ATTACHMENT iN INTERACTION

A conversation analytic study on dinner conversations with adolescents in family-style group care

Ellen Schep

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Attachment in interaction: a conversation analytic study on dinner conversations with adolescents in family-style group care

Out-of-home placed children or adolescents can be placed in family-style group care, a promising alternative youth care setting. It provides children and Professional Foster Parents (PFPs) with the opportunity to create a continuous relationship. This relationship, in turn, is an important factor in building and maintaining attachment. Scientific literature shows that sensitivity and responsivity are crucial interactional elements for building and maintaining an attachment relationship, but little knowledge is available on how those concepts are displayed in mundane interactions. Therefore this dissertation studies dinner conversations between experienced PFPs and adolescents in family-style group care to find out how sensitivity and responsivity unfold in these conversations. The data consist of 300 hours of video-recordings coming from six family-style group care settings. The method of Conversation Analysis was used to analyse the conversations in detail. On the basis of four studies a better understanding is gained into how the dyadic concepts sensitivity and responsivity are displayed in daily interactions between PFPs and adolescents in family-style group care. The analysis of these specific phenomena disclose the PFP-adolescent interaction from different perspectives: the verbal and non-verbal actions of both PFPs and adolescents and how PFPs and adolescents align. In short, this dissertation provides a detailed analysis of interaction and improves the understanding of the dyadic concepts sensitivity and responsivity. It reveals that adolescents are active participants in interactions and shows that PFPs are inventive in their conversations with the adolescents.

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Stellingen behorend bij het proefschrift:

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1. Hoewel de ervaring van hechting een individuele interne aangelegenheid is, kan het alleen maar ontstaan en bestaan door interactie met anderen (dit proefschrift).

2. Als opvoeders goed leren luisteren naar adolescenten, leren ze ook om goed op hen te reageren (dit proefschrift).

3. Elke keuken in een gezinshuis moet een keukentafel hebben, zodat de gezinshuisouder tijdens het koken in gesprek kan zijn met een kind (dit proefschrift).

4. In een veilige gezinshuisomgeving delen jongeren wel uit zichzelf wat ze bezig houdt (dit proefschrift).

5. Sensitiviteit en responsiviteit voltrekken zich in kleine verbale en non-verbale uitingen die mensen onbewust al toepassen (dit proefschrift).

6. Het is niet erg als opvoeders niet sensitief zijn in een gesprek, als ze dit maar verbaal of non-verbaal compenseren (dit proefschrift).

7. Het is onmogelijk om 24 uur per dag, 7 dagen in de week een professionele opvoeder te zijn, daarom moeten gezinshuisouders hierin ondersteund worden (dit proefschrift).

8. Van een adolescent vragen om te reflecteren tijdens een conflict, is naar het onmogelijke vragen (dit proefschrift).

9. Een moeilijk kind is een kind dat, om wat voor reden dan ook, een buitengewoon appèl doet op de verantwoordelijkheid, de zorgzaamheid (en be-zorgdheid) en de liefde van ouders of opvoeders (Jaap Lodewijks – Wachten op Zach).

10. Kwetsbaarheid is de geboorteplaats van innovatie, creativiteit en verandering (Brené Brown).

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university of
groningen

faculty of arts
CLCG

GRODIL

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Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
op gezag van de
rector magnificus prof. dr. C. Wijmenga
en volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties.

De openbare verdediging zal plaatsvinden op

donderdag 5 november 2020 om 11.00 uur

door

Henrika Heleen Schep

geboren op 2 maart 1987
te Bedum
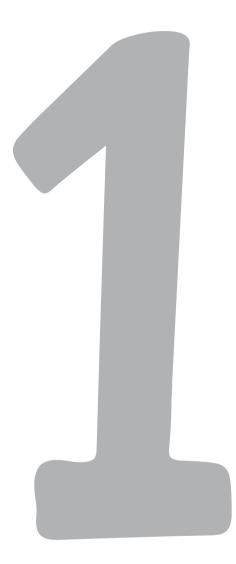
Promotor
  Prof. dr. A.J. Koole

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  Dr. M. Noordegraaf

Beoordelingscommissie
  Prof. dr. C.M. de Glopper
  Prof. dr. H.F.M. te Molder
  Prof. dr. F. Juffer

PhD Thesis Table of contents

1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

Recent decades have seen growing attention for a stable and future-proof parenting environment for children and adolescents who can no longer live with their biological family. Different studies associate lack of continuity in care or frequent change in caretakers with higher levels of adult psychopathology (Harden, 2004; Juffer, 2010; Van Oijen & Strijker, 2010). In the Netherlands, three forms of youth care are distinguished for children and adolescents who are forced to grow up in a care setting: residential care, foster care and family-style group care. Since 2015, Dutch youth legislation has included 'amendment 80', requiring municipalities to seek a foster family or family-style group care as an alternative home for children who need to grow up outside their own families. Children may only be placed in residential group care when there are compelling reasons to do so (Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport & Ministry of Security and Justice, 2014). Family-style group care is a rapidly emerging family-like care setting (Wunderink, 2019). In family-style group care, one of the Professional Foster Parents (PFPs) is available full-time, and receives a salary from a youth care organisation or works as an independent caregiver (Bartelink, 2013). In essence, a family home constitutes a promising alternative placement for children (Gardeniers & De Vries, 2012b; Schoenmaker, Juffer, van IJzendoorn, Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2014). Due to the availability of the PFPs and the professional care they provide, children can experience a stable and professional placement and as such have the possibility to build an attachment relationship for a prolonged period of time.

In 2018, 3113 children in the Netherlands were placed in family-style group care. That represents an increase of 22.6 percent over 2016. The total number of such family-style group care settings in the Netherlands is 937 (Wunderink, 2019). Children and adolescents in family-style group care are characterized by difficult backgrounds and problematic behaviours (Leloux-Opmeer, Kuiper, Swaab, & Scholte, 2016; 2017). In 2011, Meeuwissen carried out an investigation based on questionnaires completed by 154 PFPs in the Netherlands. These parents reported three main factors of success for family-home care: 1) children can be part of 'normal' family life, 2) the setting provides continuity and 3) ensures safety and protection (Meeuwissen, 2011, p.27). Unfortunately, the second factor, continuity, is not always achieved, as many placements end prematurely during adolescence (Gardeniers & De Vries, 2012b).

At the start of this PhD research in 2014, our research group was working on a subsidised, applied research project on the raising of adolescents within family-style group care ('Professioneel Ouderschap in Gezinshuizen[1]' [Professional Parenting in

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1   The project was subsidised by the Taskforce for Applied Research, part of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO)

Family-Style Group Care], November 2012 - June 2015). In the context of that research project, focus group interviews were held with 33 PFPs on (difficult) experiences with adolescents in their family-style group care. During these interviews, attachment and attachment problems were frequently discussed. The findings revealed that these PFPs had considerable knowledge of and experience with the theme of 'attachment'. At the same time, many questions arose, mostly relating to the practical application of their knowledge. PFPs found it difficult to manage the (attachment) relationship with adolescents in their family home (Van de Koot & Schep, 2014). In addition to the interviews, we recorded dinner-time conversations in six family-style group care households with experienced PFPs. These dinner-time conversations have also been used for the present study.

Why is it so difficult to form an attachment relationship with an out-of-home placed adolescent? And what factors influence the success of such a relationship? Research findings on attachment show that attachment is not a fixed subject, but can change over time (IJzendoorn, 2010; Juffer, 2010; Schoenmaker et al., 2014). However, for attachment to change in a positive direction, it is important for children or adolescents to have a continuous relationship with a parent/caretaker. The interaction must be of good quality, meaning that the parent/adult needs to be sensitive and responsive in their relationship with the child (Bowlby, 1969; Van IJzendoorn, 2010). Parental *sensitivity* is the ability to accurately perceive and interpret the child's signals and to respond (*responsivity*) to these signals in an adequate and prompt way (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). Therefore, the video-recorded interaction between experienced PFPs and the adolescents in their care (as used in the present study) affords a unique learning opportunity.

With this research we have tried to collect knowledge that will, in the long term, help to protect the permanency of the placement of adolescents in family-style group care. Our assumption is that improving the sensitivity and responsiveness of the PFP towards adolescents (for younger children, see Bakermans-Kranenburg, Van IJzendoorn & Juffer, 2003) with complex behaviour will have a positive effect on the permanency of their placement in family-style group care. Constructing an attachment relationship with disturbed out-of-home placed adolescents is something that PFPs find difficult, and (applied) research studies on this topic are therefore an opportunity for growth in professionalism. The challenge is to engage in interaction with these adolescents, with receptivity for the adolescent and understanding of their disturbed behaviour, which is also called 'pedagogical sensitivity' (Mark & Mulderij, 2008). This sensitivity is the

main prerequisite for the development of an attachment relationship (Van der Bergh & Weterings, 2007).

Although attachment is an internal state of mind, an attachment relationship is achieved and maintained through interaction. In interaction, participants observe each other's actions, feelings and values, and show how they understand each other (Heritage, 1997; Schegloff, 2007). Since the sensitivity and responsivity of parents are considered basic elements for building and maintaining an attachment relationship (Ainsworth, et al., 1978; Bakermans-Kranenburg et al., 2003; Bowlby, 1969, De Wolff & Van IJzendoorn, 1997), it is important to study the actual display of these elements in interaction. According to Mark and Mulderij (2008), pedagogical sensitivity is visible in the responsiveness of a caretaker, displayed in "eye-contact, talking, silence, posture, (…) and being an example" (Manen, 1991, p. 173) [Translation]. Biringen, Robinson and Emde (2000), who developed the Emotional Availability Scales for young children, interpret sensitivity as: "the parent's ability to be responsive, (…) affectively connected, awareness of timing and variety and creativity in play (p.257)". The display of attachment in the interaction between PFPs and adolescents is a less explored field. With this research, we aim to make a start in gaining greater insight into the way the dyadic concepts of sensitivity and responsiveness are displayed in the daily interaction between PFPs and adolescents in family-style group care.

Central research questions:

This thesis will address the following central question:
How are sensitivity and responsivity displayed and maintained in the interaction between Professional Foster Parents and adolescents during dinner-time conversations in family-style group care?
To answer this central research question, the four sub-studies treat four different sub-questions (Chapter 3-6):
1. How do adolescents initiate a telling, and how do Professional Foster Parents show sensitivity and responsivity in their responses?
2. How are sensitivity and responsivity visible in the telling invitations of Professional Foster Parents towards adolescents?
3. How are sensitivity and responsivity on the part of Professional Foster Parents visible in combining the activities of having dinner and doing listening?
4. How do Professional Foster Parents initiate behavioural corrections towards adolescents?

What is family-style group care?

In this context, family-style group care constitutes a form of residential care. Various names are used for this type of family-like care (in Dutch: 'gezinshuizen'): treatment foster-care, specialized foster care, SOS children's villages, family homes, family treatment homes and family-style-group care (Farmer, Wagner, Burns, & Richards, 2003, Harder et al., 2013, Lee & Thomson, 2008; Leloux-Opmeer et al., 2016; 2017; Nijnatten & Noordegraaf, 2016). For this thesis, we have adopted the term 'family-style group care', in line with several studies from the Netherlands (e.g. Leloux-Opmeer et al., 2016; 2017; Noordegraaf & Van Nijnatten, 2020). In 2019, various parties involved in the area of family-style group care or in research on this field came together to create a document establishing all the quality criteria required for family-style group care. They agreed on a jointly formulated definition: a 'family-style group care' is a small-scale family-like youth care setting where PFPs provide around-the-clock support and care for children and adolescents who need their help for a shorter or longer period of time. Due to complex problems and/or damaging experiences, these minors need intensive and professional care (Kwaliteitscriteria gezinshuizen, 2019) [Quality criteria for family-style group care]. Given their troubled past, combined with behavioural problems, they require intensive accompaniment and supervision, and are eligible for residential care (De Baat & Berg-le Clercq, 2013; Van der Steege, 2012). This intensive care is provided by one of the PFPs, who works as a youth care worker in the family-style group care and is always available. This parent's position is a full-time, paid position. In most cases, the partners of the PFPs work elsewhere, but are in their spare time also available for the children and act as second caregivers. Family-style group care consists of the parents, usually their biological children, and on average four out-of-home placed children. The main goal of family-style group care is to give children the care they need in a family-like setting (De Baat & Berg-le Clercq, 2013).

Characteristics of children placed in family-style group care

In 2018, 3113 children were placed in a family home. Statistics show that the average age of children entering such family-style group care is higher than it is for children entering foster families (Gardeniers & De Vries, 2012b; Van der Steege, 2012; Lee & Thomson, 2008). Research by Leloux-Opmeer et al. (2017) on characteristics of children and adolescents within three types of residential care (i.e., residential group care, foster families and family-style group care) in the Netherlands shows specific characteristics of children in family-style group care. These children have more often had previous placements in residential settings compared to foster children or children in residential care. Only a small number of children placed in a family-style group care came there straight from their biological family. The vast majority (94%) came from another

residential setting. In 2012(a), Gardeniers and De Vries adduced similar numbers: half of the children (48%) proceeded to a family home from residential care. In addition, two-thirds of all children in family-style group care were under surveillance from child protection services (Leloux-Opmeer et al., 2017; Gardeniers & De Vries, 2012a; Lee & Thompson, 2008; Van der Steege, 2012). They exhibit more behavioural problems than children placed in treatment foster care (Lee & Thompson, 2008), and more than one-third suffer from cognitive problems (Van der Steege, 2012). Children in family-style group care were reported to have the highest level of attachment-related problems, the most reported problem behaviour and were most often victims of sexual abuse (Leloux-Opmeer et al., 2016; 2017) or of physical or emotional abuse (Van der Steege, 2012, Lee & Thompson, 2008). Parental mental illness and substance abuse have also been reported for children placed in family-style group care (Hospes, Schep, & Noordegraaf, 2019; Lee & Thompson, 2008; Van der Steege, 2012).

Breakdown in family-style group care
As stated in the introduction, although one of the main goals of family-style group care is to provide continuity, this is not always achieved, as many placements end in a breakdown (Meeuwissen, 2011; Kwaliteitscriteria gezinshuizen, 2019 [Quality criteria for family-style group care]). Different studies vary in what they mean by a 'breakdown'. In this study, we understand 'breakdown' to refer to placements that end prematurely and in an unplanned manner (in line with the definition of Konijn et al., 2019).

Studies on breakdown in family-style group care showing numbers and reasons for breakdowns are scant. Considerably more research has been conducted on breakdown in foster care. For this reason, we will combine findings from both family-style group care and foster care. In foster care in the Netherlands, breakdown percentages vary from 44% (Strijker & Zandberg, 2004) to 50% of all placements (Sallnäs, Vinnerljung & Kyhle Westermark, 2004; Van Ooijen, 2010). Approximately half of the breakdowns concern the placement of an adolescent (Farmer, Moyers & Libscome, 2004; Leathers, 2006; Sallnäs et al., 2004; Van Ooijen, 2010). Only a few unspecified numbers relating to breakdown in family-style group care area is available. In 2013, Gardeniers found that 65% of PFPs have experienced a breakdown in their family home. In 2011, the duration of placement in family-style group care was approximately 2.7 years (Meeuwissen, 2011). According to Gardeniers and De Vries (2012b), breakdowns in family-style group care are particularly prevalent during adolescence. These studies use different research methods, however, making comparison difficult. Nonetheless, it is quite clear that many placements end prematurely and in an unplanned manner, especially during adolescence.

Reasons for breakdown

Although breakdowns in adolescence occur in residential care, foster care and family-style group care (Leloux-Opmeer et al., 2017), children in family-style group care are characterized by higher levels of problem behaviour than children in foster care (Meeuwissen, 2011, Leloux-Opmeer et al., 2016; 2017). Thus, the risk for a breakdown accumulates (Sallnäs et al., 2004). Although the majority of research has been conducted on reasons for breakdown in foster care, the findings are also generally applicable to family-style group care, as both involve family-like settings. According to several (international) studies, the main reasons for breakdown are:

- Disagreements between biological parents and foster parents (Vanderfaeillie et al., 2018)
- Difficulties associated with the biological children of the foster family (Oosterman, Schuengel, Slot, Bullens, & Doreleijers, 2007).
- Prior child abuse (James, 2004; Strijker & Knorth, 2009).
- The number of placements: the more the movements, the greater the chance of breakdown (Barber & Delfabbro, 2002; Van Ooijen, 2010; Van den Bergh & Weterings 2010; Klomp, 2012; Meeuwissen, 2011; Vanderfaeillie & Van Holen, 2010; Van Oijen & Strijker, 2010.
- (External) behavioural problems (Barber, Delfabbro, & Cooper, 2001; James, 2004; Sallnäs et al., 2004; Vanderfaeillie & Van Holen, 2010; Van Ooijen, 2010).
- Child age: the older the child, the greater the chance of breakdown (Barth et al., 2007; Strijker, Knorth & Knot-Dickscheit, 2008; Vanderfaeillie & Van Holen, 2010; Van Oijen & Strijker, 2010; Ward, 2009).
- Dissatisfaction of foster parents with the foster care system (Abrahamse, Gardeniers & Werner, 2019).

Consequences of breakdown

In addition, there is a correlation between different factors (Sallnäs et al., 2004). The reasons for breakdown, as listed above, are in turn often also consequences of breakdown. Children who have moved from place to place frequently have difficulties with attachment (Sroufe, 1990), and are more likely to develop externalizing and psychological problem behaviour (Newton, Litrownik, & Landsverk, 2000; Sallnäs et al., 2004; Vanderfaeillie & Van Holen, 2010). Moreover, in the case of older children or adolescents, it becomes increasingly difficult for them to start new attachment relationships (Vanderfaeillie et al., 2018; Van Ooijen 2010).

1.5 Attachment

In our study, we focus on PFP-adolescent relationships and on how attachment is displayed in their daily interaction. However, before we address important aspects of the interaction between adolescents and PFPs and the relationship with attachment, we will first offer a broad description of the origins and further development of the theory on attachment.

The early years and development of attachment theory

The attachment theory was developed by John Bowlby (1907-1990), later in collaboration with Mary Ainsworth (1913-1999). Bowlby was educated in medicine, psychiatry and psychoanalysis. During his study of psychoanalysis, he became convinced of the importance of family experiences and family interactions. In his first empirical study based on 44 cases, he linked parenting problems of mothers to their own childhood experiences of 'maternal deprivation and separation' (Bowlby, 1940). Bowlby's conviction was that if children can grow up mentally healthy, they experience a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with their mother (or mother-substitute) to the satisfaction and pleasure of them both (Bowlby, 1951).

Ainsworth, who worked together with Bowlby from 1949 to 1954, further developed the theory of attachment, and the concept of maternal sensitivity in particular. In her 'Uganda Study' (1967), Ainsworth identified four key dimensions of maternal care: sensitivity-insensitivity, cooperation-interference, acceptance-rejection and accessibility-ignoring/neglecting. According to Ainsworth and Bell (1969, p.160), "it seems quite clear that the mother's contribution to the interaction and the baby's contributions are caught up in an interacting spiral". After a long period of fieldwork, Ainsworth, Bell and Stayton (1971) published the Strange Situation Procedure (SSP), a short observational procedure for observing mother-child separations and reunions with one-year-old children.

In his second paper (Separations, 1973), Bowlby presented the concept of 'internal working models'. With an internal working model he aimed to describe the way one feels about oneself, as a result of experiences in the past. According to Bowlby, the nature of the relationship between a child and his attachment figure is crucial for the development of the child. When children have experienced a secure attachment relationship, they feel deeply that the caregiver is available for them and confident in their interactions with their (broader) environment. This set of feelings is called *mental representation*. Mental representation is determining for how a person interprets interactions with people around him or her (Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985).

Adolescence and attachment

Even though attachment is much more linked to infancy, Bowlby initially already argued for the importance of attachment *from the cradle to the grave* (Bowlby, 1969/1982). According to Allen (2008), the manifestation of attachment plays a different role in infancy compared to adolescence. In infancy, the attachment system becomes active when a child is distressed. When children experience distress, they will physically turn to their attachment figure. Adolescents experience fewer situations of distress, and when they do, they do not need their attachment figures physically at that moment, but do need them in general to regulate their emotions (Allen, Hauser, Bell, & O'Connor, 1994; Allen & Manning, 2007). The attachment relationship between adolescents and parents is, according to Allen & Land (1999), "a strong relationship with parents that nevertheless permits and encourages adolescents' strivings for cognitive and emotional autonomy"(Allen & Land, 1999) – in other words, normal, healthy attachment relationships between adolescents and parents. In the present study, the adolescents have troubled backgrounds and sometimes cannot handle such autonomy in healthy ways.

Attachment with non-biological caregivers

Children who grow up outside their family of origin have to form new relationships with their non-biological caregivers. They have often experienced considerable problems in the past and consequently have difficulties in forming new relationships. Studies on children under the age of twelve in foster care show that these children push their foster parents away and show emotionally dysregulated and disorganized behaviour (Stovall & Dozier, 2000). This may lead foster parents to conclude that the child does not want or is unable to receive their care (Dozier, Stovall, Albus & Bates, 2001) However, research on family-based care has shown that sensitivity and responsivity from the caregiver predict attachment security (Ahnert, Pinquart, & Lamb, 2006; Schoenmaker et al., 2014). The process of forming a new relationship between children and their non-biological parents is dependent, more so than in normal relationships, on the quality of the caregiving by the adult due to the child's difficult relational experiences (Howes & Spieker, 2008).

Attachment, sensitivity and responsivity

Parental sensitivity and responsivity continue to be important during adolescence (Allen, 2008). An attachment relationship is often conceptualised as a psychological phenomenon and is studied by the use of interview methods or observations in a laboratory setting. One of the instruments developed to assess the mental representation of adolescents or adults is the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI; developed by George, Kaplan & Main between 1985 and 1996). This is a semi-

structured interview with the aim of exploring someone's childhood experiences and understanding the effects on their personality development; it was later also made available for interviewing adolescents and children. However, in order to know how to act as a professional caregiver in daily interactions, it is important to have a better understanding of the display of (elements of) attachment. In this study, we will analyse sensitivity and responsivity as interactional processes of attachment. This is in line with the origins of attachment theory, based as it was on observations of parent-child conduct (Ainsworth et al. 1978; Bowlby, 1988). Therefore, for this study we have chosen to use Conversation Analysis (CA), a method for studying interactional processes (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013). CA is therefore an appropriate method to analyse what it means to act sensitively and responsively.

Topic and outline of the thesis
According to the existing scholarly literature, sensitivity and responsivity are basic elements required to build and maintain an attachment relationship. A relationship of good quality means that the parent needs to be sensitive and responsive in their relationship (Van IJzendoorn, 2010). This thesis is concerned with interactions between experienced PFPs and adolescents. The PFPs were selected for their experience and successful care. Accordingly, we were interested in the way sensitivity and responsivity are displayed in their daily interaction. The specific interactional phenomena analysed arose from the data itself. Watching the videos, we examined several frequently occurring types of interaction between PFPs and adolescents.

The first analytic study examines how adolescents invite themselves to tell something. This analysis provided the opportunity to examine how adolescents initiate a telling and attract the attention of the PFP, and how PFPs respond to these tellings. The analysis shows that adolescents use various practices to select themselves to tell something and to attract and hold the attention of their PFPs. We also describe how adolescents, in a subtle way, show their parents how they need to respond.

The second analytic study illustrates these interactions the other way around, analysing the telling invitations which PFPs make towards the adolescents. It reports on the different ways PFPs invite adolescents to tell something, and how they show sensitivity and responsivity in their invitations as well as in their response to the tellings.

In light of the data used in this thesis (dinner conversations), study three addresses the role of the 'activity of having dinner' in the interactions between PFPs and adolescents. We illustrate how PFPs subtly show that they are still listening to the adolescent, while simultaneously engaging in another dinner related activity.

The last study is on interactions involving a disagreement between parent and adolescent. PFPs need to find the right balance in providing sufficient proximity,

maintaining control and remaining at a distance (Kerr & Stattin, 2000), which they find difficult (Van de Koot & Schep, 2014). For this reason, the last study concerns correction initiations performed by PFPs towards adolescents. These practices vary in degree, ranging from a relatively strong claim to correct the behaviour to a less strong claim.

The present thesis contains a total of seven chapters: 1) the current chapter, which is the general introduction, 2) a description of the research methods, 3-6) four analytic chapters, as outlined above and displayed in table 1 and 7) the general conclusion and discussion.

Table 1: *Overview of the four analytic studies*

Sub-question	Study	Chapter
1. How do adolescents initiate a telling and how do Professional Foster Parents show sensitivity and responsivity in their responses?	Analysis of 133 fragments of telling initiations of adolescents directed to their PFPs.	3
2. How are sensitivity and responsivity visible in the telling invitations of Professional Foster Parents towards adolescents?	Analysis of the different ways PFPs invite adolescents to tell something, and how they show sensitivity and responsivity in their invitations and in their response to the tellings.	4
3. How are the sensitivity and responsivity of Professional Foster Parents visible in combining the activities of having dinner and doing listening?	Analysis of the way PFPs combine different activities: dinner related activities and listening.	5
4. How do Professional Foster Parents initiate behavioural corrections towards adolescents?	A description of how PFPs use a variety of practices to initiate behavioural correction of the adolescents.	6

2

RESEARCH METHODS

The aim of this study is to analyse how sensitivity and responsivity are displayed in the interaction between PFPs and out-of-home placed adolescents in family-style group care. The data and methodology used in this research are outlined below.

Conversation Analysis – interactional processes

Conversation Analysis, the study of *talk-in-interaction*, was developed in the 1960s and 1970s by Harvey Sacks, in association with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. Conversation analysts try to examine and describe how participants use talk in a systematic way to produce recognizable actions (Jol, 2020). CA focusses on turns and sequences in interaction on the premise that conversation takes place turn by turn. Turns are single utterances of speakers, and sequences are a combination of related turns. In each subsequent turn, participants show each other how they understood the prior turn (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2007). Analysis of data using CA is based on verbal and non-verbal practices of participants, which are also observable for the researcher (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Koole, 2015). Therefore, in CA, researchers make use of video or audio recordings to observe all the details of conversations. The video data used in this study has enabled us to study both verbal and non-verbal behaviour, and thus to examine how the participants act sensitively and responsively.

Studies on parent–adolescent interaction

Since the 1960s and 1970s, the body of knowledge on interaction between people has grown steadily (Antaki, 2011). Researchers therefore started to gain knowledge about how this exchange works within specific disciplines, like institutional interaction in health care. The term 'institutional interaction' refers to the specific possibilities and restrictions of the interaction and the goal of the conversation (Drew & Heritage, 1992). For example, studies have been conducted on psychotherapist-patient interaction (e.g. Peräkylä, 2004) and doctor-patient interactions (e.g. Robinson, 2003). This thesis is concerned with PFP-adolescent interactions in family-style group care. The group care takes place in a hybrid setting, where professional care is provided in a family-like environment. There is some research available on parent-child or family interactions in general (Filipi, 2009; Goodwin, 2007; Keel, 2016, Hepburn & Potter, 2011; Potter & Hepburn, 2020; Arcidiacono & Pontecorvo, 2009). To our knowledge, only a few international papers exist on PFP-adolescent interaction. These papers illustrate how PFPs shape their educational role in interaction with adolescents (Van Nijnatten, Matarese, & Noordegraaf, 2017; Van Nijnatten & Noordegraaf, 2016; Van Nijnatten, &

Noordegraaf, 2016b; Noordegraaf, Van Nijnatten & Luursema, 2019). In this thesis, we examine how sensitivity and responsivity are displayed in the interaction between PFPs and adolescents, a subject which to date has been left unexplored.

Dinner conversations

This study involves the analysis of dinner-time conversations. Dinner conversations within families have often been studied due to all the different (interactional) elements that accompany the sharing of a meal (Dickstein, 2002; Fiese, Foley & Spagnola, 2006; Laurier & Wiggins, 2011; Wiggins and Hepburn, 2007; Hepburn & Potter, 2011; Potter & Hepburn, 2020; Blum-Kulka, 2009; Mondada, 2009; Arcidiacono & Pontecorvo, 2009). Studies within the field of *talk-in-interaction* focus on dinner conversations as (social) events (Mondada, 2009, p. 2)
–"that are interactionally organized in specific and systematic ways, sensitive to their local context,
– in which talk plays a significant role,
– through which 'being a family' and being together are achieved,
– in which norms, values, and evaluations, are acquired, negotiated, and discussed,
– in which relationships with food are expressed through a variety of actions, both discursive (talking about food, requesting dishes, assessing them, etc.) and embodied (eating, tasting…),
– in which taste is constructed as a collective experience".

The family mealtime is an event during which it is possible to videotape all (mostly the same) family members at the same time, in the same place (Blum-Kulka, 1997; Dickstein, 2002). There is a replicability in the activity of having dinner: during family dinners, one can see how the family is accustomed to have dinner together (Blum-Kulka, 1997). Therefore, the mealtime gives a representation of patterns of social interaction within the family (Fiese, Foley & Spagnola, 2006).

Although the recording of mealtimes has many advantages, we do realize that it does not capture all possible interactions between PFPs and adolescent within family-style group care. For example, it does not offer a view of interactions that take place before or after the three hours of video recordings every day, or of one-on-one conversations that occur during the day or in other rooms of the house. As such, these recordings only allow us to observe interactions during dinner and to make conclusions about these specific interactions.

As we describe in chapter 5, during mealtimes participants do not only engage in interactions or just eat dinner (Goodwin, 1984; Ochs, Smith, & Taylor, 1989). Mealtimes are occasions at which different processes are simultaneously going on. Our goal was to analyse the conversation between adolescents and the PFPs. During dinner, PFP and adolescents are engaged in several activities at the same time. Therefore, chapter 5 focusses on the aspect of multiactivity.

Dinner conversations have the characteristics of both informal mundane conversations and institutional interactions, since PFPs are professional caretakers, but the children are at the same time given shelter in a family-like setting (Schep, Koole, & Noordegraaf, 2016).

Data collection

The data used in this study consists of 300 hours of video-recorded dinner conversations in family-style group care. In collaboration with two youth care organisations, we selected six families for video recording. The selection took place on the basis of several criteria: 1) at least one of the children in the family-style group care had to be an adolescent; 2) the PFPs in the family needed to have had at least one successful placement (i.e., an adolescent who left the house at the age of eighteen or older); and 3) the PFPs needed to hold a bachelor's degree or higher. Five families decided to participate after they were asked and informed by one of the collaborating youth care organisations. One family requested further information before deciding whether or not to participate. After having spoken with one of the researchers, this family decided to be involved as well. Before the start of the recordings, an informed consent was signed by all families, biological parents and child protection guardians, and by the adolescents themselves.

The six family-style group care settings were located throughout the country. Although this was not a selection criterion, all families lived in a rural area. All family-style group care settings had multiple out-of-home placed adolescents. All PFPs were heterosexual couples, making the research group rather homogeneous. Although the majority of PFPs in the Netherlands are heterogeneous couples, there are also households that are run by homosexual couples or single parents. Five of the six couples had biological children, some of whom already live on their own. Every family-style group care setting involved two to five adolescents. Appendix A contains a description of each family, which has been kept brief for privacy reasons.

In every household, the cameras ran for three weeks from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. during the period from October 2013 to March 2014. A tripod was installed in the dining room or kitchen to ensure that the recordings were made from the same angle every

day (see figure 1 for an illustration of a typical dinner setting). Prior to the recording period, a researcher and a colleague with technical skills visited the household to give an extended explanation of camera use (Canon Legria HF G25). With this explanation and a detailed manual, the recordings could be made without interference from any of the researchers. Every evening, the family transferred the video footage from the camera to a hard disk to have enough space to make new recordings the next day. After three weeks, the cameras and hard disks with all the recordings were retrieved by the researcher. After the recording period, every family received a reimbursement of €500.

Figure 1. Illustration of the dinner table and camera position

Apart from the advantages of the use of video recordings (of dinner conversations), there are also some disadvantages. Dinner conversations are mostly multiparty interactions and often consist of different parallel interactions. This makes the transcription of the interactions much more complex. For maximal understanding, high-quality headphones were used to listen to the recordings, making it possible to distinguish between the various voices. To enlarge the ecological validity, and in view of social desirability, different aspects were taken into account. The recordings were made during a three-week period, thereby increasing the chance that the participants would become used to the camera and act normally. Mealtimes are eminently suited to the collection of naturally occurring data, in a natural and recurring context that does not have to be set up by researchers (Mondada, 2009). During the recording period, the camera and recordings decreasingly constituted the topic of conversation. The recordings in all families were conducted at the same time of day, during the evening dinner. Therefore, the recorded moments were largely comparable situations.

Analysis

In analysing the data, we went back and forth between looking at the data and studying relevant literature. Within CA, data is always the starting point of the analysis (Ten Have, 1999). To allow for the study of every detail of the interactions, the conversations used for the different sub-studies were transcribed in detail according to the transcription conventions of Jefferson (Jefferson, 2004); in Study 3, these were complemented with the conventions for non-verbal behaviour according to Mondada (2011). All names were changed to ensure anonymity. The actual conversations described in this thesis have been translated by a native English speaker to reflect the real meaning of the participants as closely as possible.

Building the collections.

This thesis consists of four sub-studies. In all studies, the same procedure was executed. Table 2 gives a short overview of the different steps taken to conduct each stand-alone analysis in this thesis.

Each sub-study is based on a collection of the same phenomenon or type of interactions. The collections vary in size from 32 to 133, depending on how often the phenomenon occurred. Once the building of the collection was started, a selection was made of instances in which a specific phenomenon or type of interaction occurs in the video recordings. Then the collection was further analysed to explore different sub-patterns. After this step, the collection was expanded until saturation was reached. During this procedure, different steps and individual fragments were discussed with the co-authors and in data-sessions with other CA-researchers, to strengthen the inter-rater reliability. In all studies, we were interested in both verbal and non-verbal behaviour. However, Study 3 (chapter 5) is dedicated specifically to the combination of verbal and non-verbal behaviour.

Table 1: *Overview of the analytic steps taken to conduct the analysis in this thesis.*

Analysis	Action	Result
Step 1: Exploring the data	<u>Watching video data:</u> recordings of 2 days (3 hours per day) for every family-style group were viewed, and all types of interactions were categorized.	List of interactions between PFPs and adolescents.
Step 2: Categorizing	<u>Grouping interactions:</u> the interactions were categorized in relation to the main research question.	List of categories of types of interactions, including the frequency of moments at which that type of interaction occurs.
Step 3 Defining the category	<u>Determining a category for further analysis:</u> the category that was taken as a starting point for further analysis was defined.	
Step 4 Analysing	<u>Selecting and transcribing the first 15 examples of one phenomenon:</u> the process of analysis was started by the selection of 15 fragments of one phenomenon to see how these interactions take place and if there were patterns to discover. <u>Studying the literature:</u> to understand the interactions and to revisit the categories where necessary.	A selection of 15 fragments for a category, and a first description of the subcategories and patterns, related to the literature.
Step 5 Elaborating and validating the category and subcategories	<u>Elaborating the collection:</u> in addition to the 15 initiations, other examples of the phenomenon were added to the collection to refine the category or until saturation was reached. <u>Studying the literature:</u> to understand the interactions and to revisit where necessary.	A list of all examples, divided into different sub-categories, related to the literature.

2

3

GETTING, RECEIVING AND HOLDING ATTENTION

How adolescents' telling initiations work

out in interaction with Professional Foster

Parents in family style group care.

Abstract

This paper examines various ways in which adolescents during dinner table settings gain attention to start a telling varying from just a comment to storytelling. The settings are in family-style group care where Professional Foster Parents (PFPs) run a household consisting of their biological children combined with a number of children and adolescents who are placed in that household for several years. Affective interaction between adolescents and their PFPs is important for the development of these youths. The method of Conversation
Analysis has been used to analyse video data of dinner conversations in six households. These home situations were recorded by having cameras run every day from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. over a period of three weeks. The telling initiations of the adolescents include verbal and embodied practices such as eye-gaze and body-movement in order to start a telling. The different kinds of initiations seem to produce different kinds of sequential responses from the professional
parents. The analysis of the telling initiations by adolescents and the room they are given for these tellings is a contribution to the still limited knowledge about building and maintaining affective relationships between PFPs and adolescents in family-style group care.

Keywords: Family-style group care, Adolescents, Professional Foster Parents, Telling initiations, Affective relationship

Introduction

At the dinner table of a multimember family, it can be a challenge to gain the attention from addressees when you want to tell something. What activities does a speaker do to start a telling and how does he ensure himself of being heard?

In this study, we analyse video data from dinner conversations in family-style group care where out-of-home placed adolescents and Professional Foster Parents (PFPs) live together. We are particularly interested in the way the adolescents select themselves to take a turn and start a telling. In a conversation the alignment between speaker and recipient is important to construct and conduct the conversation, but in these parent-child exchanges is also important in the light of having and building a parenting and affective relationship.

The excerpt below gives an insight into the topic we will examine in this study. It shows a girl aged sixteen initiating a telling about her day at school by self-selecting. Prior to this initiation the PFP is preparing dinner in the kitchen, and the girl is sitting at the kitchen table using her mobile phone. The PFF is not in sight of the camera. Karolien tells about her gym class today and while doing that she walks to the kitchen, to the PFP who is preparing dinner (line 5).

Excerpt 1
Family-style group care 1: 11-07-2013, 3:15.50- 17.56
KAR = Karolien, 16-year-old, WIL = William, 10-year-old, PFF = Professional Foster Father

```
 1   KAR   we hadden vandaag echt een leuke gymles
             we had such a nice gym class today
 2   WIL   ik ook we [gingen rugbyen
             me too we played rugby
 3   PFF            [wat heb je gedaan
                     what did you do
 4   KAR   je moest in drie groepen laat maar zeggen
             you had to go in three groups let's say
           daar zat je dan steeds mee
           there you were with the whole time
           en op een gegeven moment werden die uh drie groepen uh
           and on one moment uh the three groups where uh
           twee laat maar zeggen
           let's say two
           maar we gingen dan uhm
```

```
        then we went uhm
  5     ((meanwhile, Karolien stands up and walks to the
        kitchen where the PFF is preparing dinner))
```

In this interaction, Karolien (16) initiates a telling by saying: '*we had such a nice gym class today'.* Immediately following this topic nomination, her brother (10) takes the turn to introduce a related topic: '*me too we played rugby*'. The PFF ignores the boy and asks Karolien a question and thereby invites her to tell more. The father could also have responded to the boy, but he chooses to respond to Karolien's telling initiative.

Although it has been established that sensitivity and responsivity, the possibility to perceive and respond to the child's signals, are the basic conditions for achieving an affective relationship between children and (professional) parents, little attention has been paid to how this is done in day-to-day interactions (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978; Mark & Mulderij, 2008). What we do know from an interactional perspective is that a telling initiative starts a sequence and needs a confirmation from the recipient for the interactional project to be successful (Schegloff, 1968, 2007). From a relational perspective however, taking the initiative to do a telling is also taking a risk of being rejected or not heard. Getting confirmation from a recipient is therefore both from an interactional and from a relational perspective the preferred response. Hence, in order to analyze sensitivity and responsivity from a recipient to a speaker who initiates a telling (in our data how a PFPs respond to a telling initiated by an adolescent), we argue that interactions need to be studied both in their interactional and relational aspects.

In this paper, we first present a review of pedagogical and conversation analytical literature to show the different aspects of telling initiations by adolescents in daily interactions with their PFPs. The following aspects are discussed: family-style group care, sensitiveness and responsiveness, telling initiations and dinner conversations. After this review, we will present our methodology and results and at the end we come to conclusions and will reflect on methodological issues.

Family-style group care

A family-style group care is a household for children who for various reasons cannot live in their own biological family anymore. Children placed in family-group care are characterized by having problematic behaviour and mostly also problems in their biological family. Because of a troubled past and behavioural problems, they need intensive accompaniment and supervision and are eligible for residential care (de Baat & Berg-le Clercq, 2013; van der Steege, 2012).

One of the PFPs works as a health care worker in his own home and is therefore always available. This parent is paid for this full-time position. The partner is in most cases someone who works elsewhere, but in his/her free time s/he is also available for the children and the second caregiver. A family-style group care is a small scale out-of-home-placement. The family consist of the parents, mostly their biological children and around four out-of-home placed children. The main goal of a family-style group care is to give children the care they need in a family-like setting (de Baat, de & Berg-le Clercq, 2013).

Children who are placed in family-style group care were forced to leave their biological families and were often moved from one place to another (Sarti & Neijboer, 2011). Therefore the affective relationships with their own parents and other adults they have met in different places are disconnected or partly disconnected and, because of that, often problematic. Stability in the family-style group care they are placed in, gives them a chance to reconnect with one or more adults and to become attached.

Attachment: sensitiveness and responsiveness

Since Bowlby (1907-1990) has focussed on the importance of the emotional relationship between children and their mother during childhood, much research has been done in the field of attachment. Attachment is a congenital need for affection with and protection from a maternal person in their direct environment, mostly a parent or another close person (Juffer, 2010). It was Bowlby who started to pay attention to the affective relationship between children and their mother and the consequence of this relationship to later development (Bretherton, 1992). Later, the attention is widened to the relationship of children and adults and also the possibilities for treating disorganized attachment (Bowlby, 1988).

At first, researchers were convinced it was only possible for children in their first six years to build an affective relationship with an adult but after years of research there is agreement that there can be corrective experiences after the age of six. This has also produced a new perspective on the care of children who experience problems with attachment. Because of the out-of-home-placement and the several movements the children often have been through, it is more difficult for these children to gives themselves to a new relationship (Juffer, 2010). Yet, an affective relationship is a basic need for children to develop in a healthy way.

Juffer (2010) and van IJzendoorn (2010) highlighted the basic conditions for children to be able to take advantage of corrective experiences. They stressed the importance of the ability of a PFP to be sensitive and responsive and secondly the importance of a continuing relationship between child and parent. '*Pedagogic sensitivity becomes visible*

in the responsiveness of the caretaker, e.g. eye gaze, speaking, silence, attitude (...) and in being an example' (Manen, 1991, p.31).

Although sensitivity and responsivity have been called crucial as a basic condition for (re-)attachment, and responsivity has observable features in interaction, we do not know what these interactions look like in the interaction between PFPs and adolescents in family-style group care. We argue that micro-analyses of sensitivity and responsivity *in action* will help to learn more about building and maintaining affective relationships. In this chapter, we therefore analyze telling initiations of adolescents and the responses of PFPs in conversational detail, using the method of conversation analysis. Examples of such analyses are discussed below.

Dinner conversations

In this study, we use data from recorded dinner conversations in family-style group care. Within the Conversational Analytical literature, this is called 'natural occurring interactions': interactions that occur routinely in specific setting and without interference of a researcher (Mondada, 2006). Dinner conversations are, according to Mondada's overview of research (Mondada 2009, p4): "1) social events that are interactionally organized in specific and systematic ways, sensitive to their local context; 2) in which talk plays a significant role; 3) Through which 'doing being a family' and being together are achieved, 4) in which relations are expressed through a variety of actions, both discursive (talking about food, requesting dishes, assessing them, etc.) and embodied (eating, tasting…)". Dinner conversations in family-style group care are, according to PFPs, moment of eating, talking, arguing and seeing each other as family members (Van de Koot & Schep, 2014).

Telling initiations

Conversation analysis has studied telling initiatives as either topic initiatives (Button & Casey, 1985, 1988), or story prefaces (Sacks, 1974, 1978). Button and Casey (1985) described two sequence types used for topic nomination: news enquiries and news announcements. Both types are used by participants to start an isolated topic(s), without a connection to the previous topic or a continuation of the previous topic.

Participants in multi-party conversation can get a turn by either other-selection - a turn can be given by someone else for example by asking a question - or by self-selection - the action of starting a telling without being invited to do so (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). In case there are more recipients every participant has the possibility to take the turn, but the first one to do so will be the next speaker. The action of

taking a turn to tell something involves the use of a variety of semiotic systems to not only present the topic as a tellable, but also to recruit one of more co-participants as addressees of the telling.

There are different ways in which a speaker can clarify who he is addressing as recipient for his utterance. A speaker can call the name of the recipient to let him know he will be the addressee. Also, gaze direction can also be used to address a recipient. In using gaze as a way to address a next speaker it is important that the recipient responds to the gaze by gazing back to show his understanding that he will be the addressee (Lerner, 2003).

When tellers start to tell a story, tellers use different verbal and embodied practises to show their stance towards the telling. By doing this, tellers shape the response of the recipient. An expected response helps a teller in progress of the telling (Stivers, 2008).

We propose to describe the different patterns formed by telling initiations from adolescents and responses thereon of PFPs, to gain insight into the variety and functions of different

Methodology

This study focusses on telling initiations of adolescents during and around dinner. The method of Conversational Analyses (CA) was used to analyse this specific activity. This method provides tools for analysing every detail of a conversation (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013). In CA it is common to use (video) recordings from interactions in natural settings. Video recorded data gives the opportunity to analyse participants' verbal and embodied practises within a conversation. Findings in the analysis are illustrated by transcriptions of conversations from the videos that show these conclusions in order to increase the reliability of the analysis. The recorded dinner conversations have characteristics both of everyday and of institutional interaction. Family-style group care settings are meant to be professional out-of-home-placements, coached by a youth care organisation, and are at the same time as close to a 'normal family' as possible.

The six family-style group care settings were selected according to several criteria. They needed to have one or more adolescents placed in their home, accomplished one successful placement (an adolescent left the home when he or she was 18-year-old) and a higher education level (bachelor-degree). The families were proposed by the staff of two youth care organisations. In these six households, cameras ran every day from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. over a period of three weeks. A tripod was placed at the same place in the dining room for three weeks to ensure the same camera position every day. This resulted in 300 hours of video data. The videos recordings were all made without interference from researchers.

The analyses consisted of different steps. It started from the perspective of the data. The videos were watched from the viewpoint of the displayed attachment in daily interactions. After watching 12 hours of video data from two families, all telling initiations were selected. Initiations were selected when an adolescent started a telling without being invited to, in reaction to someone or something else or as an isolated telling. Based on 15 telling initiations we made an overview of the variety in these 15 telling initiatives. This led to a distinction in six categories of telling initiatives. In addition to the 15 initiatives, 145 other initiations were added from the other four houses (60 hours of video). This addition resulted in a revision of the six categories, leading to four: 1) Out of the blue, 2) Topic shift, 3) Topic continuation, 4) Related to an ongoing activity or object.

Four more steps were made to strengthen the analysis:

1. To decide which initiative could be placed in which category, all fragments were watched and allocated by a researcher and an independent social worker.
2. After this step, 40 fragments were randomly selected and allocated by another researcher to the existing categories: similarities and differences were discussed.
3. During the analyses, different data sessions were attended, during which a fragment of the current analysis was discussed
4. Every single step in the analyses was discussed by the researchers
5. The conversations were transcribed according to the conventions Jefferson developed (2004). For publication, all conversations were translated into English. Names of families and children were made anonymous. The videos were made with the informed consent of the PFPs and the adolescents.

Analysis

As outlined in the introduction, at the dinner table within a multimember family it can be a challenge to tell something and, perhaps almost more importantly, to gain attention from an addressee. The main purpose in this study was to illustrate the way adolescents self-select to take a turn and start a telling, and what activities they undertake to make their PFPs listen and respond.

During and around dinnertime, we observed several conversations between adolescents and their PFPs, initiated by the adolescent. In 133 fragments we saw two kinds of telling initiations: contingent telling initiations that relate the telling to an ongoing topic or activity, and not-contingent initiations that are not related to visible external factors.

Within the two main categories in this analysis, different subcategories can be distinguished, which will be explained later on. Figure 1 provides an overview of the different telling initiations and how often they occur in our data.

Figure 1: *Categories and subcategories telling initiations*

Initiations categories	Initiations subcategories	Frequency
1. Not contingent	Telling something 'out of the blue'	23
2. Contingent	2.1 Topic continuation	34
	2.2 Topic Shift	43
	2.3 Related to an ongoing activity or object	30
Inaudible and not included		3
Total:		133

1. Not-contingent telling initiations

'Out of the blue' telling initiatives
Some of the 'out of the blue tellings' start before dinnertime in the living or the dining room. Other tellings take place during dinnertime. Although a telling is started out of the blue, there is sometimes another exchange prior to the telling. In these cases, the exchange has nothing to do with the topic of the out of the blue telling. Therefore this category is called *'not-contingent'.* All tellings concern experiences that the adolescent has been through during the day or a few days ago or that they have heard about such as the school pictures they received, a sad story on the radio, or a nice gym class. The majority of the tellings is about school topics.

The following excerpt shows sixteen year old Karolien initiating a telling 'out of the blue' to her Professional Foster Father (PFF), prior to dinner. The PFF is folding the laundry at the dinner table while Karolien enters through the back door.

Excerpt 2
Family-style group care 1, 01-11-2013, 1: 11.43-14.55
KAR = Karolien, 16-year-old, PFF= Professional Foster Father.

```
01  KAR   <hallo>
             hello
02  PFF   <he:ey Karolien>
           hey Karolien
```

```
03  KAR  ik heb mijn schoolfoto,
         I have my school picture
04  PFF  je::ah
         yeah
         (3.5)
         (..) is 't goed gelukt?
         (..) is it good?
05  KAR  nou hij is op [zich wel hoor
         well it's pretty …
06  PFF               [ben je tevreden?
                       are you satisfied?
07  KAR  jawel
         yes fine
```

After the exchange of greetings in lines 1 and 2, Karolien says that she has received her school picture (line 3). School pictures are generally taken a few weeks before the children receive them. The PFF responds with an enthusiastic 'yeah' and asks her: 'is it good?'. By responding in an enthusiastic voice (line 4) and enquiring 'is it good?' (line 04) and 'are you satisfied?'(line 06) the PFF shows his interest and invites her to say more. His response is 'preferred' in the conversation analytical sense that it contributes to and supports the project that was initiated by the telling initiative in line 3. If such a response would be absent, the interactional project initiated by the Karolien in line 3 would fail (Sacks 1987; Schegloff 2007).

The use of embodied practices
The adolescents use various embodied practices for doing telling initiations. Tellings initiated 'out of the blue' are frequently accompanied by *pre-exchange* embodied practices preliminary to the initiation itself (Kendon, 1990). They make eye contact before they start a telling or walk to the parent. In excerpt 3, Karolien is sits at the table and plays with her mobile phone. Before she starts her telling, she walks in the direction of the PFF.

Fragment 3
Family style group care 1, 01-11-2013, 3:4.55-6.55
KAR= Karolien, 16-year-old, Lauren= school friend, PFF= Professional Foster Father.

```
01       ((Karolien walks in the direction of the kitchen where
         the PFF is preparing dinner))
```

```
02  KAR   weet je wat nou zielig is (.) als Lauren altijd
          schoolfoto's krijgt
          do you know what is sad (.) when Lauren always
          receives school pictures
03  PFF   ja
          yes
          koopt haar moeder ze nooit of haar vader dat is
          toch best wel sneu
          her mother never buys them that is pretty sad isn't it
          hebben ze niet zo veel geld of uh
          do they not have much money
```

Karolien starts her telling when she is close to the father in the kitchen (line 1 and 2). By walking to the PFP she chooses him as recipient and makes herself being hear.

2. Contingent telling initiations

Besides 'out of the blue' telling initiations, we observed *'contingent'* telling initiations. These initiations are related to an ongoing topic or activity. In our data we see three types of motivations for initiating a telling. First, conversations are started as a *'topic shift'*: the telling constitutes a shift of the prior topic of the conversation. Second, initiations may continue the ongoing conversations. In the third place, we see the adolescents do an initiative in response to an object or an activity that is going on, for example a telephone call.

Topic shift
In mundane conversations one topic can easily shift to an adjacent topic, also in the dinner table conversations in the family-style group care. The conversation may for example be about anniversary treats at school and subsequently an adolescent tells about one of his friends who will celebrate his birthday next week. In such cases, Sacks (1992) speaks of a *stepwise topical movement*: the topic of the conversation results smoothly, without any problems, from the previous topic.

The excerpt below illustrates a telling initiative that is produced as such a topic shift. The conversation takes place during dinner time. An adolescent (18 year) says that he will receive his diploma 'catering industry assistant' very soon. Thereafter, a boy of 9-year-old says that he thinks that he also likes cooking (line 8). Right after this utterance Sifra (13 year) takes the turn from the 9-year-old boy and uses his utterance as a reason for her own telling.

Excerpt 4
Family-style group care 5, 07-01-2014, 1:3.25-6.40
RON = Ronaldo, 18-year-old, PFM = Professional Foster Mother, PFF= Professional Foster
Father, Aar = Aaron, 9-year-old, Emm = Emma, 10-year-old, SIF= Sifra, 13-year-old.

```
01   RON   horeca assistent
             catering industry assistant
02         niveau één
             level one
03         (2.0)
04   PFM   op naar niveau twee
             up to level two
05   RON   ja
             yes
06         (1.2)
07   PFM   leuk
             nice
08   Aar   mij lijkt dat ook best wel leuk om te koken
             I think I would like cooking as well
09   Emm   hm hm
10         (1.0)
11   SIF   uh het is echt heel leuk koken (.)
             uh cooking is really nice
12         want ik ga deze week lasagne maken
             cause I'm going to make lasagne this week
13         met spinazie,
             with spinach
           (1.0)
14   PFM   lekker
             jummy
15   SIF   hmhm
16   PFF   nou Sifra (.) moet je maar eens een keertje hier
             well Sifra (.)you should make it here one time
17   EMM   eventjes u:h (0.3)voor ons makke
             for us
18   PFF   iets maken
             make something
19   RON   je gaat eten makke
```

```
           you shall make food
20         ((everybody is laughing)) ((about the wrong word in
           Dutch))
21  SIF    dan maak ik die pe- perencake nog
           then I will make the pear cake
```

In line 11, Sifra starts her telling and re-uses the word '*nice*' of the speaker before her. In the remark before, in line 8, the nine-year-old boy uses the word '*also*' which refers to the previous telling from the adolescent who talked about his diploma 'catering industry assistant'. The word '*also*' is used to make a connection between his telling and the previous telling (Ryave, 1978). Also the word '*nice*' in Sifra's telling initiative has the function of connecting the tellings to each other. Jefferson (1978) describes this phenomenon: recipients take care of making an utterance fit in de context. It is therefore remarkable that the professional mother does not respond with the word '*nice*', but with '*jummy*'. The PFF invites Sifra to make the lasagne at home (line 16). This establishes an occasion for Sifra to restart her telling (line 21). Thus, by entering into a '*stepwise topical movement*', the adolescent can initiate his telling in connection with the previous turn and therefore by the previous topic.

In the excerpt below we see an example of a telling initiative which follows a general remark of the Professional Foster Mother (PFM). Prior to this telling initiative the PFF has given a compliment to his wife about the neatly cleaned up garage (not included in this transcript). After this general remark the adolescent starts his telling.

Excerpt 5
Family-style group care 5, 07-11-2014, 0: 13.43-15.26
PFM = Professional Foster Mother, PFF = Professional Foster Father, RON = Ronaldo, 18-year-old.

```
01    PFM     nou
              well
02            (11.0)
03    PFF     mooi
              nice
04            (1.3)((RONALDO gazes to PFF))
                 ((PFF gazes to RONALDO))
05    RON     die magnetron heb ik naar boven gebracht=zolder
              I brought the microwave upstairs= to the attic
```

```
06              (4.0)
07    PFF       de wat
08    RON       the what
                de magnetron(.)die daar op de grond stond,
09              the microwave which was on the ground over there
                dat ding (.)((geeft de omtrek aan))
                that thing (.) ((shows the outline))
10    PFF       hm hm
11    RON       stond alleen maar in de weg,
12    PFF       it was just in the way
                die heb je naar zolder gebracht,
                you brought that one upstairs = to the attic
13              (6.0)
14    PFM       wat ben jij toch sterk
15              wow you're really strong
16              (6.5)
17              een zwaar ding man
                it's a heavy thing man
18              ((PFM looks at RONALDO, he shrugs his shoulders))
19              zwaar
                heavy
```

In lines 1 and 3 the topic seems to be closed by '*well*' and '*nice*'. During the silence Ronaldo gazes in the direction of the PFF. He starts talking when he has eye contact. By making eye contact before starting Ronaldo chooses an addressee of his telling. He deals with the interactional problem of being part of a multi member situation, by selecting a recipient before he start to tell (Ford & Stickle, 2012). The speaker ensures himself to be heard. Ronaldo tells, in line 5, that he brought the microwave upstairs. When the PFF says: 'the what', Ronaldo repeats that he brought the microwave upstairs while he shows the outline of the microwave with his hands. The PFM treats this as inviting a compliment – in the same way she was complimented by her husband for cleaning the garage – by giving him a compliment (line 14). The topic was initiated as a shift from cleaning to microwave.

Topic continuation
In the second place, we observed tellings of adolescents that add to ongoing mealtime-tellings and that therefore function as a *topic continuation.* These telling initiations are both sequentially and content wise latched to an ongoing telling and therefore

contribute to the topic of the ongoing conversation. This, in contrast to initiations from the subcategory *topic shift*, that lead to a new telling object. In sum, telling initiations in the category of topic continuation show adolescents that continue a conversation by adding a telling to it, instead of telling their own story that shifts the prior topic of the conversation. Jefferson (1984) shows that these telling initiations often start on the end of the previous turn, named *terminal overlaps* which is something we also see in our data.

In the excerpt below, we see a conversation that takes place during dinner. The PFM tells a story about their dog. The dogs was scared of two other dogs which were fighting in the forest while she was walking the dog that afternoon. Everyone at the dinner table is quiet.

Excerpt 6

Family-style group care 4 , 28-11- 2013, 0: 10.20-10.45

PFM = Professional Foster Mother, PFF = Professional Foster Father, RICHAD = Adolescent, 14-year-old, ? = unknown, B(?) = Boy, unknown age.

```
01    PFM     ik had 'm wel vast en dan heb je aan de andere
              kant van het bos (.)
              I had him fixed and then you have the other side
              of the woods
02            gewoon weet je wel daar kan je doorheen kijken
              natuuk (.) daar
              well you know you can see through it
03            hadden twee hondjes ruzie en eh zo erg dat één
              van die hondjes aan het
              two doggies were fighting so bat that one of the
              dogs was
04            piepen was en daar schrok hij van en toen ging
              die ook blaffen
              squeaking and he was so frightened that he also
              went barking
05            want hij wilde d'r heen maar hij zat vast dus hij
              kon er niet
              because he wanted to go there and he was fixed so
              he couldn't
06    PFF     nee
              no
```

```
07     PFM      en de hele weg naar hu-uis was die aan het trekken
                en bang
                and the whole way home he was pulling and scared
08              en dan wil die snel naar huis en
                and he wanted to go home as sone as possible
09     PFF                              ja
                                        yes
10              (.)
11     ?        ((inaudible))
12     RICHAD   dat is ook als je 'm straf geeft
                that is the same when you punish him
13     PFM      heb je (.) was je met de hengel weg
                where you away with the fishing rod
14     B(?)     nee ((jongen niet in beeld))
                no((boy is not in sight of the camera))
15     PFM      oh
                oh
```

In line 1-10, the PFM tells about something that has happened that afternoon when she was walking the dog. Just twice, in line 6 and 9, there is a short response of the PFF. The telling initiation of Richad (line 12), a 14-year-aged adolescent, contributes to the story of the PFM. He emphasises the story of the mother by using the words *'the same'*. Also by telling about 'him', referring to the dog, he aligns with the mothers telling. We see, in line 13, that there is no response in reaction to the initiation. Besides, we see no second initiation of Richad to try it again. This is something we often see in the collection of telling initiations within the category topic continuation. In this specific conversation (excerpt 6), it is possible that the boy who enters the kitchen (not in sight of the camera) is taking the attention instead of Richad. Besides, it could be possible that the initiation in itself, as a contribution to the ongoing conversation, is not necessarily an initiation that needs to receive an explicit response. The initiation is contributing to the same topic, the behaviour of the dog, instead of telling something out of the blue or stepwise introducing a new topic. Therefore it works as telling continuation instead of a clear telling initiation.

Refers to something that is going on or an object (not a topic)
The third category of contingent telling initiations is to start a telling 'in relation to the ongoing activity or an object'. The motivation for telling something is not in the previous topic or turn.

In excerpt 7 below, the initiation takes the form of a report of a telephone call. This leads to a short interaction. Prior to the excerpt, Karolien has answered the household phone. After the call has ended she initiates a report about it. There is a clear motivation for this girl, external to the dinner table interaction, to start a telling.

Excerpt 7

Family-style group care 1, 01-11-2013, 3:19.41-19.51
KAR = Karolien, 16-year-old, PFF = Professional Foster Father.

```
01    KAR     ik heb niet verstaan want diegene zei ook niet
              I didn't hear because the other person didn't say
02            eens=hij drukte weg
              even=he ended the call
03            maar uh (1.5) d'r ↓belde iemand,
              but uh (1,5) someone called,
04    PFF     belde er iemand?
              did someone call?
05            nou die belt vanzelf weer
              well he will call again
06            ((Karolien sits down at the table again))
```

In line 1 to 3, Karolien reports that she has picked up the phone and has not been successful at identifying the caller. In response, the PFF treats this as not important or blameworthy: "he will call again" (line 5). After this utterance the conversation ends and the two interlocutors continue their activities.

Emodied behaviour
The adolescents use various embodied practices to select an addressee. Following another initiation, by a 14-year-old adolescent, the conversation also stops after a brief interaction. The family is eating pizza with a few family members. Not everybody is at home; the pizzas were ordered and picked up at the restaurant.

Excerpt 8

Family style group care 1: 02 -11-2013, 4: 12.41 – 12.56
KAS = Kasper, 15-year-old, PFF = Professional Foster Father, PFM = Professional Foster Mother, Janna = biological daughter, 5-year-old.

```
01    KAS     ((gazes in the direction of the PFM))
```

```
02              ik keek vanochtend in die folder
                I was looking in that leaflet this morning
03              en ik had gewoon zin om pizza te eten,
                and I just felt like eating pizza
04              (1.5)
05              en in één keer gaan we ook pizza eten (.) (uhh::u)
                and suddenly we were going to eat pizza (.) uhh::u
06              (5.0)
07              ((gazes in the direction of PFM and PFF))
08    PFF       ((to Janna)) Dat mag je vragen
                ((to Janna))You may ask that
09    KAS       ((gazes in the direction of PFM))
10    PFM       ((gazes in the direction of KASPER))
11    KAS       dat hoopte ik al
                I was hoping for that
```

Before he initiates his telling, in line 2 Kasper makes an effort to get eye-contact with the PFM. They are sitting opposite each other at the table. The moment Kasper establishes eye contact with her, he tells that he was already looking forward to eating pizza (line 2 and 3). The PFM gazes in the direction of Kasper, but does not give a verbal response. This response seems to be less than Kasper aimed for, since he repeats his utterance in different words (line 11): 'I was hoping for that', thereby giving the mother another opportunity to respond, which she does not use. After this repeated invitation to respond, the topic ends. This example shows that the telling is sequential incomplete without an acceptance.

Contingent and not-contingent initiations
In the analysis above we showed a distinction between telling initiations which are started 'out of the blue' and initiations that are contingent upon immediately prior events or interaction. The tellings that were categorised as 'out of the blue' are about events the adolescents have experienced themselves: e.g. receiving school pictures or a nice gym lesson at school. Some telling initiations are done before dinnertime when not all family members are present yet and it is potentially more easy for an adolescent to engage the father or mother in dyadic (one-to-one) interaction.

Discussion

Prior research on attachment has argued that continuity in placement is an important factor of success in raising out-of-home placed children (Juffer, 2010). Therefore, for the sake of continuity, care-takers in family-style group care are available on a long-term basis in order to allow having and building an affective relationship with the out-of-home placed children. However, even though the importance of an affective relationship is well established, little research has been conducted on how these relationships are built and maintained in everyday interactions. In the research this paper has reported on, 133 fragments of telling initiations of adolescents in family-style group care are analysed as one instance of attachment in interaction, The telling initiations were analysed to see how adolescents select themselves to tell something, how they gain attention from their PFPs, and how these initiations work out in the interactions, evoking parental sensitiveness and responsiveness, one of the main elements for having and building an affective relationship (Ainsworth et al., 1978).

The present analysis was concerned with 133 instances of adolescent telling initiations that were not invited. Most initiations took place during dinnertime, or less often before or after dinner. Within the 133 initiations, we have found a fourfold in variety: 1) out of the blue (23); 2) topic shift (34); 3) topic continuing (43) and 4) Refers to something what is going on or an object (30). As shown in this study, different initiations are followed by different responses of PFPs. The various initiations were done with different verbal and embodied practices. Furthermore, we saw different practices used by different adolescents. Thus, how initiations are done seems to depend on various factors and will be shortly described and discussed in the next part.

'Out of the blue initiations' always come with clear pre-exchange practices. Adolescents make eye contact, gaze in the direction of the addressed parent or walk to a parent when they want to tell something. Their actions seems to vie for attention from the professionals parents and make clear that they want to tell something meaningful. Subsequent interactions consist frequently of extended responses from the part of the PFPs. From relational perspective, 'out of the blue' telling initiations have the function of arousing interest of the PFP.

'Topic shifting' and 'topic continuing' initiations are undertaken differently. Topic changes are built on the preceded topic and are introduced by re-using some of the words from the immediately prior interaction. 'Topic continuing' initiations are less explicitly expressed and always done to contribute to the ongoing conversation. Sometimes the adolescent received an explicit response from the PFP, like an acceptance, but even so often there is no response at al. 'Topic continuation' initiations

seems to do not necessarily need a response or acceptance, possible because it is not a telling in itself. It has more the function of continuing and in a way as a response.

The last category consist of initiations that are done 'in relation to the ongoing activity or an object'. There is always a clear external motivation for doing these tellings, but the motivation is not in the previous topic or turn. The initiations are mostly treated by the PFPs as a notification, meaning giving or a comment and are ending after a short interaction. The majority of the tellings is about the activity 'having dinner', the food or something else on or around the table.

In this chapter, we started to describe the importance of sensitivity and responsivity for building and maintaining an affective relationship. The different categories of telling initiations have shown how adolescent tell something and gain attention from their PFPs. This has shown us that adolescents use various practises to do their telling and make clear that they want to tell something and mark the importance of the tellings. If parents threat initiations in a non-preferred way, adolescents show this by repairing their initiation and by trying it again. At last, doing a telling initiation and gaining attention also seems to have something to do with interactional competences. Practises like making eye contact before starting a telling or calling the name of the PFP seems to underline the initiation.

Family-style group care settings are meant to be professional out-of-home-placements, coached by a youth care organisation, and are at the same time as close to a 'normal family' as possible. This gives the possibility for adolescents to reattach to the family parents. The knowledge about the different telling initiations gives insight into how sensitivity and responsivity is both evoked and constructed in day-to-day interactions in natural settings of family-style group care. Further research on micro-analysis will hopefully help to make the life of these adolescents more and more stable.

3

HOW PROFESSIONAL FOSTER PARENTS INVITE 'TELLINGS' WITH OUT OF HOME PLACED ADOLESCENTS IN FAMILY-STYLE GROUP CARE

Abstract

In family-style group care, Professional Foster Parents (PFPs) run a household consisting of their biological children combined with several children and adolescents placed in that household for a number of years. Affective interaction between out-of-home placed adolescents and their PFPs is crucial for the development of these youth. In order to build and maintain an affective relationship, it is important to exchange information and feelings in parent-child interaction. In this paper, we examine the different ways in which PFPs invite adolescents to tell or share something, and how these different invitations take shape in interaction.

Conversation Analysis (CA) was used as a method to analyse 64 hours of video data showing dinner conversations in six households. CA creates the possibility to analyse every detail of a conversation. Analysis of this data shows the variety of invitations PFPs use to engage in interaction with adolescents. Parents use polar questions, content (wh)-questions, assessments and indirect techniques to invite adolescents to share something. The analysis of these PFPs' invitations and how these invitations work out in interactions forms a contribution to the as yet limited knowledge available regarding the building and maintaining of affective relationships between PFPs and adolescents in family-style group care.

Keywords: Professional Foster Parents, Residential Care, Family-style group care, Sensitivity, Adolescents

Introduction

A central issue in research on youth care is attachment between caregiver and children. Attachment means close, long-term affective relationships that develop through life (Bowlby, 1979). Over the course of the past decades, many studies have focussed on the main elements of receiving and holding attachment relationships, sensitivity and responsivity and the possibility of perceiving and responding to a child's signals (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978; Mark & Mulderij, 2008). Despite the considerable attention for these issues, to date little research has been carried out on how sensitivity and responsiveness are displayed in day-to-day interactions. Existing research deals primarily with affective processes between young children and their caretakers. Bowlby (1979), however, highlighted the importance of attachment throughout all ages, including adolescence. In every period of life, people need attachment relationships to which they can revert.

In this paper, we analyse everyday Dutch conversations during dinner time in family-style group care. In these residential youth care settings, Professional Foster Parents (PFPs) care for out-of-home placed adolescents within the context of their own family. Conversation Analysis (CA), a method to study interactional processes (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013), was used to analyse these dinner conversations. With our focus on interactional processes, we were able to analyse the observable characteristics of acting sensitively and responsively. This correlates with the origins of attachment theory, based as it is on observations of parent-child interaction (Ainsworth et al. 1978; Bowlby, 1988). Direct observation and detailed analysis of a mundane setting can show us aspects of the way sensitivity and responsivity are played out in everyday interaction between PFPs and adolescents (Hall, Juhila, Matarese, & Nijnatten, 2014).

We will begin by offering an overview of the pedagogical and CA literature on the context of the interactions, the background of the participants and the telling invitations of PFPs in interaction with the out-of-home placed adolescents. After this overview, we present the methodology and analysis, before ending with our conclusions and reflections on the applied methodology.

Telling invitations from a pedagogical perspective

In this chapter, we focus on telling invitations of PFPs addressed to adolescents in their family-style group care. The question we asked ourselves from an attachment perspective is: why is it important to know more about these telling invitations? Communication plays an important role in parent-child interaction, both verbal and non-verbal. Adolescents placed in family-style group care often have a negative history

in their original parent-child relationship. According to Bastiaensen (2001), many foster children score low when it comes to their emotional involvement with their foster parents and feel less appreciated as children in 'a normal situation'. Interaction between parents and adolescents builds and maintains the relationship. As Cassidy (2001) puts it, *'if a child is loved and valued, that child will come to view himself or herself as lovable and valuable'* (p.124). Secure attachment organization beyond childhood can be seen in the way children speak in intimate relationships (Allen, 2008). In that light, an important task for PFPs is to establish interaction with the adolescents. A parent who shows involvement by listening and being interested gives a child the message that child's telling is worth listening to and helps to build the child's self-esteem (Sarti & Neijboer, 2011; Juffer, 2010; Van IJzendoorn, 2010). Despite this knowledge, there are various difficulties complicating the parent-adolescent interaction. Adolescence is a period of transition, when parents need to find a balance between remaining at a distance and providing proximity. Exploration is necessary for adolescents to fulfil the main task in adolescence: reaching autonomy (Allen, 2008). It is important for parents, in keeping track of their children, to combine active monitoring with low psychological control (Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Luykx, & Goosens, 2006; Nijnatten & Noordegraaf, 2016b). The balance between active monitoring and low psychological control is a delicate one. Excessive control can lead to problems in adjustment to the demands of the period of adolescence, whereas less monitoring can lead to problematic behaviour (Kerr & Stattin, 2000).

Telling invitations from a Conversation Analytic perspective

From a CA-perspective, invitations can be done in different ways. Invitations to tell something are examples of 'other selection' (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974): a participant selects, and thereby invites, another participant to take their turn and tell something. People can use different ways to invite someone to do a telling. This can be done, for example, by asking a question, by 'fishing for' information or by doing an assessment.

Telling invitations by questioning can assume different forms, most frequently the use of a yes/no-interrogative form (Raymond, 2003) or wh-questions (also called content questions, contain one of the following words: who, what, when, where, how). Different questions ask for different types of information and answers (Scheglof & Lerner, 2009). For example, a wh-question asks for specific information with its use of 'when', 'what', etc. The use of when or what also sets an agenda (Hayano, 2013). As such, the grammatical or prosodic form of the question shapes the answer to the question (Sacks 1987; Schegloff, 2007). Whether a question is followed by a type-conforming

or by a non-conforming answer depends on how it is shaped and fits in the context (Raymond, 2003; Koole & Verberg, 2017). Parents can 'nominate' a topic by asking a question about a specific topic, or by inviting another person to nominate a topic to talk about, a phenomenon called 'topic solicitation' (Button & Casey, 1985; Pomeranz, 1980; Schegloff, 2007).

Furthermore, telling invitations can be done by 'fishing'. Pomerantz (1980) describes a 'fishing' as telling one's own side in the hope of prompting the other side to reveal first-hand knowledge of what happened. Another way to invite a telling is to use an assessment. An assessment is an activity interlocutors use in their turns to evaluate persons or events presented in their conversation (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987). According to Pomerantz (1984, p.57), '*with an assessment, a speaker claims knowledge of that which he or she is assessing'.*

In general, telling invitations always show preferences (Hayano, 2013). The shape of an invitation shows the recipient what the preferred answer should be. Furthermore, the shape of the invitations shows us which and how much knowledge the speaker has about the topic of the question. The question 'What did you do today?' shows less knowledge of the speaker than a question such as 'How was your day at school?' (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Button & Casey, 1985).

Inviting a telling is the first step to begin an interaction with adolescents. However, after inviting the telling, as a recipient it is important to demonstrate good listening skills during the telling itself. This can be done with verbal and non-verbal signs. Verbal signs include continuous, subsequent questions and repetitions (Goodwin, 1980; 1986b; Jefferson, 1984a; Stivers, 2008), while examples of non-verbal signs that show 'doing listening' are a gaze, nods (Stivers, 2008), eye contact and body orientation (Goodwin, 1981; Schegloff 1998a).

Method

Data

The data for this study consists of video recorded dinner conversations in six Dutch family-style group care settings. The settings were selected on the basis of different criteria, in collaboration with the staff of two youth care organizations. We wanted to collect data in high quality practices, which is why we selected families: 1) with out-of-home placed adolescents, 2) with PFPs with a bachelor's degree or higher (with the aim of transferability of results to the context of students studying for a bachelor's degree in social work), 3) with at least one successful placement in the past (i.e., an adolescent who had left the home when they were eighteen years old) and 4) that were

recommended by their supervisors as being successful. In the six families, cameras were recording during and around dinner, for a period of three weeks from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. The video recordings were all made without interference from researchers and with the informed consent of the PFPs and the adolescents. To ensure that the camera was located in the same place for three weeks, we positioned a tripod in the dining rooms close to the dinner table. By the end, we had collected 300 hours of video recordings.

Analysis

For this paper, we examined examples of invitations from the parents to the adolescents to tell something. For analysing these invitations, we used the method of Conversational Analysis. This method provides tools for analysing every detail of a conversation (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013). CA is characterized by the use of audiotaped or videotaped data to analyse natural settings, in everyday and institutional environments. Video data can be watched as many times as necessary. Therefore, videotaped data offers the possibility of analysing verbal and embodied behaviour of participants within conversations, which are both important aspects of attachment behaviour.

To locate relevant fragments, 64 hours of videotaped conversations were watched, from three days for each family home, and all telling invitations issued by PFPs to the adolescents were selected. This resulted in 80 examples of such invitations. Given our intention to gain more knowledge about sensitivity and responsivity and the means by which parents evoke adolescents to share something from their private life, we decided to focus on invitations that topicalize situations beyond the dinner situation. We were interested in these tellings, because it is in them that the PFP needs to motivate the adolescent to tell something about their domain of experience. It is something they have not necessarily experienced together. These kinds of tellings are interesting, because parents ask the adolescents something about their existence outside the family home. That focus resulted in a corpus of 32 telling invitations. During the process of analysis, different steps were discussed by the researchers. To strengthen the analysis, the data was discussed in two data sessions.

The conversations were transcribed according to the conventions developed by Jefferson (2004). For publication, all conversations used in this chapter were translated into English. Names of families, PFPs and adolescents have been anonymized.

Results

Our data reveals that PFPs use different types of invitations to evoke a telling from an adolescent about something in either the past or the future. An overview of the variety of invitations can be found in Table 1.

Table 1: *Overview of different invitations performed by Professional Foster Parents*

Invitation	Count
Inviting by using a *wh*-question	14
Inviting by using a yes/no-interrogative	12
Inviting by fishing	2
Inviting through someone else	3
Inviting by sharing own opinion/feeling	1
	32

Invitations using wh-questions (content question)

Our collection contains fourteen wh-questions. Interestingly, a wh-question in any form always evokes a more extended answer. However, to evoke a telling, PFPs seem to have to do more than just ask one of these wh-questions. In the first excerpt (1), the wh-question used by the PFM is a *what-question*. At the beginning of this conversation, there is a silence followed by a general remark from the PFM. Then, in line 4, PFM Anke asks the adolescent Ronaldo (eighteen-year-old): 'Ronaldo what did you do at school?'.

Excerpt 1
Family-style group care 5, 20.01.2014, 1: 00.18 – 1.03
PFM = Professional Foster Mother, EMM = Emma, 10-year-old, RON = Ronaldo, 18-year-old, PFF = Professional Foster Father.

```
1    PFM      lekker jongens
              nice, guys
2             (0.2)
3    EMM      (nodding yes)
4    PFM      Ronaldo wat heb jij gedaan op ↑school
              Ronaldo what did you do at school
5    RON      drie toetsen gehad
              had three exams
```

```
6                (.)
7    PFM        ↑oh
                oh
8    RON        presenteren,
                presenting
9    PFF        ja
                yes
10   RON        wiskunde,
                math
11              e::n (.) luisteren
                and listening
12   PFF        luisteren
                listening
13              (2.0)
14   PFF        waar moest je naar ↑luisteren dan
                what did you have to listen to
15   RON        naar deze (.) leerkracht die las dan een stuk
                to the teacher who was reading a part of
16              tekst voor
                a text out loud
17   PFF        [ja:a]
                yes
18   PFM        [ja:a]
                yes
19   RON        en daar moesten wij dan vragen uit beantwoorden
                and we had to answer questions about it
20   PFF        hm (.) waar ging die tekst over,
                and what was the text about
21   RON        over de fraude van de bankpas
                about the fraud of a bank card
```

In the interaction, PFM Anke asks Ronaldo a question and thereby invites him to tell what he did at school. Ronaldo answers with a short sentence: 'had three exams'. With a rising 'oh' (line 7) that receives the answer as news, the PFM invites Ronaldo to tell more about the exams (Heritage, 1984a). The conversation progresses with different utterances of both the PFM and the PFF. The PFM shows that she knows Ronaldo went to school ('what did you do at school') and that she wants to know more about it (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). She uses this knowledge to set an agenda; she wants to know

what Ronaldo did at school (Hayano, 2013; Scheglof & Lerner, 2009). After the topic initiation, the conversation continues without much effort. As described, we see in this example both the PFM and the PFF actively posing questions during the conversation. In giving answer, the adolescent shows he is willing to share this information. This active questioning, which is part of child monitoring, is an important task of PFPs for opening the way for sharing more delicate and personal information within the parent-child relationship (Soenens et al., 2006).

Besides active questioning, PFPs use continuers after the initial wh-question is asked. The question seems to set the agenda and opens the telling, yet questions and continuers still appear to be necessary for the telling to continue (Schegloff, 1982), as also displayed in the example below. In this example (excerpt 2), the PFF asks Jasper (14-year-old) a how-question with a loud voice: 'how did your drum lesson go Jasper'?

Excerpt 2
Family-style group care 1, 12-11-2013, 0: 1.15-3.50
PFF = Professional Foster Father, JAS = Jasper, 14-year-old.

```
1    PFF   EN HOE IS JE DRUM GEGAAN JASPER,
           and how did your drum lesson go Jasper
2    JAS   best goed
           quite good
3    PFF   ja
           yes
4    JAS   ja
           yes
5    PFF   heb je [(onverstaanbaar)
           do you (inaudible)
6    JAS          [moet nu nog een liedje uh (.) nog een liedje
                  have to do one more song uh one more song
7    PFF   (ik) heb je liedjes nog steeds niet gehoord)
           I still haven't heard your songs
8    JAS   °ja ikkuh wel haa°
           yes I know haa
             (…)
9    JAS   die één is meer rock en roll de andere is meer rock
           the one is more like rock and roll the other one
10         gewoon
           just more rock
```

```
11         die ik vandaag heb gedaan is meer rock en roll
           the one I did today is more rock and roll
12   PFF   welke ((noemt titels liedjes - onverstaanbaar))
           which one ((asks the song titles – inaudible))
13   JAS   weet ik niet staat op het papiertje (.) weet ik niet
           I don't know is on the small piece of paper(.)I don't
           know
14         hm hm ((neemt hap van een candybar))
           hm hm ((takes a bite of a candybar))
15   PFF   het papie::rtje
           the small paper
16   JAS   ja ik weet dat onthou ik niet hoor want [dat zijn namen
           yes I know I don't remember them because those are
           names
17   PFF                                          [Janna (.)
18   JAS   die
           that
19   PFF   dat is niet hoe je moet lopen
           that is not how you have to walk
```

Jasper answers in line 2, describing how his drum lesson went: 'quite well'. The PFF then asks something inaudible, and Jasper responds in line 6: 'have to do one more song now'. In the ensuing conversation, he is telling about the kind of songs he has to play. By saying 'yes' (line 3) and 'the small paper' (line 15), the PFF stimulates Jasper to tell more. He then asks different questions to evoke explicit details. The initial how-question of the PFF therefore works immediately to elicit a telling from Jasper about his drum lesson and what kind of songs he is playing.

All wh-questions in our collection evoked an extended answer containing the information requested. Yet to evoke a telling, PFPs seem to have to show listenership in the form of posing additional questions and continuers.

Inviting by using a yes/no-question

In the second place, we see invitations performed by asking a question in yes/no-interrogative form. Our collection of such yes/no-questions consists of twelve items. In our analysis, we show that these yes/no-questions could lead to just a yes or no answer, but also had the potential to evoke a more extended telling when followed by other

invitations. To illustrate the different responses, we examined three questions with a yes/no-interrogative form leading to different responses.

First, in excerpt 3, we see an example of a yes/no-interrogative form followed by a more extended answer, where, after the questions from the PFM, Ronaldo tells more. The PFM asks: 'do you have the same teacher (.) did you today have the same teacher as uh'.

Excerpt 3
Family-style group care 5, 9-12-13, 6: 1.11-3.16
PFM = Professional Foster Mother, RON = Ronaldo, 18-year-old.

```
1  PFM    heb jij nou dezelfde juf↑frouw (.) had je vandaag
           do you have the same teacher      did you today have
2          dezelfde juffrouw als uh (2.0)
           the same teacher as uh
3          ((PFM is looking at Ronaldo))
4  RON    ik heb één vaste theorie (docent) ja
           I have one permanent theory teacher yes
5  PFM    ((PFM nods))
6          wie is dat dan
           who is that
7  RON    Jacobine Boer
8  PFM    ((nods and gazes at her plate again))
9          (.)
```

Interruption by Adolescent(13) and a correction of that by the PFM. When the correction is done, the PFM gazes towards Ronaldo again and he says:

```
10  RON   ja ik uh (.) 'k weet niet of je dat nog kan herinneren
           yes I uh   I don't know if you can remember that
11        van die uh (.) toen we na die ou- na die- na dat
           of the uh when we after the that
12        ((PFM gazes towards Ronaldo))
13        groepje zijn gegaan toen,
           went to that little group
14  PFM   ja,
```

```
             yes
15   RON   toen zei ik da's mijn theoriejuf, ((wijst naar voren))
             when I said that is my theory teacher ((points forward))
16   PFM   ja
             yes
17   RON   da's die vrouw.
             that's the woman
```

The given example (excerpt 3) shows how a question asked in a yes/no-interrogative form is answered with a more extended answer from Ronaldo: 'I have one theory teacher yes'. After this first question, the PFM asks another question about the teacher, and uses continuers while the telling is being continued by Ronaldo.

In the second place, we see questions in our corpus asked in yes/no-interrogative form that are answered by a yes or no answer. The example below (excerpt 4) shows an interaction between the same adolescent Ronaldo and his PFF. The father first makes eye contact (line 1) and nods when his gaze meets Ronaldo's. At that moment, the PFF asks Ronaldo, in line 2, about his day and if he visited the company for his new internship that day.

Excerpt 4
Family-style group care 5: 06-01-2014, 3: 10.50 – 13.00
PFF = Professional Foster Father, RON = Ronaldo, 18-year-old.

```
1    PFF      ((makes eye contact with Ronaldo))
2             ben je naar je nieuwe stage gegaan
              have you been to your new internship
3    RON      ((shakes his head))
4    PFF      ben je naar ↓school geweest
              have you been to school
5    RON      ((nods))
6    PFF      en?
              and
7    RON      gewoon zoals altijd,
              just as always
8             ja alleen nu was het uh
              yes only now it was uh
```

The questions 'have you been to your new internship' (line 2) and 'have you been to school' (line 4) are examples of yes/no-questions. While he is eating, Ronaldo shakes 'no' (line 3) and nods as a response to the father (line 5). The question 'have you been to school?' receives a yes-answer. In this conversation, the polar questions seem to have a bigger function, as we can see in line 6. Only the first two questions do not work as invitations for the telling. However, after the positive 'yes-answer', the father, just by saying 'and', invites Ronaldo to tell more about the earlier topic. Ronaldo treats this 'and' as a request for an evaluation. He explains in line 7 that he has had a normal day at school, so he treats the 'and' as an 'and how did it go'. The PFF's project of inviting a telling with the use of a polar question succeeds; a telling follows after just a few brief utterances (e.g. 'and'). The polar question therefore seems to be used by the PFF as a way to initiate the topic. By using continuers, he evokes a more extended telling.

A third conversation shows the opposite. In excerpt 5, we see a polar question which PFM Hanny directs at Kas (15-year-old). She asks if Kas saw the postcard from Jan Jaap and Susan (whose relationship to the family is unknown), in line 1. This invitation receives a 'yes-answer', which is followed by no further questions.

Excerpt 5
Family-style group care 6, 15-02-2014, 6: 4.00-4.25
PFM = Professional Foster Mother, KAS = 15-year-old, ANT = Anthony, 7-year-old.

```
1            ((PFM gazes in the direction of KAS, KAS gazes
             towards his plate))
2   PFM      had je het kaartje gezien KAS (.) van Jan Jaap en
             Susan
             did you see the postcard KAS from Jan Jaap and Susan
3   KAS      ja
             yes
4            ((both PFM and KAS glancing away in
             different directions))
5   KAS      [°(ja die heb ik gelezen)°]
              (yes I read it)
6   ANT      [(inaudible) ]
```

In this example, the conversation ends with a yes-answer from Kas in line 3 and subsequently in line 5 a somewhat mumbled: 'yes I read it'. Simultaneously, a boy aged seven is asking something inaudible. Both interlocutors glance away after the first answer ('yes' in line 3); however, Kas afterwards says something without making

eye contact with his PFM. Probably due to the simultaneous utterance of Anthony, the absence of eye-contact or the relatively softly spoken words from Kas, the PFM does not show signs of recipiency as a response. Also, subsequent questions are absent. This conversation shows how, after a yes/no-interrogative form, subsequent actions (questions or continuers) are necessary to elicit a more extended telling.

In summary, a yes/no-question in itself just asks for a yes or no answer. As with the first category, questions and continuers are necessary to evoke a more extended telling. The yes/no-format works as a way to set the topic and can represent a first step to invite a telling.

Fishing for information

Next to wh-questions and yes/no-questions, PFPs also 'fish for information'. Pomerantz (1980) describes 'fishing' as telling your own side of something that happens or has happened, with the purpose of eliciting information from the other person. In excerpt 6, PFM Carmen fishes for information about a phone call between Peter and his biological mother. Prior to line 1, the PFM is in the kitchen cleaning up, when Peter (14-year-old) enters. At this moment, PFM Carmen states: 'what a short phone call boy'.

Excerpt 6
Family-style group care 2, 14-11-2013, 9: 00.30-1.10
PFM = Professional Foster Mother, PET = Peter, 14-year-old.

```
1    PFM      wat een kort telefoongesprekje ↑jongen
              what a short phone call boy
2    PET      ja mama belt °me half ne:gen°
              yes mother calls me after half past eight
3    PFM      oo::h hoo(.) prima ↑toch
              oh that's okay isn't it
4    PET      ja
              yes
5    PFM      ↑ja
              yes
6             (.)
7    PFM      was ze druk met de jongetjes
              was she busy with the little boys
8    PET      ja volgens mij (.) ik las 't op Facebook d'had ze
              yes along to I read it on Facebook that she had
```

```
 9              geschreven
                written
10   PFM        wat zei je
                what did you say
11   PET        ze had geschreven naar mij uh (.) ik bel n:a half
                she had written to me on Facebook I'll call you
                after
12              negen (.) denk dat ze dan wel (onverstaanbaar)
                half past eight(.) I think that she (inaudible)
13   PFM        zal haast wel
                probably will
14   PET        >jaha<
                 yes
15   PFM        ja
                yes
16              nou dat begrijp ik ook best wel
                well I also understand that quite well
17   PET        ja,
                yes
```

By saying 'a short phone call boy', the PFM is fishing for an account (Pomerantz, 1980). Peter comes up with an explanation: his mother will call him later in the evening, at half past eight. In her response (line 3), the mother shows that she is almost satisfied with the information, except that she wants to know if that is also okay with the adolescent himself: 'oh that's okay isn't it'. They align with each other in line 4 and 5, with the word 'yes'. By asking 'was she busy with the little boys?', the mother invites the adolescent to tell more specifically about his biological mother's reason for wanting to call back later. As such, the PFM legitimates the biological mother for having no time to speak with her son. Without much effort, this invitation works out in a more extended telling. Fishing for information in itself evokes an extended answer, and again we see the PFM showing active listenership during the conversation by using continuers and asking questions.

Invitation by addressing someone else

In three cases, the invitation was made through someone else. In the following example, we see a conversation which starts that way. The family had performed

different activities during the day, one of which was ice skating. In excerpt 7, we see how the PFF asks his wife Hanny a question about Kas (15-year-old).

Excerpt 7
Family-style group care 6, 15-01-2014, 5: 4.40 -7.10
PFF = Professional Foster Father, PFM = Professional Foster Mother, Ruth = 14-year-old, KAS = 15-year-old, Daan = 21-year-old, Joost = biological son, 19-year-old, JUR = Jurren, 15-year-old

```
1     PFF     wist jij Hanny dat uh Kas heeft vier jaar
              did you know that Hannie uh that Kas has had four
2             schaatstraining gehad
              years of ice skating training
3     PFM     echt waar
              really true
4     Ruth    echt,
              really
5     KAS     ja=
              yes
6     PFM     =zo
              so
7     KAS     =wat
              what
8     PFM     goh
              goh
9     KAS     vier jaar schaatsles gehad
              had four year of ice skating lessons
10    DAAN    was niet echt te zien aan je schaatsen
              that wasn't visible in the way you skated
11    JOOST   VIER JAAR LANG
              four years long
12    PFM     ja
              yes
13    JOOST   wat heb je daar geleerd
              what have you learned over there
14            (.)
15    KAS     op Noren
              on Noren
```

```
16            gewoon eerst is het twee jaar niks doen is het met=
              just at first it is two years of doing nothing is
              with
17    PFF     =ALS JE KAS NOREN AANTREKT
              if you put Kas Noren on
18    JUR     ijshockey schaatsen
              ice hockey skates
19    PFF     en je doet even je ogen dicht
              and you close your eyes for a moment
20            dan istie weg
              then he is gone
21    PFM     en hoe oud was je toen
              and what was your age then
```

This conversation is not going very smoothly. It is only after a number of short answers that Kas tells something by himself in line 16: 'just at first it is two years of doing nothing'. Despite this short answer, the PFF's attempt to give attention to Kas's qualities is successful. Different family members, including the PFM, participate in the conversation and show interest in Kas and invite him to tell about his experience ice skating. Between the initial invitation (line 1) and the actual telling (starting in line 12), different family members give responses and ask questions, and thereby collaborate in the invitation to tell more.

Inviting by sharing an own opinion or emotion

In the last example, excerpt 8, 'inviting by sharing own opinion or emotion' is used as a telling invitation. Although this type of invitation occurs only once in our data, it is interesting to see how the remark immediately evokes an emotionally loaded response. The invitation concerns an event in the future.

The conversation takes place in the kitchen, before dinner time. In line 1, the PFM says: 'I'm curious how it will be on Wednesday with Sander'. Sander is Peter's psychologist.

Excerpt 8
Family-style group care 2, 2013-11-03, 5,6: 19.15-00.09
PFM = Professional Foster Mother, PET = Peter, 14-year-old.

```
1     PFM     ik ben benieuwd hoe je het woensdag hebt met Sander
                I am curious how it will be on Wednesday with Sander
2     PET     ja ik ook best wel spannend
                yes me too quite exciting
3     PFM     ik denk dat je het heel leuk vindt
                I think you'll really like it.
4     PET     ja
                Yes
5             ja ik ik vind euh ik vind hem
                yes I I find eh I find him
6     PFM     hij voelt wel veilig
                he feels quite safe
7     PET     ja
                yes
8     PFM     ja
                yes
```

By showing her curiosity, the PFM shares her interest in Peter's first appointment with his psychologist. She says: 'I'm curious how it will be on Wednesday with Sander'. Peter's response 'yes me too quite exciting' fits with the invitation itself. The PFM shares her curiosity and Sander agrees with her *and* shares his feeling about the appointment: quite exciting. This is consistent with an earlier analysis by Noordegraaf, van de Koot, & Schep (2015), who found that when parents share something of themselves, it is almost always followed by a disclosure on the part of the adolescent.

Conclusion

The aim of our study was to gain greater insight into affective processes between adolescents and PFPs. We presented the results of our analysis of 32 interactions between PFPs and out-of-home placed adolescents that start with an invitation by PFPs. In daily interaction in the six family-style group care settings, parents use various ways to invite adolescents to tell something.

First of all, parents use wh-questions to begin an interaction with their adolescents. A wh-question sets an agenda for the content of the conversation. Adolescents give the information requested. Regardless of the format of the wh-question, all these questions in our corpus are followed by an extended answer (more than 3 words), in line with the initial question.

Second, invitations are sometimes (initially) made by a polar question. As we see in the different examples in this study, polar questions are almost always followed by more questions or just single words on the part of the processional parents to invite the adolescent to continue the conversation.

Third, parents less often use 'fishing', albeit still successfully, to invite interaction. Doing a 'fishing' is possibly useful as a more indirect way of asking for information or feelings, by asking for an account. In all examples in our data, 'fishing' leads to an extended telling.

Invitations can also be done through someone else. We see parents asking questions or raising a topic about one of the adolescents addressed to the other PFP. Examples show that it works to have a conversation started not just between the PFPs and the adolescent, but that it also gives other family members the opportunity to contribute to the conversation.

Lastly, an invitation to an adolescent by sharing one's own emotion or feeling occurs only a single time in our data. With this sharing, the PFM shows her curiosity and interest in a personal appointment scheduled for the adolescent. This invitation immediately evokes an emotionally loaded response, and opens the way for a personal conversation about the topic broached (Noordegraaf et al., 2015).

In this study, we focussed on invitations during and around dinner time. The analysis gives insight into the different ways in which PFPs invite adolescents to tell something. Our data clearly shows that PFPs have a choice of different invitations for evoking an interaction with their adolescents and for eliciting specific information; one invitation has another interactional consequence than the other. However, it is interesting to see that the invitation in itself seldom works to evoke an extended telling. It seems to be necessary for PFPs to ask further questions and to use continuers to have the telling continued.

The findings of this study are also interesting because adolescents in family-style group care often have a negative history in their original parent-child relationship. Therefore, it may be difficult for them to have a healthy relationship with their PFPs and to tell them about their (daily) life. Since interaction builds and maintains the relationship, an important task for PFPs is to stimulate interaction with the adolescents. A parent who shows involvement by listening and showing interest gives a child the message that his or her telling is worth listening to and helps to build the child's self-esteem (Gardeniers & De Vries, 2012b; Juffer, 2010; Bartelink, 2013; Van IJzendoorn, 2010). Given the interactional character of attachment, it is interesting to observe interactions in daily settings in a detailed way to learn how elements of attachment work out in these interactions (Noordegraaf, Schep & Koole, 2018). The analysis gives insight into the variety of possible invitations for entering into interaction with adolescents.

It may be helpful for PFPs to become more aware of the form of their questions for eliciting specific information they need or want. For the meaning of the conversation, it does not seem to matter whether these invitations result in a short or long conversation.

In addition, it would be interesting to determine whether there are specific moments at which invitations lead to more extended tellings or tellings on more delicate topics. It also would be interesting to see if the different strategies always work in the same way. Previous analysis has shown that children have different interactive capabilities (Schep, Koole, & Noordegraaf, 2016). Therefore, PFPs obviously use different strategies to interact with different children. For such an analysis, the collective data needs to be more extensive.

When we know more about these telling invitations, the acquired knowledge can show us something about the sensitivity and responsivity that appear in daily interactions in order to build and maintain an attachment relationship with adolescents in family-style group care. The analysis of the invitations by PFPs and of the way these invitations develop into interactions forms a contribution to the as yet limited knowledge available on building and maintaining affective relationships between PFPs and adolescents in family-style group care (De Baat & Berg-le Clercq, 2013).

4

5

COMBINING DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES IN FAMILY STYLE GROUP CARE

How Professional Foster Parents show listenership towards adolescents during dinner related activities

Abstract

This study focusses on dinner conversations in family-style group care. Children who can no longer live with their biological families are given shelter in such family-style group care. For the development of an attachment relationship between children and their Professional Foster Parents (PFPs), it is important that the children feel that they are being listened to. In this conversation analytic research, we analysed the PFPs' simultaneous involvement in multiple activities, namely listening and eating, commonly referred to as 'multiactivity'. The analyses revealed systematic ways in which PFPs coordinate their involvement in the activities of 'doing' listening and eating. When parents avert their gaze from the telling child, they break the social rule according to which hearers need to look at speakers during the telling. We found that when they avert their gaze, PFPs do head nods, use linguistic means or position their bodies in the direction of the telling child. This research contributes to our knowledge regarding interaction between adolescents and PFPs. It further contributes to our understanding of the way human beings are able to coordinate multiple activities simultaneously.

Keywords: Professional Foster Parents, Family-style group care, Adolescents, Attachment, Multiactivity

Introduction

Interaction is the main way by which people show that they are social human beings (Gardner, 2001). In social interaction, people have different roles, the main ones being the alternating roles of speaker and listener. Conversations are characterized as a joint and collaborative activity (Schegloff, 1982). In interaction, the speaker is the one producing utterances. However, the listener can be seen as a co-producer; recipients show in their response how they have understood the interaction thus far, and by doing so co-construct the development of the conversation (Gardner, 2001; Goodwin, 1979; Sacks, 1992).

This chapter focusses on dinner conversations in family-style group care. When children need to be placed outside their own families for compelling reasons, they can be placed in a family-style group care (Bartelink, 2013). Family-style group care provides permanent youth care in a family-like setting, with PFPs who have been trained in caring for children with difficult backgrounds and behaviour. In conversations, it is important for both the teller and the recipient to show an active attitude to help the conversation continue (Goodwin, 1981). In family-style group care, it is important for the parents to show themselves to be active listeners in order to build and maintain an affective and intimate relationship with the children (Van IJzendoorn, 2010; Juffer, 2010). Sensitivity and responsivity – that is, being sensitive to and responding to the signals given by the child – are elementary conditions for this affective and intimate relationship between children and (professional) parents to be built and maintained (Ainsworth et al., 1978).

Before discussing our findings on the ways in which PFPs combine the activities of listening and eating, we will first outline relevant research on the topic and present the research data and methodology.

Attachment, sensitivity and responsivity

Family-style group care offers the possibility to provide continuous placement for children (Gardeniers & De Vries, 2012b). Continuity is crucial for a healthy development, but is often absent in the life of out-of-home placed children. Children in family-style group care have frequently had to move from one place to the other (Leloux-opmeer et al., 2016). However, when children have a continuous placement with the same caretakers, they have the possibility to build and maintain an attachment relationship with these parents. Attachment is the inborn tendency to seek care from someone who is stronger, an adult who can protect and help the child (Juffer, 2010, p7). John Bowlby (1907-1990), the founder of attachment theory, stated that parents who act sensitively to the signals of their child contribute to the establishment of a safe parent-

child attachment relationship. In departure from earlier presuppositions, we now know that children over the age of six can also benefit from positive attachment experiences, so-called corrective attachment experiences (Bowlby, 1988; Juffer, 2010). These new insights are important for the care of out-of-home placed adolescents, because they often have troubled experiences in their relationship with their own parents and with other adults as a result of their frequent relocation (Sarti and Neijboer, 2001, Van Ooijen, 2010; Leloux-opmeer et al., 2016; Repetti et al., 2002). Children with a long history of problems and movements experience greater difficulties reattaching with a new caretaker. For this reason, Juffer (2010) underlines the importance of an available sensitive and responsive PFP and of the stability of such a relationship.

Tellings

Speaker and listener

In our study, we analyse tellings of adolescents to their PFPs, focussing on so-called *discourse units* (DU) (Houtkoop and Mazeland, 1985). Within a *discourse unit*, the teller is the *primary speaker* and has the right to finish the telling. Other interlocutors within the participation framework have the role of recipients of the telling; their contributions to the speaker's turn are limited to short responses, or continuers, between the teller's turns (Houtkoop and Mazeland, 1985; Schegloff 1982).

In interaction, the speaker and the listener have an active role in the conversation to make it successful. For PFPs, listening, or at least 'showing listenership', is also meaningful in the light of sensitivity and responsivity. In interactions, it is important for a child to feel that a parent is interested and that he or she is worth listening to (Bartelink, 2013; Cassidy, 2001; Gardeniers & De Vries, 2012b; Gecas and Schwalbe, 1986; Juffer, 2010; Van IJzendoorn, 2010). According to Manen (1991), sensitivity can be seen in the responsivity of the caretaker in such actions as making eye contact or talking with a child, or in the caretaker's attitude towards the child. Moreover, in interaction with adolescents, parents need to strike the right balance between remaining at a distance and providing proximity with a view to reaching autonomy (Allen, 2008).

Various studies within the field of Conversation Analysis (Gardner, 2001; Goodwin, 1979, 1981; Heritage, 1984b; Jefferson, 1984a; Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1982) have shown the role of the listener as a recipient and co-producer in conversations. These studies demonstrate the complex role of active recipientship and the consequences of minimal actions for the continuation of the conversation. In their responses, listeners show elements of their interpretations of the telling, and these interpretations contribute to a collaborate allocation of meanings (Goodwin, 1979). Interlocutors are in a continuing process of establishing mutual understanding (Heritage, 1984b Schegloff, 1982,

Mondada, 2011). We are unable to see or read the thoughts of our interlocutors, and we therefore 'show' understanding in conversations by using verbal and non-verbal signs (Heritage, 1984b; Schegloff, 1982; Goodwin, 1981). For example, a recipient can react with minimal responses, such as hmm hmm, oh or yes, as a sign that the turn can be continued, but the recipient thereby also shows that her or she has a sufficient understanding of the things mentioned by the speaker (Goodwin, 1986b, Goodwin, 1980; Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 1982). Furthermore, for showing understanding and recipientship, we can use embodied signs (Goodwin, 1979; Streeck et al., 2011), such as nods and gestures. What also plays an important role in 'doing listening' is (persistent) gaze direction (Goodwin, 1981). As Goodwin (1981, p. 30) states, '[...] gaze is not simply a means of obtaining information, the receiving end of a communication system, but is itself a social act'. The gaze direction of a speaker to another participant in the conversation shows that that participant is seen as the addressee. Gaze direction also plays an important role in doing listenership in interaction, where a (persistent) gaze in the direction of the speaker can be seen as a sign of listenership (Bavelas et al., 2000; Goodwin, 1981, 1984; Rossano, 2013). Goodwin (1984, p. 230) speaks of a general social rule, namely that when a speaker looks at a recipient, the recipient ought to look at the speaker. Accordingly, a violation of this rule occurs when a speaker looks at a recipient who does not look at the speaker during the telling.

There are different ways in which a speaker can appoint someone an addressee of the telling (Goodwin, 1981; Hayashi, 2013). A teller can call the name of the recipient or use gaze direction to address a person. Because of the reciprocal character of conversations, a listener needs to gaze back at the speaker to indicate the status of the recipient (Bavelas et al., 2002).

Multiactivity

Given the important role of listening for the PFP in building and maintaining an attachment relationship, this chapter focusses on the ways in which PFPs show listenership when adolescents tell something during dinner. It is important to note that the telling adolescent is not just telling and a PFP is not just listening, but that they are both at the same time also engaged in another activity: eating. Dinner conversations are seen as central moments in daily life, and a context in which people engage in conversation with each other (Schegloff, 1996). According to Mondada (2009, p. 4), "dinner conversations are social moments in which 'doing being a family' and being together are reached, and relationships are expressed by the use of various actions". These actions are both verbal (talking about the taste of the food, requests to pass something or talking about eating in general) and non-verbal (the action of eating itself, or tasting the food). Dinner time is also a moment to review the day, to be together with

family and friends, to laugh and to cry, because this is commonly the first joint moment when parents and children are together after a day of separation (Ochs et al., 1989).

The way in which two or more activities can be interwoven with social interaction is called *multiactivity* (Haddington, Keisanen, Mondada, & Nevile (Eds.), 2014). Moreover, apart from the adolescent, there are also other family members present around the table who often also demand the attention of the PFP or sometimes try to participate in the conversation (Sacks et al., 1974). When participants are involved in different activities, they usually have to combine verbal and non-verbal behaviour to show involvement within these multiple activities (Raymond and Lerner, 2014). Multiactivity is a social phenomenon; it must be clear to other participants that the speaker is engaged in different activities in order to make the interaction successful (Raymond and Lerner, 2014). Furthermore, Streeck and colleagues (2011) underline the 'co-occurrence of talk and embodied behavior as interdependent phenomena, not separable modes of communication and action' (p. 7). It is therefore of interest to learn more about how PFPs employ verbal and non-verbal behaviour to show active listenership when they are involved in the activities of eating and listening (Goodwin, 1981, 1984). Furthermore, the adolescents in the family-style group care we focus on in our study are in need of new attachment relationships, but often have troubled experiences in close relationships. Attachment relationships are important for giving adolescents the possibility to have a good transition from adolescence to adulthood (Bowlby, 1979). More knowledge about building and maintaining an attachment relationship with adolescents in family-style group care is an urgent necessity for having their care needs met, and this study addresses the ways in which parent 'do' listening while simultaneously being involved in another activity.

Method

The aim of this paper is to analyse the ways in which PFPs show listenership towards telling adolescents and thereby combine the activities of eating and listening. The data and methodology used in this research are outlined below.

Data

The data used for the analysis consists of 50 hours (selected out of 300 total hours) of video recordings of dinner conversations in six Dutch family-style group care settings. These dinner conversations have the characteristics of informal mundane conversations as well as of institutional interactions, since PFPs are professional care-takers but the children are at the same time given shelter in a family-like setting (Schep et al., 2016).

The six family-group care settings were selected according to several criteria: 1) at least one of the children in the family-style group care had to be an adolescent; 2) the PFPs in the family needed to have had at least one successful placement (i.e., an adolescent left the house at the age of eighteen or older); and 3) the PFP needed to hold a bachelor's degree or higher. The cameras ran every day from 4 to 7 pm, from the same angle in the dining room or kitchen. All recordings were made without interference from any of the researchers, since the cameras were turned on and off by members of the family-style group care themselves.

Analysis

In this study, the dinner interactions were analysed using Conversation Analysis (CA). CA provides tools for analysing every detail of a conversation (Sidnell and Stivers, 2013). This paper focusses on the way in which PFPs show the out-of-home placed adolescents that they are listening. Due to the cyclic procedure of CA-research, conclusions are based on literature and on the data itself; data and literature are studied alternately, where the data is always the starting point (Ten Have, 1999).

CA is characterised by the use of audiotaped or videotaped data to analyse natural settings, in everyday and institutional environments. As mentioned, our analysis is based on videotaped data. The advantage of videotaped data compared to audio data is that it offers the possibility to analyse both verbal and embodied behaviour of the participants in conversations, both of which are important for describing attachment behaviour. After looking at the conversations, we studied relevant literature and watched the data again. For the analysis in the current paper, we made a selection of relevant moments within these recordings (i.e., moments at which children initiated tellings to the PFP(s)), which resulted in 35 conversations. Transcripts were made of these fragments using the conventions described by Jefferson. All tellings are initiated by adolescents.

Transcription

As noted, the conversations were transcribed according to Jeffersonian transcription conventions (Jefferson, 2004). All conversations took place in Dutch, but were translated into English for publication. Names of family members including children have been anonymised using pseudonyms. Given the importance of gaze direction and bodily behaviours in 'doing listening' (Goodwin, 1981), gaze direction and embodied behaviour of the different interlocutors have been included in the transcripts. For this purpose, we used the transcription conventions for embodied conduct of Mondada (2007), as explained below. According to Goodwin (1981, p. 53), gaze direction is operationalized

as 'the direction of the eyeballs', or, when this cannot be determined, the gaze direction is operationalized as 'the orientation of the head of the interlocutors'. We will use the following symbols to visualize gaze direction and embodied behaviour of the interlocutors in addition to verbal behaviour (based on Mondada, 2007):

>>	The action described begins before the excerpt's beginning.
--->>	The action described continues after the excerpt's end.
.....	Action's preparation.
----	Action's apex is reached and maintained.
,,,,,	Action's retraction.
luc	Participant doing the described embodied action
x	Moment of eye contact
{	Simultaneous action and verbal utterance.

Results

This paper focusses on PFPs 'doing listening' when adolescents initiate a telling by themselves. First, we will describe the various ways in which PFPs show listenership to the telling adolescent in combination with the activity 'eating' or eating-related activities using verbal and non-verbal signs of listenership. In the second part, we will describe how the 'absence of listener responses' works out in the interaction and how adolescents react to that response during their telling.

'Extra work' when gazing away: verbal signs

Minimal responses. Our data shows that when and after the listener glances away, 'extra work' (Goodwin, 1981, 1984) can be done by such verbal signs as 'minimal responses' (Goodwin, 1986, Goodwin, 1980; Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 1982). By doing so, recipients show that they are still oriented to the telling, even though their gaze is not directed at the speaker (Goodwin, 1981, 1984). An example of these minimal responses will be shown in the next excerpt, describing a telling of Karolien which she directed to her PFF about Amber, who is doing 'city training'. According to Karolien, Amber has a dilemma and she explains why. Excerpt 1 contains a part of the introduction of Karolien's telling and displays how the PFF shows listenership by saying 'hmm hmm', while he places food on his fork and averts his gaze from Karolien (line 4).

Excerpt 1
Family-style group care 1, 13-11-2013, 5: 9.45-10.29
KAR= Karolien, 16-year-old; PFF= Professional Foster Father.

```
    kar    --------------KAR gazes towards PFF------------
 1  KAR    tot half zes zes uur zit ze nog op schoo:l, (.)
           until half past five six o'clock she is still in school
    pff    --------------PFF gazes towards KAR------------
    Kar    ------KAR gazes towards PFF-,,,
 2  KAR    want dan volgt ze city trainen.
           because then she does city training
    pff    ---PFF gazes towards KAR----,,,
 3  PFF    hmm ↑hmm
 4  pff    ((puts food on his fork))
```

The extract of the telling shows that Karolien gazes continuously in the direction of her PFF (lines 1 & 2). Lines 2 and 4 show that the PFF is constantly gazing back. However, in line 4 we see that he averts his gaze at the end of Karolien's turn in line 2, after the word 'training'. Immediately after averting his gaze, he says 'hmm hmm' (line 3) while he starts orienting himself towards his plate and puts some food on his fork. By this utterance ('hmm hmm'), the father shows that averting his gaze from the speaker Karolien is probably not a preferred action (Goodwin, 1981, 1984), but that he is still oriented to her telling. Karolien continues her story, by which she shows that there is no problem in the PFF averting his gaze.

Collaborative turn constructions. When two or more interlocutors construct a turn together, this is called a *collaborative completion* (Lerner, 1991, 1996). Recipients have various ways in which they can show understanding and knowledge of the content of the telling. However, *collaborative completions* are considered to be the most convincing way to show understanding and knowledge, because it allows a recipient to show understanding of the turn in progress as well as understanding of the speaker's interactional-action-in process (Lerner, 1996).

Analysis of our data shows that, next to minimal responses, PFPs also perform these *collaborative completions* when they avert their gaze from the telling child. In excerpt 2, we see an example of this when Kasper tells his PFM Eef about a girl in his class who tore a muscle in her hand during basketball:

Excerpt 2
Family-style group care 1, 15-11-2013, 4: 7.10-7.30
KAS= Kasper, 14-year-old; PFM= Professional Foster Mother.

```
    pfm    --------------KAS gazes towards PFM-x---------------
 1  KAS    en die heeft nu twee van die dingen {zo om d'r vinger
```

```
           and now she has two of these things on her finger
   kas                                      {((shows his hand))
   pfm                                      ..x-gazes towards KAS-
   kas     ------,,,
2  KAS     zodat eh
           so that eh=
   pfm     ------,,,
3  PFM     {=het goed strak blijft
           it stays tight
   pfm     {((puts food on her fork))
   kas     ((gazes towards his plate))
4  KAS     ja
           yes
   kas     ((puts food on his fork))
```

PFM Eef gazes towards Kasper in line 1, when he shows how 'two things are on her finger' (line 1). The PFM then gazes away from Kasper in line 2 while he is still telling, and directs her gaze to her plate. At that moment, she finishes Kasper's turn by saying: 'it stays tight' (line 3). Doing a 'collaborative turn construction' can function as 'extra work' (Goodwin, 1981, 1984) to show the speaker that, even though recipients have averted their gaze, they are still oriented to the telling.

Asking questions. Our collection shows a third verbal way in which PFPs show listenership towards a telling adolescent. When a PFP averts his or her gaze from the telling child, an orientation towards the telling can still be shown in 'asking questions'. Extract 3 displays a part of the conversation between adolescent Kasper and his PFF. Kasper tells about Robin, a classmate, who suffers from diabetes. During the telling, the PFF is eating his dessert. Prior to this part of the telling, Kasper had told that Robin is often unable to leave home because of his disease. In line 1, Kasper explains why:

Excerpt 3.
Family home 1, 18-11-2013, 3: 10.45-16.05
KAS= Kasper, 14-year-old; PFF= Professional Foster Father

```
   kas  ------------------Kas gazes towards PFF--------------
1  KAS  en dan kost het ook heel lang voordat ie pas weer thuis is of
        and then it takes a long time before he'll will be at home or
        ((PFF is orienting to his dessert))
   kas  --------------Kas gazes towards PFF--------------
```

```
 2  KAS  dat z'n moeder er pas is. (1.0) of °stel je voor.°
          until his mother is there (1.0) or imagine
     pff  {((PFF gazes towards dessert))
 3  PFF  {en dat is zo'n prik die die niet zelf mag geven,
          and that is an injection that he's not allowed to give himself
     kas  -----------------Kas gazes towards PFF -----------------
     kas  -----------------Kas gazes towards PFF -----------------
 4  KAS  ja dat mag die wel, (.) maar ehm (.) hij kan ook naar het
          yes that is allowed but ehm he could have to go to
     pff                                  -PFF gazes towards Kas-
     kas  -gazes towards PFF-
 5  KAS  ziekenhuis moeten
          the hospital
     pff  ((gazes towards dessert))
```

In line 1 Kasper says that when Robin suddenly gets sick, it will take a while for him to get home or for his mother to arrive or 'imagine' (line 1 & 2). At the transition relevance point, after 'imagine', the PFF starts averting his gaze from Kasper, and starts looking at his dessert. Yet, while averting his gaze, he simultaneously asks a question, in line 3, asking whether Robin could not just give the injection himself. Kasper's response, 'yes, that is allowed' (line 4), demonstrates that asking a question while gazing away is accepted as a way of showing an orientation to the telling.

`'Extra work' when gazing away: non-verbal signs`

Nodding. In addition to verbal signals, our data shows how PFPs do 'extra work' (Goodwin, 1981, 1984) while averting their gaze from the speaking child by non-verbal signals. In excerpt 4, we see an example of nodding as a non-verbal signal of listenership. Ronaldo (18-year-old) tells about his work at a restaurant, directing his telling to PFF Roel. He starts by saying: 'sometimes you have just two courses and then you have an appetizer and dessert' (line 1). The PFF nods at different times in the conversation, while simultaneously averting his gaze from Ronaldo.

Excerpt 4
Family-style group care 5, 18-12-2013, 5: 20.40-21.00
RON= Ronaldo, 18-year-old; PFF= Professional Foster Father.

```
     Ron  -----------------RON gazes towards PFF----------------
```

```
1   RON   soms heb je maar twee gangen, (.) en dan heb je voor en na,
          sometimes you have only two courses and then you have appetizer
          and dessert
2   pff   {((nods))
3   pff   {((gazes towards RON))
          --towards PFF--
4   RON   voor en hoofd.
          appetizer and main dish
5   pff   {((nods))
    pff   {((> averts gaze to plate))
```

During Ronaldo's telling, the PFF averts his gaze, and while doing so he nods and starts looking at his plate (lines 5 & 6). By nodding, the PFF can show that he is still oriented to the child's telling (Goodwin, 1981, 1984).

In our collection, nodding is often used when parents are chewing on their food. This is a moment when it is impossible, or at least not desirable, to give a verbal response. Several researchers (Goodwin, 1986; Goodwin, 1980; Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 1982) have suggested that a nod treats the turn as being in progress and allows the teller to continue the telling. Stivers (2008) refers to this as 'alignment', where a recipient can show that '[…] a storytelling is in progress and the teller has the floor until story completion' (p. 34). Therefore, when the PFF is unable to gaze in the direction of the adolescent, by nodding he encourages Ronaldo to continue his story.

Combined glancing. To combine the activities of eating and listening, a recipient may need to be inventive in order to coordinate these activities in such a way that they can be performed simultaneously. Our analysis showed that parents use various ways to give shape to this task, as we have shown in the previous paragraphs. Yet we also found another inventive way in which parents combine these activities; in some instances, PFPs, during children's tellings, bring their spoon or fork to their mouth and simultaneously glance quickly in the direction of the speaker. After this brief glance at the telling child, parents continue the activity of eating and start looking at their plate again. This systematic process will be called 'combined glancing'.

An instance of such 'combined glancing' is shown in excerpt 5, where Kasper is telling his PFF about his 'status' on shoarma (most probably referring to a 'status' on social media, because he is talking about 'hashtags'). At the beginning of Kasper's telling, the PFF is doing the 'combined glancing' (line 2), visible in the transcript as 'X': a small x reflects the movement with which the recipient of the telling directs his gaze to the speaker, while simultaneously putting his food in his mouth. A capital X indicates a direct gaze to the speaker, and the commas the aversion of gaze.

Excerpt 5

Family-style group care 1, 13-11-2013, 5: 12.20-12.36

KAS= Kasper, 14-year-old; PFF= Professional Foster Father, KAR= Karolien, 16-year-old.

```
        kas                                       ...--------------------
1       KAS     dat hadden Fra- Frans en ik eh [eerst als sta:tus.
                Frans and I did have that as status
2       pff                                        [xxx XXXXX {,,,
        pff                                        [((pu[ts spoon in mouth
        pff                                                    {(((gazes
                towards plate))
        kas     -KAS gazes towards PFF-,,,,
3       KAS     toen dat we bij hem [gingen eten {toen hadden we
                when we had dinner at his place we had
4       KAR                         [°oh ja°
                                     oh yes
5       kas                                  {(((gazes towards KAR))
                              ↓ kas gazes towards PFF
        kas              ....---------,,,
7       KAS     hashtag shoarma: hu[huuh
        PFF                        [(mhaha)
        pff     --PFF gazes towards plate--
```

Before Kasper starts his telling, the PFF is helping his daughter Janna (5-year-old), with her food, and directs his gaze to his plate to continue eating. However, after 2.5 seconds, Kasper starts his telling in line 1, and halfway the first line of his telling, the PFF puts his fork to his mouth and gazes in the direction of Kasper while simultaneously putting his food in his mouth, after which he starts looking at his plate again (line 2 & 3) and continues eating while Kasper continues his telling. In this way, the PFF shows an orientation to Kasper's telling, as he has now quickly looked at Kasper, while he immediately thereafter looks at his plate. In this way, the quick glance seems to reveal something along the lines of 'I'm still hearing you'. Here, as in the other cases described in the previous paragraphs, Kasper indicates that this way of the PFF's 'doing listening' is adequate, as he continues his story.

Body position/half gaze. Another sign of listenership is seen during dinner conversation when PFPs move their body and head partly towards the speaker and thereby show an orientation to the teller. When parents show an orientation to the telling but do not look directly at the telling child, this can be seen as a 'half gaze'. The

place from where parents sit when they use a half gaze is often diagonally opposite to the telling adolescent, or when parent and adolescent 'share' the corner of the table. In these situations, it can be difficult to look continuously at the speaker because of the body torque (Schegloff, 1998) required for eye contact. Fragment 6 shows Ronaldo doing a telling (about the 'Ankerstichting', which is an organization where he works) to his PFM while gazing directly at her. PFM scoops up the food while Ronaldo is telling. It is striking that Anke has shifted her upper body a little to the left. Moreover, her head is also somewhat directed at Ronaldo. With this body position, she can still show an orientation towards Ronaldo's telling. After Ronaldo's utterance, she also shows a verbal way of listenership, using a continuer ('yes', line 3).

Excerpt 6
Family-style group care 5, 12-12-2013, 0: 2.00-2.45
RON= Ronaldo, 18-year-old; PFF= Professional Foster Father; PFM= Professional Foster Mother.

```
        ron                         ......------------------------------
 1   RON    ik heb ook eh (.) Ronald gesproken,(.) de baas van de
            I also have talked to Ronald (.) the boss of the
        pfm    -------------
 2   RON    ankerstichting
            Ankerstichting
 3   PFM    {ja,
            yes
 4   pfm    {((is dishing up food))
                     - LINES 5-10 OMITTED -
11   PFM    en [wat heb je besproken dan
            and what did you discuss
        ron       ...-------------------------------------
12   RON       [hij eh (.) vindt het ook jammer dat ik wegga,
               he uh also regrets that I'm leaving
        pfm       ...-------------------------------------,,,
13   PFM    {ja,
             yes
14   pfm    {((continues serving food))
        ron    ----------------------------------------------------
15   RON    hij komt eh (.) de volgende dag komt ie nog effe een handje geven.
            he comes uh, the next day he will come by to shake hands
```

```
16        (1.6)
17   PFM  en waarom eh- waarom (.) hij dan wat- wat heeft hij voor
          and why eh- why (.) him then what- what kind of
19        functie dan
          function does he have then
     ron  ------------------------------------------
20   RON  nou hij is zeg maar de baas van de Landster
          well he is, you could say, the boss of the Landster
21   PFM  ↑o::h (.) en heb je hem al eens eh
           oh and have you had him eh already
22        (0.4)
     ron  ----------------
23   RON  nou ik moet- [ik
          well I have I
24   PFM               [ge↓had

     ron  ------------------------------------------------------
          ----------
25   RON  moest re- ik moest- regelmatig moesten we- moesten we dingen voor
          had to- I had to- frequently we had to- had to make things for
          ----------
26        hem maken,
          him
27   PFM  ↑o::h
          ------------------------------------------------------
28   RON  d'r was toen ook eh een diner moesten we voor hem maken,
          at that time there was also a dinner that we had to make for him
29   PFM  ↑o::h
     ron  ---------------------------
30   RON  voor de hele (.) projectgroep
          for the whole project group
31   PFM  ↓hmm
```

In line 11, PFM Anke asks a question, and in the second part of this question she looks directly at Ronaldo. She is still gazing towards Ronaldo when he is giving an answer (lines 13 & 14), but at the end of his answer (lines 13), she averts her gaze from him. While she averts her gaze, she does 'extra work' (Goodwin, 1981, 1984) by uttering a response token: 'yes' (line 13). Moreover, while she averts her gaze, it becomes clear

that she starts orienting herself to another activity as well: spooning the food (line 16). Ronaldo continues his telling in line 17, and subsequently the PFM asks another question (lines 18 & 19), without gazing towards Ronaldo but using a 'half gaze' to show an orientation to the telling. The mother asks another question (lines 21 & 24), and during the following part of Ronaldo's telling she uses a 'half gaze' towards Ronaldo and gives minimal responses (lines 29 & 31). At the end of the telling, she says 'hmm', which she seems to use as an acknowledger, as suggested by the falling intonation, which could reflect a 'sense of completion' (Gardner, 2001, p. 104).

In this interaction, the absence of a direct gaze from the PFM seems to be unproblematic, because Ronaldo continues his telling even though the mother's gaze is not directed to him. By making use of a 'half gaze', thereby torqueing her body (Schegloff, 1998), she still shows an orientation to the telling. The use of minimal responses exhibits 'listenership' as well (Gardner, 2001), which could also explain why a direct gaze is not always necessary to show an orientation to the telling.

Body turn/walking away and still showing listenership. In the previous paragraph, we outlined how PFPs make clear they are oriented to the telling of the adolescent by turning their body and/or head somewhat towards the teller. We will now discuss how our data shows examples of a more explicit body turn. While preparing dinner or spooning the food, PFPs sometimes have to take something from the kitchen counter or a cabinet in the kitchen. To do so, they have to turn their body away from the table and therefore from the telling child. In excerpt 7, this action is shown. Adolescent Peter sits opposite his PFM at the dinner table and is telling that 'he read a Dutch football coach finally had his coaching diploma' (not included in the transcript). In line 1, he continues his telling: 'but I think he won't be that [i.e., the coach] of Ajax' (a professional football club from Amsterdam). Immediately after this utterance, the PFM slides her chair backwards and turns her body away from the table to take something from the kitchen cabinet, and while doing so she asks 'what?' (line 2).

Excerpt 7
Family-style group care 2, 27-11-2013, 1: 4.29-5.10
PET= Peter, 14-year-old; PFM= Professional Foster Mother, JUL= Julian, 13-year-old, Kristian= 11-year-old.

```
        pet   --------------------------------,,,
1       PET   maar ik denk dat ie dat niet van Ajax wordt=
              but I think that he won't be that of Ajax
        PFM                        ...----------------
        pfm   =((slides chair backwards and turns somewhat to the left
```

```
                backwards))
2      PFM      {wat?
                 what
                {((> gazes towards Kristian grabs something out of the
                cabinet))
3      JUL      jo:h Frank de Boer is ↑beter
                well Frank de Boer is better
6      PFM      ja?
                yes
       pet        ...------------------------------------------------
7      PET      ja: hij wordt eh denk ik coach van Feyenoord waar hij heeft
                yes I think he will be the coach of Feyenoord where he has
       pfm        ...------------------------------------------------
       pet      ---------
8      PET      ge↑speeld
                played
9      pfm      ------,,,,
       PFM      {okay:,
       pfm      {((sits down at the table again))
```

As we can see in the fragment, the PFM shows an orientation towards Peter's telling even when she takes something from the kitchen cabinet and is therefore unable to show listenership by continuously looking at him. She does so instead by asking 'what?' while simultaneously walking away from the table. In this way, although she is no longer at the table, she still shows she is interested in what Peter has to say.

Absence of signs of listenership

Not all tellings initiated by adolescents are successfully received. It is possible for a recipient to miss the utterance(s) of the speaker when something happens in the interlocutors' environment to attract the attention of the recipient, or perhaps for the recipient simply not to feel like listening. Active listenership on the part of the recipient seems to be necessary in order for the teller to finish his or her telling successfully (Bavelas et al., 2002). Consciously or unconsciously, speakers prefer a recipient who gazes at them, making it seem almost impossible to talk to someone who makes no eye contact. Heath (1984, p. 249) speaks of '*establishing copresence*', which happens by a '*display of recipiency*'; conversation partners must show each other verbally or in embodied ways that they are open to receiving each other's messages.

Excerpt 8 describes an example of the fragments in which listenership of parents seems to be missing and of the reaction of a telling adolescent. We see an example of an orientation to 'an object of distraction', where Karolien initiates a telling and directs it to her PFM Eef by calling her name (line 1) and gazing in her direction. These are two explicit ways of addressing someone as a recipient (Sacks et al., 1974). However, on the other side of the table, Kasper (14-year-old) and his PFF are wrestling with each other, and the mother seems to be focussing on that scene (line 1), showing that she is not oriented to Karolien's telling.

Excerpt 8
Family-style group care 1, 15-11-2013, 5: 3.46-5.10
KAR = Karolien, 16-year-old, PFM = Professional Foster Mother (Eef); PFF = Professional Foster Father (Dirk), KAS = Kasper, 14-year-old.

```
    kar  ------------------------------,,,-gazes towards PFF-----
1   KAR  die man die op zaterdag (.)[Eef (.)°(die {komt helpen)°
         that man who comes to help on saterdays Eef
    pfm                             {((gazes in the direction of
         PFF))
    kas                         --gazes towards PFF-------------
2   KAS                             [jullie alle twee jullie zitten
                                     both of you are sitting
    kas  than towards PFM--
3        veels te languit
         too much low down
    kar  -gazes towards PFF-
4   PFM  {het is één grote voetenorgie onder de tafel man
          it is one big foot orgy under the table man
    pfm  {((bends under the table))
    kar  --gazes towards PFM-------
    kas  -gazes towards PFM--------
6   KAS  ja [die {daar↑o
         yes look there
    kas          {((gestures with head in the direction of PFF))
7   PFF    [zet ze gauw weer terug,
            put them back quickly
8   pfm  ((comes back from under the table))
    kar  ---gazes towards PF, than gazes towards PFM---
```

```
 9   KAR  die man Eef die op zaterdag eh al (openmaakt),
          that man Eef who (opens)on Saturdays
     pfm              ...--gazes towards KAR--
     pfm  -gazes towards KAR-
10   PFM  Harmen (.) denk ik
          Harmen    I think
```

While Karolien is trying to tell something to PFM Eef (line 1), Eef is looking at her husband and Karolien seems to follow Eef's gaze (line 1, 3). Yet Karolien then seems to try to capture Eef's attention again by gazing in her direction (line 4). This is without success, however, as Eef starts to do something under the table (line 4). When the mother comes up from under the table again, Karolien gazes in her direction (line 8), repeats her utterance and explicitly mentions Eef's name again (line 9). At that moment, Karolien captures PFM Eef's gaze and starts her telling again.What we see in this instance, therefore, is that the PFM does not show an orientation to the telling of the child, either by providing verbal responses, or by showing a non-verbal orientation (e.g., directly looking at the child). It also becomes clear that the child treats this as problematic, as she does not continue her story. When the child does eventually get the mother's attention, she tells her story.

Overall, when PFPs orient themselves to another object in the direct environment, telling children follow the gaze of the PFP. The addressee's eye contact seems to be necessary for children to tell something, in accordance with earlier findings (Bavelas et al., 2002; Heath, 1984). To establish eye contact, the children in the family-style group care we analysed perform different actions, as shown in the example above: they follow the gaze of the addressee (Goodwin, 1981), call the name of the addressee (Hayashi, 2013) or restart the telling (Goodwin, 1981, 1984). These performed actions are interesting, because they show us 'the work' adolescents do to enter into interaction with their parents (see also: Schep et al., 2016).

Conclusion

Social interaction has a collaborative character: both speaker and listener need to take an active stance in order to make the interaction successful (cf. Bavelas et al., 2000; Schegloff, 1982). In this paper, we were interested in the ways in which PFPs in family-style group care show active listenership during tellings of adolescents in their care. Due to the many difficulties in the background and behaviour of these adolescents, they often have difficulties building and maintaining an affective relationship with new caretakers. However, the stable relationship with PFPs in family-style group care gives

adolescents the opportunity to have positive and corrective (attachment) experiences (Juffer, 2010). Sensitivity and responsivity from the side of the PFPs are seen as one of the basic elements for building and maintaining an affective relationship (Bowlby, 1988). Listenership displaying sensitivity and responsivity on the part of the PFPs during adolescents' tellings could therefore be regarded as very important (Manen, 1991). Moreover, a parent who shows listenership and interest in a child demonstrates that the child is worth listening to (Bartelink, 2013; Gardeniers & De Vries, 2012b; Gecas and Schwalbe, 1986; Juffer, 2010; Van IJzendoorn, 2010).

In dinner conversations in family-style group care, PFPs are involved in multiple activities: listening and eating. Moreover, other family members are often present around the table who try to attract the attention of the PFP or interrupt the conversation. Our analysis therefore focussed on instances in which PFPs are doing different activities simultaneously. When the direct gaze of PFPs towards telling children is absent, it can be seen as undesirable because it influences the 'interactional rules' (Goodwin, 1984; Haddington et al., 2014). We found three main ways in which PFPs still show listenership while performing another activity: 1) they use verbal signs; 2) they use non-verbal signs and 3) they combine verbal and non-verbal signs. Our analyses reflect that the telling children treat these ways in which the activities of 'doing listening' and eating are combined as unproblematic, since they continue their telling even if the parents' gaze is not directed at them.

However, in some cases, PFPs do not show an orientation to children' s tellings. This can occur for various reasons, as when other children require help or too many things are going on at the same time. Our analysis showed that adolescents then use different strategies, both verbal and non-verbal, to get the attention of the PFPs or to let their telling succeed, such as directing themselves to another participant at the table or calling the name of the PFP. In this way, children do treat parents' behaviour as problematic, as they do not continue or finish their telling.

Our analysis shows how PFPs deal with their involvement in multiple activities, i.e., 'multiactivity' (Haddington et al., 2014), by using verbal and embodied signs. The subtlety of combining different activities shows that people are able to coordinate involvement in multiple activities in social interaction simultaneously. Besides, the analysis shows that adolescents can deal with the fragmented attention of their PFPs when they are engaged in multiple activities. This is interesting for two reasons. First, in order to build and maintain (attachment) relationships with adolescents in family-style group care, an urgent need for these adolescents is to be heard and thereby to get the feeling that they are worth listening to. Given their difficult backgrounds and problematic behaviour, these adolescents often have an even greater need for positive interaction. Second, during dinner, PFPs in family-style group care are almost always

engaged in simultaneous activities. Besides having dinner and coordinating the dinner itself, they have different family members around the table who are all entitled to their attention. It may be helpful for (aspiring/other) PFPs to see the different strategies PFPs in our study use to fulfil this interactional task.

In this study, we analysed how PFPs show listenership towards the telling adolescents while having dinner. It would be interesting for further research to see if our conclusions are also applicable to other activities. For example, is it also possible to combine reading the newspaper or sending WhatsApp messages with showing listenership towards a telling adolescent? Does it with these activities also suffice for adolescents to receive fragmented attention or an averted gaze from the PFP?

5

HOW PROFESSIONAL FOSTER PARENTS INITIATE BEHAVIOURAL CHANGE BY CORRECTING ADOLESCENTS IN FAMILY STYLE GROUP CARE

Abstract

In family-style group care, Professional Foster Parents (PFPs) provide care for out-of-home placed youngsters, often in addition to their own children. PFPs have the task of providing a safe base for these adolescents and simultaneously helping them to become (more) autonomous. It can be difficult for PFPs to achieve this balance, especially when it comes to rules and behavioural guidance. Learning how experienced PFPs direct adolescents by initiating behavioural corrections is therefore relevant.

In this study, Conversation Analysis (CA) was used to analyse video data showing dinner time conversations in six family-style group care settings. Analysis of these data shows that the corrections initiated by PFPs follow the three main grammatical sentence forms (also in Dutch): imperatives, interrogatives and declarative sentences. Each form provides the adolescents with a number of follow-up options. The different forms vary in the amount of space they leave adolescents for sharing their own opinions or ideas. With a view to building and maintaining a(n) (attachment) relationship with adolescents in family-style group care, acquiring knowledge about how these different corrections develop in interaction with adolescents is of great interest. Knowledge about this process can help PFPs to interact more consciously with adolescents in their family-style group care.

Keywords: Professional Foster Parents, family-style group care, Corrections, Adolescents, Attachment.

Introduction

In adolescence, the parent-child relationship changes towards greater equality and reciprocity and less dependence (Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998). Still, the attachment relationship with parents remains important, and permits and encourages adolescents to strive for autonomy (Bowlby 1979, Allen and Land, 1999).

Adolescents who grow up outside their own family have to deal with non-biological (attachment) relationships. They also often have troubled experiences in their relationship with their biological parents as well as other adults as a result of having moved from one place to another (Van Oijen, 2010; Sarti & Neijboer, 2011, Leloux-Opmeer, Kuiper, Swaab, & Scholte, 2017). Consequently, they frequently encounter greater difficulties in starting new relationships (Rosenfeld et al., 1997; Oosterman et al., 2007).

PFPs in 'family-style group care' are responsible for the upbringing of these out-of-home placed youngsters. PFPs need to support adolescents in becoming autonomous and to provide a secure base to fall back on (Bowlby, 1979; Kwaliteitscriteria Gezinshuizen, 2019 [Quality Criteria Family-style group care]). However, PFPs find it difficult to provide the right balance in protecting adolescents and encouraging exploration (Van de Koot & Schep, 2014). The developmental task of adolescents to explore seems conflict with the task PFPs have to be responsible for the safety of the out-of-home placed children (Van Oijen, 2010; Van de Koot & Schep, 2014). Moreover, due to the relational traumas experienced by these adolescents, they often show disturbed behaviour, making their relationship with PFPs quite vulnerable (Leloux-Opmeer et al., 2017). Correcting (disturbed) behaviour of adolescents in family-style group care needs to go hand in hand with the preservation of the relationship. This paper therefore focusses on video-recorded, naturally occurring PFP-adolescent interactions to discover how experienced PFPs initiate behavioural change by correcting adolescents. These interactions take place during and around dinner time and are analysed at the hand of Conversation Analysis (CA). CA is a form of ethnomethodological research which explores the social actions participants perform in interaction by examining the sequential unfolding of talk (Koole, 2015). CA enables us to study the video-recorded interactions in detail, and to observe the actual behaviour of PFPs and adolescents (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013).

In our data, PFPs use three different sentence types, which are in fact used in almost all languages for the correction of adolescents (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985): 1) imperatives, 2) interrogatives and 3) declaratives. These three forms differ in their claim to the right of behavioural correction, range from a relatively strong demand to a weaker demand. Thus, depending on the specific form of correction, adolescents are left greater or lesser degrees of space for sharing their own opinions or interpretations.

In what follows, we will first give an overview of the literature on interactions between PFPs and adolescents within the context of family-style group care and on corrections in social interaction. After discussing the methods and materials used in this study, we will move on to our analysis of PFP corrections in family-style group care. Finally, we will discuss our findings and the implications of our study.

Family-style group care

In growing recognition of the importance for children to grow up in a permanent environment, the Dutch government decided in 2014 that children who need to be raised in a residential youth care setting should first be placed in a foster family or in family-style group care (Ministry of Health, Welfare & Sport and Ministry of Justice and Security, 2014). A family-style group care setting comprises Professional Foster Parents (PFPs) and their biological children. Besides taking care of their biological children, PFPs in this family-style setting also take care of several out-of-home placed children (Wunderink, 2019; Ter Meulen, Vinke, De Baat, & Spoelstra, 2014). Despite the importance of placement permanency, many placements end prematurely, especially during adolescence (Van Oijen, 2010; Gardeniers & De Vries, 2012b). Breakdowns are commonly caused by a combination of risk factors leading to uncontrollable behaviour on the part of the adolescent. In such cases, the adolescents are no longer manageable by the PFPs (Van der Vliet, 2013). However, every breakdown increases the risk of the (re-) occurrence of behavioural problems (Oosterman et al., 2007). Increased knowledge about the practices of raising adolescents in family-style group care is therefore of urgent necessity.

Parent-adolescent relationship

As stated in the introduction, the relationship between a parent and a child changes during the transition from childhood to adolescence towards a more reciprocal relationship (Laursen et al., 1998). In this period of transition, parents need to keep some distance from the child, while still providing enough proximity. Too much parental control can lead to problems in adjustment to the stresses of adolescence, whereas less monitoring can lead to problematic behaviour and unsafety (Kerr & Stattin, 2000). PFPs typically have difficulty finding this balance (Van de Koot & Schep, 2014). One PFP (interviewed by Van de Koot & Schep, 2014) explains the dynamics, as compared to the situation involving her own children. She stated that because she knows the out-of-home placed adolescents less well compared to her own children, she limits them more (p.9)'.

The transition may be accompanied by tensions in the parent-adolescent relationship. In a parent-adolescent relationship with a history of sensitive and responsive interactions and a strong bond, tension causes no enduring problems. However, in relationships with a less positive history, communication difficulties can result in disruption or unresolved problems (Branje, Laursen, & Collins, 2012). According to the overview given by Leloux-Opmeer and colleagues (2017), children in family-style group care need help with regard to their attachment and trauma-related problems. They often exhibit problematic behaviour due to their troubled history (Leloux-Opmeer et al., 2017) and the resulting less positive history of sensitive and responsive interactions. This complicates the current parent-adolescent interaction. According to Allen and colleagues (2003), disagreement can work positively if parents and adolescents are able to stay connected while disagreeing on critical issues. When parents and adolescents succeed in using positive conflict resolution styles, conflicts can work as opportunities for adolescents to learn to negotiate or to achieve compromises (Branje, Van Doorn, Van der Valk & Meurs, 2009).

In light of the above, knowledge about how experienced PFPs initiate behaviour corrections with adolescents and how adolescents respond to these corrections is valuable. Analysis will also shed more light on whether or not negotiation and compromises are achieved in these interactions.

Corrections

The 'corrections' we analyse in this paper are different from 'corrections' as they are treated in the field of CA. Firstly, corrections (and repair) in CA address "problems in speaking, hearing, and understanding" (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977, p.361), while the corrections in this paper mostly address non-conversational behaviour of the adolescents. Secondly, a distinction can be made between the party that performs the correction (the adolescent) and the party that initiates it (the PFP). In the current study, however, we will use the term 'correction' in the more colloquial sense of 'initiating a correction'. Accordingly, this paper will consider a PFP telling an adolescent 'don't eat with your hands' to be initiating a correction.

To our knowledge, little to no research has been conducted in CA on behavioural corrections of adolescents by parents. There is, however, some work on verbal parent-pre-adolescent conflicts during dinner in Italian families (Arcidiacono & Pontecorvo, 2009). These researchers found that a declarative statement is most often used by parents in accusing their child. In addition, Sterponi (2009) reported on the meaning and functions of accounts in parent-child interactions. She found that when parents ask for an account, the children are held responsible for their behaviour. A recent study by

Potter and Hepburn describes admonishments of children by their parents. They show that the interrogatives used by parents ('what are you doing?', 'what did I say?' and 'why are you doing it?') do several things in interaction. They treat the child as a conscious person who has to account for its behaviour or to defy the response requirements options of an interrogative (Potter & Hepburn, 2020).

In this study, we focus on corrections by PFPs of adolescents in their care. In our data, we found corrections to be formulated as described by Sadock & Zwicky, that is, assuming the three main sentence types used in approximately all languages (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985): 1) imperatives, 2) interrogatives or 3) declaratives. These three forms differ in the amount of 'deontic authority' they claim (Stevanovic, 2011). Deontic authority refers to a speaker's rights to determine the other's future behaviour (Rossi & Zinken, 2017).

An imperative correction (e.g., 'Stop it') directs the recipient to do something, or rather to stop doing something. Moreover, it can *also retrospectively treat the recipients as accountable for their current actions or inaction'* (Kent & Kendrick, 2016, p. 2). A sentence that is imperatively formulated conveys a steep deontic gradient. This means that the imperatival form (e.g., 'Stop it') has a strong claim of deontic authority; the speaker presents the correction in a very direct way, leaving less choice left for the recipient to have another opinion (Stevanovic, 2011).

Corrections performed by using an interrogative form (e.g., 'Why don't you clean up the mess?') (Zimmerman, 1984) give recipients more 'space' to either accept or refuse to correct their behaviour. Furthermore, this particular form invites recipients to give information (see Heritage & Raymond, 2012). The interrogative correction claims a less strong stance on deontic rights (Stevanovic, 2011), and gives the adolescent the opportunity to provide the requested information and as such to give an account or explanation. However, in the case of corrections, a preferred answer is sometimes resistance towards the correction itself. When an adolescent gives a preferred answer to the question (e.g., 'why don't you clean up the mess?'), it shows resistance to the action it implies (i.e., a request to clean up the mess).

Finally, when speakers provide corrections that are formulated declaratively (e.g. 'you didn't clean up'), they produce a claim or statement to evoke an account or declaration of the co-participant (Englert, 2010). By giving an account or declaration, however, the adolescent does not have to comply with the parent's admonition. With a declarative sentence, '*the speaker claims a relatively weak deontic stance: it is entirely up to the recipient to sort out the implications that the speaker's utterance has on the recipient's own future actions* (Stevanovic, 2011, p. 25).

With all corrections, a speaker directs the (non-)actions of the other (Kent & Kendrick, 2016), yet each form of correction offers different interactional follow-up

options. A correction has different layers in it; it is grammatically performed, giving it different follow-up options. For instance, 'why don't you clean up the mess?' is designed as an interrogative, and asks for an account that includes why-information (Bolden & Robinson, 2011). However, it also performs an action: stop making a mess / explain why you didn't clean up your mess. In our analysis of corrections provided by PFPs to correct adolescents' behaviour, we show how the form used (i.e., imperative, interrogative or declarative) gives greater or less space to adolescents for determining their response.

Methods

To obtain insight into the corrections performed by PFPs in family-style group care, we used Conversation Analysis. This method enables us to study in the details of interaction (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013) how corrections are formatted and how they function in the interaction.

CA is characterized by the use of audiotaped or videotaped data to analyse natural settings, in everyday and institutional (that is, goal-oriented) environments. Video data can be watched as many times as necessary, which helps the analysis of both verbal and embodied behaviour of participants within conversations.

Our data was obtained from six Dutch family-style group care settings. The six families were selected using several criteria and proposed by the staff of two youth care organisations. The families were employed or registered by one of these organisations. They needed to have one or more adolescents placed in their home, at least one successful placement (i.e., an adolescent had left the home when s/he was 18 years old) and a PFP with a bachelor's degree or higher. In these six households, cameras ran every day from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. for 21 days, amounting to approximately 300 hours of video recordings. A camera was placed in a fixed position in the dining room for three weeks. The video recordings were all made without interference from researchers. The PFPs and adolescents signed an informed consent prior to the start of the recording period.

To locate relevant fragments, 40 hours of the videotaped conversations were watched, three days for each family-style group care. Fragments in which PFPs correct adolescents or teenagers were then selected. Since we saw no reason to suppose that adolescents respond differently to the sentence formats than teenagers do, we also included fragments in which teenagers are corrected. This inclusion gives greater insight into the interactional consequences of the three forms. In this study, corrections were identified as instances where the PFP tells the adolescent or child that they are doing something they are not allowed to do, or did not do something they should have done. The result was 67 examples of corrections initiated by PFPs. Based on these examples, we made an overview of the variety in the corrections, which led to the distinction

between three different forms we illustrate in this study. During the analysis, we went back and forth between the data and the literature. In addition, the different steps in the analysis were discussed in data sessions (with a group of conversation analysists) and by the authors of this chapter. The conversations were transcribed according to the conventions developed by Jefferson (2004, see Appendix B). All examples used for publication were translated into English. Names of families and children have been anonymized.

Analysis

In the interactions during and around dinner, we observed three main practices used by PFPs when correcting adolescents. They perform corrections by using 1) an imperative, 2) an interrogative or 3) a declarative. Table 1 offers an overview of the corrections and the number of fragments per type of correction.

Table 1. *Overview of corrections by Professional Foster Parents*

Corrections	Number
Imperative	26
Interrogative	20
Declarative	21
All initiations	67

Corrections formatted as imperatives

In our data, all corrections formatted as an imperative target behaviour that is immediately correctable by the adolescent. Imperative corrections give the adolescents the follow-up options to either accept or decline to correct their behaviour. The examples in our collection show that almost all of the corrections in this category are accepted by the adolescent without resistance. Only a few corrections evoke resistance, caused by disagreement about whether or not the correction was justified. We will give one example where the adolescent immediately accepts the correction, and a second one in which the adolescent shows resistance.

In excerpt 1, we see a correction formatted as an imperative, targeting the correction of immediate behaviour. In this example, the family is sitting around the table and has just finished a board game. An argument breaks out as to whether Aaron could have won the game instead of the actual winner. The Professional Foster Father (PFF) makes

a re-calculation to see if Aaron has made a mistake. While he counts (line 1), Anna interrupts with a loud voice (line 2).

Excerpt 1
Family-style group care *5, 21-01-2014, 3: 07:16-07:40*
PFF= Professional Foster Father, Anna = 13-year-old, Aaron = 9-year-old.

```
        >>------everyone gazes towards Aaron's game board-------
    pff    >>------gazes towards Aaron's game board --------------
 1  PFF  {één zes ↑ne::e=
          one six no
    pf    --------------points at game board--------------------
    anna  ------------gazes towards Aaron's game board ----------
 2  Anna  =JAWEL (.) AAREN KON ↓UIT=
          oh yes (.) Aaron could have won
        >>------everyone gazes towards Aaron's game board of ---
    pff    ------------gazes towards Aaron's game board -----------
 3  PFF  =s{sj sshh °schreeuw niet zo°
          shh sshh don't shout like that
    pff    {raises hand towards Anna-----------------------------
 4        (.)
 5  Anna  °uhuh°
        ----------gazes towards Aaron's game board -------------
 6  PFF           °schreeuw niet zo°
    pff   ----------------------,,,
```

In line 3, the PFF raises his hand and simultaneously says: '*ssh sshh don't shout like that*'. All that time, his gaze is directed towards Aaron's game board. Anna immediately corrects her behaviour by saying 'uhuh' with a softer voice than she was using before (line 5). The correction formatted in an imperative form *'don't shout like that'* is therefore immediately followed by corrected behaviour.

As noted, the examples in our collection show that almost all of the imperative corrections are accepted by the adolescents without resistance. The corrections that do evoke resistance are those in which the PFP, in the adolescent's perspective, has misunderstood the corrected behaviour. In the following excerpt, a PFP is correcting Sebastian for messing around with apple sauce (line 1): Sebastian don't mess around'. Sebastian responds with resistance in line 2.

6

Excerpt 2
Family-style group care 2, 08-11-2013, 4: 11:58-12:20
PFF= Professional Foster Father, SEB = Sebastian, 11-year-old.

```
1    PFF   Sebastiaan niet zo knoeien joh
             Sebastian don't mess around
2    SEB   ik KNOEI niet
             I'm not messing
3          (1.5)
4    SEB   ik KNOEI niet
             I'm not messing
5          (0.7)
6    PFF   er zit ↑appelmoes ee:eh °voor je°
             there is apple sauce eh in front of you
7          (0.4)
8    SEB   ik ↑zit niet appelmoes te knoeien.
             I'm not messing with apple sauce
             ((PFF {nods while he is chewing food))
9    PFF        {ok
10   SEB   waar zit ik ↓appelmoes te knoeien.
             where am I messing with apple sauce
11   PFF   ik zag iets naar beneden vallen (.) maar goed ik weet
             I saw something fall but well I don't know
12         niet of dat appelmoes was of een stuk (krenten)bol,
             if that was apple sauce or a piece of (currant) bun
```

Immediately after the correction, Sebastian responds with resistance: 'I'm not messing'. And after a silence, he repeats his utterance in line 4: 'I'm not messing'. The father reinforces his correction with an argument, pointing out that there is some apple sauce in front of Sebastian. When Sebastian responds with repeated denials, the father says 'okay', while nodding (line 9) and in line 11: 'I saw something fall, but well I don't know if that was apple sauce or a piece of currant bun' (line 11). With 'okay' and with his words in line 11, in which he admits that he might have been mistaken, the father seems to abandon the correction. After this utterance by the PFF, the conversations ends.

Multimodality

In this study, our primary focus was on the grammatical construction of the corrections uttered by PFPs. Although this seems to be the major factor in the performed action responsible for the addressee's response options, it is important to underline the co-determining factors (see also Arcidiacono & Pontecorvo, 2009). "Gesture, gaze, facial expressions, body movements, body postures and also prosody and lexis are all resources that can be mobilized by a participant to organize an action" (Mondada, 2016, p3). Within CA this is called *multimodality*. In the first example (in Excerpt 1), we saw a correction formatted as an imperative. In this example (see Excerpt 3), the PFF says: 'sshh don't shout like that' and simultaneously raises his hand in Anna's direction as a sign to stop. The word 'shout' is spoken emphatically.

Excerpt 3

```
3    PFF     =s{sj sshh °schreeuw niet zo°
             ssj sshh don't shout like that
     pff       {raises hand towards Anna--------------------------
4            (.)
5    Anna    °uhuh°
             ---------gazes towards Aaron's game board of ---------
6    PFF            °schreeuw niet zo°
     pff     ----------------------,,,
```

These different factors are mutually intertwined, and according to Mondada (2014) there is no principled priority for one type of resource over the others. However, in this study we base our analysis on a grammatical premise since we are interested in the response options provided by the different grammatical formats.

Corrections formatted as interrogatives

A second correction form used by PFPs is the interrogative. Although the correction invites the addressee to adapt their behaviour, the interrogative form also invites the adolescent to give specific, type-conforming information (Raymond, 2003), that is, the information requested according to the form of the interrogative. Corrections formatted as why-interrogatives can therefore work as invitations for adolescents to share the motives for their behaviour. Thus, interrogative corrections initiate an action to correct the targeted behaviour and ask for information. This is what Schegloff (2007) calls a

double-barreled action. In most cases, the adolescent responds to the form of the correction and provides the type-conforming answer. However, as such the adolescent resists the initiated action: to correct or admit his or her undesired behaviour.

The following excerpt (4) shows an example of a 'polar question'. Prior to the interaction, the PFF has just corrected another adolescent, Ruth, for using her smartphone during a family moment. Immediately after this correction, Kas interjects with: 'yes I think that is mean'. The PFF responds in overlap with Ruth (line 4) in line 5 with a correction formatted as an interrogative: 'Did I ask you something Kas?' Kas responds to the interrogative by saying 'No'.

Excerpt 4
Family-style group care 6, 10-03-2014, 13: 10:10-14:50
PFF = Professional Foster Father, KAS = 15-year-old, Ruth = 14-year-old, JUR = Jurren, 15-year-old.

```
    Pff    -----gazes towards Ruth, then towards Kas-------------
1   PFF    ja maar volgens mij zijn we nu [wat aan het drinken
    Kas    --------------gazes towards PFF----------------------
2   Kas                              [ja ik vind het wel gemeen
                                      yes I think that is mean
3   RUTH   ja maar het duurt te lang we zijn al een half uur of zo (.)
           yes but it's taking too long - half an hour or so already
    Pff    --------------,,,
4          [vijventwintig minuten of zo
           or twenty-five minutes or something
    Pff    ,,,-----------gazes towards Kas--------------------
5   PFF    [had ik jou wat gevraagd kas ((kijkt naar Kas))
           did I ask you something Kas ((gazes towards Kas))
    Kas        ,,,----glances at PFF---,,,
6          (2.0)
    Kas    ,,,--glances towards PFF),,,
7   KAS    nee
           no
    Pff    ,,,-------gazes towards Kas---,,,
8   PFF    oh waar bemoei je je mee dan,
           oh so why are you interfering then
```

```
    Kas    --gazes in the direction of the television---------------
 9  KAS    ((gazes away))
10  JUR    ik heb de hele dag er nog niet op gezeten
           I didn't use it all day
```

In this excerpt, several things are going on at the same time. The television is on (as the recurring family moment every evening: drinking coffee together and watching the news), there is a conversation with Ruth but simultaneously also an interaction with Kas. In line 3, the PFF performs a correction formatted as an interrogative in overlap with an utterance by Ruth. This interrogative has two interactional follow-up options: yes or no. Kas answers the question in line 7 with 'no'. With this answer, Kas aligns with the interrogative format but not with the correction, since further on in the conversation between the PFF and Ruth (as we can also see in fragment 9), Kas steps in again.

A second fragment (Excerpt 5) shows another interrogative correction. While all family members are sitting around the table for dinner, adolescent Richard enters the dining room through the back door. The PFF immediately asks: 'where have you been' in line 1. Richard answers with a type-conforming answer, providing the requested where-information: 'I went with Willem'.

Excerpt 5
Family-style group care 4: GH4, 13-01-14, 1, 11.59-16.46
PFM = Professional Foster Mother, RICH = Richard, 16-year-old.

```
 1     PFM   waar kom jij vandaan
             where have you been
 2     RICH  van Willem wegbrengen
             I went with Willem
 3     PFM   mocht jij met Willem spelen?
             were you allowed to play with Willem?
 4     RICH  weet ik niet
             I don't know
 5     PFM   maar mocht jij ergens naar toe?
             but were you allowed to go anywhere
 6     RICH  Nee
             No
                     (a few lines omitted)
 7     PFM   en wat gebeurt er voordat dat ie- er dan iemand komt,
```

```
          and what happens before someone comes
8         (2.0)
9    RICH dan belt die
          they phone first
10   PFM  ↑oh
           oh
11   RICH ben ik vergeten
          I forgot that
```

It was unclear to us whether the PFF already knew where Richard had been. Nevertheless, he asks the question 'where have you been', and Richard provides the requested information. This response to a where-interrogative seems to be in line with the findings of Hepburn and Potter (2020) on why-interrogatives; the interrogative 'where have you been' gives the adolescent the opportunity to give an account for being late, but as a correction it also conveys that is it inappropriate to be late. Subsequently, the PFF uses different correcting interrogatives: *'were you allowed to go anywhere'* (line 5); *'And what happens before someone comes?'* (line 7). All the PFF's questions are answered without any resistance from Richard. By inviting Richard to answer, the PFF seems to refer to and remind him of the general rules (or the specific rules agreed upon with Richard).

Corrections formatted as declaratives

The third way in which PFPs may initiate behavioural correction is by the use of a declarative form. In excerpt 6, all family members are having dinner, except adolescent Karolien and her PFM (who is still at work). Karolien enters through the back door and says: 'hi'. Her PFF immediately responds with: 'Karro good that you're here but I'm very angry'. Karolien says 'yes' in overlap, and adjacent to the utterance of the PFF she answers: 'I know' (line 4).

Expert 6
Family-style group care 1, 06-11-2013, 3, 13.18-14.40
PFF = Professional Foster Father, KAR= Karolien, 16-year-old, BO = the dog.

```
1    KAR    hoi
            hi
2    PFF    Karro[goed dat je d'r bent maar ik ben wel heel boos
```

```
                    Karro good you're here but I'm very angry

3     KAR         [ja
                   Yes
4                 weet ik
                  I know
5     PFF         ik snap niet dat je dit kan mak[en] ten opzichte van Bo
                  I can't understand how you could do that to Bo
6     KAR                                     [nee]
                                               no
7                 ja
                  yes
8     PFF         en ook ten opzichte van het eten ben ik ook niet
                  echt
                  and I'm not happy about dinner
9                 blij  (        )(.)dus ik heb wel uh (.) een aantal
                  either (     ) so there are uh      some
10                consequenties hier tegenover staan (.) laat ik maar
                  consequences for this                let me be
11                gewoon meteen heel duidelijk zijn je gaat zo direct
                  just very clear at once,         in a minute
12                Bo uitlaten
                  you're going to walk Bo
13    KAR         ja
                  yes
14                (.)
15    PFF         ik wil jouw telefoon vandaag
                  I want to have your phone today
16    KAR         ja
                  yes
17                (.)
18    PFF         en ik wil (.) dat je morgen Bo ook gaat uitlaten
                  and I want you to walk Bo again tomorrow
19    KAR         ja
                  yes
```

The correction by the PFF has a declarative format. In this statement, the father claims to be angry even though he does not act angrily. He uses the same quiet tone of voice

throughout the entire turn. Karolien agrees (or at least claims agreement) with him several times (line 3, 7, 13, 16 and 19) by saying 'yes'. 'Arriving home too late' is not immediately correctable, nevertheless the consequences can be accepted and followed up directly after the correction. Even though Karolien already admitted she was wrong at the first occasion, the PFF announces several consequences, which are all accepted by Karolien. After summing up the consequences, the PFF asks Karolien: '*so I don't know if you have any other good reason for this*' (Excerpt 7, line 17). Karolien answers in overlap, with a question: 'do you want to talk to me this evening'. She adds that she has already wanted to speak to her PFF for a long time, but just did not dare to do so (line 21).

Excerpt 7

```
16          (2.0)
17   PFF    dus ik weet niet of je er verder nog een goede reden
            so I don't know if you have any other good reason for
18          voor hebt dat 't huis[werk af moet
            this that your homework still has to be finished
19   KAR                   [nee maar (.) wil
                            no but do
20   PFF    snap ik
            I understand
21   KAR    je misschien vanavond met mij praten over ik wil echt
            you perhaps want to talk with me tonight about it, I
22          dingen zeggen maar ik durf het gewoon al zo lang niet en
            really want to say things but I haven't dared to for such
            a long time and
23          snfff en ik merk dat ik alles ga opkroppen en dat ik niet
            snfff and I feel I am bottling up everything and that I
24          meer thuis wil komen omdat ik bang ben (.) snfff
            don't want to come home because I'm afraid
25   PFF    nou is prima (.)
            that's fine
26   KAR    Hhh
27   PFF    ik vind het prima om er vanavond over te praten (.)
            for me it is fine to talk about it tonight
28          volgens mij hoef je nergens bang voor te zijn (.)
            I don't think you have anything to be afraid of
```

In line 25, the PFF responds to Karolien's request by saying: '*that's fine*'. He adds that he wants to speak with her tonight, and that 'I don't think you have anything to be afraid of'. After this agreement, they continue the conversation about the consequences of arriving home late. In general, a declarative elicits a response of *receipt*. In this case, however, the response to the declarative of the PFF is immediate *agreement* by Karolien.

The second example shows that a correction formatted as a declarative evokes resistance. This interaction takes place while the family is having dinner. Karina starts a telling directed towards her PFM by calling her name: 'Jasmine' (not included in the transcript). She tells her about a conversation she had with her brother (who may be living with their biological mother, although this is not clear). Her brother told her that he did not get a gift at the Saint Nicholas Party, while the other children at the party had all received big gifts. She was very sad for her brother. As a kind of conclusion she says: '*but I think I will buy a little present for him*'. At first, the PFF responds with: '*oh that's nice*'. However, that does not seem to satisfy Karina, as she continues her telling. She goes on by saying: '*well I'll just say "here this is from Saint Nicholas"*', and then the PFF poses a correction formulated as an imperative: '*Well you shouldn't do that at all*' (line 4). Karina does not agree, as we can see in line 7.

Excerpt 8
Family-style group care 3, 06-12-13, 6, 12.07-13.12
KARI = Karina, 17-year-old, PFF = Professional Foster Father, PFM = Professional Foster Mother, CLAU = Claudia, 14-year-old.

```
 1   KARI   maar ik ga denk ik voor hem een cadeautje kopen=
              but I think I will buy a little present for him
 2   PFF    =oh dat is fijn
              oh that's nice
 3   KARI   nou maar gewoon dat ik zeg hier dit is van Sinterklaas
              but I'll just say here this is from Saint Nicholas
 4   PFF    nou dat moet je dus gewoon helemaal niet doen als je
              well you shouldn't do that at all, if you
 5          geen ruzie wil maken thuis dan zou ik dat maar niet doen
              don't want to start an argument at home then I wouldn't do that
 6   KARI   dat zeg ik toch gewoon dat hoeft mama dan toch niet te weten
              I'll just say mama doesn't have to know about it
 7   PFF    ja maar dat gaat ie toch echt wel vertellen dat moet je
              yes but he will certainly tell her anyway, so you just
```

```
8          juist helemaal niet doen
           shouldn't do that at all
9   CLAU   dan zeg je
           then you say
10  PFF    daar moet je je gewoon helemaal niet mee bemoeien (.)
           you simply should not interfere with that at all
11         koop dan maar een cadeautje voor mij
           buy me a present instead
```

In this example, we see how the PFF makes a correction by the use of a declarative: '*Well you shouldn't do that at all*' (line 4). Giving unsolicited advice is often seen as delicate (Goldsmith, 2000), but the PFF does not make use of delicacy markers in his correction. The PFF's priority seems to be to correct her intended plan, and not in the first place to have a conversation about her feelings and intentions regarding the situation. In lines 10-12, the PFF points out that her brother will pass her plan on to her mother, adding that he does not want her to interfere. In lines 3 and 6, Karina produces counter arguments as to why she does not agree with the PFF. It is not clear whether Karina will change her intended plan, but in this interaction she stops talking about the matter and the interaction ends.

The use of a combination of different forms

The final excerpt offers an example of the use of different forms for correcting adolescents. In general, participants respond to the last of the successive utterances, which is preferred for achieving contiguity in interaction (Sacks, 1987). However, in the following example, the use of different successive corrections leads to interactional trouble, and as a result the focus of the correction comes to be not on the undesirable behaviour but on the interaction itself.

Excerpt 9 displays the correction of Kas by his PFF. This interaction takes place in the same setting as excerpt 4, that is, during a coffee moment following dinner. In this situation, adolescent Fleur is using her phone and the PFF reminds her of the 'screen-rule'. Adolescent Kas interferes in their interaction and expresses his opinion that the rule is mean. The PFF responds with a correction expressed in different forms. He ends with a declarative form in lines 3 and 4.

Excerpt 9
Family-style group care 6, 10-03-2014, 13, 18.30-end
PFF = Professional Foster Father, KAS = 15-year-old.

```
1    PFF   hey Kas wat was je bedoeling eigenlijk net om je d'r
               hey Kas what did you mean just now by
2          mee te bemoeien waarom waarom doe je dat eigenlijk (.)
               interfering – why why do you do that actually
3          ik heb tot TWEE KEER TOE heb ik je gevraagd om je d'r
               I have asked you twice now not to
4          niet mee te bemoeien en toch doe je het ELKE KEER WEER
               interfere and you still do it every time
5    Kas   ja
               yes
6          (8.0) ((PFF gazes towards Kas, Kas gazes towards the
               television))
7    PFF   ik vraag iets aan jou
               I'm asking you something
8    Kas   ik zei ja
               I said yes
9    PFF   da's geen antwoord op mijn vraag
               that is not an answer to my question
10   Kas   wat vroeg je dan
               what did you ask then
11   PFF   ik vraag wat is de bedoeling daarvan en jij zegt ja
               I'm asking what did you mean by doing that and you say
               'yes'
12         wat is dat een antwoord op de vraag
               how is that an answer to the question
13         ((Kas laughs softly))
14   PFF   kun je wel schaapachtig lachen
               well, that's a sheepish laugh
```

In lines 1 and 2, the PFF asks two different questions. First, he asks Kas: 'hey Kas, what did you mean by (…)', and subsequently: 'why, why do you do that actually?' Between the two interrogatives, there is no possibility for Kas to answer the first interrogative. Without waiting for an answer, the PFF adds his personal experience of the situation formatted as a declarative: 'I have asked you twice now not to interfere and you still do it every time'. Kas says 'yes' in line 5, as an (interactionally) fitting response, a reaction to the last addition from the father. The PFF treats this as an inappropriate response. He explains why in line 9: *'that is not an answer to my question'*. Kas asks the PFF what the question was. In the preceding part (line 7-9), the interaction between the PFF and

Kas is not focussed on the undesirable behaviour, but on the interaction itself. This final excerpt is an example of the use of different forms for correcting adolescents. The successive corrections lead to interactional trouble, and as a result the focus is on the interaction itself. Kas here adheres to the interactional principle of 'preference for contiguity'(Sacks 1987) in order to respond to the final format used in PFF's turn, and thereby counters the action of correcting.

Conclusion and discussion

The current study aims to make explicit how PFPs initiate behavioural correction of adolescents. PFPs in family-style group care are responsible for the upbringing of these out-of-home placed youngsters. Due to the fragile nature of the relationship between adolescents and their PFPs, it is relevant to see how experienced PFPs make corrections and how these corrections work out in the interactions with the adolescents.

Three main practices of making corrections towards adolescents were identified. Their three grammatical forms correspond with the three major sentence types (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985): 1) imperatives, 2) interrogatives and 3) declarative sentences. Even though each format is used to correct the adolescent's behaviour (action), every form (grammatical design) has different interactional follow-up possibilities for a participant. Therefore, for each format, the deontic authority it claims is different (Stevanovic, 2011).

First, PFPs make corrections in an imperative form. These kinds of correction are often task-oriented, mostly targeting immediate behaviour (e.g. 'don't shout like that') which can be corrected immediately by the adolescent (by stopping shouting). With a correction formatted as an imperative, the adolescent is directed to either accept or refuse to correct his/her behaviour. An imperative correction claims a high degree of '*deontic authority*' (Stevanovic, 2011); the PFP presents the correction very directly and thereby leaves very little space for resistance. All corrections formatted as imperatives are presented without display of emotions, and are almost immediately accepted by the adolescents. Only in cases involving a difference in interpretation of the behaviour does the correction lead to resistance. This could be explained by what Curl and Dew (2008) call 'contingency'. Behaviour (immediately) targeted by imperative corrections seems to be less complicated/drastic to change than behaviour that is corrected by the other forms.

Secondly, PFPs make corrections in an interrogative form (e.g., Where have you been?). With this form, adolescents are invited to give specific information (e.g., a 'where-question' asks for information about a place). Adolescents are likewise directed to undertake an action: to either accept or refuse to correct their behaviour. The interrogative corrections communicate a lower stance on deontic rights (Stevanovic,

2011, p25); the adolescent has more possibilities to determine his or her own response. Interrogative corrections invite adolescents to share their motives for their behaviour. Simultaneously, giving the preferred answer (e.g., why-information provided in answer to a why-question) works as resistance to the correction itself. Almost all of these corrections are accompanied by emotional expressions by the PFPs and often also by the adolescent. This is what Schegloff (2007) called 'a double-barreled' action: the correction seems to be a question, but in the question it is quite clear what the adolescent has to change; it consists of an accusation charging that the preferred behaviour has not been implemented.

Thirdly, we observed corrections formatted as declaratives. With a declarative the PFP presents a claim about the corrected behaviour (e.g. 'you didn't shave'), which works as an invitation to give an explanation or account for the targeted behaviour. Most of the corrections formatted as declaratives target remote behaviour, which is not immediately correctable by the adolescent. Therefore, the declarative form invites adolescents in the case of remote behaviour to either admit or refuse to admit their behaviour. With a declarative correction, a parent communicates a relatively weak deontic stance towards the action of the adolescent, who therefore has a lot of space to determine their follow-up action. (Stevanovic, 2011). In our data, declarative corrections often receive responses of resistance, but are sometimes also accepted by the adolescent. The declarative form probably causes the adolescent to experience the possibility of sharing their own opinion or countering the claim of the PFP.

In our analysis of corrections provided by PFPs to correct the behaviour of adolescents, we showed how the form used (i.e., imperative, interrogative or declarative) offers greater or less amounts of space for adolescents to determine their response, which is relevant in the setting of the non-biological relationship between a PFP and an adolescent who needs their developmental space.

Not all interactions following a correction end in a solution. In some situations, the disagreement and/or conflict remains. As we outlined in the introduction to the present chapter, this does not have to be a problem for the adolescent-PFP relationship (Allen, Moore and Kuperminc, 1997). After all, conflicts can work as an opportunity for adolescents to learn to negotiate or make compromises (Branje et al., 2009).

With a view to building and maintaining an (attachment-) relationship with adolescents in family-style group care, knowledge regarding the way these different corrections work out in interaction with adolescents is of interest. In adolescence, PFPs need to provide a secure basis for the adolescents to fall back on and thereby to support them in becoming (more) autonomous (Bowlby, 1979; Kwaliteitscriteria Gezinshuizen, 2019 [Quality Criteria family-style group care]). What can we conclude with these perspectives in mind? The three forms of correction identified in this study

range from a relatively strong claim to entitlement to behaviour correction to a less strong claim to this right. This entitlement goes hand in hand with greater or less space for adolescents to share their own opinion or ideas. Our goal is by no means to prescribe a specific format for PFPs to use in specific situations. This study rather provides detailed information about the way different corrections work out in interaction with adolescents. Knowledge about this process can help PFPs to act with greater awareness in their interaction with adolescents in family-style group care.

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7

GENERAL CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

To gain more insight into the way sensitivity and responsivity are displayed in the interaction between PFPs and adolescents, we studied PFP-adolescent interactions during and around dinner in six family-group care settings. Chapter 1 offered a general introduction to the subject, including the theoretical background. Chapter 2 presented a description of the methods used and the data acquired. The analytic studies conducted within this PhD-project were presented in chapters 3 to 6. Each analytic study analysed a collection of examples of an interactional phenomenon. This final chapter (7) provides a general overview of the thesis, presents and discusses conclusions and proposes directions for further research.

7.2 Overview of the main research findings

In this thesis, we explored how sensitivity and responsivity are displayed and constructed in the interaction between PFPs and out-of-home placed adolescents in family-style group care by answering several research questions. The main findings can be summarized as follows:

The first analytic study (chapter 3) explored the first sub-question: *'How do adolescents initiate a telling and how do Professional Foster Parents show sensitivity and responsivity in their responses?'* The chapter offered an analysis of 133 fragments of telling initiations by adolescents in family-style group care. These telling initiations were analysed in order to discover how adolescents select themselves to tell something, how they attract attention from their PFPs and how the telling initiations work out in the interactions. The selected initiations were all started without an invitation from the PFPs. In our collection of 133 telling initiations, we found four distinct practices or categories of initiations performed by adolescents: 1) out of the blue (n=23); 2) through topic shift (n=34); 3) through topic continuation (n=43); and 4) by referring either to something going on or to an object (n=30). The four different initiation practices were followed by different responses from the PFPs, and were conducted through verbal and non-verbal behaviour. The different categories of telling initiations give insight into the various practices adolescents use to start a telling. We can see how adolescents gain attention from the PFPs by making clear that they want to tell something, mark the importance of the tellings and by doing so evoke sensitivity and responsivity. We observed that when parents treated initiations in a non-preferred way, the adolescents in our collection responded by repairing their initiation and/or by trying it again. We also noticed that different adolescents seem to have different interactional competences.

Practices like making eye contact before starting a telling or addressing the PFP by name seem to reinforce the initiation.

In chapter 4, we illustrated how PFPs evoke adolescent tellings, thereby exploring the second sub-question: '*How are sensitivity and responsivity visible in the telling invitations of Professional Foster Parents towards adolescents?'* The collection of 'telling invitations' by PFPs consists of 32 interactions. PFPs use various practices to invite adolescents to tell something: 1) by asking wh-questions (n=14), 2) by asking polar questions (n=12), 3) by fishing (n=2), 4) through someone else (n=3) and 5) by sharing their own emotion or feeling (n=1). Remarkably, the invitation in itself seldom evokes an extended telling. Therefore, parents used further questions and continuers, which indeed seemed necessary. Analysis of the telling invitations gives insight into the variety of possible invitation practices that can be used to engage in interaction with adolescents. It would be helpful for parents to be more aware of the form of these questions to elicit the specific information they need or want. Whether these invitations result in a short or a long conversation does not seem to be of importance for the value of the conversation. Interestingly, telling *initiations* occur more often in our data than telling *invitations*. This could be related to the findings of Soenens and colleagues (2006), who note that a warm family climate may be more effective than parental solicitation in bringing about adolescents' self-disclosure.

Chapter 5 demonstrated how PFPs combine multiple activities (listening and eating), and thereby addressed the following sub-question: *'How are sensitivity and responsivity on the part of Professional Foster Parents visible in combining the activities of having dinner and doing listening?'* In this study, we illustrated instances where PFPs do these activities simultaneously. The analysis led to the distinction of three main practises through which PFPs still show listenership while simultaneously performing another activity: they 1) use verbal signs; 2) use non-verbal signs and 3) combine verbal and non-verbal signs. Although absence of gaze towards a telling adolescent can be seen as 'going against interactional rules' (Goodwin, 1984; Haddington, Keisanen, Mondada, & Nevile (Eds.), 2014), our analysis shows that adolescents treat this as unproblematic. They continue their telling even if the parent's gaze is not directed at them. We furthermore showed that adolescents can deal with fragmented attention from their PFPs when they are engaged in multiple activities. In addition, we saw how adolescents use various strategies, both verbal and non-verbal, to get the attention of the PFPs or to make sure their telling succeeds when the parent is not paying attention.

The last analytic chapter (6) explored the question: *'How do Professional Foster Parents initiate behavioural corrections towards adolescents?'* It identified three main practices used by PFPs to initiate behavioural correction towards adolescents. The three grammatical forms of these practices correspond with the three major sentence

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types (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985): 1) imperatives (n=26), 2) interrogatives (n=20) and 3) declarative sentences (n=21). Each form has different follow-up possibilities for the adolescent. The three forms of correction-initiations range from a relatively strong claim to the right of behavioural correction to a less strong claim this right of so-called *'deontic authority'* (Stevanovic, 2011). Knowledge about the possible follow-up options for adolescents for each correction-initiation can help PFPs to behave more intentionally in interaction with adolescents in family-style group care. Sometimes parents and adolescents remain in disagreement. However, this is not necessarily problematic when both parties make use of positive resolution styles (Allen et al., 1997). When that happens, conflicts can serve as opportunities for adolescents to learn to discuss or to achieve compromise (Branje et al., 2009).

The following section (section 7.3) discusses these main findings, and describes the overall contribution of this thesis to the scientific field and its practical application for the field of family-style group care in the Netherlands, especially PFPs in family-style group care and their relationship with adolescents.

7.3. Discussion of the main findings

The present study was concerned with interactions between experienced PFPs and adolescents in family-style group care. Family-style group care is a promising alternative home for children and adolescents who have to grow up outside their biological family. A continuous relationship with a PFP is an important factor in building and maintaining an attachment relationship. The scholarly literature indicates that sensitivity and responsivity are basic elements for building and maintaining this attachment relationship (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978; Juffer, 2010; Van IJzendoorn, 2010). The parents' sensitivity and responsivity are important for the quality of the relationship. Although we do know that sensitivity and responsivity are important elements in interaction, less is known about the way in which sensitivity and responsivity are displayed in daily interactions. Therefore, the four studies presented in this dissertation give unique insights into the way PFPs and adolescents interact with each other and how sensitivity and responsivity become visible in these daily interactions.

The specific phenomena analysed in the four studies disclose the PFP-adolescent interaction from different perspectives. In general, this dissertation provides a detailed analysis of interaction, reveals that adolescents are active participants, enlarges our understanding of actual interaction and shows that PFPs are inventive in interaction with adolescents. Each of these elements will be clarified below.

Detailed analysis of interaction.

The relationship between PFPs and adolescents involves more complexity than an ordinary parent-adolescent relationship, due to the non-biological nature of the relationship and the difficult background of the adolescents. However, it is precisely the stable nature of the relationship with PFPs in family-style group care that gives adolescents the opportunity to gain new positive and corrective attachment experiences (Juffer, 2010).

Although attachment is an internal state of mind, participants have to interact with each other to build and maintain an attachment relationship. Since parents' sensitivity and responsivity are seen as basic elements for building and maintaining an affective relationship (Bowlby, 1988, IJzendoorn, 2010), it is important to study the actual display of these elements in interaction. Video data also makes these practices observable for the researcher (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, Koole 2015).

While the detailed analysis of interaction has been used here in this study to address its basic research questions, detailed analysis can also be helpful for PFPs themselves to learn from the interactions in which they are involved. Video Feedback Intervention can be a helpful method to reflect on interactional behaviour and to become more aware of what works in daily interaction.

Adolescents are active participants. Adolescents in family-style group care seem to have a double disadvantage: Adolescents in general struggle for autonomy, and, in relation to their parents, exploration increases as they grow up, while overt attachment behaviour decreases. In addition, due to their backgrounds, adolescents in family-style group care often have difficulties forming new (attachment) relationships. This is of course not only problematic for adolescents, but just as much for their PFPs, who genuinely want to help them. The body of knowledge regarding interactions between professional caretakers and adolescents is still limited. The tremendous amount of video data collected from the dinner conversations in family-style group care therefore represented a great opportunity for studying the interaction between PFPs and adolescents.

In our data, we found that adolescents do a large amount of interactional work to engage or remain in interaction with their PFPs. The analytic studies show multiple examples of initiations from the adolescents, using both verbal and non-verbal behaviour to engage or remain in interaction with the parents. Understandably, this may not always be noticed by the PFPs, due to all the things they have to do simultaneously. But this still paints a hopeful picture. Even when PFPs are not giving a response (e.g., because they are busy with another child), the adolescents often deal with that, for example by addressing the parent by name, by starting their telling again or by smoothly

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turning the general conversation towards their own telling. This finding fits with the collaborative character of social interaction, in which both speaker and listener are responsible and need to take an active stance to make the interaction successful (cf. Bavelas, et al., 2000; Schegloff, 1982).

Understanding of actual interaction. As Harder, Hall and van Nijnatten (2016) point out, compared to the number of existing studies on effect of interventions, limited research is available on actual relationship behaviour. Research on what actually happens 'on the ground' is, according to Harder, Knorth and Kalverboer (2013), necessary to increase our understanding of helpful care processes. Several studies have indeed undertaken this work, for example by including a conflict discussion task, during which attachment related behaviour was observed and coded in a laboratory setting (see, for example, Allen et al., 2003; Jones & Cassidy, 2014). However, Allen and Land (1999) already suggested that adolescent attachment could also be observed via relational approaches. Our study attempts to further increase our knowledge of the way sensitivity and responsivity are displayed in the interaction by analysing and describing PFP-adolescent interactions in family-style group care. Our findings show what happens 'on the ground' during mundane interactions.

This understanding of actual interaction is also valuable for enlarging overall knowledge of everyday talk within the field of pedagogy. An interactional perspective provides knowledge about how (pedagogical) concepts are managed and respecified in daily lives from the perspective of participants (Antaki, 2011; Wiggins, 2017). The field of psychology already has a tradition of studying psychological concepts from a discursive perspective. Discursive psychology proceeds from the idea of studying naturalistic rather than contrived data, to focus on action rather than cognition and to develop insight into the normative rather than the causal organization of social interaction (Te Molder, 2015: 10). Such a discursive approach was used in this study, and seems also promising for understanding pedagogical issues such as socialization, play, rules and obedience.

PFPs are inventive in interaction with adolescents. Given our focus on the displayed behaviour of PFPs, it is interesting to discover the various practices PFPs use in their interaction with adolescents. These practices are often quite inventive. For example, to engage in interaction they use six different practices to invite adolescents to tell something (see Chapter 2). This study provides knowledge about interaction between PFPs and adolescents and the patterns involved. Our goal is by no means to prescribe specific sentences or forms for PFPs or caregivers in general to use in certain situations, because every relationship and every situation is different and requires a unique approach. However, we do hope to provide knowledge that can help PFPs to

interact more intentionally with the adolescents in their care, and to gain interactional knowledge of the way conversations work in daily life (Noordegraaf, Schep & Koole, 2018). The main elements of attachment, sensitivity and responsivity have been viewed from an interactional perspective, in the hope that it will provide PFPs with practical and applicable knowledge that has the potential to effect positive changes in their relationship with the adolescents in their care (Antaki, 2011).

The effectiveness of the interactions. The interactions we analysed, of which a selection was presented in the different studies in this dissertation, cannot always be classified as positive interactions, conducive to attachment. On the face of it, some interactions may rather be seen as negative or ineffective. This point requires further explanation.

By using CA, we have collected information about *how* PFPs and adolescents interact and how sensitivity and responsivity are displayed in their interaction. We analysed the interactions in detail, without determining either in advance or after the fact what constitutes good or bad parent-adolescent interaction (Hall et al., 2014; Silverman, 1997). We were interested in how the participants themselves show in their verbal and non-verbal behaviour how they interpret and understand each other. Therefore, our findings do not answer the question of the kinds of interactions that do or do not contribute to attachment. They merely show how each phenomenon works out in the interaction and whether these interactions succeed in a sequential way (Schegloff, 2007), which is a basic condition for communication. The knowledge acquired about the way PFPs and adolescents interact shows the variety in interactions and how the different actions of PFPs or adolescents work out in the interaction. This does not necessarily have to be positive (Branje, 2018). Sometimes it may be educational for children or adolescents to witness irritation in a PFP. It is interesting and informative to see how these interactions work out, and what the PFPs themselves or other PFPs or professionals can learn from that. As we will outline in the suggestions for further research (in section 7.6), it may also be possible to measure whether the practices PFPs use contribute to better quality PFP-adolescent relationships.

Institutional versus mundane/ordinary conversations. Within CA, a distinction is often drawn between institutional and mundane/ordinary conversation. This distinction refers to the context of the talk and to the observable actions of participants that show their understanding of the context. Mundane or ordinary conversation is seen as informal, without specific institutional goals or tasks. Institutional conversation, on the other hand, is characterized by more defined goals and actions to achieve these goals, specific to the institution (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage, 2005). Yet the mundane or institutional nature of a context is not predefined; participants show in their turn-by-turn talk how they understand its context (Jol, 2020). Family interactions are always a

mixed context. A family is an institution with participants who have their own roles. At the same time, it is a setting in which the family is just a family. Therefore, family-style group care also seems to be a hybrid context with both institutional and mundane characteristics. It is similar to 'normal families', but with the additional task for PFPs to provide professional care for non-biological children, under the supervision of professionals from a youth care organisation. In analysing the interactions between PFPs and adolescents, we can see that the hybrid context is not problematic for the interactions. The participants seem to switch smoothly between the ordinary and institutional dimensions in their interaction.

7.4 Limitations of the study

This study has provided unique insight into the interactions between PFPs and adolescents within family-style group care. Using the method of Conversation Analysis, we were able to study this interaction in considerable detail. However, apart from the insights it obtained, our study also has its limitations.

Firstly, we collected information about *how* PFPs and adolescents interact, and about how sensitivity and responsivity are displayed in their interaction. As stated above, the findings do not answer the question concerning the kinds of interactions that contribute to attachment or that fail to do so. Our goal was to analyse the interactions, to uncover the patterns and varieties that occur in these interactions and to provide knowledge about 'how' sensitivity and responsivity look in interactions.

Secondly, our interactional perspective on sensitivity and responsivity has revealed what actual interaction between PFPs and adolescents looks like. A CA perspective does not provide information about participants' feelings and intentions. For example, we do not know the reason why a PFP corrects one adolescent in one way and another in another way. Retrospective interviews, in which PFPs and adolescents give insight into their feelings and intensions, might well be of help for gaining knowledge of the internal considerations of participants.

Thirdly, dinner time is a central moment in the life of a family, as most or all family members are present around the table. In family-style group care, all these members are entitled to the attention of PFPs and participate verbally and non-verbally in the interaction. Therefore, our findings give insight into the interaction between PFPs and adolescent in the context of a group, and may not be entirely comparable with one-to-one interactions.

Lastly, our data consisted of conversations during and around dinner. As stated, dinner is a central moment in the life of a family, but with only three hours of videotaping

per day (for a period of three weeks), we cannot offer conclusions about the interaction between PFPs and adolescents in these six family-style group care settings *in general*.

7.5 Further Research

This thesis has provided a detailed analysis of the interaction between PFPs and adolescents in family-style group care. The findings and limitations of this study also have implications for further research.

Firstly, as mentioned above, our findings do not answer the question concerning the kinds of interactions that do or do not contribute to attachment. Additional research is needed to be able to voice conclusions about the effectiveness of the practices of PFPs from the viewpoint of adolescents and PFPs. One possible step could be to train PFPs to apply the practices PFPs use in daily interactions with adolescents, as revealed in the current research, and to measure if these practices contribute to higher quality PFP-adolescent relationships in family-style group care. One method for training in professional interaction, based on conversation analysis, is the Conversation Analytic Role-play Method (CARM) (Stokoe, 2014). With this method, extracts from research findings (combined with audio or video recordings) are used to train participants (Stokoe, 2014). During training, with real data, participants can see how interactions take place turn by turn. Another useful method is the Discursive Action Method (DAM) (Lamerichs & Te Molder, 2011), which aims to make people aware of their own talk and practices. The impact of the trainings could be studied to see if the quality of the relationship improves over time. This has already been done in several environments, for example interactions with children in early childhood education (Church & Bateman, 2019).

Secondly, it would be valuable to combine different research approaches to expand our knowledge about attachment in interaction: to study both the interaction and the state of mind towards attachment, and thereby include information about the adolescents and PFPs and their background. Several studies, for example, found a link between attachment behaviour among adolescents and the PFP's state of mind regarding attachment (Van IJzendoorn, 1995; Dozier et al., 2001; Zeanah & Smyke, 2005). The attachment state of mind refers to the parent's own attachment experiences. IJzendoorn (1995) found that parents 'who are coherent in processing their own attachment experiences are classified as having autonomous states of mind', and these adults most often have children who are securely attached to them. Dozier and Sepulveda (2004) argue that it is crucial in training foster parents to attend to the parents' state of mind with regard to attachment, in order to make attachment

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effective. It would be valuable to examine how this plays a role in PFP–adolescent relationships within family-style group care.

Finally, the problem of multiple breakdowns during adolescence also applies to foster care (Weterings & Van den Bergh, 2010; Sallnäs et al., 2004; Van Ooijen, 2010). Our study addressed interactions in family-style group care. Although family-style group care is meant to constitute an alternative to residential care (Koersdocument, 2019), there are many similarities with foster care by virtue of the shared family-like environments. Additional research is needed to explore whether our findings are also representative for interactions between foster parents and the adolescents in their care and for other age groups.

Attachment in Interaction

In this thesis, we were interested in how sensitivity and responsivity are expressed in the interaction between PFPs and adolescents in family-style group care. As outlined in the 'Kwaliteitscriteria gezinshuizen ([Quality criteria for family-style group care], 2019), PFPs in family-style group care have a twofold goal: they have to provide an environment that is as close to a 'normal family' as possible, and they need to provide professional care. A PFP works as a full-time caretaker in his or her own family. This setting gives children and adolescents the chance to grow up full-time in a family-like environment, which is considered the best out-of-home care option (Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport & Ministry of Security and Justice 2014). The fact that the caretaker is available on a full-time basis and provides care in his or her own family may be both the strength and the weakness of this hybrid setting. PFPs are unable to alternate with colleagues and to take a temporary distance. Although PFPs are expected to be professional, due to the family-like environment it may be difficult (or, perhaps, nearly impossible) for them to always stay in 'the professional mode'.

The analysis of the interactions between the PFPs and the adolescents described in this PhD-thesis contributes to more applicable knowledge for PFPs for performing their valuable work, with the ultimate purpose of providing a warm and safe environment for children and adolescents who have to grow up outside their own biological family.

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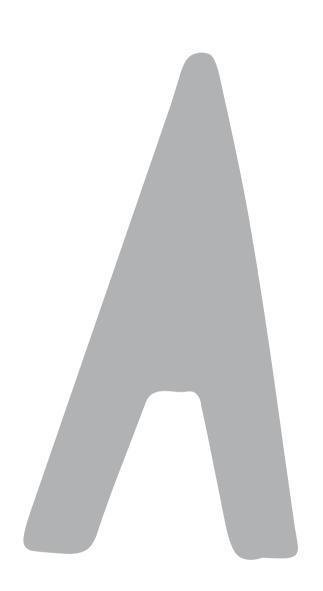Strijker, J., & Zandberg, T. (2004). Over-Leven in de pleegzorg. *Pedagogiek*, *24*(3), 230-245.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A

Family-style group care 1

This family consists of one biological daughter and four out-of-home placed children. Two of these children are under twelve years of age, and two are adolescents. The PFF is the main caretaker and the PFM works outside the home. The camera was turned on around four o'clock in the afternoon and turned off around seven o'clock in the evening. When the children come home from school, they all have refreshments together, and dinner time is also a family event. After dinner, the children go to their sports activities or practise their music.

Family-style group care 2

The family consists of four biological children: three boys and one girl. Besides these four biological children, the PFPs care for three out-of-home placed children. These children are all boys, two of whom are fourteen years of age. The PFM is the main caretaker and is permanently available, while the PFF works outside the home. The recordings were made consistently. The PFF seems to be quite aware of the camera.

Family-style group care 3

This family-style group care consists solely of out-of-home placed adolescents: two boys and two girls, all between the ages of 14 and 17. Sometimes older youngsters are also visible on the videos; these are quite likely adolescents who used to live in this household. Unfortunately, the radio is almost always on during the recordings, making some of them nearly inaudible. High quality headphones were used to be able to distinguish the different voices as much as possible.

Family-style group care 4

In this household, both PFPs work as in-home caretakers. The PFF also works outside the home. The family consists of three biological adolescents, and six out-of-home placed adolescents. Four of them are between the ages of 12 and 18. Several trainees are visible in the videos. Due to the number of people around the table, many interactions and activities are going on simultaneously.

Family-style group care 5

This family consists of the PFM as main caretaker, the PFP who works part-time outside the home and four out-of-home placed children. Two of the children, a girl aged 13 years and a boy aged 18, are adolescents. The family usually plays a board game after dinner with most of the family members.

Family-style group care 6

The sixth family-style group care setting consists of a PFP, who is the main caretaker, a PFM, who has her own business located in a part of the house and six out-of-home placed children. One of these children is under the age of twelve; the other five are adolescents. In addition to the out-of-home placed children, one of the couple's biological children still lives at home.

`Appendix B`

Transcription conventions (Jefferson, 2004)

(1.5)	silence of 1.5 seconds
(.)	silence shorter than 0.2 seconds
=	no noticeable silence between two turns

[word]	overlapping talk: words between square brackets is overlapping with that of the
[word]	other speaker
.	stopping fall in tone
,	rising, 'continuing' intonation
Sto-	sharp cut-off to the prior word or sound
:	the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter.

<u>Emp</u>hasis	stressed syllable
LOUDER	produced noticeably louder
°quieter°	produced noticeably quieter
>quicker<	produced noticeably quicker
<slower>	produced noticeably slower
↑↓	marked rise or falling intonational shift

(word)	unclear talk
((points))	verbal description of (non-verbal) actions

Transcription conventions for embodied behaviour (Mondada, 2007)
We will use the following symbols to visualize gaze direction and embodied behaviour of the interlocutors in addition to verbal behaviour (based on Mondada, 2007):

>>	The action described begins before the beginning of the excerpt.
--->>	The action described continues after the end of the excerpt.
.....	Action's preparation.
----	Action's apex is reached and maintained.
,,,,,	Action's retraction.
luc	Participant doing the described embodied action
x	moment of eye contact
{	Simultaneous action and verbal utterance

Nederlandstalige samenvatting

Hechting in interactie

Een conversatie analytische studie naar maaltijdgesprekken met adolescenten in gezinshuizen

Gezinshuizen zijn een veelbelovende vorm van jeugdzorg. Er is echter nog weinig onderzoek naar deze hulpvorm gedaan. Het doel ervan is om jeugdigen tot hun 18e op te voeden in het gezinshuis. Helaas blijkt dit doel niet altijd gehaald te worden, veel plaatsingen worden voortijdig afgebroken doordat probleemgedrag van adolescenten niet meer hanteerbaar is voor de gezinshuisouders. Eén van de redenen hiervoor is de complexiteit van het aangaan en onderhouden van een hechtingsrelatie met jeugdigen in de adolescentieperiode. Bij gezinshuisouders is veel kennis over hechting, tegelijk hebben zij ook vragen over hoe hechting zich voordoet in hun alledaags contact met de jongeren. Ook in literatuur is veel geschreven over hechting, maar voornamelijk over hechting bij het jonge kind en veel minder over hechting in de adolescentiefase. Dit proefschrift doet verslag van een onderzoek naar hoe hechting zichtbaar wordt in de interactie tussen gezinshuisouders en adolescenten in een gezinshuis. Sensitiviteit en responsiviteit zijn de belangrijke elementen voor het aangaan en onderhouden van een hechtingsrelatie. Daarom is in proefschrift door vier deelstudies onderzocht hoe gezinshuisouders en adolescenten met elkaar converseren en hoe sensitiviteit en responsiviteit in deze dagelijkse interactie zichtbaar wordt. Hieronder wordt elk hoofdstuk van het proefschrift beknopt samengevat.

Introductie en methodologie

Hoofdstuk 1, de algemene introductie, geeft een overzicht van de achtergrond van het onderzoek. Het beschrijft wat een gezinshuis is, gaat in op de kenmerken van kinderen en adolescenten die in een gezinshuis wonen en de meest recente kennis op het gebied van hechting, sensitiviteit en responsiviteit wordt uiteengezet.
Hoofdstuk 2 bevat een beschrijving van de gebruikte data en onderzoeksmethodologie. Voor dit onderzoek is gebruik gemaakt van videobeelden van maaltijdgesprekken in gezinshuizen. Deze videobeelden zijn gemaakt bij zes verschillende gezinshuizen. De maaltijdgesprekken zijn geanalyseerd met behulp van de methode van Conversatie Analyse. Deze methode biedt handvatten om interactie tot in detail te bestuderen en systematisch te analyseren. In het hoofdstuk wordt eveneens een stappenplan weergegeven met daarin alle gevolgde analysestappen. De vier analytische studies

gaan in op een specifiek aspect van de interactie tussen gezinshuisouder en adolescent, maar de analyse is consequent volgens dezelfde stappen uitgevoerd.

Gespreksinitiatieven adolescenten

Het eerste analytische hoofdstuk (hoofdstuk 3) gaat in op de vraag: 'hoe initiëren adolescenten een vertelling en hoe laten gezinshuisouders sensitiviteit en responsiviteit zien in hun reacties op deze vertellingen?' De analyse omvat 133 fragmenten van vertelinitiatieven van adolescenten in de zes gezinshuizen. Deze initiatieven zijn geanalyseerd om te weten te komen hoe en wanneer adolescenten een vertelling starten, hoe zij de aandacht trekken van de gezinshuisouder en hoe deze vertellingen uitwerken in de interactie. In de collectie van de 133 vertelinitiatieven hebben we vier verschillende manieren geobserveerd waarop adolescenten een vertelling starten. Zij doen vertelinitiatieven 1) 'out of the blue' (n=23), 2) door 'topic shift' (n=34), door 'topic continuation' (n=43) of door referentie aan iets wat gaande is of aan een object dat zichtbaar is voor iedereen (n=30). De vier typen vertelinitiatieven worden allemaal gedaan zonder dat de gezinshuisouder daartoe actief uitnodigt. Ze initiatieven lokken verschillende reacties uit van gezinshuisouders en adolescenten gebruiken zowel verbale als non-verbale 'technieken'. Door deze analyse hebben we kunnen zien hoe adolescenten aandacht trekken van de gezinshuisouder door duidelijk te maken dat ze iets willen vertellen, duidelijk te maken dat het belangrijk is wat ze willen vertellen en hiermee sensitiviteit en responsiviteit uitlokken bij de gezinshuisouder. Wanneer gezinshuisouders niet op de gewenste manier reageren laten adolescenten dit zien door hun initiatief aan te passen of door het opnieuw te proberen. Ook zagen we verschillen in interactionele competenties bij adolescenten. Het maken van oogcontact voorafgaand aan een vertelinitiatief of het noemen van de naam van de ouder bijvoorbeeld lijken een vertelinitiatief te versterken.

Verteluitnodigingen van gezinshuisouders

Hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft de analyse van de vertellingen van adolescenten die door gezinshuisouders worden uitgenodigd. De volgende vraag staat in dit hoofdstuk centraal: 'hoe worden sensitiviteit en responsiviteit zichtbaar in verteluitnodigingen van gezinshuisouders aan adolescenten?' De collectie van verteluitnodigingen bestaat uit 32 interacties. De analyse laat zien dat gezinshuisouders op verschillende manieren de adolescenten uitnodigen om iets te vertellen. Dit doen zij: 1) door een WH-vraag te stellen (n=14), 2) met een ja/nee vraag (n=12), 3) door 'fishing' (n=2), 4) via iemand anders (n=3) en 5) door eigen emotie of gevoel te delen (n=1). Het is opvallend dat de

uitnodigingen zelf vrijwel nooit een uitgebreide vertelling uitlokken. Vervolgvragen en continueerders (korte uitingen) lijken nodig te zijn om een uitgebreidere vertelling tot stand te brengen. De verschillende verteluitnodigingen geven zicht op de mogelijkheden die een gezinshuisouder heeft om in gesprek te komen en te blijven met een adolescent. Daarnaast kan het helpen om meer bewust te zijn van de vorm van de uitnodiging omdat elke vorm andere informatie ontlokt. Het lijkt niet van belang te zijn of de vertelling kort of lang duurt voor de waarde die het heeft voor de betrokkenen. Daarnaast, is het interessant dat vertelinitiatieven, zoals beschreven in hoofdstuk 3, vaker voorkomen dan verteluitnodigingen. Dit is mogelijk toe te schrijven aan de bevindingen van Soenens en collega's (2006), die beschrijven dat een warm gezinsklimaat effectiever is dan actief uitnodigen van ouders om adolescenten iets van zichzelf te laten delen.

Eten en luisteren combineren

Het derde analytische hoofdstuk (hoofdstuk 5) gaat in op de verschillende activiteiten die gezinshuisouders tegelijkertijd doen, zoals luisteren en eten. Hierbij staat de volgende vraag centraal: 'hoe zijn sensitiviteit en responsiviteit van de gezinshuisouder zichtbaar in het combineren van de activiteiten eten en luisteren?' In dit hoofdstuk laten we voorbeelden zien van hoe gezinshuisouders deze activiteiten tegelijkertijd doen. De analyse van alle geselecteerde interacties laat zien dat gezinshuisouders op drie verschillende manieren laten zien dat ze blijven luisteren naar de jongeren ondanks dat ze tegelijkertijd met een andere activiteit bezig zijn. Ze doen dit door: 1) verbale uitingen, 2) non-verbale uitingen en 3) door verbale en non-verbale uitingen te combineren. Wanneer de gezinshuisouder zijn of haar blik niet richt op de vertellende adolescent kan dit gezien worden als 'tegen een interactionele regel ingaan'(Goodwin, 1984; Haddington, Keisanen, Mondada, & Nevile, 2014), echter laat de analyse zien dat adolescenten dit niet als problematisch behandelen. Zij continueren hun vertelling ook al is de blik van de gezinshuisouder niet op hen gericht. Daarnaast wordt zichtbaar dat adolescenten kunnen omgaan met gefragmenteerde aandacht van hun gezinshuisouders, wanneer ze bezig zijn met verschillende activiteiten. Wanneer gezinshuisouders op een ongewenste manier reageren zien we ook in deze analyse dat de adolescenten verschillende strategieën gebruiken, zowel verbaal als non-verbaal, om alsnog de aandacht van de gezinshuisouder te krijgen en de vertelling te laten slagen.

Correcties door gezinshuisouders

Het laatste analytische hoofdstuk (hoofdstuk 6) is gericht op situaties waarin er onenigheid is tussen gezinshuisouder en adolescent. De volgende vraag staat in dit

hoofdstuk centraal: 'Hoe initiëren gezinshuisouders gedragscorrectie bij adolescenten?' Om antwoord te vinden op deze vraag is een collectie van 67 situaties geanalyseerd waarbij een adolescent gecorrigeerd wordt door de gezinshuisouder. Gezinshuisouders blijken op drie verschillende manieren een gedragscorrectie te initiëren. Deze drie manieren komen overeen met de drie belangrijkste zinstypen (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985): imperatieven (n=26), interrogatieven (n=20) en declaratieve zinnen (n=21). Elk van de drie 'formats' geeft de adolescent verschillende vervolgmogelijkheden. Ze variëren van een relatief sterke claim vanuit de gezinshuisouder om het gedrag te corrigeren tot een minder sterke claim om dit te doen. Deze claim wordt de deontische autoriteit genoemd (Stevanovic, 2011). Kennis over de verschillende correctiemogelijkheden en de vervolgmogelijkheden per format kan gezinshuisouders helpen om meer intentioneel in interactie te gaan met adolescenten en gedragscorrectie te initiëren. Niet elke onenigheid wordt direct opgelost, soms blijven gezinshuisouder en jongere het oneens met elkaar. Dit hoeft niet persé een probleem te zijn, wanneer beide partijen gebruik maken van positieve oplossingsstrategieën (Allen et al., 1997). In die gevallen kunnen conflicten ook werken als mogelijkheid om te leren discussiëren of om tot een compromis te komen (Branje et al., 2009).

Conclusie en discussie

In het laatste hoofdstuk, hoofdstuk 7, worden de conclusies, discussie en implicaties voor praktijk en wetenschap beschreven. Daarnaast wordt ingegaan op mogelijke vervolgonderzoeken. Dit proefschrift geeft inzicht in de dagelijkse interactie tussen gezinshuisouders en adolescenten in zes Nederlandse gezinshuizen. De interacties zijn gedetailleerd bestudeerd met de methode van Conversatie Analyse. Het onderzoek laat zien dat adolescenten actieve participanten zijn in interacties. Adolescenten gebruiken zowel verbale als non-verbale uitingen om in interactie te komen en te blijven, ook wanneer gezinshuisouders druk zijn met andere activiteiten of andere gezinsleden. Daarbij laten de analyses zien dat gezinshuisouders inventief zijn in hun interactie met adolescenten. De onderzoeksbevindingen vergroten ons begrip over daadwerkelijke interacties. Kennis hierover is nodig om meer te weten te komen over wat werkzaam is in (hulpverlenings-) gesprekken. In dit onderzoek is sensitiviteit en responsiviteit vanuit interactioneel perspectief bestudeerd, wat zicht heeft gegeven op hoe deze aspecten zichtbaar worden in dagelijkse interactie. Ons doel is niet om gezinshuisouders voor te schrijven welke zinnen of technieken zij moeten gebruiken in een bepaalde situatie, maar de geobserveerde uitingen en technieken geven zicht op het palet aan mogelijkheden die gezinshuisouders hebben om in interactie te zijn en te blijven met adolescenten. Het kan hen helpen om meer intentioneel te communiceren.

Een mogelijke richting voor verder onderzoek is om gezinshuisouders te trainen in het toepassen van de geobserveerde technieken en om vervolgens te meten of inzet van deze technieken ook daadwerkelijk bijdraagt aan een betere kwaliteit van de gezinshuisouder-adolescent relatie in gezinshuizen. Daarnaast is het waardevol om de overeenkomsten en verschillen te onderzoeken tussen interacties binnen gezinshuizen en binnen pleeggezinnen, omdat ook over interacties binnen pleeggezinnen nog weinig bekend is.

De analyse van de interacties tussen de gezinshuisouders en de adolescenten beschreven in dit proefschrift draagt bij aan toepasbare kennis voor gezinshuisouders waarmee zij hun waardevolle werk kunnen en blijven doen. Dit met het uiteindelijke doel om een warm en veilig thuis te kunnen bieden aan kinderen en adolescenten die niet meer in hun eigen gezin kunnen opgroeien.

Dankwoord

In de zes jaar waarin ik heb gewerkt aan dit onderzoek heb ik gevoeld: een promotieonderzoek *doe* je en *kan* je niet alleen. Ik heb steun gehad van mijn begeleiders, mede-onderzoekers, gezinshuisouders en van familie en vrienden. Jullie ga ik allemaal persoonlijk bedanken, maar op deze plek wil ik ook graag alle namen noemen van mensen die mij op welke manier dan ook hebben geholpen.

Gezinshuisouders, jongeren en begeleiders van de zes gezinshuizen waar we drie weken lang de avondmaaltijd mochten filmen en deze beelden jaren mochten analyseren

Mijn begeleiders: Tom Koole en Martine Noordegraaf

De leescommissie: Prof. dr. C.M. de Glopper, Prof. dr. H.F.M. te Molder en Prof. dr. F. Juffer

Mijn paranimfen: Lotte van Burgsteden en Guusje Jol

De verschillende collega-onderzoekers/promovendi waar ik mee heb samen mogen werken in de afgelopen jaren of datasessies mee heb gehouden: Danielle van de Koot, Gert Vierwind, Jaap van der Meiden, Wim Dekker, Ruth Vermaat (kenniskring Lectoraat Jeugd en Gezin), Aletta Simons, Heleen Hospes (collega's CHE), Guusje Jol en Wyke Stommel (RU), Keun Young Sliedrecht (HAN), Marloes Herijgers, Tessa van Charldorp (UU), Agnes Engbersen, Anke Herder, Annerose Willemsen, Christina Englert, Henrike Padmos, Mike Huiskes, Myrte Gosen, Paulien Harms (RUG) en Marije van Braak (EUR)

Studenten van de RUG en CHE die meegedraaid hebben in mijn onderzoek

Mijn docent Engels: Linda Blok

Mijn vrienden/vriendinnen

Mijn familie, bij name Bart en Inge, mijn ouders en schoonouders

Ronald & Laurens

Curriculum Vitae

Ellen Schep werd geboren in Bedum, een dorp nabij Groningen, op 2 maart 1987. Ze volgde de HAVO op het Greijdanus college in Zwolle en behaalde haar diploma in 2004. Van 2004 tot 2009 studeerde ze Sociaal Pedagogische Hulpverlening aan de Christelijke Hogeschool Ede (CHE), onderbroken door een bestuursjaar in 2007 bij Navigators Studenten Vereniging Wageningen. Vanaf 2007/2008 werkte zij deeltijd op een crisis- en observatiegroep van 's Heeren Loo in Otterlo voor uithuisgeplaatste kinderen tot 12 jaar, met een licht verstandelijke beperking. In 2009 behaalde ze haar bachelor-diploma met een kwalitatief onderzoek naar vroegsignalering van agressie bij kinderen met een opstandige gedragsstoornis (in opdracht van het UMC-afdeling Vosseveld in Soest). In 2009 begon Ellen in deeltijd met de Premaster Orthopedagogiek aan de Universiteit Utrecht, afgerond in 2010 met een kwantitatief onderzoek naar middelengebruik bij adolescenten. In 2010 startte ze met de Master Orthopedagogiek, afgerond in 2012 met een kwantitatief onderzoek naar verbetering van het gezinsfunctioneren bij multiprobleemgezinnen na inzet van Intensieve Pedagogische Thuishulp (ITP). In 2012 kwam zij terug op de CHE als docent Pedagogiek en onderzoeker verbonden aan het Lectoraat Jeugd en Gezin. In 2014 ontving zij een NWO-lerarenpromotiebeurs en is ze gestart met een promotieonderzoek naar hechting in interactie tussen gezinshuisouders en adolescenten in gezinshuizen. Momenteel geeft Ellen op de CHE pedagogiek in de bachelor Social Work en onderzoek in de Master Contextuele Benadering. Daarnaast werkt zij als onderzoeker op de thema's pleegzorg en gezinshuizen binnen het Lectoraat Jeugd en Gezin.

Groningen dissertations in linguistics (grodil)

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9. Wim Kosmeijer (1993). *Barriers and Licensing*.
10. Jan-Wouter Zwart (1993). *Dutch Syntax: A Minimalist Approach*.
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