

Chapter 7: "Trying to keep up": Intersections of identity, space, time and rhythm in women student carer auto/biographical accounts

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Chapter Abstract

Geographies of Care and Caring is a burgeoning area of geographical thought, although auto/biographical caring accounts have been less explored. Drawing upon in-depth interviews with women students (from different generations) who are in education with a range of caring responsibilities ('student carers'), this chapter explores how auto/biographies are laden with spatial and temporal rhythms. Drawing upon theorisations of time and rhythm (Lefebvre, 2013, Elden, 2004), and feminist work exploring the gendered emotional and temporal dynamics of care (Hochschild, 1989; Maher 2009; Rogers and Weller, 2013) we explore how participants negotiate complex, shifting and multiply-intersecting rhythms across space and time to undertake care and construct identities as student and carer. In doing so, we consider the benefits of incorporating spatial and temporal rhythms within auto/biographical accounts.

Introduction

Geographies of Care and Caring is a burgeoning area of geographical thought, although auto/biographical caring accounts have (with exceptions such as Parr and Philo, 2003, Milligan et al, 2011, Philo et al, 2015) been less explored. This chapter seeks to understand how time and

space are central to how ‘student carers’ narrate their caring responsibilities. Firstly we trace understandings of space, place and time in care and educational contexts, including work on emotional labour and the ‘second shift’ (domestic labour undertaken by women following a day in paid employment, see Hochschild, 1989). We then present three vignettes (drawn from a study involving 19 carers), unpacking concerns with space, time, rhythms, identity and transition. Our engagement springs from our analysis as feminist scholars and practitioners and our prior research on care, spanning mothers’ care responsibilities (Barker, 2011), young mothers’ views about their education (Alldred and David 2007, 2010, 2011), university students’ care roles (Cullen & Alldred, 2013) and how mothers make decisions about paid work and childcare (Duncan et al 2004).

Whilst data is not always routinely recorded in UK universities regarding the numbers of registered carers or student parents, estimates suggest 5.3% of 18-24 year olds have regular care responsibilities for an ill or disabled relative (Becker & Becker 2008). Since this estimate does not include student-parents, or parents and carers among the mature student population, the proportion of UK Higher Education (hereafter HE) students with care responsibilities is likely to be higher. Clearly, this often overlooked and diverse group needs further study.

Using an auto/biographical approach, we explore how participants have multiple intersecting rhythms and identities across time and space, for example, as students, parents, and carers for partners or parents. We note the gender and generational features of the participant accounts from what was almost an exclusively female study group. We explore how student carers juggle and negotiate space, time and identity in complex ways. As Bhatti (2014) identifies, one of the

benefits of the auto/biographical turn is that it helps raise awareness of ordinary lives, and from our perspective, shines light into ordinary spaces, times and spatial and temporal processes.

Conceptualising Care

Care has been defined and understood in a diverse range of ways (Horton and Pyer, 2017). It is often referred to as a particular form or type of personal relation and exchange, undertaken in either the short or long term, within a cultural context and reflecting human vulnerability and interdependence (Philip et al, 2013, Weller, 2013). Care can refer to an abstract concern ('caring about') or a social practice ('caring for'), though it is often marginalised, invisible and undervalued (Horton and Pyer, 2017). It is provided by individuals, families, voluntary groups, public institutions and private companies, and is also often the subject of vociferous debate within the media and political arenas (Rogers and Weller, 2013). The notion that caring is unidirectional (between a 'care giver' and 'care receiver') has been critiqued for being oversimplified- caring can be conceived as a more multi-directional, versatile and fluid process (Rogers and Weller, 2013, Lithari and Rogers, 2017).

Prior studies of non-traditional students have included research about mature students, mothers, parents and women students (Leathwood, 2013, Hinton-Smith, 2011, Gonzales-Arnal and Kilkey, 2009). The limited existing work on students with caring responsibilities explores the experiences of student parents (Alsop et al 2008, Marandet & Wainwright 2010), or mature students (Edwards 1993, Baxter & Britton 2001, Reay et al 2002, Schuetze and Slowey 2002). These studies have traced motivations, learning trajectories, the significance of gender, class and inter-generational relationships and the impact of educational routes for 'non-traditional'

learners. Key challenges faced by students with care responsibilities include: the emotional upheaval in transitions to student life; the challenges of balancing work-life-study; timetabling issues; difficulties accessing educational and financial resources; and identity challenges (Edwards 1993, Alsop et al 2008, Marandet and Wainwright 2009). Dearden & Becker (2002) argue that the specific and enduring challenges facing young carers in school settings often leads to educational disadvantage, including absence and punctuality issues, a restricted peer network in school, difficulties in participating in extracurricular activities, poor attainment, tiredness, anxiety and bullying (2002, p5). Similarly, disadvantaged students experience substantial financial and social disincentives to participation in HE and are over-represented in vocational courses at less prestigious institutions (Forsyth and Furlong, 2003). Such issues highlight how issues of care are important factors when considering HE as a right and the gendering of broader structural levels of educational disadvantage (Burke, 2013).

The value, expectations and experiences of care vary across social classes, societies, cultures, generations and ethnic groups (Rogers and Weller, 2013, Horton and Pyer, 2017). Furthermore, many carers - both young and older - may not recognise themselves as such. Instead, bonds of reciprocal care with kin and community are narrated as part of expected ties of belonging (Song 1999) and 'helping out' (Smyth et al, 2011) or 'being/having family' (Alldred and Cullen 2012). Moreover, expectations of traditional 'feminine' roles carve out such temporal and relational dynamics as ordinary and part of everyday family life. Earlier work on mature women students (Edwards 1993) and young mothers (Harris et al 2005, Alldred and David, 2010) notes how mothers' views about and visions for their own education were notably secondary to their children's care needs and priorities. Their sense of responsibility for others reflected particularly

gendered, classed and intergenerational understandings of who ought to care for whom and at what personal 'cost' (Reay et al 2002, Harris et al 2005, Alldred and David 2010).

Theorising space, time and care

A range of academics from a variety of disciplines (including Geography and Sociology) have begun to map the significance of space in care and the caring relationship (Weller, 2013, Rogers, 2016). Space is not simply an inert container of social action, and *'care and caring are thoroughly social activities and always constituted by aspects of places in which they occur'* (Parr and Philo, 2003, p472). The geographies of care has begun to consider everyday caring practices and different spaces and scales of caring, including bodies, homes, streets and institutions (Parr and Philo, 2003 and Johnsen et al., 2005), as well as mapping the *'micro-politics of care negotiation'* (Dyck et al. 2005, p174, Power, 2008). Space is central to the production of these everyday *'carescapes'* (Bowlby et al, 1997), emphasising the relationality between places as well as people (Weller, 2013). Moral landscapes of care and local cultures of parenting identify how spaces of care are contested and imagined differently by specific localities by different social groups, cultures and individuals (Holloway, 1999, Johnsen et al., 2005, Barker, 2011) and how place is important in configuring care arrangements, support networks and caring policies (for example the re-centring of care from public institutions to privately owned corporations and domestic spaces, see Milligan, 2003).

A range of recent work has theorised how institutional spaces, such as universities (Rogers, 2017), secondary schools (Lithari and Rogers, 2017) and prisons (Philo, 2001) are fundamentally (at least in a formal sense) 'care-less' spaces. Drawing upon prior work on feminist ethics of

care, Lithari and Rogers (2017) identify how in institutional spaces, despite day-to-day informal and often invisible caring practices (see for example Wood and Taylor, 2017 on ‘caring classrooms’), ‘love and care are psycho-socially questioned’ (Rogers, 2013, pp132). Rogers (2017) thus calls for a deeper critical and political exploration of the social relationships bound up in the lived realities of those inhabiting ‘care-less’ spaces.

Lefebvre argues that space is produced through three interconnected processes referred to as the ‘trialectics of space’ (Lefebvre, 1991). Firstly, ‘*representations of space*’ refers to how space is *conceived* (that is planned, designed and documented) by formal, legitimate and powerful authorities, such as planners, architects, property developers, politicians and policy makers (see Lefebvre, 1991, Shields, 1999, Elden, 2004). Often referred to as ‘discourse *on* space’, these often elite and privileged voices hold ‘legitimate’ claims to how spaces are planned and shaped, at least abstractly but often realised in/ through physical and actual space (Lefebvre, 2013). Secondly, ‘*representational space*’ refers to how everyday spaces are lived (Shields, 1999). Often referred to as ‘discourse *of* space’, it includes the meanings given to space by people as they move around cities and environments (Elden, 2004). Thirdly, ‘*spatial practices*’ refers to everyday practices that are perceived to structure social life, including daily rhythms (Lefebvre, 1991). These three elements which combine to produce space do not always intersect collaboratively or productively: everyday spatial practices may sometimes contest commonly held meanings or perceptions about space and resist more formal attempts by elites to control space (Lefebvre, 2013, Shields, 1999).

Whilst Lefebvre keenly focused on space, he also criticised analyses which separated space, time, meaning and materiality, since each are co-constituted (Shields, 1999, Edensor, 2010). Time has long been a feature of academic study, from time-and-motion studies of the early 20th century (Taylor, 1911) to feminist analysis of women and time within the division of labour (Edwards, 1993, Bowlby et al, 1997, Dyke et al, 2005). Lefebvre argued time is not experienced as linear but rather has rhythms (Elden, 2004). Rhythms are lived interactions between place, time and energy, punctuating social life: *'rhythms imply the relation of a time to a space'* (Lefebvre and Regulier, 2013b, p104). Using the example of sensations in a busy Paris street (sights, noises and smells, sensations of moving, speeding up, slowing down, being stationary) produced via traffic light changes to consecutively allow passage of road traffic and pedestrians, Lefebvre highlights how social life is saturated with a multiplicity of rhythms (Lefebvre, 2013). Rhythms are not inherently natural but are socially produced and calibrated (even the 'natural' heartbeat rhythm is measured through human concepts such as 'minutes'). Whilst rhythms 'of the self' focus inwards (e.g. rhythms such as eating, sleeping), rhythms 'of the other' refer to outward, formal, public facing rhythms (Lefebvre and Regulier, 2013b).

Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis focuses upon micro-level, everyday rhythms. Rhythms can remain steady, but are rarely constant or static (Lefebvre and Regulier, 2013a, Edensor (2010), rather *'the question of rhythm raises issues of change and repetition, identity and difference, contrast and continuity'* (Elden, 2013, p5). There is never a perfect repetition of a rhythm- new rhythmic cycles spiral out from and reconfigure previous ones, and difference always appears, even within established patterns (Lefebvre, 2013, Lefebvre and Regulier, 2013a). Moreover, rhythms are not

singular- rather they are multiple, and overlapping (polyrhythmia) and/or discordant or dissonant (arrhythmia), generating struggle, tension and conflict (Shields, 1999, Edensor, 2010).

Feminist scholars argue that time is fundamentally a gendered phenomenon and note the patriarchal dimensions of the ordering of time in society (Davies, 1990; Leccardi, 1996, Tronto, 2003, Sayer, 2005; Maher 2009). The oppressive ‘double burden’ and Hochschild’s ‘second shift’ (1989) focuses on time pressures within women’s juggling of domestic labour and paid employment (Maher 2009). Contemporary labour market changes, such as increased precarious, flexible and casualised employment practices (such as the gig economy and zero hours contracts, see Standing 2016), the rise of new technologies and home working have begun to erode and fray existing rhythms and temporal and spatial boundaries between work and home (Reay et al, 2002, Jurcyk, 1998, Maher, 2009). Similarly, a diverse range of changes within UK HE, such as the massification of HE, increasing numbers of women entering University (Burke, 2013), and moves towards blended and distance learning and the use of new technologies have all helped to reconfigure spaces of HE (Rogers, 2016, Macdonald and Stratta, 2001). While rhythms of the academic year (terms, semesters, deadlines and formal taught sessions) remain largely unchanged, trends towards online learning blurs the edges of institutional spatial boundaries, with focus shifting towards students’ self determination of how, when and where to study. As well as creating financial pressures, changes to HE funding within England (the demise of grants, introduction of tuition fees and student loans) have also led to *temporal* and *spatial* tensions, with the increasing need for students to combine study with paid employment –with many students attempting within one day to work a paid shift and undertake a day studying at university (Leathwood and O’Connell, 2003, Marandet and Wainwright, 2010).

These changes have impacted upon women, particularly those with dependents and/or caring responsibilities, in distinct and disproportionate ways (Leathwood and O'Connell, 2003). Many mothers undertake a range of roles contemporaneously and concurrently (Maher, 2009), producing different temporalities that repeat, overlap and collide, often in discordant ways, to (re)produce and (re)shape family life. Reconfiguring Hochschild's second shift, increasingly student carers combine *triple* shifts (of paid work, study and care). Moreover, even when not on 'shift', women's apparent free time is still dominated with concerns about care (Jurcyk, 2008). Such fraying of discrete zones of practice has implications for how education inequalities might be reproduced or challenged. While the massification of HE has seen calls for widening participation for disadvantaged groups and a 'right' to education, such developments rarely consider the oppressive gendered institutional space-time logic. Such moves have clear implications for how carers navigate and narrate their aspirations and experiences of post compulsory education. Therefore, temporal and spatial processes are thus centre stage in relation to identity and what it *means* to be a student and/or a carer.

Situating the research

This research originated in a small-scale commissioned study on young carers and educational trajectories by one English university's Widening Participation Office in 2012. The twin agendas of Widening Participation and Life Long Learning have shaped much recent post compulsory Education policy in the UK over the past two decades (Macdonald & Stratta 2001, Scheutze & Slowey 2002, Leathwood & O'Connell 2003, Wainwright & Marandet 2010). Widening Participation is seen as a way of increasing social mobility, diminishing social inequalities

including those relating to race, disability and class by addressing 'barriers' to HE entry, raising aspirations and increasing levels of participation of under-represented social groups. Groups often the focus of Widening Participating initiatives include: young carers, mature students; students with disabilities; care leavers, and those from low socio-economic groups and areas of disadvantage.

This small-scale qualitative exploratory study (undertaken in a large multi-ethnic and economically diverse English city) comprised six focus groups, with a total of 19 participants. Three focus groups were undertaken with young carers aged 16-23 attending young carers'/parents' groups (funded and run variously by local authorities and schools) who were considering further study. Recruited via the support groups and local publicity, interviews aimed to explore young carers' prior experiences and future aspirations. Three further focus groups were conducted with university students who were parents and/or carers. Recruited by the Widening Participation office and university course tutors, we sought to explore student carer experiences, barriers to and enablers for participation in HE. We followed BERA guidance and secured ethical approval from our University's Ethics Committee. All locations and individual identities have been anonymised. The focus groups included case study scenarios enabling participants to reflect on but not needing to disclose their own experiences. All groups were audio recorded and transcribed with participants' details anonymised.

Transcripts were later coded and analysed for emerging narrative and key themes.

Auto/biography focuses on placing the storytelling of life histories within the academy (Chansky, 2016), enabling individuals to 're-authorise' their own subjectivity and experience

(Mintz, 2016), producing a particular range of personal experiences that no other form of telling can access (Olney, 2016). In discussing their lives, roles and responsibilities, carers produce retrospective auto/biographies. Feminist and other scholars have long discussed how auto/biographies are often not linear, but often fragmentary, disrupted and dislocated (Stanley, 1993, Chansky, 2016). Narratives never ‘reflect’ or ‘represent’ a true ‘insider’ record of history, but rather produce a storied reworking of self which is situated, contextualised and contestable, blurring boundaries between self/other, public/ private etc. (Sheridan, 1993). Texts become the focus as ‘generative’ or ‘fictive’, requiring creative acts to interpret, which therefore construct reality rather than reflecting it (Dhatti, 2014).

Thus within auto/biography, there no clear hierarchy between self and other, nor narrator, text and reader (Chansky, 2016, Olney, 2016), recognising ‘*a complex dynamic of cultural production*’ and research as a ‘*conscious artistic and literary exercise*’ (Baena, 2007, pvii). Reflecting this, as authors, we cannot remain silent and invisible, we are ‘active readers’ (Stanley, 1990). Haraway (2008) notes the ‘materialisation of new realities’- in writing others’ lives we rewrite our own lives. Indeed, our own auto/biographies of ‘care’ and embodiment are deeply implicated in/ through the production of this chapter. We come to this project with shifting identities as we navigate the challenges of combining academia with care (see Rogers, 2017 for more) and are moved and reshaped by the writing process. For example, early meetings between the authors corresponded with Fin’s maternity leave. In busy cafes, John and Fin had hurried discussions, Fin with notebook in one hand and feeding baby in the other. For Fin, the writing of this chapter created a cerebral challenge and a ‘break’ from expected domesticity and nurture. John’s contributions were mostly written during recovering from surgery- juggling

rehabilitation and writing whilst also struggling (with a heavily bandaged arm in a sling) to carry laptop and books to cafes, generating unique writing rhythms within space and time. As an example of the difficulties of synchronising rhythms, Pam (a full-time academic and mother-of-three), found it impossible to make the café meetings – so was marginal to constructing earlier drafts of the chapter and instead edited the full draft (drawing upon her earlier close involvement in the material in the bid writing, data collection, analysis, and report writing processes). Thus, the act of writing this chapter generated new social processes, materialities and rhythms of juggling care, space and time in ways eerily reminiscent of those stories told by our participants.

Furthermore, our distinct interests and disciplinary backgrounds led to us to explore different analytical strands. Drawing upon her work on gendered inequalities and identity, Fin was drawn to how participants produced gendered subjectivities through their discussion of care and study. John's main interest centred on a geographical analysis focusing upon the significance of space in carers' accounts. Pam's preoccupation was with the neoliberal university's construction of (and conditions for) the student or staff subject and the stigma expressed by student carers. Thus, the vignettes presented in this chapter draw upon these diverse analytical strands. Whilst feminist geographers have brought such theoretical insights together in powerful ways (see Bowlby et al, 1997, Holloway, 1999), that we focus on different elements of narratives demonstrates how researchers bring different perspectives to an encounter or a transcript.

Vignette One: Space, Time, Rhythms and Auto/biography

Our first vignette focuses on student carer spatial and temporal rhythms. Aysha was in her mid 40s and a mother of four grown-up children and a carer for her disabled partner. At the time of

the interview, she was studying for a BA Social Work degree, whilst caring for her partner and providing support for her four grown up children: *'it's like a global thing I'm doing'* she explains, then adds *'I'm trying to be this superwoman, but I'm not a superwoman. I realised that'*. She was recently made redundant from her job (which had sponsored her to study). When asked specifically about timing of teaching sessions, Aysha speaks more broadly about the challenges of juggling schedules and roles/responsibilities:

'timetabling is... not right... a mature student working full time, (and) caring responsibilities, you don't have enough time. There's not enough time in the 24 hour clock to that little extra mile that you need to do. And then you stay up all night having that little extra time to do that. And then you... have an hour sleeping, do your caring role and then go back to work. And then come back and go to University (45 minutes away). Go back into your caring role and prepare yourself for work the next morning and you do your coursework as well.'

She explains how the different elements of her caring role (as partner, as mother) impacts upon her study: *'the carer role is quite physically exhausting and psychologically exhausting. You're exhausted, you can't, you don't have the time to do (good) quality work or reading as you would have done if you didn't have that role. If I was put there on my own, I would hopefully get straight As'*.

Aysha's daily life is produced through and subject to a tightly organised and finely tuned set of rhythms, both temporal (*'stay up all night'*, *'have an hour sleeping'*, *'do your caring role'*) and spatial (*'go back to work'*, *'go back to University'*). Against a backdrop of contemporary late

modernity, Aysha's account is but one example of how individuals, social groups and institutions produce diverse and complex rhythms- each with their own different experiences, spatialities and challenges. In Aysha's auto/biographical narrative, time is scarce (*'there's not enough time in the 24 hour clock'*). Through increased expectations and demands relating to parenting, caring and employment and careers, mothers have particularly been subject to time space compression, leading to 'temporal conundrums' (Maher, 2009, p232) and indeed *spatial ones*, in attempting to successfully undertake these responsibilities. These conundrums (although configured differently at different points in her history) are narrated as constant:

'(before I came to University) I needed to do night work, so I could look after my kids during the day time and support them financially... My Mum used to support me but I had to take the kids across to my Mums, leave them, put them into bed and go to work, come back, pick them up. Bring them home, bath and dress them, go and drop them off to school, have a couple hours sleep with my baby there as well. I used to have to get up to change him and feed him and it was just chaotic I don't know how I did it'.

As well as the significance of the amount of time available, the notion of being 'harried' also reflects the *character* of time (Carrigan and Duberley, 2013) and the 'lived experience' of intense temporal and spatial caring practices and schedules. That these are experienced and narrated as challenge and struggle is reflected in Aysha describing her '*global*' undertaking and her attempts to be '*superwoman*'. Aysha's auto/biographical narrative clearly presents a neoliberal subject- she alone has the responsibility for such events, questioning the notion (Stanley, 1990) that women are positioned within capacious, resourceful social networks.

However, Aysha herself challenges the feasibility of the neoliberal carer and her narrative clearly realises the vulnerability of such finely tuned rhythms (*'but I'm not a superwoman, I realised that'*) reflecting how such rhythms, rather than representing a neo-liberal subject skilfully undertaking a range of identities and responsibilities, can often be intractable, conflict-ridden (Lefebvre, 2013, Carrigan and Duberley, 2013) and, as highlighted by feminists across a range of disciplines, also represent struggle, oppression and 'traps' (Hochschild, 1989).

Significantly, these rhythms are not discretely segmented, compartmentalised and sequential- Aysha's auto/biographical narrative results in overlapping, multiple and plural rhythms, experienced contemporaneously through a range of public and private spaces. Aysha's experiences of rhythms as complex, unstable and fragile echoes Lefebvre's (2013) notion of discordant or dissonant (arrhythmia) rhythms. However, as Maher (2009) comments, these potentially conflicting rhythms are unified *'by a focus on the accumulation of care'* (p231). Furthermore, our example also illustrates how spaces are planned with particularly ideological expectations, reflecting Lefebvre's *'representations of space'* (Lefebvre, 1991), in this case illuminating normative expectations (or discourse *on* space) which conceive Universities as coherent, bounded and protected spaces, times and rhythms for studying. In our example, there is no commitment-free student (Walkderdine et al 2001) who can easily embed and immerse themselves into the pre-existing required rhythms and spaces of campus life. Therefore, just as traditional distinctions between home and work become more blurred (Maher, 2009), student carers resist the normative rhythmic production of educational spaces, creating porous, fluid, study spaces, rhythms and times which incorporate caring responsibilities.

This resonates with Lefbevre's notion of 'spatial practices' and how space is experienced differently to planners' expectations (Lefbevre, 1991), suggesting that student carers are able to (at least partially) contest dominant spatio-temporal rhythms. Whilst research identifying these experiences of mothers juggling care and other tasks is long established (Hochschild, 1989), this analysis enables us to see how student carers construct highly spatialised, temporally fluid and plural, overlapping rhythms. However, as Aysha herself notes, the ability to juggle these rhythms comes at a great cost to herself and her studies (*'you don't have the time to (good) quality work or reading as you would have done if you didn't have that role. If I was put there on my own, I would hopefully get straight As'*)- reflecting much feminist research which explores how the lived experience of juggling caring with other roles can be characterised by missed opportunity, mental health concerns, exploitation and social exclusion (Hochschild, 1989, Carrigan and Duberley, 2013).

Vignette two: Identity, auto/biography and 'coming out' as carer

Focusing upon the experiences of a young carer from a different generation and ethnic group, our second example centres on the significance of identity. Tina (a 16 year old, school-attending, White British carer) talked about how in school she came to identify as being a young carer:

'because I didn't know I was (a young carer) for quite a while. And when I first found out that I was, I sort of didn't really get it. And then I remember just one day being really tired and had done (hardly) any work. And a teacher was like "oh", you know, "why are you like this?" I was like, "I was looking after my brother" [teacher replied with] "And now you've got this (studying). Oh, so you weren't just being rude and bad in my lesson?"'

This is an auto/biography of identity, beginning with Tina not identifying as a carer (*'because I didn't know I was [a young carer]'*). She then talks about a moment of clarity where she *'first found out'*, although her account also suggests that this 'coming out' (Plummer, 2003) as carer was not an immediate process, but one which required time and reflection (*'I sort of didn't really get it'*). Of particular interest here is the spatiality; this is not only a neoliberal account of self-realisation drawing upon agency and identity through their domestic caring experiences. It is also an account involving external scrutiny, surveillance and intervention of an educational professional in the public space of school (Smyth et al, 2011). The initial reaction (*'you weren't just being rude and bad in my lesson?'*) shows how the teacher initially brings to the encounter inappropriate and unhelpful generational expectations. Being a student carer is seen as 'out of time'- in relation to life stage (the stereotype that caring is undertaken by older adults) and is 'out of space', as secondary school spaces should be for learning rather than spaces influenced by other responsibilities (Shaper and Streatfield, 2012). Following the disclosure, the education professional quickly revises their understanding of Tina's identity. Tina also identifies moments of realisation whereby she links her own personal and private experiences to a much broader collective social and public identity as carer: *'Oh, I thought it was just (in my) school... it's not just in school. It's like all over the country and all places, so I've been registered (as a young carer) with my brother for like a year'*. The account ends with a clear, coherent identification in the interview, linked to Tina's legislative registration and declaration as carer, which makes this identity formal and public.

When discussing a hypothetical example of whether a young student carer should disclose their caring responsibilities to their educational establishment, Tina provides a different way of considering the relationship between private, caring responsibilities and a more public identity:

'I think it's your choice, because you don't always want people to know. Because sometimes it doesn't gain that (much) anyway. Sometimes, you can manage it. I think that initially, it seems like it's unnecessary. It's just you don't want everyone to know what goes on in your home, unless you want them to, because at the end of the day, if you can cope, you can cope. If you just need the help there, you can say, like "I'm behind because of this".'

The discussion here clearly places the carer in control as the neoliberal agent '*managing*' their own lives. Although a position problematised by many (see Maher, 2009, Philp et al, 2013, Walkerdine et al, 2001) for obscuring exploitation, oppression and exclusion, this stance represents a discursive framework of the young student carer as productive, in control and 'coping'. Within this 'idealised learner', carers are presented as having autonomy, control and '*choice*' to decide whether to disclose, in effect a process of 'coming out' and claiming a public identity (Plummer, 2003). Whilst some thought there were benefits to disclosing (for example, in coursework extensions), the focus group conversation continued to discuss disadvantages of disclosing caring responsibilities, particularly around the shame of having a public identity of carer. Another young woman in the focus group says '*I would feel kind of extremely awkward*' if disclosing to the college and this was a strong theme in the interviews, even amongst those studying healthcare subjects. The two identities of 'student' and 'carer' were perceived as conflicting, 'awkward' and socially and spatially incompatible. Publicly identifying as carer

might be stigmatising- one participant was conscious of being seen as ‘needy’ rather than ‘able’, and had tried to hide their responsibilities for fear of judgement by peers and tutors and being seen as ‘pleading special case’.

Once again, these accounts resonate with Lefebvre’s notion of ‘representations of space’ (Shields, 1999), that is the dominant ways in which spaces are conceived by those with authority, privilege and power. The formal, legible and legitimate identities imagined within places of HE are framed around particular kinds of gendered, classed and ‘raced’ bodies, identities and activities. The student carer identity spatially and temporally disrupts the notion of student identities as ‘carefree’ and autonomous (Wainwright and Marandet, 2013). Participants within our accounts frame themselves as deficient and/or incompatible in relation to ‘bachelor boy’ normative gendered and generational framings of identity. Leathwood (2013) notes gendered visual representations of identity within HE’s self-produced media representations. Rarely do promotion materials include older learners or students with dependents. Where such students’ identities are acknowledged, it is seen as within discourses of need or as recipients of paternalistic help from the benevolent university, rather than as positive, legitimate and feasible identities for student life (Leathwood, 2013).

Vignette Three: Auto/biography and longer-term narratives of care and study

Aysha (the focus of vignette one) constructs a lengthy auto/biographical narrative through which she explains the influences that have helped shape her long journey towards University:

'I used to get good marks at school. B plus and As. I was 16 (leaving school), I did my O levels then left. I wanted to continue studies but my grandparents had found this partner and I had to get married... I felt my brothers were supported more. I faced that conflict of Asian families- it doesn't matter if girls study or not- that attitude. My Dad wanted me to continue study and he had really good hopes that I would be something, I would be recognised as something. I wanted to be a police officer because there was an opportunity to get into the force. Then my grandparents intervened- "Asian girls don't do that". And then I got married and then if it wasn't for my Dad I don't think I would be alive today. He got me out of that marriage....

I had a business first. That got repossessed because I was ill for three months, I ended up in hospital after having my baby... six months to recover... and then I didn't get much support from my partner. He was helping himself on the business hence why the business collapsed. He was gambling. My shop got repossessed and the accommodation was above it, so we had to leave the shop. As soon as we moved into rented accommodation, all the benefits were in his name, but he left us and went abroad for a year. I was stuck with having no income, and the landlord demanding rent. I started doing odd jobs for a factory across the road. Sometimes they didn't give me work and I said this is not good enough... So this is how I got into a caring role from that point, doing nightshifts in the residential home. Then I just progressed further as the children grew, went to school. So I started doing day jobs as well...I was doing temporary work. They obviously liked my work and there I was quite passionate. They asked me if I would apply for a permanent position. A year after, they said 'oh there is a senior position going', I got that. I was just going up the ladder all the time, I thought 'I don't want to stop here...'

That's what is has been throughout my life, other people's expectations of being a daughter, of being a mother, of being a wife. It's...you know, I'm an individual, I've got feelings, I've got dreams. I want to be somebody. I want to be recognised. I have brilliant context in life but that's not enough, I want to do it (studying) for me'

The account here is expansive, identifying a broad range of events (leaving school, marriage, motherhood, housing crises, casual jobs, and professional employment) within both the private and public spheres, which have helped to shape, influence and give meaning to her life. Her interview also touches upon familial and generational relationships, culture and economic contexts, presenting these as ultimately (if slowly and a non-linear way, a pattern also found by Reay et al, 2002) leading to deciding to train at university to be a social worker. A number of 'critical moments' of transition (Thomson et al, 2002) are mentioned, such as being made homeless, as well as longer term rhythmic changes, for example, evolving relations with family members, engagement in romantic partnerships and changing participation in the labour market. A focus on longer-term auto/biographical narrative enables us to explore how rhythms are not fixed and permanent, but rather are 'spiralling' or rhizomatic as their rhythmic composition changes and evolves over longer periods.

In different times in her often 'messy' and non linear lifestory, Aysha constructs herself as powerful and agentic, for example, at key points in her employment history (*'I didn't want to stop there'*), whilst at other points constructs a story which places her within positions of powerlessness (vis a vis family members, partners and financial collapse). Powerlessness requires her to rework her spatial and temporal rhythms (for example, in her changing childcare

regimes) and also forces movement through space (Hipchen and Chansky, 2017), for example, the necessity to move as the result of being made homeless. The slow movement towards the spaces of HE has significant meaning for Aysha (*'I've got dreams', 'I want to do it [studying] for me'*). This reflects the second process identified in Lefebvre's 'trialectics of space', that is the notion of 'representational space', that is how space is produced and lived through the meanings attached to it. Clearly, gaining a place at university is a huge goal for student carers and the achievement of access to this space and to this identity has significant meaning (generating a discourse of space). She also constructs a shifting sense of self vis a vis her other responsibilities, and illustrates how her move to university generates complex intersections between individuation (*'for me'*) and her other commitments (Smith, 2016). Entry into HE is seen as something of a shift from an identity of responsibilities to a more ego-driven (Stanley, 1990) and neo-liberal subjectivity (*'I'm an individual, I want to be somebody. I want to be recognised'*). She constructs a powerful, agentic account where she constructively finds resistance to adversity and develops procedures to succeed. However, despite narratives of individuation and self-motivation, Aysha's responsibilities to family members remain unchanged. Recognising that auto/biographical accounts are always socio-culturally located, much focuses on what is happening around her and her responses to this. As we discussed earlier, it is clear that Aysha is also located and subject to broader familial, social, gender and class based structural factors which shape her experiences and narrative.

Conclusion

These vignettes cast light on how care, as an embodied and enacted lived reality, is narrated across different generations as entailing complex spatial and temporal rhythms. In an age

characterised by the acceleration and compression of time, student carer narratives reflect new challenges as well as highlight traditional gendered norms and expectations. Student carers skilfully navigate overlapping and hybrid rhythms across time and space. Highlighting the complexity of spaces and flows of care, our analysis identifies competing, intersecting and concurrent temporal and spatial rhythms. Navigating these intersections through a range of spaces is reported as complex, difficult and stressful. Throughout the accounts are the difficulties of combining or syncromeshing different polyrhythmic rhythms (Elden, 2004).

Auto/biographical analysis has enabled us to explore these (often discordant) intersections between study and care rhythms and highlight the nuanced and complex ways in which the rhythm and flow of study and caring folds experience, time and space together.

These auto/biographical accounts of care also shed light on new ways of thinking about the complex intersections between time, space and identity construction. Dominant and ideal notions of autonomous learners (in neoliberal education policy) are recast within these accounts by/through deep ties of belonging, interdependence, responsibility, love and care. While universities might formally be care-less institutions (Rogers, 2017), they are inhabited by those with deep duties of care and loyalty. The accounts show the tensions constructing identities which bridge such divides, and the losses – physical and emotional - borne by these student carers. Student carers’ ‘caring’ experiences and identities are always contingent on time, place and legibility, and are interwoven with and co-constructed by other identities (such as gender, class, ethnicity and generation) and identity transitions (Thomson, 2002, Thomson et al, 2003) (for example the non-linear pathways between pupil, partner, employee, businesswoman, student, mother identities experienced by participants).

This chapter illustrates how student carers are (through their everyday practices and/or identities) constructed as *out of time* or *out of place*. Auto/biographical narratives of student carers resonate with all three elements of Lefebvre's (1991) three-fold conceptualisation of space. The power of institutions such as universities to mould and define identity, space and place resonate Lefebvre's *representations of space* (how space is *conceived* by formal and legitimate authorities, see Lefebvre, 1991, Shields, 1999, Elden, 2004). That HE is accredited with status, meaning and longing by our participants reflects the second process identified by Lefebvre, that of *representational space*. That our participants carved out identities and spatial practices which engage with formal institutional rhythms prescribed by 'legitimate' authorities yet also achieved caring responsibilities/identities, reflects how spaces are never unproblematically perceived or experienced in ways that planners or policy makers have conceived.

An auto/biographical approach highlights the strengths in feminist analyses of the temporal and spatial, to provide insights into new economic realities, traditional gendered expectations and the navigation of the spatial and temporal logics of combining care and study. Attempts to juggle complex and often competing rhythms comes at great personal cost to student carers (Hochschild, 1989, Smyth et al, 2011). This re-enforces the need for continued feminist analysis of structural disadvantage to problematise and challenge dominant policy narrative of neo-liberal individual 'choice' and meritocratic opportunity.

We call for more focus on analyses which explore intersections between identity, the temporal and spatial within an analysis of feminist auto/biographies. Whilst we have been able only touch

on this in this chapter, we recognise the necessity of developing deeper intersectional analyses that explore how discourses of gender, generation, class and ethnicity inform and shape these auto/biographical narratives. We also call for further development of a geography of care and caring, to map the complex spatialities of care, which traverse diverse geographies across a range of spaces (Horton and Pyer, 2017). In particular, we urge for more exploration of the complex and overlapping ways in which formally ‘care-less spaces’ such as universities might be considered differently by individuals (e.g. planners, teachers, students) who conceive, perceive and experience them.

One last cautionary note concerns the need to challenge stories which emphasise hegemonic, universal narratives (Baena, 2017). Recognising that text is ‘generative’ and ‘fictive’, in endeavours such as this chapter we are engaged with creative, interpretive acts rather providing the truth. There are *‘multiple layers of fictive paradigms of selfhood with the result that a multiplicity of speaking positions weaves through... texts’* (Smith, 2016, p87). As authors, we recognise that our narrative analysis is simultaneously shaped by and helps shape our own positionalities, interests and engagements in various forms of care and academic work, as well as reflecting those of Aysha, Tina and other participants.

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