

Studying Parenting Post Migration

The complexities of parenting post migration as discussed above present a considerable conceptual challenge. How can we study the experiences, perspectives and practices of people raising their children in a context of rapid cultural and social change and heterogeneity? Over the last decades a critical discourse has established itself in academia concerning the conceptual frames of analyses used to understand parenting in migration (see Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Chirkov, 2009; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Raffaetà, 2016; Tardiff-Williams & Fisher, 2009). Reviews point out that the research agenda has been largely defined by psychological studies in tradition of Berry's (1997) acculturation model (for example Huang & Lamb, 2014; Yagmurlu & Sanson, 2009) and family studies about parent-child relationships and child development (for example Belhadj Kouider et al., 2014; Stevens et al., 2007), seeking to understand how migrant families differ from non-migrant families in terms of psychological thinking, wellbeing and social behaviour. Holding the assumption that families change parenting practices from their heritage culture to the dominant culture in countries of settlement over time, these understandings are widely mirrored in public discourses, popular media and political debates in Western societies, and subsequently in social work policies and services (Van den Berg, 2012; Gillies, 2005; Raffaetà, 2018). However, critical scholars have pointed out that predominant studies tend to focus on cultural adaptability from a comparative and linear framework between 'heritage' and 'host' culture, that overlooks the rise of new cultural perspectives and practices. Moreover, studies often lack analyses of the wider social context including experiences from a minority standpoint in immigration nations (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Chirkov, 2009; De Haan, 2011; Deepak, 2005; Tardiff-Williams & Fisher, 2009). As such, these mainstream approaches hold a risk of being too simplistic to capture the complex sociocultural processes in which post migration parents and children are entangled in current heterogeneous societies.

Studies exploring alternative conceptual frameworks illustrate how migration generates a continuous process of sociocultural and civic encounter and negotiation, by which adaptability as a parameter is replaced by analyses of how people move between sociocultural frameworks and social relations as a confrontational yet enriching source for skills, identity, personal development and social engagement (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Chirkov, 2009; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Munganyende, 2020; Tardiff-Williams & Fisher, 2009; Young, 2009). These approaches of cultural contact and negotiation are less employed with parenting studies. However, some research provides empirical evidence of how people actively engage in the making of new cultural models of parenting post migration that includes aspects of *multiple* frames of reference as well as the formation of qualitatively *new* practices and perceptions (Cook & Waite, 2016; De Haan, 2011; De Haan et al., 2020; Deepak, 2005). Questioning how people participate in society from a non-dominant position, sociological, post-colonial and critical citizenship studies furthermore demonstrate trends of self-determination and engagement in society with inclusion of cultural heritage among migrant mothers and younger generations from minority communities (Erel, 2011; Eidoo, 2018; Johns et al., 2015; Jonkers, 2003; Longman et al., 2013; Mustafa, 2016; Ozyurt, 2013; Patton, 2018). The above considerations raise questions about people's engagement in social contexts that may be informative, and possibly supportive, to their parenting experiences, perspectives and practices: How do people navigate cultural heterogeneity and belonging as they engage in diverse social contexts as a parent? How are parenting perspectives and practices confronted and negotiated in cultural encounters post migration? How do social power relations post migration shape parental experiences as well as models of parenting and intergenerational cultural transmission? And, which methods are appropriate in a research context that studies *and encompasses* cultural contact?

This Dissertation

This dissertation positions itself in a growing strand of studies that invests its interest in how people experience, navigate and negotiate cultural and social encounters, to enhance our

understanding of the practice of parenting placed in Europe's heterogeneous societies today. Questioning how people experience, navigate and negotiate cultural encounters and how such encounters in turn may spark confrontation or the creation of new understandings and ways of doing, turns our analytical lens to moments of cultural contact in relation to people's wider and particular (informal and formal) social contexts. In this dissertation, I centralise parents' engagement in social interactions as well as their experiences of being a parent in a particular sociocultural context, by investigating parenting from the experiences and perspectives of people that participate in a bottom-up organised parenting support programme post migration. In doing so, I explore conceptually how a combination of multiple theoretical perspectives enables to address the complexities of parenting post migration, while simultaneously exploring methodologically how to generate community-based knowledge on parenting and parenting support in heterogeneous contexts in a bottom-up parenting programme evaluation study. So far, bottom-up organised parenting support initiatives as social contexts in which people engage post migration are often overlooked and neglected as knowledge resource for practice, policy and science. As a result, initiatives for parenting support by self-organizing migrant communities are an under-examined niche as a social context in which people engage as well as in their potential contribution to the social work field. Evaluation methods used with institutionalised support services are mostly framed and measured within standardised research procedures developed within those same institutional contexts (for a review see Barlow et al., 2012). As such, little is known about conditions for evaluation of parenting support services outside of it. This problematizes the methodological endeavour to evaluate bottom-up initiatives, raising questions concerning the function of bottom-up organised social support initiatives as a social context that may be informative and possibly supportive to parenting post migration.

I propose that studying bottom-up organised social support by migrant communities offers three important opportunities to enhance our understanding of parenting today. First, exploring these initiatives as potential resources of knowledge can provide insight into cultural contact and change in the family domain in relation to people's participation in today's heterogeneous societies. Second,

studying the processes and outcomes of such initiatives can contribute to our knowledge on the under-examined role of bottom-up organised social support in the professional field of parenting support. Third, performing an evaluation study on bottom-up parenting programmes post migration would expand and enhance our insights concerning the fit of evaluation methods to such initiatives. Based on this interest and proposition, the guiding research questions of this dissertation include: 1) How do people experience, perceive and practice parenting post migration? 2) Which social processes underly people's experiences, perspectives and practices in relation to the social contexts in which they engage? 3) How we can answer these questions in the context of a bottom-up parenting programme evaluation study?

The Community-Based Youth of Today! Parenting Programme Evaluation Study

In order to explore and answer the research questions of this dissertation, I draw upon a 2015-2017 community-based parenting programme evaluation study with Moroccan-Dutch mothers in the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Run by the Attanmia Foundation in this urban area since 2010, the programme called *Shabab van Nu!* (a mix of Arabic and Dutch, translated to English as *Youth of Today!*; abbreviated as YoT) aimed to support people in raising teenagers in urban, heterogeneous areas post migration. Rooted in the local Moroccan-Dutch community, the Attanmia Foundation addresses particular questions and needs identified within this community to support youth, parents and elderly in personal development, intercultural dialogue and the strengthening of social networks post migration¹. The project entailed a collaboration between the Attanmia Foundation and researchers from Utrecht University to evaluate the YoT-programme as part of a funding call aimed to investigate the effectiveness of bottom-up youth interventions within the Dutch field². Working from an ethnographically-inspired research design combined with social network analyses, data collection included pre- and post- structured and in-depth social network interviews and in-programme

¹ Specifics of the Moroccan-Dutch community as well as the local urban context are addressed in the empirical chapters of this dissertation.

² For the funding, final report and products for practice see ZonMw (2017), project no. 729111012.

participatory observations using a nested sampling procedure with fifteen participating programme groups ($N = 115$)³. This methodological approach aimed to evaluate implementation processes and outcomes of the programme as a means to map out bottom-up organised parenting support in the social field, as well as that it gathered in-depth experiential and contextual data of people's engagement in diverse social contexts (their social network, community spaces, YoT-programme and the research project itself). As such, the study offered a chance to gain thorough insight in people's parenting experiences, perspectives and practices as well as social processes underlying these in relation to people's engagement in informal and formal social contexts post migration.

Outline of the Chapters

The four chapters following this **general introduction** each address a particular research interest, conceptual approach and data set to explore and investigate different aspects of the complexities of parenting post migration in the context of bottom-up parenting programme evaluation, as part of my academic quest. The analyses are characterised by an exploratory process guided by interpretative analysis methodologies (Boeije, 2010; Gee, 2014; Silverman, 2006), by which I move repeatedly between research questions and theoretical perspectives in the analyses of participants' individual narratives and group discourses as well as encounters between participants and researchers. Together, the chapters provide a diversity of perspectives and empirical exercises, representing the multiple positions I have taken as a scholar conceptually and methodologically throughout this dissertation.

In light of the aim of the evaluation study, **chapter 1** explores an alternative conceptual approach to evaluate bottom-up organised parenting support programmes. It first discusses reported mismatches between top-down designed parenting support and migrant families and the definition of 'bottom-up organised programmes'. While drawing on Wenger's (1998; 2010) social learning theory

³ For an extensive methodological overview see Supporting Information attached to chapter 1 and the methodological details described in chapter 4.

‘communities of practice’ and the conceptual notion of ‘learning citizenship’, it then explores processes of learning about the practice of parenting post migration through parents’ engagement in social interactions in their social networks as well as in the YoT-programme. Analyses of 115 pre-and post-programme structured interviews, 23 pre-and post-programme in-depth social network interviews and ethnographic case studies with five programme groups aimed to answer in particular 1) if and how the people participating in the project engaged in social learning spaces concerned with the practice of parenting and 2) if and how they developed a sense of ‘learning citizenship’ within these spaces. Indicating how both individual and collective learning dimensions were present in people’s informal and formalised social interactions about parenting post migration, the findings of this chapter question what we can learn from parents’ networked and community-based learning in relation to ideals of expert knowledge in parenting support in rapidly changing cultural contexts.

Following this exploration of bottom-up organised parenting programme evaluation, **chapters 2 and 3** elaborate on the social processes taking place in people’s social contexts as mapped out in chapter 1 and how these contexts facilitate collective exchanges of and reflection on parenting post migration. In particular, they dive deeper into the complexities of parenting and parenthood post migration by investigating how people (re)construct parenting as an intergenerational practice at moments of cultural and social confrontations post migration. **Chapter 2** questions how people learn and (re)construct parenting practices in relation to culturally heterogeneity, by engaging in a theoretical cross-pollination between social learning theory on social negotiations over meaning making (Wenger, 2010) and migration studies on cultural interconnectivity and transformation (Diminescu, 2008; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Discussing first definitions of learning, culture and belonging in relation to parenting, it then presents the analyses of 23 pre-post-programme in-depth social network interviews and ethnographic case studies with five parent groups in its aim to explore processes of social negotiations over meaning making and belonging underlying cultural transformation in the family context. Indicating how cultural confrontation, processes of contextualised re-interpretations, and the creation of ‘glocalised’ parenting knowledge were present

in people's negotiations over parenting post migration, the findings of this chapter question what we can learn from intentionally set-up urban learning communities embedded in local migrant organizations as social contexts in which the informal practice of parenting can be advanced for community-based adult learning.

Chapter 3 in addition, investigates the relationship between parenting, parenthood and citizenship from a minority position in society in relation to public discourses on the topics of migration and parenting. Definitions of parenting, parenthood and affective citizenship are elaborated from parenting perspectives (Grusec & Hastings, 2008; Rogoff, 2003) and critical parenthood and citizenship studies respectively (Erel, 2011; Longman et al., 2013; Van der Pas, 2003; Raffaetà, 2015; Weille, 2011). Analyses of individual narratives and group discourses of the ethnographic case studies with five parent groups aimed to answer 1) how people experience and negotiate parenting, parenthood and citizenship in a context of socio-political tensions, both as parent and citizen, and 2) how these experiences and negotiations relate to and inform each other. Indicating how both parenthood and citizenship are affected and affirmed at times of socio-political tensions for Muslim parents today, the findings of this chapter questions what we can learn about intergenerational aspects of belonging from the perspective of minority parents and the potential of parental and civic self-determination and collective dialogue within communities.

Linking back to the evaluation study and questions of how we can generate community-based knowledge on parenting in Europe's heterogeneous societies today, as well as to map out the outcomes and processes of bottom-up organised parenting support, **chapter 4** looks into the research project itself. Discussing first definitions of community-based research, it conceptualizes the research site as a 'contact zone' in which people from 'disparate sociohistorical trajectories' meet (Pratt, 1991; 1992; 2008; Somerville & Perkins, 2010). Presenting the methodological design employed in the study (including its procedures of working with recruitment by network, a multi-ethnic team, adjusted research instruments, a consultation group, and participation feedback meetings), it engages in critical

methodological reflections on the ethnographic data to explore how adaptive research principles and procedures unfold in practice. Indicating how a dynamic of agentic-turn-taking in power was present on both sides of the researcher-participant relationship in the formation of research procedures, this chapter questions methodological ideals of fairness, equity, transparency and consensus in community-based research and maps out what we can learn from the project as a creative production on which to build future research praxis in the field of family, migration and community organization.

At last, this dissertation concludes with a **general discussion** of the empirical findings of the four presented chapters taken together. Coming back to the guiding research questions, it discusses its contribution to new understandings of parenting, parenting support and programme evaluation post migration in today's heterogeneous societies. Concluding, it questions what we can learn from the approach taken with respect to our thinking about parents, practitioners, community organization and research collaborations in Europe's heterogeneous societies today.

1. How Moroccan-Dutch Parents Learn in Communities of Practice: Evaluating a Bottom-Up Parenting Programme

Abstract

Research shows that top-down-designed parenting programmes do not always meet the needs of postmigration parents. Bottom-up programmes by migrant organizations hold a promise to fill this gap; however, research about these programmes and appropriate evaluation methodologies is scarce. Drawing upon Wenger's (2010) 'communities of practice', this paper explores an alternative perspective on parenting programme evaluation. Findings are presented from a study looking into social learning processes of postmigration parents who participated in a bottom-up programme about raising teenagers in urban areas. Using an ethnographically inspired method combined with a pre-programme and post-programme design, 115 Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers from 15 programme groups participated. Results show that the programme provided a social learning space in which parents used themselves as resources to learn collectively about parenting. Moreover, parents consciously engaged in learning interactions across learning spaces stretched into their social networks. These analyses showed how parents' development of 'learning citizenship' (Wenger, 2009) provides us with insight in collective learning dimensions present in a bottom-up parenting programme, which is often not included in evaluation studies. Implications for practitioners as facilitators of parents' collective learning are presented.

⁴Van Beurden, S. L., De Haan, M. & Jongmans, M. J. (2018). How Moroccan-Dutch parents learn in communities of practice: Evaluating a bottom-up parenting programme. *Child & Family Social Work*, 24(2), 283-291. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12613>

⁴ SLvB co-designed and executed the fieldwork and data analysis, and wrote the paper. MdH designed the study, co-designed the design and collaborated with the fieldwork, analysis, and the writing and editing of the final manuscript. MJJ collaborated with the writing and editing of the final manuscript.

Introduction

Migration can present great challenges for postmigration parents, as it can cause parenting practices to destabilise and change rapidly within families and over generations (Cook & Waite, 2016; De Haan, 2011; Renzaho et al., 2011). Although institution-based parenting programmes⁵ using top-down designs can be effective for some groups of parents, including ethnic minorities (Barlow et al., 2012), programmes in western immigration societies do not always meet the needs of postmigration families (Bose, 2014; Fabian, Rådestad, & Waldenström, 2006; Ortiz & Del Vecchio, 2013). Scholars discuss several explanations for this mismatch, ranging from language barriers (Fabian et al., 2006) and lack of cultural sensitivity (Bose, 2014; Forehand & Kotchick, 1996, as referred to in Ortiz & Del Vecchio, 2013) to accounts with more fundamental critique that point to interplaying power relations and its risk of disempowerment (Cottam & Espie, 2014; Gillies, 2005; Van den Berg, 2016).

In light of these findings, a potential gap in research is to examine ‘bottom-up’ parenting programmes initiated by migrant organizations. Hermans (2004) and Kleijnen (2009) described such initiatives in the Netherlands and Belgium, and Renzaho et al. (2015) presented a similar programme for African immigrant families in Australia. Referring to work of Hecla (2006), Turner (2007, p. 233) defines bottom-up approaches as ‘the encouragement of participatory decision-making at micro-level through involvement of local stakeholders’. Based on this definition, we view bottom-up parenting programmes as programmes in which parents’ perspectives, experiences, and participation are perceived as core principles for support and learning. Although participants report positive experiences with bottom-up parenting initiatives (Kleijnen, 2009), research about their effects and appropriate evaluation methodologies is scarce.

⁵ We follow Barlow et al. (2012) in their definition of parenting programmes as ‘*interventions that utilise a structured format, work with parents in groups, and that are aimed at improving parenting practices and family functioning*’. Different designs can be distinguished, such as behavioral, cognitive-behavioral, relationship-based and multi-model (see also Cottam and Espie, 2014; Golding, 2000).

As shown by reviews of Barlow et al. (2012) and Ortiz and Del Vecchio (2013), assessment of parents' individual acquisition of particular predefined competencies is predominantly used as evaluation method within parenting programme studies. In contexts of rapid social change, however, the fit of predefined parenting competencies to parents' context and background may remain yet unknown. Moreover, with its focus on individual competency acquisition, collective learning is often not taken into account, though this is of heightened interest when studying bottom-up parenting initiatives because of its community base. Drawing upon Wenger's (1998, 2009, 2010) 'communities of practice', this paper explores an alternative perspective on parenting programme evaluation. This perspective is used to analyse collective learning processes and has so far been applied mostly to the learning of teachers (Cowan & Menchaca, 2014) and social workers in the workplace (Smith, 2016). In this paper, we apply it to the learning of Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers as they participate in an intercultural bottom-up parenting programme in the Netherlands.

Theoretical Framework

A 'Community of Practice' as a Social Learning Space

Wenger (1998) introduced the idea of a community of practice (CoP) to describe social learning spaces formed by people who engage in the same practice and share an interest to make sense of that practice. Drawing upon sociocultural learning theory (Cole, 1988; Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978), Wenger and associates understand learning not as an institutionalised, curriculum-oriented activity detached from everyday social activity, but as inherently present in social interactions between people (Wenger, 1998). As people exchange knowledge, skills, and support concerning a certain practice, such as professional teacher development (for example Cowan & Menchaca, 2014) or social work (for example Smith, 2016), they continuously define and negotiate the meaning of that practice, to what frame of reference it belongs, and consequently who they are participating in that practice. As a result, members of a CoP share specific competences differentiating them from non-members, and they develop a meaningful (collective) identity (Wenger, 2010).

Postmigration contexts provide complex social learning spaces in which negotiations over meaning become intensified. Research about migrant families in, for example, Britain (Cook & Waite, 2016) and the Netherlands (De Haan, 2011) shows how parents (re)construct their parenting practices as they navigate diverse parenting concepts present in their daily life. Taking a social learning approach on cultural transitions of postmigration families defines our understanding of parents as active 'meaning making [entities]' (Wenger, 2010, p. 2). As such, we propose communities of practice as a useful perspective to describe social processes by which postmigration parents learn about parenting, because it aims to capture learning and development from the perspective of the learner (Lave & Wenger, 1991) rather than to prescribe how learning should happen.

'Learning Citizenship' as Driving Force for Collective Learning

A remarkable aspect of Wenger's (2009) theory is his explicit attention for collective learning. He introduced the term 'learning citizenship'⁶ to refer to this social dimension; it concerns the extent to which people are open and prone to learn from each other and the extent to which they feel responsible to manage their participation in learning partnerships in and across spaces. Such systemic perspectives on learning have been put forward in the past by others, for instance, in Engeström's (2000) activity theory and in Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory. In such approaches, collective learning processes are conceptualised in addition to individual learning experiences, as well as their interaction on multiple social levels. Such perspectives, and communities of practice in particular, provide a lens through which we can study people's orientation of themselves within learning groups. Therefore, the concept of learning citizenship as a collective learning dimension is important to consider when studying bottom-up programmes that intend to support people in using their own experiences and perspectives as leading forces for community learning.

⁶ Learning citizenship should not be confused with 'citizenship learning', a term used by Biesta et al. (2009, p. 8) to describe how people '*learn democratic citizenship through their participation in a range of different formal and informal practices and communities*'.

An important notion about learning citizenship is that it cannot be imposed. However, as Wenger (2009) explains, as lived social practice, it is in direct communication with its context, and it can be nurtured. The quality of learning interactions in communities is seen as important resource, as well as the role of members who fully embody the concept of learning citizenship by using their own experiences to inspire others. Moreover, Wenger (1998) differentiates between potential, active, and latent CoPs to refer to stages before, during, and after the rise of CoPs, respectively, reflecting the fluent nature of CoPs. As he describes, CoPs arise when people identify with others practicing and learning in the same domain, whereas they recognise that individuals as well as the collective serve as learning resources for one another. Therefore, in our understanding, learning citizenship can be viewed as both an aspect of community formation as well as learning outcome of people's engagement in a CoP, relating to the durability of the learning community.

Current Study

In this paper, we present an empirical study looking into social learning processes of Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers participating in the intercultural bottom-up parenting programme Youth of Today! (YoT)⁷. Following our theoretical framework, we specifically aim to explore how these parents form CoPs with each other by questioning (a) if and how they engage in social learning spaces concerned with the practice of parenting and (b) if and how they develop a sense of learning citizenship within these spaces. As we are interested in the function of the (semi)formal social support structure of the programme, we limit ourselves to the analysis of participants' individual and collective learning exchanges. As such, we neither intend to evaluate the content of their parenting practices nor potential reconstructions within the scope of this paper.

⁷ Original name of the programme is Shabab van Nu!, a mix of Arabic and Dutch meaning Youth of Today!.

Background: Intercultural Bottom-Up Parenting Programme Youth of Today!

Derived from a self-identified need within the local Moroccan-Dutch community to handle parenting issues, the YoT-programme was set up and implemented since 2010 by the Attanmia Foundation. The YoT- programme aims to support Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers in raising their teenagers in multicultural urban areas. Offering a six- session training, its goals include creating awareness among parents about their parenting styles, expanding their parenting concepts and skills, improving family communication, strengthening their support networks, and helping parents to connect diverse parenting concepts in their multicultural environment. YoT-trainers share the same migration history as parents as well as urban parenting context. The Moroccan-Dutch community has its history in labour and family reunion migration and includes both Arabic and Amazigh people, of which the great majority practises Sunni Islam (Van Praag, 2006). In YoT-sessions, trainers simultaneously use the multiple languages spoken within the community. While applying techniques of collective reflection, dialogue, education, and communication skill training, YoT- trainers draw upon sociological, psychological, and Islamic perspectives as well as participants' own perspectives on child development, parenting styles, urban youth culture, and citizenship. YoT is offered to existing groups of men and women who already come together regularly for sociocultural events and classes at semi-public locations, such as neighbourhood centres, migrant organizations, and mosques. As YoT is integrated in their regular meetings, participants do not register individually beforehand nor are they clinically indicated for participation. Familiarity among YoT-participants varies from being unfamiliar with one another to being neighbours, friends, or family members.

The study involved a ZonMw funded project (project no. 729111012; ZonMw, 2017) performed by Utrecht University in 2013–2017, aimed at evaluating YoT to further improve the programme and provide knowledge about bottom-up family support services. As researchers, we were not involved with the programme design and implementation, nor was the communities of practice perspective

part of its set-up. More information about the Attanmia Foundation and YoT can be found here (in Dutch): <http://www.attanmia.nl/projecten/project-shabab-jeugd-van-nu/>.

Procedure

In order to study the learning of YoT-participants, we used an ethnographic-inspired research method (Crozier, 2005; Silverman, 2006) combined with a pre-programme and post-programme design and nested sampling procedure. The first author built a long-term relationship with the local Moroccan-Dutch community through participatory observations at YoT-sessions, sociocultural events, and family homes for 1.5 years. Twelve mother groups (1–12) and three father groups (13–15) were recruited by the Attanmia Foundation from April 2014 to June 2015. We invited parents for research participation through introductory meetings and leaflets informing them about the aim and procedure. Our independent role as differentiating from programme providers was made clear, and possible issues of distrust were reflected upon together with the groups. The latter was done because participants can be understood to be part of a disempowered group within Dutch society, due to their socio-economic status intersecting with current ethnic tensions (inter)nationally (Hermans, 2004; Van den Berg, 2016). Reflecting on issues of power, we are aware that differences in background characteristics of research team members as compared to participants inevitably entered the researcher– participant relationship (Crozier, 2003; Van den Berg, 2007). However, our effort to address power issues through introductory meetings and working with a heterogeneous research team, including interviewers from the Moroccan-Dutch community, reflects our aim to work culturally sensitive. Moreover, we build on previous work with the Moroccan-Dutch community (for example De Haan, 2011). An extensive method description can be found with appendix A.

Before and after the programme, additional meetings were organised to conduct data collection. Ethical approval was given by the Faculty Ethics Review Board of Utrecht University. All participants gave written informed consent, and pseudonyms are used in this paper. Individual pre-programme and post-programme structured interviews (SIs) and semi-structured in-depth social

network interviews (SNIs) and ethnographic case studies of groups were conducted with three nested samples. For an overview of the research procedure, outlining samples and instruments according to moments of measurement, see Table 1. Interviews were held in Dutch, Moroccan-Arabic, or Tamazight by the first author, two interns, and five multilingual assistants. SIs and SNIs took approximately 30 and 60 min, respectively, and were documented on paper (100%) and by audio recording (63%), in accordance with participants' preferences. Participatory observations were documented by field notes. SIs were transcribed verbatim in Dutch, and qualitative analysis was performed with only those 81 participants who participated in both pre-programme and post-programme SIs. In order to conduct in-depth analysis, we used a step-wise stratified but otherwise random sampling strategy (based on representativeness in terms of gender, YoT-programme group and educational level as compared to total Sample 1) until the results reached saturation. For the analysis of SNIs and ethnographic data, the total of transcribed audios and field notes was included.

Participants

Sample 1 included 115 participants, of which 86 mothers and 29 fathers. Their average age was 45 years old (ranging from 30 to 65 years) and most had three or four children (ranging from one to eight children). Ninety-two percent of participants is Moroccan-born, and three quarters migrated to the Netherlands during adulthood. Participants vary in their educational background, ranging from no education at all to primary education, vocational training, and higher education, with fathers being higher educated than mothers on average. Half of participants has previous experience with other parenting programmes, with more mothers (43%; $N = 81$) than fathers (8%; $N = 81$). Nested Sample 2 included 23 participants, spread over six YoT-groups (8, 10–12, and 14 and 15). In order to gather a substantial dataset of in-depth material about fathers' parenting experiences, equal numbers of mothers ($N = 13$) and fathers ($N = 10$) were strived for, while aiming for similar variation in other background characteristics as compared to Sample 1. Nested Sample 3 consisted of four mother groups (1, 2, 11, and 12) and one father group (14). Groups were purposively selected with location,

gender, and practical possibilities as our selection criteria to represent the variety found in Sample 1. The higher prevalence of mother groups for the ethnographic case studies reflects the prominent recruitment of mothers by YoT.

Table 1

Overview of Research Procedure for each YoT-Group

Week	(Nested) Sample	Event / Measurement	Instrument
1	1, 2, 3	Introductory meeting about YoT-programme and research project	-
2	1	Pre-program data collection at group meeting	Structured interview
2	2 (if applicable)	Pre-program data collection at individual meetings	Social network interview
3-8	3 (if applicable)	YoT-sessions & data collection	Participatory observations
8	1	Post-program data collection at group meeting	Structured interview
8-10		Post-program data collection at individual meetings	Social network interview
8-10		Post-program data collection at individual meetings	Parenting context visualization interview

Instruments

In order to measure if and how participants engage in a social learning space concerned with parenting, we operationalise this in accordance with our theoretical framework as participants' engagement in peer-to-peer interactions involved with exchanges of experiences, reflections, knowledge, skills, advice, support, and problem sharing and solving with respect to a shared interest to learn about parenting. We operationalise learning citizenship as participants' orientation and management of themselves within a group of people sharing this learning interest. SIs were designed to collect participants' reflections on parenting experiences in terms of role, intentions, and behaviour and experiences with social support and exchange, and perceptions on YoT. The post-programme SI repeats the pre-programme SI's questions and additionally asks about experienced changes. In

addition, SNIs were designed to collect participants' reflections on parenting concepts and their urban parenting context, quantitative ego-network data, and reflections on experiences with social support and learning about parenting within their social network. In this paper, we only use qualitative interview data and leave out quantitative ego-network data, as network configurations are not relevant for this paper's aim. Furthermore, participants were asked to evaluate the programme enactment at post-programme SNI, in terms of activities, theories, and materials used; role of trainers and other participants; and the value of YoT for parents overall. Ethnographic case studies included participatory observations at YoT-sessions, with peer-to-peer learning interactions between parents, programme enactment by trainers, and group dynamics revolving around meaning making and identity as our main interests. Parenting context visualization interviews as part of the case studies are not included in this analysis, as they extend beyond the scope of this paper.

Analyses

Data of all three samples were analysed separately through thematic coding with software programme NVivo by the first author and two assistants. The first step included segmenting and coding the data with regard to those texts that involved acts of and reflections on peer-to-peer exchanges and learning in relation to parenting, inside and outside the YoT-programme. Next, drawing upon our theoretical framework using discourse analysis (Gee, 2014; Silverman, 2006), we analysed how the segmented data reflects participants' orientation and management of themselves within these learning exchanges.

Results

From the analyses of interview and observational data, four themes emerged that reflect participants' engagement in a social learning space and their sense of learning citizenship. In the following, we differentiate between participants' (a) use of oneself and others as resources for collective learning inside the YoT-programme and (b) use of oneself and others as resources for

collective learning outside the YoT-programme, and participants' (c) recognition of individual learning aspirations and (d) recognition of collective learning aspirations.

Participants' Use of Themselves and Others as Learning Resources *Inside* the YoT-Programme

From the analyses of both our observations of YoT-sessions and interview data, we found that participants engaged in peer-to-peer learning interactions revolving around specific parenting issues inside YoT-programme. These parenting issues included parents' fear of 'street culture' and 'bad' influences of children's friends; setting rules concerning children's online activities and contacts; transmission of religious faith and cultural traditions; worries about children's (potentially limited opportunities for) participation in society; and building trust with their children. From the analysis of observational notes, we found that trainers incited such reciprocal exchanges by introducing diverse parenting perspectives or practices to activate reflection and dialogue within the groups. This is illustrated by the following observational notes of Session 1 of YoT-group 1. During this session, the trainer invited parents to experiment with a home exercise: 'active' listening (inviting children to talk while parents refrain from opinions, advice, or rejections). Mothers responded by discussing their experiences and troubles with conversations with their children in the group: [Mother] Maryam replies to the others by sharing how she approaches it: 'I know, my child arrives home at four o'clock. From four to six I do nothing. Make tea, have cookies, and then she will talk'. Other mothers react and a discussion is raised about finding time to spend with your child. [...] The trainer replies: 'Pick a time in your agenda, why not? I don't have a recipe for parenting, but you can just try for five minutes and see what works for you. This excerpt shows how the trainer's invitation to experiment with communication skill exercises at home mobilised parents to share their own experiences and to advice each other. Moreover, in her instruction, the trainer activated parents to experiment and reflect for themselves on the fit of this parenting practice, acknowledging them as experts of their own parenting.

Other learning interactions incited by YoT-trainers as observed include collective reflections on migration and citizen experiences, mapping out individual and collective skill and knowledge gaps,

sharing and discussing diverse parenting theories, providing emotional support among participants, and discussing and reflecting on learning experiences. At post-programme, 69% of participants (N = 81) referred to other participants' personal stories as valuable resources for learning. As mother Adiba (39, four children; YoT-group 4) said when she was asked what she thinks of YoT: 'What I liked about the training is that we were all gathered. Everybody spoke about their problems with their children. And we gave each other advice. "What do you do and you?"' This quotation shows that participants felt mandated to use their own experiences as 'lay persons' as legitimate resources to find solutions for their experienced problems, as they engaged in collective reciprocal exchanges in the sessions.

Variation in participants' views on the use of themselves as learning resources was found, too. Doubts about the need and effectiveness of peer-to-peer-based learning were expressed by some participants (17%; N = 81), as illustrated by an observation of the final session of YoT-group 14. In this session, fathers evaluated the programme. Father Damane (50, four children) looked back on the programme's approach in which the trainer refrained from giving his opinion and said, 'Sometimes you get the feeling: but how should it be done? There is no standard. You're like, well it can't be that everything is correct. There has to be something that works universally for everyone.' Father Damane continues explaining that he had liked the trainer to share scientific knowledge in order to judge their stories, formulating feelings of insecurity about the way parenting knowledge is gathered in the programme. This excerpt shows how this father positions himself in relation to the learning model used in YoT and referred to more top-down learning models underlying his preference for knowledge acquisition and transfer. His discomfort with peer-to-peer learning can be interpreted as critique on the model used in YoT. However, it can also be interpreted as a disarray of learning expectations, caused by the confrontation with an unfamiliar model in which peers are positioned as experts and knowledge is approached in a more open-ended manner.

Participants' Use of Themselves and Others as Learning Resources *Outside* the YoT-Programme

From SNIs analysis, we found that participants (52%; N = 23) regularly engaged in spontaneous, self-initiated peer-to-peer learning interactions pre-programme, by exchanging parenting experiences and discussing knowledge with family members and friends. Post-programme, more parents (79%; N = 19) reported to engage in learning interactions outside the sessions, and qualitative differences were found in reflections compared with pre-programme SNIs. Parents initiated learning exchanges and support more consciously, based on what they experienced in YoT- sessions. For instance, when asked at a post-programme SNI whom she is in touch with about parenting, mother Soumia (39, three children; YoT-group 11) described an exchange with her siblings abroad: 'Every day what I learn, I go home. I call [my sisters] via Viber [a social media application]. I say: "This is good for ..., that is good. What you do is not good". (...) They try to join.' This mother explained how she involved her siblings through digital media into the learning inside YoT, by sharing advice based on her own learning experiences at the sessions. This example shows how participants' learning interactions reached out beyond the programme's local social learning space, and even across national borders through digital spaces.

From post-programme SNIs analysis, we found that mothers specifically felt supported by YoT to pass on knowledge to other mothers outside the sessions. As illustrated by the following quotation of a post-programme SNI, mother Zainab (42, four children; YoT-group 10) feels responsible to include others in the collective learning process. While she learns within the sessions, this mother takes into account how her own learning can be extended to the learning of others, too: 'So it is not just very important to us, but also (...) because then we can pass it on to mothers who didn't show up or mothers who are not allowed outside, so they receive it too. This specifically we see it a lot; that the programme we did, we pass it along to mothers we know (...)'. This quotation shows how mother Zainab consciously manages her YoT-participation across social spaces, including those parents she believes

can benefit but are unable to attend personally. As such, it shows how YoT offered parents a social learning space from which they can reach out to others.

Participants' Recognition of Individual Learning Aspirations

In addition to participants' active engagement in peer-to-peer learning, we also found that they showed increased recognition of themselves as 'learners'. When asked to reflect upon changes within the time between pre-programme and post-programme SIs, parents mentioned that they came to aspire learning more, as they experienced how encountering new perspectives and practices supported them in their parenting. The following quote of father Amrou (48, three children; YoT-group 14) illustrates this, as he was asked what he liked about YoT:

'That you become aware. That you also become [...] curious about parenting. [...] As far as I'm concerned, the subject is never closed. Then you are done. No, that question always remains open. Maybe questions have been answered; maybe they also have been answered wrong. Or maybe later yet other answers come. You never know, because parenting, [...] the question and answers can always change'.

This quote shows how father Amrou became aware of his aspiration to remain open and 'curious' to new knowledge, due to his participation in YoT. Also, his narrative reflects an understanding of knowledge as fluent in its fit to his learning aspirations as a parent, changing from moment to moment, which makes learning a continuous and never-ending process.

From the analysis of comparisons between pre-programme and post-programme SIs, we found variation between mothers and fathers in the recognition of themselves as learners, related to differences in previous learning experiences. In interviews, fathers more often talked about their learning experiences in the programme as 'new' to them, and how this discovery of learning collectively to support their parenting directed their future learning aspirations. Mothers, in comparison, more often talked about the knowledge shared in the programme as familiar to them. They expressed appreciation for the experience of being reminded and made aware of this knowledge

again, as illustrated by the following quote. When asked post-programme if the way she deals with parenting problems has changed since the pre-programme SI, mother Nasrin (43, three children; YoT-group 12) said, 'Yes it has, because of the repetitions you try to [...] listen more to your child, talk more to your child. [...] Those repetitions, they wake you up.' The learning experience mother Nasrin spoke about seems to be of different quality than that of fathers, as her engagement in YoT supported her parenting by 'reinforcing' previous learning experiences.

Participants' Recognition of Collective Learning Aspirations

In addition to participants' increased recognition of individual learning aspirations, we found that participants also showed increased recognition of collective learning aspirations. Derived from the analyses of observations and post-programme SIs, we found that participants expressed the need to learn together as parents and their commitment to do so. At several sessions, participants came up to us to share how much they learned from opening up conversations with other parents and how 'much needed and joyful' that is, according to mother Saloua (41, four children; YoT-group 12). Saloua explained in an informal talk, 'I'm really, really busy with four children and usually I wouldn't make time for it, but now I do because I learn so much from the other women'. The effort this mother says to make to prioritise her programme attendance shows her willingness and openness to learn from other laypersons about parenting.

Other participants reflected upon a discovered aspiration to learn as a community towards the end of the programme. At a final session, mother Ayada (46, four children; YoT-group 11) shared, 'These sessions are so important to us, because we need it so much. Parenting is not easy you know. It is the most difficult thing there is.' Mother Ayada talked in a plural form about learning needs, positioning herself in a group of people involved in a practice of which the experience of it being difficult justifies a collective learning need. The observed identification of collective learning aspirations by parents was also voiced by some participants in post-programme SIs. When asked about recommendations for the programme, participants expressed their wish to continue learning with

each other about parenting. Father Amrou (48, three children; YoT-group 14) argued for this need because 'parenting never stops', and father Fahim (38, two children; YoT-group 13) said, laughing: 'Our problem is: we don't have knowledge. Knowledge is what they lack. That is our problem, the big problem. I'm happy these kinds of things [YoT-programme] happen. That they (...) become wiser'. Father Fahim pointed out a knowledge gap he identifies within his community of fellow migrant fathers, alternately using we and they to refer to that community. This shows that, although he identifies with that community, he also takes a meta-position to review and advocate for the needs of that community.

When asked at the sessions and SNIs about their expectations and intentions to continue learning collectively after the programme has ended, differences were observed between groups. Mother Zubaidah (45, three children; YoT-group 8) explained in an informal talk at a final session that, although YoT has made her aware of the need to learn together, she believes 'deep conversations in which women really share everything' will not happen without the YoT- trainer leading it. This quotation shows how YoT generated Zubaidah's recognition of her group as learning resource for parenting and enabled her to act upon this within the sessions. However, it also indicates for the essential role of trainers to create a space in which parents feel the possibility to open up to learn from one another. Participants from other groups pointed to other conditions that may support their intention to continue learning as peer-to-peer collective, as we found from post-programme SNIs analysis. Father Amrou (48, three children; YoT-group 14) said in such interview: 'We are an association. Come together often as well and ... in itself, yes, it [learning about parenting] will come back. Yes, it will just continue.' This illustrates that the fact that Father Amrou's programme-group was embedded in a sociocultural association that provides regular meetings can serve as a potential condition to continue learning collectively.

Discussion

The Activation of Communities of Practice Within an Intercultural Bottom-Up Parenting Programme

In this paper, we adopted a social learning perspective to study how Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers learn among each other as they participate in an intercultural bottom-up parenting programme. Findings demonstrate how parents' individual learning is intertwined with their learning as a group. By offering structured sessions of peer-to-peer learning interactions to people who already gather regularly for sociocultural events, the programme formalizes existing groups as social learning spaces. With this specific recruitment method, it taps into what Wenger (1998) calls a potential in order to activate a learning community. Furthermore, findings show how parents consciously manage their peer-to-peer learning interactions within and across social learning spaces stretching into their social networks. This indicates that, by addressing parents as learning resources for one another, the programme invites parents to develop a sense of learning citizenship within this semiformal social support structure. As such, this study exemplifies how the programme 'braids individual and collective learning' (Wenger et al., 2011; p. 13), as parents form CoPs among each other that reach out beyond the social space of its sessions.

By offering multilingual programme enactment and inclusion of parenting theories from diverse perspectives, the intercultural character of the programme intercepts lingual and cultural barriers found earlier with parenting programmes (Bose, 2014; Fabian et al., 2006; Ortiz & Del Vecchio, 2013). Placing parents' own experiences and cultural knowledge among a multitude of perspectives increases its receptiveness to postmigration parents. Moreover, engaging in the programme addresses parents' sense of ownership over their own learning, as they discover that learning resources can be found in their everyday social relations. This reflects a horizontal approach to knowledge building and learning, by which expertise is acknowledged to lie within parents and in interactions between them. Specifically, mobilizing parents' own expertise to learn about parenting disarrays more traditional roles of trainers as 'providing knowledge' and parents as being 'in lack of knowledge'. As such, this approach

connects to initiatives using critical pedagogic principles to support people's learning and community engagement by putting local knowledge upfront, such as described by, for example, Freire (1968) and Stetsenko (2009).

Variation found between mothers and fathers and between programme groups interestingly point to different entry conditions. Findings indicate fathers' relatively new experience with collective and formalised learning about parenting. In concordance with their lower report of parenting service use prior to their programme- participation, this may be explained by social services' predominant targeting of mothers (Gillies, 2005). Being approached as main caretaker, and often as migrant mother that 'lags behind' (Van den Berg, 2016) specifically, mothers may be better familiarised with parenting services prior to their programme participation. Findings indicating group differences point to entry conditions related to the potential of learning communities to continue post-programme. Parents value trainers' moderator role to guide collective learning exchanges: however, strong pre-programme relationships among parents and continuation of groups' sociocultural events post-programme underline parents' intentions to continue learning independently and collectively about parenting.

Conclusion

Evaluating Collective Learning in Parenting Programmes

By taking a social learning approach to evaluate an intercultural bottom-up parenting programme, we were able to map out collective learning dimensions at play, which is so far little studied within this field. The study contributes to our knowledge by showing how parenting initiatives of migrant organizations connect to and formalise social learning processes among parents that are (potentially) present in informal daily social structures already. Because not only bottom- up parenting programmes make use of peer-to-peer learning interactions (see reviews by Barlow et al., 2012; Ortiz & Del Vecchio, 2013), the communities of practice perspective can be interesting to evaluate programme processes and outcomes of institution-based programmes as well. However, an approach centralizing collective learning and people's ownership in learning becomes particularly important in

contexts of cultural transition, diversity, and social change. As found, parents often experienced parenting as difficult and pointed to “knowledge gaps” in their community. As indicated by the topics discussed among parents in the programme, questions about children's developmental transition in puberty; societies' digitalization; cultural transmission (Cook & Waite, 2016; De Haan, 2011; Renzaho et al., 2011); and issues of discrimination and exclusion intersecting with low socio-economic status (Hermans, 2004) add up to this. Handling these challenges may become strained postmigration due to eroded social networks and an often-experienced shift from collective to individual parenting culture postmigration (De Haan, 2011; Renzaho et al., 2011). Concerning these factors in face of mismatches with social services, having insight into how bottom-up initiatives by migrant organizations offer parents renewed, exploratory social support structures that connect to and value their own, collective knowledge building is of extra importance.

Implications for Practice: Practitioners as Facilitators of Collective Learning Among Postmigration Parents

Conceptualizing social learning processes happening among postmigration parents in bottom-up programmes does not only offer us a broadened understanding of these processes but also give us specified terms that can be used by practitioners and scholars alike to facilitate community building and evaluate processes of change. This study illustrates how this approach shifts our view on parents as being ‘in need of certain skills and knowledge’ to being ‘learning resources for one another’. This is of extra importance in settings in which issues of diversity, inclusion, and social justice are of great concern for professional development in social work fields (Bose, 2014). Viewing parents as potential learning communities invites practitioners to adopt a facilitating role to support parents to take on a socially attuned learning approach to parenting and develop a sense of learning citizenship. Although this may be of extra importance when working with marginalised communities, bottom-up designs can be interesting for all parents, as critiques on top-down-based parenting support are not limited to their mismatch with postmigration parents only (Cottam & Espie, 2014; Gillies, 2005). Furthermore,

recognizing the specific contribution of bottom-up parenting initiatives can help policy makers better attune their cooperation with these organizations. Policy makers can support these (semi)formal social support structures, for example, by providing sustainable financial means. In doing so, they assist parenting support services that do not only fit the needs of postmigration parents but also contribute to community building.

2. How do Moroccan-Dutch Parents (Re)Construct their Parenting Practices? Post-Migration Parenthood as a Social Site for Learning and Identity

Abstract

In this paper we investigate how mothers and fathers living in culturally heterogeneous contexts learn about the practice of parenting. By applying a communities of practice perspective (Wenger, 1998; 2010) on the (re)construction of parenting practice postmigration, this study highlights the under-examined processes of social negotiation over meaning making and identity formation underlying cultural transformations within the family context. Using a discourse analytical approach embedded in an ethnographically inspired methodology, we include 1) in-depth social network interview data with 23 Moroccan-Dutch parents and 2) observational data of bottom-up parenting programme sessions taking place at participants' neighbourhood-based migrant organizations. Analyses revealed how a social learning dynamic is at work when parents experience clashes at boundaries of cultural meanings. Navigating and negotiating multiple cultural frameworks in interaction with others, parents use and adopt renewed senses of belonging to claim direction in this cultural heterogeneity. As such, they re-interpret meanings in social learning interactions with others and create space to (re)construct parenting practices situated in their urban postmigration residence. This analysis exemplifies how applying a sociocultural learning approach to parenting postmigration reconsiders our understanding of parenthood as a social learning site on which renewed communities and 'glocalised' practices emerge.

⁸Van Beurden, S. L. & De Haan, M. (2019). How do Moroccan-Dutch parents (re)construct their parenting practices? Post-migration parenthood as a social site for learning and identity. *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction*, 21, 1-9. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1016/j.lcsi.2018.12.003>

⁸ SLvB co-designed and executed the fieldwork and data analysis, and wrote the paper. MdH designed the study, co-designed the design and collaborated with the fieldwork, analysis, and the writing and editing of the final manuscript.

Introduction

In this paper we bring together social learning, parenting and migration studies to investigate how mothers and fathers living in culturally heterogeneous contexts learn and (re)construct parenting practices. Grounding ourselves in the sociocultural tradition of Vygotsky (1978) and interpreters such as Wertsch (1991), Cole (1996) and Rogoff (2003), amongst others, we aim to show how parents' daily social interactions serve as sites for learning about the practice of child care. So far, parenting is predominantly studied in an instrumental way related to child development (Cottam & Espie, 2014; Gillies, 2005; Weille, 2011), investigating how parental behaviour and family relationships affect children's physical (Surkan et al., 2011), socioemotional (Sheffield Morris et al., 2007), and academic functioning (Pomerantz et al., 2007). Instead, in this study we focus on people's learning experience as a parent, understood from a 'communities of practice' perspective (Wenger, 2010; 1998), combined with perspectives from migration studies. In particular, we present a study investigating the social learning processes of Moroccan-Dutch parents in informal as well as formalised social learning spaces in their urban postmigration residence.

A strand of study has taken interest in parenthood as an important platform for adult learning. By understanding challenges parents experience as 'powerful opportunities for learning' (Marienau & Segal, 2006, p. 768), researchers argue that questions and insecurities in parenting can serve as preconditions for learning (Demick, 2006; Hoek, 2007; Van der Pas, 2003). This learning may stretch even beyond the domain of child care with respect to existential, emotional, social and material meaning (Ho, 2017; Weille, 2011). Most of these studies approach parental learning from an individual perspective and consider it as happening through reflection on personal experiences and actions. However, some studies also point to the relevance of social circumstances. For instance, Hoek (2007) urges researchers, policy makers and practitioners to redirect their view on parents such that parents are recognised as 'learning agents' in their own informal social contexts. In addition, studies by Du Bois-Reymond (2009), Euteneuer and Uhlendorff (2014) and Andresen et al. (2016) serve as such examples, by investigating how modernity in terms of urbanization and digitalization challenges young

parenthood as a space in which people negotiate interests and (re)construct family concepts. Although these studies leave us with the interesting suggestion that parenthood can be an important platform for learning situated in people's encounters with wider social conditions, little is known about the exact social learning processes underlying parents' (re)construction of practices.

Both social learning theory and migration studies offer promising conceptualizations that enable us insight into informal social processes happening in everyday family lives. Departing from a sociocultural perspective, we understand learning and human development as an interdependent process by which people shape their social surroundings, as well as themselves, through their actions. This notion of learning as taking place between individuals and the social world embedded in their semiotic, cultural and historical interaction (Wertsch, 1991), draws our attention to the collective dimension of learning, as knowledge is co-created. Specifically, we draw upon Wenger's (2010) elaboration of learning as a practice-oriented meaning making process intertwined with peoples' identity and sense of belonging in their everyday lives. As the meaning of practices and people's sense of belonging become contested postmigration, his social learning theory may provide an interesting angle to study how people come to new understandings and learn through social interactions. So far, the communities of practice perspective has neither been applied to the learning of parents, nor has it been situated postmigration. Furthermore, migration as a context for learning, and specifically learning taking place within informal urban social spaces, seems to be an underexposed area in the sociocultural learning field in general. However, as increased mobility, globalization and new technologies lead people and communities to engage with one another across geographical and virtual boundaries, recent conceptualizations in migration studies may be of particular interest to elaborate our understanding of social learning in such setting.

In our aim to explore this theoretical cross-pollination and disentangle social learning processes underlying (re)constructions in parenting practices postmigration, we elaborate on the above in the following theoretical framework. First, we present Wenger's social learning theory to

describe how social negotiations over meaning and identity can lever social learning. Second, we look into parenting in migration by discussing concepts of culture, belonging and cultural transformation in order to understand the particularities of parenting postmigration.

Theoretical Framework

Learning in Communities of Practice: A Practice-Oriented Negotiation over Meaning and Identity

Embedded in social learning theory, Wenger's communities of practice perspective (2010) departs from the understanding that knowledge is something that is shared and constructed in people's daily social interactions. He proposes that people engaging in the same practice and having a shared interest to learn about it, form a community of practice. Studies that have applied this perspective on the learning of teachers (Cowan & Menchaca, 2014), social workers (Smith, 2016) and farmers (Anh Tran et al., 2018) show how people come to new understandings through their shared engagement in the practice, as they constantly exchange and negotiate with one another what that practice means to them. In line with sociocultural notions of learning, this negotiation over meaning is characterised by dual 'realignment': a person and his/her social surroundings reject and/or take over one another's competencies and their meanings (Wenger, 2010). As a learning outcome, new meanings and practices evolve in a continuous manner. In Wenger's (2010) view, engaging in a practice and becoming competent in it is highly intertwined with people's identification with that practice and with others involved in the same activity. It is through identification that we place and orient ourselves and our practices in the social world, giving meaning to where and to whom our practices, and consequently ourselves, belong (Wenger, 2010). Engaging in a practice and learning something new is therefore a process of meaning making in one's personal life.

Parenting as child socializing practice can be understood as purposeful activity, as parents intend to care for new generations as well as introduce them in their family, communities and society at large (Grusec & Hastings, 2008; Rogoff, 2003). As family practice it is informal in nature and becomes inseparable of many daily activities of care givers (Du Bois-Reymond, 2009). The communities of

practice perspective offers us a particularly useful analytical lens to study the learning of parents postmigration, because of its emphasis on social meaning making and identity formation in learning (Wenger, 2010), both of which are under pressure in contexts of high diversity. Furthermore, by studying how changes in understanding are interdependently 'situated within wider social units' (Reed et al., 2010), a sociocultural learning perspective enables us to study the collective dimensions of learning in addition to individual learning. As such, we use a relational approach to understand how people come to new understandings and (re)construct parenting practices through their social ties, offering us insight into social dynamics of learning in urban postmigration settings.

Parenting in Migration: Concepts of Culture, Belonging and Cultural Transformation

Aspiring to capture the social complexity of postmigration contexts, we draw upon recent academic discussions within migration studies to define our understanding of culture, belonging and cultural transformation. Scholars increasingly emphasise the interconnectivity of multiple cultures and contexts in migrants' lives (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) and the fact that they have become 'hypermobile' through these connections (Diminescu, 2008). Diminescu (2008, p. 570) argues 'to consider the migrant in all his modes of mobility (physical, imaginary, virtual) (...)'. As such, traditional notions of institutional borders as markers for cultural belonging are diminished and many have argued for a vision on culture as 'deterritorialised' (see for example Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Papastergiadis, 2000). Drawing upon these notions of mobility and deterritorialization, we adopt a perspective on culture as being fluid, dynamic and in continuous transformation in close relation to the particular people and contexts involved, instead of being bound to a particular 'root' or 'ground' (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Chirkov, 2009; Tardiff-Williams & Fisher, 2009). These conceptualizations lead us to recognise migrants' belonging as involving multiple communities within and across national borders and in diverse 'modes' simultaneously.

Not intending to reject the location-bound origin of culture, this understanding shifts our analytical focus to 'those moments or processes where cultural differences are articulated rather than

when and where they were initially formed' (De Haan & Leander, 2011, p. 323). Some studies have taken particular interest in postmigration parents' (re)constructions taking place in and through social interactions, such as in informal social networks. Research by Du Bois-Reymond (2009) highlights differences between native and migrant families in their use of social relations as learning resources. De Haan et al. (2013) show how Moroccan-Dutch mothers use their networks to gather information about 'Dutch' practices as well as to discuss 'Moroccan' ways of parenting. Hermans and Kempen' have used the term 'glocalisation' (1998, after Robertson, 1995), in order to capture how these (re)constructions in practices at the boundaries of cultural meanings are both global and local. They write: '(...) in an era of increasing globalization in which the global and the local continuously interpenetrate, cultures increasingly develop as interconnected parts of the world' (p. 1115). Using a relational approach to disentangle how postmigration parents come to new meanings in interaction with others connects to this perspective of hypermobile cultures in which multiple frames of reference meet within and between people.

Method

Study Background

In this paper we study the learning of Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers as they engage in parenting communities of practice at neighbourhood-based migrant organizations located in the urban context of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Empirical data presented here are derived from a 2013–2017 research project investigating how Moroccan-Dutch parents define parenting practices in informal as well as formalised social learning spaces (see for a detailed account Van Beurden et al. (2018). For this paper's purpose, we study learning that is defined as happening in participants' social interactions, both in everyday spontaneous exchanges within informal social networks as well as in a formalised setting through participation in bottom-up parenting programme Youth of Today! (YoT) executed at local migrant organizations. As for this second setting, we focus on the learning that is initiated by participants as they engage with their social ties, even if they do so in a training format. As researchers

we have neither been involved in the YoT- programme design nor its implementation. We limit ourselves to the analysis of parents' social interactions, because we are mainly interested in social learning dynamics that involve meaning making and identity formation as they take place in informal and formalised spaces. As such, we do not intend to evaluate the programmes' educational function, techniques used nor its outcomes in this paper.

Rotterdam is the Netherlands' second largest urban region (ca. 630.000 inhabitants in 2016; CBS, 2018a) and counts over 170 different nationalities. Moroccan descendants cover 7% of the urban population. The Moroccan-Dutch community has its history in labour migration since the 1960's (Van Praag, 2006) and counts ca. 390.000 people in total in 2017 (CBS, 2018b). Besides its several established generations, a small immigration flow from Morocco continues, mostly for reasons of family reunion and formation. The community is characterised by two ethnic groups (Arabic and Amazigh) of which the great majority practices Sunni Islamic faith (Van Praag, 2006). Cross-cultural research about parental ethnographies shows that main values in Dutch socialization, such as autonomy and authoritative instruction, are rooted in a more individualizing, secular orientation in Dutch culture (Harkness et al., 2007). A review by Pels and De Haan (2007) of literature looking into changes in family socialization of Moroccans after migration to the Netherlands shows a twofold of continuity and discontinuity. Values and expectations, for example, concerning age-based hierarchy in family relations, appear to be more 'robust'; while everyday practices gain more flexibility after migration. For example, parents and children find a greater variety of communication efforts to direct behaviour and engage in family relations (Pels & De Haan, 2007). More recent research by De Haan et al. (2013) reports of the formation of 'hybrid' parenting practices within Moroccan-Dutch families, such as parents' investment in emotional closeness and authoritative communication to morally guide and direct their offspring. The same study also shows how Moroccan-Dutch mothers use their parenting networks as a valuable source to gather information about Dutch practices as well as to discuss Moroccan ways of parenting.

Aimed to support parents in raising teenagers in urban areas the YoT-parenting programme was developed by regional Moroccan-Dutch organization the Attanmia Foundation in collaboration with the local community. The programme was implemented by community members through its integration in regular meetings of neighbourhood-based migrant organizations scattered over the city. The programmes' intentions are pre-dominantly process-oriented, offering parents techniques of reflection, dialogue, observation, feedback and negotiation, while thematically addressing socio-psychological and Islamic theories on child development, parenting styles, urban youth culture and citizenship. The bottom-up format allows for the content to be directed by participants in collaboration with YoT-trainers (Van Beurden et al., 2018). More information about the programme and research project can be found here (in Dutch only): <http://www.attanmia.nl/projecten/project-shabab-jeugd-van-nu/>.

Participants, Procedure and Instruments

Using an ethnographically inspired method we used two nested samples derived from the extensive research project, including 1) in-depth social network interview data (N = 23) and 2) observational data of YoT-programme sessions (N = 5). Thirteen mothers and ten fathers from six groups participated in the interviews. Interviewees' mean age was 45 years at time of data collection, with a minimum and maximum of 36 and 52 respectively. Looking at participants' migration age, 22,7% migrated to the Netherlands during childhood (ranging from five to 14 years old) and 77,3% of participants during adulthood (ranging from 16 to 29 years old). Although the Dutch legal age for adulthood is 18, we decided to mark it off from 16 years in this study, because those participants that migrated at that age did so for marital reasons. Most participants were married, had three or four children with at least one aged 10–23 years old and resided in the same Dutch urban area of the migrant organization in which they engaged. Educational levels ranged from no educational experience (N = 1) to vocational training (N = 15) and higher education (N = 7). Half of the participants were employed (47,8%) and 39,1% did volunteer work. Observed groups included four mother groups (nos.

1, 2, 11 & 12) and one father (no. 14) group, ranging from 6 to 18 parents per group. They were located in two neighbourhood centres, two migrant organizations and a mosque spread over three inner-city and one suburban neighbourhood. The great majority of observed participants were Moroccan-born, with some born in Algeria, Iraq, France and the Netherlands. The gender-homogeneity of the groups mirrors predominant social norms within the community concerning gender-separation in public spheres. The higher prevalence of mothers reflects the higher attendance of women to neighbourhood centres and The Attanmia Foundation's programmes.

We invited parents for research participation through introductory meetings of the YoT-programme and leaflets, which informed them about the research aim and procedure. An informed consent procedure was included and pseudonyms are used in this paper to refer to participants. Ethical approval for the study was given by the FETC (Faculty Ethics Review Board) of Utrecht University. Two pilots were performed in order to test research instruments and the procedure. As no significant changes were made, pilot data was included in this analysis. Interviews and observed meetings took on average 40–60 min and two-and-a-half hours respectively. They were done in Dutch and Moroccan-Arabic by the first author, assisted by a multilingual research team.

In order to collect data about social learning happening through spontaneous social encounters, participants' individual narratives about parenting and learning experiences in their social networks were gathered through repeated in-depth social network interviews. A semi-structured interview design was used with open questions about pre-defined topics (parenting concepts, practices, context, and changes in parenting over time), upon which participants were invited to reflect post-hoc in conversation with the interviewer (Silverman, 2013). Moreover, participants were asked to identify significant social relationships for their parenting. Following, questions were phrased to target participants' social learning experiences concerning parenting within their social networks, for example about the role contacts play ('Can you provide an example of a change in parenting due to your interaction with one of your contacts?'), reciprocity ('Can you describe the role you play for others

in your network in relation to the parenting of their children?') and diversity in the network ('Do you see differences in your support and learning exchanges between contacts?'). In order to collect data about social learning happening through participants' lived experience of group discourses (Silverman, 2013) in their communities of practice, ethnographic field notes were gathered through participatory observations at YoT-programme sessions. A topic list guiding the observations included peer-to-peer learning interactions (exchange of or reflections on knowledge, ideas, experiences, advice, or support between parents), programme enactment by trainers and group dynamics revolving around meaning making and identity as our main interests.

Analytical Framework

Transcribed interview data and ethnographic field notes were first thematically coded by the first author and one research assistant using NVivo 11. software. Interpretative analysis methodologies were used with a discourse analytical approach (Gee, 2014), focused on describing how participants' purposive interactions reflect ideas about parenting, learning, cultural meanings and belonging. Drawing upon our theoretical framework we used below questions to guide the analysis of participants' individual narratives and group discourses. These questions were coherently used in the analysis to determine how social interactions, identifications with diverse communities and interrelated negotiations over meaning function as dynamics for learning and the (re)constructions of practice:

1. Can we find social interactions in which participants explore and negotiate parenting practices at the boundaries of cultural meanings?
2. Can we find if and how participants (dis-)identify with different communities as they engage in these negotiations?
3. Can we find if and how participants (re)construct, or re-align, practices in relation to the communities they (dis-)identify with?

4. Can we find if and how participants produce 'glocalised' knowledge, as they engage in social negotiations over meaning and identity and (re)construct parenting practices?

Results

In this analysis we looked at social learning dynamics happening in participants' interactions and how these led to new understandings of parenting. We analysed how participants explored and negotiated the meaning of parenting practices, and specifically how these negotiations were informed by references to belonging or not belonging to communities in order to define meaning. Our analysis shows that participants' interactions thematically revolved around specific parenting issues, such as teenagers' increased social and financial autonomy; parents' fear of 'street culture'; discrimination as perceived socialization risks in their urban residence; and questions about children's media use within our digital age. Participants' experiences of clashes at cultural boundaries are interwoven in the social exchanges about these issues, as we illustrate below. In the following we describe the findings of particular social learning dynamics, while keeping the aforementioned questions of analysis in mind.

From the analysis we found that tensions between different cultural frameworks experienced by participants in their current parenting context created learning opportunities. These learning experiences were identified as involving particular collective processes in participants' social networks and learning communities. Reflecting upon parenting practices, participants negotiated the meaning of these practices in interaction with others with respect to their senses of belonging, as illustrated by the excerpts below. The narrative of mother Meissane (39, 3 children; YoT-group 1) in Excerpt 1 shows how migration opened up a social learning space situated within everyday encounters, urged by the need to redefine the meaning of parenting practices:

Excerpt 1*Interview Notes Meissane (213-248)*

<p>“Soms zeg ik tegen moeders, het gaat niet om de hoofddoek of djellaba, die lange jurk, of Arabisch of Berbers. Het gaat om de regels. Dan botsen de kinderen niet met de cultuur en de tijd. Regels volgen, dan neem je verantwoordelijkheid. Onze regels passen niet, je moet je aanpassen. Ik zeg niet dat het perfect gaat. Het gaat er niet om of wat goed is, het gaat er om dat het past”. (...)</p> <p>“Hoe ik ben opgevoed, past bij mij in Marokko. Ik zou ermee zijn doorgegaan in Marokko. Maar nu heb je verschil tussen twee landen. Hier past het niet. Wat het beste is om te doen, is goeie punten uit Nederlandse cultuur halen. Niet slaan, ik mag belonen, aandacht geven, nieuwsgierig voor hén leven, voor hen uitdagingen vinden. (...) Als ze groot zijn hier, zijn ze in een ander land”.</p>	<p><i>‘Sometimes I tell mothers, it’s not about the veil or djellaba, the long dress, or Arabic or Berber [Tamazight]. It is about the rules. So the children don’t clash with the culture or the time. Following rules, that’s how you take responsibility. Our rules don’t fit, you have to adjust. I don’t say it goes perfect. It’s not about what’s good, it’s about whether it fits’. (...)</i></p> <p><i>“How I’m raised fits with me in Morocco. I would have continued with it in Morocco. But now there is a difference between two countries. Here it doesn’t fit. The best thing to do is to take good things from the Dutch culture. No beating, I can reward, give attention, live curiously for them, find challenges for them. (...) If they have grown up, they are in a different country’.</i></p>
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Taking a ‘non-normative’ position in her reflection on different cultural meanings (‘It’s not about what’s good’), Meissane uses an argument of ‘fit to place and time’ (‘it’s about whether it fits’) to re-align her parenting practices to the new context, and accordingly advises other mothers to do the same. As such, this mother experienced her re-location as a migrant as an invitation, or even a demand for learning. In order to prevent her children from experiencing cultural clashes (‘So the children don’t clash with the culture or the time’) and embed them in the society in which they are growing up (‘If they have grown up, they are in a different country’), she actively explored and adopted new cultural practices (‘to take good things from the Dutch culture’). Placing herself within a migratory transition (‘now there is a difference between two countries’), Meissane’s motivation to learn is induced and sustained by this identification, as she emphasised she would not have changed if she would not have migrated (‘I would have continued with it in Morocco’). Moreover, her learning interactions with

others are strongly directed by this notion as input for change and learning. This example illustrates how migration opens up a social learning space manifested in participants' everyday social encounters.

The learning dynamic found from the data analysis shows how participants come to new understandings through an interactive process of identification and dis-identification, to define the meaning of parenting practices. This is further illustrated by Excerpt 2. A group discourse of 18 mothers of YoT-group 12 shows how they refer to multiple different cultural frameworks and communities to collectively scrutinise and explore the meaning of the practice of giving pocket money to teenagers:

Excerpt 2

Observational Notes YoT-Group 2, Session 3 (291-306)

<p>Hajar vertelt dat in de Marokkaanse cultuur ouders niet gewend zijn om kinderen zakgeld te geven. In Nederland gebeurt dat wel en om zekerheid te krijgen over wat ze moest doen, heeft Hajar de Islam geraadpleegd. Daarin vond ze dat de profeten ook zakgeld gaven. Hajar zegt dat ze niet naar andere ouders kijkt en het niet uitmaakt om welke cultuur het gaat, maar dat ze haar houvast in de Islam vindt. 'Het mooie aan godsdienst, is de perfecte manier van opvoeden', zegt ze, en daardoor leert ze dat cultuur in strijd kan zijn met de Islam.</p> <p>De trainer vat haar antwoord samen. (...)</p> <p>Aram geeft een voorbeeld van cultuurverschil binnen de Marokkaanse cultuur [m.b.t. etniciteit en taal]: 'Spreek je Berbers [Tamazight] of Arabisch?'</p> <p>Andere vrouwen in de groep reageren en discussiëren met Hajar.</p> <p>De trainer onderbreekt hen en vertelt in een mix van Nederlands en Arabisch dat deze discussie het levende bewijs is dat er niet één cultuur is, maar dat cultuur een maakbaar veranderingsproces is.</p>	<p><i>Hajar explains that in Moroccan culture parents are not used to give children pocket money. This does happen in the Netherlands and in order to be sure of what to do Hajar consulted the Islam. There she found that the prophets give pocket money, too. Hajar says she doesn't look at other parents and that culture doesn't matter, but that she finds security in the Islam. "The beautiful thing about religion is the perfect way of parenting", she says, and that's how she learns that culture can clash with the Islam.</i></p> <p><i>The trainer summarizes her answer. (...)</i></p> <p><i>Aram gives an example of cultural differences within the Moroccan culture [in relation to ethnicity and language]: 'Do you speak Berber [Tamazight] or Arabic?'</i></p> <p><i>Other women in the group react and discuss with Hajar.</i></p> <p><i>The trainer interrupts them and says in a mix of Dutch and Arabic how this discussion in the living example proving there is not just one culture, but culture is a man-made, ever-changing process.</i></p>
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The practice, with which they are not familiar through their own socialization ('in Moroccan culture parents are not used to give children pocket money') and with which they are now confronted ('This does happen in the Netherlands'), is ultimately given meaning through identification with a 'global' religious community ('doesn't look at other parents and that culture doesn't matter, but that she finds security in the Islam'). As such, these mothers relieve cultural dilemmas encountered in parenting and produce 'glocalised' knowledge through the renewed meaning they give to the practice of giving pocket money. Moreover, by sharing their search for the meaning of practices with each other, personal learning processes at the boundaries of frameworks ('culture can clash with the Islam') become a collective transcendence of boundaries. While doing so, these mothers together with the trainer came to a shared understanding of the cultural transformation of practices through their communal engagement ('culture is a man-made, ever-changing process'). From the data analysis we found that participants used their reference to a global religious community to explore the meaning of practices for other parenting issues, too, such as to morally guide children in peer relations in the neighbourhood and to monitor children's media use.

The above examples illustrate how clashes of parenting practices experienced at the boundaries of cultural meanings open up a learning space manifested in participants' social interactions. From the analysis we found that collective learning processes emerging from participants' need to negotiate and define meaning, serve as a platform for a new, local sense of belonging that drives further learning. Reflecting upon YoT-programme participation, participants' narratives reflected a recognition of being part of a 'migrant parent learning community'. As illustrated by the following quote, this newly found sense of belonging was referred to by participants to ground the (re)constructions in parenting they made. At the third programme-session of YoT-group 14 the trainer invited the attending fathers to reflect upon the meeting. In response, father Amrou (48, 3 children; YoT-group 14) looked back at how they learned in the group and said: 'What I find important, is that you choose to be friends with your child or not. If you [as parent] decide on everything, you get a different result. In our group we have chosen to remain friends with our children'. From the data-

analysis we found that participants' reference to being a migrant parent, and specifically being part of a migrant learning community, was more often brought forward towards to end of the YoT-programme, indicating the build-up of such local belonging.

Exemplified by the above, participants found and used their identification with multiple cultural frameworks and communities as a means to navigate the heterogeneity of meanings of parenting practices within their postmigration context. In addition to identification as a 'migrant parent' marking a geographical transition, participants referred to both 'globally' as well as 'locally-based' communities with which they identified. As such, senses of belonging emerged and were called upon by participants as they renewed and defined parenting practices in negotiation with each other. The different identifications participants referred to were not found to be opposed to one another but rather used within and across YoT-communities and participants simultaneously. Variation in the use of their plural sense of belonging to (re)construct parenting practices was found, too. Participants' migration age was found to be a particular marker in social negotiations. While placing themselves within the multiple communities they find themselves in, participants who migrated during childhood as opposed to adulthood used their position of being 'in-between' migration generations to bridge the meaning of practices, as illustrated by Excerpt 3:

Excerpt 3

Interview Transcript Zaheda (645-670)

M:	Bijvoorbeeld schoolreisje zeg maar, van groep acht. Dan gaan ze [kinderen] dus vijf dagen, zeg maar, weet je. Een andere vriendin [van mij], (...) haar dochter mocht niet. Nee, dat kan niet. Ik zeg [tegen vriendin]: Nee, doe het nou maar, want vroeger mocht ik het niet. En dat vind ik wel	M	<i>School trip for example, let's say, from</i>
I:	best jammer. Weet je wel? Ik zeg: Dat is een leuke ervaring. Zulke dingen probeer ik dan,	:	<i>grade 8 [last grade in Dutch primary school]. They [children] go for five days let's say, you know. Another friend [of mine], (...) her daughter wasn't allowed. No, that can't be. I say [to friend]: No, just do it, because in the past I wasn't allowed. And I regret that quite a lot. You know? I say: It is a nice experience. Those kinds of things I try to, eh</i>
M:	eh wel over te brengen.	I:	<i>communicate.</i>
I:	Ja. Maar je snapt ook goed wat de angst is		<i>Yes. But you also very well understand the</i>
M:	van die moeder zei je, omdat [je		<i>fear of this mother you said, because [you</i>

	[Ja, ja, ja, ja.	M	[Yes, yes, yes, yes.
	ook die kant snapt.	:	<i>also understand that side.</i>
I:	Ja ik snap, daarom zeg ik: ik snap het ook	I:	<i>Yes, I understand, that's why I say: I do</i>
M:	wel, maar ik probeer het aan mij eigen	M	<i>understand it, but I try it to let my own</i>
	kinderen wel die keuze te laten maken (...)	:	<i>children make that choice. (...)</i>
I:	Dus dat advies geef je aan de mensen om je		<i>So that advice you give to the people</i>
M:	heen.		<i>around you.</i>
	Ja. Omdat ik het zelf heb ervaren en het best	I:	<i>Yes. Because I have experienced it myself</i>
	jammer vond, [weet je wel?	M	<i>and I regretted it quite a bit, [you know?</i>
	[Ja.	:	<i>[Yes</i>
	Maar ja, het is eerste generatie, he. Dat is		<i>But well, it's the first generation he. That is</i>
	heel anders.	I:	<i>very different.</i>
		M	
		:	

Referring to her personal experiences as a teenager in the Netherlands ('Because I have experienced it myself and I regretted it quite a bit') and as a Moroccan parent socialised in Dutch society ('you also very well understand the fear of this mother'), mother Zaheda (42, 3 children; YoT-group 9) positions herself as someone who has insight in both the perspective of children and parents. Labelling parents from the 'first generation' as 'very different', this mother called upon her bridging position to direct the exchange with her friend to new understandings of the practice of allowing children social autonomy, situated in their current parenting context. Similar findings were found concerning parenting issues involved with children's autonomy and social contacts, for example, with respect to sleep-overs. This exemplifies how different identity positions in participants' historical-geographical relocated community were taken, depending on migration age, to initiate and engage in learning opportunities.

Discussion

With this paper we aimed to investigate how postmigration parents' daily social interactions serve as sites for learning about the practice of child care. The cross-pollination of social learning theory and migration studies offered us an interesting framework to disentangle the under-examined processes of social negotiation and (dis-)identification underlying the cultural transformation of

parenting practices in the everyday. By presenting the above analyses we showed how postmigration parenthood can function as a catalyser for social learning and cultural transformation. Findings show how Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers learn in interaction with others and produce glocalised knowledge together through the hybridization of cultural meanings, as they situate them within their urban postmigration parenting context. These findings leave us with three interesting insights.

First, this study exemplifies how learning happens at the boundaries of cultural frameworks. Navigating the heterogeneity of their postmigration context, parents reflect upon and re-interpret cultural meanings in exchange with others. A review by Akkerman and Bakker (2011) about the innovative potential of boundary crossings in education shows how dialogical interactions at boundaries serves as a source for cultural discontinuation and change. Findings presented in this paper show how tensions between different cultural frameworks experienced by parents in their current parenting context created opportunities for learning and development, manifested in parents' social encounters. Although research predominantly emphasizes the risk of parenting stress and ambivalence in migrant families (for example Kwak, 2003; Merry et al., 2017; Moro, 2014; Reese, 2002), this study contributes to a growing body of literature (Cook & Waite, 2016; De Haan, 2011; Deepak, 2005; Renzaho et al., 2011) that reports on assets and renewed practices, as people learn and create them through relocated settlement and social negotiations at the boundaries of cultural meanings.

Second, this study reveals how people's plural sense of belonging postmigration interplays with learning as a social meaning making process. As Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) pose, due to the interconnectivity of our time people's sense of belonging to multiple border-crossing communities becomes intensified postmigration, making their plural identifications not mutually exclusive but rather co-existing. Findings show how Moroccan-Dutch parents bring in their identification as a migrant as a drive for personal and communal development, as well as that they find a renewed sense of belonging to their global religious community and a new sense of belonging to their local migrant

parenting learning community. By addressing the collective dimension of learning, we were able to bring to the surface how parents come to new understandings of parenting by consciously using these multiple identifications to engage in everyday learning dynamics.

Third, this study highlights how postmigration parents create 'glocalised' knowledge (Hermans & Kempen, 1998) as a learning outcome of collective contextualised re-interpretations of practices. Findings show how the cultural transformations parents make have specific, hybrid meanings underlying them, contesting ideas of 'traditional' and 'modern' parenting practices of migrant families. For example, as found with parents' negotiation over the practice of giving pocket money, their choice for a 'modern' parenting practice is grounded in 'traditional' religious beliefs, as they explored the different meanings and identifications attached to the cultural dilemma encountered postmigration. As Cook and Waite (2016, p. 1390) argue, based on Zontini's (2007) work: 'Rather than engaging in linear paths from imagined landscapes of 'traditional' to 'modern', migrant families are conceptualised as sites of contestation where roles and values are under negotiation around a range of positions.'. The social dynamic by which Moroccan-Dutch parents 'return' to 'renew' found in this study exemplifies the subtle processes by which parents glocalise practices postmigration.

Conclusion

Concluding, this paper provides us with interesting considerations concerning theoretical perspectives on sociocultural learning and cultural transformation. Describing how the cultural meanings of parenting practices are informed by people's complexified belonging in their postmigration context is new to the communities of practice perspective. As such, it enhances our understanding of social learning processes that are particular for our ever-increasing globalised societies. By drawing our analytical lens to people's sense of belonging in a culturally heterogeneous context (Diminescu, 2008), we gained insight into how parents' plural identifications emerged in meaning making processes as well as how identifications were used by parents to direct learning dynamics in urban social spaces. Moreover, approaching the practice of child care from a sociocultural

learning angle has shown how learning is present in our everyday lives, which contributes to our knowledge of the underexposed field of informal learning in the family context.

Vice versa, by adopting a sociocultural learning perspective to study the (re)construction of practices postmigration we gained new insights interesting for parenting in migration studies, too. Wenger's (2010) 'communities of practice' perspective enabled us to conceptualise how parenting serves as a practice-oriented negotiation over meaning and identity. In particular, it mapped out parents' social negotiations over the meaning of parenting practices, bringing to the surface how exactly cultural transformations take place in people's everyday encounters in social networks as well as at neighbourhood-based social meeting places. As such, it reconsiders our understanding of parenthood as a platform for adult learning. Approaching parents as 'learning agents' (Hoek, 2007) from a communities of practice perspective (Wenger, 2010) enables to shift our analytical lens to how parents direct learning towards the creation of practices that fit their local parenting context, embedded in their sociocultural belonging.

Future Recommendations

Weille (2011, p. 8) stresses how parenthood is a 'neglected area of study', at expense of child development-oriented interests. As meanings and identities become contested postmigration, we encourage scholars and professionals alike to consider the space that migration allows for parental experiences of learning. Viewing postmigration parenthood as a social learning site invites us to work from a perspective of transformation taking place through parents' daily interactions and from 'glocally' defined meanings of parenting practices as they are informed by parents' identities. Therefore, we suggest practitioners to include an identity-oriented learning approach on parenthood to support families in migration contexts. Moreover, parents' informal everyday learning can easily be overlooked due to prevailing attention in research for parenting programmes' effectiveness (Cottam & Espie, 2014; for example, Kane et al., 2007; Ortiz & Del Vecchio, 2013). Findings suggest that parents' intentionally set-up urban learning communities embedded in local migrant organizations offered

parents a social space in which the informal practice of parenting can be advanced for community-based adult learning. These kinds of support initiatives that connect to social learning processes happening in parents' wider social networks may be of interest to researchers, policy makers and practitioners to explore and understand how cultural transformations of parenting practices take place in the everyday.

3. 'I Want Good Children, Also for this Country': How Dutch Minority Muslim Parents' Experience and Negotiate Parenting, Parenthood and Citizenship

Abstract

This article investigates how minority Muslim parents experience and negotiate parenting, parenthood and citizenship in a context of increasing socio-political tensions. Drawing upon both parenting and parenthood as well as minority citizenship studies, it conceptualises parenthood as a domain for experiences of in and exclusion of belonging to society. Based on an ethnographic study with self-organising Moroccan-Dutch parent groups, analyses show that political discourses contesting migrants' belonging to society as well as disqualifications of minority parenting in parenting discourses and social services enter these families' domestic lives in pervasive ways. As parents engage in socio-political dynamics in public spheres, they ground themselves in migratory, classed, historical, religious and globalised perspectives to express, counter and co-build parenthood and citizenship notions. As such, this study sheds light on how parents affirm their civic contribution to society as a parent, as well as on the civic nature of parenthood. Translating the findings to practice, this article draws attention to minority Muslim families' diverse stances as child-rearing citizens.

⁹Van Beurden, S. L. & De Haan, M. (2020). 'I want good children, also for this country'. How Dutch minority Muslim parents experience and negotiate parenting, parenthood and citizenship. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 41(5), 574-590.
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⁹ SLvB co-designed and executed the fieldwork and data analyses, and initiated, conceptualised and wrote the article. MdH initiated the study, co-designed and collaborated with the fieldwork, and supervised and edited the writing of the article.

Introduction

This article sets out to explore the parenthood and citizenship experiences and perspectives of minority Muslim mothers and fathers in the Netherlands. Recent studies with interest in the impact of present-day socio-political tendencies on Muslim minorities living in the West¹⁰ provide empirical insight into how relations between Arab and non-Arab, Muslim and non-Muslim, and migrant and non-migrant people are under increased pressure since the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and related international conflicts, refugee crises and reviving nationalistic political movements (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010; Triandafyllidou, 2015; Mondon & Winter, 2017; Muis & Immerzeel, 2017; Nebhan Aydin, 2017; Vasta, 2007). In public discourses, minority Muslims are predominantly questioned if and how they are 'compatible' with Western values due to perceived cultural and religious discrepancies or are portrayed as 'precarious' due to marginalisation (Patton 2014). However, studies also highlight people's agentic efforts to counter-hegemonic notions of belonging in face of stigmatisation and exclusion, by enacting engaged citizenship in daily life from an Islamic standpoint (Patton, 2014; Johns et al., 2015; Mustafa, 2016; Eidoo, 2018). As Patton (2014) stated, the latter insights emphasise a more nuanced understanding of Muslim life in the West that counters dualist interpretations of minority Muslims as passive subjects in the matter, either demonised or vulnerable.

In this article, I¹¹ investigate minority Muslim parenthood as a domain of experiences of in- and exclusion of belonging to society. I do so, by linking up with recent strands of study that locate their interest in how parenting and citizenship as well as faith and citizenship dialogically constitute and shape one another. Parenting and critical citizenship studies offer important insights into intergenerational aspects of belonging from the perspective of parents (LeVine, 2003; Grusec &

¹⁰ The 'West' in this article refers to societies and regions that are strongly embedded in beliefs, norms and values as well as the political and economic organization of European heritage. Though debated and not perceived as ideal by the authors, this choice is made by lack of better alternative and in reference to its popular use in migration discourses in which this article locates its interest.

¹¹ 'I' is used in this article, specifically referring to the first author when discussing fieldwork, though both authors are responsible for its content.

Hastings, 2008; Erel, 2011; De Haan, 2011; Rogoff, 2003; Weille, 2011; Erel & Reynolds, 2018; Longman et al., 2013). However, these studies often lack the inclusion of religiosity in the understanding of parental citizenship. I therefore also draw upon studies on minority Muslim citizenship of young adults that do address the role of faith in issues of social exclusion and civic engagement (Patton, 2014; Johns et al., 2015; Mustafa, 2016; Eidoo, 2018). In the following theoretical framework, I first elaborate on parenting and parenthood as respectively a child-rearing practice aimed at initiating new generations into society and an experience defining parents place in that society. Second, I scrutinise the public domain in which these practices become subject of negotiation in relation to belonging and what is known so far about minority citizenship. The study presented thereafter empirically illustrates this theoretical exploration, originating in a 2013–2015 research project with self-organising Moroccan-Dutch parent groups in The Netherlands. As such, this article contributes to current academic debates by highlighting how Muslim minority parents engage in everyday social negotiations as they affirm their civic contribution to society as a parent, grounded in migratory, classed, historical, religious and globalised perspectives. I conclude with translations of the findings for practice.

Theoretical Framework

Parenting as a Child-Rearing Practice for and as Social Belonging

Drawing upon parenting perspectives for matters of citizenship leads us to a fundamental, but often overlooked question in prevailing parenting studies: for what do we raise children? Next to physical survival and developmental well-being, parenting as a child socialising practice aims to initiate new members into a kinship and community (Grusec & Hastings, 2008). 'Parenting for belonging' as such, is a key aspect of child-rearing practices (Rogoff, 2003). To various extents, the socialisation of new generations involves the extended family and society at large (Grusec & Hastings, 2008; De Winter, 2012). However, present-day parenting culture in the West pre-dominantly views parents as primary and accountable caretakers of children. This invites us to study how mothers and fathers experience this role and participate in the social structures of family as well as society. Next to

‘parenting for belonging’ as a child-rearing practice, this notion of parents’ awareness an experience of their parental role broadens our interest to ‘parenting as belonging’. Critical parenthood studies emphasise the experience of parenthood in relation to social spheres. Differentiated from prevailing scientific interest in the practice of parenting as means to care for child development, these studies elaborate on identity-oriented explorations of what it means to be a parent, what that experience does to a person, how parents understand their role and experiences living that role (Van der Pas, 2003; Weille, 2011; Raffaetà, 2015).

Scholars studying child care in diverse communities, such as Lancy (2015), LeVine (2003) and Rogoff (2003), point towards cultural conceptions that shape desired socialisation goals as well as the means to integrate new generations into existing social environments. This points towards the normativity that is inherent to parenting as a human enculturating practice (LeVine, 2003); its goals, means and status being susceptible to change and negotiation across places and times. Migration is often studied as a phenomenon by which an encounter of such cultural perspectives takes place; challenging families in the meaning of practices and roles as their sociocultural embedment is lost under geographical relocation (De Haan, 2011; Cook & Waite, 2016). These cross-cultural and migration studies as well as the above discussed parenthood studies offer important insights concerning the contextual and relational nature of child rearing. However, they seldomly incorporate an investigation of the public domain as the space in which parents’ practices and experiences manifest themselves, nor the interplay of power dynamics in this space. Yet in postmigration contexts in which the belonging of minority families is being contested, it becomes of utter importance to understand how parents’ task and practice to ‘parent for belonging’ simultaneously encompasses their own social place in society.

Parenting as an Affective Citizenship Practice Under Negotiation

Traditionally, parenting is approached as taking place in the home environment, whereas citizenship is perceived as taking form in the communal life of legal rights and duties. Recent critical

citizenship studies have pointed towards a more blurred divide between the private and public of family life (Erel, 2011; Longman et al., 2013; Salvaterra Trovão, 2017). Including an understanding of the domestic contribution to civil society as an often-undervalued female domain, these studies scrutinise children's upbringing as an 'affective' civic practice (Erel, 2011; Erel & Reynolds, 2018; Longman et al., 2013). However, Longman et al. (2013, p. 391) underline how mothers' '[...] effectiveness of their mothering work, their ability to act and the identities they are able to claim [...] are contingent upon their specific locations in society [...]'. Studies show how legal status (Luibheid, 2013), socioeconomic capital (Salvaterra Trovão, 2017) and the social status of ethnocultural heritage (Erel, 2011; Elliot & Aseltine, 2012), amongst other, inform and constitute parents' locations and experiences as members of society, and the socio-political implications that come with it as a parent.

When taking a closer look at the public domain as the space in which minorities' parenting practices and parenthood experiences are under negotiation, both dominant migration as well as parenting discourses can be understood as public spheres shaping family experiences. Concerning migration discourses, studies reveal the socio-political implications of dominant narratives that question minorities' belonging and loyalty to Western nations and its 'core values'. On an institutional level, policies and programmes have been implemented to integrate Muslim migrants into Western citizenship, originating in the assumption that their religiosity forms a barrier that needs conscious addressing and redirecting (Patton, 2014; Johns et al., 2015; Mustafa, 2016). On an interpersonal level, exclusion and racism are shown to direct minority families' parenting as well as children's civic engagement (Erel, 2011; Elliot & Aseltine, 2012; Longman et al., 2013). Concerning parenting discourses, studies indicate how minority families face 'deficit-narratives' that exclude them from 'good' parenthood perspectives (Hermans, 2004; Gillies, 2005; Van den Berg, 2016). As Longman et al.'s study (2013, p. 385) highlights, minority mothers are provoked to '[...] negotiate prevalent ideologies of mothering that are often exclusionary of their own and their children's sense of identity and belonging'. With respect to the Dutch context, Hermans' study (2004, p. 11) concerned with parents of Moroccan descent in the Netherlands and Belgium shows how public discourses tend to

frame these parents predominantly as ‘foreign, undeveloped and immoral or portrays them as losers or victims’. Other studies illustrate how Dutch Muslim women are stereotyped as isolated, oppressed and passive (Van Es, 2019), and run the risk of being paternalised at parenting services due to normative notions about gender intersecting with immigrant status (Jonkers, 2003; Van den Berg, 2016).

Minority Muslims’ Agentic Civic Engagement

The above-discussed literature sheds light on what Raffaetà (2016, p. 44) calls the ‘double burden’ parents with a migration history carry; that of becoming both citizens and parents in the aftermath of resettlement. An important additional observation concerning minority Muslim citizenship comes from studies that take an interest in the civic experiences and engagement of Muslim adolescents in the West. Providing a more nuanced understanding of minority citizenship from the perspective of young individuals, this recent strand of study highlight how they grapple with their faith as a contested as well as an inspirational aspect of their belonging. Pointing towards a ‘strong commitment to civic responsibility and participation’ (Mustafa, 2016) a trend is observed among Western Muslims, by which they connect universal humanity to individual agency. As Johns et al. (2015) explain in their study among young minority adults in Australia, Islamic faith can ‘nourish the ethical and spiritual life of participants in a manner which demonstrates not only strong correspondence with liberal democratic models of civic virtue but also that these practices affirm a commitment to improving social conditions in the places and communities they live in’. Rather than being the perceived obstacle, religion is found to be a source of inspiration to articulate, bridge and reconstruct active and self-determined citizenship (Patton, 2014; Johns et al., 2015; Mustafa, 2016; Eidoo, 2018).

The Study

In this article I present the analyses of an ethnographic case-study with Moroccan-Dutch parents in Rotterdam, to investigate parenting and parenthood from a citizen standpoint as

experienced by Muslim migrant parents today. My research questions are: How do Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers experience and negotiate parenting, parenthood and citizenship in a context of socio-political tensions, both as parents and citizens? And how do these experiences and negotiations relate to and inform each other?

To answer these questions, I shift my analytical lens in line with Erel (2011, p. 695) from a 'question of integration', as often studied in the field of parenting in migration (with its most used acculturation model by Berry, 1997), to a 'question of engagement with citizenship'. Making this shift is important because it allows to study how parents engage in negotiations over normative notions of socialisation, belonging and civic engagement in the public domain. Drawing on elements of above-presented theorisations, I adopt a conceptual understanding that includes the constructs of 'parenting' as well as 'parenthood', referring respectively to parents' socialisation practices and the experience of their social role as parents. While doing so, I do not investigate parenthood merely as it relates to identity experiences in general, such as Weille (2011) elaborated. Rather, I explore parenting and parenthood as they touch upon experiences of, parental accountability and socio-political implications as they matter in contexts of contested belonging. Following Longman et al. (2013, p. 388), I further adopt a conceptualisation of 'citizenship' rejecting the dichotomy between public and private as well as broadening its understanding to include a 'more differentiated and inclusive conception that emphasizes the role of socio-political participation in relation to cultural identity, recognition and belonging'. Transcending explicitly 'state-centric' definitions (Erel, 2011; Patton, 2014; Johns et al., 2015), I do not intend to neglect legal aspects of citizenship, which can become yet even more strained in relation to people's migration histories. Rather, I focus on its social meaning as it is under negotiation for minority families.

Background: A Research Project with Self-Organising Moroccan-Dutch Parent Groups

The presented data in this article derives from a 2013–2015 research collaboration with the Attanmia Foundation, a Moroccan-Dutch organisation in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. This

organisation can be understood as a community organisation of which its programmes serve as important 'entry point' for people's civic engagement, by providing minority communities with public spaces, volunteering services and the strengthening of support networks (Peucker & Ceylan, 2017). The Moroccan-Dutch community in which the Attanmia Foundation is rooted has its history in labour and family reunion agreements between European and North-African countries since the 1960s (Van Praag, 2006) and includes both Arab and Amazigh people of which great majority practices the Sunni Islamic faith.

The research collaboration aimed to evaluate and improve their parenting support programme Youth of Today! (also see Van Beurden et al., 2018 and Van Beurden & De Haan, 2019). The programme originates in a self-identified need within the local Moroccan-Dutch community to support parents in raising teenagers in urban areas and is implemented by professionally trained community members through its integration in pre-existing meetings of neighbourhood groups scattered over the city. Offering parents collective reflection and training in observation, feedback, dialogue and negotiation in family and public life in six sessions, its curriculum includes sociopsychological and Islamic perspectives on child development, parenting and citizenship. As such, it approaches parenting and parenthood from a citizen standpoint, addressing the particularities of a migration family history and Muslim background in today's Dutch society.

Procedure

Grounded in ethnographic research methodologies (Crozier, 2005; Silverman, 2013), we worked with a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual research team to build a long-term relationship with the local Moroccan-Dutch community. Groups were recruited by the Attanmia Foundation as part of their programme implementation. Through introductory group meetings and leaflets informing parents about the project aim and procedure, we invited them for research participation. Working with a nested sampling procedure, 115 parents participated in repeated structured interviews, 23 in repeated in-depth and social network interviews, and five parent groups in the ethnographic case-study. This

article draws upon in-depth interview and ethnographic data only, as these cover the themes it is concerned with. Case-study groups were purposively selected with location, gender and practical possibilities as selection criteria to represent variety found in the entire study of 15 groups. See appendix A for a complete method description.

Using a semi-structured interview design to gather data about parents' socialisation practices and parenthood and citizen experiences, we asked parents to reflect upon their parenting concepts, experiences of being a parent, their urban postmigration parenting context, social support and learning experiences, and changes over time. As part of the case-study, we engaged in participatory observations and informal talks at parents' programme meetings as well as sociocultural events, informal gatherings, neighbourhoods and family homes. Using an open-ended observation design to gather field notes (Silverman, 2013), it focused on parents' collective social processes, with specific attention paid to peer-to-peer learning interactions, programme enactment by trainers, and group dynamics revolving around meaning-making and identity. Interviews lasted 30–90 min and were conducted in Dutch; two were held in Darija (Moroccan-Arabic) and translated to Dutch upon transcription. The Faculty Ethics Review Board of Utrecht University provided ethical approval for the study and an informed consent procedure was included. Pseudonyms are used in this article.

Participants

The five parent groups included in the case-study are presented in Table 2. Familiarity among programme participants in the study was common due to shared involvement in the neighbourhood-based locations. Groups were all gender-homogeneous, reflecting predominant community norms concerning gender-separation in public spheres (Van Praag, 2006). Most participants were married, had three or four children and resided in the same neighbourhood as the groups in which they engaged. The great majority of the participants are Moroccan-born, with some born in Algeria, France and the Netherlands. Most migrated to the Netherlands in early adulthood or (late) childhood. Schooling experience ranged from no attendance to having attained higher education degrees, with

most parents having done vocational training. Approximately half was employed, and most unemployed parents did volunteer work at their children’s school, social services and local migrant organisations. As became clear during interviews and group meetings, legal status varied among participating parents (ranging from having no legal status to residence permit or Dutch nationality), though we did not systematically inquire on this aspect. Concerning variety in socioeconomic status, participants that engaged in the in-depth interviews did not differ from the total of participating parents save having higher degrees of schooling on average at the time of study.

Table 2

Parent Groups’ Size, Gender and Location for In-Depth Interview and Ethnographic Data

Group	Size	Gender	Location
1.	± 18	Mothers	Neighbourhood centre
2.	± 18	Mothers	Neighbourhood centre
11.	± 15	Mothers	Migrant organization
12.	± 13	Mothers	Mosque
14.	± 8	Fathers	Migrant organization

The participating parents can be understood to be part of a marginalised group within Dutch society (Hermans, 2004; Van Praag, 2006; Van den Berg, 2016), raising children in a postmigration context characterised by ‘highly asymmetrical relations of power’ (Pratt, 1991, p. 1). Prospectively reflecting on issues of power and the effect of the person and position of the researcher on the study (Edge 2011), differences in background characteristics of me and other research team members as compared to participants inevitably entered the researcher-participant relationship (Crozier, 2003; Van den Berg, 2007). I am, and increasingly are, aware of my own position as young, white, non-Muslim, female academic without children, offering me inherently different citizenship experiences, specifically in relation to the personal effect of current socio-political tensions in which this article locates its interest. Engaging in collaborative efforts with the Attanmia Foundation and local community to build a long-term relationship, we have grappled with these tensions that direct both cooperative trust and its limitations. Examples of such efforts include working with a multi-ethnic and

multi-lingual research team, initiating dialogues on issues of representation and dis/trust at introductory group meetings, and organising Participant Feedback Meetings throughout the project. Concerning this article as an academic product resulting from these efforts, I want to mention my awareness of this text acting as a theorisation, or 'intellectualisation' (Munganyende, 2018), of other people's, at times distressing, experience and precarious position. Concurring with Crozier (2003) and Hermans (2004) I do not attempt to represent the participants or Moroccan-Dutch population in a sense of 'voicing' or acting for them, simply because I cannot. Departing from my academic practice I do intend however, to contribute to the knowledge of and insight in multiple perspectives and narratives in current socio-political discourses, by giving account of the perspectives and lived experiences of these parents through the particular theoretical lens chosen.

Analytical Framework

Using interpretative analysis methodologies (Silverman, 2006), I inspired the analyses on the theoretical framework and research questions presented above. Taking both data sets together, it included two steps: first, I conducted thematic analysis (Silverman, 2006; Boeije, 2010), segmenting both transcribed interview and observational data regarding those texts involving reflections of and discussions about socio-political tensions in relation to participants' experiences as parents and citizens. Second, I continued to analyse the segmented data using a discourse analytical approach (Gee, 2014) to question how excerpts reflect parents' experiences of and negotiations over parenting, parenthood and citizenship. This second step was characterised by an exploratory process guided by analysis questions, by which I moved repeatedly between analytical questions, research questions and theoretical perspectives¹². For this article, I only analysed participants' narratives. Public migration and parenting discourses are reflected in local retellings found in individual narratives and group discourses collected by the study.

¹² For Analytical Framework, see appendix B.

Results

The following presents how the participating parents experienced and negotiated parenting, parenthood and citizenship in relation to experiences of contested belonging. The first section includes experiences and negotiations in face of exclusionary migration and parenting discourses, international affairs and parenting services. The second section elaborates further on the diverse perspectives in which participants grounded themselves in these interrelated negotiations.

A Public Affair Penetrating the Private: How Dominant Migration Discourses Enter Daily Parenting Life

This section focuses on how recent dominant migration and parenting discourses as taking place in the public domain entered participants' daily experiences as a parent and citizen. During participants' programme group meetings and in interviews the impact of public statements on Moroccan-Dutch families by politicians became clear. A particular incident at the time of data collection illustrates how these statements touch upon families' sense of belonging. On a 2015 election tour Dutch politician Geert Wilders asked an audience of supporters of his Party for Freedom (elected with 9 members in parliament in 2015 and 20 in 2018; Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2018) whether they wanted 'more or less Moroccans', claiming to 'to take care of less Moroccans' in the Netherlands (Hoorn, 2018; Openbaar Ministerie, 2014). Such exclusionary narratives, for which this politician was later prosecuted and convicted for discrimination, reject the presence of migrants and their offspring in society and debate the 'cultural compatibility' of Arabic culture and Islamic religion with Western norms and values. Talking with mother Hajar (35, married with 3 children and living in the Netherlands for 27 years; group 2), she reflected on conversations she had with her nine-year-old daughter in days following the speech:

'The first two days [daughter] lay in bed with me and she said like: "If we have to go, are we allowed to bring our things?" [I] said: "Honey, that is not true what you hear. We are not going anywhere". But [she] doesn't believe me, right? "Tell mum, tell me, may we bring our things?"

[...] She believed the media but didn't believe me. [She] says: "I just want to know if I may take my stuff". [I] said: "Well honey, if time comes you may certainly take your stuff. But it is not going to happen." But she has been bothered with it for a week, that fear. "Do we have to go? Why do we have to go, we don't know when ... How do we go ... " Such things. She has been scared yeah.'¹³

Hajar's story illustrates how political speeches addressing the presence of her socio-ethnic group in society as 'undesired', confronts Moroccan-Dutch parents with claims about their family's residential rights and belonging. The perseverance of her daughter's concerns arising from media items furthermore challenges this mother to educate her child about how to interpret and judge public discourses. This indicates how political dynamics in society intervened participants' domestic sphere through public discourses; locating the impact of socio-political tensions in daily parenting situations, as minority Muslim belonging to society is being challenged.

The fear of Hajar's daughter may appear drastic, however, it illustrates the emotional impact of exclusionary campaigns accompanying many interactions parents had with their children at home. At parent group meetings after this particular incident, participants shared with each other how they felt burdened to have conversations with their children about who is Moroccan and who is not, and who is included or excluded from Dutch citizenship. At a meeting of parent group 1, mother Meisanne (39, married with 3 children and living in the Netherlands for 23 years) recalled how her son told her he does not feel addressed by the speech, 'because their family is not part of criminal Moroccans'. Meisanne explained to her son 'criminal Moroccans' living in the Netherlands are also Dutch citizens. This illustrates how parents and children questioned, explored, and spelled out conditions of legal and ethnic belonging, and into which category they themselves fall, in the aftermath of exclusionary political statements.

¹³ For original Dutch data excerpts and translations, see appendix C.

The above indicates how, in current context of exclusionary migration discourses, participants and their children experienced threats of exclusion from Dutch citizenship; challenging parents' task to parent for belonging. Such experience was also reflected in the narrative of father Fadi (49, married with four children and in the Netherlands for 28 years; group 14), as he shares his worries about the social dislocation of his children in relation to international affairs. At time of the study, war in Syria and jihadist terrorist attacks in Europe as yet other political affairs added to socio-political tensions in society. In an interview, Fadi talks about this in relation to exclusionary discourses and the risk of children going on the 'wrong path': 'We are afraid of our children, too. We raise them well and they feel Dutch, but politics keep groups separated. What does that do to our children? I want to give back to the Netherlands with a good child.' In this reflection, Fadi positioned his children in a social dilemma: being raised in the Netherlands and feeling Dutch does not guarantee inclusion in Dutch society, making youth prone to be included in alternative and 'undesired' ways to belonging such as religious-inspired violent ideologies. Fadi's narrative furthermore reflects perspectives on parenthood and migrant citizenship that entail a sense of 'moral obligation' or 'civic duty' he has to the country he migrated to, by wanting to 'give back' as a father-citizen. By reflecting on his fear of children choosing a violent, nation-transcending alternative belonging over national social exclusion this father's narrative demonstrates how the interplay between threats of civic exclusion and 'alternative inclusions' frustrates both participants' wish to raise children to belong to society and the fulfilment of their civic role as migrant parent in society.

The above indicates how parenting and parenthood are inseparable from civic experiences and intentions. Concerning parenthood as an experience of parents' place in society, participants shared how they, besides perceiving threats of exclusion from 'good' citizenship by dominant migration discourses, also felt threatened to be excluded from 'good' parenthood in public media and parenting services. Talking with mother Zubaidah (45, married with three children and living in the Netherlands for 20 years; group), she expressed her frustration about the disqualification of Moroccan-Dutch parents in relation to perceived social issues with Moroccan-Dutch youth:

'Look, [this] is our second country. You just want good, you are a good mother, you want to give a good example here also. So, through your children you must show that you are a good person and so on. And your children going down a wrong path [...]. That also doesn't feel good to you. Maybe they say: "Oh, the mother is also bad or those parents are bad, that's why the son ..." I don't want, we don't want to hear that, we don't want to feel that. [...] Yes, I am a good mother, I also want good children, also for this country.'

Zubaidah's narrative reflects how she feels being held publicly accountable for 'bad' behaviour of Moroccan-Dutch youth, disqualifying her aim to be 'a good human being' and, more specifically, her parental and civic aim to raise 'good' children, also for the country in which she lives. Confronted with this disqualification, Zubaidah rejected the claim of being a 'bad parent' and put forward her perspectives on how 'good' parenthood makes 'good' citizenship. Just like Fadi, this mother links her civic intentions to her parental investment; wishing to contribute to society as a parent. As she puts forward her migratory perspectives on the matter, she links her parental efforts to her civic role. However, Zubaidah's narrative reflects how public disqualification denies her a place in society as a 'good' parent, challenging the experience of parenthood as a way to belong to society.

At programme group meetings, it also became clear that the public disqualification parents feel is further experienced through its socio-political implications as they take form in parenting support services. One of these implications entails the risk to be stereotyped and targeted as 'migrant in need of parenting education', as articulated by mothers at a parent group meeting of group 12. A discussion emerged among participants about the programme materials. Watching DVD sketches of problematic parenting situations with Moroccan-Dutch families, participants criticised the indication that Moroccan parenting is something that needs 'fixing', as reflected by following fieldnotes:

'One mother says she's very much against these clips. In Moroccan-Arabic she talks about another time she saw similar clips. [Another mother] says: 'This clip is about the first and second generation. This doesn't happen anymore'. [A third mother] says: 'But it does exist'.

The trainer explains that this clip does not imply that this only occurs among Moroccans. The [group] coordinator replies that this is a course for Moroccans specifically. [The third mother] says that what happens in the clip occurs very rarely. [Another mother] says: 'Not all Moroccans are bad!'. A discussion rises in the group about the image that exists of Moroccans.'

The above observational notes show how participants perceived the programme materials as confirming stigmatising representations of Moroccan-Dutch families and their parenting, with which they confronted the programme trainer. The discussion also accounts of how criticism ('very much against') and self-criticism ('But it does exist') are alternately brought to the table, as parents resisted stereotypes and negotiated the space to be accorded competency as a parent in face of dominant discourses about Moroccans in the Netherlands. The discussion also shows that, although the programme originates from self-criticism within the Moroccan-Dutch community and serves as a platform to express and define parenthood and citizenship collectively, it cannot escape being part of public negotiations over minority parenting. This exemplifies the complexity of parents' negotiations over 'good' parenthood, accountability and implications at boundaries of power relations in face of educational efforts.

Parents' Domestic Claim as a Civic Contribution: How Parents Counter and Co-build Parenting, Parenthood and Citizenship as Child-Rearing Citizens

The previous section illustrates how participants negotiated citizenship and parenthood in face of public experiences that contest their belonging to society as 'desired' citizens as well as 'competent' parents. When elaborating on participants' experiences of parental disqualification, analysis points out that participants actively resisted dominant parenting discourses portraying them as parents who 'do not meet' competent parenthood standards. As reflected in Fadi's and Zubaidah's narrative, participants grounded themselves in migratory citizenship and parenthood perspectives. Furthermore, programme group meetings appeared to be an important platform for parents to express discontent and discuss the disqualification of parents with a migration background. A discussion among mothers

of group 2 about being schooled or unschooled sheds light on participants' perspectives of class in the negotiation over competent parenting. Confronted with stereotypes of the 'unschooled migrant mother', these parents rejected notions of school as measurement for 'good' parenthood, by stating 'school is not the only thing through which one can develop' and discussing 'benefits of being unschooled' by referring to 'life experiences outside of it' and 'learning from one another'. As such, these mothers scrutinised conditions for 'good' parenthood and how specific locations in society, in this case being (un)schooled, affects parenthood experiences. In fact, they rejected the denial of parental competency for unschooled parents and claimed how lack of school experience can be a resource through specific experiences coming with it. This illustrates how parents assert their place of belonging to society as competent parents in face of dominant parenting discourses.

Besides migratory and classed perspectives, participants positioned themselves also by using their ethnocultural heritage in diverse ways to navigate their context and define how to parent children for belonging, as well as to shape their own civic engagement. When asked about changes in parenting practices in relation to socio-political tendencies, some participants said not to perceive dominant discourses as a threat and therefore did not adjust their parenting. For example, participants spoke of relativising perspectives, as illustrated by following field notes of an informal talk with father Amrou (48, married with three children and living in the Netherlands for 27 years; group 14). He toned down the situation by offering a historical perspective on the issue, grounded in his faith:

'Amrou agrees it's a difficult time for Muslims. He immediately adds that it has been worse and that it is in fact a religious task to have patience as a Muslim and endure the time. According to him patience also means that Muslims don't have to take any action to influence the time era and social developments. Undergoing it and living as good Muslims is what he and other Muslims ought to do.'

Amrou's narrative displays how he positions himself as belonging to a group that has known hardship in different time eras and contexts. While referring to religious virtues of patience and acceptance, this

perspective gives direction to his civic engagement in relation to socio-political tensions in which his community finds itself today.

Other participants, however, account of yet more intensified parental investments inspired by their ethnocultural heritage. Talking with mother Meissane (group 1) she answered to the question whether she practices parenting differently because of what is said about Moroccans:

‘I say in advance things will happen. My son goes to a Dutch [white] school and feels good. I tell my children: “How can you eliminate negative things? By language, by studies, by behaviour? Go ahead and show to someone else. Give someone the feeling, we aren’t like that”.’

This quote reflects how this mother pro-actively stimulated her children with moral instructions about how to be a ‘good human being’ in the public domain, like at school. Her instructions can be interpreted as an assimilating attempt, however, parents’ efforts to morally guide their children as part of their parenthood and citizenship were often grounded in faith-based perspectives. Referring to their religion and Moroccan descent as resources to define socialisation goals and means, participants inform decisions on how to raise children in a context of socio-political tensions. Their narratives of ‘good’ citizenship illustrate how the meaning of showing ‘good’ behaviour to others as to counter-balance stereotypes, as Meissane said, is not just merely a move towards ‘Dutch’ behaviour; it also refers to being a morally just and faithful person.

Yet again, the programme group meetings served as a platform to discuss how parents could connect their ethnocultural heritage to navigate current context in relation to their position as a minority parent. Often incited by trainers, participants engaged in explorations of ‘global citizenship’. At a meeting of group 11, the trainer discussed this ‘globalised’ perspective with parents, as means to transcends the sociocultural dilemma of belonging parents and children face:

‘Trainer: “When our youngsters become teenagers, they will navigate between the two. Am I Moroccan? Or Dutch?” [...] A parent [asks]: “But how should we do it?” The trainer says:

"Explain how it is. For them, both are ideals. Explain to your children how it is, when you are on holiday [in Morocco]. Refer to the Qur'an." Another mother adds: "Teach them to adjust here and there. So you're always able to adjust." The trainer replies: "It is our duty to not raise our children as Dutch or Moroccan, but as world citizens instead. They should be able to fit in anywhere; if their norms and values are right".'

The above discussion illustrates how participants, by exploring the ideal of 'world citizens', find a suggestion to escape the experienced dual choice between ethnocultural communities tied to nationalities. As such, the parent groups created a space to (re)construct parenting, and parenthood and citizenship. Moreover, by connecting this globalised perspective to their religion to define the meaning of that reconstructed citizenship, participants use their ethnocultural heritage to affirm children's belonging to society, despite socio-political tensions they find themselves in.

Discussion

By presenting a study with Moroccan-Dutch parent groups in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, this article provides insight into how minority parents experience and negotiate parenting, parenthood and citizenship in a context of increasing socio-political tensions. Social dynamics in the public sphere, such as political discourses contesting minority Muslims belonging to society as well as stereotypical representations of migrant parenting in parenting discourses and social services, enter these families' domestic lives in sometimes pervasive ways. Facing threats of exclusion from 'good' citizenship, parents and children feel questioned about their residential rights and sense of national belonging. Facing threats of exclusion from 'good' parenthood, parents experience a disqualification of their parental investment and civic intentions. Concurring with previous studies (Erel, 2011; Elliot & Aseltine, 2012; Longman et al., 2013; Raffaetà, 2016; Salvaterra Trovão, 2017), this indicates the specific quest minority parents face in raising children as new members of society; constructing a sense of belonging as citizens and parents at boundaries of power relations. The presented study leaves us with some important insights.

First, by drawing the analytical lens to parenthood as a domain of experiences of in- and exclusion in society, this article brings to the fore the political dimension in parenting. Beyond an encounter of cultures, this study shows how minority parents face an encounter of power imbalances in the public domain. As such, I link up with an emerging body of literature that takes interest in making visible the politicised nature of parenthood that is often overlooked by traditional parenting and migration studies (Erel, 2011). By bringing together parenting, parenthood and citizenship studies to scrutinise belonging as a component that is at stake in the political arena, I brought to the surface how parents' practice to initiate a new generation into society is intertwined with their own social place in that society. Findings show how the socio-political context in which minority Muslims raise their children directs their practices, for example by having family conversations in which belonging is explored and the intensification of children's moral education in order to navigate the public domain. Concerning their own social place in society, parents take a stance as a child-rearing citizen in confrontation with and reject of their exclusion from civic belonging and parenting competency.

Second, by investigating citizenship from the perspective of parents, this article sheds light on the intergenerational component of civic engagement. So far, parents' parenting and parenthood perspectives as notions that shape civic ideas and engagement seem to be an underexamined area in the field of (Muslim) minority citizenship. Departing from recent socio-political tendencies that intensify a negotiation over the belonging of minority Muslims to Western societies, this study indicates parents' urged investment as active, intentional citizens socialising for subsequent generations in society. In line with other studies, the presented findings exemplify how the negotiations and practices of Moroccan-Dutch parents can be understood as a form of socio-political participation taking place at the intersection of their politicised place in society and cultural identity (Erel, 2011; Elliot & Aseltine, 2012; Salvaterra Trovão 2017; Erel & Reynolds, 2018). Findings of this study explicate how parents connect their social role as a parent to their social role as a citizen, as they engage in 'civic family-work' to nurture a sense of social belonging of their children. Findings furthermore show how parents demand recognition of their parental investment as a migrant citizen.

This perspective reflects the migratory intentions of these particular parents, by which they aim for prosperity for their children as well as for the society of which their family became a part. Reflecting a 'strong commitment to civic responsibility and participation' as found in other studies about minority Muslim citizenship (Mustafa, 2016, p. 454), too, parents' stance as child-rearing citizens also reflects a sense of civic duty to 'deliver' to their immigration country. This observation further emphasises the particularities of migrant citizenship experiences from a parental standpoint at the boundaries of power relations.

Third, this study accounts for a diverse range of perspectives in which Moroccan-Dutch parents ground themselves as they define their parenting, parenthood and citizenship. Besides the above addressed migratory perspective, parents employ classed, historical and globalised notions of belonging as they counter the disqualification of unschooled mothers, find refuge in their ethnocultural history and transcend dualist notions of nationality and belonging by explorations of parenting for global citizenship. As indicated by studies about young minority Muslims (Patton, 2014; Johns et al., 2015; Mustafa, 2016; Eidoo, 2018), parent's faith was found to be an important source of inspiration. Finding direction in Islamic heritage to define how to relate to the social and teach children norms and values, parents' narratives also indicated how religion as a way to belong or not belong is complicated, diffuse and paradoxical in the current political climate. In face of Islamophobic as well as Jihadist ideologies, minority Muslim youth find themselves in 'a highly diverse Muslim religious landscape where competing religious discourses are struggling to attract and support Muslim youth facing social dislocation and identity crises within increasingly contested social milieus.' (Andre et al., 2015: 296). An interesting study by Salvaterra Trovão (2017) reveals how parents' 'religious care-work' enhances children's civic integration and can serve a protective function in face of 'undesired affiliations'. Reaching beyond the scope of current analyses, Salvaterra Trovão's indicates interesting directions for further study.

Conclusion

As mapped out by postcolonial as well as critical citizenship studies, societal processes of inclusion and exclusion are inherently present along axes of race, socioeconomic status and gender, amongst other (Pratt, 1991; Longman et al., 2013). The study presented in this article articulated the particularities of recent socio-political tendencies for minority Muslim mothers and fathers in a European context. As Islamophobic discourses increasingly enter mainstream discourses (Mondon & Winter, 2017; Peucker & Ceylan, 2017), inclusion of minority Muslim families' experiences and perspectives as part of the multiple narratives in the arena of belonging is much needed in research as well as social policies and services. In current descriptive study with self-organising minority parent groups, I sought to bring to the surface family and community efforts outside of institutional borders. Besides parents' individual narratives, this particular study context sheds light on collective dialogue and parental and civic self-determination taking place within minority communities. This invites to include a collective-oriented approach as opposed to predominant individual-oriented approaches in issues of parenthood and citizenship. Translating the findings to research and practice, I propose to take example in parents' perspectives by understanding the continuation of families' well-being as related to the continuation of societies' well-being. This demands to recognise and hold space for people's diverse 'lifeways as part of their citizenship, as the very mode of their membership in the national collectivity' (Pratt, 1991, p. 5).

4. Research Collaboration in the Contact Zone: Methodological Reflections on a Bottom-up Parenting Programme Evaluation Study

Abstract

This paper connects to critical discourses on emancipatory research, by engaging in methodological reflections on a 2015-2017 bottom-up parenting programme evaluation study. Drawing on the 'contact zone' to conceptualise social spaces of confrontation marked by unequal access to power, it questions actual realities of collaboration between researchers and self-organizing minority parent groups. Sharing ethnographic data excerpts, we describe how procedures of recruitment by network, multi-ethnic team, adjusted research instruments, consultation group and participant feedback meetings took form and were being *deformed* and *reformed* as all parties navigated the research contact zone. As such, it showed itself both a provocative and a creative social space in which collaboration was established, de-established and re-established continuously. Using lessons learned as a creative production on which to build future research praxis, suggestions discuss the need for 'methodological arts' of the research contact zone as a better methodological fit to research collaborations in community-based work.

¹⁴Van Beurden, S. L. & De Haan, M. (submitted). Research Collaboration in the Contact Zone: Methodological Reflections on a Bottom-up Parenting Programme Evaluation Study.

¹⁴ SLvB co-designed and executed the fieldwork and data analyses together with the research team and initiated, conceptualised and wrote the article. MdH initiated the study, co-designed and supervised the fieldwork and writing of the article.

Introduction

In tradition of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1968) and feminist discourses (Campbell & Wasco, 2000), scholars have invested over time in 'emancipatory' research principles and procedures to address ethical dilemmas in research methodologies in social sciences. These efforts are typically reflective on power relations in research by engaging with principles of equity, consensus, transparency and fairness in research to address the problematics of objectification of researched people and lack of inclusive decision making in research processes (McKay, 2012; Stack & McDonalds, 2014). However, critical remarks within this discourse have been made, too, concerning the way scholars engage in these efforts. Somerville and Perkins (2010) point out that much literature on emancipatory procedures is *prescriptive* in character rather than *explorative*. '[Consisting] of recipes for telling the researcher how power should be shared' (p. 255), a prescriptive, top-down approach to direct power relations in research holds the risk to overlook fundamental understandings of power and as such can reinforce the precise power disbalances it aims to intercept.

This article connects to this discourse on emancipatory research on community-based work, by critically raising the question how methodological principles and procedures unfold in practice in the case of a 2015-2017 bottom-up parenting programme evaluation study. As part of academic efforts that address the inadequacy of quasi-experimental design procedures to capture and evaluate community processes in social work (Baerveldt, 2017), it explored methodologically how to generate community-based knowledge on parenting and parenting support in the context of a minority community initiative. The raised concern about power relations in research proves of particular salience in contexts in which differences between people define a divergence in authority to express, decide or have access to social positions or services, such as majority-minority relations in society along the axes of gender, race or socioeconomic status (McKay, 2012; Somerville & Perkins, 2010). Originating in the local Moroccan-Dutch community in the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands, the parenting programme studied here can be understood as 'community-based', as the community

functioned simultaneously as the *agent* initiating the programme, as *target* at which its goals were aimed, as *resource* utilised to reach those goals, and as *setting* in which it took place (McLeroy et al., 2003; Van Beurden et al., 2018). In contexts of self-organised minority community work, as is the case in this study, power becomes multifaceted. On the one hand, it is informed by social relations between majority and minority people as a setting of this work. On the other hand, it is mobilised and enacted upon by and for community means. This presses the question of how exactly adaptive methodological principles and procedures unfold in practice as part of research collaborations between researchers and minority community members.

With this article we engage in a critical methodological reflection on the collaboration between university researchers and self-organizing parent groups. Comprising of an ethnographically-inspired pre-, post- and in-programme evaluation design, current study provides rich observations of field work that allow for encounters between researchers and parent groups ‘to become a valid site of study and knowledge’ on their own (Deutsch, 2004, p. 888). Sharing ethnographic data excerpts as analytical illustrations, we describe how methodological principles and procedures took form and were being *deformed* and *reformed* as all parties involved navigated the research site. By providing (upcoming) researchers insight into our practice as such, we challenge ideals of fairness, equity, transparency and consensus in research collaborations. In doing so, we do not only aim to embed earlier reported project findings in the specific context from which they derive (see Van Beurden et al., 2018; Van Beurden & De Haan, 2019; Van Beurden & De Haan, 2020), but also strive to use lessons learned as a creative production on which to build future research praxis in the field of parenting, migration and community organization.

In the following, we first present the analytical framework used to engage in the methodological reflections, before presenting the background and designs of the parenting programme and study.

Theoretical Framework

Negotiations over Power in the Contact Zone: Autoethnographic Expression, Safe Houses and Border Work

Inspired by Somerville and Perkins (2010), we make use of the perspective of the ‘contact zone’ (Pratt, 1991; 2008) to conceptualise the research site and encounters happening within it. In particular, we pick up on its elaborations by discussing autoethnographic expression (Kenway & Bullen, 2003; Phoenix, 2009; Pratt, 1991; 2008), safe houses (Canagarajah, 1997; Kenway & Bullen, 2003) and border work (Somerville & Perkins, 2010) as aspects of power dynamics in the contact zone. Mary Louise Pratt introduced the contact zone as ‘social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power’ (1991; p. 1). Different from many cross-cultural and intercultural studies utilised in the field of parenting and migration, Pratt’s understanding of cultural contact is rooted in the analysis of imperial contact; that what happens and is expressed on both sides of minority-majority interaction, then and now in the aftermath of Europe’s colonial history (Pratt, 2008). Departing from the understanding of the contact zone as a social space of negotiation over shared histories, draws our attention to how cultural contact is embedded in the particular context of intergroup relations. For example, a study done by Phoenix with serial migrant girls in the United Kingdom shows how these students, as descendants of formerly colonised places, ‘had to negotiate, in the contact zone of the school, pre-existing discourses on ‘West-Indian’ girls as undesirable and inadequate’ (2009; p.111). This exemplifies how an interplay of social, cultural, political and economic narratives and identities arises in postcolonial cultural contact in a present-day migration context. Other studies that have described minority-majority encounters in the contact zones of university (Kenway & Bullen, 2003; Van Slyck, 1997) and research collaboration (Somerville & Perkins, 2003) bring to the fore, too, how cultural contact between people in itself does not take place in a neutral social space, but entails an encounter between people from disparate, yet shared sociohistorical trajectories. The contact zone perspective can as such be viewed as a conflict model

that addresses how people confront and negotiate sociohistorically informed relations and social spaces to define and express the meaning of experiences, perspectives and practices.

An important notion of the contact zone is Pratt's rejection of a dualist perspective on 'conqueror' and 'conquered' in contexts of sociohistorical power disbalances (Kenway & Bullen, 2003). In her initial study on Western travel writing and indigenous texts, Pratt's aim was to dissect what is negotiated on *both* sides of minority-majority relations as people engage in and are confronted with cultural representations and identities (Pratt, 2008). The emphasis here is placed on the way 'subjects are constituted in and by their relation to each other' (...), 'not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices' (Pratt, 1992, p. 7). Looking in particular at what is constituted on the side of minority people, Pratt has described what she calls 'autoethnographic expression'; those expressions 'people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them' (1991; p. 2). This conceptualization represents a radically reversed take on power, by which Pratt aimed to articulate how people not just undergo stereotypical representations of themselves but actively pick up on and use the culture – language, tools - visited upon them to navigate and engage in cultural contact. Empirical studies have shown how autoethnography can take multiple forms, entailing 'a partial collaboration with and appropriation of the idioms of the conqueror' (Pratt, 1992, p. 7). For example, a study by Kenway and Bullen (2003) with international students in Australia shows how these students, among other things, engaged in stereotypical representations of themselves for instrumental reasons to achieve personal or professional goals within contexts of skewed power relations. Other studies with indigenous people in contexts of colonist settlement (Somerville & Perkins, 2010) and migrants in the case of integration efforts by immigration nations (Phoenix, 2009), show how minority people engage in the appropriation of codifications of themselves as an aspect of counter-culture.

The above-discussed studies illustrate processes of ex- and inclusion and adoption and deformation of representations of *and by* marginalised people, as part of negotiations over power in

majority-minority relations. Next to autoethnographic expression as an act that challenges traditional notions of power distribution, studies also point to acts of self-protection 'from legacies of oppression' (Pratt, 1992; p. 40). In Kenway and Bullen's study (2009; p. 17), the international students found refuge with each other from a shared position as the strange 'other' in majority discourses, even though they were 'not culturally, linguistically or ethnically homogeneous' as a group. Pratt has termed this 'safe houses'; collective understandings and social spaces that arise between minority people as they constitute themselves out of sight of dominant culture. In a study with African-American university students, Canagarajah (1997) has elaborated on this aspect by showing how these shared understandings of living from a marginalised position can offer people a space for ventilation, support and self-determination. He emphasizes though, that 'It is not a politically-free or neutral site that helps marginalised groups take leave of struggles over power and difference; it is a subversive site that nurtures oppositional perspectives, demystifies dominant ideologies, and breeds constant friction with established discourses for their democratization.' (p. 195). As such, safe houses can be seen as active yet not always publicly communicated parts of majority-minority relationships in negotiations over power.

The elaboration of safe houses as an aspect of the contact zone brings to the fore the interplay of threat and protection in negotiations over power in cultural contact. Social power relations essentially revolve around the question when it is safe or not safe to express, define and act - intellectually, emotionally, economically, physically and even legally, for example in the case of refugee people (Matthiesen, 2018). Building forth on Haig-Brown and Archibald's conceptualization of 'border work' (1996), Somerville and Perkins (2010) have further elaborated on experiences of difference and threat as well as collaboration and transformation in the contact zone of indigenous/non-indigenous research in Australia. Focusing on Carter's interpretation of the contact zone as involving difference *to stay* through border maintenance, their study builds forth on Pratt's understanding of power as involving an active navigation and negotiation over expressions and acts of self-determination *within* contexts of divergent, historically defined power relations. Their analyses demonstrate how

indigenous community members simultaneously engaged *border maintenance* in protection of Aboriginal sovereignty, as well as in *border crossing* through their research participation for cultural heritage conservation as it was part of the project's aim. Non-indigenous researchers on the other end, found themselves in the 'discomfort zone' of difference from a dominant yet culturally unfamiliar position in the local research context. As their research project opened up social spaces of shared work and personal conversations, both parties experienced an encounter of borders in cultural contact between majority and minority people and navigated border maintenance and border crossing simultaneously as part of research collaboration.

The Research Project: A Bottom-Up Parenting Programme Evaluation Study

The Parenting Programme

Background

Other than indigenous/non-indigenous contact in which Pratt (2008) as well as Somerville and Perkins (2010) located their work, the parenting programme studied in this research project can be understood as being part of the aftermath of Europe's post World War II and postcolonial mobilization of labour immigration from North-African countries, among other places (Castles & Miller, 2009; Van Praag, 2006; Werner, 1986). As Pratt (2008; p. 237-238) reflects in the revised version of her original work 'Imperial Eyes', this trend of mass mobility of people since the 1960's 'has produced, among other things, a reversal of the colonial spread of settlers from Europe outwards', with satellite and diasporic communities having formed throughout European societies. Settlement of immigrants in former colonizing countries has provoked ongoing national and international political debates on diversity, cultural (in)compatibility and belonging within European nationalism (Mustafa, 2016; Vasta, 2007), of which parenting as a practice to integrate new generations into society is one domain of scrutiny (Van den Berg, 2016; Van Beurden & De Haan, 2020; Raffaetà, 2016). The parenting programme in the project presented here originates in a self-identified need within the local Moroccan-Dutch community in Rotterdam to open up conversations about raising teenagers post migration, in particular in relation

to local issues faced within the densely diverse urban area in which its participants live (Van Beurden et al., 2018). Developed and organised as the *Shabab van Nu! (Youth of Today!)* training programme by Moroccan-Dutch organization the Attanmia Foundation, it has been implemented and funded by the municipality as well as local and national social funds since 2010.

Programme Design

The parenting programme design is characterised by an explorative approach in which participants exchange personal experiences through dialogue and exercises in six sessions, while community trainers incite collective reflections on parenting themes from multiple pedagogical, sociological and Islamic perspectives. Parenting in relation to citizenship is actively addressed, allowing an exchange on experiences and perspectives of participants' civic and parental role. As part of the programme design, recruitment of parent groups functions via networks of community organizers and self-organizing groups located at neighbourhood centres, mosques and migrant organizations scattered throughout the city. These locations can be considered autonomous spaces in which people gather as social hang-out as well as for cultural celebrations, language and religious classes and after school home-work support for children (A. Salhi & A. Koutet, personal communication, October 3, 2013). Instead of individually recruiting programme participants, the programme often becomes part of groups' activity calendars. Working by word-of-mouth, the number of participants per programme meeting often adds up as the programme is ongoing (Van Beurden et al., 2018). In contrast to parenting support by formal, or intuitional services, the enrolment of programme participants is as such embedded within semi-formal social structures of the local community. The findings of current research project have shown how participants engaged in social learning processes through the programme, that are found to extend into their wider social networks (for elaborate findings see Van Beurden & De Haan, 2019; Van Beurden & De Haan, 2020; Van Beurden et al., 2018). The programme as such provided a social space for cultural and civic (re)constructions of parenting practices and perspectives that reflected the heterogeneous postmigration context in which participants raised their

children (Van Beurden & De Haan, 2019; Van Beurden & De Haan, 2020). Based on its content and organization the programme can as such be understood to intercept reported mismatches between mainstream parenting services and postmigration (Muslim) parents in terms of language barriers, lack of cultural and religious sensitivity, and risk of disempowerment and paternalism associated with top-down approaches (Van Beurden et al., 2018).

The Evaluation Study

Background

Over the last decades a strong call for evidence-based work has manifested itself in social policy, by which scientific evaluation of programmes holds the potential for public acknowledgement and funding of proven effective principles and work models (Gray et al., 2009). Current evaluation study was part of a funding initiative with the particular interest to map out the effectiveness of bottom-up youth interventions, by studying the learning processes and outcomes of the described parenting programme (ZonMw, 2017, grant no. 729111012). The collaboration between the first author and the Attanmia Foundation finds root in a national parenting conference in 2011 where Mariette de Haan was invited for a lecture on parenting in migration (De Haan, 2011b). A match between the two parties was found in a similar ‘reconstructive’ approach to parenting and learning in contexts of cultural diversity, in science and practice respectively. In her academic work, De Haan has grown interest in alternative models that can capture change taking place when multiple cultural frameworks come into contact with each other (see for example De Haan, 2011a). Rooted in sociocultural learning traditions (such as Cole, 1988; Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978), her research understands parents as creative producers of their own solutions as they engage in social networks and self-sought resources post migration (De Haan et al., 2020). Combining this academic interest with the wish for scientific evaluation of their work by the Attanmia Foundation, agendas got joined in current research project. The first author joined the project, first as an intern and later as executive junior researcher, at the start of its implementation and it became the basis for her PhD study.

Research Design

Arising out of above-described project background, the research design we developed aimed to meet the particular conditions of the community-based parenting support programme studied. Methodologically, the design was rooted in critical evaluation studies (Baerveldt, 2017; Haight et al., 2014; McKay, 2012), marked by an interest to adapt its procedures such to be able to capture and evaluate social processes in community work. These adapted procedures as part of the research design included recruitment by network, aligned to the organization's programme implementation procedure (see figure 1 for the network-based recruitment and overview of parent groups per location type); working with a multi-ethnic team, consisting of people from Moroccan-Dutch and non-Moroccan-Dutch heritage; adjusted research instruments, comprising of an ethnographical approach of in-programme participatory observation combined with structured interviews and semi-structured social network interviews pre- and post-programme using a nested sampling procedure (see figure 2 for the nested sampling procedure according to instruments and number of groups and participants); and a consultation group and participant feedback meetings (see figure 3 for the organogram of the YoT-project; for a detailed overview of the procedure and instruments see Supporting Information with Van Beurden et al., 2018). The research project was *not* participatory or action-based in nature, as neither programme organisers and participating parents were part of the research team to design instruments, collect or process data or (co-)write scientific accounts, nor have we researchers been involved in the (further) design and implementation of the programme (Baird et al., 2015; Branom, 2012; McKay, 2012). After data analyses, a public conference was organised for trainers, community organizers and parents, together with the publication of a booklet and poster to present outcomes of the project to a non-academic audience (Van Beurden et al., 2017). A final meeting with the Attanmia Foundation was held to pitch the conceptualisation of the formal and informal learning processes, social organisation and sociocultural reconstructions found in the context of their community work to validate the resonance of these scientific findings for future practice (McKay, 2012).

Figure 1

Network-Based Recruitment and Overview of Parent Groups per Location Type

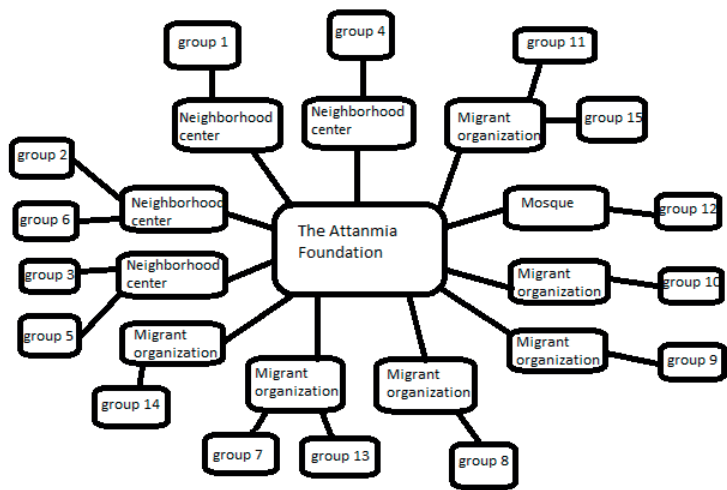


Figure 2

Nested Sampling Procedure According to Research Instruments and Number of Groups and Participants

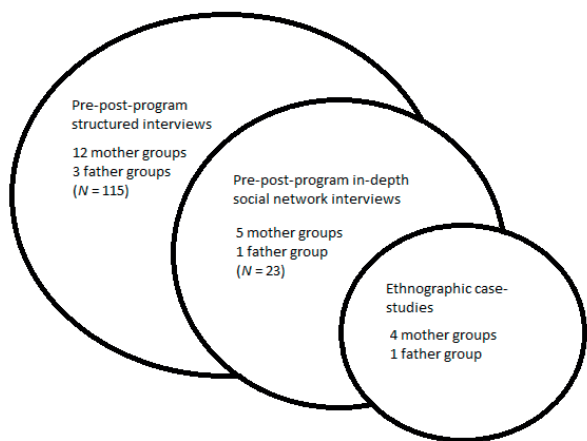
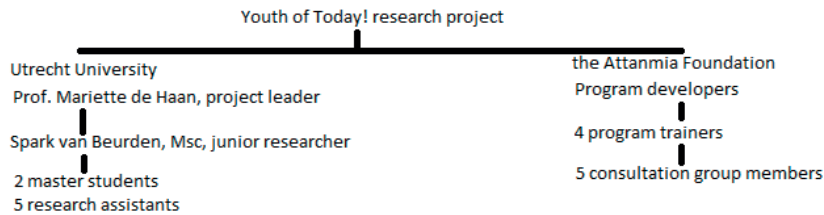


Figure 3

Organogram of the YoT-Project



Methodological Reflections on a Bottom-Up Parenting Programme Evaluation Study

In the following we engage in methodological reflections on the bottom-up parenting programme evaluation study, by sharing ethnographic data excerpts as analytical illustrations of how the different procedures of the research design unfolded in practice. In doing so, we draw on the perspective of the contact zone and its elaborations to look deeply into processes of power in research collaboration, while making use of the work of other scholars at those moments where they can contextualise the data.

Recruitment by Network

Recruitment by network involved employing a recruitment procedure that matched with community-based organization of the programme, striving to integrate the evaluation study as much as possible in the authentic processes of the organisation. This meant that groups that enrolled in the programme in the time span of the project via the organization’s networked word-of-mouth approach, were simultaneously recruited for research participation. In our collaboration, the organisation can be understood as stakeholder whose work was evaluated as well as gatekeeper who gave the research team permission to practice research about the programme. This meant a permitted intellectual access to the organisation’s work as well as physical entry to spaces of programme groups and, for that matter, to the lived experiences of parents that participated. ‘Access’ as a much-described and

debated process in social research involves the notion of an assumed doorway to sought-after data (Crozier, 2003; Matthiesen, 2018). Departing from the collaboration between the university researchers and community organisation, access was part of a consensus over the research aim between the university researchers and the foundation and from there a taken-for-granted aspect of the project from the start of it. However, the access the organisation had provided the research team with, did not hold as we entered the autonomous spaces of the parent groups.

Consensus over Access Intervened

In many groups our entry on behalf of the research mission was met with suspicion, resistance, tiredness, anger, and disappointment among the people present. At the first meeting with mothers of group 2, they protested in response to the invitation to participate in the project by stating that ‘there’s already so much being said about us!’. For parents, the invitation to participate in a study about their parenting and collective learning represented a threat rooted in racialised discourses on Moroccan-Dutch families in media and politics in the Netherlands (Van den Berg, 2008; Van Beurden & De Haan, 2020; Hermans, 2004; Jonkers, 2003). In this context of predominant deficit narratives about Moroccan families as ‘troublesome migrant citizens’, there was a perceived risk of losing public acceptance and dignity as a parent-citizen. As parents pointed to a border between those who publicly *speak about* others and those whom are *spoken about* as valid soil for suspicion and protest, our disparate sociohistorical trajectories played out in the divergent social positions the research team and parent groups had in the project.

As Crozier (2003) points out: ‘If the researcher is seen as a representative of an abstract system such as the university, the research community or the education system then the reluctance to trust will be all the greater’. (p. 86). In our study, the encounter at the start made visible the highly asymmetrical relations of power between us in access to public speech as research or parent, as well as to be accepted, or dismissed as a citizen in public discourses. In a methodological reflection on her study with Moroccan-Dutch mothers in Rotterdam participating in school support and integration

programmes, Van den Berg (2008) writes about a similar observation of parents' awareness of being a public subject of scrutiny as members of a minority. In our study, parents engaged in a turbulent turn-taking in power: with an immediate intervention to critique and express concerns over inequity in access to public speech, they made clear not be available for academic work of 'othering' as a perceived risk of collaborating in the project. In doing so, parents cancelled the research permission we got by *The Attanmia Foundation* and denied our power to research.

Matthiesen (*italic in original text*; 2018, p. 2) writes how 'the research field must not be understood as something we can be allowed *into*, as much literature on research methods implies'. In current study, *The Attanmia Foundation* was gatekeeper to their programme, but every group as well as every person was gatekeeper on their own. By questioning our presence in their autonomous spaces, parents maintained borders and actively intervened the access that was assumed on behalf of the research collaboration. The situation at the start of our collaboration was tense and confusing, for both members of the parent groups and the research team. However, it also captures a *transformative* tension between threat and safety; in the encounter between researchers and parents it was safe enough to overtly express the experienced threat of othering and articulate protective measures of (initial) non-participation on the side of parents. Together with the organisation and consultation group we altered the recruitment procedure by incorporating an exchange about the very issue of distrust at introductory meetings with each parent group. In addition to the introduction of the parenting programme and project as an invitation for participation, these meetings included a conscious effort to open up dialogues on public representation and positionality in relation to current political discourses. With many parents, these meetings were essential to develop relationships build on interest, curiosity and engagement. As illustrated by notes from an in-depth interview with a mother from group 10, which was translated during the interview: 'She is thanking us for the conversations and telling us she believes it is very important and interesting. She said we gave her the opportunity to openly talk because of the trust we gave her and the bond that emerged in such a short time'. This quote illustrates how we transformed collaboration at the research site from abstract

representations to lived human relationships. Within the discomfort, the contact zone of our project had allowed for a space to renegotiate terms and conditions for collaboration, by which we engaged in border crossing on both sides of the relationship. It shows that, although relationships between researchers and participants are embedded in sociohistorical relations representing power disbalances, they are not fixed in personal interactions. 'It is through the direct human contact that the research participant can access the integrity of the researcher' (Giddens, 1991, as referred to in Crozier, 2003, p. 86). That's what we nurtured through the introductory meetings.

Paternalistic Social Work Agendas Detoured

At the installed introductory meetings, parents expressed diverse intentions for participation or non-participation in the project. For some, participation became part of a wish to serve their community and help it move forward through training and research. For others, participation was approached as an opportunity to share knowledge and expertise as a parent and open up about their own learning process. A group of fathers (no.14) added the programme to their activity calendar as part of their investment in self-development and community building. As such, participation in the project extended beyond people's interest in parenting solely and touched upon the Attanmia Foundation's goal to strengthen social networks as a community effort.

However, the request to integrate the project in groups' calendars as a means to support community development was picked up very differently by others. At the introduction meeting with group 9, mothers expressed a tiredness with social projects that are meant to be 'good' for them. As the group coordinator articulated: 'We have seen so many programmes, social services, projects, it's like this for years. They think they know what we need, but we don't need another programme! We just want to come together, drink tea, chat, have our time with each other'. This protest illustrates an additional dimension present in the research contact zone of our study: the asymmetrical relations of power with respect to questions of who is and who is not considered to be a competent parent and who needs public intervention. The offer of 'yet another' programme through the project represented

deficit narratives about Moroccan-Dutch parenting, with mothers being at the receiving end of the stereotype of being 'in need' of professional parenting support and emancipation (Van den Berg, 2008; 2016; Jonkers, 2003). Speaking up and questioning the offer of the parenting programme, the mothers in this group engaged in border maintenance and were, as Phoenix (2009; p. 112) describes in her study with migrant students, 'Resisting subjection into representations of themselves as innately incapable'. The reluctance of the group coordinator to add the programme to their activity calendar furthermore points to a tension over agenda setting; indicating a high political relevance of scheduling time together out of reach of integration and emancipation attempts visited upon them by social workers and policy makers.

With the introduction of the programme, trainers, researchers and parents all met the politicised and racialised identities of minority parents, reflecting an encounter with paternalistic heritages that live between parents and social workers in current European political arena (Van den Berg, 2016; Hermans, 2004; Rafaetta, 2016; Wijers, 2010). It also illustrates a gendered experience as compared to the group of fathers welcoming the programme as a means for self-development, with fathers being less targeted by social services in the Netherlands (Van Beurden et al., 2018). Sharing characteristics of safe houses, the protest furthermore brings to the fore principles of sovereignty and self-determination in agenda setting as a qualitative aspect of the physical spaces in which parents autonomously gather. The encounter illustrates how, just as Somerville and Perkins (2010) reflected on their research collaboration, a social space was opened up in the conversations between researchers and community members in the research contact zone, yet again, with mothers engaging in border crossing as they addressed the problematics of paternalistic social work agendas. Researchers on the other end, engaged in border crossing too, by including these conversations, experiences and perspectives in the analytical focus of the study.

Multi-Ethnic Team

Working with a multi-ethnic team aimed to allow participants to choose their preferred language in research participation (Dutch, Darija or Tamazight) and as such increase parents' access to research participation. It also enabled the team with a cultural sensitivity from a Moroccan-Dutch and non-Moroccan-Dutch position throughout the project. The multi-lingual approach was largely appreciated by parents and as such served its function to secure fair access to participation in research on their own community. Besides a shared language, cultural and religious familiarity of the Moroccan-Dutch interviewers also helped to communicate and understand certain expressions, perspectives, and experiences. As a mother of group 12, located at a mosque, said about one interviewer: 'I can see she has a lot of knowledge of Islam, so she can understand our ways here'. Simultaneously, some parents actively positioned interviewers without Moroccan heritage as 'outsiders' of their community, just as Van den Berg (2008) describes, and made use of that to speak 'more freely' without potential repercussions of gossip. This illustrates how research team members' cultural familiarity or unfamiliarity supported diverse forms of knowledge generation in the collaboration between researchers and parent groups. However, working with the multi-ethnic team did provoke other dynamics between researchers and parents, too.

Belonging as Critical Compass in Collaborative Knowledge Generation

At an introduction meeting halfway the project, mothers of this new group came to criticise the Moroccan-Dutch interviewers present. As Dutch-born, young, educated women 'you cannot understand us', they said. The situation reflects an encounter of cultural contact *within* the Moroccan-Dutch community, marked by disparate sociohistorical trajectories of different generations in the migration history of the community. Engaging in border maintenance in the researcher-participant relationship, mothers positioned belonging to a generation with certain socioeconomic status and migration history as a barrier to research participation and knowledge generation on behalf of their community. Diverse scholars have problematised working from shared cultural backgrounds as a

departure point for cultural familiarity and sensitivity in research, as a dualist take on insider/outsider positionality dismisses the multiple experiences, identities and stances that live within communities (Choi, 2006; Crozier, 2003; Pillow, 2010; Villenas, 1996). The mothers in our study excluded 'insider' interviewers from shared understandings based on differences in geographical and cultural belonging to their community, as well as the socioeconomic marker of class defined by education. The methodological procedure to work with a multi-ethnic research team as a means of fairness got debunked by this group, as they ultimately did not participate in the project.

This encounter illustrates the situational dynamic of the designed procedures and how discomfort was, repeatedly, as much part of the research contact zone as was collaboration. However, the situation also sheds light on how non-participation functions as an important aspect of knowledge generation, too. Matthiesen (italic in original text; 2018; p. 2) writes, 'When we interact and negotiate with research participants we engage in positioning and are positioned, we *become*, entangled in the lives of those we wish to understand, and the understanding that emerges is thus produced through these negotiations. The relational access process is therefore central in what we come to know. This includes the insights that arise from when we are denied access'. In current case, mothers excluded themselves from 'being understood' and have their perspectives and experiences incorporated in data collection. However, this denied collaboration did provide insight into how heterogeneous experiences of community belonging served as a critical compass in collaborative knowledge generation.

Adjusted Research Instruments

Working adjusted research instruments in the bottom-up parenting programme evaluation study served to incorporate a focus on social interactions and better capture and evaluate collective processes in programme and community organization in data collection (Haight et al., 2014; Van Hemert et al., 2001). It also allowed space for participants' perspectives to take a prominent place in data collection. Some parents approached moments of data collection to speak up and reflect on the

collaboration between the research team and parent groups. As one mother in group 8 shared at an in-depth interview:

‘For first time (...) that someone from... just from university or from your foundation, came to listen to our opinion. (...) That I think is really nice. (...) I always heard integrate, integrate, integrate, integrate. But we also have a background, we also have a culture (...), so you should know that about us too. Not that we should just take, take. We also have something. (laughing) (...) This I thought was really good in the beginning when I, that's why I participated and gladly even with this training, with you guys, yeah’.

In this encounter between parent and researcher, this mother utilizes the qualitative research instrument of the in-depth interview as a platform to claim public speech in the asymmetrical relations of power in which she finds herself as a minority citizen. Engaging in a relieved and optimistic effort of border crossing by her decision to participate in the project, she approaches the collaboration as Matthiesen (2018; p. 7) writes, as ‘an opportunity for their side of the story to be told’. As such, this mother takes authority in setting agenda in public discourses on parenting and migration by countering dominant public narratives about her community through research participation.

Autoethnographic Parody as a Means for Border Work

The collaboration between parents and researchers was articulated and picked up on by more participants during ethnographic data collection, though be it in different forms. As part of the ethnographic case-studies with five participating parent groups in current project, the first author built long-term relationships with participants by being present at the programme implementation as well as other group activities and celebrations for which she was invited by participants. Within our ethnographic relationships she was, in her role of researcher, alternately being included and excluded by participants in their narratives, interactions, experiences and spaces. At multiple meetings with group 1, the field notes illustrate how: ‘The mobile phone of one mother rings, she answers and walks away. Another mother jokes “it’s our men asking: have you arrived yet? Where are you?”. She laughs

and looks at me while saying: "Don't write that down, it's not true though". In this moment, this mother picks up on the stereotype of 'domestically oppressed migrant/ Muslim wife' and mirrors it back to me in my presence as researcher. At another programme meeting the same mother picks up on yet another stereotype, the one of 'undesired migrant citizen' in relation to statements of Dutch right-wing politician Geert Wilders, who had asked an audience at that time whether they 'wanted more or less Moroccans in the Netherlands' (Openbaar Ministerie, 2014):

'Trainer Sohaila discusses naturalization and asks who has Dutch nationality. Most of the women raise their hands. Nesma and Soundous do not. Huriya laughs and says to them, "Then you have to take a step back". A mother calls out, "More or less Huriya? The women laugh. Huriya says to Nesma, "Am afraid Wilders will start with her first!" The women laugh. Nesma shares that she has lived here for 13 years. Soundous (Nesma's sister-in-law) grabs Nesma to protect her, laughs and shouts, "Stop me, stop me!" They frolic with Huriya and the women laugh. Huriya looks at me, laughs and asks, "What are you writing down? I want to read it! Will you pass it on to Wilders". I joke that I am writing a report on them and we laugh'.

These notes illustrate how the mothers joked and played around, parodying on the stereotype of 'undesired migrant citizen' in my presence, allowing me into a shared autoethnographic understanding of being 'othered'. Simultaneously one of them reminded me, again, of my presence as a guest in their safe house of 'others', by mirroring to me the stereotype of 'minority citizen under watch by the majority'.

As Deutsch (2004, p. 899) writes in her reflexive research account of an ethnographic study in a youth centre: 'Despite the warm feeling, my outsider status was still constantly on display'. Despite participants' engagement of me into their activities and domestic lives, this mother exposed and reminded me of my observant eye as part of our contact. It illustrates the 'bidirectional nature of research', by which both researcher and participants are as much 'subject, object, and researcher' (Deutsch, 2004; p. 889, p. 2). In the context of research collaboration, and in particular in ethnography

with minority community efforts in contexts of threat as illustrated by the field notes, one could question how much and what kind of trust is necessary for collaboration? Crozier (2003; p. 89) states that 'Researching personal experiences is wholly intrusive', in particular in the case of precarious aspects of life such as family, community, and belonging. In the ethnographic relationships with parents, the first author met what we call working from 'partial' (Chakravarty, 2012) or 'guarded' trust, by which trust and distrust were situationally and consciously maintained throughout the project and participants took a position of collaboration in which they granted themselves multiple stances.

Pratt (1999, p. 40) writes how, from the perspective of minority people, 'being the 'other' of a dominant culture involves living in a bifurcated universe of meaning. On the one hand, one must produce oneself as a self for oneself. That is survival. At the same time the system also requires that you produce yourself as an "other"'. The mothers in current study simultaneously articulated and guarded our differences, by which humour in the form of autoethnographic parody, to speak with Pratt (1991), was used as a tool for border maintenance and border crossing. The data excerpts furthermore show how the stereotypes of the 'other' as 'oppressed wife' or 'undesired or watched citizen' were no end products in themselves but, in fact, were actively picked up on and employed by participants as autoethnographic parodies to actively engage in the question: how do you and me relate to one another in this research contact zone?

Consultation Group and Participant Feedback Meetings

Working with a consultation group and participant feedback meetings, we actively designed for transparency in information and process monitoring and equity and consensus in decision making in the project. The consultation group consisted of programme organisers, trainers and participants. It was initiated at the start to create an iterative feedback process throughout the project, by which the research design, implementation, data processing and creation of final products could be monitored and adjusted accordingly. In connection to the funder's explicit policy to account for active engagement of participants in project dissemination, participant feedback meetings were organised

during data analyses. With the initiative of the consultation group and participant feedback meetings we worked to create spaces for participants' active involvement by asking them to evaluate research procedures and outcomes. As such we invited participants for border crossing in our collaboration and intended to make participation in the project meaningful. However, with few people joining, the formal platforms we created for transparency, equity and consensus were marginally utilised by research participants. Reasons mentioned by participants included a 'lack of time' and perceived role division, by which participants left 'research to researchers'. The time issue is mentioned by Crozier (2003) as well, and Matthiesen (2018, p. 7) writes: 'it did not seem as unwillingness but rather as though the daily happenings of their lived lives were, understandably, more important'. The same seemed to count for many participating parents in our project. However, looking at above-presented analyses, the methodological reflections do account of frequent and diverse acts of decision making throughout the project, with the collaboration being addressed, debunked, reformed, used and reinforced in unstructured moments as we worked from the designed procedures. This raises questions about the exact fit of the formal consultation group and participant feedback meetings as research procedures, as they diverted from the semi-formal community processes that characterised this project. Just as Somerville and Perkins (2010; p. 265) concluded about their indigenous/non-indigenous research contact zone, 'The formal and proscriptive rituals of joint meetings, and 'consultation' were not where the actual collaboration took place'.

In conclusion

This article served as a critical methodological reflection on a collaboration between university researchers and self-organizing parent groups, concerned with a 2015-2017 parenting programme evaluation study. In line with Somerville and Perkins (2010), we questioned emancipatory research on the actual realities of collaboration between researchers and community members. We did so, by applying the perspective of the contact zone and its elaborations (Canagarajah, 1997; Kenway & Bullen, 2003; Phoenix, 2009; Pratt, 1991; 2008; Somerville & Perkins, 2010) to a bottom-up parenting

programme evaluation study in a context of labour immigration and minority community organization in Europe. The ethnographic material reflected upon provided insight into how, in the contact zone of the research project, encounters between the researcher team and participating parents were informed by its context of multifaceted power relations; our divergent social positions in society at large, for example in access to public speech and in-/exclusion as a citizen and parent played out, as well as our different positions in the community and in the research project itself as the most local site. Coming back to the question how methodological principles and procedures unfold in practice, we can say that the initial methodological design functioned as a starting point for collaboration. However, as we worked with the procedures of recruitment by network, working with a multi-ethnic team, adjusted research instruments, and consultation groups and participant feedback meetings, they got exposed to negotiations over power in structured and unstructured moments throughout the project. The methodological reflections further showed how, in the context of the participants' autonomous community spaces, an agentic turn-taking in power on both sides of the researcher-researched relationship took place *within* a context of highly asymmetrical relations of power. As such, the research contact zone in this project showed itself both a provocative and a creative social space in which collaboration was established, de-established and re-established continuously.

Future Directions

In our effort to elicit the dynamics of collaboration in working with the designed research procedures, the use of the perspective of the contact zone and elaborations served helpful by its analytical emphasis on agentic negotiations and acts to express, or not express in majority-minority relationships. Its articulation in the additional conceptualizations of autoethnographic expression, safe houses and border work (Canagarajah, 1997; Kenway & Bullen, 2003; Phoenix, 2009; Pratt, 1991; 2008; Somerville & Perkins, 2010) made visible, tangible, what is at stake in research on community-based minority parenting support. Pratt's focus on *what is* rather than *what ought to be* lifts ideological political correctness to control and prescribe how power in research collaboration should take shape.

Instead, it enables to address the messiness of doing research; including experiences of difference, discomfort, unforeseen efforts and what may remain unknown (Pillow, 2003). Used proactively, the conceptual framework of the contact zone opens up for an exploratory yet critical and anticipatory approach to power relations in the field of parenting, migration and community organization.

Kenway and Bullen (2003) remind us of Bizzell's statement in the case of education, that 'the contact zone is not only what practitioners are teaching *about*, but also what they are teaching *in*' (1994, p. 166; italics added). The same counts for researchers. In studying cultural contact in minority parenting and community organization we partake in that very cultural contact and the 'grappling and clashing' of sociohistorical disparities, representation and power that is inherent to it. It is at our interest and much needed as researchers, as actors in the contact zone, to actively work with these dynamics. In their reflections inspired by Haig-Brown (1996), Somerville and Perkins (2010) mention how collaboration in the research contact zone involves a necessary practice of discomfort in its 'productive potential of difference and the necessary work of choosing to put oneself in that space' (p. 262). In concurrence with other scholars in their call for the development of 'pedagogical arts' of the academic contact zone to consciously direct its potential in education (Canagarajah, 1997; Miller, 1994), we propose to skill ourselves as researchers in 'methodological arts' of the research contact zone. We interpret arts of the contact zone in this sense as part of the 'effects of long-term contact and intractable, unequal conflict', as Pratt (1991) describes, to engage with that contact zone. In reflection on principles of equity, consensus, transparency and fairness, as part of emancipatory research, we distill several suggestions for such methodological arts from the lessons learned in current study:

1. In reflection on the principle of equity, the first lesson learned in this study is to acknowledge that power is present in research collaboration and under negotiation continuously between researchers and parents in structured and unstructured moments throughout the project. In this study, this included working from ethnographic methods as adjusted research instrument

in bottom-up parenting programme evaluation offering a methodological tool to document these delicate social dynamics between all members of the research team and parent groups as part of knowledge generation. Equity in this sense, is not only about striving for equity by designing research such to intercept power, for example by working with a multi-ethnic team, but in fact departing from an understanding of inequity in the acknowledgement of difference and working with shifts in power on both sides of the researcher-participant relationship as research procedures and knowledge generation come into being in an ongoing, reciprocal process.

2. In reflection on the principle of consensus, the second lesson learned in this study is the realization that consensus in working with community stakeholders in community-based work still requires personalised consensus over 'access' and that agenda setting and decision-making happen explicitly and implicitly throughout the project in unstructured encounters more than in formalised ones. In this study, this included renegotiating 'access' to the physical spaces and lived experiences of the parent groups with each group and each person, in each moment. It also included coming to understand the relationship between researcher and participant as the exact location in which negotiations over 'access', agenda setting and decision-making take place. Consensus in this sense, is not a static doorway organised by formal procedures, for example by recruitment by network and working with a consultation group and participant feedback meetings, but in fact alive and renegotiable throughout research collaboration.
3. In reflection on the principle of transparency, the third lesson learned in this study is that, besides the acknowledgement of continuous negotiations over power in structured and unstructured moments, researchers need to facilitate shared spaces in which reflections on collaboration can surface and an explicit dialogue on divergent sociohistorical trajectories, positions in society and how that informs our relationship can take place. In this study, this included organizing for introductory meetings as an adjusted procedure in response to what

was provoked in the researcher-researched relationship, by which we articulated what emerged in the interaction between all parties as a prerequisite for collaboration. Transparency in this sense, is not only about informing each other on decision making processes, for example by a consultation group and participant feedback meetings, but in fact about opening up a conscious exchange about the question: how do you and me relate to each other in this endeavour?

4. In reflection on the principle of fairness, the fourth lesson learned in this study is coming to understand the function of sovereignty and self-determination in the enactment of power by participants from their marginalised position and as a self-organizing community in society. In this study, this included processes of non-collaboration as a necessary practice of discomfort in contexts of inequality and perceived threat from dominant public discourses; border maintenance and border crossing in protection of and in opening up parents' autonomous social spaces (safe houses); autoethnographic expression and parody in function of partial or 'guarded' trust as part of research collaboration. Fairness in this sense, is not only about designing research such that as many people can participate, for example by working with a multi-lingual team and adjusted research instruments, but also to include non-participation and the acceptance border maintenance by participants as part of research.

Pratt's perspective of the contact zone invites us to design research such that it includes power dynamics as a given to work with. It requires researchers to work from heightened awareness and sensitivity of how power interplays structurally as well as how it involves turn-taking situationally in the local context in which we work. The redistribution and interchangeability of roles divided between researchers and community members within existing structural power dynamics links to ideas of creating 'daring spaces' by Ponzoni and Kaulingfreks (2020) and Ponzoni, Ghorashi and Badran (2020) in the case of relationships between youth and social workers, and refugees and policy makers respectively. They define daring spaces as relational spaces that:

'... [offer] minorities the possibility to feel safe enough to work 'disturbingly' and for people in power to be receptive enough to allow for this 'disturbance'. This relationality assumes a co-creative process that sets in motion fixed and unquestioned values and ways of thinking and doing.' (p. 24)

By developing methodological arts as researchers, the research contact zone can be nurtured and utilised in its informative potential for knowledge creation on fundamental understandings of power as well as its transformative potential in majority-minority relationships and methodological principles and procedures. Using this conceptual lens made practical in a proactive manner may be a better methodological fit to research concerned with community-based work, as we design for *and* continuously question considerations on research ethics as we work with them in practice.

General Discussion

“Raise your children unlike how you were raised, as they were created for times unlike your times.”

Khalif Omar ibn Al Khattab (584-644 CE)

With this dissertation I aimed to contribute to new understandings of parenting, placed in Europe’s heterogeneous societies today. I engaged in this endeavour by drawing upon a local research project with Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers participating in a bottom-up organised parenting support program in the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. I questioned 1) how people experience, perceive and practice parenting post migration; 2) which social processes underly people’s experiences, perspectives and practices in relation to the social contexts in which they engage; and 3) how we can answer these questions in the context of a bottom-up parenting program evaluation study? In connection to existing academic discourses, I explored conceptually how a combination of multiple theoretical perspectives could help to address the complexities of parenting post migration, while simultaneously exploring methodologically how to generate community-based knowledge on parenting and parenting support in heterogeneous contexts in a bottom-up parenting program evaluation study. The four empirical chapters that resulted from this quest each addressed different aspects of the study, by investigating respectively how the people participating in the project learned about parenting in informal and formal social contexts; how they came to new understandings of parenting in relation to cultural heterogeneity; how they experienced parenthood in relation to minority citizenship; and how the methodological principles and procedures of the research design unfolded in practice as part of the collaboration between researchers and self-organizing parent groups. Taken together, this dissertation offers new understandings of parenting, parenting support and program evaluation placed in Europe’s heterogeneous societies today.

In this general discussion I come back to the dissertation’s guiding research questions while discussing the conceptual and methodological contributions it offers. I conclude this dissertation with

a reflection on its social relevance, by asking what we can learn from this study in rethinking our understanding of parents, practitioners, community organization and research collaboration.

Studying Parenting as a Human Social Practice in Europe's Heterogeneous Societies Today

Over recent decades, diverse analytical frameworks to study human experiences and processes of migration have been proposed and discussed by scholars, ranging from perspectives of 'cultural translation' (De Haan, 2011; Papastergiadis, 2000) and transnationalism (Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) to anthropological (Waldram, 2009) and postcolonial (Bhatia & Ram, 2001) approaches. Chirkov however, has called for an 'inter- and multi-disciplinary' approach, needed to 'gain a deep description of immigrants' experiences and the dynamics of their negotiation of their old and new identities, which should lead to the understanding of the meanings that immigrants construct for their functioning in a new society' (2009; p.102). Current dissertation situated itself in this attempt by studying parenting and parenting support post migration from a complementary conceptual approach. This approach combined Wenger's (1998; 2010) social learning theory 'communities of practice' with conceptualizations of deterritorialised culture, multifaceted belonging and cultural transformation (Diminescu, 2008; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004), parenthood, affective citizenship and minority self-determination (Erel, 2011; Longman et al., 2013; Van der Pas, 2003; Raffaetà, 2015; Weille, 2011), and understandings of social power dynamics from a contact zone perspective (Canagarajah, 1997; Kenway & Bullen, 2003; Phoenix, 2009; Pratt, 1991; 2008; Somerville & Perkins, 2010). In the following I discuss how adopting this complementary conceptual approach helped to study people's parenting experiences, perspectives and practices and social processes underlying them as well as to inform us on the particular time and place in which the people participating in the project were located. In particular, I recapitulate how this study provided insight into cultural, political and social learning dimensions present in parenting post migration, how its conceptual approach invites to understand post migration parenthood as a social site for learning and negotiation, and how its methodological approach helped to generate community-based

knowledge on parenting, parenting support and program evaluation in the context of a bottom-up parenting program evaluation study.

Insights into Cultural, Political and Social Learning Dimensions in Parenting Post Migration

With respect to the first research question, current study provides insight into the particularities of parenting and parenthood experiences, perspectives and practices of Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers in the Netherlands. Building forth on existing literature on parenting post migration (Cook & Waite, 2016; Deepak, 2005; De Haan, 2011; Kwak, 2003; Moro, 2014; Renzaho et al., 2011; Salvaterra Trovão, 2017; Zontini, 2007) and minority parenthood (Erel, 2011; Longman et al., 2013; Raffaetà, 2015), chapter 2 and 3 showed respectively how people experienced parenting post migration as challenging with respect to cultural and social confrontations in daily parenting situations. Parents experienced questions and insecurities in relation to encounters of diverse cultural understandings and customs concerning, for example, teenagers' social and financial independence (Van Beurden & De Haan, 2019). Parents also felt confronted and worried in relation to disrupting experiences of exclusionist and stereotypical discourses in political debates and social work concerning children's sense of belonging to society and their own public qualification as a parent (Van Beurden & De Haan, 2020).

Besides insight into cultural and political challenges faced by this particular group of parents, the findings of the study also provided insight into how parenting in heterogeneous societies post migration sparks the rise of new understandings and active re-makings of parenting practices, as part of people's engagement with these challenges. In particular, the analyses offer insight into people's engagement in processes of exploration, negotiation and (re-)interpretation as they navigated diverse social contexts as a parent. The findings show how the presence of a multitude of frameworks sparked confrontation yet did not need to evoke competition between or stagnation of parenting models. Rather, participants' reflections and negotiations represented how multiple cultural, religious and social frames of reference were incorporated in exchange and combination with each other in the (re-

)interpretation of parenting practices. Resulting in the rise of hybrid, or glocalised practices in close relation to people's particular parenting context, this illustrates how 'fragmentation and empowerment' act as cooperative forces in parenting post migration (Pratt, 2008, p. 242). Studying how the participants engaged in learning interactions, cultural transformations of perspectives and practices, determinations of citizenship, and social negotiations over power in the public domain as well as the context of the research project clarified these as creative aspects of parenting post migration. In fact, it showed how cultural and political as well as social learning dimensions are present and *intertwined* in parenting post migration.

Post Migration Parenthood as Social Site for Learning and Negotiation

Concerning the second research question, the complementary conceptual approach of this study offers an example of how to investigate and disentangle social processes that underly people's parenting experiences, perspectives and practices in relation to diverse social contexts in which they engage post migration. By having shifted my analytical lens from people's adaptability, family relations or child development to how people experience, navigate and negotiate parenting in cultural and social heterogeneity as part of post migration parenthood, I have deviated from dominant approaches in parenting in migration studies (see for example Belhadj Kouider, Koglin, & Petermann, 2014; Berry, 1997; Huang & Lamb, 2014; Stevens, Vollebergh, Pels, & Crijnen, 2007; Yagmurlu & Sanson, 2009). A particular conceptual contribution to the field of parenting in migration as such, are the insights offered by the learning approach taken in this study. Parenting and learning can be both understood as goal-oriented social activities (Cole, 1996; LeVine, 2010; Rogoff, 2003; Wertsch, 1991). The findings of this study provided insight into how migration as the geographical relocation of people's sociocultural context provokes people to engage in processes of goal-oriented meaning making to define how to socialise their children. By using Wenger's communities of practice perspective (1998; 2010) to analyse how people engaged in their informal social networks and the formal bottom-up parenting program, chapter 1 and 2 showed how people's interactions with others about parenting

serve as social locations that inform perspectives and practices of child rearing. So far, cultural contact as well as the practice of parenting or parenting support are not so much studied in sociocultural learning traditions. However, current study showed how parenting post migration is an interesting site of learning, as negotiations over the meaning of perspectives and practices becomes intensified in the midst of diverse cultural frameworks.

Whereas the use of social learning theory enabled to elicit the presence of social learning dimensions in parenting in migration, the use of additional theoretical perspectives as part of the study's conceptual approach enabled to address cultural and political dimensions present in parenting and learning post migration. Theoretical notions of how to understand culture and cultural belonging and transformation in current time (Diminescu, 2008; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) as part of a critical discourse in migration studies, offered necessary conceptualizations to understand how social learning and meaning making take shape in the midst of cultural heterogeneity. The findings of chapter 2 indicated how people's navigation of multiple frames of reference as well as their plural belonging directed cultural re-interpretations of parenting practices. For example, when experiencing clashes at cultural boundaries between Dutch and Moroccan notions of children's social and financial autonomy or shifts in parent-child relationships in puberty, participants explored these notions with additional reference to religious perspectives and understandings that stem from different migratory trajectories as well as feeling part of the local learning community participating in the program and global 'world citizens'. The narratives and discourses of the participants as such reflected the heterogeneity of which they had become part, by which cultural encounters in parenting functioned as places of cultural articulation and determination. Moreover, it shows how people's sense of belonging loosened its geographically-bounded grip to gain qualitatively new meanings to answer challenges of people's parenting context today (Cook & Waite, 2016; Diminescu, 2008; De Haan, 2011; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). As such, these findings contribute to migration studies, too, by showing how the family domain serves as an important social location in which cultural transformations take place in the every-day.

In addition to explorations of cultural meaning making in heterogeneity as part of parenting post migration, the analyses in this study also engaged in a more thorough analysis of people's wider social context to investigate parents' experience of being a parent in relation to public discourses in society. Sociological, post-colonial and critical citizenship studies have invested their interest in how people participate in society from a non-dominant position by studying trends of self-determination and engagement in society among migrant mothers and younger generations from minority communities (Erel, 2011; Eidoo, 2018; Johns et al., 2015; Jonkers, 2003; Longman et al., 2013; Mustafa, 2016; Ozyurt, 2013; Patton, 2018; Raffaeta, 2016; Van den Berg, 2016). Chapter 3 confirms existing literature in the understanding of minority parenthood as intertwined with experiences of and perspectives on parenting and citizenship (Erel, 2011; Longman et al., 2013; Raffaetà, 2015). The approach taken provided insight into how experiences of contested belonging as citizen holds implications for perspectives on parenting as an intergenerational family practice that aims to initiate next generations of children into society *as* citizens. In particular, the analyses showed how the context in which the participants raised their children brought up social dynamics in which experiences of exclusion, feelings of social duty and claims of dignity as a parent-citizen alternated each other, as the participants found themselves as Muslim minority in the aftermath of labour immigration in a time of Islamophobic public discourses. Mapping out the width and depth of people's experiences of being a parent in relation to social power dynamics in diverse social spheres (Van der Pas, 2003; Weille, 2011), as such, it made visible the politicised nature of parenthood that is often overlooked by traditional parenting and migration studies (Van Beurden & De Haan, 2020).

By having adopted a social learning angle to parenting post migration I explored processes of knowledge creation in the field of family, migration and community organization. Working from a complementary conceptual framework in the analyses of the particular contexts in which the parents in this study were situated, enabled to engage in necessary understandings of today's heterogeneity and interconnectivity in cultural contact and social negotiation post migration. By showing how people come to new understandings of parenting in interaction with others, current study elicits how we can

understand parenting post migration as involving processes of knowledge creation in which people's active creations are as much part of the complexities of parenting post migration as the challenges it provokes. Having disentangled how the particular cultural and social heterogeneity in which these people raise their children define their perspectives and practices, these insights offer as such important counterweight to understandings of assimilation or stagnation dominant in the field of parenting in migration. In fact, the findings of this study invite to understand post migration parenthood as a social site for learning and negotiation.

Generating Community-Based Knowledge in a Bottom-up Parenting Program Evaluation Study

With regard to research question 3, the methodological approach of this dissertation offers an example of how to generate community-based knowledge on parenting, parenting support and program evaluation in the context of a bottom-up parenting program evaluation study. Aiming to study how people experience, navigate and negotiate parenting post migration, the particular research design and context of the project enabled to adopt a relational angle. Through people's individual reflections in the interviews and the participatory observations of collective dialogues, the data collected provided insight into how people relate to themselves as a parent as well as to themselves as a participant in the program, their social networks, community spaces, and the research. Studying parenting in the context of program evaluation highlighted cultural, political and social learning dimensions as such not only in narrative sense but also in encounters between participants, trainers and researchers. Besides the insights in parenting post migration this offered as discussed above, the design also held an alternative approach to program evaluation to study the place of the parenting program studied in the social work field.

Drawing on Wenger's communities of practice perspective in combination with the qualitative data collection, the alternative approach to program evaluation was characterised by an emphasis on process evaluation over outcome evaluation; collective learning over individual learning; and a bottom-up over a top-down approach. What it has brought to the fore in evaluating the YoT-program,

is how collective learning about parenting post migration can arise when meaning making through interaction is facilitated. In fact, it elicited the important understanding that the implementation of a parenting support program in which learning together about parenting in a rapidly changing and complex context becomes subject, enables participants' interactions over parenting to open up a collective space to engage in defining directions in parenting. Moreover, incorporating the study of how people's program participation relates to their participation in their social networks, chapter 1 showed how the implementation of the bottom-up parenting program in people's community spaces as a formalization of these spaces set in motion a reciprocal exchange of people's learning in the program and in their social networks. This program operating on the boundaries of people's informal and formal social contexts outside of institutional pathways can as such be considered part of semi-formal parenting support infrastructures in society.

In addition to its social learning angle to study processes of collective learning in and outside of the program, the research design also aimed to connect to the bottom-up character of the program studied. The design used contrasts with incorporating community efforts into top-down methods by the set-up of quasi-experimental implementation of programs in service of research (Baerveldt, 2017). Chapter 4 accounts of the collaboration between researchers and the parent groups as its documentation was inherently part of the ethnographic data collection. Including the research process itself as part of the methodological exploration to generate community-based knowledge in the evaluation study, offered a deepened understanding of people's parenting and parenthood experiences and perspectives as a minority parent being offered a support program and being researched while participating in it. As such, the study has shown how the dynamics and experiences of parenthood provoked by the context of training as well as evaluation study have been informative on to understand people's experiences and perspectives of parenthood in relation to public discourses in society. Moreover, it provided insight into how the research design unfolded as we worked with it in practice, as input for discourse on research in community-based work. Using the critical sociohistorical perspective of the contact zone (Pratt, 2008; Somerville & Perkins, 2010) to study the

interplay of negotiations over power in research as part of people's parenting context post migration, these methodological reflections showed how generating community-based knowledge on parenting and parenting support post migration is as much part of the complexities it aims to understand.

What can we Learn?

This dissertation is situated in the Moroccan-Dutch community in the urban area of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Findings are therefore located within the boundaries of the particular contexts and histories of the place and people involved. In this case, a context of people's active participation in self-organised parenting support in the aftermath of unschooled labour immigration as Muslim minority in a pre-dominantly secular North West European society. The research project itself was, as an institutional effort, located in a non-institutional setting. As illustrated by the findings, these markers brought with them particular intentions and dynamics important to this local project that may differ elsewhere, and can therefore limit the scope of its findings. Furthermore, this study set out to investigate parenting in today's heterogeneous societies from the experiences and perspectives of mothers and fathers, and as such centralised people's viewpoint from the location of parenthood as the analytical angle of the study. Experiences and perspectives of children, partners and important others in the participants' parenting contexts have not been included, leaving questions open concerning intergenerational or family perspectives on parenting and parenthood in heterogeneous contexts post migration. Although involving a significantly different analytical angle, inclusion of multiple viewpoints as represented by partners in parenting or children as recipients of parenting with respect to the emergence of qualitatively new practices and the civic nature of minority parenting as found in this study, could make an interesting addition for future research.

That being said, the above presented insights do provide, in their locality, parenting knowledge on raising children post migration. This study exemplifies how we can come to new understandings of parenting, parenting support and program evaluation in Europe's heterogeneous societies by learning from the people in the midst of it. In particular, it offers an example of a conceptual and

methodological approach to studying parenting post migration today, that urgently requests a need to shift both our analytical and practical lens on parents, practitioners, community organization and research collaboration. In fact, this study shows how researchers as well as practitioners could benefit from a shift in focus on *cultural transmission* and *questions of integration* to a focus on *cultural creation* and *questions of navigation* in cultural and social heterogeneity in parenting post migration. Coming back to the understanding of parenting as a human social practice that aims to initiate new generations into the social structures of society as it is informed by and in transmission of cultural models, as defined in the introduction of this dissertation, we can question how we can utilise the insights of this dissertation in service of healthy and thriving families and societies? What is of importance in parenting in Europe's continuously and rapidly changing societies today with respect to how cultural and political dimensions inform models of parenting? How can the presence of (potential) learning dimensions in parenting post migration be intentionally employed in search for a 'fit' of parenting practices to current society, in order to transmit cultural models within families? Which roles and collaborations are possible for parents, practitioners (institutional and non-institutional alike), community organizations, policy makers, funders and researchers to take care of the initiation of new generations into the social structures of current society? In short, how can we move forward with the knowledge provided by this dissertation? In the following I reflect on these questions by proposing potential directions for practice based on the study.

Rethinking Parents as Creative Learning Resource for One Another

First, this dissertation invites to rethink parents as creative learning resources for one another. As reflected upon by a mother in chapter 2, migration invited her "to live curiously for them [her children], find challenges for them. (...) [Because] If they have grown up, they are in a different country". The quote by khalif Omar ibn Al Khattab heading this general discussion captures a similar understanding and was referred to by the parenting program organizers to express the heart of their work; supporting families to actively engage in attuning their child raising to the time and place in

which the next generation grows up (A. Salhi & A. Koutet, personal communication, October 3, 2013). An approach to parenting that studies people's navigation and negotiation helps to understand parents as meaning making entities. As such, it positions the parent in the midst of heterogeneity as a potential active player for themselves and others. The participants in this study actively engaged in meaning making in the midst of disruption and diffusion of parenting models and social relations. Chapter 1 showed how participants used themselves and others as learning resources inside and outside of the bottom-up parenting programme, as they came to recognise their individual as well as collective learning aspirations as a parent. Although this study involves people parenting post migration as the particular challenge families face, adopting a learning approach to parenting can be interesting to all parents in relation to today's rapidly changing societies. By understanding their own experiences and perspectives and those of others as learning resources in the practice of parenting, parents can enable a social space for themselves to question, explore, negotiate and define parenting in line with the contexts in which they raise their children, and search for collaborations with professionals to support them in this effort.

Rethinking Practitioners as Facilitative Resource for Collective Exploration

Consequently, this dissertation invites to rethink practitioners as facilitative resource for collective exploration. According to Bose (2014), practitioners better limit themselves in prescribing directions and parenting concepts in post migration contexts, as there is no 'perfect' in this newly emerged territory. The findings of parents' networked and community-based learning in current study taps into this discourse that questions ideals of expert knowledge in social work in rapidly changing cultural contexts. Understanding parents as learning resources for one another in this context challenges understandings of parenting support, too. Current study encourages practitioners to come to understand parenting support as a potential social space for collective learning. This inevitably shifts the role of professionals in parenting support to being facilitators of exploration, negotiation and re-interpretation, without working towards pre-defined outcomes. Viewing parents as potential learning

communities invites practitioners to adopt a facilitating role to support parents in adopting a socially attuned learning approach to parenting. The program studied offers an example of how being learning resources for one another and the rise of a collective learning dimension among parents can be actively supported, by facilitating social interactions that tap into the potential for conscious and collective exploration, exchange and knowledge creation. Based on this example, at least two considerations are of importance in facilitating parents in collective learning. First, providing space for the complexities of parenting post migration with inclusions of experiences of cultural and political confrontation is vital to create in-depth discourses among parents in which they can explore post migration parenthood in full sense. This can be done by incorporating experiences of cultural and social encounters, (transnational) interconnectivity, and plural and contested belonging in the exchange. Second, articulation as part of facilitation is an important aspect to support the emergence of a collective learning dimension. By explicitly verbalizing the explorative character of parenting post migration, drawing upon people's own knowledge as resource, and stimulating the expansion of people's parenting repertoire by exchange and meaning making, practitioners can make explicit how nurturing a learning approach to parenting post migration supports oneself and one another in the cultural and political challenges it brings forth. By adopting a belonging-oriented learning approach to parenting in today's heterogeneous societies and tapping into the potential for parent learning communities as such, parents and practitioners can build collaborations that are supportive of present and future globalised creations in parenting knowledge in today's heterogeneous society.

Rethinking Community Organization as Necessary Resource for Refuge and Partnership

Third, this dissertation invites to rethink community organization as necessary resource for refuge and partnership. Baker Kee (2015, p. 259) points out that: "... there is a need for more shared discursive spaces in which marginalised voices can speak and privileged voices can listen in order to find any common ground within the city's educational landscape". With the landscape of parenting post migration, providing and supporting neighbourhood-based spaces for people to collectively

explore and define parenting in relation to both cultural and political dimensions as aspects of the complexity of parenting in heterogeneity are ever more important. The findings of chapter 3 and 4 showed how the community spaces in which the studied program was implemented offered refuge to people in face of exclusionary discourses in the public domain. As they gathered, participants ventilated their experiences and explored and formulated self-determined notions of parenthood and citizenship from a minority standpoint. As such, the findings of this study brought to the fore in-depth how community organization served as a resource for refuge and knowledge generation within communities to sustain learning and support in the family domain. Question is, how these counter-narratives can reach out? A study by Ponzoni (2015; 2016) about the role of migrant organizations in the social work field and their cooperation with social services, shows that services and local governments approach the work of migrant organizations mostly as a route to professional help. However, this view on migrant organizations as being a bridge between informal and formal support dismisses the autonomous function migrant organizations have in their own conditions, as well as that it dismisses the potential contribution migrant organizations can make to social policies based on their insights into social processes and dynamics that are part of heterogeneous societies (Ponzoni, 2016). In line with this critique, the findings of current study encourage services and policy makers to recognise community organization not as a bridge to 'difficult-to-reach' groups in society, but as knowledgeable partners in the field that provide unique conditions for parents post migration. Policy makers, as distributors of financial means and decision makers of formal social infrastructures in society, can facilitate these spaces by securing sustainable financial support, safeguarding sovereignty and collaborating with community organizations as partners in policy making to sustain semi-formal parenting support infrastructures outside of institutional pathways.

Rethinking Research Collaboration as Valuable Resource for Design Negotiation

Last, this dissertation invites to rethink research collaboration as valuable resource for design negotiation. Over the last decades a strong call for evidence-based work has manifested itself in the

social work field, by which proven effectiveness of social programs has come to serve as golden standard in policy making and financial investments for public good (Gray, Plath & Web, 2009). However, dominant top-down designed evaluation methods fail to meet the diversity of programs in the social work field, in particular those social programs operating outside of the institutional frameworks for which evaluation methods are so often designed. As such, these initiatives run the risk of exclusion from scientific scrutiny and, for that matter, public validation and financial support. In contexts of migration and *disruption* of cultural models and social relations as well as a context characterised by heterogeneity that *diffuses* models and relations, an explorative yet critical approach is important as outcomes in parenting as well as appropriate methods to study bottom-up parenting support and program evaluation are less known. To include bottom-up programs in public validation, researchers need to open up evaluation methods to evaluate efforts operating outside of institutional infrastructures. This study provides an example of knowledge generation and how 'evidence' is brought about concerning the qualities of community efforts for parenting support, by understanding the research field as a 'contact zone' (Pratt, 1991; 2008). As such it understands research collaboration as being a part of Europe's heterogeneous societies today as well as a location of knowledge generation about that society. The methodological reflections in this study redresses our attention to the research collaboration between researchers and participants as a location of knowledge and active engagement in the study of parenting and parenting program evaluation in heterogeneous societies. Researchers may facilitate research collaborations that nurture critical social negotiation and transformation of adaptive methodological principles and procedures in structured and unstructured moments, to make evaluation research fit community-based collaboration. By adding to the development of a diversity of evaluation methods as they are needed to answer to developments in parenting support in post migration contexts, bottom-up social work can be put on the map for policy makers to include in decisions and financial distribution.

A Final Note

This study contributes to answering relevant, urgent and interesting questions of our time, by providing insight into how people in Europe experience parenting post migration and which experiences, processes and contexts are informative and supportive to their perspectives and practices. What this study offers practically, as an academic endeavour of describing, analysing and conceptualizing, is a lens to (re)frame our thinking and language to intentionally design parenting support, policy and research for healthy and thriving families in today's European societies. Words shape our understandings and ways of doing in and looking at the world, ourselves and at others. Concepts guide how we relate and design. As such, the findings and conceptualizations of this study invite for what Cooper et al. (2015) have called for in education and youth work; a radical re-imagination of our social relations as parents, practitioners, community organizers, policy makers, funders and researchers to co-build heterogeneous societies of the future. What do we get to see and work with when we understand parents as learning resources and knowledgeable creators in contexts of sociocultural and socio-political encounter, confrontation and change? What do we get to see and work with when we understand people's parenting practices and perspectives as informed by their plural and contested belonging? What do we get to see and work with when we understand parenthood and citizenship as intertwined and mutually challenging and affirming? What do we get to see and work with if we understand community organizations as knowledgeable partners in policy in rapidly changing societies? And what do we get to see and work with when we understand ourselves as practitioners, policy makers and researchers as being part of negotiations over meaning in contexts of sociocultural and socio-political encounter, confrontation and transformation...?

Summary

A marking aspect of our time involves the rapid complexification of cultural encounters and social relations due to an acceleration of people's migratory trajectories over the last decades, as well as innovations in digital communications. In this accelerated interconnectivity, multiple frames of reference meet between and within people continuously. One of the domains in people's lives in which this heterogeneity meets is parenting. Parenting as a human social practice aims to socialise children into a kinship, community and the social structures of society at large, characterised by the duality of being both informed by people's cultural models as well as that transmits cultural models to subsequent generations. Literature reports how migration as a geographical relocation has profound impact on people's parental experiences and the enactment of their parenting practices, due to its impact on families' social, cultural and economic lives. Critical scholars have problematised predominant acculturation and psychological studies to study processes of migration, as they tend to focus on adaptability and parenting outcomes from a comparative and linear framework, that risks to overlook understandings from a minority standpoint as well as processes of confrontation, negotiation and creation as potential for the rise of new cultural models and practices. This raises questions concerning the way we study parenting post migration and which experiences, processes and contexts may be informative, and possibly supportive, to people's parenting post migration?

This dissertation aims to contribute to new understandings of parenting, placed in Europe's heterogeneous societies today. I engage in this endeavour by drawing upon a community-based research project with Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers participating in a bottom-up organised parenting support programme in the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Organised by and for the local Moroccan-Dutch community, the programme called Youth of Today! aimed to support people in raising teenagers in urban, heterogeneous areas post migration. I propose that exploring bottom-up organised parenting support initiatives as a social context in which people engage post migration, can contribute to understandings of processes underlying cultural contact and change in the family domain

from a non-dominant position in society. Moreover, I propose that studying the outcomes and processes of such programmes can contribute to our knowledge on their under-examined role in the professional field of parenting support, as well as that it can expand and enhance our insights concerning evaluation methods of such initiatives. The guiding research questions of this dissertation include: 1) how do people experience, perceive and practice parenting post migration? 2) which social processes underly people's experiences, perspectives and practices in relation to the social contexts in which they engage? And 3) how can we answer these questions in the context of a bottom-up parenting programme evaluation study?

In order to answer these questions, I explored conceptually how a combination of multiple theoretical perspectives enabled to address the complexities of parenting post migration, while simultaneously exploring methodologically how to generate community-based knowledge on parenting and parenting support in heterogeneous contexts in a bottom-up parenting programme evaluation study. By using a complementary conceptual approach combining sociocultural learning theory of communities of practice with conceptualizations of deterritorialised culture, multifaceted belonging and cultural transformation, parenthood, affective citizenship and minority self-determination, and understandings of social power dynamics from a contact zone perspective, I shifted my analytical lens from people's adaptability to how people experience, navigate and negotiate parenting post migration. Working from an ethnographically-inspired research design combined with pre-, in- and post-programme data collection, used instruments included structured interviews, semi-structured in-depth social network interviews and participatory observations using a nested sampling procedure with fifteen participating programme groups ($N = 115$). The analyses were characterised by an exploratory process guided by interpretative analysis methodologies, by which I moved repeatedly between research questions, analytical questions and theoretical perspectives in the analyses of parents' individual narratives and group discourses as well as encounters between researchers and parents.

The four empirical chapters that resulted, each addressed different aspects of the study by investigating respectively how the people participating in the project learned about parenting in informal and formal social contexts; how they came to new understandings of parenting in relation to cultural heterogeneity; how they experienced parenthood in relation to minority citizenship; and how the methodological principles and procedures of the community-based research project unfolded as we worked with them in practice. Taken together, this dissertation offers new understandings of parenting, parenting support and programme evaluation. In particular, it brought to the fore how cultural, political and collective learning dimensions are present in parenting post migration. In discussing its conceptual contribution, this dissertation highlights how the use of a complementary approach helped to understand post migration parenthood as a social site for learning and negotiation, by which people's connection to multiple places and communities brings forth new understandings and practices as part of the cultural and social encounters and rearrangements provoked by them. In doing so, it offers important counterweight to dominant understandings of assimilation or stagnation the field of parenting in migration.

In discussing its methodological contribution, this dissertation highlights how employing a community-based and ethnographically-inspired evaluation research design helped to explore the role of bottom-up organised parenting support programme as a semi-formal social support structure post migration in today's society. In doing so, I discuss how the analytical emphasis placed on unknown processes versus predefined outcomes and collective learning versus individual learning, as well as inclusion of social power dynamics in the collaboration between researchers and participants in a non-institutional social work setting provides an example of an alternative methodological approach in the field of parenting programme evaluation. In particular, it showed how informal interactions in people's social support network got formalised by the implementation of a bottom-up parenting support programme in people's community spaces, and functioned as a lever for adult learning and family support. It also showed how formal research principles and procedures of the community-based

research project got informalised as they were negotiated and transformed while we worked with them in practice to fit evaluation methods to bottom-up parenting support.

In discussing its practical contribution, this dissertation highlights how parents with a family history of migration find themselves in the midst of the challenges heterogeneous societies bring forth as well as that they engage in relevant and necessary practices and understandings of how parenting takes shape today. I question how we can use its insights in service of healthy and thriving families and societies, by proposing to rethink parents as creative learning resources for one another, practitioners as facilitative resources for collective exploration, community organization as necessary resource for refuge and partnership, and research collaboration as valuable resource for design transformation. The dissertation concludes as such with an invitation to re-imagine our social relations, roles and collaborations as parents, practitioners, community organizations, policy makers, funders and researchers to take care of the initiation of new generations into the social structures of Europe's heterogeneous societies today.

Uitgebreide Samenvatting in het Nederlands (Extended Summary in Dutch)

Dit proefschrift heeft als doel om bij te dragen aan nieuwe inzichten over opvoeden, geplaatst in Europa's huidige heterogene samenlevingen. Het baseert zich hiervoor op een 'community-based' onderzoeksproject met Marokkaans-Nederlandse moeders en vaders die deelnemen aan een eigenkracht programma voor opvoedingsondersteuning in Rotterdam, Nederland. Het programma, genaamd Shabab van Nu!, is oorspronkelijk georganiseerd door en voor de lokale Marokkaans-Nederlandse gemeenschap en beoogde mensen te ondersteunen bij het opvoeden van tieners in grootstedelijke, heterogene contexten na migratie. De **algemene introductie** zet uiteen hoe toegenomen migratietrajecten en digitale communicatie wereldwijd zorgt voor een heterogeniteit aan culturen, gemeenschappen en sociale verhoudingen tussen mensen in de maatschappij. Het bespreekt opvoeding als een sociale praktijk die in nauwe interactie met de sociale omgeving van mensen plaatsvindt en gevormd wordt, en in snel veranderende contexten zoals migratie onder druk komt te staan. Dit proefschrift laat zien hoe het gecombineerd gebruiken van verschillende theoretische invalshoeken en methodologische benaderingen het mogelijk maken om een breed beeld verkrijgen van opvoeden na migratie in een heterogene context. Het biedt inzicht in sociale processen die ten grondslag liggen aan de vorming van opvoedpraktijken, alsmede hoe mensen tussen verschillende socioculturele referentiekaders navigeren bij het geven van betekenis aan hun opvoeding. Het proefschrift adresseert onder meer hoe opvoeders dit doen binnen hun informele sociale netwerken, buurtlokalen, het eigenkracht programma, ten aanzien van discourses omtrent migratie en opvoeden in het publieke domein, en het onderzoeksproject zelf. Het optekenen van de ervaringen, perspectieven en sociale verhoudingen van de deelnemende ouders geven zicht op culturele transformaties in familiedomein en geeft de mogelijkheid het begrip van opvoeden als sociale menselijke praktijk alsmede hoe die door tijd en plek heen veranderd te verdiepen

Dit proefschrift is gebaseerd op een onderzoeksproject gericht op het evalueren van de sociale processen die plaatsvinden in het eigenkracht opvoedingsondersteuningsprogramma Shabab van NU

alsmede de uitkomsten ervan. Dit programma is oorspronkelijk geïnitieerd en uitgezet door stichting Attanmia vanuit de Marokkaans-Nederlandse gemeenschap in Rotterdam. Aan het onderzoek deden 86 moeders en 29 vaders verdeeld over 15 trainingsgroepen mee. Alle groepen namen deel aan gestructureerde interviews voor en na programmadeelname. Dertien moeders en tien vaders verdeeld over zes trainingsgroepen deden mee aan sociale netwerk interviews voor en na programmadeelname. Vijf trainingsgroepen waren onderdeel van etnografische casestudies waarbij gebruik werd gemaakt van participerende observaties tijdens het programma en aanverwante activiteiten. Door de uitgebreide dataset, gaf dit project de mogelijkheid om de opvoedervaringen en -perspectieven van de deelnemende ouders verder te onderzoeken in relatie tot heterogene post migratie context.

Hoofdstuk 1 bespreekt de aansluiting tussen opvoedingsondersteuning en migrantenfamilies en de potentie van eigen-kracht opvoedingsondersteuningsprogramma's die vanuit migrantenzelforganisaties worden geïnitieerd. Onderzoek laat namelijk zien dat de aansluiting tussen institutionele, 'top-down' georganiseerde programma's en families met een migratieachtergrond vaak ontoereikend is. Verklaringen hiervoor zijn taalbarrières, een gebrek aan culturele sensitiviteit in curricula en het meespelen van ongelijke machtsverhoudingen tussen professionals en families. Zelfgeorganiseerde, of eigen-kracht programma's die door migrantengemeenschappen worden geïnitieerd, kunnen door hun bekendheid met taal, culturele gebruiken en uitgangspunten binnen hun gemeenschap alsmede de maatschappelijke verhouding die zij hebben met de doelgroep in potentie directer aansluiten bij de context, behoeften van en kwesties die spelen bij migrantenfamilies. Een ander onderscheidend kenmerk van bottom-up georganiseerde programma's is het overwegend werken vanuit de ervaringen en kennis van hun deelnemers. Daarmee zijn zij in essentie meer gericht op het faciliteren van ondersteuning en kennisverwerving tussen mensen, dan op het aanleren van voorbepaalde, individuele competenties zoals vaak het geval is in institutionele hulpverlening. Met deze eigenschappen vervullen bottom-up programma's mogelijk een gat in het professionele aanbod van opvoedingsondersteuning in huidige Westerse immigratiemaatschappijen. Er is echter weinig

onderzoek gedaan naar de implementatie en uitkomsten van deze initiatieven, alsmede dat de toepasbaarheid van traditionele effectstudies om dit te onderzoeken te betwisten valt wegens het grote verschil in werkwijze en uitvoeringscontext.

Dit hoofdstuk verkent om die reden een alternatieve benadering voor het evalueren van bottom-up programma's, middels het bestuderen van sociale leerprocessen van deelnemende Marokkaans-Nederlandse ouders binnen het opvoedingsondersteuningsprogramma Shabab van NU. Het maakt hiervoor gebruik van de sociale leertheorie van Etienne Wenger, het zogenaamde 'communities of practice' perspectief. Dit perspectief beschrijft hoe een 'sociale leerruimte', of leergemeenschap, kan ontstaan in interacties tussen mensen die zich vanuit interesse bezig houden met dezelfde praktijk. Wanneer mensen bewust en actief participeren in het leren over deze gedeelde praktijk, ontstaat er een besef van collectieve betekenisgeving en kennisverwerving. Deze benadering bestudeert de vorming van praktijken en het leren daarover dus vanuit wat er ontstaat tussen mensen. Opvoeden kan worden gezien als een informele, dagelijkse praktijk die door de aanwezigheid van verschillende culturele gebruiken en uitgangspunten in de sociale context van mensen na migratie aan vanzelfsprekende betekenissen inboet. Dit brengt een proces op gang waarin mensen actief, en eventueel herhaaldelijk, opnieuw betekenis geven aan hun opvoeding.

Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat dit theoretisch perspectief bruikbaar is in het bestuderen van sociale processen die onderliggend zijn aan veranderende opvoeding na migratie, alsmede het evalueren van sociale processen die plaatsvinden binnen de context van programmaparticipatie en zelforganisatie in het domein van opvoedingsondersteuning. De analyses van de gestructureerde interviews voor en na programmadeelnemers met vijftien groepen ($N = 115$) en participerende observaties tijdens het programma als onderdeel van etnografische casestudies met vijf trainingsgroepen geven inzicht in hoe er binnen eigen-kracht opvoedingsondersteunings-programma Shabab van NU sociale leer-interacties worden gefaciliteerd tussen deelnemers rondom het opvoeden van pubers. Deelnemende ouders zetten zichzelf in als bron van kennis en ervaring en ontwikkelden

zowel individuele als collectieve aspiraties om hun opvoedingspraktijk bewust vorm te geven. Analyses van de sociale netwerk interviews ($N = 23$) geven verder inzicht in hoe er een wisselwerking ontstond tussen het (interactieve) leren binnen het programma en het bewust participeren in kennisuitwisselingen door deelnemers buiten het programma in hun informele, transnationale sociale netwerken.

Dit hoofdstuk geeft als zodanig inzicht in de aanwezigheid van collectieve leerdimensies in een eigen-kracht opvoedingsondersteuningsprogramma, welke overwegend niet wordt meegenomen in meer traditionele effectstudies. Het bespreekt het belang van het meenemen van deze dimensie in de evaluatie van gemeenschapsinitiatieven, om op die manier de meerwaarde van deze initiatieven voor het domein van opvoedingsondersteuning, en in het bijzonder in de context van migratie, in kaart te brengen als aanzet voor beleid. Het bespreekt verder hoe sociale leertheorie professionals praktisch inzetbare taal aanreikt. Door ouders te zien als potentiële leergemeenschappen in een diversiteitscontext waarin opvoedpraktijken worden afgewogen, herzien en toe besloten, kunnen professionals ter ondersteuning in een faciliterende in plaats van onderwijzende rol stappen. Als zodanig bepleit dit hoofdstuk een kanteling in ons perspectief op migrantenouders; van behoeftig in het aanleren van bepaalde kennis en vaardigheden naar het zijn van steun- en leerbronnen voor elkaar.

Hoofdstuk 2 gaat dieper in op het proces van betekenisgeving in het (her)vormen van opvoedpraktijken in een diversiteitscontext. Er is namelijk weinig bekend over hoe precies opvoedpraktijken veranderen na migratie en welke sociale processen daaraan ten grondslag liggen. Voortgaand op de sociale leertheorie van Wenger in combinatie met conceptualisering van culturele verandering in de huidige tijd vanuit migratiestudies, onderzoekt dit hoofdstuk hoe Marokkaans-Nederlandse ouders hun opvoeding vormgeven door culturele confrontaties in informele en formele sociale contexten. Door een sociaal leerperspectief te gebruiken werd duidelijk hoe opvoedvragen en kwesties ook gunstige condities kunnen vormen voor het op gang brengen van een informeel leerproces op het gebied van opvoeden. Veelal is in de literatuur het omgaan met uitdagingen in de

opvoeding bestudeerd vanuit een individueel-georiënteerd perspectief, waarbij leren begrepen wordt als iets dat plaats vindt in individuele reflecties van mensen op eigen gedachten en handelingen. Sociale netwerkstudies hebben echter laten zien dat opvoedpraktijken vorm krijgen in interacties tussen mensen. Migratiestudies daarnaast, geven inzicht in hoe we cultuur en culturele verandering in onze huidige maatschappij kunnen begrijpen. In relatie tot de toegenomen mobiliteit en digitaal contact tussen mensen, worden culturele gebruiken, uitgangspunten en identiteiten van mensen steeds minder gedefinieerd door oorspronkelijke herkomstlocaties, maar meer door wat er ontstaat in culturele ontmoetingen. Op die manier is cultuur niet een vaststaande entiteit, maar veranderlijk en dynamisch in directe relatie tot de mensen en contexten waarin het geleefd wordt.

Gebruikmakend van bovenstaande inzichten is in dit hoofdstuk gekozen voor het gebruiken van sociale netwerk interviews en etnografische casestudies. Middels discourse analyses laat dit hoofdstuk zien hoe deelnemers in contact met anderen ervaringen en perspectieven met betrekking tot culturele confrontaties in opvoeden uitwisselden, in zowel hun informele sociale netwerken als in het formele eigen-kracht opvoedingsondersteuningsprogramma. In deze uitwisselingen vonden er onderhandelingen en herinterpretaties van die betekenissen plaats, waarbij ouders de vormgeving van hun opvoeding bepaalden aan de hand van hun meervoudige en hernieuwde identiteitsbepalingen geplaatst binnen de culturele heterogeniteit van hun grootstedelijke opvoedcontext. Door de vraag te stellen hoe ouders navigeren binnen hun migratiecontext in het vormgeven van hun opvoeding en de nadruk te leggen op ervaringen en sociale interacties van ouders, laat dit hoofdstuk zien dat opvoeden na migratie geen vervanging van 'oude' door 'nieuwe' praktijken inhoudt maar dat ouderschap na migratie een sociale leerruimte opent waarbinnen (her)nieuwe identiteiten en 'geglocaliseerde' praktijken ontstaan. Als zodanig geeft dit hoofdstuk inzicht in culturele transformaties binnen het familiedomein.

Dit hoofdstuk laat zien hoe de toepassing van een sociocultureel leerperspectief in combinatie met begrip van culturele verandering onze kijk op opvoeden na migratie vernieuwt. Vanuit de

wetenschap dat onze huidige tijd gekenmerkt wordt door toenemende verbondenheid van mensen aan meerdere plekken, gemeenschappen en identiteiten, sporen de inzichten van dit hoofdstuk professionals aan om in hun ondersteuning aan ouders een perspectief van culturele verandering centraal te stellen. Binnen onderzoek en beleid ligt de nadruk overwegend op aandacht voor de ontwikkeling en het welzijn van opgroeiende kinderen. In mindere mate is er aandacht voor hoe ouders hun opvoedcontext en eigen culturele identiteiten ervaren en vormgeven in relatie tot opvoeden. Het bestudeerde opvoedingsondersteuningsprogramma kan worden gezien als voorbeeld van een intentioneel ontworpen leeromgeving ingebed in de lokale gemeenschap van ouders, waarbinnen het leren over en vormgeven van de informele opvoedpraktijk wordt geformaliseerd om collectief te leren over opvoeden. Hiermee bepleit ik in dit hoofdstuk een benadering van opvoedingsondersteuning die zich richt op leerprocessen en de 'glocale' opvoeding ondersteunt met aandacht voor die (identiteits) processen die van betekenis zijn voor ouders en kinderen.

Hoofdstuk 3 gaat voort op ervaringen van ouderschap in het vormgeven van opvoedpraktijken, met als analytische focus de ervaringen van ouders die behoren tot een minderheidsgroep in relatie tot hun maatschappelijke positie in de samenleving. Het bestudeert in het bijzonder hoe Marokkaans-Nederlandse ouders hun opvoeding, ouderschap en burgerschap ervaren en bepalen in een context van toenemende maatschappelijke spanningen rondom immigratie, internationale betrekkingen en religie. Het hoofdstuk bespreekt onderzoek dat laat zien dat Islamitische minderheden in Westerse landen in toenemende mate onder druk staan door internationale politieke gebeurtenissen, en hoe dit kan leiden tot diskwalificering van deze groep als burgers en ouders door ofwel demoniserende ofwel paternaliserende tendensen in het publieke domein. Aan de hand van kritische studies die zich verdiepen in opvoeden, ouderschap en burgerschap, bespreekt het hoofdstuk hoe de sociale praktijk van opvoeden in directe relatie staat tot ervaringen van er wel of niet 'bij horen' in de maatschappij; enerzijds in de initiëring van kinderen als nieuwe generatie burgers in de maatschappij, anderzijds in de 'maatschappelijke taak' die ouders als burger hebben om dit te volbrengen.

Dit hoofdstuk onderzoekt dit burgerschaps-aspect van opvoeden, geplaatst in een context waarin het burgerschap en de 'juiste' uitvoering van deze opvoedtaak voor ouders behorende tot minderheidsgroepen in de samenleving ter discussie staat. Aan de hand van de etnografische casestudies laat het zien hoe maatschappelijke spanningen aanwezig in het publieke domein, het familiedomein van Marokkaans-Nederlandse ouders binnen drongen en medebepalend waren in de opvoeding van hun kinderen. De analyses laten verder zien hoe ouders hun rol als opvoeder vanuit hun maatschappelijke positie ervoeren en beschouwden. In zowel persoonlijke reflecties als collectieve gesprekken in respectievelijk de individuele interviews en groepsbijeenkomsten positioneerden ouders zich in verschillende historische, religieuze, geglobaliseerde, socio-economische en migratieperspectieven op opvoeden en burgerschap, om hun opvoeding en de invulling van hun burgerschap vorm te geven in relatie tot hun huidige context. Als zodanig benadrukt dit hoofdstuk de politieke dimensie in opvoeden en ouderschap na migratie die specifiek is voor ouders behorende tot minderheidsgroepen in Europa, naast de culturele dimensie in opvoeden na migratie zoals besproken in het voorgaande hoofdstuk.

Het inzicht dat dit hoofdstuk biedt in ervaringen van ouderschap als domein voor in- en uitsluiting in de samenleving en de actieve posities die ouders hierin innemen, laat de nauwe relatie zien tussen het welzijn van families en het welzijn van de samenleving als plek waarbinnen en waartoe families kinderen opvoeden. Geplaatst binnen de context van het bottom-up opvoedingsondersteuningsprogramma, toont dit hoofdstuk verder het belang van sociale ruimtes buiten institutionele sociale infrastructuren als plek waar ouders zich kunnen uiten en hun opvoeding, ouderschap en burgerschap kritische kunnen overwegen en vormgeven in relatie tot ervaren maatschappelijke spanningen. Met deze inzichten roept dit hoofdstuk op tot inclusie van de ervaringen en perspectieven van Islamitische migrantenouders in het publieke debat rondom opvoeden, migratie en burgerschap alsmede in onderzoek, beleidsvorming en opvoedingsondersteuning.

Hoofdstuk 4 beslaat de samenwerking tussen de onderzoekers en participanten in het onderzoeksproject in retrospectief. Het gaat in op ontwikkelingen binnen 'community-based' onderzoek door de kritische vraag te stellen hoe de methodologische principes en procedures zich in de onderzoekspraktijk van een eigen-kracht opvoedingsondersteuningsprogramma-evaluatie in een post-migratiecontext ontvouwen. Het maakt gebruik van het perspectief van de contact zone van Mary Lousie Pratt en studies naar machtsverhoudingen in de onderzoekscontext om het onderzoeksproject zelf te analyseren als 'sociale ruimte waarin culturen elkaar ontmoeten en met elkaar worstelen in een context van zeer asymmetrische machtsverhoudingen' (Pratt, 1991, p.1).

De analyses omvatten methodologische reflecties op ontmoetingen tussen onderzoekers en participanten terwijl we werkten met de onderzoeksprocedures die besloten lagen in de etnografische dataverzameling van het project (geneste werving van participanten, multi-etnisch onderzoeksteam, aangepaste onderzoeksinstrumenten, klankbordgroep en participanten-feedback bijeenkomsten). De analyses laten zien hoe een constante onderhandeling plaatsvond tussen onderzoekers en participanten in de zeggenschap over toegang tot locaties, gesprekken en ervaringen. Middels deze reflecties biedt het hoofdstuk inzicht in hoe er onvoorziene en hervormende principes meespeelden in de specifieke context van het onderzoek. Het gaat verder in op de dynamiek waarin zowel onderzoekers als participanten werkten met de aanwezige machtsverhoudingen en beide momenten van zeggenschap en besluitvorming namen in het vormgeven van de procedures. Als zodanig toonde de contact zone van het onderzoeksproject zich als een provocatieve en creatieve sociale ruimte waarin samenwerking continue werd neergezet, ongedaan gemaakt en hersteld.

Door inzicht te geven in het onderzoeksproces zelf, laat dit hoofdstuk zien hoe het onderzoeksproject, net als de andere sociale contexten waarin de deelnemende Marokkaans-Nederlandse ouders zich begeven, een context is waarin ontmoetingen en interacties op het snijvlak van culturele diversiteit en sociale machtsverhoudingen plaatsvinden. Het biedt verdiepend inzicht in de opvoedings- en ouderschapservaringen van de deelnemende groep ouders alsmede in het

evalueren van sociale processen die plaatsvinden binnen de context van programmaparticipatie en zelforganisatie in het domein van opvoedingsondersteuning na migratie. Door inzichtelijk te maken hoe onderzoeksprincipes en procedures zich ontploegen, in plaats van te investeren in het voorschrijven van de 'juiste' principes en procedures, opent dit hoofdstuk de ruimte voor het aannemen van een verkennende doch anticiperende, dat wil zeggen sociaal bewuste en geïnformeerde, benadering van machtsverhoudingen in onderzoek. Het hoofdstuk bespreekt verder aanbevelingen met betrekking tot wat er nodig is om tot een dergelijke benadering te komen, om 'community-based' onderzoek beter te laten aansluiten op haar context en doelgroep.

De **algemene discussie** als afsluitend hoofdstuk neemt de vier empirische hoofdstukken tezamen in het bespreken van de conceptuele en methodologische opbrengsten van dit proefschrift. De hoofdstukken laten in het bijzonder zien hoe culturele, politieke en sociale leerdimensies aanwezig zijn in opvoeden na migratie. Middels het gebruiken van verschillende theoretische perspectieven in combinatie met elkaar, heeft dit proefschrift laten zien hoe opvoeden na migratie een onderhandelings- en leerproces op gang brengt waarbij de binding van mensen met meerdere plaatsen en gemeenschappen nieuwe inzichten en praktijken voortbrengt als onderdeel van de culturele en sociale ontmoetingen. Daarmee biedt het een belangrijk tegenwicht aan dominante opvattingen over assimilatie of stagnatie op het gebied van ouderschap bij migratie. In het bespreken van de methodologische bijdrage belicht dit proefschrift hoe het gebruik van een community-based en etnografisch geïnspireerde onderzoeksopzet heeft geholpen om de rol van een eigen-kracht opvoedingsondersteuningsprogramma te onderzoeken als een semi-formele sociale ondersteuningsstructuur in de huidige samenleving, en als zodanig 'community-based' kennis te verwerven over opvoeden en opvoedingsondersteuning in onze huidige heterogene samenleving.

In het bespreken van de praktische relevantie van dit proefschrift wordt benadrukt hoe ouders met een migratiegeschiedenis zich midden in de uitdagingen van heterogene samenlevingen bevinden en zij daardoor verwickeld zijn in relevante en noodzakelijke praktijken en perspectieven op het

vormgeven van opvoeden in de huidige maatschappij. Daarbij verken ik hoe we de inzichten van dit proefschrift kunnen gebruiken ter ondersteuning van vitale families en maatschappijen, door onze blik op ouders te kantelen tot ‘creatieve leerbronnen voor elkaar’, professionals te zien als ‘faciliterende bronnen voor collectieve verkenningen van opvoeden en ouderschap’, migrantenzelforganisaties te begrijpen als ‘noodzakelijke bron voor toevlucht en partnerschap’, en onderzoekssamenwerkingen te (h)erkennen als ‘waardevolle bron voor het transformeren van onderzoeksdesigns’. Het proefschrift besluit als zodanig met een uitnodiging om onze sociale relaties, rollen en samenwerkingen als ouders, professionals, zelforganisaties, beleidsmakers, fondsen en onderzoekers opnieuw te bezien, om nieuwe generaties gezond groot te kunnen brengen in Europa's heterogene samenlevingen van vandaag de dag.

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Appendices

A- Extensive method description of research project *Youth of Today!*

Research project *Youth of Today!* involved a ZonMw funded project (project no. 729111012; ZonMw, 2017) performed by *Utrecht University* in 2013-2017, aimed to evaluate the bottom-up parenting programme *Youth of Today!* (YoT) to further improve the programme and provide knowledge about bottom-up family support services. As researchers we have not been involved with the programme design and implementation, nor was the communities of practice perspective part of its set-up. More information about the Yo-programme and the Attanmia Foundation can be found here (in Dutch): <http://www.attanmia.nl/projecten/project-shabab-jeugd-van-nu/>.

Following our study aim we used an ethnographic-inspired research method (Crozier, 2005; Silverman, 2006), combined with a pre- and post-programme design and nested sampling procedure. Starting in November 2013, the first author has been involved with the YoT-programme organisation the Attanmia Foundation and their work through a research internship followed by the research project, building a long-term relationship with the local Moroccan-Dutch community for one-and-a-half years. She increasingly engaged in meeting places and activities of participating parents and their communities, including programme sessions, social and educational events, cultural and religious celebrations, neighbourhoods and family homes. By doing so, a rich data set of observations, pre- and post-programme interviews, ego-network data and participant-made visualised reflections on their urban parenting contexts was collected.

Recruitment and Data Collection Procedure

Twelve mother groups (nos. 1-12) and three father groups (nos. 13-15) were recruited by the Attanmia Foundation from April 2014 to June 2015. Two pilots were performed with four YoT-programme groups in order to test the research instruments and procedure. Participant feedback meetings with YoT-parents, trainers and developers were held throughout the project to discuss the fit of research instruments and procedures. We invited parents for research participation through introductory

meetings and leaflets informing them about the aim and procedure. Our independent role as differentiating from programme providers was made clear and possible issues of distrust among participants were reflected upon together with the groups. Before and after the programme additional meetings were organised to conduct data collection. All participants gave written informed consent and pseudonyms are used in this paper. Ethical approval was given by the FETC (Faculty Ethics Review Board) of *Utrecht University*. Individual pre- and post-programme structured interviews (SIs) and in-depth social network interviews (SNIs) and ethnographic case-studies of groups were conducted with three nested samples. For an overview of the research procedure, outlining samples and instruments according to moments of measurement see table 1. Interviews were held in either Dutch, Moroccan-Arabic or Tamazight by the first author, two interns and four multilingual assistants. SIs and SNIs took approximately 30 and 60 minutes respectively and were documented on paper (100%) and by audio recording (63%), in accordance with participants' preferences. Participant observations were documented by field notes. SIs were transcribed verbatim in Dutch and qualitative analysis was performed with only those 81 participants who participated in both pre- and post-programme SIs. In order to conduct in-depth analysis, we used a step-wise stratified but otherwise random sampling strategy (based on representativeness in terms of sex, YoT-programme group and educational level as compared to sample 1) until the results reached saturation. For analysis of SNIs and ethnographic data the total of transcribed audios and field notes were included.

Table 1

Overview of Research Procedure for each YoT-group

Week	Event / Measurement	Instrument	Sample
1	Introductory meeting about YoT-programme and research project	-	1, 2, 3
2	Pre-programme data collection at group meeting	Structured interview	1
2	Pre-programme data collection at individual meetings	Social network interview	2 (if applicable)
3-8	YoT-sessions & data collection	Participatory observations	3 (if applicable)
8	Post-programme data collection at group meeting	Structured interview	1
8-10	Post-programme data collection at individual meetings	Social network interview	2 (if applicable)
8-10	Post-programme data collection at individual meetings	Parenting context visualization interview	3 (if applicable)

Participants

Sample 1

Sample 1 included 115 participants, of which three quarters (74.8%; $n = 115$) were mothers, distributed over 12 programme groups (nos. 1-12). Fathers were distributed over three programme groups (nos. 13-15). Almost all participants (91.5%; $n = 111$) are married. Age and family size for sample 1 and between mothers and fathers at time of data collection can be found in table 2. The great majority of participants (91.9%; $n = 115$) is born in Morocco. Variance in country of birth is only explained by mothers' alternative countries of birth, being the Netherlands, Spain, France, Algeria, Somalia and Iraq. Three quarters of participants (74.3%; $n = 115$) migrated to the Netherlands during adulthood, respectively after the age of 16. We chose 16 years old to mark off adulthood because participants reporting to migrate between 16 and 18 years old did so for marital reasons. The remaining quarter of participants consists mostly of participants migrating during their later childhood and teenage years (23.9%). Almost all participants (95.5%; $n = 115$) reside in the same large

industrialised city in the Netherlands. Table 3 presents an overview of participants' highest level of education for sample 1 and between mothers and fathers in percentage. One fifth of participants (21.7%; $n = 106$) has been enrolled in education in multiple countries (the Netherlands, Morocco and/or other countries of birth). The majority of participants (79.1%; $n = 111$) speaks multiple languages, meaning they master Dutch and either Moroccan-Arabic, Tamazight or another Arabic dialect. The majority (87.4%) speaks Dutch, with level of Dutch mastery ranging from bad/moderate (20%) to average (23.8%) and good/excellent (55%; as assessed by participants on a 5-point Likert scale during the research procedure). Mastery of Moroccan-Arabic is reported by 86.4% of the participants and mastery of Tamazight by 58.2%. Almost one third (27.5%; $n = 115$) of participants is employed, with fathers more often reporting to be employed compared to mothers $\chi^2(2) = 29.63, p < .001$. This may be explained by perceptions of explicitly divided gender roles within the family, which are reported to be characteristic for this sociocultural group (Van Praag, 2006). Over half of the unemployed parents, mothers as well as fathers, are involved in voluntary work. Examples of voluntary work as reported by participants are regular participation in children's school, coordination of social activities and language and religious classes at migrant organisations and mosques, and involvement in social services. Half of participants has previous experience with other parenting programmes (mostly offered at their children's school), with more mothers (43%; $N = 81$) than fathers (8%; $N = 81$).

Table 2

Overview of Gge and Family Size for the Total Sample and Between Mothers and Fathers

	Total sample ($n = 115$)		Mothers ($n = 86$)		Fathers ($n = 27$)	
	Min.-max.	Mean (SD)	Min.-max.	Mean (SD)	Min.-max.	Mean (SD)
Age	30-65	45 (6)	30-55	43 (6)	35-65	49 (7)
Family size	1-8	3.8 (1.4)	1-8	3.9 (1.3)	2-8	3.7 (1.6)

Table 3

Overview of Highest Level of Education of the Participants per Country for the Total Sample and Between Mothers and Fathers in Percentage

	Total sample (n = 115)	Mothers (n = 86)	Fathers (n = 27)
No education at all	15.7	19.8	3.4
Type of education in Morocco:			
- Primary education	23.6	28.1	12
- College	20.2	20.3	20
- Lycée	12.4	14.1	8
- Vocational training	4.5	1.6	12
- Ecole supérieure	2.2	1.6	2
- University	15.7	6.3	40
Type of education in the Netherlands:			
- Primary education	1.9	1.3	3.8
- High school	10.4	12.5	3.8
- Vocational training	14.2	15	11.5
- Higher education	8.5	2.5	26.9
- University	1.9	-	7.7

Sample 2

Nested sample 2 included 23 participants, spread over four mother groups (nos. 8 & 10-12) and two father groups (nos. 14-15). In order to gather a substantial dataset of in-depth material about fathers' parenting experiences, equal numbers of mothers ($N = 13$) and fathers ($N = 10$) was strived for, while aiming for similar variation in other background characteristics as compared to sample 1. All participants in sample 2 report to speak Dutch, which is a significantly higher rate compared to sample 1 $\chi^2(1) = 4.2, p < .05$. Moreover, sample 2 also includes more participants reporting to be employed $\chi^2(2) = 8.2, p < .05$. This can be explained by the gender distribution being more equal in sample 2 compared to sample 1.

Sample 3

Nested sample 3 consisted of four mother groups (nos. 1, 2, 11 & 12) and one father group (no. 14), located in two neighbourhood centres, two migrant organisations and a mosque spread over four neighbourhoods. Aiming to sample groups representing the variety of sample 1, group location, gender and practical possibilities served as main selection criteria for sample 3. Groups were purposively selected with location, gender and practical possibilities as our selection criteria to represent the variety found in sample 1. The higher prevalence of mother groups for the ethnographic case-studies reflects the prominent recruitment of mothers by the Attanmia Foundation.

Research Instruments

Structured Interviews

Pre- and post-programme SIs were designed and conducted to collect participants self-reports about their experience of themselves as a parent, their beliefs and evaluations concerning their own parenting role, intentions and behaviour. This reflexive dimension of parenting experience is differentiated from parenting behaviour (Grusec et al., 1997), which is not object of study in this research. It entails parents' reflections on their thinking and experiences as a parent, giving space to the sociocultural frame of reference of participants themselves. Personal data was asked pre-programme concerning parents' gender, age, place of birth and residence, migration age, marital status, family size, education, language mastery, occupation, prior experience with parenting programmes and permission for optional inclusion in sample 2. Pre-programme SIs include questions to address parents' experienced parenting competence and social support, such as 'Do you experience parenting as difficult?', 'What makes you feel like a good parent?' and 'What do you do when you experience a parenting problem?', 'Who supports you in parenting?', amongst others. Post-programme SIs repeat these questions and includes extra questions to evaluate any changes in experienced parenting competence and parents' YoT-programme experience, such as 'Do you think you have changed as a parent since our first interview?' and 'What do you think was good and less

good about the YoT programme?'. Moreover, pre- and post-programme SIs included questions from the intake and debriefing instrument used by the Attanmia Foundation, such as 'How did you know about the YoT programme?' and 'Did you tell anyone about your participation in the YoT programme?'.

In-Depth Social Network Interviews

Pre- and post-programme in-depth social network interviews (SNIs) were designed and conducted to collect participants self-reports about their parenting concepts, social learning experiences and programme experience and evaluation, as well as ego-network data. Pre-programme SNIs consist of three parts. The first part is concerned with topics about participants' parenting concepts and their urban parenting context, such as 'the meaning of parenting', 'changes in parenting', and 'experience of parenting in current living environment'. The second part includes an ego-network instrument, gathering contacts perceived as significant by participants for support and learning about parenting, their background characteristics and mutual relations. The third part covers topics concerning parents' social learning processes, such as 'the role of mentioned contacts for parenting support and learning about parenting', 'parenting support and knowledge exchange', and 'other resources for parenting support and learning'. Post-programme SNIs repeat these three parts and additionally asks about perceived changes. Moreover, it includes a fourth part concerned with participants' YoT-programme experience and effective factors of the YoT-programme. Topics include 'the meaning and importance of programme participation for parenting and learning', 'programme accessibility', 'the role of the trainer, other participants, discussed themes and exercises', and 'the continuation of parenting support and learning after programme participation'.

Micro-Ethnographies

Micro-ethnographies firstly include participatory observations at YoT-programme sessions, with peer-to-peer learning interactions between parents, programme enactment by trainers and group dynamics revolving around meaning making and identity as main interests. A topic list was made and used, including 'support exchange between participants', 'knowledge exchange between

participants', 'learning experience narratives', 'support exchange between trainer and participants', 'knowledge exchange between trainer and participants', 'references to identity', 'trainer advice', 'programme activities', and 'routines and rituals'. Additionally, ethnographic field notes were collected in-vivo at interviews and at other social and educational meetings, cultural and religious celebrations, neighbourhoods and family homes for which researchers were invited by participants. At last, Parenting Context Visualization Interviews were conducted, including participant made drawings of their urban and virtual parenting environment combined with an interview about this context in relation to their parenting concepts, social network use and learning experiences related to parenting.

Reflections on Biases and Researcher-Participant Relationships

As a result of the pilots and participant feedback meetings, a modification was made to the procedure, involving inclusion of an introductory meeting with each YoT-group prior to their research and YoT-programme participation. Extra meetings were held to introduce the research aims and procedure to parents and to discuss and reflect upon current political discourses and potential issues of distrust. The latter was done because participants can be understood to be a disempowered group within Dutch society, due to their socioeconomic status intersecting with current ethnic tensions nationally and internationally (Hermans, 2004). Reflecting on issues of power and possible bias we are aware that differences in background characteristics of research team members as compared to participants inevitably entered the researcher-participant relationship (Crozier, 2003; Van den Berg, 2007).

However, our effort to address power issues through introductory meetings and working with a heterogeneous research team, including interviewers who are familiar with the Moroccan-Dutch community through their own family history, reflects our aim to work culturally sensitive. Moreover, building on our previous work with the Moroccan-Dutch community (for example De Haan, 2011), this was further elaborated by adjusting instruments such to limit normative notions about child care and

parenting in the way they were designed and providing participants the option to speak their mother tongue during data collection.

We believe that our efforts to start a dialogue on issues of distrust with YoT-programme groups enabled us to create a collaborative effort with the participants, as is also reflected by the collected data including participants' expressions of worries, fears and doubts concerning issues of marginalisation and ethnic tensions. Simultaneously, we have the impression that not all participants wanted to share negative experiences concerning discrimination and ethnic stereotyping of themselves or their family members. A reflection on this assumption with the YoT-trainers and other researchers concluded that reasons of shame or fear to reinforce stigma may have limited participants to share this with us. At last, we believe that the selection of participants may be biased in such a way that it does not include those YoT-participants who did not feel comfortable enough to speak to us, leaving out their narratives.

B- Analytical Framework of Chapter 3

The following questions of analyses were used to analyse the data and answer the research questions.

Constructs used in the questions refer to definitions as presented in the theoretical framework of the article.

Questions of analyses:

- How does the data reflect participants' experiences and negotiations with regard to parenting, parenthood and citizenship in relation to socio-political tensions in their parenting context? What do they experience as a parent and citizen and how do they experience their parenthood and citizenship as such? How do they position themselves in this respect as parent and citizen and what do they do as such?
- What does the data show about how these experiences and negotiations relate to each other? What are the overlaps or areas of tension in the relationship between parenting, parenthood and citizenship experiences and negotiations?
- What variation does the data show with regard to participants' parenting, parenthood and citizenship experiences and negotiations?

Check with each data excerpt how it reflects the following constructs:

- parenting *for* belonging
- parenting *as* belonging
- public domain as space in which social structures and parents place in them manifest themselves
- negotiation at boundaries of legal, socioeconomic and ethnocultural status
- civic engagement
- affective citizenship
- parental accountability
- socio-political implications

C- Original Dutch Data Excerpts and English Translations of Chapter 3

Mother Hajar (35, married with 3 children and living in the Netherlands for 27 years; group 2):

De eerste twee dagen, lag bij mij in bed, en toen zei ze van: "Als we weg moeten, mag we onze spullen meenemen?" Zeg: "Lieve schat, dat is niet waar wat je hoort. We gaan nergens naar toe". Maar geloof mij niet he? "Zeg mama, zeg nou: waar, mogen we onze spullen meenemen?" (...) zij geloofde de media maar geloofde mij niet. Zeg: "Ik wil gewoon weten dat ik mij spullen mee mag nemen". Zeg: "Nou schat, als het zo ver is mag je zeker je spullen meenemen. Maar dat gebeurt niet". Maar ze zat er een week mee, die angst. "Moeten we weg? Waarom moeten we weg, we weten niet wanneer... Hoe gaan we..." zulke dingen. Ze heeft wel angst gehad.	The first two days [daughter] lay in bed with me and she said like: "If we have to go, are we allowed to bring our things?" [I] said: "Honey, that is not true what you hear. We are not going anywhere". But [she] doesn't believe me, right? "Tell mum, tell me, may we bring our things?" (...) She believed the media but didn't believe me. [She] says: "I just want to know if I may take my stuff". [I] said: "Well honey, if time comes you may certainly take your stuff. But it is not going to happen." But she has been bothered with it for a week, that fear. "Do we have to go? Why do we have to go, we don't know when... How do we go..." Such things. She has been scared yeah.
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Father Fadi, (49, married with four children and in the Netherlands for 28 years; group 14):

We zijn ook bang voor onze kinderen. We voeden ze goed op en ze voelen Nederlands, maar politiek houdt groepen apart. Wat doet dat met onze kinderen? Ik wil aan Nederland teruggeven met een goed kind.	We are afraid of our children, too. We raise them well and they feel Dutch, but politics keep groups separated. What does that do to our children? I want to give back to the Netherlands with a good child.
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Mother Zubaidah (45, married with three children and living in the Netherlands for 20 years; group):

Kijk.. dat is ons tweede land. Jij wilt goeie, gewoon, jij bent een goede moeder, je wilt ook een goede voorbeeld geven hier. Dus je moet door jouw kinderen laten zien je bent een goede een goede mens enzo. En jouw kinderen gaan op een verkeerde pad. (...) Dat voel je ook niet goed. (...) Misschien zeggen ze: "Oh de moeder is ook slecht of die ouders zijn slecht, daarom die zoon...". Dat wil ik, willen wij niet horen, dat willen wij niet voelen. (...) Ja, ik ben een goede moeder, ik wil ook een goede kinderen, voor ook voor deze land.	Look, [this] is our second country. You just want good, you are a good mother, you want to give a good example here also. So, through your children you must show that you are a good person and so on. And your children going down a wrong path (...). That also doesn't feel good to you. Maybe they say: "Oh, the mother is also bad or those parents are bad, that's why the son..." I don't want, we don't want to hear that, we don't want to feel that. (...) Yes, I am a good mother, I also want good children, also for this country.
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Parenting programme meeting of group 12:

<p>Een moeder zegt dat ze heel erg tegen deze filmpjes is. Ze vertelt in het Marokkaans-Arabisch over een andere keer waar ze soortgelijke filmpjes zag. [Een andere moeder] zegt: "Dit filmpje gaat over de eerste en tweede generatie. Dit gebeurt niet meer". [Een derde moeder] zegt: "Maar het bestaat wel". De trainster legt uit dat dit filmpje niet betekent dat dit alleen voorkomt bij Marokkanen. De [groeps]coördinatrice antwoordt daarop dat deze cursus specifiek voor Marokkanen is. [De derde moeder] zegt dat het heel beperkt is dat dit voorkomt, wat er in het filmpje gebeurt. [Een andere moeder] zegt: "Niet alle Marokkanen zijn slecht!". Er ontstaat een discussie in de groep over het beeld dat bestaat over Marokkanen."</p>	<p>One mother says she's very much against these clips. In Moroccan-Arabic she talks about another time she saw similar clips. [Another mother] says: "This clip is about the first and second generation. This doesn't happen anymore". [A third mother] says: 'But it does exist'. The trainer explains that this clip does not imply that this only occurs among Moroccans. The [group] coordinator replies that this is a course for Moroccans specifically. [The third mother] says that what happens in the clip occurs very rarely. [Another mother] says: "Not all Moroccans are bad!". A discussion rises in the group about the image that exists of Moroccans."</p>
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Father Amrou (48, married with three children and living in the Netherlands for 21 years; group 14):

<p>Amrou beaamt dat het een moeilijke tijd is voor moslims. Daarbij zegt hij direct dat het wel erger is geweest en dat het juist een religieuze taak is om geduld te hebben als moslim en de tijd te ondergaan. Geduld hebben betekent volgens hem ook dat moslims niets hoeven te ondernemen om de tijd en maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen te beïnvloeden. Het ondergaan en leven als goede moslims is wat hem en andere moslims te doen staat.</p>	<p>Amrou agrees it's a difficult time for Muslims. He immediately adds that it has been worse and that it is in fact a religious task to have patience as a Muslim and endure the time. According to him patience also means that Muslims don't have to take any action to influence the time era and social developments. Undergoing it and living as good Muslims is what he and other Muslims ought to do.</p>
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Mother Meisanne (39) married with 3 children and living in the Netherlands for 23 years; group 1):

<p>Ik zeg van te voren dat dingen gaan gebeuren. Mijn zoon is op een Nederlandse school en voelt zich goed. Ik zeg tegen mijn kinderen: "Hoe kan jij negatieve dingen verwijderen? Met taal, met studie, met gedrag? Laat maar zien aan iemand. Geef iemand het gevoel, wij zijn niet zo".</p>	<p>I say in advance things will happen. My son goes to a Dutch school and feels good. I tell my children: "How can you eliminate negative things? By language, by studies, by behaviour? Go ahead and show to someone else. Give someone the feeling, we aren't like that".</p>
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Parenting programme meeting of group 11:

<p>Trainer: "Als onze jongeren pubers worden, gaan ze hier tussen schipperen. Ben ik Marokkaan? Of Nederlander?" (...) Een ouder [vraagt]: "Maar hoe moeten we het dan doen?" De trainster zegt: "Uitleggen hoe het in elkaar steekt. Voor hen zijn beide beelden ideaalbeelden. Leg je kinderen uit hoe het zit, als je op vakantie bent [in Marokko]. Verwijs naar de Koran." Een andere moeder vult aan: "Leer ze hier aanpassen en daar aanpassen. Dan kun je je altijd aanpassen." De trainster antwoordt: "Het is onze verplichting om onze kinderen niet als Nederlander of Marokkaan op te voeden, maar als wereldburgers. Ze moeten overal in kunnen passen; als hun normen en waarden goed zijn".</p>	<p>Trainer: "When our youngsters become teenagers, they will navigate between the two. Am I Moroccan? Or Dutch?" (...) A parent [asks]: "But how should we do it?" The trainer says: "Explain how it is. For them, both are ideals. Explain to your children how it is, when you are on holiday [in Morocco]. Refer to the Qur'an." Another mother adds: 'Teach them to adjust here and there. So you're always able to adjust.' The trainer replies: "It is our duty to not raise our children as Dutch or Moroccan, but as world citizens instead. They should be able to fit in anywhere; if their norms and values are right".</p>
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It's been a decade for this work to take shape, grow, stutter, stagnate, shine through the cracks and get back on stage. A decade filled with lots of people joining me parts or full length of the way. This is a love letter to my own social network, to the contact zones I navigate and in which I find and redefine home again and again. A rich well that's alive and kicking and of which I can only be so glad to be a part. Grote Dank aan...

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En nu, zin in nieuw avontuur, laten we dansen!

Biography

Spark van Beurden was born on July 23rd in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, where she went to a Montessori primary school and completed her secondary school (HAVO). In 2008 she started studying Pedagogics at Hogeschool Rotterdam. There her teacher Jean-Marie Molina set her on the academic path and she continued to study Pedagogical Sciences at Utrecht University in the Netherlands in 2009, combined with a minor in International Migration and Ethnic Relations at Malmö University in Sweden in 2011. She followed her interest in family and migration studies by obtaining the master Youth, Education and Society (Maatschappelijke Opvoedvraagstukken) at Utrecht University in 2014. There she discovered her love for research as a means to engage in conversations about how we can design for and evaluate social and educational infrastructures for family support and youth's wellbeing in today's societies. After her masters, she started collaborating as a junior researcher at Utrecht University on the Youth of Today! (Shabab van Nu!; YoT) project and a supporting staff member in the internationalisation of the master programs in the pedagogical department. From 2017 onwards she continued on the YoT research project as a PhD student to deepen understandings of parenting support and program evaluation of civic self-organizing efforts that take place outside of, or on the edges of institutional infrastructures in society. During her PhD trajectory, she coordinated the UU-based special research interest groups 'Social & Cultural Issues' and 'Qualitative Data Sessions', founded the interdisciplinary PhD writing peer support group 'Agraphia' and went on a scholarly visit to prof. Gill Crozier and her research group at Roehampton University in London, the United Kingdom. As part of the YoT project she co-authored several peer-reviewed academic publications, a booklet and poster for parents, professionals and policy makers and collaborated with other research projects on bottom-up youth interventions on the creation of an online and off-line tool for policy makers, professionals and clients to open up conversations about the meanings, needs, expectations and limitations of empowerment as part of social work (part of an initiative of funder ZonMw and the Verwey-Jonkerinstituut).

Next to her PhD trajectory, Spark further explored collaborations between families, professionals and researchers in family support and education with an independent action research-based project, 'Het Beschermjassenhuis', in 2017-2018. In this project she explored how a bottom-up learning community for empowerment and collective healing is formed among families and professionals within institutionalized social services through the implementation of the work model 'Het Beschermjassenhuis'. This study has served as input for the book 'Beschermjassen in de praktijk'. Since 2020 Spark also works as a lecturer in teacher training for primary education (PABO) at Thomas More Hogeschool in Rotterdam, where she coordinates the minor Inclusive and Special Education (Passend Onderwijs) and coaches students in phenomenological and action research in which teachers' own actions and relationships with their pupils are at the core of their study.

Over the years Spark has been involved in diverse networks within the social and educational field, including initiatives by social organizations that aim to facilitate bottom-up youth and family initiatives and bridge mismatches between families and institutions (including Home-Start, Stichting BMP, Stichting Attanmia, Bureau Beschermjassen). Spark has presented her work at multiple conferences of the European Association for Research on Learning and Instruction and the European Research Network About Parents in Education, and was a recipient of the award for outstanding PhD Presentation at the 2017 conference of the International Society for Cultural-Historical Activity Research. She also has been an editorial member of the Dutch professional journal 'De Pedagoog', took part in the advisory board of the project 'Family Portraits' of dance company Don't Hit Mama and is an active peer reviewer for the international scientific journals Learning, Culture and Social Interaction and Child & Family Social work. Certified as a transcultural trainer she facilitates workshops, master classes and training programs for students and professionals on transcultural work, (young) leadership and engaged citizenship in collaboration with co-trainer Beylula Yosef. As part of her academic and professional work Spark came to explore her own family and sociocultural heritage, leading to reflexive accounts in writings, presentations and teaching as well as personal projects such as the collection of family stories as an oral history project. She hopes to continue learning together

with students and colleagues about how to be better teachers, trainers and researchers to facilitate transcultural and collective learning spaces in which friction, negotiation, social healing and collaboration can take place.

Publications

Peer Reviewed Articles

van Beurden, S. L. & de Haan, M. (2019). How do Moroccan-Dutch parents (re)construct their parenting practices? Post-migration parenthood as a social site for learning and identity. *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction*, 21, 1-9. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1016/j.lcsi.2018.12.003>

van Beurden, S. L. & De Haan, M. (2020). 'I want good children, also for this country'. How Dutch minority Muslim parents experience and negotiate parenting, parenthood and citizenship. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 41(5), 574-590.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2020.1806805>

van Beurden, S. L., de Haan, M. & Jongmans, M. J. (2018). How Moroccan-Dutch parents learn in communities of practice: Evaluating a bottom-up parenting programme. *Child & Family Social Work*, 24(2), 283-291. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12613>

Submitted articles

van Beurden, S. L. & de Haan, M. (submitted). Research Collaboration in the Contact Zone: Methodological Reflections on a Bottom-up Parenting Program Evaluation Study.

Reports

de Haan, M. & van Beurden, S.L. (2017). *Effectief werken in de jeugdsector - Shabab van Nu* [Effective work in Youth support – Youth of Today]. ZONMW / Universiteit Utrecht, A final report of the ZonMW funded part of the SvN project: <https://www.zonmw.nl/nl/onderzoek-resultaten/jeugd/programmas/project-detail/effectief-werken-in-de-jeugdsector/shabab-van-nu/>.

Popular output

van Beurden, S.L., de Haan, M.J., Salhi, Abdelkader & Koutet, Mohamed Adel (2017). *Opvoeders van Shabab van Nu* [Parents of Youth of Today]. (48 p.). Utrecht University, Booklet.

van Beurden, S.L., de Haan, M.J., Salhi, Abdelkader & Koutet, Mohamed Adel (2017). *Opvoeders van Shabab van Nu* [Parents of Youth of Today]. Poster.

Research shows how migration has a profound impact on people's parenting experiences and practices, as it disrupts and rearranges social contexts, cultural frames of reference and access to socioeconomic status and resources. Next to the challenges this brings forth, studies report how people's connection to multiple places and communities simultaneously provokes new perspectives and practices. Understanding the complexities and potentials of parenting post migration is important, because as a socializing practice of future generations it is closely interrelated with the functioning and well-being of families and today's rapidly changing societies. **Post Migration Parenthood as Social Site for Learning and Negotiation** aims to contribute to new understandings of parenting by investigating parenting from the experiences and perspectives of people participating in a bottom-up organised parenting support programme post migration. Drawing upon a community-based parenting programme evaluation study with fifteen groups of Moroccan-Dutch mothers and fathers in the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands, this dissertation explores how people experience, perceive and practice parenting post migration, which social processes underly their experiences, perspectives and practices in relation to the social contexts in which they engage, and how we can answer these questions in the context of a bottom-up parenting programme evaluation study.

By drawing upon multiple perspectives and methodologies – ranging from sociocultural learning theory, migration studies and critical parenthood and citizenship studies to pre- and post-programme structured interviews, in-depth social network interviews and micro-ethnographies - this dissertation offers unique insights. The analyses illustrate respectively how the programme studied provided a social space in which parents used themselves as resources to learn collectively about parenting; how they navigated and negotiated multiple cultural frameworks as part of their post migration context to re-interpret meanings of parenting practices; how they experienced and negotiated parenting, parenthood and citizenship as Muslim minority parents in a context of increasing socio-political tensions; and, at last, how the study itself showed as both a provocative and creative social site in which collaboration between participants and researchers was established, de-established and re-established continuously.

Taken together, **Post Migration Parenthood as Social Site for Learning and Negotiation** highlights how exploring bottom-up organised parenting support initiatives as a social context in which people engage post migration, can contribute to understandings of social processes underlying cultural contact and change in the family domain from a non-dominant position in society. Moreover, it shows how studying the outcomes and processes of such programmes can contribute to our knowledge on their under-examined role in the professional field of parenting support, as well as that it expands and enhances our insights concerning evaluation methods of such initiatives. Concluding, it discusses how we can translate the findings to practice in service of healthy and thriving families and societies, by rethinking parents as creative learning resources for one another, practitioners as facilitators of collective exploration, community organisations as resources for refuge and partnership, and research collaboration as resource for design negotiation.

Spark van Beurden studied Family and Migration studies at Utrecht University and Malmö University. She conducted her PhD research at Utrecht University.