

FAMILY JIGSAWS:

**How intergenerational relationships between
grandparents, parents, and children impact on the
learning that takes place between the generations, and
how this contributes to the child's learning experiences
at home and at school**

A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

Goldsmiths, University of London

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text.

I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being currently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at Goldsmiths, University of London or any other University of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

Finally, I confirm that this dissertation does not exceed the prescribed word limit.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the intergenerational relationships between grandparents, parents and children from Bangladeshi British families in East London, and the impact these relationships had on the learning that took place between the generations. The study also investigated how this contributed to the child's learning experiences at home and at school. I collected data within an ethnographic framework using participant observation, interviews, questionnaires and video recordings. Through an ethnographic approach and an approach to analysis which I refer to as an 'analysis of verbal and non-verbal interactions' I was able to analyze the data from the four children, their grandmothers, mothers and teachers who participated in the study. The analysis highlights the complexities of their interactions and the way learning took place as each child completed a puzzle with the help of their mother, grandmother or teacher. The study reveals how the children negotiated their way through the different intergenerational interactions to complete the puzzle activities, bringing together the jigsaw pieces of their learner identities to construct their ability to be 'Flexible Learners' as a whole.

I argue that children consciously adapt their learning styles depending on the adult they are interacting with and the context in which that learning experience takes place. I emphasize that their ability to do this and the contribution of the grandparents to this role are not adequately acknowledged at present. There is also evidence that participants bring their 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzalez et al, 2005) to the way in which they think learning should take place, and this enables the child to develop what I refer to as 'learner flexibilities' which is a skill that needs recognition within families and schools in order to improve children's educational and cultural experiences.

DEDICATION

'...and treat your parents with kindness; if either of them or both reach old age in your presence, do not say "Uff" to them and do not rebuff them, and speak to them with the utmost respect. And lower your wing humbly for them, with mercy, and pray; "My Lord! Have mercy on them both, the way they nursed me when I was young.'" (Quran Chapter17: Verses 23-24)

I dedicate this thesis to my parents; to my mother who has not lived to see its completion, but whose role as a mother and grandmother inspired me to embark on this journey, and to my father whose unfailing faith in me gave me the perseverance to complete it.

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Chapter 1: From There to Here

1.1 Introduction: A Sense of Belonging

I was the kid in my class that could not speak English, had brown skin and wore a headscarf. This was not a common sight in the eighties, particularly the headscarf. My sister and I were the only girls who wore it in our neighbourhood and school. These are the earliest memories I have of school. All the other Bangladeshi children were always conversing in English and another dialect of Bengali; Sylheti. This is an oral language spoken by the majority of the families in the local East London community who came from Sylhet, a north-eastern area in Bangladesh. I could not understand this dialect as our family is from another part of Bangladesh and we speak the standard Bengali, the same as the form used in writing. I now realize that I made a continual subconscious effort to blend as best as I could into the environment by making my behaviour as similar as possible to the others. This was not easy, indeed it was almost impossible, with the Bangladeshi children pushing me aside as I did not speak Bengali as they did, and didn't quite identify with children from other ethnic backgrounds culturally. My efforts to merge into the mainstream environment meant speaking only English and leaving cultural norms for when I got home and interacted with my parents and siblings.

We travelled from Bangladesh to join my father in the UK in February 1980 so that we could all be together and for the opportunity to attain a better education. It was a very difficult time for us, particularly for my mother and older siblings who felt the full impact of the move as we had come to a place where we had no family members. The movement from one society to another was accompanied by intense feelings of psychological dislocation. We all experienced a sense of profound loss leaving our homeland as well as feeling the pangs of adapting to a

new society. The disorientations following arrival, the traumas of resettlement, and the problems of acculturation hit us all, some more than others, my mother being the most vulnerable. For her it was exceptionally difficult emotionally as it meant leaving my very elderly grandfather for whom she had been the sole carer and who had taught her all she knew since moving into the family home at the age of fifteen.

For me, at the age of eight, it was all very exciting coming to a new country with so many lights. The billboards fascinated me as did the smooth and wide roads. Our first few weeks were spent at my father's friend's house while they were on holiday. I remember waking up in the morning to a world that had turned white. I rushed to the window feeling dazzled and excited at the purest sight I had ever seen. The trees, cars and paths were covered in the softest snow brightening up the gloomiest of skies. How can something be so white? I was fascinated by some of the children outside rolling in the snow and others making a statue out of it. This statue I later learned was a part of the native culture of making snowmen which all enjoy and which I myself now also enjoy with my own children. The few weeks we spent at this house gave my father the chance to be allocated a council property which was to become our first home in the UK. We moved to a four bedroom flat in a tower block in the East End of London. The first night was spent with us all huddled together in one room on mattresses under duvets and sleeping bags with a gas heater keeping us warm.

The next few weeks were spent in a flurry of shopping, visiting the local school to enrol and settling into our new surroundings. My mother constantly worried about us playing outside as there were at the time groups of black and white youths loitering around with dogs. The fear of settling into an alien country was difficult

enough but having to adjust to living amongst people of different cultures and values was proving to be quite a complex endeavour for us all. We were suspicious of everyone and everything, which drove my mother to keep reiterating our family, cultural and religious values to us. I would also hear my parents discussing late into the night wondering how they would cope and my father reassuring her. They would also spend time reminiscing about the life she had left behind. There were times when I would see her brushing away tears and I would hear her silent sobs when she thought we were fast asleep.

The first day at school, which was across the road from where we lived, was my first intimate experience of the English culture; its food, people and language. I loved taking on challenges and when I sensed that I had to prove to my fellow classmates that I could be like them if not better, I drove myself to learn English. This, I realized very quickly, would be the only way I could enter into their world and be accepted. I refused to leave my class to join the EAL (English as an Additional Language) classes. By staying in the classroom with all the children and with the loving support of my class teacher I picked up English within three months. At home, my mother maintained a tight regime of keeping our Bengali intact by making us read Bengali books and newspapers, write regularly and not allowing us to speak any English at home. This ability to speak, write and read two languages developed in me a sense of confidence and pride that instilled in me the hunger to achieve and push myself in order to better myself. My mother's storytelling, in a language only my home setting recognized, always unleashed happy emotions. I felt I still spoke that language in my sleep, in my dreams, evocative of a country I had left but which also sounded like the only home I had ever known. The stories made me realize that there was a corner of me that would forever not be English.

No special provisions appear to have been made in the UK for South Asian children in State schools until the 1960s when the British government began looking more closely at the issue. By the time Bangladeshi children arrived, the issue of mother-tongue teaching in community classes had begun to gain ground and was eventually introduced in some secondary schools in areas of high Bangladeshi population such as Tower Hamlets in East London. In school EAL classes were set up for bilingual children to learn English. To attend these classes the children had to leave the mainstream lessons. I for one resented this idea a great deal because I felt alienated and was made to feel different from the others.

Most of my fellow Bangladeshi students attended religious and language classes outside school with parental encouragement. They spent their daytime at school and their evenings five days a week at Islamic school and their weekends would be spent entirely learning Bengali. Their home life in Britain emphasized links with the homeland. The parents' generation spoke in their mother tongue, regularly attended mosques, watched Bollywood films and made family trips back to Bangladesh. But the second generation began to find their cultural niche, which was a fusion of the West with the East. I remember the teachers being very critical and concerned about this extended routine of study these children had to follow. I felt I was once again different because I didn't attend these extra classes. I was taught to read the Quran and Bengali at home by my parents and older siblings, which the teachers were not really aware of. We were brought up in an environment where our faith was the focus. Discussions and debates around world faiths took place amongst my older brothers and parents which I enjoyed observing and listening to. Practising the faith with conviction was instilled in us through such discussions.

We didn't have a television, but my earliest memories from childhood are of the deep voices of the newsreaders from the World Service, and of listening to the afternoon plays on BBC Radio 4. We used to look forward to the weekends and evenings so that we could listen to them. While my mother ardently kept up our Bengali, we were exposed to English and Arabic at home through the personal example of my father. He maintained a routine in his personal life which he follows to this day of 'early to bed, early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise'. He would recite the Quran after the dawn prayers and then listen to the news on the radio while walking up and down the passage knocking on each of our rooms to wake us up for morning prayers. I have never known him, even to this day, to go to bed without a book in hand. The culture of reading for meaning and for pleasure was demonstrated to us in the home by my parents. Books surrounded us, in every room were shelves stacked with books in Arabic, Bengali, Urdu, Farsi and English. My father even shipped over Bengali books for us from Bangladesh, and it was through these books I was introduced to the stories of Nasir Uddin Hodja, Socrates, Arabian Nights and classical Bengali stories. We also had English books which were not forced on us but around us in the house for us to read. These my father tended to bring from his visits to the historic Sunday market. From one such visit we were given the whole set of 'Peter and Jane books'. My elder sister and I used to wait eagerly for the Reader's Digest and Mahjuba (A women's magazine from Iran) to come through the post every month, and I remember spending many a summer holiday copying out the stories and doing my own illustrations to go with the stories. My parents used to eagerly wait for the newspapers from Bangladesh to come through the post. They would huddle around them for hours catching up with events back home and then get us to read the news items out aloud to them.

At school I preferred playing with the boys during breaks. They seemed less judgmental and were willing to include me. This also saved me from having to continuously explain the reasons behind some of our family choices which were different to the majority of other Bangladeshi families. My parents did not work in the garments industry and while other young males chose to work at their family restaurants, my elder brothers were studying at college. Along with the different dialect came the difference in home culture and being labelled as not Bangladeshi by other Bangladeshi children. I wanted to be like my fellow Bangladeshi peers, but at the same time was not willing to compromise the family individualities we had. Therefore, to keep myself occupied and avoid some of the taunts, I actively took part in all the sports activities during break times and worked hard in class.

1.2 Character Building: Pushing Limits

The move to secondary school came upon me too fast. I followed my sister into the local all-girls secondary school. By this time I had developed a level of self-confidence that helped me to make friends from all backgrounds. People in authority put the question of integration and assimilation to me at a very young age. Some teachers as well as the head teacher seemed to have great difficulties in accepting that I, through choice, wanted to wear the headscarf as well as the abaya (long dress), all tailored to conform to school uniform colours. The more negative the attitude, the more determined I became to hold on to what seemed to me to be part of my identity. I failed to understand the concerns of the teachers and their negative attitude towards the way I dressed. I managed to run around without tripping in the playground or on the stairs. Most important to me was the fact that I was accepted by those that were close to me as I did not impose my beliefs on them and was not a threat to them in any way. My family was my strength. As my father always said to me then, and continues to say to his

grandchildren now, 'it's not what you look like or what you wear, it's your character that will see you through difficulties, and this character is built through knowledge'.

My very first academic challenge came during my third year of secondary education when I had to choose my GCSE options. I enjoyed the sciences and it was what I wanted to do, but as I did not do too well in my mock exams the physics teacher entered me for the lower paper. I found this difficult to accept as did my parents who are the pillar of support in my academic career to this day. I fought my case and sat the higher paper in all my GCSE subjects. I refused to accept that English being my second language should hinder my ability or achievement. This incident made me realize how assertive I needed to be and how much more difficult it was for bilingual children to be recognised as achievers. I felt there was an assumption among the teachers that cultural and language barriers hindered bilingual children's achievements. At times it bothered me a great deal to observe how low the expectations were from the teachers towards us. I resented how it was always assumed that our parents did not care about our education, because some parents did not attend the parents' evenings. If only they could come to our homes and see the efforts our parents made to support us in taking up the opportunities that they never had. If only I could share with them that the respect and honour we had for the teachers were taught to us by our parents. These parents were never weaned into a system of education that they could play a role in, as was encouraged in the policies for home-school links, but in practice the school gates were where we were handed over to experts who knew how to teach us.

At home there was an environment of a different kind of learning alongside the academic kind. In the social world in and around my family I knew where my place

was; elders and youngsters were clearly defined in the way I addressed them. There were high expectations from my siblings and me as to how we conducted ourselves with one another as well as with and amongst adults and guests. I could be challenging at times but certainly knew my boundaries. When at home, I felt secure and content, but I was frustrated as I could not share these practices when I left the comfort of my family and fellow Bangladeshi community members. Did I have to adapt, adopt and transform my ways so that I could blend in with those who questioned my dress and cultural norms? How far would I have to go before that acceptance took place? I might be able to change a lot of things but how would I change the colour of my skin and the way my parents looked and acted? It affected me emotionally at times when this was espoused by the very teachers I had hoped would educate the ignorant. It was at this point that a fighting spirit grew within me to keep hold of my precious identity and to prove I could achieve highly just by being who I was. I wanted my fellow Bangladeshi peers to have the same confidence in their abilities and feel they could be high achievers, too. I went out of my way to help them whenever I could. Through this I also managed to create a strong bond with them and gained their respect, which was very important to me. I began to feel I truly belonged in both camps.

The feeling of newly belonging to the host culture had unexpected effects. I started to resent some aspects of home and community life. I began to feel I was seen to be too challenging at home and was becoming westernized in my thinking. Neighbours began to share their worries and concerns with my mother in regards to the friends I was bringing home and the influence they would have on me. This then felt as though my mum was losing control over me. While my fellow Asian peers were looking into marriage prospects and close friends looking into vocational courses, I was expected to apply to University. Although this would take

me away from my friends, it was a window of opportunity for me to create a distance between me and those who misunderstood me and were causing a rift in my relationship with my mother. My older brother and I were applying together, and I applied to the University of Sussex without consulting anyone at home as well as other Universities in London. When offer letters started coming I was surprised to find that my brother had also applied to the University of Sussex, we both received offers of acceptance and for me my parents' agreement in allowing us both to go there away from home was a true miracle and an opportunity I didn't expect.

I can vividly remember my transition into an independent life. My eldest brother drove my brother, my parents and me in his van to our university in the middle of the night. We picked up our room keys and one at a time was dropped off to our rooms. I will never forget the sense of loneliness I felt as I watched my parents disappear into the night and of having to go to my room knowing I didn't know any of my flatmates who were now fast asleep. From a life of protection to throwing myself into the deep end was a shock I didn't think I would experience. I also didn't think I would miss my mother as much as I did. However, it was during my university years that soul-searching questions of language, culture and identity began to form in my mind. There were times when I questioned who I was. I had the opportunity to meet a lot of foreign students who were speaking more than three languages which was achieved through their schooling. The majority of these students were shocked at the lack of language skills that the British students had and how some students hadn't even managed to retain their home language. Why was this the case? The schooling system here to this day does not really support students to maximize their opportunities in picking up languages. I

automatically sat my Bengali exam early and I could easily have picked up another language, German, which I really enjoyed, but wasn't an offered option.

I began to also notice how different people coped with adapting to a new country, a new culture and, for some, a newfound freedom. This was a real fascination for me, to be exposed to such a wide range of cultural practices and to how acculturation takes place in order to survive. It was not easy for all; some faced traumatic experiences and others thrived on their new experiences. Freedom beckoned with all its attractions and offers of how to utilize it were thrown at me by my peers who were concerned I was not grabbing the opportunities that were there. I began to really feel the pressure particularly when fellow Asian housemates were making the most of the freedom they had. Every time I tried to consider tagging along either my physical appearance of covering or my mental and emotional turmoil of breaking trust would see me trotting back to my lonely room at the dismay of my friends. However much we all wanted to integrate, there were some aspects we could not let go of while our non-Asian friends were living off tinned food and takeaways, we in our flat spent most of our initial evenings calling home learning to cook from our mothers, aunts and sisters, the cuisines our tongues were used to and which we desperately craved for. We laughed and cried many a time over our efforts at becoming culinary experts.

Living away from home during those three years was a novel experience in all respects, in particular with respect to how my relationship with my parents took on a new form. When I came home at the weekends I relished the smell of home cooking, ways of dressing and the banter that took place. I missed being at home; mum and I would sit into the early hours of the morning talking about her experiences back in the village. I found out how she learnt to read and write with

my grandfather amongst all the chores she had to do as the eldest bride. I began to see her not only as a mother but a woman who managed to achieve so much through sheer self-effort and motivation. Through those amazing shared moments she managed to instil in me a strong sense of loyalty and trust. I felt I could never let her down and let all her hard work be in vain. In hindsight, I wonder if she did that deliberately as part of her parenting strategy in order to help me survive and keep my values intact while I was on my own away from home. I began to notice her not only as a mother but a role model and mentor. So, leaving home for me was in a sense a journey and a personal rite of passage, of finding my way back to the person I wanted to be.

Some of the friends I made then I still have contact with now, and most of us are married with children. Some are in mixed marriages where the children are exposed to different cultures and languages. Parenting crises, dos and don'ts, whats, ifs and buts are all we talk about and discuss. However, when we find ourselves struggling as parents we find ourselves putting the same practices of our own parents into motion that we hoped we would leave behind, and we ask ourselves, what is it that makes us do so? I remember so vividly when I gave birth to my first son, hugging my mum and crying, feeling the pain she must have gone through over and over again giving birth to eleven of us. An immediate bonding of a shared experience formed, and it was my mother I turned to for advice and for practical guidance in child rearing.

We, the second-generation mothers began to notice that as soon as our children started nursery, their home languages started to disappear within three months. This had an impact on their relationship with other members of the family who did not speak English, particularly their grandparents. A gap was forming between the

two generations who at the same time wanted and needed so much from each other. We would have lengthy discussions around concerns and sometimes heated debates on how we as parents should ensure the home languages and cultures of our children are retained, but how? Some of us are not fluent ourselves, so who will take the responsibility? School? Grandparents? Parents? The debate still continues but one thing has been clear, that grandparents are a resource for language and retention of culture amongst many other invaluable skills, which cannot be overlooked. For my children my mother was the one who transmitted our cultural values and language as well as the religious values to them. She took care of them while I went to study. I would come back home to find them playing with her, watching her while she cooked, cleaned, prayed, read the Quran and socialized with her friends. My parents were so keen to safeguard these values that they arranged our marriages (nine siblings that are alive) to spouses who were born and raised in Bangladesh.

1.3 My Journey into Research

My curiosity into how personalities and identities are formed and my personal struggle with my children's dual language development drove me into community work. From this involvement with my local community and the mosque I began to notice the gaps forming between the generations. We started to encounter numerous cases that began to flood in with parents sharing their feelings of loss and inadequacy in dealing with their young teenagers, and feeling that they were losing their children. These cases began to affect me personally and I really wanted to find out why this was occurring. The language being a reason was very clear, but other issues were at play, and I craved to find out. I decided to do a PGCE in the hope of teaching in one of the local schools so that I could make a small difference to the lives of some of the students and their families.

My teaching placement was at a large mixed comprehensive in the East End of London. I began to lose hope when I realized that I was battling with the demand of teaching the subject and trying to get to know the students and their needs. I had the opportunity to shadow the home-school liaison officer to deal with some of the children that were exhibiting problem behaviours and attitudes. We made home visits and mentored students within the school setting. This short insight into the lives of some of the students brought home to me the cultural, linguistic, psychological, religious and many other gaps that were actually forming within the Bangladeshi community that is tearing the generations apart. I felt frustrated when I noticed the struggle the other monolingual PGCE students were having in delivering lessons to a host of students they could not identify with and how at times they could not even manage to communicate the basic instructions due to language and cultural barriers. Their comments such as 'what's the point? These kids are hopeless! What do their parents do all day?' upset me. The more time I spent with my fellow trainee teachers the more I felt downhearted that even in my generation we still had the mentality that we are the experts and the children and their families and communities should be grateful. The question for me was 'why could not the teacher training institutes include awareness on diversity and how to deal with multilingual children where resource development and broadness in our attitudes were concerned?' This was when I decided for myself I was not going to really find classroom teaching fulfilling, rather I wanted to reach out to the parents and families to see if working with them will eventually help the students achieve at school in a more holistic way.

After I completed my PGCE I felt I wanted to have a more hands-on relationship with the community and the issues that were affecting them rather than being caught up in a system where there was not much room to do this. This is when, in

partnership with my older sister, I began to run parenting courses and organized workshops for both parents and their children to come and share life experiences in order to address some of their fears and concerns. These were very rewarding, fulfilling and fruitful, and from these we trained other parents and young people to go and run similar workshops in their localities. Through the main local Mosque we started to raise and address some of the issues such as language, culture and faith as well as health issues that were affecting our communities. Our intention was to create a pro-active community that would deal with these issues rather than sweep them under the carpet. We also began to run a community radio station where we produced and aired live programmes to raise awareness and find suitable solutions to the intergenerational gaps. Completing my MA in Education helped me to gain a better insight into child development and how children learn. But most fascinating for me was to be introduced to all the different cultural practices around the world and how children function and learn in the social context in which they are reared.

My first academic encounter with research in this field was through the ESRC research project by Kenner et al (2004) on Intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in East London, at Goldsmiths, University of London. I was one of the researchers on the project. The study explored the learning events that took place between the grandparents and their grandchildren, and the learning exchanges that occurred (Kenner et al, 2004; Kenner et al, 2007; Ruby et al, 2007; Kenner et al, 2008; Gregory et al, 2007). Many interesting aspects of the relationships and learning emerged such as synergy, prolepsis and syncretism which will all be discussed in detail later in chapter 3 and developed further in chapters 9 and 10 when discussing my own work. Both the children and the grandparents expressed the unique relationship they had and how this helped to

promote intergenerational learning. One aspect the grandparents expressed was the availability of free time and their 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzales et al, 2005) that were at their disposal which they utilized to build their relationship with their grandchildren. I had the opportunity to observe the families in their home settings and see the interactions and dynamics within the families. Throughout the project I felt we had a missing jigsaw piece, the parents. From my own experiences and the exposure I had to the families I could see the roles of various family members, but the intricate and intertwined roles parents and grandparents played intrigued me. From the little access I had to the literature around this area I felt the dynamics of three-generation families had not been properly researched.

Having seen the importance of the roles that grandparents played, some of the government policies in the UK around childcare are very worrying to me. In the last couple of decades there has been a strong drive from the government to encourage more mothers to return to work as soon as their maternity leave is over. In order for this to take place new childcare initiatives and facilities are being introduced, private as well as state funded. However, carers for young children from ethnic minority families tend to be grandparents or other extended family members. This care arrangement is usually free of cost to the parents. Grandparents are also increasingly opting for this role, particularly in the families where there are difficulties. But parents have been driven to uncertainty as financially they are deprived if they are to leave their children in the care of family members, unless they are registered child minders, in which case families are supported through the Family Tax Credit. Alongside the financial issues many parents are also at their wits end having to decide what would be in the best interest of their children against the backdrop of often conflicting research findings and guidance from government (HMT, 2004; Statham, 2011).

The more I encountered families through the community, schools and the research project, the more fascinated I became and more questions began to form in my mind. The various questions that I had at this stage, which became my research questions, were:

1. What parenting strategies are adopted/discarded by the grandmothers in order to contribute to the learning experiences of their children and grandchildren?
2. How does the use of different languages and cultural practices affect intergenerational relationships between grandmothers, parents and children?
3. Are teachers aware of the intergenerational learning at home and how are their views reflected in their teaching approaches?

From these sub questions my real passion was to find the answer to my overall question for the study: how intergenerational relationships between grandparents, parents, and children impact on the learning that takes place between the generations, and how this contributes to the child's learning experiences at home and at school.

The thesis is structured into ten chapters. This chapter provides my journey into conducting the study. Chapter 2 is the pilot study which explores the appropriateness and feasibility of the main study in this under researched area by working with one focus family. Chapter 3 reviews the relevant literature and provides a rationale for the research approach adopted and chapter 4 examines the overall research process and the reasoning behind the chosen methodology. Chapter 5 discusses the design of the study, explaining the context, the chosen activity and the selection of the participant families. Chapter 6 addresses the

chosen methods and their feasibility for this study in light of previous studies using such methods. Chapter 7 presents the outer ethnographic layer of the finding using the data from the questionnaires and the interview data. Chapter 8 and 9 develops the analytical framework used to analyse the video data of the puzzle activities to provide the middle and inner layers of analysis. The final chapter, chapter 10 concludes the analysis, bringing together the findings, their relevance and contribution to current knowledge in intergenerational learning and makes recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Intergenerational Learning - A Pilot Study

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of the main study was to explore the intergenerational relationships between grandmothers, mothers, and children, and how this has an impact on the child's learning encounters at home and at school. The pilot study presented in this chapter was an attempt to address the research question by interacting with one family over three weeks. This short study involved trialing the methods that I hoped to implement in the larger study. It was an opportunity for me as a researcher to analyze the feasibility of carrying out the larger study and also to see if any modifications were needed based on the findings from this pilot study. I have used pseudonyms for all the children, their mothers, grandmothers and the teachers throughout the thesis as was requested by the participants.

2.2 Why Pilot?

The term 'pilot study' can be used in two different ways. It can refer either to feasibility studies which are 'small scale version[s], or trial run[s], done in preparation for the major study' (Polit et al 2001, p467). However, a pilot study can also be the pre-testing or 'trying out' of a particular research instrument (Baker 1994, p182-3). One key reason for conducting a pilot study can be to find out in advance where the main research project could fail, as well as to see what methods work and those that do not. In the words of De Vaus (1993) 'Do not take the risk, pilot test first.' (p54). My reasons for conducting the pilot study (Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001) were to:

- Develop and test the adequacy of research instruments (Camcorder, Dictaphone etc.)
- Assess the feasibility of a (full-scale) study

- Design a research protocol
- Assess whether the research protocol is realistic and workable
- Identify logistical problems which might occur using proposed methods
- Assess the proposed data analysis techniques to uncover potential problems

Although I was keen to carry out the pilot and understood the need to do so, I also needed to be aware of the possibility of limitations in making inaccurate predictions or assumptions based on findings from the pilot data. Also, completing a pilot study successfully was not a guarantee of the success for the full-scale study as I was aware that other problems might not become obvious until the larger scale study was conducted. However, the initial trial provided an opening insight into some of the concerns that needed to be addressed. In this chapter I address the methodological approaches that were used in the research study briefly as they will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter 4. O'Leary (2004) points out any research methodology should meet three prerequisites which I also hoped to meet:

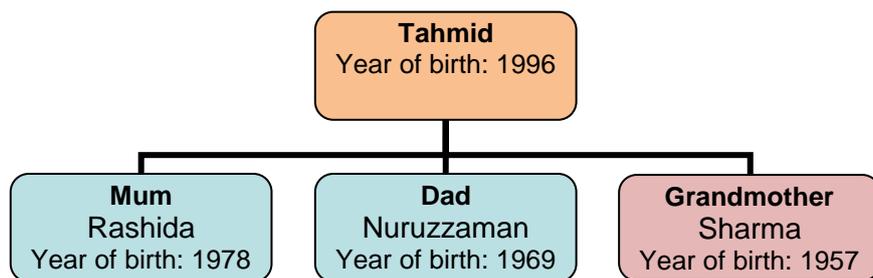
1. Be practical and doable, with respect to:
 - Ethics
 - Resources
 - Time
 - Access
2. Be within the capacity and interest of the researcher
3. Address the question

Along with the methodological approaches I explain the specific methods I chose to carry out the pilot study and how the selected methods were implemented.

Within this, the barriers and issues that arose will be highlighted. The Initial findings from the pilot study will be presented and finally I will conclude with some reflections on methods and findings, which provided concrete guidelines for the larger study, and which are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

2.3 Background to the Family

Fig.1 Tahmid – tree of participants



Seven-year-old Tahmid lived in a two-bedroom flat on the fourth floor of a tower block in the London Borough of Hackney with his parents Rashida and Nuruzzaman and two younger siblings, a brother, Yahya, aged four and a sister, Anisa, aged two. This is an inner London Borough within Greater London which is to the north-east of the City of London and adjoined by the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. The Roman Road, famous for its street markets, forms the western edge, and the eastern boundary of the borough is formed by the River Lee. The area also boasts the famous Hackney Marshes that hosts the largest collection of football pitches in Europe, and was the site of part of the 2012 Summer Olympics.

The population in this area is ethnically diverse. Tahmid and his siblings are part of the third generation of children born and brought up within the Bangladeshi

community. Both his parents are second-generation British-Bangladeshi migrants. Tahmid's father worked for a neighbouring council in the community safety department and was an ex-policeman, while his mother was at the time of the pilot study working in the local Sure Start programme catering for the families of children under the age of five. Both sets of grandparents lived within ten miles and the maternal grandmother Sharma, in her early seventies, cared for the two younger siblings when parents were at work. Rashida was in her thirties when I conducted the study and was raised in the UK. Her parents migrated to the UK in the seventies and both took up jobs as machinists in the garments industry. Her father worked in a local factory and Sharma worked from home to support the family financially. Both parents were very keen to see their children go into higher education but due to the demands of sustaining a reasonable family income only Rashida, the youngest, managed to pursue her education and became a nursery nurse. The older siblings obtained jobs upon leaving their compulsory secondary education.

Tahmid attended a local primary school until the age of six. As both parents were keen for him to benefit from a combination of national curriculum subjects with Islamic studies, he was transferred to a private Islamic primary school in a neighbouring borough. Yahya attended a nursery on a part-time basis. On school days, Rashida would drop Anisa off at her mother's and take Yahya and Tahmid to school. Sharma would then pick Yahya up from school, taking Anisa with her. The family visited the paternal grandparents on alternate weekends which gave all three children the opportunity to spend time with the paternal grandparents too.

Sharma valued the time she spent with her grandchildren as said in her interview that they helped to keep the loneliness at bay. All Sharma's six children are grown

up, married and busy with their own lives whilst she was at home with her ailing husband, who has since passed away. The children provided a communicative outlet for both grandparents through their constant lively talk, questioning and bickering. Anisa, the youngest, was just learning to talk while Yahya was a very fluent speaker for a four year old. The children loved listening to stories of when they were little and about the lives of Sharma, her husband and children, particularly family stories based in Bangladesh. The family spoke Sylheti as did the other families in this study. Sylheti is a dialect of Bengali which, although it has a written form (Sylheti Nagari 'popular' script; Mahon 1997, p87), cannot be written or read by most Sylheti speakers in the UK. Mahon (1997) noted that

'Sylheti speakers in Britain refer to their language as 'Sylheti', usually calling it 'Bangla' or 'Bengali' since it is the language spoken by almost the entire Bangladeshi, or Bengali community in this country' (p53).

I will refer to the language spoken by the families as 'Bengali' throughout the thesis and the families themselves tend to refer to it as 'Bangla' when they refer to their 'Sylheti' dialect. Neither maternal grandparent spoke any English except the odd word within their spoken Bengali. Hence, the children spoke Bengali with them, while both parents spoke mainly English with the children.

2.4 Methodology

Learning from my experience as an ethnographic researcher on the study by Kenner et al (2004) involving grandparents and their interaction with their grandchildren, it seemed logical for me to adopt an ethnographic approach in my own research. During my role as a researcher on the project, I felt we had begun to gain some understanding of the personal and interpersonal nature of young children's learning and the importance of the social contexts in which learning takes place, particularly within the area of intergenerational learning in Bangladeshi families. I thus wanted to design a research study in which I hoped to

identify and trace the impact of intergenerational interactions on children's approaches to learning from their encounters with grandparents, parents and teachers and develop further insight into this area of research. I opted for a detailed study of a small number of children over time so that I could construct an understanding of their ways of learning in different contexts.

This type of detailed work using qualitative data with an exploratory intention is a longitudinal form of ethnography. The approach has been adopted by anthropologists and sociologists to study the perspectives, interactions and cultures of people in context. The need to do this was emphasised by Bateson (1979) who stated

'We come to every situation with stories, patterns and sequences of childhood experiences which are built into us. Our learning happens within the experience of what important others did' (p13).

By Silverman's (1997) definition, an ethnographic study design is a hybrid approach in which the fieldworker is present in two capacities; firstly as a fieldworker being

'careful to connect the facts that s/he observes with the specific features of the backdrop against which these facts occur, which are linked to historical and cultural contingencies' (p10).

And secondly as a data gatherer who at times feels the need to be involved in activities, which may bring up occasions where the ethnographer has to resolve tensions that arise between the two roles.

The main appeal for me to conduct an ethnographic study as a Bangladeshi researching into my own community, was to enable the voices of the participants to be heard which otherwise may remain silent (James 2001, p255). There lay in this a great strength as these voices could be captured by me through paying close attention to the everyday and familiar events which made up the participant's

social world. Although I was a member of the community I still had to make a conscious effort to enter into the group and be accepted. This effort required me to be in control of my emotional reaction to what I observed and make choices of which events to take part in and when to stand back as an observer. Fox (1974) states that

‘the process by which a participant observer gradually makes sense of what he sees, hears and becomes a part of it’ (p230)

and through this process of observation I hoped to achieve an understanding of the phenomena in their cultural whole.

My initial thoughts were to continue to work with four of the children and their families from the study by Kenner et al (2004). My intention of gaining entry to these families was based on the strategies used in my previous experiences as well as the relationships that I had built with them. One family would be part of the pilot while the other three families would become part of the main study. As I had already developed a relationship with some of the children during the previous project, I had to go in with a different hat and start again as, this time, I aimed to work with the maternal grandmothers instead of the paternal grandmothers. I also had to explain to the children I was there for a different purpose and clarify the purpose of my relationship with them. To establish this new beginning I planned to spend time as I did previously with the children in the classroom after gaining permission from the school. This proved more difficult than I had anticipated. Although I managed to spend time in the classrooms with the children it became evident that most of the families were not able to participate due to personal and family circumstances. The only families that could come on board were the families of Samiha and Anayet. I then had to find two other families who could potentially participate.

After spending two terms with the children in their classrooms and trying to find two other families it became apparent that I would need to start thinking about which family I would consider for the pilot. After much thought I realised that a family outside of this particular school community would be more beneficial. I would be able to start my data collection as well as trial the methods without being concerned that the family had already been exposed to an intervention and, therefore, might respond differently in comparison to a family who had not previously experienced it. The concern about including participants from a pilot study in the main study arises because only those involved in the pilot, and not the whole group, will have had the experience. I hoped the analysis of the pilot study would help me improve my methods and approach within the main study, which it did.

After many a struggle I identified Tahmid's family as being the most suitable to participate in the pilot study. Tahmid's mother Rashida, a friend, offered to participate and took on the responsibility to convince her mother to take part. After a week I made an introductory visit which gave me the opportunity to meet the grandmother and explain the purpose and passion behind my research. I was introduced as a friend and hence I automatically became an insider which helped to put all participants at ease. During the following few visits which took place over a couple of weeks I would take any appropriate opportunity to establish my relationship with Sharma and the children. I ate, watched TV, helped make tea and prepared refreshments and I addressed Sharma as 'khala' (maternal aunt). Although Rashida had agreed to participate along with her mum, I had to gather my data as quickly as I could as Rashida's father was terminally ill. I did not want to impose too many visits onto the family and take up too much time, but was also

worried by Sharma's unpredictable situation and wanted to gather the data as soon as possible. Since I shared the social world of the research participants, there was, according to Hockey (1993), a smaller possibility of me experiencing any 'culture shock or disorientation' (p119). Insights and sensitivity to things both said and unsaid and to the cultures operating at the time of the research were potentially available to me as the insider. Schutz (1976) suggested

'The member of the in-group looks in one single glance through the normal social situations occurring to him and...he catches immediately the ready-made recipe appropriate to its solution...For those who have grown up within the cultural pattern, not only the recipes and their efficiency but also the typical and anonymous attitudes required by them are an unquestioned 'matter of course' which gives them both security and assurance' (p108).

Hockey (1993) (cited in Hubbard et al, 2001), also offered a further advantage for insider research, namely that there is the possibility of enhanced rapport between respondent and insider researcher. He suggested that respondents are more likely to divulge 'intimate details of their lives to someone considered empathetic' (p119). He went on to say this rapport could also potentially create problems i.e.

'...establishing close rapport may create problems for the research as the researcher may lose his or her distance and objectivity, over-identify with the individual or group under study, and forgo the academic role' (p120).

This I feared could be a pitfall for me, too. As a researcher wishing to gain access there was always the urge to be sensitive to the needs of the participants but at the same time I needed to be aware that I was playing an academic role.

My feeling of being an insider was going well until I mentioned that I needed to audio and video record the activities proposed. Sharma became withdrawn and uncomfortable, she began to question my role and purpose, and questions were raised as to why I needed to record and what I would do with the recordings. From being a very comfortable insider I was suddenly in the awkward situation of having

to work out whether I had actually become an outsider. I began to appreciate that I could not be both insider and outsider, even though my own background and heritage were similar to those of the participants. The fact that I was a researcher myself made me different, which my experiences with Sharma helped me to unpick further before I delved into the main study. I address the dilemma in more depth in Chapter 4.

For the pilot study I decided to use the following methods to collect data as I wanted to try my skills at using the tools effectively as well as gain an understanding of the family's context:

- Questionnaires
- Participant observation through video recording and taking field notes
- Interviews

Initially I carried out a questionnaire with Sharma, the same questionnaire that was used in Kenner et al's (2004) study on intergenerational learning between grandparents and their grandchildren. The aim of the questionnaire was to find out some preliminary information about the grandmother in relation to the child. It included a section on personal details followed by a section which asked whether the grandmother did any of the nineteen different activities with their grandchild ranging from gardening, going to the park, shopping and helping with homework to visiting others and talking about members of the family and family history. The final section included three open ended questions on what the grandmother and the child learned from each other. It was translated into Bengali (Appendix I).

Semi-structured interviews were audio recorded and video recording of activities between Tahmid, his mother and grandmother were made. These events took place at his family home and the grandmother's home. The purpose was to see the trends in the relationships between the child, his grandmother and his mother.

The interviews were also used to explore the issues that could potentially arise when trying to carry out video and audio recordings. The interview schedule (Appendix II and III) constituted a flexible guide and, where appropriate, I tried to explore further questions, building on participants' answers.

The activity chosen involved putting a puzzle together. The reason for choosing a puzzle lay in the idea that it would involve interaction and negotiation. In this case I was not able to purchase specifically-chosen puzzles due to the speed at which events took place due to the grandfather's terminal ill-health. I therefore used one that I already had at home, a map of Switzerland. It had 30 pieces and the pieces had to be put on a board which had the shapes of the pieces dented in slightly. The plan was that a different puzzle would be used in each interaction. However due to not having time to purchase other puzzles, the same puzzle was used with both the mother and the grandmother. The video recordings of the following two events were carried out:

1. Mother and son putting the puzzle together at the mother's house. There were two younger siblings in the house. They played out on the balcony with sand and did not come back until we had to leave for the grandmother's house.
2. Grandmother and grandson putting the same puzzle together at her house on top of the bed in the grandmother's small bedroom. The younger siblings watched at the beginning and at times joined in.

When explaining the pilot-study I asked for help from the family in refining the questionnaire, interview and videoing techniques. The participant's responsibility was twofold:

- a) Complete the questionnaire, answer the interview questions and
- b) Inform me of any problems they encountered in carrying out the task such as

items worded in a confusing manner, questions they found offensive, or too little time to complete the activity.

In order to further improve the interview questions and recording, the pilot helped to assess whether each question gave an adequate range of responses, and see if the time taken to complete the interview was sufficient. From this I was able to re-word and re-scale some of the questions that were not clear or appropriate.

2.5 Emerging Themes

Several interesting findings emerged from the questionnaires, interviews and video data. These will be presented in this section to see to what extent they address the research question I have posed for this study. From looking at the transcripts of the interviews and video recordings as well as the questionnaires that the mother and grandmother filled in, I found that the following emerged:

- How the interaction is structured and instructions given
- Environment in which the child is learning/interacting
- Language of interaction
- Learner identity and social identity of the child

2.5.1 Environment in which the Child was Learning/Interacting

The questionnaire was the first 'formal' activity carried out with the grandmother and was used to gain an insight into the types of activities the grandmother was engaging in with her grandchild. It was also used to get an indication of the languages being used. From the questionnaire I gathered that the grandmother took part in more social activities such as visiting others, going to the park, telling stories and talking about members of the family and family history. She spoke to Tahmid only in Bengali. From the open questions at the end of the questionnaire, the grandmother's favourite activity was to share stories of her childhood with him

through storytelling. She stated that she learned English from him and also about the changing society.

The nature of interactions mentioned above between the grandmother and Tahmid was reflected in the way he interacted with his mother and grandmother. If we look at how the task was accomplished overall, we find that in this case it really depended on the environment within which it was achieved. With the mother, Tahmid seemed to be in a fixed environment where he needed to complete a task without any distraction from his siblings. The grandmother on the other hand presented an air of calmness and accommodation. The children were all around her and they appeared to be very relaxed, being noisy and playful. Without having to say much, the grandmother was also able to create an environment where Tahmid remained on task. The two aspects together, the environment created and the attitude to the task from the grandmother enabled him to complete the puzzle despite all that was happening around him. His siblings watched him and from time to time Anisa tried to put pieces on the puzzle. Yahya watched with keen eyes and at one point indicated a place for one of the pieces. The grandmother was able to expand the learning environment to include the younger siblings which enabled Tahmid to demonstrate how a puzzle should be put together.

2.5.2 Structure of Interaction and Nature of Instructions

From the transcripts of the video recordings it was interesting to see the way in which the activity of putting a puzzle together was structured by the mother and the grandmother. At this stage the analysis of interaction was part of the ethnographic approach and this chapter, following this convention, is an example of the 'big' question to be investigated. At this stage the conventions and a concrete methodology of analysis did not come into question. The following basic

conventions were used in the transcriptions of the vдео activities:

- (()) Non-verbal moves
- (0.5) Pauses
- () Unrecognizable speech

The setting for the activity at the mother's house was somewhat formal in the interactions but informal in the way the participants sat. They were both sitting on the floor facing each other, the mother cross-legged leaning forward and Tahmid sitting on his legs, with the puzzle as the focus. In Transcript 1 below it can be seen from the start that there were a lot of instructions being given by the mother to Tahmid e.g. Lines 1, 4, and 12.

Transcript 1 (R: Rashida; Ta: Tahmid)

1. **R :** find the edges first do the corners first and then the edges
2. ((R is sitting back watching Ta trying to find the pieces))
3. (0.5)
4. **R:** Do all the corners first Tahmid
5. ((R turns some pieces of the puzzle over))
6. **Ta:** ()
7. **R:** but then you're copying that on the underneath
8. ((R pointing to the indented shapes of the pieces on the puzzle board))
9. (0.3)
10. **R:** what if you didn't have those?
11. **Ta:** I do the edges
12. **R:** do the corners first turn them all over do the corners first

13. **Ta:** this one goes over there
14. **R:** then you've got another corner there
15. ((R pointing to a corner))
16. **Ta:** now
17. ((Ta taking a deep sigh and finding another piece))

The activity appeared to be very goal-oriented and task-driven. The mother focused on Tahmid doing the puzzle in a particular way and insisted that he should not follow the shapes that were there on the board (Lines 7-10). This pattern of direction continued through lines 12-21. This approach from the mother to the activity could have been due to her teaching background and her work with children in nurseries and playgroups. Soon after I started video recording the activity, the two younger siblings left the room to go to the balcony and play. In line 24 the mother asked the children to shut the door behind them endorsing the move made by them to leave the room and thanked them. It is an understanding they seemed to have that when Tahmid was working, they should not disturb.

22. **R:** try another piece
23. (0.2)
24. **R:** shut the door please, shut the door
25. ((R says to the siblings and they do so))
26. (0.2)
27. **R:** thank you, what does it look like?

Lines 28-73 continued in a similar fashion with the mother asking questions, giving directions and sometimes taking a sequence of several turns together. Tahmid's responses were mainly answering the questions being asked by his mother and trying to explain his actions to her. The activity ended with the mother asking

Tahmid questions about the puzzle (Lines 74-83) to which he responded with answers.

74. **R:** nearly finished now
75. **R:** What's it a picture of?
76. **Ta:** a map
77. **R:** a map of what country is it?
78. **Ta:** sw
79. (0.3)
80. **Ta:** Swiss
81. **R:** Swiss what's that?
82. **R:** ((R pointing to the corner of the puzzle))
83. **Ta:** Switzerland

On the other hand when Tahmid was putting the same puzzle together at his grandmother's house the dynamics were very different. The grandmother hardly said anything and her whole presence throughout the activity had an air of calmness (see Transcript 2 below). In this activity the mother also tried to dictate how the grandmother should act with Tahmid and Tahmid with his grandmother as can be seen in the lines 1-10 below. The instructions given by her here were also very direct.

Transcript 2 (GM: grandmother (Sharma); Y: Yahya; R: Rashida; Ta: Tahmid)

Bengali transliteration into English is in italics with English translation in bold.

1. **GM:** Allah
2. ((GM sighs))
3. **R:** Tahmid call her
4. **Ta:** *ono ow ono* here come here
5. ((Ta pulls GM by the arm))

6. **GM:** *khita khortam?* **What shall I do?**
7. ((GM leaning forward))
8. **Ta:** *ow khor* **do this**
9. **R:** *Tumi khoriona thea, hae ekha ekha khorbo tumi just*
khoia khoia dio **you don't do it he will do it on his**
own you just tell him what to do
10. **R:** Tahmid talk to her

Interestingly, Tahmid's behavior with his grandmother was different to his behavior with his mother. He contributed more in the conversation and involved his grandmother as can be seen in the portion of the extract below (Lines 11-24). He consulted her and she supported him by allowing him to find his own way and did not say much to him. However, while she attended to him she also attended to the needs of the other children. She accommodated them in the activity by encouraging them to join in as opposed to asking them to leave. This at times meant she tried to persuade the other children to join them in the room by drawing their attention to what I was doing (I was videoing the activity). (Line 24) She hoped that would draw their interest.

11. ((R leaves the room))
12. **Ta:** *Khoi ditam khoi ditam?* **Where shall I put it where shall I put it?**
13. **Ta:** *Ami zani* **I know**
14. **Ta:** *Ogu ono zai* **this one goes here**
15. ((GM puts a couple of pieces onto board))
16. ((2mins where Ta tries looking for different pieces and puts them on with GM observing him))
17. ((Younger siblings enter the room and climb onto the bed))

18. **GM:** *doar lagao close the door*
19. **GM:** *Ai come*
20. ((GM pats on the bed to a space next to her but Y lies on bed and watches Ta))
21. ((GM takes a few more pieces and puts them on board))
22. **GM:** *Anisa ono aiao Anisa come here*
23. ((Y shifts over, A goes and sits next to GM))
24. **GM:** *oino aio khala khita khorrai dekho, khala khala come here look at what auntie is doing, auntie auntie*

In the extract below (Lines 29-43), it can be seen that the mother on the other hand tried on a couple of occasions to take the younger siblings out of the room but they insisted on staying with 'nani' (term used for maternal grandmother). Not only did they stay in the room but they started to take part in the activity with Tahmid and he tried to involve them (Line 44) due to the encouragement he received from his grandmother.

29. ((R takes A away))
30. **A:** *nani nani!*
31. ((A screams))
32. **R:** *nani bade nani bade nani later nani later*
33. ((GM takes Y next to her))
34. **Ta:** *khoi thoitam? Where shall I put it?*
35. **GM:** *khoi thoitai okhta dekho okhta where do you want to put it look at that look at that*
36. ((GM pointing to shapes of pieces on board))
37. **Y:** *there*
38. ((Y pointing to a place for the piece Ta has in hand))

39. ((A comes back in))
40. **A:** *Nani nani*
41. ((GM picks A up and puts her on her lap))
42. **Ta:** it's straight straight
43. ((Ta looking at pieces))

Amongst all the chaos Tahmid was still able to complete the puzzle without any apparent instructions being given by the grandmother. The next few lines of interaction at the end of the activity were very interesting. Yahya and Anisa are fascinated by the grandmother's skin and she allowed them to explore their curiosity. She then encouraged Anisa to go and kiss her siblings encouraging the bond between them and easing the tension during the activity. Tahmid also had a sense of ownership over the activity as he says that 'he' had completed the puzzle as can be seen in line 44.

44. **Ta:** Yahya I dunnit one piece here
45. ((A becomes preoccupied with GM's bangle and skin.))
46. ((Y comes nearer and points to loose skin around upper arm.
A then squeezes it for comfort, A goes onto feel GM's face))
47. **GM:** *bhaia re maya deh* **go and kiss your brother**
48. ((A goes and kisses Y and Ta))
49. ((Two younger siblings leave room))
50. **Ta:** yes I can do it, this piece here yes this piece, now this
piece here *Shesh khorsi okhta* **finished that one** map
of
51. ((Ta then puts puzzle away))

From the above two transcripts it is also intriguing to observe how the two adults dealt with the physical and interactional space around them when carrying out the activity. For the mother there was a definite boundary within the interactional space which she considered to be Tahmid's space for working and which she did not at any time cross. Although at times Rashida turned over pieces of the puzzle, at no time did she attempt to take pieces away from him or put any pieces on the board for him. The physical space within which they were confined was also limited by the way they were sitting.

From Rashida's instruction to the grandmother during the activity between Tahmid and his grandmother it can be assumed that the mother felt the grandmother was overstepping the boundary by going to do the puzzle for Tahmid. In the case of the grandmother the physical space had no particular constraint. They were both sitting on the bed with no particular rules and the interactional space overlapped between Tahmid and his grandmother. This is demonstrated by the grandmother giving him pieces of the puzzle, either in his hand or by putting them on the board and Tahmid felt comfortable enough to put them back on the bed or to pick up a piece when needed and try to find its place. Tahmid also spoke a lot more and asked more questions during the activity with his grandmother than he did with his mother.

2.5.3 Language of Interaction

It was also evident that Tahmid spoke predominantly in Bengali with his grandmother and only in English with his mother. The grandmother coaxed Tahmid to speak in Bengali and Rashida also spoke more Bengali in her mother's presence as can be seen in Transcript 2. The issue of home language was raised by both the mother and the grandmother during their interviews. The mother

responded to the question of why she did not interact in Bengali with the children by saying, “I do try eh eh but where’s the time? I don’t seem to have enough hours in the day to keep up with everything ehm...When Tahmid was little I did until he went to school, then it all disappeared and now with the younger ones it’s just easier and also (laughs) if I say anything to them in Bengali I’ve got to say it in English again anyway...my mum’s brilliant even though she can understand (English)”. To my response, “Really? Does she?” her answer was, “yeah everything but she doesn’t tell them that and they really try hard to speak to her”.

The grandmother also stressed her role clearly by saying, “*ami khali mati, ma baf khali English mate etar lagi Tahmid tara beshi Bangla ma’tho farena. Ami na mathle amar loge tara mathonai I’m the only one who speaks it, mum and dad only speak English that’s why Tahmid and the others cannot speak Bangla much. If I don’t speak it they won’t talk to me anymore.*” Hence the grandmother felt she was the one who had to maintain the home language not only amongst the grandchildren but amongst her own grown-up children, too. She also felt she would lose communication with her grandchildren if she did not take the responsibility to maintain their Bengali.

2.5.4 Learner and Social Identity of the Child

Tahmid’s identity as a learner changed depending on who he was interacting with. When he was with his mother he tended to wait for her instruction in order to guide the learning. From his posture and expression of seriousness, there was a silent understanding that the task was one he needed to complete mostly by himself but his mother was there to assist. He sighed a couple of times (Lines 17 & 48) during the activity with his mother and commented a few times he could not find where a particular piece should go. The mother clearly behaved as the more skilled adult

and demonstrated that Tahmid needed guidance in order to achieve an end result. With his grandmother he seemed more relaxed and he could explore his ideas freely without having to feel that there was any pressure to achieve.

Although the grandmother may have had a different approach to the mother, she was stopped by Rashida asking her to interact in the same way that she did (Line 9). But, towards the end of the activity, the grandmother resumed her initial approach as a co-participant by sometimes giving Tahmid pieces of the puzzle and at other times trying to put pieces together on the board. She also asked him by leaning towards him what was expected from her “*khita khortam? What shall I do?*” (Line 6) And Tahmid gave her due instruction, “*ow khoro do this*” (Line 7), by showing his grandmother how to put pieces on the board. There appeared to be more equality in their interaction than was present between Tahmid and his mother. Also, the grandmother seemed to hand over some authority to Tahmid to guide her which may have encouraged his confidence a little. For the mother, talk tended to play a key role in her interactions with the children. She encouraged and instructed the children by means of many directives. For the grandmother, talk did not feature prominently in her interactions with the children; she simply tended to guide them through placing puzzle pieces appropriately in front of the children or at times making encouraging comments such as “*khoi thoitai okhta dekho okhta where do you want to put it look at that look at that*” (Line 35), or keeping silent.

In their interviews both women expressed these approaches to learning. While Rashida enjoyed a close and loving relationship with Tahmid she approached learning with a seriousness that seemed to mirror the learning he experienced at school. This was evident from the response to the question, “Is the relationship of

Tahmid with you different to that of him with his *nani*?" she responded to this by saying, "yep, definitely! They love going to her house they drive me crazy sometimes! She's got so much to give...she's she's free well makes herself free for them, cuz I work I find I'm tired and stressed, always other things on my mind, course I try but you know how it is (R sighs)." The next part of the interview transcript demonstrated how the mother aspired to take on the role of a teacher "well I did childcare and work with children so I can learn better ways of teaching my children. I see the way children learn and I want to give the same to my own ehm my mum didn't have the same opportunities she just left us to it ((R laughs)), he takes it seriously with me ((R smiling)), but with her he learns all the cultural stuff you know ehm, so she can relax, actually I probably stress him out sometimes and he likes it with *nani* no demands, no pressure just love love ((R laughs))."

The above extract demonstrates how the mother being the middle generation, and being exposed to schooling in the UK was trying to establish her role in the home as both the mother and the teacher. Also she recognized the constraints she had which were similar to that of a teacher. She had time constraints due to her many roles as do teachers in the classroom, having to cover content from the curriculum. However, she recognized the very important role of the grandmother as the person who maintained language and culture with the grandchildren.

On the other hand, the grandmother's approach was not the same. When I asked her the question of whether her relationship with Tahmid was different from that with his mother. Her response was, "*Amar shomai ami tho eta phaisina, tara tho phora lekha khorsoin, hikhsoin amrar tho shujug phaisina, tara aile ami golpo khoi, mati, kicha khoi ar khita hikhaimu? Ami tarar loge Bangla mati tara o seshta khore*

matho. Amar loge khub bala thakhe ma aileo dushtami shuru oi, mare sethai, ma seshta khore, ashol oilogi ma babar lagi shonman thakhle shob oi, azkhar shomoi eta khom dekha zai. In my time I didn't get all this, they (her children) have studied, learnt, we never had the opportunity, when they (grandchildren) come I tell them stories, folk tales, talk to them, and what else should I teach them? I speak Bangla to them and they try to speak it. They are really good with me, as soon as the mum comes they are naughty, annoys mum, mum tries, the truth is if there is respect for mum and dad then everything will come, nowadays you don't see much of it."

Both women acknowledged the other's skills and experiences, also a recognition of how their approaches may have had an impact on the way Tahmid learned with them. The mother highlighted that Tahmid "takes it seriously with me" also she can "stress him out sometimes". The grandmother on the other hand expressed that respect is a key factor for learning to take place, and, as the mother says, grandmother "leaves them to it", which was a more relaxed approach to learning.

2.6 Reflections on Methods and Findings

Clearly a pilot study of this scale cannot generate groundbreaking or definitive conclusions. What could be gleaned, however, were important questions for further research. In many respects, the qualitative data that emerged from the interviews and questionnaires simply helped to raise issues to take forward to the larger study.

The methods of the questionnaire, interviews and video recording of the activities used worked well and were effective means of collecting data. To have the questionnaire and interview questions translated was very beneficial. Although I could have translated on the spot it would have been very difficult to find the right

wording or phrases. The questionnaire aided in giving an overview of the interactions taking place between children and grandparents, and it also helped to build a rapport which was extremely crucial at the beginning when trying to negotiate access. The interview schedules for both the mother and the grandmother were slightly awkward; some questions tended to be repetitive or irrelevant. For this interview schedule to be more effective particular questions were rephrased and some questions removed. The revised interview schedules for the mother and grandmother are included in Appendix II and III.

The equipment used for audio recording was effective as the device was small and discreet, however the use of the video-camera proved a little difficult as it was quite bulky and fiddly. It also tended to distract the participants due to the obvious presence of me video-recording the interactions. Also, as the space was quite small, during one of the activities it was very difficult to find a position to stand and record without causing too much disruption. These were some things to consider in the larger study. The following recommendations were taken forward when I embarked on the larger study:

- Revise and edit interview schedules for both mother and the grandmother
- Spend more time in getting to know the families and build solid trust before embarking on any video or audio recordings
- Consider the room in which the activities will take place so video-recording will be less disruptive to the participants.

2.7 Summary

The pilot study was a useful step before carrying out the larger study. The findings and the attempt at the analysis of the interactions from the pilot gave rise to the following issues which were interesting as they relate to the sub-research

questions, which I posed at the end of chapter one, in regards to the impact the intergenerational interactions had on the child's learning encounters. Firstly, it seemed from the findings so far that children could possibly have different learner identities depending on the environment and social context they were immersed in. Secondly, is a child aware of the choices s/he has to make about the way s/he learns and interacts within different contexts? And finally, in this pilot study the mother put herself across as the highly skilled adult and the grandmother as having no obvious training besides life experiences - does this make a difference to the way the children learn? The questions above were an indication that the overall question I ask was worth investigating. From this one family the interactions were indicative of some of the findings that might come out from the larger study. The next chapter reviews the literature on sociocultural perspectives on children's learning and locates my study within the field.

Chapter 3: Sociocultural Perspectives on Children's Learning

3.1 Introduction

Researchers and educators have long paid attention to the ways in which children learn and develop. For many, the social context – in other words, the varied surroundings at home, at school and in the community where children learn to talk, read, write and socialize – has been of particular interest. Wells (2009) argues that

'children are not only influenced by the social context in which they develop, but their very development as humans is dependent on opportunities to participate with others, notably parents, family members, peers and teachers, in the activities that constitute the culture in which they are growing up' (p271).

Thus, children's learning and development is as much a social achievement as it is an individual one.

In this chapter I discuss key theoretical work and recent research on children's learning at school and in the home from a sociocultural perspective. I acknowledge the strengths and limitations within the current knowledge-base on intergenerational learning taking place within families. I argue that there is limited understanding of how young third-generation and bilingual children learn within three-generation families, which is the focus of my study. These children are in a unique position because they have the knowledge of their heritage culture from their grandparents and parents, as well as knowledge of English mainstream school culture from their parents and their own experiences. As Mahon (1997) suggests, the learning and child-rearing practices within families and communities are

'constantly in the process of change as the London community shapes itself to changing pressures and demands' (p29).

This also may have an impact on the intergenerational interactions between the participants. At various points in the course of the discussion I focus on several key sociocultural learning constructs arising from previous research and current thinking about the relationship between children's learning and development and the impact of societal and interpersonal practices that exist within families and communities. I also emphasize their implications for my study. These concepts are: 'scaffolding' (Wood, Bruner & Ross 1976), 'guided participation' (Rogoff, 1990), 'synergy' leading to mutual benefits for the young children and the adults (Gregory, 2001), 'syncretizing' of knowledge from different sources (Gregory and Williams, 2000), 'funds of knowledge' within communities (Moll, 1992), and the transmission of knowledge or 'prolepsis' between generations (Cole 1996). The theoretical and conceptual framework above is used in Chapter 10 to argue for the crucial role of 'learner flexibilities', a concept that emerges from my data analysis and addresses the main research question of my study.

3.2 Why a Sociocultural Perspective?

I chose to conduct this literature review from a sociocultural perspective rather than a constructivist one as it takes into account the ways in which learning is an act of enculturation rather than ways in which the learner builds an internal understanding of knowledge based on personal experiences. Vygotsky's theories are particularly relevant to my research as he argued that all thinking and learning is social and historical in origin. Vygotsky (1981) stated that

'...any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on a psychological plane. First it appears between people as an inter-psychological category, and then within the child as an intra-psychological category. This is equally true with regard to voluntary attention, logical memory, the formation of concepts, and the development of volition...' (p163).

In contrast, Piaget's (1926) constructivist approach argued that cognitive development is a process of individual competencies that emerge gradually. This is based on an assumption that intellectual development is universal and stage-like which occurs in a similar way in all children independent of the different influences of particular social and cultural environments.

The children in my study experienced different languages and cultures within their home and community settings. They grew up experiencing a web of interpersonal relationships with many different adults and peers, each bringing with them their own experiences building their 'funds of knowledge' which Moll (Cremin and Drury, 2015) uses to refer to

'the skills, strategies and information utilised by households, which may include information, ways of thinking and learning, approaches to learning, and practical skills' (p17)

This, I believe, had an impact on the cognitive and social development of these children which a socio-cultural perspective recognizes. Previously, psychologists have concentrated on methods of teaching and learning while sociologists have focused on the economic disadvantages experienced by children. Anthropologists and linguists have investigated and continue to investigate the cultural aspects of human society all over the world and the processes of communication. However, studies taking a sociocultural approach integrate the fields of developmental, cognitive and cross-cultural psychology with those of cultural, social and cognitive anthropology. A sociocultural approach according to Gregory et al (2004)

'transcends academic disciplines and focuses on the inextricable link between culture and cognition through engagement in activities, tasks or events' (p7).

My study focused on these aspects. I begin by highlighting the sociocultural perspective on children's learning at school.

3.3 Sociocultural Perspective on Children's Learning at School

'The differences that children bring to classrooms are not simply individual differences or idiosyncrasies. They are the products and constructions of the complex and diverse social learning from the cultures where children grow, live and interact ...these, too, are dynamic and hybrid: mixing matching and blending traditional values and beliefs, child-rearing practices and literacy events with those of new, post-modern popular cultures' (Luke and Kale, 1997, p13).

As I am interested in a more contextual insight into children's learning in classrooms, the paradigm Shulman (1986) refers to as studies of 'classroom ecology' is of importance. The studies include research drawn from anthropology, sociology, linguistics and from the traditions of qualitative, interpretive research.

Within this paradigm, teaching is seen as a

'highly complex, context-specific, interactive activity in which differences across classrooms, schools and communities are critically important' (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1990, p3).

This idea complements the thoughts and feelings of Luke and Kale in the above quote, as it acknowledges that children bring to school knowledge which is drawn from their interactions in their lives outside of school.

Sociocultural theories of learning expand the understanding of how children become effective learners, particularly in classrooms, identifying and exploring the elements and aspects that contribute to the ecology of classrooms. Cazden's (1988) research on classroom discourses from preschool through post-secondary classes in the United States and England identified some of the elements which hindered children's learning. She found that children were unsettled starting school for the first time as the new environment was unfamiliar combined with the presence of a number of other unknown children. This experience of the children was affected even further as Cazden observed that the practitioners lacked commonality of background with the children and were thus unable to understand their stories as they spoke of their home environment and experiences

'This problem of familiarity is undoubtedly especially acute in preschool and primary grades. Older students can take more responsibility for describing their worlds to the teacher, but the teacher, on her part, has to convey genuine interest and a willingness to learn' (Cazden 1988, p24).

Cazden was insistent that children were unable or unwilling to interact with practitioners within these settings because the adults were not spending enough time in learning about the children's backgrounds, cultures and families. They failed to comprehend the importance of listening to the children, and often missed cues and prompts and overlooked instances where children attempted to communicate with them. The children were often judged on their use of vocabulary rather than on the content of their narratives, and the practitioners tended to concentrate on academic attainment in place of encouraging interactive discourses. There still exists the notion of deficit (Mottam and Hall, 2008) within the minds of teachers about what knowledge children bring to school. This often gives rise to significant mismatch between children's learning at home and at school where the teachers are unaware of out-of-school literacy and learning experiences and therefore cannot validate them in school (Thomson and Hall 2008). As Feiler et al (2006) argue, the traffic between home and school is traditionally seen as one-way in nature.

Within my study, I was interested to see if there would be a difference in interactions as the children in my study had the advantage of a better knowledge and understanding of the school 'recipes' (Hymes 1974). The participants in my study - although similar to some of the children and younger in age than others in Cazden's study - had this advantage to a certain extent. This was due to their being third-generation children and thus having knowledge of school culture from their parents and their own experiences as has been mentioned in the previous chapter.

Although understanding the children's backgrounds and allowing them time to contribute their knowledge and understanding can enable a child to approach learning with more confidence, teachers in classrooms use the learning construct 'scaffolding' to develop children as learners, which often is often school-centric. Holton and Clarke (2006) defined scaffolding as

'an act of teaching that (i) supports the immediate construction of knowledge by the learner; and (ii) provides the basis for future independent learning of an individual' (p131).

In the above definition, Holton and Clarke (2006) suggest scaffolding involves the immediate use of supporting knowledge construction and the long term intent. I will discuss the learning construct of scaffolding and its impact on children further in the next section.

3.3.1 Scaffolding in Classrooms

Within schools and classrooms the children tend to be seen as novices and the teachers are usually accepted as knowledgeable adults who are responsible for teaching and learning (Bruner, 1985). In the UK alongside classroom teachers teaching assistants (TA's) also play a key role in supporting children with special educational needs. They tend to support these children more through verbal interactions 'involving verbal differentiation of teacher talk or printed materials' (Radford et al 2013). This idea of the expert supporting the novice to move to the next stage is defined by Vygotsky (1978) as the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) which is

'The distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers' (Berk & Winsler 1995, p76).

Vygotsky emphasised that it is more helpful to assess children's abilities to solve a problem through the process of an expert assisting a novice or an apprentice. The

teacher as the expert becomes responsible for children's cognitive development as they work with them in their ZPD. For children to be in their ZPD the teacher uses 'scaffolding' which teachers use as a metaphor to facilitate children's learning and is often used as a synonym for support (Van de Pol et al 2011, 2012). The support given through this process assists in extending the learner's knowledge within the ZPD to areas just beyond the child's current reach.

Scaffolding is often presented as an effective teaching tool (Cole 2006) and Van de Pol et al's (2010) review of a decade of research scrutinises three key characteristics of scaffolding, contingency (diagnostic strategies), fading (gradual withdrawal of the scaffolding) and transfer of responsibility. Vygotsky's focus on the adult, or more experienced member of the culture, in scaffolding a child's expertise by gradually removing the structure as the novice grows more competent (Wood et al, 1976; Bruner 1981) supports the above three characteristics of scaffolding. Zeuli (1986) suggests that in order for teachers to guide their learners they must

'Understand how cognitive tasks fit into the child's cultural activities' (p3) and, 'Instruction should emphasize connections to what the learner already knows in other familiar, everyday contexts' (p7).

Vygotsky (1962) suggested that these connections do not necessarily need to take place immediately but that as the children engage in the activities in their classrooms the 'learners make the association between concepts and experience' (p108). Crucial to a sociocultural approach where young children learn as apprentices alongside a more experienced member of the culture, is the role of the mediator. According to Gregory et al (2004) the mediator is

'the teacher, adult or more knowledgeable sibling or peer' who initiates 'children into new cultural practices or guiding them in the learning of new skills' (p7).

In order for scaffolding to take place effectively, Matusov (2001) also draws upon research on the notion of intersubjectivity (Rogoff, 1990; Rommetveit, 1998; Trevarthen, 1979). The notion of intersubjectivity according to Duranti (2010)

‘ranges from acts in which one is minimally aware of the presence of an Other to acts in which one actively works at making sure that the Other and the Self are perceptually, conceptually, and practically coordinated around a particular task’ (p13).

The above is an attempt to understand how to guide educators on how to improve their teaching practice and Lave (1993) suggested that if teachers could view themselves as a learner in a classroom of students who are also learners, this would redefine the pedagogical value of the instructor's mistakes as well as an opportunity to get to know the child. Cremin and Collins (2015) also coined the term ‘Learner Visits’ of viewing teachers as learners when they visited children’s homes during the BC:RLL (Building communities: researching literacy lives) research project. This approach to scaffolding where one learns from others and from their own mistakes and from interactions and observations made during home visits requires competence. I was interested to see how the teachers in my study viewed themselves and their learning from the children and their families as the ‘others’, as Whitehouse and Colvin (2001) expressed

‘Opening ourselves up to families, a position that puts us, as educators and researchers, into a vulnerable stance as we are forced to relate to families as people and not objects’ (p218)

Applying the appropriate level of scaffolding also depends on the competencies of the teachers which requires the teachers to have a good understanding of the curriculum, a theory of the tasks as well as a theory of the childrens needs (Radford et al, 2013). Tizard and Hughes (2002) found that when children moved to early years settings such as nurseries or playgroups they became passive and failed to initiate interactions with the adults. They inferred that the transition from the home environment caused children to become confused regarding their role

within the unfamiliar setting and about their own status within the new environment. They were also concerned with practitioner competency, particularly with regards to the quality of assistance provided. Tizard and Hughes (2002) noted that when the teachers interacted with low achieving children they tended to rely on formulaic phrasing and vocabulary which offered fewer opportunities for children to reply other than with single-word or limited responses. As TA's do not possess the same level of subject and pedagogical knowledge as teachers, they tend to offer alternative rather than additional support (Radford et al, 2011), where they were more concerned with task completion and not learning, and tended to be reactive rather than proactive in interactions with pupils (Rubie-Davies et al, 2010). Nind (2003) also reported that practitioners observed by researchers at an early years' unit tended to interrupt children's discourse, mostly being corrective in nature, and Rogers (2004) noted similar patterns in her observations where practitioners regularly disturbed children's thought processes, sometimes with interruptions not relevant to the subject of the child's narrative. She concluded that a number of children eventually chose not to contribute and avoid the questioning which would follow. In my study, when the children put the puzzles together with the teachers, I was interested to see how they would guide the children through the activity and I wanted to observe the ways in which the teachers would interact verbally and non-verbally with them.

3.3.2 Classroom Interactions and Learning

As the children in my study were to complete puzzles with teachers as well as their mothers and grandmothers, some of the aspects I was interested in observing were the role of instruction and the nature of talk which involved the role of questioning during their joint endeavours. Tharp and Gallimore (1988) suggested that teachers instruct learning in several ways such as via prompting, asking

specific questions that may help the child to see what needs doing next, inviting the child to talk about what he or she is trying to do and what strategies are available to the child that may be useful, and drawing attention to some aspect of the task that the children may have ignored. Holton and Clarke (2006) suggest that one way of empowering students to develop awareness of relevant approaches to problem-solving was through 'heuristic scaffolding' via 'questioning, modelling and prompting' (Radford et al 2013). Heuristic scaffolding is defined as

'a method of teaching, allowing students to learn by discovering things themselves, learning from their own experiences rather than by telling them'
(Cambridge online dictionary, 2012)

Wertsch and Stone (1984) examined scaffolded instruction, using a Vygotskian theoretical framework, in a one-to-one remedial clinic setting with a learning-disabled child. The researchers demonstrated how the language used by the adult often involved asking questions. This often directed the child to strategically monitor their actions. Analysis of communicative patterns highlighted a transition and progression in the source of strategic responsibility from teacher to child and at times to self-regulated behaviours. This, then, can at times lead the child to eventually develop self-scaffolding through internal thought (Wertsch, 1985). In Vygotsky's (1987) words

'what the child is able to do in collaboration today he will be able to do independently tomorrow' (p 211).

When observing the nature of talk between children and teachers, Wells (1986) found that the pattern of interaction was different at home and at school. He found that children spoke more at home than at school, and at school the children tended to ask fewer questions and got fewer turns to speak. Wells also found that the meanings that children expressed at home and at school were different, too, as children tended to use syntactically much simpler sentences and expressed a

smaller range of meanings at school. This he argued was because teachers did most of the talking in the classroom, determining the topic of the talk and initiating most of the questions and requests. I argue that this is not what Vygotsky (1987) intended when he placed the importance on the teacher as the mediator of shaping children's knowledge in the classroom. He saw the classroom community as the source from which the child learned the language-mediated practices which he believed to be the foundation of higher mental functions. He also placed an equally important and active role on the teacher in selecting the topics and in providing guidance to the children as they engaged in problem solving. It was in such situations, he believed, that the teacher was able to work most effectively with students in their ZPD. This I believe does not suggest that the teacher should dominate the process as has been demonstrated by Wells' (1986) findings, as one of the most important functions of inquiry according to Vygotsky is to generate occasions for purposeful dialogue.

Cazden (1988) discussed another aspect that hindered children's verbal and non-verbal contributions which is when their contributions are not valued or listened to. She observed that teachers in classrooms were permitted to speak at will, to interrupt children's narratives and activities, even during sharing time, and thus routinely overlooked indicators of 'exploratory talk' (p62). Indiscriminate use of known-answer questioning stifled children's curiosity and interest and limited children's responses (Myhill, 2006). According to Cazden (1988)

'... if a child says only one or two words the adult has less to build on in sustaining the topic and so is more apt to switch to another topic; as a result a conversation in which the child is more apt to produce expanded responses never develops' (p93).

The use of questioning between children and practitioners is a common theme explored by researchers and it has been suggested that when children are asked

rhetorical questions and questions only requiring clarification or new information they may be confused as to the purpose and the expected response to the question. Macbeth (2006) found that teachers in the classroom correct children's talk more readily than in everyday conversations. Cazden (1988) interestingly found that when increased available response time was provided to the children after questioning, from one to three seconds, it produced a visible increase in the number of responses to questions by children. In practices where children's responses are restricted, children may be expected and thus taught to speak only when an adult addresses them. They are not expected or encouraged to initiate conversations with adults or to join in with adult conversations. However, the important aspect of scaffolding is the intention to enable the child to manage the task without help in the future. This has been called the 'handover principle', the aim of which is to foster children's confidence and autonomy, and to wean them away from dependence on the teacher or other props (Maybin, Mercer et al. 1992).

In addition to the above situation where a child is not provided with ample response time by the teachers, the social interaction patterns used in the classroom may also vary from the home cultures. This can be with respect to expectations for competitive versus collaborative or cooperative activities as well as the courtesies and conventions of conversations (Tharp, 1994). Tharp also documented cultural differences in how language is used in educational settings. An example is how stories are told, the way in which teachers give response time to students during questioning sequences, the rhythmic patterns of the verbal interactions, and the patterns of conversational turn-taking. This was of great interest to me when I observed the turn-taking patterns during the interactions between the children and the adults during their joint endeavours. In my study the

children interacted with a more knowledgeable adult and according to Vygotsky these children should develop higher-level thinking skills when scaffolding occurs with an adult expert, peer or siblings of higher capabilities (Stone, 1998; Gregory, 2000). The ability to develop higher-level thinking can also be aided by appropriate questioning which I was also interested in observing between the participants in my study.

Siraj-Blatchford and Manni (2008) suggested that children who were given the opportunities to interact verbally with their carers achieved high cognitive outcomes and that effective and appropriate questioning promoted sustained shared thinking (p7). Again when it comes to interaction the nature of questioning within classrooms become problematic as Siraj-Blatchford and Manni (2008) identified that practitioners posed an overwhelming percentage of closed questions and, as stated before, insufficient time was allocated for children to respond. Chappell et al (2008) go further to suggest that if the tone, nuance, repetition and expansion was positive it assisted children to interpret questions and to respond positively and encouraged thinking independently (p284).

Both research studies concluded that ineffectual questioning was habitually employed in early year settings. Although the intention behind the teachers adhering to the Initiate-Response-Feedback (IRF) system when questioning children was to gauge children's understanding (Cazden 2001), Durden and Dangel's (2008) study of teachers and children during small group activities at high quality settings revealed that the standard of cognitive and interactive language was substantially lower than previously presumed by the researchers. Also Extensive use of IRF can limit student engagement and participation (Hardman et al 2005) as well as limit best opportunities for the learning of language skills

(Radford et al, 2006), due to wasted opportunities to interact effectively with young children because practitioners concentrated on directing activities and questioning children. Also, when the initiation and evaluation stages were used it overwhelmed children's responses which deteriorated into one-word answers and they found that most of the talk with children was monologic. Mahon (2003) also found a similar pattern of turn-taking in her study when she analysed the question-answer sequences. She found that the 'typical question sequence' had a three-part structure (first turn being question, second being answer and third being the receipt), which often started with a 'test' question from the carers of the deaf and normally-hearing children. She found that the questioner knew the answer and looked for adequate answers which could either be right or wrong. The third part of the turn, 'receipt', was used by the questioner to acknowledge the answer and pursue a right answer if the response was deemed wrong. She concluded that the overall effect this had on the interactions was the questioner wanting to be 'in control' of the talk (Mahon, 1997: p226). From the video recordings of the activities in this study I was interested to see how questioning would be used by the participants to assist each other in completing the activity.

As has been discussed so far, asking appropriate questions during interactions between children and adults aids learning. This questioning can also occur during informal activities such as play. Putting a puzzle together, the task I chose for participants in my study, is an informal activity which can be seen as play, and Vygotsky (1978) concluded that play has two critical qualities which combined can contribute to development. The first quality is that representational play creates an imaginary situation that permits the child to deal with unrealizable desires, a way of deferring immediate gratification, and the second quality is that play contains rules for behaviour that children must follow to successfully execute the play

scene. Even though Vygotsky refers to fantasy play, putting a puzzle together should support and broaden the linguistic skills required to develop and express different points of view, resolve disagreements, and persuade peers to collaborate so play can continue.

Play offers an arena in which all facets of conversational dialogue can be extended, which can include questioning. In sum, Vygotsky (1978) stated that fantasy play contributes to social maturity and to the construction of diverse aspects of cognition, such as positive overall intellectual performance, the generation of creative ideas, memory for diverse forms of information, language competence, the capacity to reason theoretically, the differentiation of appearance and reality and the playful stream of verbal narrative that comments on and assists us in coping with our daily lives (p62). My area of interest was to see how the children collaborated with their mothers, grandmothers and teachers during the informal activity of putting the puzzles together. I wanted to find out whether and how this activity could generate creative ideas and develop language and learning for the children. I also wished to see whether the grandmother's interactions were any different to those of the mothers and teachers in developing the children's competencies as learners and whether they were able to assist the children in developing a better understanding of themselves.

3.3.3 Bilingual and Multilingual Issues

All the aspects discussed so far can have an impact on the cognitive development of any child. I now turn to particular issues that can affect bilingual children. As Cummins (1996, 2006) stressed, language is linked with cultural identity, and bilingual learning can increase the self-esteem of bilingual children which can in turn support educational achievement. Most of the studies investigating bilingual

learning have been conducted in countries where there is mainstream bilingual education, and often with first-generation children. Educators including Edwards (1998) and Smyth (2003) have also recommended using the home language as a resource in schools that educate through the dominant language, to enable the children to build on their prior knowledge and have better access to the curriculum content. However, there is research indicating that bilingual children have additional issues that affect their development at school as learning at home is not taken into consideration. This is of key interest to me as all the children in my study were bilingual and my research sites include both the home and the school.

One such study that highlights some of these issues is an ethnographic study by Drury (2007). The findings provide significant insights into the experiences of three to four-year-old bilingual children as they begin school in three English nursery classes. Drury raises the issue of the difference between home and school, highlighting that there were important aspects of children's learning that took place in the home which were still unrecognized in nursery school. Drury refers to these aspects as 'invisible learning' where, at home, the children were confident in their use of the two languages and constantly code-switching to gain control of situations involving adults as well as children. This work is relevant to my study as it provides a perspective on research on young bilingual learners and all those involved in education in multilingual environments.

Another aspect central to my study was to investigate the expectations teachers have of bilingual children and their experiences of learning in the home. In her study, Drury (2007) challenged teachers' lack of expectations and highlighted the high aspiration of the parents. She suggested that home-school understandings can be developed through contact with children and their families. Part of what

Drury (2007) tried to promote was for teachers to engage with children and their families more intimately and to utilise the bilingual teaching assistant as a mediator. As mentioned previously TA's in classrooms are often present to support SEN children and often they are bilingual. There has been recent studies into the roles of TA's in classrooms and their impact on children's learning (Radford et al, 2011; Blatchford et al, 2012) which suggests that there is a drift towards the TA's becoming the main point of educators for the lower-achieving and SEN children leaving the classroom teacher to concentrate on teaching the rest of the class. However, where new languages are concerned Drury identified that there was a vacuum in understanding among teachers of the role the TA's and the role they can play as the mediators of the new language and culture in children's development at school in a positive way. TA's do provide encouragement which is valuable for potentially improving the motivation and confidence of vulnerable children, especially those who lack verbal confidence (Radford et al, 2011).

There have been a few action research studies where educators have employed bilingual learning strategies in the classroom (Sneddon, 1993; Kenner, 2000; Gravelle, 2000, amongst others). Such studies have indicated that these bilingual approaches proved to stimulate children's learning and the positive role the TA's can play have been highlighted. Although the findings from research studies are positive, bilingual approaches have yet to be used on a wider scale in schools, particularly when it involves second and third-generation children who are seemingly doing well academically and are fluent speakers of English. In order to fill the gap in research on bilingual children and their language use between home and school, Kenner et al (2008) conducted an action research study with British Bangladeshi children in East London.

Some of the previous studies mentioned above have predominantly highlighted the difficulties faced by first/second-generation children when entering schools without much knowledge of the new language and culture. The second and third-generation children in Kenner et al's study, mostly fluent in English, aged from 7 to 11, were also attending after-school community classes where they studied Bengali, their mother tongue. This study investigated how the children at primary schools in East London would respond to using Bengali as well as English for learning in their classrooms where English is usually the only language. Classroom teachers recognised the important roles the bilingual assistants played in the lives of bilingual children during this study. This encouraged the teachers to seek the help of bilingual assistants in their classrooms, and together with teachers from the children's Bengali after-school classes they planned bilingual tasks in literacy and numeracy. They made these tasks relevant to the primary curriculum and also linked them to the children's community class learning.

The findings from the research were very revealing. Although the children were fluent in English and were mostly high achievers, they considered their mother tongue to be a key aspect of their identities and wished to use Bengali and English for learning in the mainstream classroom. It was found that the bilingual activities enhanced the children's learning. This was demonstrated when children identified that they could deal with particular concepts, such as metaphors, similes and mathematical concepts, by being able to use one language to aid understanding in another. The children's ability to translate required reformulating ideas which enriched their learning. The findings also highlighted that children's bilingualism led to heightened metalinguistic awareness, giving the children the chance to use and extend their bicultural knowledge. The study also revealed that unless children

received the required support to develop their mother tongue, they were in danger of losing these skills and abilities.

The above studies by Drury (2007) and Kenner et al (2008) indicate the role that language may play in the lives of my participants who are also third-generation British Bangladeshi's similar to the children in Kenner et al's (2008) study, and bilingual as were Drury's participants. In addition, Drury's research shows how family interactions can support young children's learning as it enhances their funds of knowledge. With regard to my study, it is likely that third-generation children are exposed to many intergenerational interactions where languages possibly play a key role, and I will address these issues in the next section about children's learning in families across cultures.

3.4 Learning in Families across Cultures

The families in my study are raising their third-generation children within a multicultural community. There are culture-specific attributes, those that are specific to particular societies and thus distinguish one group of parents from another. This difference is dependent on the demands of each cultural context on its members. Cross-cultural studies of children's socialization and its influence on children's development have been mainly carried out by researchers immersing themselves within the communities they study. These ethnographic studies from the fields of psychology and anthropology have focused for the most part on the cultural worlds of early childhood and children's language socialization (Harkness, 1975; Harkness and Super, 1977; Heath, 1983; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a&b).

Schieffelin and Ochs (1983) define ethnographic as

'descriptions that take into account the perspective of members of a social group, including beliefs and values that underlie and organise their activities and utterances' (p48).

These studies have drawn findings from cross-cultural community contexts concerning parent-child interactions within different cultures and subcultures, attempting to gauge the influence of cultural practices on cognitive development and language learning.

For example, Schieffelin and Ochs (1983) compare observations of middle-class British and American nuclear families with the Kaluli people of Papua, New Guinea. Within the practices of the middle-class families the mothers took part in conversations that were dyadic which included turn-taking and gaze where they treated very young children as communicative partners. They also 'took on the perspective of the child' (p52) demonstrated by the various strategies taken to meet the needs of their children. Examples of these are modification of situations and language use to adapt to the child's perceived level. Also, when an adult interacted in an activity, they treated the accomplishment as that of the child, sometimes asking rhetorical questions (Ochs, 1982, 1991). These practices fall into Bruner's (1978) descriptions of scaffolding where the adults assist the child to move to a higher level of competence and view the outcome of a joint event as the child's own work.

In comparison to the above, the non-literate Kaluli speakers, living in villages of sixty to ninety individuals in one large longhouse which had no internal walls, viewed their children as helpless, 'soft', and 'having no understanding'. Kaluli people viewed and used talk as a means of control, manipulation, expression, assertion, and appeal. Learning how to talk and become independent was a major goal of socialization (Schieffelin, 1990). The mothers multitasked while taking care of the needs of their young children and the infants were never left alone. They tended not to treat them as partners in dyadic verbal interactions and did not

maintain direct eye contact as such behaviour is associated with witchcraft. Their babies faced outwards so they could see and be seen by others who were part of the social group. The language and intonation used by the mothers in triadic exchanges between the adults and the older children aimed to help create interdependent relationships between older and younger children and the mothers believed infants needed to be 'shown how to speak' (Schieffelin, 1990).

The entire process in both communities socialized the child 'into culturally specified models of organizing knowledge, thought and language' (Schieffelin and Ochs 1983, p53). The children from the middle class families learned who could make the interpretations and how to express agreement or disagreement through the way the caregivers offered successive possible interpretations of a child's utterance. On the other hand the Kaluli children learned to be assertive through the use of particular linguistic expressions and verbal sequences modelled to them by their mothers (Schieffelin and Ochs 1983, p57). Their socialization took place through participation in dyadic, triadic and multiparty social interactions.

The above studies are of importance to me when I reflect on the families that are part of my study. The second-generation mothers have had mixed cultural experiences at home and at school, different to those of their mothers who migrated to the UK from Bangladesh. My interest was to see how they would respond to the children during their activities and the impact their cultural upbringing and experiences of living in the UK would have on their interactions with the children. I was also interested to see the ways in which the children's languages play a part in their interactions at home and at school. This is where Heath's (1983) ethnographic study to explore the differences between children's acquisition of language at home and at school is fascinating for me. Her study took

place in three different communities within the Piedmont area of the Carolinas, Trackton, a black working-class mill community of rural origin; Roadville, a white working-class mill community of Appalachian origin; and Maintown, representing mainstream, middle-class, school-oriented culture. Each community had strikingly different language socialization patterns (Heath, 1982). Heath studied children's language development focusing on literacy events such as bedtime story reading. Although bedtime stories didn't take place in Trackton or Roadville, they were both literate communities and the children went to school with certain expectations of print and believed that through reading they would learn something one needed to know (Heath 1980). In both Trackton and Roadville the children were unsuccessful in school yet both communities placed a high value on the success of their children at school.

However, Heath's research documented crucial differences in the ways children and adults interacted with one another in Trackton and Roadville during pre-school years and how they each differed from the interactions in Maintown. In Trackton children 'learn to talk' and in Roadville adults 'teach them how to talk' (Heath 1982). Roadville children were taught how to talk by being exposed to literacy through many visual stimuli such as colourful, decorative pictures and text on the walls. Book reading focused on letters of the alphabet, numbers, pictures and the retelling of stories in the words of the adult. Carers asked questions and provided simplified explanations for children's what-questions. These children tended to do well in their initial years at school but during later years struggled with thinking for themselves and rarely could provide personal commentary on real or book stories. On the other hand the children in Trackton learned to talk by coming home to an environment which included a lot of human contact and communication, both verbal and non-verbal. There were no reading materials aimed at the children and

their literacy exposure was through newspapers, mail, calendars and circulars, school material sent home to parents and church-related materials. The children were not read to and had no bedtime stories but were surrounded by different kinds of social interactions. Also, rather than being asked what-questions the children in Trackton were asked analogical questions whereas to be successful at school these children had to be able 'to recognize when a story is expected to be true, when to stick to the facts, and when to use their imaginations' (Heath, 1983, p. 294). Similar to the children of Trackton and Roadville, the children in my study have different experiences of interactions within their home and community settings as well as reading practices, so their role as learners and how that is achieved through guided participation is an aspect I wanted to investigate, as I shall discuss below.

3.4.1 Guided Participation

The studies mentioned so far have demonstrated that children's experiences at home have not been recognised within school settings. Schools frequently specify what parents can do to support their children's learning at home based on school instructions, rather than seeing the home as a source of complementary literacy and learning experiences (Crozier and Davies, 2007). To clarify the role of the learner with regards to cognitive development within the framework of sociocultural theory, Rogoff (1990), a neo-Vygotskian, introduced the term 'guided participation' within a community context. It is important to mention that both scaffolding, mentioned before, and guided participation, sometimes used interchangeably, contrast with traditional views of learning where it is assumed that the learner is separated from the environmental context in which the learning is taking place. Although the terms are used interchangeably, guided participation indicates more towards active involvement from the novice than does scaffolding (Rogoff 1990;

Stone 1993) in the activity within the social context in which it is occurring. Guided participation occurs throughout the life course of a child as they progress from a peripheral and dependent role to one of increased independence and responsibility through working to master the challenges posed by their social and cultural surroundings (Rogoff, 1990, Gauvain, 2001).

Children, therefore, are seen to actively participate with others i.e. 'more skilled partners and their challenging and exploring peers' (Rogoff 1990), who serve as both guides and collaborators. Together they draw upon cultural resources and build on what children know and can do to co-construct learning. The practices, routines, and talk that occur within these settings are important because they reveal the interactions and understandings of participants (Heath, 1991; Wertsch, 1985). And according to Lave (1991), in community learning contexts knowledge is viewed as a highly valued social practice rather than something 'in the head'. Lave (1991) illustrated this through her work in Africa, studying everyday cognition among workers in a tailor shop. She observed the processes by which beginners learn their craft and the rich repertoire of cognitive skills implemented by tailors in their work at the shop. As the tailors are trained through an apprenticeship, they learn their craft in a busy shop and not in a learning environment separated from the world, as children tend to do when they are at school. They are in the presence of experts and other apprentices at varying levels of expertise, all engaged in acquiring the target skills. Developmental psychologists have extended Lave and Wenger's (1991) idea of the movement of the learner from a peripheral position to a central position where children's learning and cognitive development often has a focus. This focus has been on parent-child interactions and recognizing the influences of these processes on higher mental capabilities (Cole, 2006; Gauvain, 2001; Wood, 1998).

It is known that parents across the world have different expectations with regards to learning and social practices, for themselves and for their children, depending on the cultural norms within which they are functioning. Harkness and Super (1992) compared the words contained in parental talk about children in two cultural settings, metropolitan America and rural Kenya. They found that the largest group of words in the Americans' descriptions referred to cognitive capacities ('intelligent', 'smart', 'inquisitive', etc.), whereas among the Kenyan parents primary emphasis was given to concepts dealing with children's obedience and helpfulness ('respectful', 'polite', 'good-hearted'). In rural African societies, being part of the society and co-operating with it is fundamental whereas the West has a competitive stance and children are always encouraged to be ahead. Harkness and Super (1992) in their study observed that the American children were far more verbally precocious and adept at imaginative play than the Kenyan children. On the other hand, the Kenyan children were able to shoulder huge familial responsibilities such as taking care of younger siblings and cooking for the whole family at the age of eight. Additionally, in some cultures, children who enthusiastically volunteer answers at school are considered show-offs (Peregoy & Boyle, 1993). Which of these practices can be related to children who live in families that have migrated to new countries and have extended family interactions? Will intergenerational interactions between grandparents and children differ from those between parents and children? And what impact would these varied interactions have on the cognitive and social development of the children in my study?

The aspects mentioned above have been substantiated by findings from cross-cultural research (Rogoff et al, 1993), comparing parent-toddler dyads from four cultural settings: Salt Lake City in the USA, Mayans in Mexico (Guatemala),

Turkey, and India. The main focus of the findings was a comparison of just two early childhood contexts, parents and children in Mayan communities (Guatemala) and in Salt Lake City (USA). During the ethnographic analysis Rogoff et al (1993, cited in Angelillo, Rogoff & Chavajay, 2007, p195) became aware of similarities and differences across the two communities in efforts to bridge between the toddlers' and mothers' understandings of the situation and to structure the toddlers' involvement. The similarities in the findings showed that guided participation includes two important processes: 'creating bridges' to make connections to new ideas and skills, and 'structuring children's participation' in activities where opportunities are created for them to be involved, during which social support is provided. The activities were also challenging and the roles given to the children were in line with those valued in their community (Rogoff et al, 1998).

The differences Rogoff et al (1993) observed between the U.S. mother-child dyads and the Mexican Mayan mother-child dyads in their homes were in the way they interacted with selected materials, such as a baby doll, nesting dolls (a set of wooden dolls that fit one inside the other) and playdough. They found that the middle-class USA parents and others with similar schooling experiences appeared to place more emphasis on verbal interaction and statements. When they did speak it was through giving indirect instructions. Rogoff et al (1993) state that the most significant difference between these two dyads was the emphasis each placed on the status of the child, with the American child

'being treated as the object of teaching and the Mayan child being responsible for learning' (Rogoff, 1993, p. 246).

It also highlighted the ways in which the mothers assisted their children. The American caregivers tended to act as teachers and playmates whereas the Mayan

mothers expressed readiness to aid their children's efforts to learn (Rogoff et al., 1993, pp. 246–247).

My interest was to see the differences in interactions between the grandmothers and the mothers with the children in my study and how they would endeavour to assist the children through the jigsaw activity. Would they use guided participation and would this differ from the assistance the teachers gave? Also, would there be a difference in the type of guidance style used by the adults to elicit meaning during the activity? To further consider the particular roles that mothers and grandmothers might take in children's upbringing, I will now discuss research on intergenerational learning.

3.5 Intergenerational Learning in Families

Studies of intergenerational interaction can be found in diverse fields from psychology to medicine to public policy (Fitzgerald et al., 1995). However, none to date have researched into the significant role of intergenerational interaction between three-generation families in the extended family structure. Generally, the role of grandparents in the lives of their grandchildren has been underestimated, particularly with regard to children's learning. Grandparents are taking on an increasing role in childcare, sometimes through choice and at other times having no other option. If we look at some of the facts within the UK with regards to the role grandparents play, it becomes clear that it is an area of support to the family that has gone unnoticed for too long. According to the Basic Skills Agency (BSA, 2007), the UK has approximately 13 million grandparents. In the past two generations, the number of children cared for by grandparents has jumped from 33% to 82%. More than a third of grandparents spend the equivalent of three days a week caring for their grandchildren. The contribution of grandparents to

children's learning is therefore a crucial area of research. Despite these important demographic trends, grandparent-grandchild relationships have rarely been studied within education.

The complexity of three-generational or multi-generational relationships was addressed by Williams and Nussbaum (2001) who stated

'the simple dyad of parent-child or grandparent-grandchild operating in an interactive vacuum without being affected by various other intergenerational relationships occurring around them is a convenient but rather simplistic way to begin the study of such relationships – it is not reality. Families increasingly consist of several levels of intergenerational interaction affecting each other in complex and hitherto underexplored ways' (p184).

King, Russell and Elder (1998) refer to these overlapping ecological contexts of the three-generational family as 'linked lives', with grandparents, parents and grandchildren carrying out their individual life courses within interdependent intergenerational relationships. Grandparents' and grandchildren's interactions and relationships are often mediated by parents, both directly through parents' efforts to increase or decrease contact and indirectly through the way parents interact with their own parents and create an environment for their children's access to their grandparents (King & Elder, 1995). The mothers in this study were also mediators for setting up contact between the children and their grandmothers, as well as my access to them. This is because the mothers all live busy lives and contact depends on the availability of the mothers to organize the visits. I was keen to see the 'linked lives' of these families and the layers of relationships and interdependence that existed between them.

Smith (1995) drew together research findings on the psychology of grandparenthood that spanned over half a century from 1957-2000. He put forward different studies that covered issues around grandparenthood, some of

which I highlight here that are relevant to my field of study. In the early studies, grandmothers particularly were portrayed as problematic in childrearing (Vollmer, 1937). Researchers stated that there is adverse influence on children from grandmothers who interfere with the mother's childrearing in old fashioned and didactic ways. Vollmer (1937) reiterates this by saying that

‘the practical conclusion is that the grandmother is not a suitable custodian of the care and rearing of her grandchild; she is a disturbing factor against which we are obliged to protect the child according to the best of our ability’ (p382).

Vollmer's study was undertaken to test the hypothesis that the attitudes of mothers and grandmothers who were part of the study would differ with respect to child rearing practices and that grandmothers would be stricter and more authoritarian than mothers. However, from the 1960s, grandparents are presented more favourably. Changes in grandparental attitudes and roles started to take place with some grandparents starting to see themselves as ‘reservoirs of family wisdom’ (Neugarten and Weinstein, 1964). Some researchers worried that grandparents were becoming more remote and detached which in turn would weaken the ‘vital connection of grandparents and grandchildren’ (Kornhaber and Woodward, 1981). Others emphasised the importance of grandparents as support and socialisation agents (Tinsley and Parke, 1984), even though this only applied to a very small proportion of their sample.

In 1984 Tinsley and Parke put forward reasons for why further and new research was needed in the area of grandparenting. Firstly, a demographic change is taking place with more people becoming grandparents as life expectancy increases, leading investigators to focus more on grandparent and grandchild relationships and the processes of intergenerational influence. Secondly, there is a need to acknowledge methodological difficulties associated with working with

grandparents, such as illness, and find sensitive ways to address these difficulties. Finally, theoretical statistical models need to be more complex to cope with the triadic or polyadic relations and patterns of direct and indirect influence likely to be encountered in analyzing grandparent and grandchild influence and the nature of interactions between the generations. I believe these reasons still apply as very little research has been carried out in this field. However, my focus is on certain key concepts from sociocultural theory and how these might apply to intergenerational interactions.

3.5.1 Prolepsis

When investigating intergenerational influence it is important to look at socio-cultural theories of learning in cross cultural contexts as discussed earlier. Research in this field has found that there is a transmission of knowledge between members of different generations, which Cole (1996) has identified as the process of prolepsis. It represents a kind of intergenerational link and in the 1970s the idea of prolepsis was taken up by Rommetveit, a psycholinguist, to refer

‘to a communicative move in which the speaker presupposes some as yet un-provided information’ (Stone 1993, p171).

Later in the 1990s researchers explored further the meaning of prolepsis using a socio-cultural perspective to analyse scaffolding in the ZPD (Stone 1993). The above can be interesting to observe if the two co-participants in a learning event are generations apart and the older generations are migrants.

Research has been conducted with parents in different communities, and in such cases it is important to see how acculturation i.e. changes in the cultural behaviour and thinking of an individual or group through contact with another culture affects the role of the children, parents and grandparents. Cole (1996) puts forward a sociocultural explanation of the cultural mediation of development which further

elaborates our understanding of prolepsis as ‘the cultural mechanism that brings ‘the end into the beginning’ (p183). Gregory (2004) explains this further by stating that

‘the adult brings her idealized memory of her cultural past and her assumption of cultural continuity in the future to actual interactions with the child in the present. In this non-linear process, the child’s experience is both energized and constrained by what adults remember of their own pasts and imagine what the child’s future will be’ (p10).

The grandparents in my study have experiences of being raised in Bangladesh as well as experiences of settling in a new country. It was interesting to investigate whether these experiences were being shared with their grandchildren during the activity. They also had the opportunity to tell me during the interviews whether they shared such knowledge or not. I explored the issue of interdependence and ‘linked lives’ mentioned above to see the ways in which children learned with their grandparents, mothers and teachers.

3.5.2 Synergy

Grandparents and grandchildren hold a similar place in society based essentially on their sense of vulnerability at two ends of the spectrum of age (Kenner et al, 2004a). This sense of vulnerability gives rise to a unique relationship of ‘mutuality’ (Kenner et al 2007). This relates to Gregory’s (2001) research on siblings which looks beyond the existing terminologies of ‘scaffolding’, ‘guided participation’ or ‘collaborative learning’ to ‘synergy’, which she explains as

‘a unique reciprocity whereby siblings act as adjuvants in each other’s learning, i.e. older children teach younger siblings and at the same time develop their own learning’ (p309).

Gregory points out that, in contrast, that the terms ‘scaffolding’ and ‘guided participation’ indicate

‘an unequal relationship between participants in that learning is unidirectional from the older or more experienced person to the younger child’ (p303).

Studies on bilingual children's learning at home that shows reciprocity between siblings include Rashid and Gregory (1997), Gregory and Williams (2000) and Volk with de Acosta (2004). Gregory (2001) argued that at home the children were able to construct their learning powerfully because 'synergy is the key mediator through which knowledge...is internalised' (p311), whereas at school bilingual children are

'faced with the effects of being unable to communicate in a context they do not yet understand and in which they are not at ease' (p45).

Interactions with grandparents and grandchildren around the computer in Kenner et al's (2008) study also demonstrated synergy in action. The younger generation had greater facility in operating the computer, which was a new cultural artefact for the grandmothers, whilst the older generation had more experience in literacy and other areas of learning, and thus both parties had knowledge to share. The children were also more familiar than the grandparents with the technical language used when operating a computer, and the grandparents were more competent in the family's first language, so again the dynamics of the interaction demonstrated that synergy was taking place with both learning from each other and being able to utilise their areas of expertise. This concept of synergy is very relevant to my study as each of my participants had particular expertise that they brought to the task of putting a puzzle together. I assumed that the children, mothers and teachers were more familiar with jigsaw puzzles and that the grandmothers would bring with them life experiences and Bengali language.

3.5.3 Funds of Knowledge

I believe the concept of 'funds of knowledge' (Moll 1992) which challenged and refuted the 'cultural deficit model' is of importance within intergenerational learning at home and at school. The cultural deficit model stemmed from negative beliefs

and assumptions regarding the ability, aspirations and work ethic of marginalized peoples. The notion asserted that students of color and those from low-income families often fail to do well in school because of perceived 'cultural deprivation' or lack of knowledge of the cultural models more compatible with school success. Consequently, according to Bourdieu (1997), such students often enter school with a lack of the 'cultural capital' which is affirmed by schools and shared by school agents and thus considered valuable. In addition, there sometimes continues to be an assumption that children from ethnic minorities and the families of students from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds do not value education in the same way that their middle and upper-class white counterparts do. Also, according to the theory, upper and middle-class children are more likely to do well in school because they possess more cultural capital. However, Moll et al (2001) argue that all families possess 'funds of knowledge', which they define as the

'Historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being' (p133).

The funds of knowledge on which children can draw upon have been highlighted by the findings in Kenner et al's (2004a) research on intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in East London. The researchers worked with small groups of Bangladeshi, Anglo-English and black and minority ethnic grandparents and their grandchildren who were of primary-school age. Kenner et al (see also Gregory et al, 2007; Ruby et al, 2007) have highlighted that intergenerational home-based learning can be advantageous for schools, which Moll et al (2013) refer to as 'informal learning'. Activities such as cooking, gardening, storytelling, reading and shopping were not only viewed as enjoyable by the grandchildren but also provided important intergenerational learning opportunities. It was particularly apparent with the Bangladeshi and Afro-

Caribbean grandparents that sharing of cultural, religious, historical and linguistically-based knowledge with grandchildren was important. These activities also developed transferable skills that could be used in the classroom and fulfilled aspects of the national curriculum learning. For example, reading skills were attained via stories and numeracy skills via shopping and cooking. In addition, reciprocal learning was also visible, with grandchildren teaching grandparents new skills, such as IT skills. The grandparents also passed on linguistic and cultural knowledge by strengthening the child's language and literacy levels through the recitation of poems, reading of stories and writing (Jessel et al., 2004).

Moll et al (2001) believe that teachers can only come to know their students and their families if they can put aside their role of teacher and expert and take on a role as a learner. Cremin et al (2015) furthered the idea of the teacher to be a learner through conducting 'Learner Visits' during the BC:RLL project. During these home visits the teachers gained new knowledge raising their awareness of the rich cultural, linguistic and social assets that are present in households and children bring with them. By increasing their awareness of community and family funds of knowledge the teachers understood parental participation as 'an open ended and multifaceted activity' (Moll and Cammarota, 2010: p304). The teachers were able to use this knowledge in their classroom and facilitate new opportunities for learning 'fostering a two-way traffic between home and school' (Mottram and Powell, 2015: p144). The teachers also became insiders in their pupil's social worlds and cultures (Cremin and Collins, 2015). The question for me was: how aware were the two teachers in my study of the funds of knowledge the children possessed?

3.5.4 Syncretism

As people start to integrate into the host society cultures start to blend and evolve. Kulick (1992) uses the term 'syncretism' to describe the creative transformation of culture and Apter (1991) understood it to be more than a mixing of existing cultural forms. It is instead seen by Shaw and Stewart (1994) as a creative process where culture is reinvented by people as they draw on familiar and new resources, bringing to life 'mundane practices of everyday life' (Rosaldo 1993, p217). More recently, researchers have extended the concept of syncretism

'to include hybrid cultural constructions of speech acts and speech activities that constitute literacy' (Duranti and Ochs, 1997; p173),

going on to define syncretic literacy as

'an intermingling or merging of cultural diverse traditions (that) informs and organises literacy activities' (p72).

According to Kenner (2004) children do not remain in separate worlds but acquire membership of different groups simultaneously i.e. they live in 'simultaneous worlds'. Often simultaneous membership means children syncretise the languages, literacies, narrative styles and role relationships appropriate to each group. They then go on to transform the languages and cultures they use to create new forms relevant to the purpose needed.

Research concerning multilingual families and their literacy practices by Heath (1983) and Duranti and Ochs (1996) has contributed to 'Syncretic Literacy Studies' (Gregory et al, 2004) both in the USA and the UK. These ethnographic studies have extended the literacy framework to capture the syncretic interaction patterns that exist within homes and complementary classes, such as siblings using the listen and repeat strategy that is prevalent in Quranic classes (Gregory, 1998, 2008; Rashid and Gregory, 1997). The work of Drury (2007) also demonstrates how even very young bilingual children who used Punjabi at home were also able

to 'teach' their younger siblings using 'school English' practices at home. Whilst the children in these studies in the UK mainly used English, Volk and de Acosta (2004) showed how young children helped their siblings using Spanish and English to aid learning. There are also examples of peers (Chen and Gregory, 2004; Kenner et al, 2004a), grandmothers (Gregory et al, 2007, 2010) and complementary language teachers (Robertson, 2004) who have demonstrated syncretic styles of teaching as well as use of languages. The children in my study share a similar background to the Bangladeshi children mentioned in these studies and I was interested to see the nature of syncretic interactions that could occur during the puzzle activities. In my study, the possibility for interactions to be syncretic was high during the puzzle activity between the children and their mothers and grandmothers as the participants brought a variety of experiences which would be likely to blend during their interactions.

3.5.5 Multi-modal Interaction

Another aspect that is of importance when researching interactions, as I will in my study, is the way talk, touch and gaze are used as modes of communication and learning between the participants. As mentioned earlier, Kenner et al (2007) in their study of intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in East London found that grandparents and grandchildren co-constructed learning interactions within a relationship of mutuality. During these interactions touch and gaze were significant modes of communication. I would be interested to see if these multimodal interactions take place within the joint endeavours in my study.

In school, however, multi-modal interaction may be more limited as can be seen from a previous small-scale study by Flewitt (2005), which is further evidence of the discrepancy between children's abilities to interact and converse depending on

their environment. She studied four children, two of whom their parents categorised as good talkers (p206), whilst the other two were described as quiet and also identified as lacking social skills and confidence at playgroup. Flewitt (2005) reasoned that these differences could be reduced if less focus was put on children's verbal interactions and more emphasis on multimodal meaning-making in the playground setting (p207). She argued that too much importance is put on talk and that the emphasis impacted negatively on children who were not confident talkers. Flewitt suggested that more consideration should be given to gaze, gesture, facial expression and body language. Nyland et al (2008) explored this idea further during a study of music provision for three-year-olds in Australia. It was noted that children used hand gestures unconsciously to illustrate and support their verbal dialogues. During the puzzle activity between the participants and the teachers in my study it would be interesting to observe whether the teachers paid attention to children's non-verbal interactions or focused mainly on their verbal interactions, and how this can affect the children's learning.

3.6 Home-School Links

'If we take seriously the evidence that a child interprets the world in a way consistent with the home culture, we must look to find ways by which we both acknowledge that culture and introduce children explicitly to the new world they are entering in school' (Gregory 1994 p121)

In recent years there has been an increasing recognition within developmental, educational and sociological theories that both school and home are important institutions in socializing and educating children, as has been suggested by Gregory in the above quote. Within the framework of home-school links, much of the debate and hope for change focuses on parents' involvement in their children's schooling and learning. This issue has risen to the top of the political agenda in the last three decades (Cremin and Drury, 2015). According to the 2011 HMI Ofsted

report, inspectors visited 47 schools to evaluate how effectively the partnership between parents and schools had developed. The key findings were that schools generally valued the key role of parents in their children's education and, in the best cases, partnership between the home and school led to better outcomes for pupils, particularly those with special educational needs and other vulnerable children. It was also found that, although in a few cases the parents had contributed ideas which had been successful, on the whole in those schools visited the various skills, qualifications, experience and insights of parents were underutilised in enhancing the school's provisions and curriculum. However, in another study by Antrop-Gonzalez et al (2005) of academically successful Puerto Rican students in the mid-western United States, they found that the mothers played a significant role in fostering academic success; helping their children with schoolwork, locating resources to help support their learning, serving as mentors, and guiding them through the learning process. However, where policies have intended to improve parent's engagement with the school have in some cases marginalized some families and in some instances led to surveillance of parenting by the school or/and the state (Hallgarten and Edwards, 2000: Gewirtz, 2001). In this regard Muschamp et al (2007) state that

'the policy rhetoric speaks of a changing relationship between parents and schools, but the reality maybe somewhat different, there is little evidence of real change' (p14)

Alongside the benefits teachers can gain from drawing on children's funds of knowledge and involving parents, Al-Azami (2006) and Kenner et al (2004, 2007) suggest intergenerational learning with grandparents has potential advantages for all three parties: pupils, grandparents and schools. For pupils, there is learning in a fun and relaxed manner whilst also building on a 'special relationship':

'It was fun learning with grandma because we do everything together' (Gyllenspetz, 2007, p26).

For grandparents, recognition of a 'teaching' role and involvement in their grandchild's learning was associated with feelings of increased self-worth:

'It was lovely to feel involved in my grandchild's education', 'I feel more confident in helping with reading and writing' (Gyllenspetz, 2007, p21).

These positive learning outcomes mentioned above were achieved through a 'special relationship' that is found to exist between the two generations (Al-Azami, 2006). One reason for this could be that the older generation are less involved in the everyday world and have less responsibility and therefore potentially have more free time to focus on grandchildren. In general, grandparents' relationships with grandchildren are a positive and satisfying experience for grandparents (Drew, 2000). Drew reviewed research in grandparenthood and found that through interaction grandparents had significant influence on the development of their grandchildren. This influence becomes particularly interesting when investigating how cultures evolve as communities of people move from their country of origin to join another host community, which was the case with the families in my study.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter I reviewed relevant literature on how children learn at home and at school. I also addressed the relationship of culture to education and the challenges that children face when their home cultures are different to that of school. Finally, I discussed the literature to date on intergenerational learning within families. Key concepts within the sociocultural framework discussed throughout the chapter considered how novice learners participate in community contexts. The idea of children being active learners was also discussed, where learning is shared between participants, regardless of whether they are seen as more or less experienced.

The first part of the chapter highlighted that teachers are still unaware of the learning that takes place at home, and if they were aware it could support the children's learning at school. The second and third parts of the chapter addressed the fact that although many studies have been carried out on early socialisation in cross-cultural contexts, less attention has been given to the cultural context in which cognition and learning takes place particularly within three-generation families. I have shown in my discussion that the applications of the sociocultural learning constructs of 'scaffolding', 'guided participation', 'synergy' and 'syncretism' have not been studied in great detail within intergenerational learning in families where the grandmother, the mother and the child hold knowledge and experience (funds of knowledge) that are unique to the dynamics of their social and family interactions. Also, the existence of 'prolepsis' within the interactions between the grandparents and the grandchildren has not been given due attention by researchers or practitioners. It is interesting that Murphy and Wolfenden (2013) discuss the 'pedagogies of mutuality' where teachers acknowledge children's agency and build relationships with children to enhance learning so that

'the distribution of expertise in classrooms and schools shifts and pupils and teachers become self-regulating learners' (p271)

And potentially the teachers can become the 'agents of change' (Gonzales et al, 2005) as they build their own funds of knowledge. The collaboration and the interdependence of the interactions of children with teachers, mothers and grandmothers around a shared activity are areas for further practical and theoretical development, to which this study hopes to contribute. The following chapter considers possible methodologies for studying this issue.

Chapter 4: Methodology - The Chosen Path

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the overall research process and reasons behind my choice of methodology, the advantages and possible disadvantages of my choices, and the difficulties faced in the decisions that were made as well as the intentions behind making those decisions. Also, issues of researcher identity, validity and ethics are discussed within the context of this research study.

4.2 Qualitative or Quantitative Approach?

My aim as a researcher is to expand the knowledge and understanding of the topic of intergenerational learning within three-generational families in East London. As this research involved children and families, it was important that the study was carried out in an everyday environment where the participants felt comfortable and secure when they were being observed and interviewed, which in this case was at their homes and the school. My desire is to develop an empathetic understanding of the families I was researching through trying to answer the sub questions mentioned in Chapter 1:

1. What parenting strategies were adopted/discarded by the grandparents in order to contribute to the learning experiences of their children and grandchildren?
2. How does the use of different languages and cultural practices affect intergenerational relationships between grandparents, parents and children and vice versa?
3. Are teachers aware of the intergenerational learning at home and how are their views reflected in their teaching approaches?

I believe that in order to gain the desired insight into this community a qualitative approach was necessary as Grieg and Taylor (2002) stated that qualitative research is

‘Non-experimental research which is subjective, insider, holistic, naturalistic, valid, inductive, exploratory, ungeneralisable and discovery-oriented’ (p47).

Quantitative research, therefore, would not have permitted me to achieve some of the above-mentioned aspects such as ‘subjective, insider, holistic, valid’ and ‘ungeneralisable’ as quantitative research is associated with positivistic or empirical research. Lichtman (2013) expresses that

‘qualitative research uses an inductive strategy. Its purpose is to examine the whole, in a natural setting, to get the ideas and feelings of those being interviewed or observed. As a consequence, data analysis in qualitative research is also inductive and iterative.’ (p244)

The dispute between qualitative and quantitative researchers is based upon the differences in assumptions about what reality is and whether or not it is measurable. There are varying ideas regarding the definitions of qualitative and quantitative research and their applications in research as Alasuutari (1995) highlights that not all research questions can be answered by empirical experiments and statistical analysis e.g. questions about meaning-making of children in social contexts, such as schools. Hughes (1990) points to the fact that

‘...philosophical questions about the nature of matter are not the kind of questions physicists can answer’ (p3).

This implies that positivist or quantitative methods invented to deal with natural sciences are not generally appropriate for investigating social phenomena which I wished to engage in as I share Ely et al’s (1991) suggestion that

‘...qualitative implies a direct concern with experience as it is ‘lived’ or ‘felt’ or ‘undergone’...qualitative research, then has the aim of understanding experience as nearly as possible as its participants feel it or live it’ (p7).

I was convinced that the characteristics of qualitative research could meet the aims and needs of my study. Having decided on a qualitative approach I go on to explain the reasons behind choosing an ethnographic approach with ethnomethodology (Heath, 1983; Gregory & Williams, 1998, 1999; 2000).

4.3 Why an Ethnographic Approach?

My personal journey into ethnography started long before my own realization that I would actually use it for my PhD. From my experience as a researcher on the intergenerational learning project at Goldsmiths (Kenner et al, 2007) and realizing the knowledge I have of my own Bangladeshi community as well as the East End, I felt I was well equipped to go onto doing such a study.

I watch and observe people at every opportunity, on the bus, the train, the park, even while walking, always wondering about their background, life experiences, where were they brought up, who were they raised by and what impact it all has on who they are now. Ely et al (1991) shares a similar trait

‘...watching people from afar, trying to understand their feelings and behaviours, imagining and speculating about their thoughts and intentions, I felt that I had a pretty ‘fine tuned’ instrument in my own observational skills...’ (p11).

I put these skills to use in cross-cultural contexts during my junior and secondary school years as I tried to juggle my many learning platforms and, through my later years until now, I feel I am the bridge between my own ethnic community and the East End society I have got to know well. In contrast, I have found that teachers may hold negative and sometimes culturally-determined views about the children they teach. A teacher suggested in a previous research project by Kenner et al (2007) that most of the Bangladeshi parents were not active in their children’s education as these parents had never taken their children to visit the Tower of London, the museums or walked on Tower Bridge. This for him somehow

demonstrated that the parents were not serious about their children's education, and had an impact on the Britishness of these children. This perception leads to the question of how and what constitutes learning in the eyes of mainstream school teachers.

Through my own observations I feel that learning experiences at home and supplementary schools need much more recognition within a child's life at school. One avenue to delve into this was through conducting my own research, hence the PhD. In order to conduct this research it was essential for me to choose an appropriate methodology. As people respond to their world differently, the task of research becomes more complex and requires a methodology that is sensitive to such differences and complexities. Therefore, I chose to apply an ethnographic approach which allowed me to research complex situations by paying closer attention to particular aspects, interactions or phenomenon in the setting without losing sight of the whole, thus being able to understand the culture through the eyes, experiences and interpretations of the participants living within the specific context. Schieffelin and Cochran-Smith (1984) comment that social groups can be better understood through analyzing their discourses and lifestyles in order to understand their perspectives on their world and actions.

Ethnographic research is usually carried out in the unpredictable chaos of the natural setting with the researcher being the most important research tool. This research approach creates and demands the possibility to be involved, reflexive and creative, which enabled me to gain a holistic insight into the lives of the participants as learners. This is further enhanced by being able to apply more than one method as Alasuutari (1995) states that 'quality data should cover different angles of the phenomenon observed' (p45) while Duranti (1997) raises the point

that 'a variety of methods will produce a rich description of any event or social situation' (p102). Gregory et al (2005) examine what an ethnographic approach consists of. They state three rules that should be understood by those who are taking on ethnography as a methodology:

1. Ethnography is a methodology not a method i.e. it may use a whole variety of different methods, for example:
 - Participant observation
 - Life histories
 - Interviews
 - Case studies
 - Surveys and other statistical methods
2. Ethnography starts with a question, not a hypothesis.
3. Ethnographers make emic (insider) rather than etic (outsider) observations.

Along with the rules stated by Gregory et al (2005), Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p3-4) put across the notion of the researcher as bricoleur, a do-it-yourself professional producing a complete picture using multiple methods depending on the context and the feasibility of carrying out those methods to address the study in its entirety. Alongside the methods the position of the researcher is crucial and many definitions of ethnography can be found essentially based on the relationship of the researcher with the researched. Agar (1996) states that

'Ethnographers set out to show how social action in one world makes sense from the point of view of another' and '... Ethnography is neither subjective nor objective. It is interpretive, mediating two worlds through a third' (p19).

Yates (1987) defines ethnography as 'the study of the world of people' (p62). Therefore the nature of ethnography allows researchers to combine different

research methods which can produce rich data and a deeper understanding of the data.

Therefore, drawing on the theory of ethnographic research and my personal experience and knowledge I felt that in order to delve into my research questions as an ethnographer I needed to spend a substantial amount of time with the families in their everyday setting. This was important because I intended to investigate learning in context as I was keenly interested in 'exploring people's life histories and everyday behaviour' (Silverman, 2000, p1) alongside the

'need to study individuals in their natural setting' and having a desire 'to emphasize the researcher's role as an *active learner* who can tell the story from the participants' view rather than as an 'expert' who passes judgment on participants' (Cresswell, 1994).

To me this seemed to be the best way forward, resulting in producing 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1993; p8) using a multi-layered approach accommodated by ethnography. Thus an emic rather than an etic analysis of framework was applied to understand the perspectives of the families in this study. However, like all other approaches, ethnography has its difficulties which are discussed later with regards to the identity of the researcher and the issues around the ethics and validity of the research. Before presenting the difficulties I go on to discuss the reasons for applying ethnomethodology to my research.

4.4 Ethnomethodology: Layers within Layers

An ethnographic approach allowed me a way into my research as summarized by Hammersley and Atkinson (1997; p285-287):

- I was able to put a 'strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them'.
- I worked primarily with 'unstructured' data, investigating three cases in detail for the main study.

- The analysis of data partly involved 'explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions, mainly in the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing, at most, a subordinate role'.

However, I wanted to go deeper and try to understand the ways in which participants communicated with each other in their contexts. My ethnographic approach allowed me to form an outer layer to my research based on the interviews and questionnaires. In order to create a middle and an inner layer I felt I needed to apply ethnomethodology with certain aspects of Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sacks et al, 1974) and an 'analysis of verbal and non-verbal interactions'.

Using ethnographic methods enabled me to collect data which I was able to use to describe the learning environment and the interactions between the individuals within that environment. Gregory & Williams (1998) have shown that ethnographic methods can produce a detailed account of literacy practices taking place in various situations and patterns of similarity and difference within and between groups, helping us to focus on the learning process. However, ethnographic methods did not help in understanding the participants' thoughts and actions and the way they make meaning between them. Ethnomethodology on the other hand did help me to do this as it refers to the very specific behaviours, both verbal and non-verbal, with which the participants respond to the social order they create together (Erikson 1992). This view of social structures defined by the interaction between people

'specifying the order in people's behaviour by the detailed description of what they do to each other' (McDermott & Roth 1978, p336)

originated in the fields of phenomenological philosophy and psychology.

Garfinkel (1967) first coined the term ethnomethodology to highlight the tendency of social science researchers to shift their attention towards examination of the creation of practices and procedures. It focused on describing the way people make sense of everyday conversations in and around the ways they communicate. It is also a close scrutiny of how people do what they do; provide an explanation of what they do, and why they do it that way. Bogdan & Biklen (1992) state that the

‘researchers in phenomenological mode attempt to understand the meaning of events and interactions for ordinary people in particular situations’ (p34)

In order to understand how and what meaning they construct around events in their daily lives. Garfinkel (1967) furthers this understanding by examining the way in which the social reality is built up and preserved and also its interpretations. Ethnomethodology assumes that each individual has their own patterns for constructing meaning enabling them to function at the social levels, where these patterns are the results of the contexts in which they occur (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984). What phenomenologists emphasize is the subjective aspect of people’s behaviours and attempt to gain entry into the conceptual world of their subjects (Geertz, 1973).

The influence of ethnomethodology as an approach on ethnographic research is seen in its emphasis on analysis of the immense input invested in creating day-by-day circumstances with

‘no escape from the careful and detailed analysis of how people together organize their behaviour from one moment to another’ (McDermott & Roth 1978, p338).

A key method is CA, developed in the late 1960’s and early 70’s by Sacks and his close associates Schegloff and Jefferson (Schegloff, 1992), to address the questions of how ordinary talk is organized and the role it has in wider social

processes. But CA can only do this when it is coupled with ethnography informed by the context and meaning in which speech occurs as every

‘context is multi-layered: conversation-sequential, linguistic, and embedded in the present scene, encrusted with past meanings and more’ (Moerman, 1988, p7).

Sacks and his colleagues were keen to demonstrate that in every moment of talk, people experience and produce their cultures, their roles and their personalities, and show how the experienced moments of social lives are constructed, and the way the on-going operation of social order is organised. CA recognizes that ordinary conversation is the predominant medium of interaction in the social world, typically where people are physically present, and Schegloff (1996) describes this further by saying that,

“For humans, talking in interaction appears to be a distinctive form of this primary constituent of social life, and ordinary conversation is very likely the basic form of organization for talk-in-interaction. Conversational interaction may then be thought of as a form of social organization through which the work of the constitutive institutions of societies gets done— institutions such as the economy, the polity, the family, socialization, etc. It is, so to speak, sociological bedrock. And it surely appears to be the basic and primordial environment for the development, the use, and the learning of natural language” (p4).

In my pilot study, the transcripts produced from the video data of the activities between Tahmid and his mother and grandmother, along with the interview transcripts (Chapter 2; Transcripts 1&2), demonstrated that their conversations were multi-layered and had meaning as mentioned above. They also highlighted that the structure of the conversations was organized somewhat by the question and answer patterns and that the nature of these patterns and the evidence of the contribution of the participants were contextually based. The conversations were also organised by the nature of the turns to speak, the languages used to communicate and the context in which learning took place – all of which could be

analysed. The importance of transcripts has been stressed by Sacks cited in Silverman (2001) where he comments that

‘we cannot rely on our notes or recollections of conversations. Certainly depending on our memory, we can usually summarise what different people said, but it is simply impossible to remember (or even note at the time) such matters as pauses, overlaps, in breaths and the like’ (p161).

These features in the transcripts enabled me to examine the episodes in the transcripts of the larger study in light of the methodologies suggested in this chapter. The pilot study transcripts also demonstrated that a more detailed analysis of verbal and non-verbal interactions could be used to analyse the data produced in the larger study and certain aspects of CA allowed for the conversations to be examined in detail. This detailed approach was not used in the pilot study as an ethnographic approach was taken to assess the feasibility of conducting the larger study and to assess whether the ‘big’ research question was worth investigating.

The above is a glimpse into the analysis. There is detailed explanation of analyses of data from all three families in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 to delve into the intergenerational learning taking place. I now go on to discuss the issues of researcher identity, validity and ethics within the context of this research study.

4.5 Identity of the Researcher

Conducting the pilot study allowed me to question my position as a researcher within my own community sharing an identity, language, and experiential-base with my study participants (Asselin, 2003). I realised that being an insider enhanced the depth and breadth of understanding of my community. Questions about objectivity, reflexivity, and authenticity of my research project were raised by the participants and in my own mind. This was perhaps because I knew too much or I was too close to the project and may have been too similar to those being

studied (Kanuha, 2000, p444). This complete membership role gave me a certain amount of legitimacy (Adler & Adler, 1987) and allowed me more rapid and more complete acceptance by the participants at particular times. I found that the participants were open with me which added a greater depth to the data gathered. A key benefit of being a member of the group one is studying is acceptance. My participants were willing to share their experiences both positive and negative as I was seen as one of them, someone who understood them and thought like they did. This status enabled access and entry as well as a common platform from which I could begin my main study.

Being an insider also has its potential problems. In Adler and Adler's (1987) discussion of complete member researchers, they suggest that in this 'ultimate existential dual role' (p73) researchers might struggle with role conflict if they find themselves caught between 'loyalty tugs' and 'behavioural claims' (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007, p70). Asselin (2003) has pointed out that the dual role can also result in role confusion when the researcher responds to the participants or analyses the data from a perspective other than that of the researcher. This confusion becomes greater if the researcher gains entry through a role other than that of a researcher and then fails to explain their role fully. This ambiguity may cloud the researcher's perceptions by his or her personal experience and s/he may find it difficult separating themselves from their participants once they are seen as a group member. Furthermore, undue influence of familiarity might affect the analysis leading to an emphasis on shared factors between the researcher and the participants and a lack of emphasis on factors that are discrepant, or vice versa.

Fay (1996) addressed the question, 'Do you have to be one to know one?' (p9), and, does the researcher become an insider or remain an outsider? There are social, physical and background-related factors that make someone more of an insider or an outsider. Surrounded by these factors I had to reflect on my identity in field research. Also the status of an insider/outsider carries with it other assumptions, superficial, visible and experiential factors that do make someone more of an outsider than an insider. The only factor that could hinder me from being an insider would be if the participants were not clear about the purpose of my role and how I intended to use the data. This factor could be minimized through taking the time to explain to the participants the purpose and intention behind my research and data-use.

Fay's (1996) view is that being a member of the group being studied is neither necessary nor sufficient to being able to know the experience of that group. The four reasons he outlined to support this stance are, firstly, individuals with their own experiences are not able to put the adequate distance required between them and the participants to know where their experience is lacking whereas someone from the outside may be more adequately equipped to conceptualize the experience. Secondly, being an insider one can have confusing, ambivalent, mixed, and sometimes contradictory goals, motives, desires, thoughts, and feelings. Due to these features an outsider might sometimes be able to see through the complexity in ways the insider cannot. Thirdly, an outsider is often able to appreciate the wider perspective with its connections, causal patterns, and influences. Finally, Fay proposed that we hide ourselves from ourselves out of fear, self-protection, and guilt, from which it might be extremely difficult to disentangle oneself.

From the above discussion, it is clear that there are both positive and negative aspects of insider and outsider status. As an insider I had to be aware of these aspects in relation to my particular status to the group I was studying. It was very important for me not to hide behind the mask of rapport or the wall of professional distancing (Glesne, 1999). As a qualitative researcher I needed to be fully authentic in my interactions with my participants and as Glense (1999) stated 'honour the consequences of acting with genuineness' (p105), highlighting the necessity of remaining reflexive.

When I reflected on and acknowledged my own reality and had an awareness of my own basic attributes, ideological assumptions, position of power within my culture and biases, which are fundamental to the process of carrying out any research, I realised that my study did not fall within traditional ethnographic studies. It was becoming more and more apparent that more and more 'natives' have become authors of ethnographic studies of their own cultural group. Appadurai (1990) pointed out that

'the ethnographic project has changed because the world that ethnography confronts has changed.'

Denzin (1997) extended this by stating that

'National boundaries and identities blur. Everyone is a tourist, an immigrant, a refugee, an exile, or a guest worker, moving from one part of the world to another' (introduction: xii).

Particularly more and more women, ethnic and marginal groups, and scholars from the peripheries are becoming ethnographers writing about their own representations of the communities they study. Knowing how others see me and how I see the world can shape my research but this also puts me in a position to protect the integrity of the process. As Hammersley and Atkins (1993) point out, as

a social researcher doing a study within my own community I needed to remain faithful to the phenomena observed. In order to do this I had to act ethically and my aim was to conduct the research in a way that would take into account my biases and subjectivities as a researcher and protect the dignity and welfare of the researched.

Pink (2001, p23) mentioned that researchers should maintain an awareness of how different elements of their identities impact on the research process. For example, gender, age, ethnicity, class and race are important to how researchers are situated and situate themselves in ethnographic contexts. Ethnographers ought to be self-conscious about how they represent themselves to informants and they ought to consider how their identities are constructed and understood by the people with whom they work. These subjective understandings could have implications for the knowledge that is produced from the ethnographic encounter between researcher and informants. The gender of the researcher here was an important issue as I worked with Muslim families and am Muslim myself. Being a woman as a researcher was also an important issue for religious and cultural reasons. From an Islamic faith perspective there is a protocol of interaction that is maintained with those that are outside the immediate family. A woman will not normally take part in an interaction, as is involved in a research study, if the researcher is male, particularly within the home environment. Therefore, being female, Muslim and from the Bangladeshi community, I had all the elements to my identity that enabled me to gain easy access to the homes of the families. The fact that I was working with the female members of the family was also an advantage. I still needed to be aware as Delgado-Gaitan (1993) remarked that sharing the same ethnic background as the participants (as she did)

'does not make the researcher more knowledgeable about the meanings of the participant's feelings, values and practices based on influences such as assumed cultural knowledge' (p391).

She acknowledged her potential biases and subjectivity and as a result kept her participants informed and shared as much data as possible with them to ensure accuracy, which I also tried to do.

In order to ensure objectivity I needed to control or reduce the effects I as a researcher could have on the research situation. Such attempts included maintaining distance during observations as well as trying to be as neutral as possible. Although at certain instances during the research I faced obstacles in ensuring the trust of the participants (which are addressed later), my motive and empathy enabled me to earn their sincerity and trust. This collaborative approach helped to secure a healthy communication structure and enabled honesty and transparency to be a part of the interaction between me and my participants.

4.6 Validity of the Research

Kirk and Miller (1986) and Silverman (2001) point out that the issues of reliability and validity are important, because in them the objectivity and credibility of (social scientific) research is at stake. Joppe (2000) defines reliability as:

“...The extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study is referred to as reliability and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable. (p. 1)

The concept of validity is not a single, fixed or universal concept and according to Winter (2000)

“rather a contingent construct, inescapably grounded in the processes and intentions of particular research methodologies and projects” (p.1).

Some qualitative researchers have argued that the term validity is not applicable to qualitative research, but at the same time, there is a need for a way to qualify,

check or measure research findings. In light of this, Creswell & Miller (2000) suggest that the validity is affected by the researcher's perception of validity and as a result, many researchers have developed their own concepts of validity and have generated terms, such as, quality, rigor and trustworthiness (Davies & Dodd, 2002; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stenbacka, 2001). Davies and Dodd (2002) argue that the way the notion rigor is applied in qualitative research should differ from those in quantitative research by

“accepting that there is a quantitative bias in the concept of rigor, we now move on to develop our reconception of rigor by exploring subjectivity, reflexivity, and the social interaction of interviewing” (p. 281).

According to Lincoln & Guba (1985) the aim of trustworthiness in a qualitative inquiry is to support the argument that the inquiry's findings are 'worth paying attention to' (p290). This is quite different from the conventional experimental precedent of attempting to show validity, soundness, and significance. Reissman (1993) argued that

'the historical truth of an individual's accounts is not the primary issue... 'trustworthiness' not 'truth' is a key semantic difference' (p65).

Mishler (1986) argues for validation rather than validity, a focus on the process of the research rather than results and outcomes. He offers a definition of validation as

'...the social construction of a discourse through which the results of a study come to be viewed as sufficiently trustworthy for other investigators to rely on in their own work' (p429).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) on the other hand argue that in any qualitative research project, four issues of trustworthiness demand attention as follows. Firstly, credibility, an evaluation of whether or not the research findings represent a

'credible' conceptual interpretation of the data drawn from the participants' original data (p296). Secondly, transferability, the degree to which the findings of this investigation can apply or transfer beyond the bounds of the study. Thirdly, dependability, an assessment of the quality of the integrated processes of data collection, data analysis, and theory generation, and finally confirmability, the measure of how well the findings are supported by the data collected.

In my study, trustworthiness was enhanced through the following strategies. To address credibility firstly I tried to develop an early familiarity with the families before collecting the data. Lincoln and Guba (1985) are among many who recommend 'prolonged engagement' between the researcher and the participants to gain an adequate understanding of each other and to establish a relationship of trust between the parties. To help ensure honesty in informants when contributing data, each person who took part in the study was given opportunities to refuse to participate so as to ensure that the data collection sessions involved only those who were genuinely willing to take part and prepared to offer data freely. It was made clear to participants that they could withdraw from the study at any point. Secondly, I employed four research methods in designing the research study with the intention to generate layers of data from each participant. This, while not meeting the technical definition of 'triangulation' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), nonetheless provided a richer, more multilayered more credible data-set than one or two research methods would have generated. Thirdly, I sought the help of my two supervisors from frequent debriefing sessions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). They guided me as I refined my procedure via the pilot study both after I collected the data and during the process of data analysis. They made observations and suggestions were given, and they posed as the critical friend, asking questions throughout the process. Their role was generally consistent with that defined in the

literature (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Also, peer scrutiny by colleagues, peers and academics were welcomed when I presented at conferences. Fourthly, I tried to provide 'thick descriptions' of the activities as a part of 'member checks' as has been recommended by Pitts (1994). Detailed description can be an important provision for promoting credibility as it helps to convey the actual situations that have been investigated and, to an extent, the contexts that surround them, which helps the reader of the final account to determine the extent to which the overall findings ring true. Finally, I examined previous research findings to assess the degree to which they are congruent with my study. Silverman (2000) considers that the ability of the researcher to relate his or her findings to an existing body of knowledge is a key criterion for evaluating works of qualitative research.

To address transferability in positivist work the concern often lies in demonstrating that the results of the work at hand can be applied to a wider population. Since the findings of my qualitative study are specific to a small number of families and teachers, it is impossible to demonstrate that the findings and conclusions are applicable to other situations and populations. Lincoln and Guba (1995) suggest that it is the responsibility of a researcher to ensure that sufficient contextual information about the fieldwork sites will be provided to enable the reader to make such a transfer. This will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter 5, Design of Study.

To address the issues of dependability, Lincoln and Guba (1995) stressed the importance of close ties between credibility and dependability arguing that, in practice, a demonstration of the former goes some distance in ensuring the latter. This may be achieved through the use of 'overlapping methods' such as the video recordings, individual interviews and devoting careful attention to the research

design and its implementation. Finally, confirmability is associated with objectivity (Patton, 1990). However, Patton recognized the difficulty of ensuring real objectivity as the intrusion of the researcher's biases is inevitable.

The difficulty with the researcher's biases lies in the assumption that the area of research is outside the self of the researcher. Hence problems concerning subjectivity and ethnography according to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) originate from the political conviction and practical interests of the ethnographer who might be tempted to distort the findings according to his/her ideological position (p21). Therefore, aiming to learn about the 'other' using ethnography according to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) refers

'primarily to a particular method or sets of methods that involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research' (p1).

Davies (1998) also rightfully points out that

'We cannot research something with which we have no contact, from which we are completely isolated. All researchers are to some degree connected to, or part of the object of their research' (p3).

On the other hand, Duranti (1997) argued that a researcher can never be 'neutral' and ethnographers are influenced by their moral, political and theoretical attitudes to their participants, the hunches they have, and their emotions. With the problems of neutrality and objectivity I believe a reflexive approach in ethnography can help me to recognize that

'Rather than a method for the collection of data, ethnography is a process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture and individuals) that is based on the ethnographer's own experiences' (Pink 2001, p22).

As my study was in the context of social research, reflexivity meant that the product of my research would be affected by my personal stance and the process I intended to apply to carry out the research.

However, I believe that although reflexivity does not claim to produce an objective or 'truthful' account of reality, it should aim to offer versions of ethnographers' experiences of reality. This will mean that the researcher is as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge is produced. To address this dichotomy of wanting to produce truthful accounts and to take on board the reality of the ethnographer's experiences, Van Maanan (1988) identified three broad types of ethnographic writing and the conventions that govern them. Firstly, 'realist tales' where the author is absent from the text, scenes and events are described 'as they are' with quotations from participants introduced to show that the author knows whereof s/he writes. Secondly, 'confessional tales' are where the ethnographer is center-stage, telling the story of the research itself. Often the accounts take the form of modest and unassuming reports of the problems and struggles of the field worker, usually with a happy ending. Finally, 'impressionist tales' where the writing is literary or even poetic allowing the author to hyperbolize in order to make a point.

I approached my writing through 'confessional tales', where my first-hand knowledge of my culture helped to 'inject' authority to textual construction (Deck, 1990). This was partly achieved by taking on board one important feature of ethnography that Denzin (1989) put forward, which is that the researcher is not the conventional, objective outsider but that s/he infiltrates their life experiences into the writing.

Since the 1980s there has been a growing interest in using personal narrative, life history and autobiography to study individual lives among contemporary anthropologists. This trend has produced new terms such as 'autoethnography', referring to where the ethnographer is the 'native' (Reed-Danahay, 1997, p2-5), 'reflexive ethnography' referring to studies where the importance of the researcher's personal experience and knowledge is emphasized, and finally 'native ethnography' where the native researcher becomes the bicultural insider. As I was from the community within which I carried out my study I combined 'auto' and 'reflexive' ethnography in my approach.

4.7 Ethics Maintained During Research

When we look at definitions of ethics in research Sieber (1993) defines it well by stating that ethics means

'The application of a system of moral principles to prevent harming or wronging others, to promote the good, to be respectful and to be fair' (p14).

In order to maintain this, informed consent and confidentiality need to be maintained in the research situation. My understanding of consent was based on the definition given by the British Sociological Association 1996 which defines informed consent in the following way

'As far as possible sociological research should be based on the freely given informed consent of those studied. This implies a responsibility of the sociologist to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be disseminated.'

To me ethics in research goes beyond informed consent. In all aspects of the research, reliability, trust and the identity of the researcher becomes very important. The question of reliability is summed up by Glaser and Strauss (1965) in their suggestion that the ethnographer's aim is to produce an account which makes the reader feel 'that he (sic) also had been in the field' (p8-9).

Prior to carrying out the fieldwork, the planned methodological framework was submitted to the School of Education's Research Ethics Committee at Goldsmiths, University of London for approval. The participants received a consent form which they signed after reading the research information sheet and the opportunity to ask me any questions, these forms are included in Appendix IV. The guidelines for all staff and student research at the School are based on the British Educational Research Association's (BERA). Revised ethical guidelines can be found on the School's website at: <http://www.gold.ac.uk/media/research-ethics.pdf>.

4.8 Summary

My intention was to understand how individuals interpret events rather than test whether or not their perceptions correspond to or mirror the objective reality. The starting point of this research was to give voice to a cultural group, though as the process progressed it became more complicated as Reissman (1993) claims 'we cannot give voice, but we do hear voices that we record and interpret' (p8-15). Also, Clifford (1988) stated, 'ethnography is from beginning to end, enmeshed in writing' (p25). Interpretation through writing suggests that there are limitations which Denzin (1997) pointed out by arguing that

'there can never be a final, accurate representation of what was meant or said – only different textual representation of different experiences' (p5).

However, despite these limitations, I aimed to represent as closely as possible the ideas and experiences of my participants. Being able to go into the homes of the families, speaking to the teachers, grandparents, parents and the children I began to feel I had a position where I was the guardian of trust with which the participants endowed me and they also gave me the opportunity to give them a meaningful voice. The next chapter discusses the design of the study.

Chapter 5: Design of Study

5.1 Introduction

This section of the methodology chapter looks at the design of study for my research, explaining the context, the task chosen, the selection of the families and some of the struggles I faced as a researcher in gaining access to the families.

5.2 Selecting Families for My Study

During the home visits in the study by Kenner et al (2004), for which I was one of the researchers, I became aware that the parent (usually the mother) always needed to be kept out of the camera's range as the study was investigating the learning interactions between grandparents and grandchildren in particular. I started to become conscious of the fact that a part of the puzzle was excluded within both the monolingual and Bangladeshi families, and it fascinated me to see where and how the mother was interacting with her children and the grandparents in this extended family network. This is where I started to think of my own research interest in investigating the three generations and the intergenerational learning interactions. It made sense at the time to continue to work with the same families, but my interest was to focus on the maternal grandmothers rather than the paternal ones with whom we were mostly working in the initial research project.

Knowing that studies drawing on ethnographic methods are lengthy, intense and rich in data I decided to collect data from four focus families of which one family became part of the pilot study. On enquiry I was lucky to find that two of the families of the existing study had maternal grandmothers who I felt would participate without hesitation, so I then had to find two more. Although it seemed simple enough to find and gain permission from the families at the start, it certainly

proved more difficult than I had expected to gain access. My attempt at finding the four families started in October 2005.

5.3 The Puzzle Activity

In this study my intention was to observe the interactions between the selected children and their teachers, mothers and grandmothers around an activity within their natural setting of their homes and schools. I hoped to identify and trace the key approaches to learning at home and school from the view of the participants. The findings I hoped would help to eradicate some of the misconceptions held about children learning at home and contribute to filling the gap in the current field of research in intergenerational learning within families. I opted for a detailed study of a small number of families over time and I decided to collect a wide range of qualitative data using an ethnographic approach and ethnomethodology as explained in Chapter 4. I wanted to construct an understanding of the home and school-learning and view the life of the child as a whole by studying the perspectives, interactions and cultures of the families in context.

From my initial visits to the families within my study, and based on my experience as a researcher on previous projects, I decided to set up an activity of putting jigsaw puzzles together between the children, their teachers, mothers and grandmothers. As most of the families had large extended family networks they tended to have very busy schedules and on most of my visits the families had a house full of guests. In order for me to observe any interaction between my chosen participants with as little interruption as possible from others I decided to stage the activity using the puzzles because this required the child to focus on a specific task with the help of a particular adult. The choice of jigsaw puzzles was based on them being portable and similar to the computer activity staged in the

study by Kenner et al (2008), which had demonstrated that, although staged, such an activity could be naturalistic. Puzzles are also generally acknowledged as a learning tool to aid cognitive and social development (Isaacson, 2010).

I also believed that the task-based activity would allow the families to be at a level which would encourage play, exchange of knowledge and expertise. It would have been difficult to find an activity where all participants were novices. Within my study the participants had varied experiences in putting puzzles together. The children, teachers and mothers had some experience using puzzles but none of the grandmothers had any. As the children were my focus I was interested in observing how they would interact with the different adults equipped with their experiences of putting puzzles together. What impact would the children's experiences have on the activity with their mothers and teachers, who generally consider themselves as the knowledgeable adult? I believed that the fact that the grandmothers were going to participate in an activity they had not done before was going to make for a fascinating study. I was interested to see if the children's role during the activity with their grandmothers would be different to that with their mothers and teachers.

Although children could attempt to put the puzzles together on their own, the aim of the activity generally was to put it together with others. The understanding behind this joint activity was similar to the computer activities in the research by Kenner et al (2008) that if children wanted to gain the maximum educational benefit, they required assistance. One of the aims of this study was to investigate how such assistance was given to the children by the adults and the nature of the assistance. Although this intervention may seem to contradict the aims of ethnography which is to investigate 'naturalistic events', I chose to set up the

activity for several reasons. Firstly, I wanted to follow on from the success of the staged computer activity in the Kenner et al (2004a) study, where it helped to identify the learning taking place between the participants. Secondly, I felt this would require less imposition on my part on the families to commit extensive amounts of time within their already very busy lives. Finally, and most importantly, I felt that the jigsaw activity would complement the ethnographic approach to the research question as it would allow me to investigate and analyse the conversations and interactions between the participants in greater detail and add the middle and inner layers to the analysis.

Finding jigsaw puzzles suitable for this study was not as simple as I had expected. There were many puzzles available in the market but not suitable to use as most were very large which in turn meant that the pieces were very small and the activity would not finish within a reasonable time frame. I eventually came across four puzzles in a discounted book store which were produced by the Early Learning Centre. They were appropriate for the age range of the children in the study and included pieces that were made of slightly more durable material. The four puzzles chosen were:

Puzzle 1: UK and the Republic of Ireland Map

Suitable for ages 4-10. A 100-piece puzzle featuring places of interest from around the United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland, with an overall puzzle size of approximately 380x610mm and each piece with a size of approximately 67x50mm.

Puzzle 2: Jungle Floor Puzzle

Suitable for ages 3-6. A 24-piece puzzle featuring a friendly cartoon jungle scene with lots of creatures to spot, with an overall puzzle size of approximately 500x700mm and each piece with a size of approximately 189x125mm.

Puzzle 3: Solar System

Suitable for ages 4-8. A 60-piece puzzle to help learn the names of all the planets in the solar system, with an overall puzzle size of approximately 500x700mm and each piece with a size of approximately 90x105mm.

Puzzle 4: Endangered Species

Suitable for ages 3-8. A 53-piece puzzle featuring endangered animals from around the world, with an overall puzzle size of approximately 950x1350mm and each piece with a size of approximately 245x180mm.

All the puzzles were very colourful and consisted of a large picture of the completed puzzle on the front of the box with the back of the box displaying smaller pictures. On the back of puzzles 3 and 4 there was extra information written on the different planets and the names of the endangered animals featured in the puzzle. I didn't feel that the fact that the puzzles each had different numbers of pieces of different sizes had an impact on the quality of interactions between the participants. I intended to keep the activities roughly comparable between dyads by keeping the puzzle the child did with each adult as consistent as possible. The children and their grandmothers did the jungle floor puzzle. Both Aminah and Habib did the Solar system puzzle with their mothers and the UK and the Republic of Ireland Map puzzle with their teachers. Samiha repeated the jungle floor puzzle with her mother and did the solar system puzzle with her teacher. The repeat of the jungle floor puzzle with Samiha and her grandmother was not an issue as there was a long time gap (approximately a year) between the activity with her mother and grandmother.

5.4 Setting the Context

The research involved four children who attended a primary school based in the East End of London within the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. Other participants in the project were the mothers, maternal grandmothers and the class teachers of these children. The ethnographic research involved the school as well as the homes of the families as research sites. The family for the pilot was not from this school as my intention was to trial my methods with a family that was separate from the main study site.

This borough is located to east of the City of London and north of the River Thames and forms the main area of the East End of London. By 1891, Tower Hamlets was already one of the most populated areas in London and the successive waves of foreign immigration added to the existing overcrowding and poverty. This rich history of immigration began with Huguenot refugees settling in Spitalfields in the 17th century, followed by Irish weavers, Ashkenazi Jews and, in the 20th century, Bangladeshis, with many of these immigrants working in the garments industry. The availability of semi-skilled and unskilled labour led to low wages and poor conditions throughout the East End and as each group of immigrants became financially well-off they tended to move away to more affluent areas. This allowed new immigrants to settle in the area, and following this trend, some of the more affluent Bangladeshi community are now also moving out of the area and there is a new influx from the Somali and Polish communities. There are also a number of Chinese, Vietnamese, Indian, Pakistani, and Black African/Caribbean residents. Bangladeshi families tended to have large families living together with extended family members. Tower Hamlets has one of the youngest populations in the country and the majority of the first-generation Bangladeshi residents emigrated from the rural parts of the Sylhet region.

5.4.1 The School

The school was situated near the Docklands to the east of the City of London. This area has a strong maritime character. After the serious damage during The Blitz the area remained run-down and derelict into the 1980s. The area was then transferred to the management of the London Docklands Development Corporation who were tasked with redeveloping the area. The London Docks were mainly redeveloped with a variety of commercial, light industrial and residential properties, where families from the surrounding neighbourhoods started to settle.

As the community began to grow, a new primary school opened in 1989 to cater for the children in the area. It is one of 65 Primary schools in the borough and has a single form entry. The attractive, modern building of bricks and Welsh slates is situated near St Katharine Docks, the River Thames and the Tower of London, which are some of the important tourist attractions in London, and is also near Brick Lane and Canary Wharf. The school caters for children aged 3 to 11 years and has the capacity to take up to 360 pupils. Alongside classrooms and other key facilities the school has a parent room which is well used by the parents of the school. The school also has some unusual features for a city school; it has a nature reserve and a pond. The school unlike other non-denominational schools in the borough has a diverse intake of pupils due to its location as the area has very recently begun to develop residential properties, and the school has a low intake from its immediate catchment area. The majority of the families live locally but the school does attract families from all over the borough. Some of the children are from families that have temporarily moved into the local area due to their work commitments from other European countries and the others are from the indigenous white and Bangladeshi families.

5.4.2 Access: The Struggles of an Insider

I wanted to conduct a research project within my own Bangladeshi community on a topic not studied before. I had everything in my favour; I had worked in the school before and knew some of the families, particularly the ones I hoped would be part of my study and most importantly I had built a relationship with the children I wanted to continue to work with following on from the previous project (Kenner et al, 2004). Being an insider was a sure bonus in my mind and I was absolutely confident that carrying out the fieldwork would be very simple. I knew from my readings and experience that most researchers find access to communities and families very difficult. Gregory and Ruby (2011) through a series of vignettes unravel the difficulty of being 'insider/outsider' researchers in the classrooms and homes of the children they worked with and their families. The stories highlight the complexities, clashes or collusions the researchers experienced and they consider the generalizability of their findings for other researchers working in the field. My approach to the research was consistent with Denzin's (1997) commonly-held view that we are situated in the worlds we study; we need to recognize ourselves and write ourselves into our research. However, my self-critical, reflexive approach should not be misunderstood as I did not want to dominate the interpretation of the data. Hall (2007) highlights the complexity of this situation by stating that the multiple identities of the practitioner researcher can lead them to indulge in choosing which voice to speak with, prioritizing their own against other voices in the research, an outcome I wished to avoid.

One way of balancing the power between participant and researcher would be to allow participants to be involved more fully. However Gauntlett (2004) maintained that the researcher can regain power and distance at the interpretation and analysis stage, during which the contributions of participants can be diminished,

misinterpreted or misunderstood. Gauntlett (2004) argued that the participants should be allowed to contribute to the interpretation stage, setting the agenda and interpreting their own work, rather than having an interpretation imposed upon them. I viewed Gauntlett's position as a little problematic as it implied that the participants are likely to be in a better position to provide a more accurate, truthful or honest interpretation than the researcher. In this situation Denzin (1997) reminds us that there are

'no stories out there waiting to be told and no certain truths waiting to be recorded; there are only stories yet to be constructed' (p267).

To address the transferability of the research findings to other contexts, Lincoln and Guba (1995) suggest that it is the researcher's responsibility to ensure that sufficient contextual information about the fieldwork sites is provided to enable the reader to make such a transfer. Therefore I am providing the following information:

1. The number of participants taking part in the study and where they are based;

There were seventeen participants: five grandmothers, four mothers (as Anayet's mother did not participate), five children (three boys and two girls) and three teachers (one teacher taught two of the children). From this, only fourteen participants continued with the study. Anayet's family did not continue with the research as I explain later in the chapter. This also explains why data for one of the teachers was not included. Anayet, Habib and Samiha's families were based in Tower Hamlets. Tahmid and Aminah's families lived in Hackney and Redbridge respectively. However all the children attended schools in Tower Hamlets. Aminah and Samiha were aged eight when I first visited them and Habib was aged six when I first visited him. The details are also discussed later in this chapter.

2. Any restrictions in the type of people who contributed data;

The participants were all Bangladeshi as this was the community within which I wanted to conduct my research. Also, I limited the grandparents and parents to being grandmothers and mothers as within the Bangladeshi community it would enable me to ensure easier access due to cultural and faith practices as mentioned previously.

3. The data collection methods that were employed;

- Questionnaires
- Participant observation
- Interviews

4. The number and length of the data collection sessions and the time period over which the data was collected. This information can be seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1 Data collection sessions, length of recordings and date

(M = mother GM = grandmother T = teacher Ta = Tahmid S = Samiha
A = Aminah H = Habib)

	Interviews	Video recordings
Tahmid's Family (Pilot Family)	M 21:15mins GM 16:36mins Data collected in Sept 05	M/Ta 15mins GM/Ta 22 :37mins Data collected in Sept 05
Samaha's Family	T 24:32mins* Data collected in Feb 06 M 32:40mins Data collected in April 06 GM 22:19mins Data collected in Feb 07	M/S 11:36mins Data collected in May 06 T/S 32:52mins Data collected in June 06 GM/S 1:36mins Data collected in Sept 07
Aminah's Family	GM 26mins Data collected in Feb 06 T 24:32mins Data collected in Feb 06 M 26:57mins Data collected in Aug 06	T/A 29:13mins Data collected in Feb 06 M/A 15:48mins Data collected in Aug 06 GM/A 15:58mins Data collected in Aug 06
Habib's Family	M 25mins Data collected in March 11 GM 28:25mins Data collected in April 11 T 21:36mins Data collected in Nov 11	M/H 15 :29mins Data collected in June 11 GM/H 8 :28mins Data collected in June 11 T/H 40 :56mins Data collected in Dec 11

*Hasna did one interview as she was the teacher for both Aminah and Samiha

My own situation as a long-term resident in the borough shaped the methodology of the study. I understood the challenges of the dual role of researcher and community member. I took extensive precautions to ensure that the balance between my personal/professional networks and my researcher role albeit as an insider were maintained. When discussing access to the families and school some of the struggles I faced being an insider are highlighted below.

5.5 The Families

5.5.1 Samiha's Family

Samiha at the time of data collection was an eight-year-old British-born Bangladeshi girl in Year 3 at the school. She lived in Wapping with her grandparents, uncles, aunts, first cousins and parents all in the same house. She had a younger sister. She was also a participant in Kenner et al's (2004) project; hence I knew her mother and paternal grandparents. For my research I wanted to involve her with her mother and maternal grandmother so access to a new setting was required and my contact was through her mother Shamima. Within a week Shamima gave a date and time for when I could make my initial visit. As the researcher I viewed my knowledge of the community and friendship with Shamima as an advantage. Living in the same borough, playing an active role in the community and being a member of numerous committees, I was a researcher on the inside and realised very quickly, that Shamima and I had many mutual friends. A further benefit was being introduced by Shamima to the grandmother, Rekha, whom I did not know. Hence she felt comfortable in suggesting that the visit should take place at her younger sister's house. This avoided the added complexity of disturbing her brother's wife with whom Rekha lived.

My first visit was a comfortable one facilitated by their hospitality. From the moment I was introduced to Rekha she referred to me as '*ma*' meaning mother in Bengali. This is an endearing cultural term parents use to address their daughters and I was immediately accepted as one by her. I in turn referred to her as '*khala*' (maternal aunt) as is the Asian custom when addressing elder women within the community. Everyone including Samiha asked me many questions about my research. How would this be any different to the previous project? What would I do with the material? Yet, despite my insider perspective, at times with no prior knowledge or warning, questions I asked despite good intentions hit on issues that Shamima or her mother did not wish to deal with or discuss. From this experience I realised I would need to make a major effort to understand the needs of the participants and to recognise the potential for subjectivity and bias when conducting the interviews and research tasks. I therefore put off the formalities of carrying out any recorded interview or video activity on this occasion. After all the questions were answered, we agreed on further visits.

On the morning of what was supposed to be my first observation I had to reschedule it due to Rekha being unwell. After a week she was still unwell and my feelings of desperation returned as I was informed by Shamima that Rekha would be flying out to Bangladesh that week for a few months and return in the summer. The familiarity between me and Shamima ran the risk of creating expectations and preconceived ideas as we were women in a small community. This became our common and overriding bond of 'cultural likeness' as expressed by Gluck (1984, p227). Although Gluck referred to the interview process, here I expected this to work in gaining access. However, I was expected to understand and acknowledge the difficulties of a grandmother/mother who had to maintain responsibilities between family members here and in Bangladesh.

When no news was forthcoming towards the end of the summer term of 2006, I decided to contact Shamima and to my dismay I was informed her mother had decided to stay in Bangladesh a little longer. We then decided that I would carry out the part of the research which involved her and Samiha. Rekha returned to the UK after a year and a half in February 2007 with the intention of staying only for a couple of weeks. Both Shamima and I tried to get a slot in her very busy schedule of seeing family and preparing to leave again for Bangladesh. With a lot of difficulty I went to Rekha's house late one evening. On my arrival it became very obvious that I could not carry out any videoing and in this instance my desire to be an outsider was intense as I felt that, had I in fact been an outsider, an effort would have been made by Shamima and Rekha to accommodate me as a formal researcher to conduct the activities. However, I later realised that the benefits of being an insider were greater as I blended into the scene, was not particularly noticed and, hence, was able to sit and soak in the environment and observe the family dynamics, as can be seen from the following extract from my field notes.

'Every time I go to Samiha's nani's house I feel as though I am at my mum's. There are always people around and unexpected guests arrive unannounced. However, nothing seems to faze the family and they are always prepared with homemade delicacies to serve the guests. This was the third attempt at interviewing Samiha's nani and probably will be my last as she is due to go to Bangladesh for a long holiday tomorrow. I was asked to go along quite late by Samiha's mum as this will avoid people who are coming to see her mum before she leaves. I arrived around 8pm and there were a couple of families still there. Whenever I walk in I always tend to draw attention and khala makes it a point to explain that I am from a university and studying a very important subject and she is helping out. I feel important and it seems to impress the guests every time.'

*Samihā's mum knew my urgency as I explained to her before going, she tried a couple of times to hint to her mother that I needed to interview her, but khala was too engrossed. I sat quietly in the living room amongst all the chat and banter, surrounded by family and guests. The waiting was difficult as I knew I myself had to get home as well! At around 10pm Samihā's mum spoke to khala quietly, took her by the hand and indicated for me to go with them. We looked into all the rooms for a bit of quiet and space but all the rooms were either taken up by children or family members. When Shamima looked a little distressed (as I must have looked very anxious at this stage), khala opened the main door and asked us to follow. She knocked on her neighbour's door and asked if we could borrow a room. The young mother with three young children peering out from behind her didn't seem at all surprised or disturbed and let us all in. We were taken to the living room. khala explained to the lady that I had to conduct an important interview, and seeing the surprise on my face explained to me that these were all her adopted daughter-in-laws and for me not to worry "tumi mind khorio na, tumi tho buzo amrar manush, amrar tho kutum, shomaz very important, tomar dorjor lagi donnobadh **you don't mind, you understand our people, our relatives, community very important, thank you for your patience**". Even though I was feeling guilty for inconveniencing the family, I grabbed my chance at being able to carry out the interview at last!' (Fieldnotes, 2007)*

There was a very long break where no contact was made between Shamima and me. Finally, after what seemed to be a few very long months, Rekha returned from Bangladesh at the beginning of September 2007. After several attempts I was able to carry out the remaining research activities involving Rekha and Samihā at Shamima's sister's house. This required organising further visits.

5.5.2 Aminah's Family

Aminah and Samiha were in the same class at School A which made them an interesting pair as they had the same class teacher. I was interested in this pair as I wanted to see the teacher's perspective on these two children's family dynamics and their learning encounters.

Aminah at the time of data collection was an eight year old British-born Bangladeshi girl in Year 3 at the school. She did not live in the borough and was brought to school every day by one of her parents who worked in the locality of the school. Aminah lived within a mile of her paternal grandparents and within ten miles of her maternal grandmother. I had known her mother Layla for a few years through the voluntary community organization of which we were both members, as was Aminah's father. Aminah was not chosen on that basis, of course, but because knowing the parents enabled easy access to the participants. Layla was very interested in the research and was very keen to be involved, but she had apprehensions about her mother, Panna, as she was not in very good health. Layla suggested that I visit her mother as a friend and build up my own relationship with her. Layla would pick me up and take me to her mother's where on the first four visits I tried to spend time with Panna. She liked to sit in the garden and talk about the struggles of raising her children and the difficulties of life. By the end of each visit I felt I was betraying her trust as she saw me as a daughter, a friend of her daughter, yet I was weaning my way in so I could ask her to be involved in my research as a participant. This did not sit easy on my conscience and I felt as though I was taking advantage of her. Consequently I decided that the next time I visited Panna with Layla I would try to speak to Panna about the research, which brought up major issues:

'Today I realised and appreciated the issues of trust and questioned my role within research. I went to visit Layla's mum again today and my intention was to talk to her about my research in general and to see her reaction. I felt confident all will be well as Layla kept telling me how much her mum liked me. But I think I've ruined any chances of her participating as she reacted very badly. When I started speaking to her she tensed up and started looking at me with piercing eyes and furrowed brows. She stopped me and said she did not want to hear any more from me!! She shouted that I had used her daughter to get to her and I had abused her trust and goodwill. She has spoken about many things which was why I wanted to speak to her about my research. I didn't want to continue under the 'guise' of Layla's friend any longer than necessary as I was also keen to start the research. But my good intentions were crushed as she accused me of being a 'plant' and a 'spy'. This could only be possible because I was not from Sylhet! Layla was embarrassed and taken aback by her mum's reaction, she tried to explain to her mum but it was no use. I left with a heavy heart and saddened by what had happened today. I feel being an 'insider' had many layers; it's like a ripple with 'insider' being the outermost circle. Here today I realised it didn't matter that I was from Bangladesh; that only allowed certain access along with being a female but when it came to research it really mattered where exactly I came from in Bangladesh.' (Fieldnotes, 2006)

This experience was a steep learning curve for me as a researcher. Since I shared the social world of the research participants I thought there was less likelihood of me experiencing any 'culture shock or disorientation' (Hockey, 1993, p119). The expectation I had was that the context would be understood and appreciated in a way not open to an outsider researcher. Insights and sensitivity to things both said and unsaid and to the culture(s) operating at the time of the research were all

potentially available to me. As an insider researcher being a member of the 'in-group', I felt I had an understanding of the community's history and present context. I was a part of their intricate norms of interactions and their shared language as well as being conscious of the hierarchical position of members within the group. I therefore felt I could use these 'recipes' as short cuts to interpret situations and to respond in a fashion seen by the in-group to be a natural progression (Schutz, 1976).

However, Hockey (1993) cautions us against insider researchers' presumptions that their 'partialness' of knowledge reflects the full picture of the researched location. 'Overfamiliarity' and 'taken-for-granted assumptions' are further pitfalls to be avoided. Robson (2002) similarly warns the insider researcher against 'preconceptions about issues and solutions' (p535). Needless to say there is also the parallel problem of the research participants presuming the insider researcher knows more than s/he does leading to the research participant not sharing certain information or material with the assumption that the researcher may already be aware of or know it.

Whilst I needed to be cautious about such assumptions I did feel I had the benefit of having 'knowledge of trustworthy recipes for interpreting the social world' (Schutz, 1976, p103), in which I was placed as a member. The attraction of such an approach is understandable for, as Senge (1998) comments, there is comfort in the application of 'familiar solutions to problems, sticking to what we know best' (p61). However, the clear danger of this attitude is that the insider researcher will approach situations with assumptions and preconceptions applicable to the home group. Such an approach will not enable the researcher to achieve insights and

effect change since thinking in the expected way will only perpetuate the status quo.

The issue of objectivity is a challenging one for researchers since, regardless of how much one seeks to claim to be non-partisan and objective, preconceptions and stereotypical responses will come into play. Bell (1993) comments that it is an 'impossible goal' to seek objectivity but the researcher must nonetheless strive to attain it. Fontana and Frey (1994, p367) on the other hand appear to hold to the research culture, which reveres objectivity and holds that

'...establishing close rapport may create problems for the research as the researcher may lose his or her distance and objectivity, over-identify with the individual or group under study, and 'forgo the academic role.' (quoted in Hubbard et al, 2001, p120)

Layla and I exercised our knowledge of 'trustworthy recipe' to repair my relationship with Panna. I set up a formal meeting with Panna through Layla to explain myself but more importantly to seek Panna's forgiveness. This opened the doors again for me to start my research and it took me a further four visits to complete the activities with the participants. Throughout the following visits I was able to maintain being an insider with an academic role.

5.5.3 Anayet's Family

Anayet was six years old and attended School A. He was also part of the grandparents' research project and his maternal grandmother was also involved. His mother Jharna was a nursery nurse in the Early Years section of the same school. Anayet lived very near to his grandmother, Mayarun. I assumed the family would be ideal from the perspective of gaining access, as I already had an established relationship with all the participants. However, overall difficulties arose around suitable timings. Although we arranged dates, the visits did not materialize

due to various reasons. It was important for me to have the mother there in my study as she was to be a participant. After some time I decided to take the step and contact Mayarun directly and we arranged to meet and I managed to collect data involving Anayet and his grandmother. However, after several attempts at trying to contact Jharna, I decided that Jharna would not be possible and searched for another family instead. This also meant that the data collected for Debbie, Anayet's teacher, would also not be used.

5.5.4 Habib's Family

I had known Habib's mother and grandmother for many years through the community activities we were involved in. Habib at the time of data collection was a six-year-old, British-born Bangladeshi boy in Year 2 at School A. He was the eldest child with two younger siblings. His mother was a primary school teacher and the grandmother had a lot of the childcare duties while the mother was at work. She spent a considerable amount of time at their home. It was not difficult for me to persuade the family to be involved in the study as they were already aware of my PhD. I was not able to include Habib when I started the study in 2005 as he did not fall into the age category and did not attend the school. However, by 2011 he was not only ready but very excited at being part of the study.

Even though I was familiar with the family, I felt the need to establish my relationship with them as a researcher and explain to them the purpose of and their role in the study.

5.5.5 The Teachers

I was well acquainted with the location of the school; its ethos, culture, systems and formal structures. In fact I was a participant within this culture as a parent and a researcher and, as Richardson (1990) comments

'Participation in a culture includes participation in the narratives of that culture, a general understanding of the stock of meanings and their relationships to each other' (p24).

Hence I was able to short-cut much of the mutual familiarisation phase necessary and establish a research relationship (Miller & Glassner, 1997). I knew and was known to the staff and to some but not all of the children. Such a position was a privileged one which Collins (1990, p232) would argue is essential

'...in order to make legitimate knowledge claims, researchers should have lived or experienced their material in some fashion' (quoted in Miller & Glassner, 1997, p105).

The fieldnote extract below captures my access to the school and the teachers.

'I quickly realised that my knowledge of the location and the research participants was just that - 'my knowledge'. I had naively presumed such knowledge was shared and that the reality, which I inhabited, was the same for the participants. This realization helped me to design my approach in such a way that would take into consideration the context in which the participants would be operating. As the school was hierarchical in nature I needed to maintain the channel of authority. My initial contact was with the head teacher to seek his permission for me to carry out my personal research in his school. I was asked to send him a proposal and an indication of what I expected from the teachers as well as the time frame for my involvement with the teachers. With my partial insider awareness of the internal politics of the school I had to accept that the head teacher with his power would enable me to gain access to the teachers whom I knew well. Such insider knowledge enabled me to set up a meeting with Hasna and Debbie, the two class teachers of the participant children, to see the best way forward. I entered the research arena believing that I had, through my privileged access to the participants and through our shared experience of the

previous project, the opportunity to explore my role within their classrooms and the collection of required data.' (Fieldnotes, 2006)

I had known and had interaction with Debbie through the previous research project as she was the early years' co-ordinator. During my research her role had changed to a more senior role within the school along with being the class teacher for Anayet in Year 2. Hasna was the class teacher for Year 4 with Samiha and Aminah being students in her class. They proposed that I spend at least a couple of sessions a week in their classrooms for the first few months, getting to know their ways of teaching and their interactions with the children. I was pleased to hear this as I myself wanted this opportunity. In the winter term of 2006 I began to go into both the classes twice a week for half a day each. I would spend the morning in one class and then move into the other in the afternoon, and on the next visit I would swap the half days so as to get a feel for the mornings and afternoons in each class. This continued for two terms and in the final summer term of the year I undertook my audio and video recordings of the activities with the children and their teachers. Once I decided I could not continue with Anayet's family in 2011 due to the mother's unavailability, I started working with Jade who was Habib's class teacher in Year 2.

5.6 Summary

This chapter aimed to give an insight into the journey of my search for the families and the struggles during that path. I also wanted to introduce the task that the participants took part in, setting up a context for the main study. In Chapter 6 I look at the methods I selected and the reasons why I chose them to collect the data.

Chapter 6: Chosen Methods

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the methods I chose to collect data for my main study. They are discussed in detail backed up by previous studies that have used these methods successfully.

The first study I would like to discuss which used an ethnographic approach was the study conducted by Kenner et al (2004). I was a co-researcher in the study investigating the learning between three to six-year-old children and their grandparents in Sylheti/Bengali-speaking families of Bangladeshi origin and monolingual English-speaking families. In most instances we attempted to obtain accurate information by maximising contact with the participants we were studying by spending time in their midst (Firth, 1965; p3, as cited in Duranti, 1997; p91). This extended contact helped us to build rapport with the participants and minimized the power relationships. In such a context Firth (1965) also advised that the indigenous language should be used 'to avoid misconceptions of an interpreter' (p3).

This study was a qualitative study for it was not about testing children or looking at the frequency of grandparent-grandchild interaction. We as researchers spent an ample amount of time within the school setting, building familiarity with the families and our relationships with the children. Where necessary we were able to use Bengali with the Bangladeshi families as both researchers were bilingual. The research involved an initial survey that was conducted at the primary school on learning at home with grandparents. This was followed by ethnographic case studies of nine families through interviews, scrapbooks and video recordings of

everyday learning interactions between grandparents and grandchildren within their homes. The interviews and scrapbooks helped to create a layering of narratives about each participant and the grandparent-grandchild dyad. The narratives enabled us to understand the grandparent/grandchild learning interactions in more depth (Kenner et al, 2007). As my study was very similar in nature I used some of the same methods.

Angelillo, Rogoff, and Chavajay (2007) described an approach to investigating patterns of shared engagement that combines qualitative and quantitative methods. The core of the process involved close ethnographic analysis of a few cases in order to build up a coding scheme that was based on the observed phenomena and that could then be applied to multiple cases. They illustrated this approach in their study which focused on cultural variations in mothers' and toddlers' contributions to understanding novel objects across four culturally distinct communities. The research team approached their analyses having in mind the kinds of interactions that might differ across the four cultural groups, for example the relative reliance on words versus non-verbal demonstration. However, as is the case with many video studies, the interactions caught on video led to the discovery of new phenomena, such as differences in ways the mothers from different cultures motivated engagement.

The descriptive accounts from the research carried out by Angelillo, Rogoff, and Chavajay (2007) were used to help the rest of the research team visualize the sequence of interactions and to capture the purposes and functions of action and dialogue. For example, in a study that investigated patterns of joint activity between Guatemalan Mayan mothers and children completing puzzles, the researchers' goal was to categorize patterns of joint attention, mutual orientation,

and ways of distributing work. This study again helped me to visualize what I needed to be aware of when analyzing my own video data. All three aspects mentioned above (joint attention, mutual orientation and ways of distributing work) were observed when I categorised my own data.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, I used the transcripts to carry out an analysis of the verbal and non-verbal interactions. As Jordan and Henderson (1995) indicate, initial transcripts help a researcher flesh out from field notes and interview data what occurred in a particular segment of video in order to decide whether and how to pursue the analysis. Hammersley (2010) suggested that using actual transcriptions is a more rigorous type of evidence than field notes as it provides a more accurate representation of what happened as well as capturing the description of behaviours. In later stages of research (e.g. Engle, Conant & Greeno, 2007; Mischler, 1991) transcripts are iteratively revised while analyses of the videotapes proceed. This continues until the transcripts eventually provide a reliable record of what the researchers view as the most relevant aspects, which, Bailey (2008) argues is not a straightforward and simple task as it involves judgement questions about the level of detail to include. Through this process, transcripts become key data that can be used directly for additional coding, interpretation, or creation of other analytical representations. However, when research is written up, transcripts must be edited to illustrate a study's analyses or findings (e.g., Du Bois et al., 1993). My prediction was that it would take a few attempts before my transcripts could be used for analysis, which it did, and I have included a sample in Appendix VII.

6.2 Specific Methods Chosen and Why

The experience of being a researcher and reading other studies in the field provided me with an insight into the qualitative methods I could use and build on in my own research. I felt it was very important for the research to take place in the community as well as within the school in order to gain a greater understanding of the children's interactions within the family and the school. These methods were useful for me as little is known about the phenomena I am studying, and Strauss and Corbin (1990) point out that

‘some areas of research naturally lend themselves more to qualitative types of research, for instance, research that attempts to uncover the nature of a person's experiences...or to uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomena about which little is known’ (p19).

People's words and actions represent the data of qualitative inquiry and the following methods allowed me as a researcher to capture the language and behaviour within the interactions.

- Questionnaires
- Participant observations
- Interviewing
- Life histories

These methods enabled me to address the research sub-questions, as shown in Table 2

Table 2 Ways in which research methods address research sub-questions

(P=Parent GP=Grandparent T=Teacher)

	Observation (Classroom & at home)	Interview (P/GP/T)	Video Child with (P/GP/T)	Questionnaires
What parenting skills did the grandmothers/parents adopt/discard from their own parents in order to contribute to the learning experiences of their own children?		✓		
In what ways are the learning interactions of the child with the grandmothers different to that of the child with his/her parents and teachers?	✓	✓	✓	✓
Are the teachers aware of the knowledge children are bringing from their grandmothers and parents and how is this incorporated in the child's learning at school?		✓	✓	

6.2.1 Questionnaires

The questionnaire (Appendix I) I decided to use for my study was the one used in Kenner et al's (2004) research study on intergenerational learning between grandparents and their grandchildren. The aim of the questionnaire was to gather the following data:

- How close the grandparents and grandchildren lived to each other
- Activities grandparents did with their grandchildren (there is a list of 19 activities mentioned on the questionnaire)
- Languages used

- Their favourite activity
- What the participants learn from each other

After gaining access to the families that were to become part of my study I conducted the questionnaires with the grandmothers in person. This was one of the first tasks I conducted with the families. The personal administration allowed me the opportunity to establish rapport, build trust, motivate respondents, clarify questions, read non-verbal cues and probe appropriately. It was chosen over letting the grandmothers do the questionnaire on their own, as this would have produced fewer responses from the questions asked due to the limited literacy skills on the part of the grandmothers as well as the need for explanations. Also, it was more appropriate as, in the Bangladeshi community, face-to-face communication is usually better received than written communication.

6.2.2 Participant Observations

The tradition of participant observation is distinct from the tradition of the positivist approach. Where a positivist approach employs questionnaires and surveys assuming this will provide knowledge of what is important, participant observation makes no such assumptions. Participant observation takes on an inductive approach rather than a deductive one. According to Dutta (2008) there are three positive aspects of participant observation:

- It is least likely to lead researchers to impose their own reality on the social world
- It seeks to understand action with respect to how and why practices and relations change
- Observers record their own experiences in order to understand the cultural universe which their researched subjects occupy (subjective experiences)

and convey these observations to a wide audience (from field-notes) within the (theoretical) context of explaining their data

I used the method of participant observation following the 'naturalist' tradition which is a combination of pragmatism (researchers do not impose their own reality on the social world they seek to understand) and formalism (concerned with the way social and cultural forms of life emerge) where, according to the Chicago School (Dutta, 2008), their social world should be observed from the perspective of the people being studied in the context of the natural environment and undisturbed by the researcher. Primarily, my aim, as Bryman (1988) states, was to see through the eyes of the participants. And Quicke (1994) remarks

'One enters the social world of persons and groups being studied in an attempt to understand their shared meanings and taken for granted assumptions. There are varying degrees of participation from total immersion, as when one is a full participant who is an observer, to a more marginal position when one is essentially an observer who occasionally participates' (p2).

Here, I want to look at one such model suggested by Junkers (1960) and Gold (1958) (cited in Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, p93), where they suggest four roles of field research when they took part in participant observation:

- 'Complete participant': the researcher attempts to engage fully in the activities. Their role being covert (hidden) for their intentions are not made explicit. Among its advantages, it is agreed to produce more accurate information and an understanding not available by other means.
- 'Participant as observer': the researcher adopts an overt (open) role and makes their presence and intentions known to the group.
- 'Observer as participant': the researcher moves away from the idea of participation. This usually involves one-visit interviews and calls for

relatively more formal observation than either informal observation or participation.

- 'Complete observer': the researcher is uninvolved and detached and merely passively records behaviour at a distance

My role as a researcher fitted between the two extremes of being a complete participant and the complete observer. I had to make decisions depending on the context and environment, having to weigh up the pros and cons of whether taking on a familiar or known role in the situation would provide me with the opportunity to gain useful material, or whether it would act to limit the usefulness of the material. When I was in the classroom, despite the teachers knowing of my role as a researcher, the children generally were unaware of any research taking place and I was seen as a helper in the classroom. This was done deliberately and in consultation with the teachers as I did not want to affect the behaviour of the children in the class in any way and not all the children were involved in the study. This enabled the children that were part of the study to be as relaxed as possible.

When I visited the families in their homes there was some familiarity due to shared backgrounds and certain understandings as well as some connections through my community involvement. I felt I could have become a 'complete participant' as it would have allowed me to get a sense of how insiders experience situations. However, I felt at the same time that there was the danger that I simply could have become part of the situation. By getting too close there was the potential of losing focus and therefore there were times I learnt to stand back from situations to try and keep some distance between myself and the participants. This was necessary in order that I could have space to think about the situation. Yet, at the same time, I was also conscious that distance experienced at times may have hindered my

ability to act and collect intimate data. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) put it well with respect to research

'There must always remain some part held back, some social and intellectual 'distance'. For it is in the space created by this distance that the analytical work of the ethnographer gets done. Without that distance, without such analytical space, the ethnography can be little more than the autobiographical account of a personal conversation' (p103).

My experience of participant observation did not simply entail lingering around. To become part of the school and the home scene and participate in them required me to be accepted to some degree. In negotiating access to the school I was aware of power relations within the setting. Initial reactions from the teachers indicated a sense of personal discomfort where they felt they were being watched, observed and assessed. Rather than seeing this negatively it helped me a great deal to understand the concerns of the teachers, and this difficulty was overcome by my offer to help during the time I was in the classroom and explaining to the teachers the reasons for my presence, and soon enough the teachers and the children became accustomed to it.

The observations were made with me sometimes just sitting in the classrooms and the homes, letting things happen around me. I would only take field notes on site if I felt that it would not jeopardise any interaction between the participants. On most occasions the field notes were recorded in an electronic journal after the event when I came home. I carried a small note book with me on every visit and whenever an opportunity arose I would try to jot down the key points as I was always fearful of forgetting little events. These would help as triggers when I wrote up extended notes on the visits.

The aims of the observations in the classrooms were manifold: gaining insight into children's behaviour around each other, the teachers, myself, and teaching

assistants, and the attitudes of the teachers and the students to the perceptions of themselves as educators and learners. I tried to focus on teaching styles, the learning opportunities offered by the teachers and the children's engagement in the tasks, as well as the opportunities created for the children to share experiences from outside the school within their classrooms. Within the homes I again aimed to observe the nature of interactions between the adults and the children and the attitudes to learning within the family environment.

Participant observation has been used by Malinowski (1961) in his study of the Trobrianders, where his work was distinguished from earlier forms of field work in that it included an emphasis on everyday interactions and observations rather than on using directed inquiries into specific behaviours. One of the main advantages of participant observation is its flexibility. Fieldwork is a continual process of reflection and alteration and it permits researchers to witness people's actions in different settings and routinely ask themselves a numbers of questions concerning motivations, beliefs and actions. In addition, participant observation often employs the unstructured interview as a routine part of its practice. These two methods are compatible; observation guides researchers to some of the important questions they want to ask the respondent, and interviewing helps to interpret the significance of what researchers are observing.

6.2.3 Interviewing

The interview was one of the major sources of data collection, where the main task was to understand the meaning of what the interviewees said. According to Mishler (1986), particular features reflected the distinctive structure and aims of interviewing, namely that it was discourse shaped and organized by asking and answering questions. The interviews were a joint product of what the interviewees

and I talked about together and how we talked with each other. Silverman (2005) stated

'the aim of (people's account) is to generate data which give an authentic insight into people's experiences' (p87).

Similarly Kvale (1996) expressed that the qualitative-research interview seeks to describe the meanings of central themes in the life world of the subjects.

I decided to use qualitative interviewing as a method following Mason's (2002) suggestion that from my ontological position, people's knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences and interactions are meaningful properties of the social reality which my research questions were designed to explore. Qualitative interviewing was also a legitimate way to generate data by interacting with people, talking to them, listening to them and gaining access to their accounts and articulations. I felt the information I required would not feasibly be available in any other form and I used qualitative interviewing as just one of several methods to explore my research questions, hopefully to generate a fairer and fuller representation of the interviewee's perspectives. There is also a difference in the setting within which interviews take place. It becomes a very daunting experience if there is a formal setting with recording equipment visibly present. I tried to avoid this as much as possible as the recording device I used was relatively small and it was possible for me to make it discreet by placing it on a side table or keeping it in the palm of my hand. Of course, despite these measures, the participants were always aware that they were being recorded.

Interviews can be structured, semi structured or unstructured. I decided to carry out semi-structured interviews as it gave flexibility and a sense of ownership to the adults and enabled me to probe and expand the responses to achieve the depth I desired (Cohen et al; 2000). Although a set number of questions were

predetermined and asked in accordance with an interview schedule (Appendix II III & V), a flexible, informal conversational approach was adopted which made the situation more comfortable for the interviewee. Also, the sequence of the questions was modified if, for instance, the interviewee answered a question that appeared later in the schedule and, similarly, if the wording was changed to enable the interviewee to understand the question more easily or to elaborate on an answer.

As a qualitative interviewer I tried to be interactive and sensitive to the language and concepts I used and tried to keep the agenda flexible. My aim was to go below the surface of the topic being discussed and explore what the participants said in as much detail as possible. Patton (1987) said that

‘Good questions in qualitative interviews should be open ended, neutral, sensitive, and clear to the interviewee. It is usually best to start with questions that the interviewee can answer easily and then proceed to more difficult or sensitive topics’ (p108-43).

In the case of the interview schedule for mothers and grandmothers (Appendix II & III), questions were constructed so as to explore similar issues, but were slightly different in each case to cope with the diversity of contexts. The interviews with the teachers (Appendix V) took place at school during lunch and play breaks. The interview with the families took place in their homes. With the teachers, time was very limited with regards to when I could interview them as it involved them being away from their classes. Due to this limiting factor and to allow flexibility and ownership I gave the list of questions to the teachers beforehand. Following the advice of Firth (1965) who suggested that

‘the indigenous languages should be used to avoid misconstructions of an interpreter’ (p3)

I conducted the interviews in Bengali with the grandmothers and in English with the mothers and teachers.

Although the direct interaction of the interview has its advantages, Cohen et al (2000) point out that a disadvantage is that it is 'prone to subjectivity and bias on the part of the interviewer' (p269). For the researcher the pressure to develop an interview schedule, conduct the interviews, record and analyze them are great and often time consuming. King (1994, p23) also identifies 'data overload' as another perceived disadvantage as interviews can often generate a great deal of data which in turn can be overwhelming for the researcher. Cohen et al (2000) state that as the interviewer is prone to bias and subjectivity, s/he needs to ensure that appropriate measures such as triangulation and respondent validation are in place in the interview process to guard against these problems. I dealt with these issues by allowing the participants the choice of listen to their recorded interviews. They then had the opportunity to clarify certain responses and give me their permission to use the interview data.

6.2.4 Video and Audio Recording

Video is an important tool that enhances various methodologies, including ethnography, discourse analysis and interaction analysis. Video recordings are increasingly being used as primary field materials that are later treated as 'data' for particular research questions (Erickson, 1982; 1986; 2006).

Video studies have made important contributions to our understanding of intergenerational interactions and learning (Angelillo, Rogoff, and Chavajay, 2007; Lewis & Roseblum, 1974; Kenner et al, 2004; Burns and Radford, 2008). Video recordings can be rich with interactional phenomena, including eye gaze, body posture, content of talk, tone of voice, facial expressions and use of physical artefacts, as well as between-person processes such as the alignment and maintenance of joint attention (Barron, 2003). Video as well as audio recording

also provided me with denser linguistic information than field note-taking as it allowed me to record every word. When taking field notes, I was limited to writing down simply the gist of what the participants said, or recording only brief interactions consisting of a few short utterances because of constraints on time and memory and my writing was slower than the speed of the participants' speech (Beebe and Takahashi, 1989). Another advantage of video recording was permanence (Grimshaw, 1982a), which enabled me to experience an event repeatedly by playing it back. With each repeated viewing, I was able to change my focus somewhat and see things I had not seen at the time of taping or in previous viewings (Erickson, 1982, 1992; Fetterman, 1998). Replaying the event also gave me the opportunity to contemplate, deliberate, and ponder upon the data before drawing conclusions, and hence prevented me from premature interpretation of the data.

One of many advantages of video recordings as a source of data was that I was able to view them many times in different ways, with different people. In the early stages of analysis, before interpretations of events became fixed in my mind, I found it quite helpful to share a key video segment along with the transcripts with my supervisor to gather other possible interpretations of the events and to brainstorm potential issues to investigate further (Jordan & Henderson, 1995). I was able to view the video segment as many times as was required to look for data consistent or inconsistent with initial hunches. Watching the videotape at a speed that was slower or faster than normal or only listening to the audio or watching the video without audio also helped focus my attention on particular aspects of interest (Erickson, 1982). Finally, it sometimes helped to have the participants watch the video in my presence to provide their interpretations of what was going on, and this involvement was obtained as soon as possible after

recording and without asking leading questions (Ericsson & Simon, 1980). However, this observation technique was not able to provide me with any insights into what the individuals were thinking or what motivated a given behaviour or comment. It only helped to get the participants to recall and describe their thoughts, feelings and reactions at different points in time during a given event, thus giving me information about the unobservable. Although this was not always feasible in my study, I did manage to carry this process out on a couple of occasions.

I was interested in videotaping whole events in order to have a better sense of what the event consisted of to be able to better interpret later utterances in relationship to what had been said before, and to observe the interactions throughout the entire event. To be less obtrusive, I tried to position the video camera at some distance from the participants but was often limited in my options. For example, in one interaction, I video recorded the grandmother and grandson doing the puzzle on the bed of a very small bedroom. I only managed to get a side view and it was quite difficult to get them all in the shot at the same time. In order to keep the interaction naturalistic, I made every effort not to manipulate the setting in any way. I was at times concerned with how the people being videotaped felt and did not want to be too intrusive.

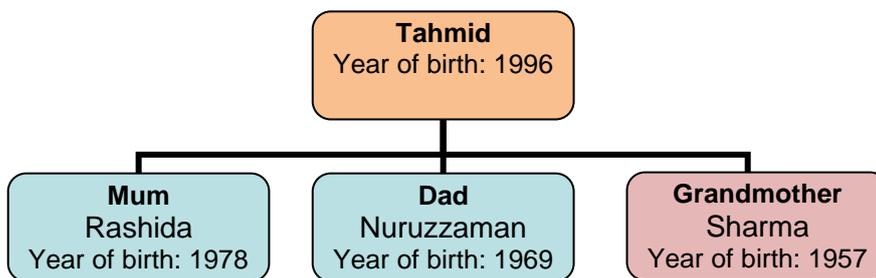
6.3 Summary

The methods I chose to use to collect data were effective and appropriate for my study. Although all the methods had their shortcomings as discussed in this chapter, I believe that the advantages worked in my favour and far outweighed the disadvantages. As I was aware of the pitfalls, it allowed me to use greater caution when I used the different methods. The next three chapters are the analysis of my

data starting with the outer layer in Chapter 7, which provides the context of the families.

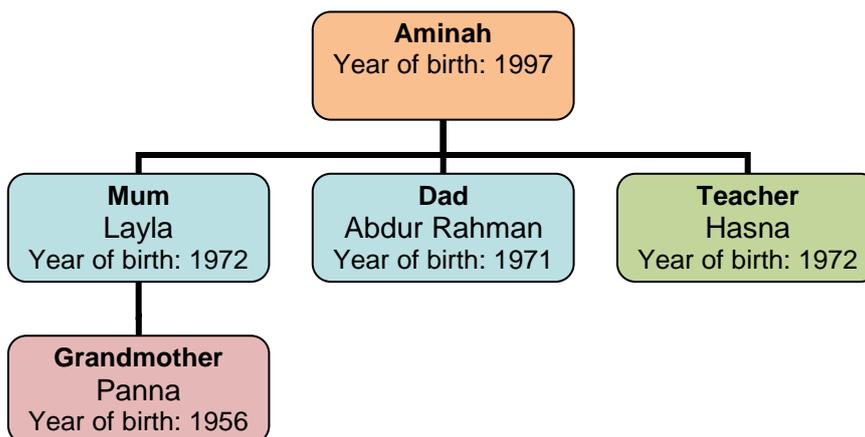
The following are tree diagrams of the participants and their details, also the pages on which more detail can be found about them providing a roadmap of the families and teachers through the thesis.

Fig. 1 Tahmid – Tree of participants



Tahmid and family – P33

Fig. 2 Aminah – Tree of participants



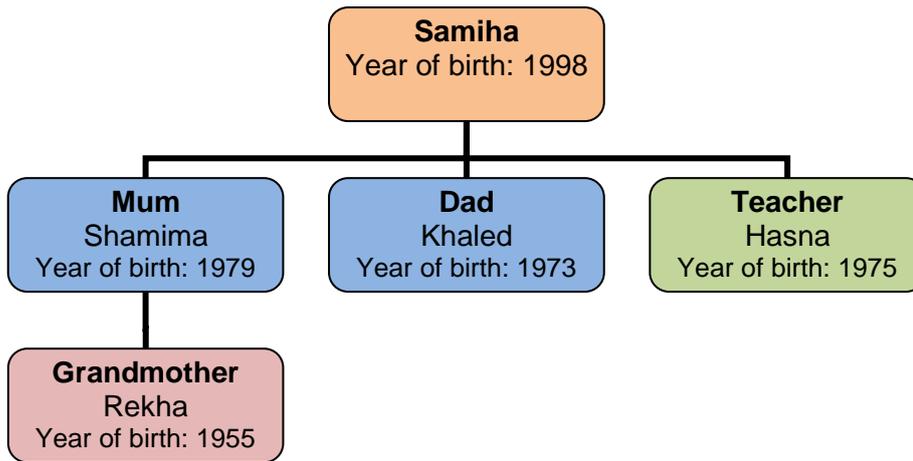
Aminah and family – P134

Panna – p165

Layla – p170

Hasna – p193

Fig. 3 Samiha – Tree of participants



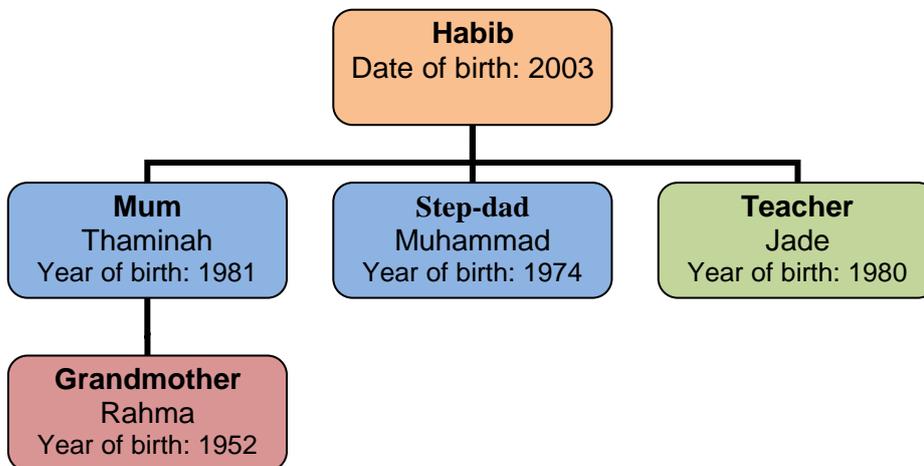
Samiha and family – P127

Rekha – p175

Shamima – p181

Hasna – p193

Fig. 4 Habib – Tree of participants



Habib and family – P138

Rahma - p185

Thaminah – p189

Jade – p193

Chapter 7: Analysis - Family Contexts

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is the outer ethnographic layer of the analysis using the questionnaires, interviews and field notes from home visits. I explored the journey the grandmothers had taken in raising their children in a new country, how they themselves were raised, and their relationships with their own grandparents as well as investigating their understanding of the relationship they now have with their own grandchildren. For the mothers, the interview explored similar areas and looked at the challenges of being the middle generation. As for the teachers, I describe their life in teaching and their views and experiences in teaching children in inner-city, ethnically-diverse classrooms. In the final section, I summarize briefly the research findings from the questionnaires and interview data contributing to the discussion in Chapter 10.

7.2 Data from Questionnaires

My initial insight into levels and types of interactions between the grandparents and their grandchildren was through completing the questionnaire with them (Appendix I). The questionnaires provided me with information about how close they lived to one another, the activities (out of 19 in total) that the grandmothers and grandchildren engaged in, the languages they used to communicate with each other during the activities, and what they learned from one other.

The questionnaires were completed by myself with the grandparents as one of the initial activities in order for me to build familiarity with them. Thus, for me, it was an act of duty and courtesy, and it enabled me to also explain to them the importance of the research by raising their awareness of the role they played in the lives of

their grandchildren. Culturally it was expected from me that I would write down what they said or expressed, as it is not the custom to ask an elder to do something of this nature from a younger member of the community. Table 3 below is a summary of the activities that the grandmother-grandchild dyad engaged in.

Table 3 Questionnaire summary for grandmother-grandchild dyad (The ticks indicate the main language used)

	Activity	Name of child, grandmother, activities & language used		
		Aminah/Panna	Samaha/Rekha	Habib/Rahma
1.	Shopping	✓Bengali & English	✓Bengali & English	✓Bengali & English
2.	Cooking	✓Bengali & English	✓Bengali	✓Bengali & English
3.	Gardening	✓Bengali & English		✓Bengali
4.	Doing housework with them	✓Bengali & English	✓Bengali & English	✓Bengali & English
5.	Eating out			
6.	Religious activities	✓Bengali, English & Arabic	✓Bengali & Arabic	✓Bengali, English & Arabic
7.	Reading	✓English	✓Bengali	✓Bengali & English
8.	Telling stories	✓Bengali	✓Bengali	✓Bengali
9.	Visiting others	✓Bengali & English	✓Bengali	✓Bengali & English
10.	Talking about members of the family and family history	✓Bengali & English	✓Bengali	✓Bengali
11.	Singing & rhymes together		✓Bengali & English	✓English & Arabic
12.	Doing school work with them	✓Bengali & English		✓Arabic
13.	Computer activities	✓Bengali & English		✓Bengali & English
14.	Watching TV/videos	✓Bengali, English & Hindi	✓Bengali, English & Hindi	✓Bengali & English
15.	Playing	✓Bengali & English	✓Bengali & English	✓Bengali & English
16.	Getting them ready for school			
17.	Taking them to school			✓Bengali & English
18.	Going to the park			✓Bengali & English
19.	Sports			
20.	Other			

From Table 3 above it is evident that the three grandmothers interacted with their grandchildren in Bengali and English during most of the activities. The order of the languages shows how much they were used in each of the activities. In some of the activities Arabic was used, such as religious activities (6), singing & rhymes together (11) and school work (12) which in this case included helping the children with their Quranic class and weekend Islamic School work. When watching TV/videos (19) together there was use of Hindi as both Rekha and Panna liked to watch Hindi films with their grandchildren. Interestingly, none of the grandmothers ate out (5) with their grandchildren and neither were they involved in any sports activities (17) with them. When asked why they did not take part, Panna and Rahma expressed that their health situation would not permit them to run around, and Rekha felt that, although she would like to, it would not be culturally acceptable for a grandmother to be running around. As none of the grandmothers lived with their grandchildren they were not involved in getting the children ready for school (14). Further analysis of the use of different languages is discussed in Chapters 8 and 9. I will now discuss each activity from the questionnaire, with regard to each of the grandmother/grandchild dyads.

All three grandmothers enjoyed taking their grandchildren shopping (1) usually to the local street market to buy toys, cooking utensils and Asian vegetables from the stalls. The children also enjoyed taking part in cooking (2) by helping to peel garlic/ginger and chopping vegetables. Rekha liked to encourage Samiha to help prepare the table before meals. Aminah liked to help her grandmother with weeding her garden (3) and Habib was also very keen to help Rahma on her allotment at the local city farm where they grew lots of Bangladeshi vegetables. As Rekha lived in a flat, this opportunity was not freely available for Samiha.

However, video data from the grandparents project (Kenner et al, 2004) did capture her doing a lot of gardening with her paternal grandmother. Rekha tried to get Aminah to help her around the house (4) doing little jobs. All three grandmothers spent time encouraging their grandchildren to help their parents with their household chores. They advised them and tried to teach them the importance of this as a way of gaining reward from God by pleasing their parents.

Where religious activities were concerned (6) Rekha liked to read the Quran with Samiha and after prayers liked to recite from memory '*surahs*' (chapters from the Quran) and '*duas*' (prayers) with her. Rekha and Samiha sometimes listened to recitations on audio tapes and the TV by different well-known reciters from across the world, and read verses from the Quran together. Habib and Rahma prayed some of their daily prayers together. All the recitation and prayers tended to be in Arabic. Habib attended the mosque with Rahma on most winter weekdays on the way back from school, as Rahma liked to catch the mid-afternoon prayer before going home. All three grandmothers felt it was important to teach their grandchildren Islamic etiquettes of behaviour based on Quranic teachings and from the example of the prophet Muhammad. This usually involved reading related verses and sayings of the Prophet in Arabic and the translation in English followed by discussions in Bengali and English. This enabled them to understand some parts, words and stories of the Quran.

Panna engaged with Aminah in activities which were prompted by Aminah, such as reading English books (7), which she tended to bring from school. Habib also enjoyed reading his school books to Rahma as well as the books he brought from his Saturday Islamic School. Rekha tended to read more Bengali books together with Samiha, and all three grandmothers enjoyed telling their grandchildren stories

(8) from when they were younger and sharing a lot of '*golpos and kichas*' (stories and folk tales). Rahma and Rekha loved sharing stories of their youth and about life in Bangladesh. The children liked to visit (9) their *nani's* (maternal grandmother) friends and family with them. The grandmothers expressed the importance of this as this allowed the children to access the older generation. By being able to listen to the stories shared by these friends of the grandmothers, the children were exposed to Bengali and the cultural practices. Talking about members of the family (10) was a way for the grandmothers to teach their grandchildren about the people who belonged in their extended family, especially those they had not met or seen.

Samiha sometimes sang English nursery rhymes (11) that her grandmother liked to listen to and join in and Bengali nursery rhymes, which Samiha loved to sing together with her grandmother. Habib and his grandmother sang Arabic and English '*nasheeds*' (songs praising God and the prophets) together. Aminah and Habib did school work (12) which involved Panna and Rahma helping them with their Saturday Islamic School homework. This involved reading verses from the Quran in Arabic and Islamic studies. Sometimes Aminah tried to involve *nani* in her computer games (13) by showing her how to play or by getting her to simply watch her when she was playing. When Habib played games on the computer he tried to involve Rahma but she ended up watching him most of the time. Habib watched TV/videos (14) which also tended to be Islamic in nature, where he and his grandmother watched films about Islamic history and cartoons based on Muslim heroes from the past. As mentioned, before Aminah and Samiha often watched Indian Bollywood films with their grandmothers through which they were exposed to Hindi.

Aminah liked playing games (15) together, usually role-plays, where she took on the role of teacher or doctor and Panna the student or patient. These role-plays occupied a lot of their time together. Samiha also involved her grandmother in her role-plays. Both Habib and Samiha tried to solve lots of riddles together with their grandmothers. Riddles, folktales, proverbs, maxims, and songs are a rich tradition of Bangladeshi folklore and folk literature. This tradition was the creation of the rural folk, transmitted orally from one generation to the next (Shahed 1993). Bengali riddles are always a source of pleasure for young and old alike aiming to make people inquisitive about life and the world. A riddle is usually an emotive metaphor with a question and is a manifestation of wit and intellect, a popular example being, *ek kole dui bhai - keur sathe keur dekha nai* (two brothers on the same lap - one does not meet the other – the answer is two eyes). One of the games Rekha was playing with her grandchildren during one of my visits was the traditional village game *isain bisuin* (the English version of ip dip do), which the children seemed to enjoy very much.

Rahma brought Habib back and forth from school (17) quite often as his mother worked and when the days were longer and the weather was better, Habib liked to go to the park with his grandmother (18) on the way home from school or the mosque.

They all had favourite activities which they liked to do together. For Aminah and Panna their favourite activity was cooking and sharing stories, *golpos* (stories) and *kichas* (folk tales). Panna used these opportunities to share fables and folk stories in Bengali particularly as it provided an opportunity for her to teach Aminah lessons in life and share information about Bangladesh and life there. Panna thought Aminah learned cultural values and manners from her and she herself

learned stories and ways in which children lived in the UK from Aminah. Rahma's favourite activity was to share stories from the Quran and Islamic books about the prophets and talking to Habib about what he did at home and in school. They both shared a love for the way the prophets struggled and succeeded and how they could learn from them. Rekha thought Samiha learned Islamic, family and cultural values from her through the stories they shared about life in the UK and in Bangladesh. She liked to teach and pass on these values to her as she felt that these would help Samiha to learn how to build her own Islamic character, good behaviour and etiquette. Rekha in turn learned English from Samiha, how to greet people, for example by saying 'hello' and 'good morning'. Interestingly she also mentioned that she had learnt how to praise Samiha from watching her daughter Shamima and the teachers praising children. This was something new for her and sometimes difficult as it was not practiced very much when she was growing up.

The information gained from conducting the questionnaires aided me to partly answer research question (2) on how language and cultural practices impacted on the intergenerational relationships between grandparents, parents and children. From the activities discussed above it is clearly evident that the use of Bengali during different activities was a means of communication between the children and their grandmothers. Through these opportunities of communication the children were being exposed not only to the languages but also to cultural and faith practices and values. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapters 8 and 9.

7.3 Interview Data

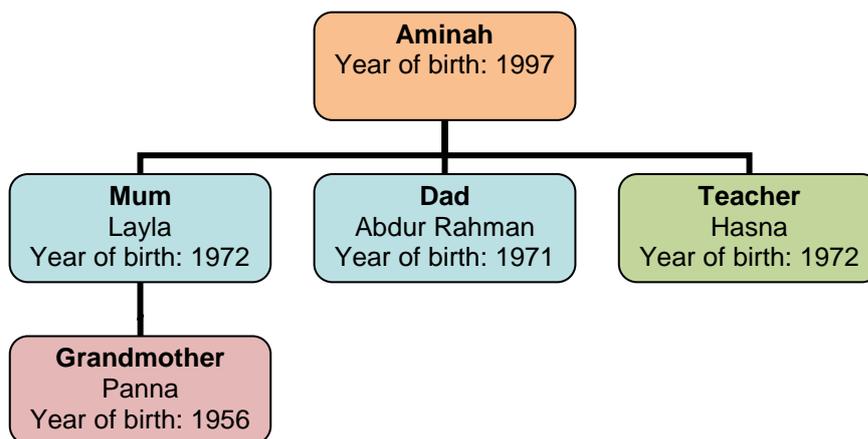
The following information has been collected from interview transcripts and field notes. All three grandmothers came to the UK between 1970 and 1981. Their daughters who were part of the study would have started school in the late

seventies and mid-eighties. The grandchildren in the study started school in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Some of the tensions and benefits of changes in the schooling and learning practices are highlighted in the data from the interviews with grandmothers, mothers and teachers. The data also assisted me to address to some degree my research Questions 1, 2 & 3. The interview data for each family is presented starting with a simple tree showing relationships between the participants.

7.3.1 Aminah's Grandmother, Panna

Fig. 2 Aminah – Tree of participants



At sixteen Panna came to the UK to join her husband in 1972 as a new bride and expecting the couple's first child. Her initial memory of coming to the UK was the deep feelings of loss, as she had to leave all her family and come to a new land where only a second-cousin-in-law lived, in Surrey, with his family. Their initial place of residence was a flat in Brick Lane in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, where she felt lonely and experienced the night-and-day difference from living in a village where it was open and lively. Panna's husband owned a garments factory, which meant that a lot of the childcare and household responsibilities fell on her. The couple had four children quite close in age, with

Aminah's mother Layla being the eldest. When the children were still quite young the family moved to a house with a garden in Hackney, a neighbouring borough to Tower Hamlets. All their four children are married and at the time of data collection, Panna had eight grandchildren, Layla's three children being the eldest. Her youngest son and his family lived with her and her other grandchildren came to visit her once or twice a week. At the age of forty-two in 1998, Panna lost her husband.

Panna's wish was to raise her children as she would have if she were living in Bangladesh, which would have included cultural and faith values and practices. She still tried to maintain some of this by maintaining a normal routine of what was required here in the UK from going to school and doing their homework, on top of which she used to teach them Bengali at home and take them to Arabic and Quranic classes during the weekends. Panna took her role as a mother seriously by teaching her children herself, as there was not a network of support available. She took every opportunity to teach them, "*Gore jokhon silo khela dula korto ba boshle Arabic jototuku pari ba Bangla jototuku eirokom arki...adob kaida, uta bosha, mara mari na kore ei doroner ar ki* **when they were at home they used to play and when they used to sit whatever Arabic I could or Bangla I could...morals and manners, how to sit and walk, not to fight things like that.**"

Panna did not attend classes to learn English and she took it upon herself to learn as much as she could from conversing with the teachers, neighbours and on her visits to the doctors. Although she tended to speak to her grandchildren in both Bengali and English as is reflected in Table 3, with her own children she raised them speaking mostly in Bengali. Panna was proud of the fact that they all could

still read and write Bengali but was not happy that Layla didn't use it due to "*beshi time nai not have much time*".

Panna also put an emphasis on teaching the cultural and religious values and practices with her children, which she felt she needed to pass on to her grandchildren. This can also be seen from Table 3 where she read the Quran in Arabic with Aminah and they learned about Islam together from stories in the Quran through translation and Islamic books.

Panna never saw her grandfather but has very fond and vivid memories of her maternal grandmother who passed away in 1972, the year of Panna's marriage. Panna used to spend a lot of time with her grandmother as she used to visit her often with her own mother, "*Shob shomoi nanir shathe thaktam, rathre tho shudu golpo ar golpo used to stay with nani (maternal grandmother) all the time, and at night there were stories after stories*". She reflected on her own relationship she had with her *nani* being very different to the one with her own grandchildren. Panna expressed this eloquently "*...deshe ar aideshe, onek kiso different. Ai deshe different basha, oder shather je nathi nathinder shather culture milaie chola, oder basha o jana lage ar amader tho ki chilo? Amra amader nanir shathe shob shomoi cholsi amra shob shomoi buztam ora tho shob shomoi buze na, tho buzaite hoi tader basha dia English dia there is a lot of difference between here and there. Here there is a different language, to understand and get along with their culture you need to know their language, and what did we have? We stayed and got along with our nani all the time and understood them, they (her own grandchildren) don't always understand and you need to do that with their language English*".

Panna had little contact with the school. She used to rely on the teachers to contact her if there were any problems, “...*amar bachader kono complain ashe nai ..complain ashe nai je ora homework kore nai ba eita kore nai erokom kono kiso hoi nai...shob shomoi excellent prai shomoi bolto je ora balo kortese I never recieved any complaints about my children...no complaints that they did not do their homework, nothing like that happened..always excellent most of the time they (teachers) used to say that they (children) are doing well.*” When the children used to bring home their school reports she used to respond positively. However she always expected them to bring home positive reports as she had good discipline at home, “...*Oder shob shomai eta khe'al thakto je homework ta shesh kore er phore TV ta dekhto...hath muk doie cha biscuit ba toast ja khai khea nilo, er pore dosh minute dekhenilo ba half an hour ektu rest nau tar pore abar homework kore nau, abar right away jodi poraite boshi ta hole porbe na thokhon kiso freedom doa lage they were always aware that they needed to complete homework before watching TV...after washing hands and face they had tea and biscuits or toasts, after which watch ten minutes or half an hour of rest then its homework again, again if I ask them to sit right away to study then they will not so you need to give them a little freedom.*”

Panna advised Layla to do the same with her children, “*ami koi oderke boli o kaj korte saise na ekhon onno ta korok, ei rokom korio na beshi shashon kora balo na, beshi shashon korle noshto hoie zai kono kono shomoi boli oke..shob shomoi boli na maje modhe boli jokhon boli abar oder shamne boli na shamne bolle tho abar oshubida, alada boli...boli eirokom hobena tumi rag korle bujaia bolbe eita korba na eita korba I say I tell them that they (child) do not want to do that now, let them do something else, don't do that with them (children), too much discipline is not good, if you discipline them too much they will become bad,*

I tell them sometimes...don't tell them always only sometimes and when I do I don't do it in front of them (children) as there are problems with that, tell them separately...say it will not work like that when you (mother) are upset explain to them (children) don't do this do this".

When the children used to argue Panna found it easy to simply distract them, "*Jogra korle tho shoraia nitham, ekhtake shoraia boltam je na tumi ekhon ekhane thako na o naughty hoie...amar ekta obbash silo bachara mara mari korle oitake niea onno dike khelar dike ba ami eita dimu oita dimo oirokom kore shoraia ditam* **when they used to argue I used to move them apart and say no you stay here, they are naughty...I had a habit when the children used to fight I used to distract them to something else (by saying) I will give you this and that and move them away from each other."**

Panna did not think Aminah's teachers were aware of her being Amina's grandmother or of what they did together as she did not visit the school at all due to ill health and distance. However, she did think Aminah talked about her in school, "*jani na o alap kore kina nishchoi kore* **don't know if she discusses me I'm sure she does."**

When asked how she would like her grandchildren to remember her, Panna responded, "*eita ar ki bolar ase tilwat korbe, ba namaz porbe ba dua darood porbe eita amar me'er kase ase tara nishchoi korbe asha kori* **what else can be said they will recite, pray (obligatory prayers) and pray (for goodness) my daughter has that and they will surely do it I hope."** And her hopes for her grandchildren were, "*bachara jeno balo bhabe cholbe balo bhabe shikhe Arabic'ta, Bangla, ma bapke jeno srodha kore boroder shonman kora, soto bhai bonder maia mohoboth kora eita ar ki* **the children are well behaved and learn Arabic,**

Bangla, respect their parents and honour their elders, love their younger brothers and sisters and that's it."

7.3.2 Aminah's Mother, Layla

Born in London to first-generation Bangladeshi British parents, Layla at the time of data collection lived with her own three children and husband in Redbridge, a neighbouring borough to Tower Hamlets. She was thirty-three years old and was working as a co-ordinator for a women's project at a prominent Mosque in East London. Layla's husband, Abdur Rahman, was born in Bangladesh and came to the UK when he was five years old. They are first cousins and he is the eldest amongst all the cousins living in the UK. Abdur Rahman worked for an international newspaper printing company and volunteered a lot of his time for community work.

Layla and her husband became parents at the age of eighteen and nineteen respectively and she reflected on her own journey as a young parent, "I think it was a struggle in the sense we had Tanya and we were a bit kinda lost, because we were trying to understand Islam more and ehm and not more about the culture side, and cultural values. We didn't really look into that because we were normal western children. We've had a child, we were very young 19 and 18 and we were more engulfed in the general just bringing up, we weren't too much fixated on what culture says or what Islam says. But after a certain time then we decided to go into Islam and I was always doing my Islamic duties. And I think he (husband) was finding his feet in that, and then he became very I think he was more intrigued in Islam than me, that's how Islam came into play by the time Aminah came along Islam became the most significant, it wasn't even about culture."

When asked about her childhood and upbringing Layla did not feel very comfortable talking about it, particularly her relationship with her own parents. Her father passed away when Layla was twenty-four years of age and her relationship with her mother was quite distant. Layla being the eldest child and losing her father at a young age meant that she had to shoulder many of the family responsibilities. Although she married very young and had moved out of her parents' home she still maintained those responsibilities and this created an emotional distance between her and Panna which she reflected on by saying, "I think my relationship with my mum was a very intriguing one in the fact that she was there but I wouldn't get too close to her because I know that she's not very well and won't be around for long so it was like...then it would be less heart breaking, you know so with my mum for the last 25 years or so she was really not well so I would always call her and say 'what you doing?', I wouldn't go and visit her much, cuz obviously sister-in-laws are there to help and stuff like that and my brothers are always there...I don't think we had a good relationship to the way I have with my kids in the fact that I don't think I'm a good parent. No-one's a good parent cuz everyone's always explores in what is a good parent to be, but how are you meant to be a good parent? You always learn and then you're always trying to pass the wisdom onto other people you know this is how you should do it, but I don't think my mum even had good parenting not really."

Layla felt that her parents had a traditional and hands-off approach to parenting and didn't take much interest in their academic performance, particularly at school. This was in contrast to her mother expressing her view that she did not need to interact with the school as Layla was well behaved, and concerns were not raised, which meant that any further interaction with school was not required. All Layla's academic achievements have been self-driven, after marriage took place, and

alongside raising her children and working. She completed half of a Business & Finance Diploma at college before becoming pregnant with her first child after which she decided to have children. She went on to complete a degree in Social Policy & Management and is now studying to become a counsellor at a local college.

As mentioned previously, schools were not very open to involving parents when Panna was raising her children. Layla's experience of the parent-teacher relationship was different as schools have become more approachable for parents particularly at the primary level. Layla was very keen to see her children achieve due to which she was driven to have a positive relationship with the teachers and made an effort to go and speak to them about her children's progress, "I have spoken to them several occasions because I feel that they need to know who I am, they need to know who my children are so they know where they have to develop their learning needs." She not only read their reports but also felt it was very important to go through them with the children and look at ways they could set targets and identify their needs as well as the type of support she and the teachers could provide.

Layla's aspirations for her children were high, but she wanted them to be in touch with those around them. Although Layla felt that her mother did not play an active role in her life her hopes for her children's future were similar to her mother's including a mixture of individual aspiration and community participation, "I want them to go and get a job, I think more community based cuz I think I've got that streak of helping people. I would like them (her children) to go into that... I want them to be good Muslim young people, ehm I want them to be good educators to help people"

Although Layla's own relationship with her mother was different, her views about her children's relationship with their grandmother were very warm 'my mum loved my kids'. She passionately said that she could not have raised her children without her mother's advice and support both emotionally and practically. Unlike her own experience with her paternal grandparents, which was distant and involved visits made occasionally, her children have full access to their grandmother, "My mum was a part of their lives when they were growing up...ehm Aminah tended to spend a lot of her time with my mum generally." She also explained that when the children were younger her mother had a key role in their care as Layla was a youth worker in the evenings, "so I used to go and drop her off and go straight to work, and then pick her up afterwards so she (grandmother) would be babysitting for three hours or so." As Layla's mother's illness increased it limited her ability to take on the childcare duties for her grandchildren, consequently Layla relied on the local community centre where the workers were very supportive. The centre also had a Quranic class that the children attended.

As a young mother Layla remembered speaking Bengali to her parents as was expected from her, but she raised her own children speaking only English, "... I'll try to speak Bengali sometimes but it just doesn't kind of fit in." She explained proudly her children's interest in languages "Tanya can speak Spanish, French, English and little Bangla...very little but she understands Bangla very well and she can also understand Arabic as well, Isa can speak Arabic and understands you know he can communicate in Arabic & English...Aminah, she tries Bangla sentences it's so strange she's probably the only one who tries the Bangla." Layla attributed this interest in learning Bengali to the time Aminah, her daughter, spent with her grandmother. she did give her parents due credit for her own competence

as a bilingual as it was due to their diligence in speaking Bengali with her and her siblings that they were all competent bilinguals.

Aminah also learned from her grandmother the values of being helpful and caring towards others and she stressed that the relationship the children had with their grandmother was very different to her own, “yeah because they have different learning and teaching ehm methods, I mean it’s just being around, they (children) learn so many things, kind of has a presence you know it’s just like you know how to ... playing games you know I would do it differently. I would say there are rules you need to follow and their (grandmother) like, we just play snakes and ladders you know they’re more relaxed let’s have fun and enjoy that kind of arena, whereas I’m sitting there saying we have to follow the rules... uhm yeah when we did used to visit, she (grandmother) will just relax and there was this oh shall I make this or shall I make that and the kids are around, but with me I mean just generally speaking about mothers I think we’re more of the controlling sort.’ The dynamics of the relationships between the grandmothers and their grandchildren have been recognized in the study by Kenner et al (2004a). However the difference in the parental and grandparental relationships with children which has been highlighted by Layla is discussed further in Chapters 8 and 9.

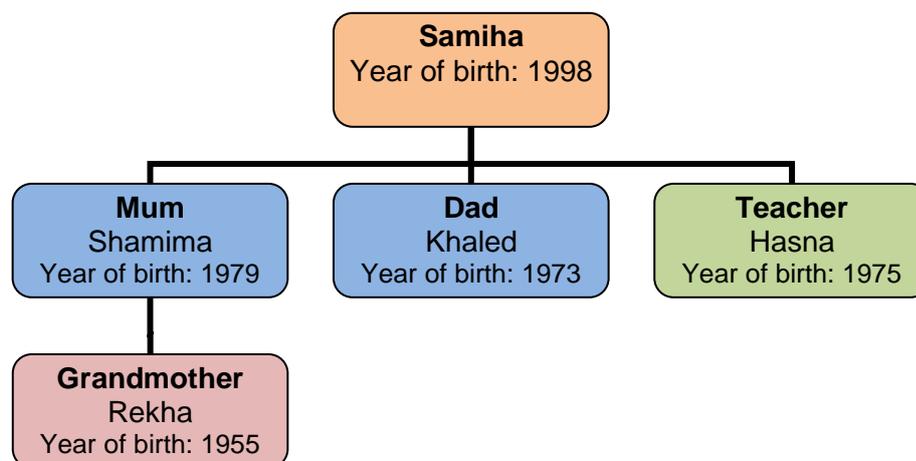
Layla passionately conveyed the challenges of trying to pass on the faith values to her children in this country as “there are differences in values in the society we live in”. She reflected on the advice her son’s teacher gave before he left his Islamic school to go on to a state school, “the teacher said to me be careful because ...he might be that good boy now but he might become something else, because it’s the peers so in society whatever you are there’s always a little flicker in your heart, and just being present around different people might change you, but if you’re

strong in faith you will be that strong person in faith.” Here once again the importance of the faith was reinforced by the teacher.

Layla hoped that her children would remember her as a loving mother, ‘whatever I did was best for them and they need to make lots of dua (prayers) for me, and they have to remember me as not as a figure, but they need to remember the qualities I had was for a reason and what I was trying to do was best for them. So they need to say ok maybe mum was right when they bring up their own kids.’ And her desire was for them to remember their grandparents as “ho they are, nani was there she loved them, she cared for them”.

7.3.3 Samiha’s Grandmother, Rekha

Fig. 3 Samiha – Tree of participants



Rekha was in her early fifties and her two sons lived with her with their families. She actively travelled between Bangladesh and the UK to spend time with her extended family. She arrived in the UK in the summer of 1980 at the age of twenty-five with two of her eldest sons, one aged two and a half years and the other just nine months, and her other four children were born here in the UK. Samiha and Rekha lived within a mile of each other and saw one another every fortnight along with all of Samiha’s other cousins. Rekha’s initial memory of the UK

was the shock at the way people dressed, particularly women. Culturally she was used to women covering their bodies, and as it was summer in the UK most of the British women she initially saw were wearing clothes which did not cover their arms, legs and shoulders.

Rekha spoke mostly Bengali and a little English with her grandchildren as can be seen from Table 3. Raising her children to speak Bengali was very important as Rekha said, *“tarar’e tho shob shomoi amra Bangla mati Bangla jio khorsi tara English ghoromaise na ola oise, English’e tho gore mate tahole tho amrar matri basha tho tara buli zaibogi, amrar matri basha hoilo boro oita oilo amrar mulloban tho goro tara Bangla matise ba school’o gele tara teacher’er loge tara English tho matto oibo eta korse tara* **we always spoke Bengla to them and they didn’t speak any English at home, that’s how it happened, if they speak English at home they will forget our mother tongue, our mother tongue is very important so they spoke Bangla at home, but when they went to school they had to speak to the teachers in English”**.

All her children were fluent Bengali speakers and were able to read and write Bengali to a reasonable extent, although she did fear that they were losing some of the reading and writing skills due to lack of use and practice. Her views on her children’s attitude towards teaching their children Bengali were quite clear, *“Tara ila khorenni? Tara ila kono Bangla hiker ni? Tara Bangla’re kono gurutho der ni?... Bangla jene matho partho nai ekhan kono khe’al korer ni? Eta khe’al khortho oibo na khorle Bangla math hikbo khoi thaki? Bangla zodi hike na tho amar loge mathbo koi thaki...ek shomoi jodi zai holliday’th tho tara tho matho farthonai, tho eta oshubida oibo* **are they doing that? Are they teaching Bangla like that? Are they giving any importance to Bangla... They are not going to be able to**

speak Bangla do they realize that? They need to realize that otherwise where will they learn Bangla from? If they don't learn Bangla where will they learn to speak to me?...If they go to Bangladesh they will not be able to speak and then there will be difficulties".

Rekha used to go into school to receive her children's reports, but found it difficult to engage with the teachers due to the language barrier, "*gesi ansi report...tara ze report'ta dise eta phoria dekhlam kita phoraisoin bala phoraisoin na kita phoraisoin ekhano eishob buztaam pharlam ne, thokhon o buzlam ar shokhol proshnor uttor ditam pharlam er laigi matham na* **went and got reports...read them and understood what they taught and what they didn't, and they answered all the questions so just didn't have to speak.**" She explained how she supported their learning at home, "*onek shomoi khelsi kono shomoi khoisi tumi tain boia phoro, boi disi khata disi lekho tumi lekho othokhan hein lekho othokhan zar ze phora phoro ar lekho, ami khonotha kham khoriar kitchen'o bade aia tomatanor phora loimu, lekha dekhmu tara lekhse khono shomoi khorer na hurutha tho lage nai ni tho khoisi aia hokholer ath bandia thui rakhmu! ami marsi na* **sometimes played with them, sometimes said to them you sit down and read gave them books exercise books, said write you write and you write this much, whoever has whatever to read, read and write, I am going to work in the kitchen after which I will come and check your reading, writing and sometimes they didn't you know kids fight with each other so I said I will tie all their hands up and leave them! But I never smacked them".**

Rekha stated her views on developing discipline, "*kono shomoi ase ze beshi choto thakhthe zodi tare freedom dia dilou heshe ar control korta fartai na, tare kono kotha hunaita farthai na, tare freedom ditai shashon o khortai mai'a o khortai tar*

bitrer khotho loi thai, ek shomoi khoitoi oibo na hoile tho dorai'a khoitho nai, bad'o ek jinish kore ar tumi jiggau tho tomare khoitho nai...hokhol shomoi martai nai ekbar doibar tinbar khoi lai, hurutha buzerna ekhbar ekhshomoi marlai, marle tho emon khun nai je marle bachare mari laibo, ma'tho marbo je bad kham khorer ba bad kham khorto nai shob ma bap o tho sai nani bacha'ainthor sele hok ar me'e hok balo hoitho **there are times when they are too small and freedom is given then later you will not be able to control them, you cannot get them to listen to anything, give them freedom and boundaries, love them and find out what they are thinking inside, at times let them tell you otherwise they will be too scared to say, then later they will do things and not tell you...you shouldn't hit them all the time tell them once twice three times and the children don't understand then smack them not so much to kill them, mothers will smack to make sure children are not misbehaving all parents want whether it's a boy or a girl they should be good."**

She went on to add how she dealt with sibling rivalry, "*boro ze than're khoitham tumi boro bade khelaibai soto ze tare dilou he ekhon khelai'a bade tomare dibo share khorbo ola khorbo, tara tho share khora ola buse naini? amra tho khoi ze tumi boro tomare bhaia dakhtho...bou duiuzone milaia khalou...haradin khali mar dile oitho nai, tara tho buz mantho ar shokhol shomoi zodi khudaia khoi the mantho nai* **say to the older one you are older you can play later give to the little one he will play with it now and will give to you later, will share with you, they understand sharing isn't it? We say you are older and he will call you bhaia...sit and both play together...if you smack them all day it won't work, they need to understand to reason and if you shout at them all the time they will not obey you"**.

When asked about how her daughter should deal with inappropriate behaviour, Rekha expressed the view that children should have some routine and there was a manner in which children should be disciplined, “*eta tho oilogi time motho khaitho, khani time o khe'al khortai, school'o gesi tesi kina khe'al khortai, eke shomoi ekh-khan khoiso hunche na martai na galithai na buzaithai, buzai'a khoithai, busbar shomoi...egu tho bustho nai (Samiha's younger sister) o Samiha buzbo ekhshomoi buzai'a khoile buzbo they should eat on time, give attention when they are eating, check if they are going to school or not, if they don't pay heed at times don't smack and shout at them, reason with them, make them understand at the right time...this one will not understand (Samiha's younger sister) Samiha will understand if you help her to understand.*” Rekha was very conscious of the fact that the mother should not be reprimanded by the grandparents in front of the children when she tries to discipline them, the child and the mother should be advised separately, “*okhano khoi tai na ma're agla khoi tai ze 'tumi mario na buzaio', tara'reo (the children) khoitai 'ela khorio na amma marbai' okhta oilo boro don't say it there, take the mother aside and say don't smack them help them to understand, and tell them (the children) don't do that mum will smack you, that is the important thing.*”

Samiha enjoyed role plays at home and her grandmother stated that “Ana (nick name) wants to be a doctor, she measures all our blood pressure”, and Samiha contributed by saying “*ami ota nanire khorio I do this to nani, I touch his (grandfather's) head and see his temperature, checking pulse*”. Samiha also liked to feed her younger sister and play adult roles. Rekha felt a part of her role was to motivate her grandchildren to achieve academically. She thought Samiha learned Islamic, family and cultural values from her through the stories they shared about life here in the UK and in Bangladesh. She liked to teach and pass on these

values to her as she felt that these would help Samiha to learn how to build her own Islamic character, good behaviour and etiquette “*Ekhongu tara okhtar (faith) laigi taan thakhbo beshi...okhongur culture oigese beshi high...oi mani school’er jio beshi taan thakhe beshi tarar huruthar etar (Faith) baidi khom thakhbo tho etar baidi ma bafor ba shokhole eta beshi kheal khora lagbo, nizer dormo hikhaite oile...eta tara’re busite oibo khoitho oibo na khoile tho tara hiktho nai, ma’e shob kisu kora jai khe’al khorle shob kisu kora zai...ar dad dadi ba nana nani...khe’al khora laghbo, khe’al khorle mane tarar o balo oibo family’r lagi o balo oibo shob dik dia balo oibo* **now they will have a lot of feeling for this (faith)...now the attraction for culture is high...I mean if they have too much attraction for school then the children will have less feeling for this (faith) therefore mothers and fathers need to give due attention to this, if you want to teach your faith, mother can do everything if they pay attention to it...and grandparents (paternal and maternal)...need to pay attention, if attention is paid then it will be good for them, good for the family and good in every way.**”

Rekha would like her grandchildren to remember all the Islamic practices she tried to pass onto them, “*eta oilo amra’re Islamic shikha dia zodi zaitam phari tara phore namaz phore, Quran tilawat khore ar akhtha zodi amar khota mone hoi tarar dadar khota mone hoi...namaz doi rakhat phoria ba Quran tilwat khoria zodi tara dua khore tho okhta oilo boro* **that is if I can leave Islamic teachings behind then they will later pray, can recite the Quran and if and when they remember me or their grandad...they will pray two lots of prayers or recite the Quran and pray for us that will be great**”.

7.3.4 Samiha's Mother, Shamima

Shamima was twenty-five years old, born and raised in the UK and she was one of six siblings. Shamima completed her 'A' levels before getting married to Samiha's father who was born in Bangladesh and came to the UK at the age of thirteen, "Oh he loves Bangladesh he has to go once or twice a year...so he is very attached to Bangladesh." She was a full-time mother to two daughters Samiha and Surayah. Shamima lived with her in-laws including Samiha's grandparents, five uncles and an aunt. She visited Bangladesh twice but she only remembered the second time she went at the age of ten, "it was wonderful and I didn't want to come back, everything was different the weather, the atmosphere, it was so green, colourful...it was just fun and exciting, my granddad, my uncles were there and it was just lovely...I wish I was born in Bangladesh...cuz it was just like so much freedom and the culture it was just completely different from this country".

Shamima reminisced with me about her earliest memories of raising her daughter in the UK as being wonderful and quite a family experience as Samiha was the first daughter/granddaughter in the extended family. Up to the age of three Samiha spent a lot of time with her grandparents, "just going places or in the garden she would want to go out every time...so her grandma or grand dad just used to walk about around the canal or they used to sit in the garden and make her water the plants just so she could stay outside (laughing)". Both her daughters were born in the UK and they were both spoken to in Bengali and English at home, "eh when they were younger I spoke a lot of Bangla but now they've picked up on English and stuff and you tend to talk English with them, they talk Bangla with their grandparents cuz they talk to them in that language" and the sisters speak to each other in Bengali as the younger one tends to only speak in Bengali.

Shamima had hopes for her daughters to be highly educated and was pleased that the school supported the children in achieving their potential. Parents were kept well-informed of what was being covered in school so that they could support their children at home. Shamima was also a parent governor in her daughter's school which she found very useful and valued the experience, "... they always include the parents in a lot of things, they have a lot of training courses, parents English classes that goes on in schools so they work around the community." Shamima had a positive and long-standing relationship with the teachers as other family members attended the school prior to her own children. Her mother more than her father played an active role in her education, '80 and 20...ahhm more involved was my mum coz at that time dad had to work a lot, so when he did have the time he used to sit and spend time with us and we used to act as news reporters and...we also used to do a lot of like word search and stuff, and my mum she picked up all the English language as well from us basically, and at that time there wasn't any language classes around for parents to learn so mum played a more active role when I think about it".

With regards to her own children, although she was more involved, her husband was more informed than her own father, "err I don't know 60 and 40? (laughing) 60 me!...its natural coz the mother is always at home so if I was a working mother that could have been different, it could have been father more and 50/50 but I play an active role but you know there's also the grandparents as well coz they're always there". Shamima was also pleased that the teachers recognized Samiha's grandparents, as they sometimes take her to school and pick her up at the end of school. She felt that there was a community spirit, "...so everybody recognizes everyone all the parents know whose child is whose so it's a well known area the whole community knows everybody well."

Shamima wanted to pass on the same values she was given by her parents of being respectful to elders, having a positive way of thinking all the time and to empathise with others and try to make others happy as well as herself. However, there were differences in the way she dealt with sibling rivalry, "...she (Rekha) would sort of not shout or hit us or anything like that...I get mad more often...yeah she never used to get angry so quickly but I do". She also felt they learned differently with their grandmother, "she's more relaxed with them, they feel more comfortable asking about things and doing whatever...whereas if Samiha was to ask me something then she thinks I will say no or 'it's not the time now' or this or that...oh she learns a lot more with my mum...she's wonderful with them, she loves them they love her and they are naughty, and when I'm telling them off she will be telling me off, and she will be like 'stop telling them off all the time there's certain ways of telling them and they will listen". And you think oh they never do but then she will point out that, "if you say it like this it would have, and then you think well she's right but we just tend to do things quickly and not even think about it...ehm oh they learn lots of folk songs (laughs) from Bangladesh. I mean she'd be playing funny games with them they'll be laughing they will be coming to tell you oh you know nani said this nani said that can we do this can we do that...you think oh I haven't got the time go and do it with your nani. She'll be like nani's not here she said to do it with you when you come home...yes it is it is really valuable...sometimes you think oh go and stay at your nani's house and stay there forever!"

Shamima noticed that there was a difference in the context in which Shamima was raising her children to that of her mother "...it's really different because ehm eh I have my in-laws and I live with my in-laws so there's a certain support whereas we used to live with just my mum and dad and we didn't have our grandparents, (they)

were back home so ehm it was different it's just mum at home and dad at work". One of the reasons for this difference was due to the lack of other relatives in the UK who lived nearby. Particularly when older relatives or friends visited, Shamima tried to talk to them about how her children should behave and felt she couldn't have the same expectations from her daughters as her mother had from her and her siblings "no it's just that I would think they're still little and they can just learn slowly as they grow up. They tend to be more spoilt now the children, even when they would become teenagers, I could but I doubt that they will (Shamima laughs)". Whereas there were certain expectations from her as a child "yeah we had more of a role to play...really be good and salaam (Arabic greeting) and respect all that was due and ehm...salaaming yeah I'm remembering all those things when I was a teenager so there was always 'Shamima put the kettle on' so make tea and nasta (snacks) for the people and greet them politely and we chat and leave them to enjoy their tea..."

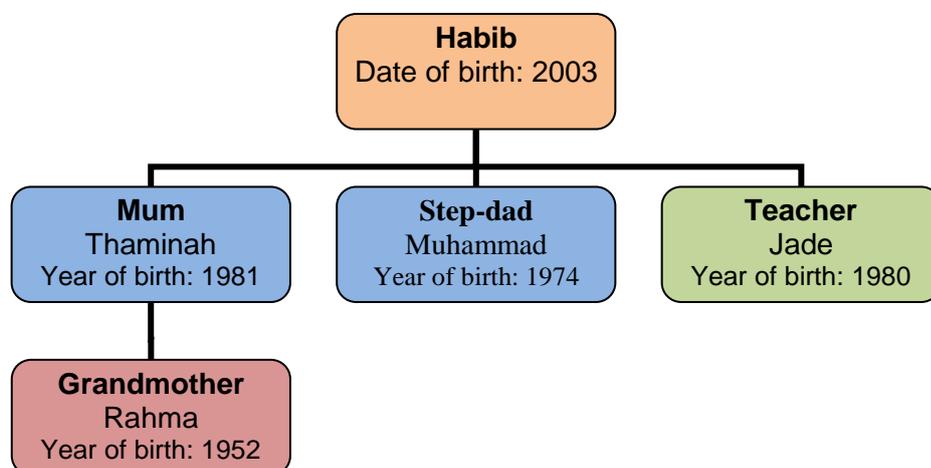
Shamima stressed that it was because of the family Samiha had around her that she was very sociable "...she will get to know in a minute and will be talking about her own life story to you and finding out everything about you (laughs), so she is really good with communicating with people a lot". However, it also had its own difficulties where she felt she wasn't able to give them enough individual attention as she wanted because she has to accommodate others and give into what was happening in the house, "I let her watch more TV than usual cuz she will moan oh other brother is watching why can't I and you just have to sometimes give into her yeah but if it was just me on my own maybe I don't think she would have that chance to say oh he's watching it or she's watching it, can I watch it".

She had fond memories of her grandparents when they came to stay with them in the UK for a couple of years. They had a good relationship and were close, “yes always getting attention and whatever we wanted we always got all we had to do was call our grand dad (laughs).” Similarly with her parents Shamima had a wonderful relationship “I can’t remember my parents ever telling me off or anything it was just normal perfect and nice”.

Shamima wanted her children to remember her parents as, “lovable nanas and nanis you know always there for them they wished they were always there for them forever (laughs)”. In her own case she wanted them to remember her as, “like how I am (laughs)...normal happy mum and you know a mum who is always there for them someone they can always rely on”.

7.3.5 Habib’s Grandmother, Rahma

Fig. 4 Habib – Tree of participants



Rahma came to the UK during the Christmas period in the year 1977 at the age of twenty-five. She had left all her family and friends behind to join her husband who had been living here already from a very young age. She laughed when she remembered her initial memories of arriving at the airport, “*mone ase ya Allah ek bare andar! Christmas’e ashsilam, snow khita silo gho airport’e eshe dekhi snow*

ekbare kono gaas'e patha nai thea ami kotho shomoi phore boli 'ei desher patha ki zou kisu khae nise'? **I remember yes Allah it was totally dark! Came during Christmas, oh there was not just snow, when I came to the airport I just saw snow and there were absolutely no leaves on the trees, after a while I asked 'did something eat all the leaves of this country?'**" She reminisced further about her first reaction to the house she was to live in "*furana ghore silam ami dekhei ghor ami bolsilam 'na ami ei deshe thakhbona ei deshe kono gusul korar bebosta nai ami thakbo na ami sole zabo', tho uni bole 'tumi ki rokom zaba?' 'Tho Bethnal Green dia tho bus zai ami bolsi oi bus'e ute sole zabo'* **stayed in a old house, I said 'I don't want to stay in this country, there aren't any facilities to have a wash I will not stay I want to go', so he (husband) said 'how will you go?' So I said 'the bus that goes through Bethnal Green I will get on that and go'**".

Rahma had already lost two sons at birth before she arrived in the UK. She then went on to have four more children, two daughters and two sons with Thaminah being the eldest. She lost another son at birth after a year and few months of Thaminah's birth. "*jodi Bangladesh'e zaitam phartam tahole ektu balo hoitho amar jonno (laughs) ami help paitam shobai help kortho...eka eka feel kortam na if I could go to Bangladesh then it would have been good for me (laughs), I would have got help everyone would have helped...would not feel all alone'*". She spent a lot of time at home with the children when they were younger as she had the children in a small space of time. Rahma never managed to work although the teachers at her children's school could see her potential and use of bilingualism and wanted her to become a teaching assistant, "*teacher der shathe balo shomporko silo alap khortho, khotha boltho, saitho ze 'tumi kaz koro kaz korle amader school'e sele meader onek laab hobe, tumi Bangla bashai zodi khotha*

bolo onek laab hobe' kintu shomoi pai nai I had a good relationship with the teachers, they used to discuss things, talk and said that 'you should work, if you work it will really benefit the girls and boys in our school, if you speak in Bangla language it will really help' but I didn't have time". A reason for this line of thought from the teachers could have been due to having a deputy head at the school who was bilingual himself and very interested in bilingualism.

As Rahma's husband did not speak Bengali very much she felt it was her duty to maintain their Bengali while they were growing up "*ami icha kore bolthan ami zodi English boli ami shikhbo kintu oderke jodi Bangla shikhaithe pari thaole tho lab hobe ami mone khortam ze English tho shikboi shikbo ur baba tho English ekhon tho Bangla boltei pare na!* I purposefully spoke, if I speak English I will learn but if I can teach them Bangla it will be beneficial, I used to think that they will definitely learn English, their dad is English and he can't speak Bangla at all!" She expressed that Thaminah did not speak Bengali to her children, "*she Bangla ta bole na (laughs) bole 'ze amma amar jodi Bangla bolte hoi tho amar onek shomoi lage oder shathe kotha bolte er jonno ami English'e bole ni she doesn't speak Bangla (laughs) says 'see amma if I have to speak Bangla it takes me a long time to speak to them that's why I just say it in English'*". About her grandchildren she expressed that, '*na ora tho shudhu amar shathe Bangla bole ar karo shathe Bangla bole na oder abbu'r shathe'o bole na no they only speak Bangla with me and with no-one else not even their daddy'*". Her passion was to raise her children with high moral values and give them a good education, which she felt that she had achieved as her two daughters were highly educated with Thaminah being a primary school teacher and her youngest daughter a medical doctor. She did not want to discuss her only surviving son as he was going through some difficulties with his health.

Rahma expressed that her relationship with her grandchildren was one of closeness but she felt she was able to advise Thaminah on how she should behave with them, “*poramorsho dei ze Thaminah ethotuku koris na (laughs) etho soto soto bacha bolbe ze ‘eder zalai kichu korte pari na!’ thokhon amar dukho lage, ei duzon tho ekkebare soto I advise her don’t do so much (discipline)! Such small small children she says “I can’t do anything because of their pestering! Then I feel sad, these two are very little”*. However, when they were with her she felt they behaved well, “*oOderke boi gula dekhai boli ze Arabi pora’ta poro tho she pore ar boli tomar ma ashle ar bolthe hobe na ze poro ar English’er kotha bola o lage na boshle ektar por ekta boi ane ar pore I show them the books and say read the Arabic and they do, and I say when your mummy comes she won’t have to tell you to read, and with the English books I don’t have to tell them when they sit they get one after the other and read.*”

Rahma felt that although the teachers knew her as they saw her always picking and dropping Habib off they have never showed interest in speaking to her, “*teacher der shathe beshi mila misha kori na ami bahir’re thekhe nia ashi ar zei din programme hoi Thaminah zai ba amra doi zon’ei zai mile mishe I don’t speak to the teachers much just pick them up from outside and when there is a programme on Thaminah and I go together’*. However, she was happy to share she had a good relationship with the mothers that went to pick their children up and they knew her well.

Rahma’s paternal grandparents passed away, leaving behind her father at a very young age. Her paternal grandfather was from Afghanistan and came to Bangladesh and married her grandmother. She also did not have very many memories of her maternal grandfather, but fondly remembered spending time with

her eating lots of wonderful food and being bathed as well as sharing lots of stories. People from the village would also share stories of her paternal grandparents, which she used to enjoy listening to. She herself spent a lot of time with her own three young grandchildren, often spending days with them at their home.

When asked what she would like to leave behind for her grandchildren she said, *"...ar ki dibo? amar tho ar taka poisha ruzi kori nai taka poisha tho dite parbo na, ekzon balo maush hoa'r jonno je jinish ta dorkar Allah'ke bhoi paoa, er pore manush'er shathe mile mishe chola phira, ora tho khortese ami tho dekhtesi what else can I give? I don't earn money so I can't give that, to be a good person what they need is to fear Allah, and then to be live with others well, they are doing this I can see."* Rahma desired for Habib to pray for her when she passes away, *"Habib'ke Madrashai disi etai tho asha kori ze eta zodi shike tho amar zonno she dua korbe ar shobar saithe tho mone ki amar jonno dua korbe...Amar kotha etai mone rakhbe ze amar nanu ekhane boshe Quran portho tho amake antho Habib goes to madrasa so the hope is he will learn from it and pray and pray for me the most...he should remember about me that his nanu used to sit here and read Quran and used to bring me (from school)."*

7.3.6 Habib's Mother, Thaminah

Thaminah at the time of data collection was thirty years old and a mother of three children. She was a primary school teacher by profession. Born in London she then lived with her husband and children who were all born in the East End of London. Thaminah went to School A (the same primary school as her children) and from memories and stories told by her mother of her and her siblings, she was always regarded as the very quiet and shy child compared to them. She

remembered learning to read in the early part of her school life and the support she received from her younger brother and mum helped her immensely as it was a difficult journey to begin with. Thaminah recollected lacking a lot of confidence in sport activities, "so my mum used to morally support me at sports days, and even sitting with me during swimming lessons until I learnt how to swim. It was embarrassing that I was the only child who had my mum having to sit with me, but my teachers were supportive and encouraged mum's involvement." She also remembered receiving support from her mum with maths. Her mother attended extra numeracy sessions and took part in extracurricular activities as part of the family learning classes that took place at the school.

Habib was aged eight at the time and Thaminah found it quite difficult to talk about her early married life, as prior to Habib's birth the couple separated resulting in divorce soon after his birth. Habib's biological father lived in London and had fortnightly contact with him, spending a couple of hours together. When Habib was aged four she remarried and had two other children, a boy aged two and a half years and a little girl aged eighteen months. "Habib has a wonderful relationship with my husband (step-father), and I really believe that this was established prior to our marriage as he built up a relationship with him during that time. Their relationship now is truly like father and son and I see no differences between Habib and how his younger siblings are treated." Her early experiences of bringing up Habib were quite painful as the circumstances were difficult, she distracted herself by utilizing the local provisions for children at the local park, providing Habib with an enriching experience "as an educator I believe that the parents can support the child's experiences, and broaden their life experiences by introducing elements into their lives early on and I have truly tried my best to support this ethos."

Thaminah said that she had a very warm and loving relationship with her mother, “I can tell my mother everything in my life and I know she will listen and advise me accordingly.” However her relationship with her father in recent years had become difficult and she had not tried to change the situation. Her mother was part of their everyday lives as she spent most of her time with them, and the children kept her occupied and were good company for her as she was unwell most of the time.

When Habib was born he was spoken to in Bengali as this was the language spoken at home. His grandmother was a tremendous influence on him as he spent a great deal of time with her. Thaminah returned to studying when Habib was a year old. Her mother raised Habib and settled him into school taking him to and from school. Habib spoke Bengali well, “the bond between them is very strong, loving, affectionate, comfortable and trusting, often he wasn’t confident to speak to me regarding a matter but he would speak to my mum about the situation to ease his feelings.” Habib now spoke a mixture of Bengali and English depending on the person he was addressing. He spoke to his grandmother in Bengali as this was what he felt comfortable using, English with his father and with his siblings a mixture of both. They did many activities at home and in the community together. When Habib was younger, he used to enjoy role play situations being a fireman, builder, train driver, mechanic, chef, etc. He also enjoyed “playing in the park, taking an adventure pack with him to go hunting or mountaineering. He enjoys being outdoors and we use the warmer weather to support his love of the great outdoors.” Habib also developed a fondness for gardening which he shared with his grandparents as they had their own allotment plot where they grew many vegetables throughout the year and Habib went there often with them.

Thaminah's parents' relationship with her teachers was very similar to her own with Habib's teachers. They were able to approach the teachers with any difficulties, or support from home when needed. Her mum played an active role during their primary years as she always took them to school and took care of their needs during the formative years of their childhood. When they went to secondary school their father attended parents evening as he had a better command of English. Thaminah's relationship with Habib's teachers had always been positive, "I have been able to speak to his teachers regarding matters as and when it was needed. It has become known to his teachers that I was working in schools myself and this has given him a somewhat greater expectation to do better than his peers." Her aspirations for all her children were the same, which was similar to the other two mothers, "to progress as individuals, to have faith and to make it a real life experience, to have self discipline, to have courage, to know what is right and wrong, to acquire good morals and manners and be a good citizen in society."

Thaminah said that Habib's relationship with her mother was different to it was with her, "my mum has a very easy going approach to allowing children to try their own way first and then allow them to be directed when they come to a difficult hurdle. My mum had this attitude with us as children and she has allowed Habib to do the same, by feeling at ease with her and not being directive he can turn to her for support at any time." Interestingly all three mothers shared a similar feeling about the way their own mothers were more relaxed and approachable with their grandchildren.

Both sets of grandparents lived in Bangladesh, and as young children Thaminah's mother took them to see their grandparents once, but they didn't spend too long with their paternal grandparents. Most of their two-month visit was spent with their

maternal grandmother, “she came with us on all our visits to countless aunts’ and uncles’ houses. I have a fond memory of our time that I spent with my maternal grandmother. It was a very enriching experience building a strong relationship of love and kindness and enjoying her.”

Thaminah would like her children to remember her parents with fondness for all the good things they did together and hopefully pass them onto their children as well as the moral values that they hold, “the happiness and joy that we share as a family”. She hoped that they would take on the values of discipline, being confident to try new things, and take part in extracurricular activities, which would support them as individuals. Habib enjoyed much more support from Thaminah’s mother than his siblings; he was the first grandchild and spent a considerable amount of time with her during his formative years, When asked how she would like the children to remember her, Thaminah responded hesitantly, “this is rather a difficult question to answer, erm, I hope to instil in them a sense of love which they will pass onto their own children, their earliest memories for them to remember is that they were cherished and loved and that I did my utmost best to be there for them. I provided for them throughout their lives and we had a good time through all the difficulties, the fact that I didn’t give up when it was tough.”

7.3.7 Aminah & Samiha’s Teacher, Hasna

Hasna was Aminah’s class teacher as well as Samiha’s. Hasna was born in Bangladesh and arrived in the UK at the age of three. She is a twenty-nine-year-old British-Bangladeshi Sociology graduate. After graduating, Hasna took a year out during which she worked as a teaching assistant. Although she had no intention of going into teaching, this experience inspired her to go on and complete a PGCE from Goldsmiths, University of London. She had been teaching for the

last seven years. In her view the PGCE was practical and prepared her for teaching in inner-city schools as the lecturers were culturally aware and the practical activities and lectures reflected that. She still tried to use some of the activities that she had used while on teacher training, "Some of the activities we did we would do as groups and then we'd share practices and we would go off and do it ourselves so some of the activities I still use they were really useful". Hasna went on to complete her research project on whether children's books reflected their culture as she felt a lot of books didn't do so at the time.

Hasna's bilingual and bi-literate skills were gained through attending Bengali school, "obviously my family speak Bangla and I spoke Bangla there and you know English at school but it was never separated so we spoke a bit of both...its all mixed up, I mean I don't think I can speak a Bangla sentence without adding English in it". She used these skills for displays where she had written words in Bangla, "but not often and maybe I should do it more I don't think I do it often enough." She also used a lot of Bangla in the classroom especially in the early years when settling new children who had no command of English into school, "it's a way of making them feel secure, comfortable you know...it's a really good thing that they come in and see home link already...with teachers that are not bilingual they find it difficult and the children find it quite frustrating as well and there is a process of frustration there." Some of the non-Bangladeshi teachers in her view found it quite frustrating that the child didn't always understand. Usually she found that this was easily resolved as teachers ended up teaching and learning another skill because they began to understand body language. They also resorted to using a lot of visual resources which usually worked. The children tended to be

more relaxed, “they learn from each other really they end up playing coz I think for them that’s not a big issue.”

Hasna describes the current school she was working at as having just over 50% Bangladeshi children and the rest from different backgrounds. She was pleased as most other schools in Tower Hamlets were 99% Bangladeshi. She appreciated the cultural mix compared to other schools and it was good for the children as it enabled more integration. The school also had the only Bangladeshi head teacher in the borough. Hasna thought that made a difference for the parents, as they were able to look up to a person that was from the community who was well respected. With regards to the children she didn’t feel that it made a difference because they just saw him as they saw the other teachers but at the same time they were able to relate to him a little more, and she identified with this herself and said, “even me as a class teacher they kind of just accept it but what’s nice as a class teacher being bilingual myself is that they can relate you can kind of end up bringing a lot of home into the classroom and talk a lot about the classroom and then I can share my experiences and then they kind of get excited.”

Her own schooling experience was very different to the experiences of the children whom she taught, “we had a few more English speaking children there...but the system was different the system was like free flow a lot of topic work, a lot of topic based work, lots of creative work and ehm now I feel the system has changed and it is very structured, teachers teach and children learning although it is supposed to be like a bit of both I think in practice in terms of what’s required of us as teachers we end up having to make it sort of really structured.”

Hasna engaged with parents by initiating regular contact outside of the timetabled parent-child meetings to discuss the progress of their children, and to see where

and how the parents could support their learning, “Bangla parents definitely aren’t that confident to come to the teacher so I would go up to them cuz I know they’re not very confident with the language and I’ll speak in Bangla...the parents that are interested you can tell coz you know parents that sort of like encourage children to take books...even though I know there are parents that aren’t interested I will still go to those parents and just push push push, just because I know that they’re not interested and I will make myself known to them and say, look you know as a teacher you kind of end up doing that anyway and it’s not that it’s like I guess because I dunno maybe somehow because I’m Bengali I probably kind of like push them a bit more”. Hasna was aware that many of the parents at the school were not literate in English, and her fellow teacher colleagues often commented that these were the parents who were not interested in their children’s education. However, she made an effort to engage and speak to these parents by encouraging them, “I usually say to the parents ‘I know you can’t read but the simple thing of just sitting with your child with the book and letting them do the reading and they’ll do the talking is really actually good as long as you’re actually sitting there with them and they got the physical contact and they are talking, even in Bangla.’”

In order to promote children’s learning in school Hasna felt teachers should really get to know them, to know where they come from and what they were like at home, “...once they can identify themselves as a person then they can start relating to things ehm...then they just make it a bigger picture like whenever I do a village life in India its basically India, but then I would change it to Bangladesh coz it is a contrasting locality, I would just change it to Bangladesh coz the children can relate to it and they also at the same time talk about India because it is very close

to Bangladesh, and do it like that and so I would refer to the children and even when there's like a English child from a different background, and again when teaching RE I can do that quite easily 'what do you do at home and do you go to church that kind of thing.'" However in her view the curriculum did not allow teachers to incorporate this easily as it "doesn't really give an opportunity for the children to identify themselves", unless teachers were creative and used the circle times to allow children to explore ideas and share information about themselves, "I can't remember the last lesson where we actually did work on ourselves, I mean we do have topics on ourselves and then that's where we look at the environment, we look at our family but then its more topic related and it's not everything else."

When asked whether Hasna had the opportunity to consult research and its value in supporting professional development her response was, "research? – no ehm I think yeah it would (help) I think it would also help other teachers like us being bilingual, it would help other teachers think and talk about some of the cultures I think, ehm at the moment most of the teachers have adopted a kind of very negative sort of ok yeah parents aren't very interested and speak Bangla, is all quite negative".

And finally, describing Aminah: "ehm I would say with Aminah I know that her parents are kind of like they speak Bangla and they're bilingual and what you call like today's kind of couple, where they speak English, they both got jobs...so they're kind of very established here really, so Aminah herself she's very kind of confident because of all that. Also she does a lot of extracurricular activity and things so I think because of that that's really helped and she's also quite an able child, she kind of picks up on things quite quick...quite good at everything...quite sporty, she's an all rounder."

Hasna's description of Samiha was rather different: "ehm Samiha is very bubbly very chatty ehm she's got a really good sense of humour, and ehm academically she's not that able...she is also very sporty so there's that...but I think she lacks in confidence and she isn't very able, she quite like finds it hard to read and has difficulty writing as well, although you know for her she's done very well she has kind of picked up the confidence and ehm, I think more an SEN case so she does have some difficulty. I don't know if its family related or just learning or an emotional thing I don't know. Samiha I think it's slightly different because her mum, I don't think is very academic coz she got married quite young as well ehm and as a result her mum doesn't speak really good English. Samiha's English isn't that great but that's not always the case my mum didn't speak English and you know I speak English, but I was encouraged, my dad used to encourage and I have siblings that would encourage so I think with Samiha...do you know I can't remember, she's got her uncles I think Yeah and ehm can't remember if she's got any brothers and sisters she's got a little sister...she lives with the extended "family with her grandparents'. I comment on these attitudes of Hasna towards Aminah and Samiha in the summary of this chapter.

7.3.8 Habib's Teacher, Jade

Jade was Habib's class teacher, white British, in her early thirties and had been teaching for the last ten years at the time of data collection. She graduated with a BA in Education in primary years and had worked in some schools in Devon, Birmingham and London. Being born and raised in Devon, her experience of schooling wasn't very multicultural although she said, "we did have people from other cultures but they were literally single people from one single cultural background". When working in Birmingham and London one of her biggest worries was communicating with parents and she was very aware then that her language

skills were not adequate. Thus, Jade believed that teaching definitely required cultural knowledge and she had since been able to acquire that knowledge through building relationships with parents and other members of staff who were from different cultural backgrounds, “who have been brilliant cuz I can come and ask them questions without feeling too silly and likewise they can ask me things”.

Although Jade said that the PGCE training couldn't ever fully prepare a teacher trainee to becoming culturally aware, she did appreciate the opportunity to have inner-city placements in Birmingham and London, where “I was able to address that early on and then I knew that when lectures came up about bilingual learning I was also able to say...some of my children speak different languages and actually the lecturers would then adapt sort of personalised sessions more and again in London they gave us quite a lot before if they knew we were coming to do a London placement. We did have an optional series of lectures to attend...we had one lecturer who was like you will learn more being in the area, living in the area working and talking with the people of that area than you will learn from me in this room in Devon and I like that.” This insight helped Jade to think more carefully about the context of the children's lives compared to her own as she believed there were differences in her experience of childhood and the experiences that the children had. One of the experiences was being able to speak other languages, “they have two languages going on, they have a school language and a home language and they are able to interchange and you know that is helpful having other people to support me in sharing what that feels like and making sure that I am aware”. However, she has noticed that in her previous class not many children used their home language in the classroom, “I also have a Japanese speaking child and he is the one that switched most frequently from Japanese to English than my Bangla speakers, they like to speak English, well they give me that

impression that they like to speak English at school but they are happy to speak their other language at home”.

Jade observed that when the children were younger they were comfortable and happy to share their cultural and religious experiences with her. She tried to provide them with lots of opportunities to talk about what was happening in their homes, their celebrations and festivals. The Muslim children liked to share stories of Eid celebrations, and a Russian girl talked about what they did for St Nicholas celebrations. The school had become more diverse in the previous three to four years, “it’s been absolutely super seeing children integrating far more naturally and ehm with that actually, children who may have difficulties with the language and who maybe seen as quieter and shyer children are starting to bring in a little photograph or saying ‘I’ve celebrated this as well’ especially with Eid or Ramadhan ‘my mum is fasting my big brothers are waking up in the night to pray and we have lots of books to support that ehm try to have stories both fiction and information to support”.

However she noticed that with older children they became more self-conscious and they worried more about the importance of their heritage and questioned its position in their lives, “I don’t know why but I do think there might be some developmental side to it, it’s to do with body awareness you know they all have that big hormone surge between year 6 to 7 and as they move on into juniors there is a sudden awareness about their body about the space they take up about the fact that who’s grown who’s not, whose teeth are falling out, whose teeth are not falling out and I think possibly that physical change possibly impacts at some level on their cultural identity as well and they may associate some things to their culture they may not, for me I can say for my cultural background what I have

brought with me, my insecurities...but I do think that with all of that development thing that possibly this is the age where we begin to see that they are slightly nervous, they start to work out a hierarchy...they sort of work it out and you know they find their place". Jade stressed the importance of her role within her diverse class, to celebrate and promote everyone's cultural heritage and diversity, "we're the same and we're different", and celebrating the differences. She and her colleagues shared a lot of resources to deliver knowledge in a wider context so that everyone's history and cultural diversity was recognised. They tried consciously, even when they put on shows and concerts at the end of term, "like we've got this celebration concert called a 'Christmassy concert' and I know some teachers are singing in different languages, we've got Y6 are doing ehm Alexandra books halleluiah but in Arabic...a mambo from Mexico just a chance to bring different cultures to show the children that actually we're all same but different and we celebrate that".

When Jade planned work for the children in her class one of her key strategies was to look for something that they were interested in particularly when there was a broader topic during a term. One such example was when they were covering the topic of forces, she encouraged the children to bring in vehicles and even within that there were a group of boys who wanted to look at helicopters and because she invested her time at the beginning of the term to find out what they were interested in she was then "able to adapt sort of the skills and the knowledge that are required to teach them and gear in things that I know they'll be interested in as well to keep them motivated and engaged...so that children are more accountable for their personal learning so it's not about the able ones that will always answer the questions...actually everyone is expected to make a contribution and that's been very positive." Also, small individual whiteboards were

used which Jade felt encouraged personal learning, “so people don’t feel like everyone’s looking they can just write down the answer and they can show it to me and my eyes and their eyes and they don’t have to share it.”

Jade believed the key aspects to building the children’s academic identity was for them to experience success, which would enable them to build their own self-esteem. This success was an accumulation of smaller successful steps and, in celebrating that success with them, she felt their academic level moved up with parental support which should include an honest appraisal and approach, “and if it is home and school then that child really flies ehm they need to feel safe, confident as learners and as people and if you get that, it’s those children who are usually successful”. Jade tended to use the parent and child conference to gauge the adults that supported the children with their learning at home, “...it doesn’t matter who they do it with (laughs) someone anyone as long as it’s done!” She did however stress that she couldn’t confidently say for every child specifically who supported them at home as she felt there were certain constraints on teachers preventing them from finding out more about the home. One such constraint was the curriculum which she highlighted was quite prescriptive, “you have to be creative, I certainly will eh uhm (struggles a little) I bend rules...break rules to fit my class that’s quite a core belief of mine...this belief has grown as I’ve grown as a teacher...possibly for the last two years I’m at my strongest of if it’s right for my children and they’re learning then we do it and if it’s not right then I’ll pay lip service to it and tick the box and we’ll move on quickly, but I do I do think that especially with certain topics that we are obliged to teach it...its more usually with the skill based then I’m not and I don’t feel I’m in a box having to teach something and I feel like we can apply the skills more widely.”

When asked to reflect on whether she had the opportunity to read and consult research in order to aid professional development, Jade responded: “not as many as we would like”. She was part of the Association of Science Educators and had a journal which she subscribed to, “and during the holidays I tend to catch up (laughs), I am science and technology lead so I feel like that as the senior leader for that I should have a deeper understanding of what I’m asking people to do ehm we often share articles on INSET days so ehm and I know TES, that’s what a lot of teachers buy that are into primary education and they get a lot of their information...but probably compared to what we do at university and the level it isn’t the same and you don’t have the time to digest...when I get the chance it does help and I’m always interested in thinking about what people are still finding out about...”

Jade’s reflection on Habib: “well...Habib is a quiet but confident child ehm he likes to learn but needs to be set little targets where he can feel he is succeeding...he’s a clever boy ehm haven’t really heard him speak any other language but I know mum’s a teacher and she speaks English...the grandmother? (laughs) she came on our trip last year (saying with pride) it was brilliant ehm when she talks she’s very smiley and she has been on our trips and I know she helps mum with her child care and I know she’s quite supportive in the home especially with the new baby, so I was sort of aware on that level and I think mum and dad do a lot more of the home work and the learning that’s my sort of understanding of it.”

7.4 Summary

From the data above it can be seen that all three grandmothers shared the daunting experiences of being a mother in a country unfamiliar to them. They had to endure their sense of loneliness and isolation not only as individuals but also as

mothers. The grandmothers' own educational backgrounds were not extensive as Panna only finished primary education, and Rekha and Rahma completed their high school education before their marriages. Their attitude towards their own children's schooling were the same, they all had faith that the schools were doing the best for their children. However, they were all vigilant in maintaining their children's Bengali, faith practices and cultural values. This for all of them was very difficult as there were not many community classes or tutors available, so they did most of this based on their own learning and experiences. The grandmothers also shared similar thoughts and feelings about the values they would like to pass onto their grandchildren, which were predominantly around maintaining Bengali, their faith and cultural values and practices. All three grandmothers had in common the unique experience of becoming grandmothers as well as the particular joy of watching their children parenting the next generation and witnessing the continuation of the family lineage.

The three second-generation mothers enjoyed the support of their parents in their personal growth as well as when raising their own children. All three mothers had a lot more interaction with their children's school and teachers than their own parents. What was common between the mothers and grandmothers was the interest in teaching the children their faith values and both generations' recognition of the role the grandmothers played in maintaining their Bengali language.

The teachers Jade and Hasna both stated the importance of understanding children's backgrounds, although highlighting that this often was not possible due to constraints of time and curriculum targets. Hasna used her knowledge of her own community to reach out to parents and Jade relied on teachers like Hasna to understand some of the cultural aspects of the children in her class. Although

Hasna shared a similar upbringing to Samiha as her own parents didn't speak much English, I expected her to understand Samiha's learning environment, but surprisingly she suggested that Samiha's learning and social development was affected negatively by her family dynamics. Her perceptions of both Samiha and Aminah were based on the lifestyle maintained by the parents and the extended family of the two girls. Aminah was seen by Hasna as more academic and a high achiever as her parents facilitated more extracurricular activities for her and were 'today's' image of hard working parents. This is similar to the impression held by the teacher mentioned previously in Kenner et al's (2007) study of the children in his class. On the other hand Hasna expressed her assessment of Samiha based on her limited knowledge of the interactions that were taking place between Samiha and the members of her extended family at home. The assumptions made by Hasna were unexpected to me as she shared the same cultural and faith background as the two girls and I expected her to have a more open view of Samiha's context. These aspects are explored further in the next two chapters, starting with analyzing the intergenerational learning between the children, their mothers and teachers using CA, forming the inner layer of the analysis process.

Chapter 8: Family Jigsaws - Intergenerational Learning between Children and Their Mothers & Teachers

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data providing a middle and an inner layer of analysis to enable us to understand how the three six-year-old children responded to their experiences of putting a puzzle together both at home with their mothers and grandmothers and at school with their teachers. I was fascinated by the children's ability to engage in and take on different roles depending on the adult they were interacting with in order to make the joint endeavor a success. In the first part of this chapter I give an overview of the activities between the dyads which forms the middle layer of analysis. In the second part of the chapter I present an analysis of verbal and non-verbal interactions and some aspects of this analysis has been informed by certain aspects of CA to categorize the video data from my study. This inner layer of analysis highlights turn-taking patterns and the nature of questioning to examine patterns of shared engagement and learning between the children and the adults. I argue that the variations in the different interactions, both verbal and non-verbal, contribute to the process of learning and the children's 'learner flexibility', demonstrating their learner competencies in the different contexts. The concept of 'learner flexibility' is presented in this chapter and in Chapter 9 and discussed further in Chapter 10.

8.2 Patterns of Interaction

'Children learn by apprenticing: by watching, learning, practicing, mimicking, transforming and absorbing the ways with words used in the social sites by those around them. Everyday life is thus a complex fabric of speech events, where that apprenticeship takes place. ... To make meaning we adhere to (and regularly stretch and break) social conventions which dictate who can speak when, how, about what –when to be silent, what is an appropriate comment, how to take turns in

conversations, who has more power in talk, gesture and other aspects of communication.’ (Luke & Kale, 1997, p13)

Conversations are usually governed by rules and often seeking certain goals. Depending on the cultural context and the nature of the socio-cultural activities that participants are involved in, there are, according to Luke and Kale (1997)

‘often unconscious and unstated cultural rules and conventions that are rehearsed, constructed and quite frequently resisted and broken each day in communities’ (p13).

To investigate the nature of these within my study with the children at the centre, I have analysed in detail verbal and non-verbal interactions from educational and home activities. As one of the the main points about CA is that it enables an exploration of the social interactions being accomplished through both verbal and non-verbal interaction and some aspects of my analysis have been informed by CA. However, they do not follow all the conventions of CA and consequently I refer to what I have done as an ‘analysis of verbal and non-verbal interactions’.

For example, two recent studies by Burns and Radford (2008) and Mahon (2003) were similar to my study where they used CA on video data with children and their families in the UK. Burns and Radford (2008) investigated parent-child interactions in Nigerian families living in Hackney. Their intention was to illustrate how speech and language therapists, by using CA, could tailor recommendations according to the interactional style of each individual family so that they were consistent with the family’s cultural beliefs. Mahon’s (1997) study investigated the spoken language interactions between deaf children (6-7 year-old boys) and their carers in Tower Hamlets and Hackney. CA was used by Mahon to analyse video and simultaneous audio recordings of each child in conversation with their carers. She focused on question-answer sequences taking place during the activities. The main objective behind the study was to inform the strategies for promoting

language development and use between deaf children and their carers from families where English was not their first language.

One reason why talk-in-interaction is such a good place for observing members' methods of sense-making is because it systematically requires hearers to attend to what speakers are saying and to come to and display some understanding of it (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998). For me, videotapes of the activities between the participants were essential because they allowed me to analyze the embodied aspects of the interactions as well as what the participants were saying.

By reading and analyzing the detailed transcripts, I aimed to delve into the subtler and richer meanings of the interactions between the adults and the children and how they collaboratively co-constructed their talk. This involved analyzing examples of talk-in-interaction which may consist of either single cases or collections of particular types of conversational interactions. Also, data from interview schedules are included where relevant and appropriate. I investigate turn-taking patterns and the nature of questioning to examine patterns of shared engagement within the intergenerational relationships. I argue that the children demonstrate 'learner flexibility' which supports their competency as learners in the different contexts.

I work with fewer transcription symbols than those used by the 'ethnomethodological CA' (Seedhouse, 2005a). I took the transcription symbols used by Jefferson (1984) as a guide when transcribing the data from my study. The symbols used were not an attempt to represent everything as that would have been impossible. Rather, I selected some features which I identified as relevant and used those in the transcriptions (see Appendix VI).

Below I use segments of a transcript (provided in full in Appendix VII) from my own data to demonstrate the features of patterns of interactions I chose from Sacks et al (1974). The features identified are those that are associated with all conversations that contain turn-taking and how these turns are organized for participants to accomplish conversations. Although these examples are used here, there were other patterns of interactions that did not fall into the categories used by Sacks et al (1974), but exist within the transcripts from my data. I will discuss these in greater detail in this chapter. The transcript I use here which is the same as the one in Appendix VII is the activity between Aminah and her mother completing the Solar System puzzle.

'Interactions' comprise a number of turns, sometimes referred to as moves, around a theme which are completed with a resolution. Basic units of interaction are created by a sequence of turns which can be both verbal and non-verbal (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998).

E.g. (Turns 1-4: A: Aminah and M: mother)

28. ((M is taking out the puzzle pieces from the box and puts them on the floor, she checks to see if there are any more pieces left in the box, then puts the box to one side))
29. A: put them the right way round
30. M: ok let's do ALL of them then
31. ((A & M start to turn over the pieces together in silence))

'Turn-taking' is where one speaker tends to talk at a time and turns are taken with as little gap or overlap between them as possible (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998)

E.g. 1 (Turns 29-37: M: mother and A: Aminah)

29. M: ° one° one man yeh?

30. A: yeh
31. M: yeh let's get the man done
32. A: () ° put this°
33. M: there's one piece
34. A: ° this °
35. M: hmm
36. A: that wicked
37. ((A looks up at mum))

Talk is unlike written text as it will contain many silences filled with non-verbal activity, gestures, hesitations and overlaps among many other features. This is true in this transcript and across others where there were many instances in which the patterns of turn-taking did not take place. The example below is one such instance where the mother took consecutive turns with some unfilled pauses before Aminah had a turn:

E.g. 2 (Turns 7-18: M: mother and A: Aminah)

7. (0.17)
8. M: Ok that's all spread out now which one shall we start with?
9. ((A leans over towards mum))
10. (..)
11. M: ° Is there any more in there? °
12. [[[M picks up the box again, checks for any pieces left]]]
13. [[[A watches her]]]
14. ((M then closes the box and holds it in front of her and A))
15. M: [It's gotta look like?]

16. (.)
17. ((M turns over the box in her hands looking for the right picture to follow))
18. A: [° the man°]

From the above example, along with the extended number of turns taken by the mother, the nature of the turns was of interest to this study in investigating the role of the children within the activities. The turns the mother took in the above example were all in the form of questions each separated by very short unfilled pauses before Aminah responded. These are addressed later in this chapter as they do not follow the examples of 'exchange pairs' that are traditionally known as 'adjacency pairs'. Exchange pairs are defined as follows and examples are given to demonstrate the definitions:

'Exchange pairs' is where pairs of turns follow each other after either a question, summon or a request (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998). Some examples from the transcript are as follows:

'Questions and answers' is where a direct or indirect question is asked by a participant and a response is given by the participant at whom the question is directed (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998):

E.g. 3 (Turns 48-49: M: mother and A: Aminah)

48. M: can you see any more?
49. A: no

'Summons and compliance' is where a participant gives a command with some authority and the respondent complies with the command (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998)

E.g. 4 (Turns 211-214: A: Aminah and M: mother)

211. A: here
212. M: No °put that there°
213. A: here
214. ((A puts a piece on))

'Requests and responses' is where a participant makes a request which can be indicated to by utterances such as 'let's', 'shall', and others that invite a turn or utterance that is supportive in response (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998):

E.g. 5 (Turns 31-32: M: mother; A: Aminah)

31. M: yeh let's get the man done
32. A: () ° put this°

In light of investigating the nature of exchange pairs, I have chosen to look at the question and answer patterns. Although the other two forms do exist within the transcripts across the dyads, I was interested to see the nature of the patterns of questioning taking place as this assisted in gauging the role of the children within the interactions. Where questions were asked by a participant and answered by the respondent, similar to the above example (E.g. 3), they are labelled as 'non-redundant' questions. This can be seen in transcript E.g. 2 where in turn 15 the mother asked the question '*[It's gotta look like?]*' to which Aminah answered after a brief pause '*[° the man°]*'. But in other instances where the questions were not met with any answers like the two questions asked by the mother as can be seen in transcript E.g. 2 (Turns 8 & 11), questions remained 'redundant'. There were also 'self-response' patterns where the answer was from the questioner themselves. In the example below the mother answered her own question:

E.g. 6 (Turns 27-29: M: mother)

27. M: there's only one how many men in there?

28. ((both look at the picture on the box))

29. M: ° one°

In order to analyse the connections between speech and non-verbal behaviour that has been captured in my video data, I chose to categorise these too, as non-verbal moves help to understand in more depth the verbal turns. As Argyle (1967) states,

‘in human social behaviour it looks as if the non-verbal channel is used for negotiating interpersonal attitudes while the verbal channel is used primarily for conveying information’ (p49).

I categorised the non-verbal moves as ‘supportive’, ‘directive’, ‘initiating’, ‘pauses’ and ‘joint’. In E.g. 2 above an example of a ‘supportive’ non-verbal move (Turn 9) can be seen where Aminah moved forward to assist her mother to see if there were any more pieces left in the box. In the transcript example below (E.g. 7), there is an example of each of the other categories mentioned. Turn 108 is where the mother followed up the verbal move (Turn 107) with a ‘Directive’ non-verbal action that directed Aminah’s verbal response (Turn 109). Aminah then went on to make an ‘initiating’ non-verbal move (Turn 110) which resulted in the following three verbal turns (111-113) concluding a sequence of turns. The ‘pauses’ (Turn 114) are an integral and natural part of speech where many of the non-verbal moves take place. Also, they are significant in partly analyzing the pace and distribution of turns through the shared activities. Finally, turn 115 is an example of a ‘joint’ non-verbal move where both participants were involved in an action together.

E.g. 7 (Turns 107-115: M: mother and A: Aminah)

107. M: let’s put that there actually

108. ((M putting the box in front of them both))

109. A: that’s the end of that

110. ((A pointing to the picture on the box))
111. M: that part ok
112. A: does that bit go there?
113. M: yeah you're right ok what's next?
114. (...)
115. ((they both look for pieces))

As the categories have been defined with examples in the above section, I now provide an overview of the activities in each dyad forming the middle layer of the analysis. This section of the chapter aims to present the quantitative analysis of the data to investigate the nature of the interactions between the participants. The patterns of similarities will be discussed as well as the differences. For all three children, Aminah, Samiha and Habib, their first activity was with their teacher. They then completed the puzzle with their grandmothers and mothers.

8.3 Overview of Activity: Child-Teacher Dyads

'Today I decided to take an extended lunch break from work to go to school and meet Hasna, class teacher for both Aminah and Samiha. She kindly agreed to sacrifice her lunchtime to accommodate me. I felt really excited and anxious before going into school as I know she is very busy and ideally I wanted to video her with both Aminah and Samiha. I kept checking and rechecking whether I had all the equipment and the puzzles I needed to take with me. As I entered the school already flushed from rushing and carrying the many bags, I met the head teacher who, as usual, welcomed me and wished me luck. I walked to the end of the long winding corridor to the classroom where Hasna greeted me with a smile and both she and Samiha were clearing away the desk in the centre of the room. The rest of the children from the class were playing in the playground just outside

the classroom, this produced some background noise, which worried me slightly. As time was short we got straight down to business. I handed over the puzzle box and moved away to a corner of the classroom and set up the video camera.'
(Filednotes, 2006)

Although my intention was to video both Aminah and Samiha with Hasna on the same day, it was not possible as time was limited and the puzzle took longer than Hasna had expected. On a further visit arranged with Hasna, she carried out the activity with Aminah. Unfortunately on this occasion they only partially completed the puzzle as Hasna had other commitments. On both occasions, the children and Hasna sat on one of the tables in the classroom, sitting opposite each other, whilst the rest of the children were outside playing. On a third visit to the school, Jade and Habib's mother agreed for him to do the puzzle one evening after school. They both also sat at a table in their classroom and sat next to each other. Table 4 below contains the details of the puzzle each dyad engaged in, the time taken and the total number of turns taken to complete them:

Table 4 Record of puzzles and time taken to complete them by each child-teacher dyad

	Aminah & Teacher (Hasna)	Samiha & Teacher (Hasna)	Habib & Teacher (Jade)
Name of Puzzle	UK and the Republic of Ireland Map	Solar System	UK and the Republic of Ireland Map
No. of Pieces	100-piece puzzle featuring places of interest from around the United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland	60-piece puzzle featuring the names of all the planets in the solar system	100-piece puzzle featuring places of interest from around the United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland
Time Taken	29:13 mins	32:52 mins	40:56 mins
Total No. of Turns (Verbal & Non-verbal)	366	693	869

I now present numerical data showing the breakdown of the number of verbal turns, the number of words spoken and the number of questions asked by each participant in the child-teacher dyad (Diagram 1). The aim of this was to compare the child-to-teacher ratio with the child-to-mother and child-to-grandmother ratios to investigate the similarities, differences and patterns of interaction during the shared activity.

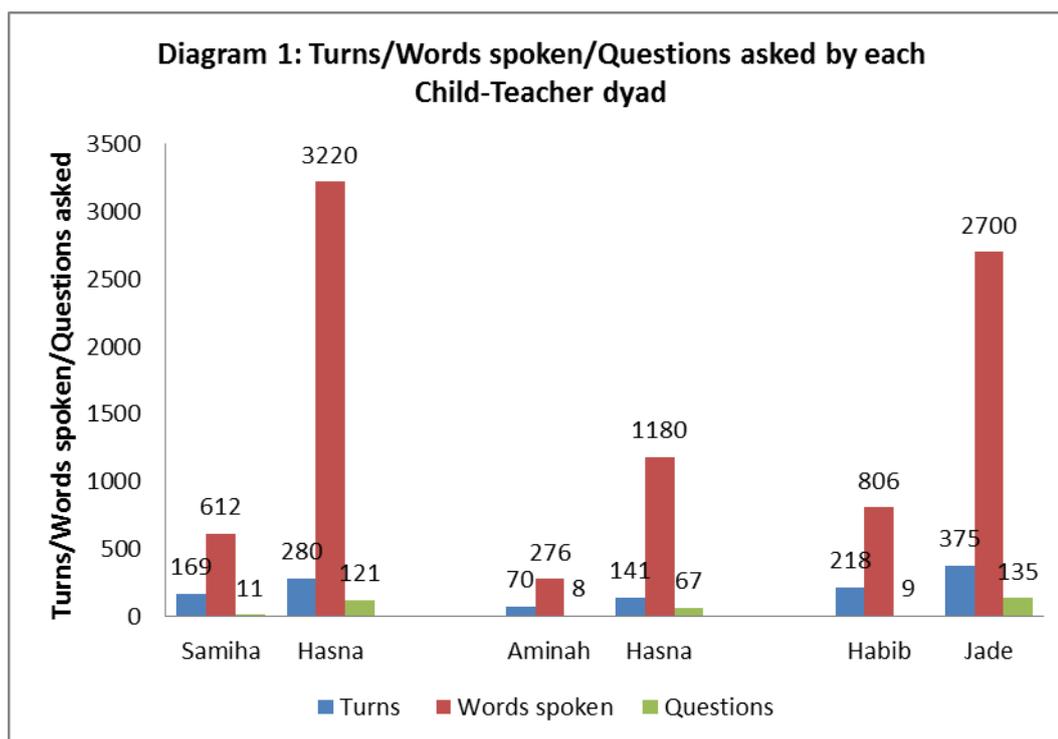


Table 5 Ratios of verbal turns, words per turn, words and questions asked in child-teacher dyad

	Teacher (Hasna) & Samiha	Teacher (Hasna) & Aminah	Teacher (Jade) & Habib
Ratio of Turns Teacher/child	280/169 = 1.7	141/70 = 2.0	375/218 = 1.7
Ratio of Words Per Turn	Samiha: 612/169=3.6 Hasna: 3220/280=11.5	Aminah: 276/70=3.9 Hasna: 1180/141=7.8	Habib: 806/218=3.5 Jade: 2700/375=6.5
Ratio of Words Teacher/Child	3220/612 = 5.3	1180/276 = 4.3	2700/806 = 3.3
Ratio of Questions Teacher/Child	121/11 = 11	67/8 = 8.4	135/9 = 15

From Diagram 1 and Table 5 above it is evident that the number of turns taken by the teachers was approximately twice that of the children. Also, it can be seen that the number of words spoken by Hasna were four times the number of words spoken by Aminah and five times the number of words spoken by Samiha. Jade spoke three times as many words as Habib throughout the activity. The striking evidence for the authority the teachers had during the activities was the sheer number of questions asked by them, which was far greater than those asked by the children. It is important to note that Hasna and Aminah did not manage to complete the puzzle, but the time taken was similar to that of the other two activities (Table 4), and during their activity Hasna managed to ask 67 questions with Aminah only asking 8. The ratio of words spoken between each child and their teacher demonstrates that the teachers spoke twice as many words per turn as the children with Hasna speaking approximately three times more during the shared activity with Samiha. In contrast, the children's ratio of words per turn revealed that each child spoke approximately four words per turn, highlighting the brevity of their turns.

8.4 Overview of Activity: Child-Mothers Dyads

'I have managed to eventually get a date to go to video Samiha and her mum and grandmother! Even though the time they have chosen is so very inconvenient for me I can't risk losing this chance. I managed to sort out childcare for my own children and took all I needed with me to meet them at Samiha's khala's (maternal aunt) house. In a way I was happy with the change of venue as it was a real struggle trying to carry out the interview with the grandmother at her own house, as so many people come in and out constantly! I ended up walking from one end of the very long road to the other trying to find the house late in the evening on a winter night. I started to worry as I was running terribly late and

knowing that the family may get annoyed. But the effort was worth it as Samiha, her younger sister and her cousin brother came out to meet me, took hold of my bags and led me into a warm and cosy living room. I was served with freshly made somosas and other refreshments, which gave me the opportunity to explain the delay and the purpose of my visit to the family. As I explained I was aware of the number of people in the room and I wondered how it would work with so many people hovering around. How would I ask the aunt and her children not to be involved? How could I ask the grandmother to leave the room while Samiha and her mother did the activity? It all seemed too complicated and I was afraid I would come across rude so I just let it 'all' happen and hoped I would get some interesting data!' (Fieldnotes, 2008)

Samiha and her mother both sat on the living room floor with her younger sister Surayah and Akhter, Samiha's paternal first cousin. He was present at the beginning, looking on at the activity before being called away by his aunt. Akhter later joined the activity again at Samiha's request. Aminah and her mother sat side by side on the small floor space of a bedroom at Aminah's grandmother's house. Habib and his mother both sat opposite each other on the floor of Habib's aunt's room. Habib's younger sister and grandmother were in the room with them. The details of the puzzles and the length of time taken to complete it are in the Table 6 below:

Table 6 Record of puzzles and times taken to complete them by each child-mother dyad

	Aminah & Mother (Layla)	Samiha & Mother (Shamima)	Habib & Mother (Thaminah)
Name of Puzzle	Solar System	Jungle Floor Puzzle	Solar System
No of Pieces	60-piece puzzle featuring the names of all the planets in the solar system	24-piece puzzle featuring a cartoon jungle scene with lots of creatures	60-piece puzzle featuring the names of all the planets in the solar system
Time Taken	15:48 mins	11:36 mins	15:29 mins
Total No. of Turns (Verbal & Non-verbal)	373	494	488

Diagram 2 below presents numerical data showing the breakdown of the number of verbal turns, words spoken and the number of questions asked by each participant in the child-mother dyad.

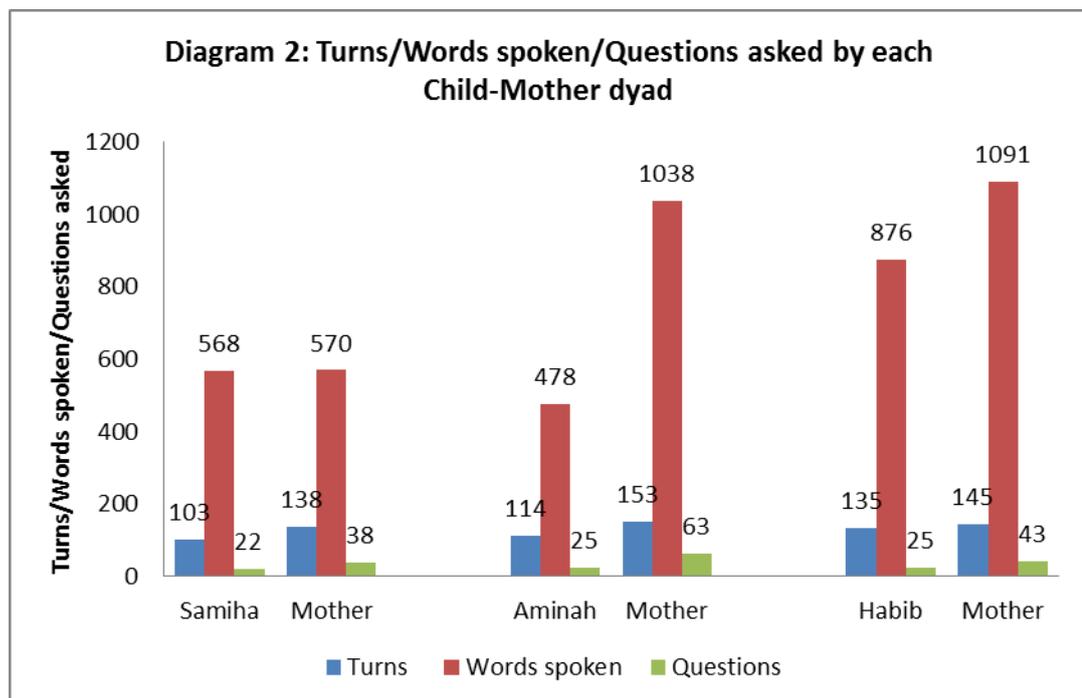


Table 7 Ratios of verbal turns, words per turn, words and questions asked in child-mother dyad

	Mother (Shamima) & Samiha	Mother (Layla) & Aminah	Mother (Thaminah) & Habib
Ratio of Turns Mother/child	138/103 = 1.3	153/114 = 1.3	145/135 = 1.1
Ratio of Words Per Turn	Samiha: 568/103=5.5 Mother: 570/138=4	Aminah: 478/114=4.2 Mother: 1038/153=6.8	Habib: 876/135=6.5 Mother: 1091/145=7.5
Ratio of Words Mother/child	570/568 = 1.0	1038/478 = 2.2	1091/876 = 1.2
Ratio of Questions Mother/child	38/22 = 1.73	63/25 = 2.52	43/25 = 1.72

From Diagram 2 and Table 7 above, the numerical values suggest that there was approximately an equal number of turns between the child and the mother in these dyads. Habib and Samiha also seem to utter a similar number of words to each other to their respective mothers. However, Aminah's mother spoke twice as much as Aminah whilst taking a similar number of turns. It is also evident that all the children asked a similar number of questions throughout the activity with the mothers of Habib and Samiha asking twice as many and Aminah's mother asking approximately three times more. What is interesting here is the fact that the children seem to have asked more questions during the activities with their mothers than they did with their teachers. Also, the words-per-turn ratio increased with their mothers (except for with Aminah whose ratio remained the same). To unravel the similarities and the differences between the child-teacher and child-mother dyads, I look at the nature of the turns and the type of questions being asked by the participants during their activities later in this chapter.

8.5 Overview of Activity: Child-Grandmother Dyads

'I had an early morning visit arranged with Habib's mother to video them at his aunt's house today. Habib's mother was going to pick up his grandmother from

her house and bring her along. I was worried as the grandmother recently had a stroke and I expressed my concern to Habib's mother. She reassured me that it would be OK. I grabbed the chance as I am always worried about getting another chance as her health is so fragile. As I was about to make my way I get a phone call to say that unexpected guests had arrived to visit the grandmother, but if possible I could go along later in the evening. I eventually went around at 9.30pm. Habib's grandmother looked tired but she wanted to get on with it and I did not want to miss the opportunity as Habib's mother also indicated it may be difficult to rearrange. Habib on the other hand was super-excited and his enthusiasm energised us all!' (Fieldnotes, 2010)

Samiha and her grandmother both sat on the living room floor of Samiha's maternal aunt's house with the aforementioned family members all around them. Aminah and her grandmother sat in the grandmother's house in a little bedroom on the second floor. They carried out the activity sitting on the bed as the grandmother couldn't sit on the floor due to back problems. The bed was quite soft and the puzzle pieces were difficult to put together. The grandmother sat on one corner of the bed and Aminah sat facing the room on the side of the bed with her back to the window. Grandmother and Habib sat next to each other on the floor of Habib's aunt's room. Habib's mother and younger sister were not in the room with them. Habib and Aminah's mothers expressed that it would disturb the activity if they were to stay in the room. The details of the puzzles and the length of time taken to complete is on Table 8 below:

Table 8 Record of puzzles and times taken to complete them by each child-grandmother dyad

	Aminah & Grandmother (Panna)	Samiha & Grandmother (Rekha)	Habib & Grandmother (Rahma)
Name of Puzzle	Jungle Floor Puzzle	Jungle Floor Puzzle	Jungle Floor Puzzle
No. of Pieces	24-piece puzzle featuring a cartoon jungle scene with lots of creatures	24-piece puzzle featuring a cartoon jungle scene with lots of creatures	24-piece puzzle featuring a cartoon jungle scene with lots of creatures
Time Taken	13:58	11:36	08:28
Total No. of Turns (Verbal & Non-verbal)	369	385	268

Diagram 3 below shows the breakdown of the turns, non-verbal moves, number of words spoken and the number of questions asked by each participant in the child-grandmother dyads.

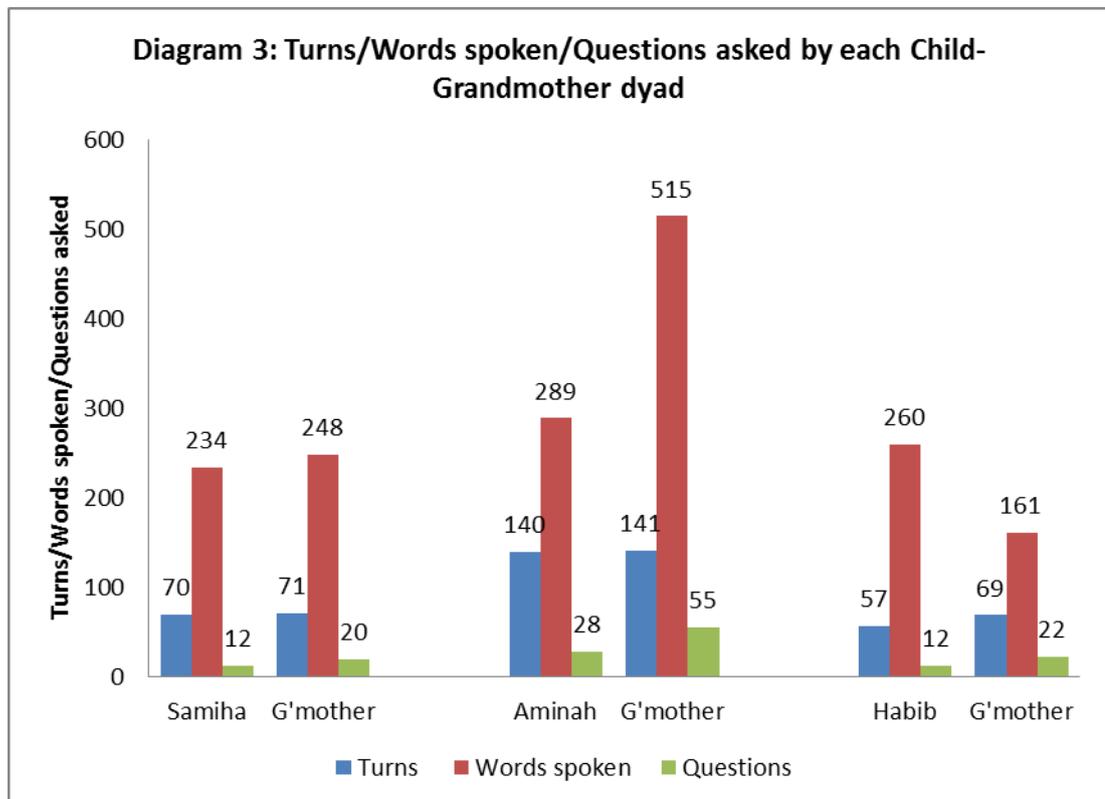


Table 9 Ratios of verbal turns, words per turn, words and questions asked in child-grandmother dyad

	Samiha & Grandmother (Panna)	Aminah & Grandmother (Layla)	Habib & Grandmother (Shamima)
Ratio of Turns	71/70 = 1.0	141/140 = 1.0	69/57 = 1.2
Ratio of Words Per Turn	Samiha: 234/70=3.3 Grandmother: 248/71=3.5	Aminah: 289/140=2.1 Grandmother: 515/141=3.7	Habib: 260/57=4.7 Grandmother: 161/69=2.3
Ratio of Words Grandmother/ Child	248/234 = 1.1	515/289 = 1.8	161/260 = 0.6
Ratio of Questions Grandmother/ Child	20/12 = 1.7	55/28 = 2.0	22/12 = 1.8

All the grandmothers completed the Jungle Floor puzzle with their grandchildren. As the puzzle contained fewer and larger pieces than the other puzzles did, the activity took less time to complete. Therefore, significantly fewer turns were taken and fewer words were spoken. However, the patterns for the child-grandmother dyads were very similar in many ways to the child-mother dyads. Here, too, from Diagram 3 and Table 9 above, it can be seen that the ratios of turns were equal between the participants. All the grandmothers asked twice as many questions as their grandchildren. The ratio of words per turn between each child and his/her grandmother was also comparatively similar except for with Habib and his grandmother. Habib uttered twice as many words as his grandmother. Although Samiha had completed this puzzle with her mother, she repeated the same one with her grandmother as I wanted to observe all the children carrying out the same puzzle with their grandmothers. This did not impact too greatly on the way Samiha interacted with her grandmother, as there was quite a long time lapse (approximately a year) between this and when she completed the same puzzle with her mother.

Looking through the above I found that the relationships between the children and their grandmothers seemed to be very similar in some ways to the relationships between them and their mothers, but very different to those with their teachers. To delve into this a little further, I looked into the interaction components during the activities and analyzed the nature of the following:

- Turn-taking
- Exchange pairs – question and answer patterns

8.6 Turn-taking and Question and Answer Patterns

‘Different cultures make meaning in different ways, with different patterns of exchange and interaction. The children learn to live in different worlds/multiple worlds to switch from one language/literacy practice to another, each with its corresponding set of rules’. (Luke and Kale 1997, p9)

The children in this study were similar to those referred to in the above quote. They lived in multiple worlds where their patterns of exchanges and interactions were different. They were the agents that often transmitted the knowledge and experiences between these worlds. The difference, however, with these children, being third-generation British Bangladeshis, was that they entered schools already familiar with the language and behaviour rituals, or ‘recipes’ (Hymes, 1974), of the classroom unlike the children referred to above. This familiarity was passed on from the parents’ experiences of going to school and sharing these with their children. Also, in all three cases, their families shared the practices of reading stories at home and were using appropriate, socially-accepted linguistic recipes e.g., ‘please’ and ‘thank-you’, etc. and were speakers of the language and members of the culture represented and validated in their schools. However, this study supports and expands on the studies by Kenner et al (2004, 2007) highlighting that these children entered classrooms possessing additional knowledge and etiquettes. These can be seen as additional ‘recipes’ that are not

expected in school alongside the accepted 'recipes' recognized by teachers as has been mentioned above. Some of the ways in which these children attained the additional knowledge base and etiquettes were investigated in this study through the transcripts of the shared activities between the children and the adults. The nature of turn-taking and question and answer patterns enabled me to gain an insight into the nature of these interactions and the ways in which the children exercised their 'learner flexibilities' and competencies in relation to managing their different and sometimes 'simultaneous worlds' as stated by Kenner (2004a).

8.6.1 Child-Teacher Dyads

Looking at the transcripts across all the dyads it is transparent that turn-taking did not always take place as expected with one speaker talking at a time and turns being taken with as little gap or overlap between them as possible. In the child-teacher dyads (Table 10) the teachers tended to dominate the turns, sometimes taking several turns consecutively.

Table 10 Number of consecutive turns taken by child and the teacher

Number of consecutive turns	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Teacher (Hasna)	43	16	9	3	1	1		
Samiha	8	1						
Teacher (Jade)	32	21	10	3	5	1	2	
Habib	5							
Teacher (Hasna)	21	15	4	1		1		
Aminah	2							

Table 11 below presents a breakdown of the types of questions asked by the children and their teachers during the activity.

Table 11 Child-teacher dyad: non-redundant, redundant and self-responses

	Samih	Teacher (Hasna)	Aminah	Teacher (Hasna)	Habib	Teacher (Jade)
No. of Non-redundant Questions	10	55	20	27	17	70
No. of Redundant Questions	3	28	2	27	4	26
No. of Self-Response Questions	5	30	3	12	3	30
% of Redundant and Self-response Questions	44%	51%	20%	59%	29%	44%

In the case of teachers, data in Table 11 above reflects the fact that the teachers talked more and they held the floor more consistently. Many of the consecutive turns taken were in the form of questions directed at the children (Transcript E.g. 8, 9 & 10 below). These were frequent and the teachers expected the children to respond with short and brief answers. This was at times demanding on the children and often created confusion as they tried to work out which question to respond to alongside trying to navigate their way through putting the puzzle together. This resulted in a high percentage of redundant questions and the teachers responding to their own questions. However, when the children asked questions, the teachers responded to them.

The first example below (E.g. 8) is a portion of a transcript of Jade completing the activity with Habib. As the Science and Technology senior leader at the school, she felt she had a deeper understanding of what she asked her pupils to do as she had insight into how children from different cultures and social backgrounds learned. This insight was further supported by the fact that she was part of a research programme where she received training in assisting and developing

children's learning. During this, there were opportunities for her to find out about other research studies as well as consult journals and other publications. Jade also expressed that she followed the research study by Kenner et al (2004) that took place at the school by reading some of the published articles and speaking to colleagues that were involved.

E.g. 8 (child-teacher dyad: H: Habib and J: Jade)

1. ((H has the box and contemplating what to do))
2. J: what you going to do?
3. J: what is the puzzle of?
4. H: the the WORLD?
5. ((H looks up at J))
6. ((J is looking at the puzzle))
7. J: the world?

Jade and Habib take 869 moves in total to complete their puzzle activity. Although Jade makes attempts to allow Habib to take the lead throughout the activity, her role as the knowledgeable teacher was very manifest. She initiated the activity defining who was in charge by asking Habib two consecutive questions (Turns 2 & 3) that required different responses. She was expecting him to read the title of the puzzle from the box but he responded by what he thought it was from looking at the picture of the map on the box (Turn 4). She pursued this and unpicked it with Habib taking a further 19 turns until he was able to read the whole title of the puzzle from the box.

26. H: Republic of Ireland
27. J: super! and that's the island
28. (..)
29. ((J points to the box and circling the part of Ireland with her finger))

30. J: there so we gonna be looking at that RIGHT! Where shall we start?

Jade closes the sequence by praising Habib (Turn 27) and in turn 30 she suggested indirectly using the box as a reference, which she established in turn 45 below. When Habib turned down Jade's offer to help him (Turns 47-52), she still took on the role of the guide by asking him what 'their' plan was for starting the activity. This discussion around which pieces to select and how to move forward continued between turns 57-70.

45. J: so you're using the box to help us aren't you?

46. ((H nods yes))

47. J: can I is there anything I can do to help you with it?

48. H: °uhm°

49. (0.5)

50. H: °no°

51. ((H nods his head))

52. J: no?

53. ((J nods her head too))

54. J: ok what's our plan to go first?

55. J: to do what are we looking for first?

56. ((They both look at the box))

Throughout the activity Jade coaxed Habib to interact verbally and non-verbally but she remained in control of the topics and decided on the shifts and changes as can be seen between turns 71-77 below. Jade introduced a topic which potentially could have opened up a conversation about sharing a bit more about her life and allowing Habib to share more about his, but the conversation ended and Jade shifted it back to the task at hand.

71. J: see that one that's where I was born
72. ((J points to a piece, smiles and looks at H))
73. (0.4)
74. J: in that town
75. (..)
76. J: Ipswich that's funny I didn't know that would be on
there
77. ((J folds back her arms))

From the above example it can be seen that the turns were initiated by Jade and at times with closed questions. The responses were often short and when Habib's responses matched what Jade wanted to hear, she almost always followed them up with positive celebratory feedback such as 'super' and 'brilliant' and sometimes added explanations as in turn 88.

88. J: I like your plan for starting with sides

E.g. 9 below is the transcript of Hasna and Aminah completing the puzzle. It took 56 out of the 366 verbal and non-verbal moves before Aminah and Hasna actually started their activity. Although Aminah made an initiating statement (Turn 2) she did not speak again until she replied to Hasna's question (Turn 8).

E.g. 9 (child-teacher dyad: A: Aminah and H: Hasna)

1. ((Aminah and Hasna look at the picture of the map on the box))
2. A: °there's a map°
3. ((H is holding up the box))
4. ((A looks at the picture on the box of the map))
5. H: So it's the British?
6. (.)

7. H: Isles
8. H: did you do that in year 2?

Turns 9-47 were dominated by Hasna, and Aminah responded with very short responses. Hasna, like Jade, also suggested using the box as a guide (Turn 15). The verbal moves tended to be test questions or statements directed at Aminah of which the majority were asking to know how best to approach the activity (Turn 17 below). Although Aminah answered (Turn 20), Hasna seemed to go off on a tangent again by repeating the same question in different ways (Turns 23-24). Hasna also did not respond to Aminah when she made the concrete suggestion on how to start the activity (Turn 20).

15. H: Alright so we gonna try and use the box as our picture.
16. (..)
17. H: Do you want to tell me what to do first?
18. ((H closes up the box and places it at arm's length away from themselves))
19. ((They are both looking at the box))
20. A: You have to find the °name and we need to find the edges°
21. ((A is pointing at the map on the box))
22. ((A and H are both still looking at the box))
23. H: do you know how best to do a jigsaw?
24. H: have you done a jigsaw before?

Hasna also tended to ask questions taking consecutive turns, which Aminah found difficult at times to respond to (Turns 23, 24). Between turns 25-44 Hasna asked

whether Aminah was good at doing puzzles or not and how difficult she found them. This involved Hasna asking Aminah questions and Aminah had the opportunity to answer on only two occasions. This was reflected in the 59% redundant and self-response questions on Hasna's part. It was demonstrated when Hasna asked the two questions (Turns 48 & 49 below) and Aminah was left confused (Turns 50 & 51). Rather than allowing Aminah a bit more time, Hasna went on to answer her own questions (Turn 52) to which Aminah listened attentively.

45. H: >how shall we do this? <

46. H: > Are you going to do a part or are we going to do it together? <

47. A: Together

48. H: Right have you got any ideas of how quickly we can do this?

49. H: Or shall we just take our time?

50. A: eh eh eh

51. ((A looks lost for words laughs and nods her head slightly confused))

52. H: I've got an idea what we can do is we can group it so we can look at the colours so look this is quite good so look we've got all the pinks, all the yellows, the we got all the blues and here are all the greens then we'll know what colours to do what you can do is first group all the colours before we start to stick bits together and if you do see something you can fit it together let's group all the colours first

Hasna, like Jade praised Aminah when she managed to follow her lead.

140. H: oh good girl so this bit goes here and that bit there and how about this?

Hasna's way to guide Aminah through the activity was to ask questions. However, Aminah did not reply to many of them and, when she did, Hasna failed to follow through with Aminah's responses as can be seen in the following section of the transcript. Aminah did not challenge this but moved along with Hasna and complied with what her teacher suggested. She did the same when Hasna used the opportunity to link the activity to the geography curriculum topic they covered (Turns 162-164).

150. H: how do you do your jigsaws at home?
151. A: I dunno I just find the main bits and put them in the middle
152. H: ahh so you find the main bits so what would be the main bits?
153. H: Here?
154. ((H points to the picture on the box and circles it with her finger))
155. A: hmm the flag bits
156. ((A pointing to the picture too))
157. H: would that be the main bits?
158. H: It would be that wouldn't it?
159. H: So shall we start to put the pinks together?
160. A: here's a pink
161. (...)

162. H: and we can use a bit of geography here as well
 couldn't you coz look here's all the names of the
 places so you can guess where places are so we can
 find
163. A: That's London
164. H: so let's find London

For Hasna and Samiha below (E.g. 10), it took 69 moves out of a total of 693 verbal and non-verbal moves before they started to put pieces together. The nature of conversation was very similar to the previous two examples. It was very much based around the technicalities of finding the right pieces and putting them together. Here, too, Hasna asked a large number of questions of which 51% were self-responses and questions which were redundant.

E.g. 10 (child-teacher dyad: H: Hasna and S: Samiha)

1. H: () puzzle look can you read it?
2. ((H showing the picture on the box to S))
3. S: the
4. (..)
5. S: solar system
6. H: >the solar system so what do you think this puzzle's
 going to be about? <
7. S: about the solar [system]
8. H: [how] [oh] () I'm just opening the box do you want to
 open it?

Although Hasna remained in control of both conversations, the turns developed such that conversational equality was reached to a greater extent in the

interchange between Hasna and Aminah than in that between Hasna and Samiha. Although Aminah and Hasna did not get to complete the activity, in a similar amount of time Hasna asked Samiha approximately twice as many questions (Diagram 1) which were more direct and testing (e.g. Turns 1 & 6). These questions seemed more testing because Hasna assessed to see if Samiha could read by herself and gauged her knowledge of what the puzzle was about (Turns 1-8). This could have been triggered by the view (discussed in the previous chapter) held by Hasna of Aminah as needing more assistance and prompting as she felt Samiha lacked the academic support at home. On the other hand, with Aminah Hasna read out the title of the puzzle herself, which again reinforces her view of Aminah being more academically capable. Hasna also had twice as many turns which were in this conversation than in the conversation between her and Aminah (Table 5).

Turns 9-26 continued in a similar fashion with Hasna asking many questions and giving directions to Samiha. An example of this can be seen in the following portion of the transcript where the style of questioning was directive and imperative in nature (Turns 27, 29-30, 32).

27. H: so what do you think is the best way to sort a puzzle out?
28. S: ° () °
29. H: what a good idea so let's get all the right colours together so you choose all the white bits and then I'll choose the so what colours?
30. H: Help me choose what [colours?]
31. S: ° [hmm] °
32. H: what colour shall I choose?

33. S: you can choose all the green bits
34. H: I'll take all the green bits,
35. S: Aliens

In the portion of transcript below, although Hasna started off by taking on Samiha's suggestion (Turn 48) and discussed how this could be done with Samiha complying diligently and by turn 59 Hasna changed her mind.

48. H: [so we] shall we get the alien first?
49. H: Ok you get the alien °and I'll get the astronaut° that's
and I'll you pass me my alien bits if you see any alien
bits you pass to me
50. S: °yeah°
51. H: >and then if I see any astronaut bits I'll pass to you<
52. S: ° [ok] °
53. H: [that looks] like a something what do you think that is?
54. S: °I think that's a alien°
55. H: °ok°
56. ((S tries to put pieces together herself))
57. ((H gets on with her pieces))
58. (0.4)
59. H: I changed my mind I'm going to go for the rocket cuz
its easier

Samiha by nature was more talkative than Aminah but said very little and there were hardly any instances where she carried the discussion further, introduced a topic, asked any questions that interested her or generally talked about her own interests. I believe one of the reasons for this was the perception of the children

held by the teacher, making the interactions different. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Hasna expressed in her interview that Samiha did not have a family environment which contained many learning opportunities and felt that she was struggling academically. On the other hand, she felt that Aminah had all the support from home which a child would require to achieve her full academic potential. This was reflected in the way Hasna interacted with Samiha and Aminah during the activities.

It is evident from the three transcripts and the tables above (Tables 10 & 11) that in all three situations communication was firmly centred on the teachers. It was they who talked and decided when the children could talk, asked the questions, evaluated the answers and managed the sequences as a whole. There was also a pattern of teachers asking a number of questions at the same time in all of the child-teacher dyads and, at times, the teachers did not provide an opportunity for the children to respond. Where types of questions were concerned the children rarely asked questions about what the teacher meant or requested them to elaborate on their meanings. The children tended to accept that what they did manage to say in answer to the teacher's questions would almost certainly be evaluated (by repetition, the teacher's own suggestions or questions), might well be interrupted if judged to be irrelevant to the teacher's purposes and might be modified and translated to fit the teacher's frame of reference. In the above transcript Hasna and Samiha went through a discussion about where to start the activity, with the possibilities ranging from colours to characters. Just when they got to a point of agreement in turn 59, Hasna decided to change her mind. Since the teachers usually know the right answers or give the impression that they do, the children learn to focus on the many clues and cues which the teacher provides to narrow the search area for the pieces and the number of possible ways forward.

Their task was to respond, rarely to initiate, and, although at times the teachers did take on ideas from the children, they did generally decide on the best way to deal with the shared endeavour and what the children should achieve from the activity.

Having said all the above, the child-teacher dyads did manage to complete the shared endeavours, except for that between Aminah and Hasna due to time constraints. Considering the limitations and restrictions within which the children participated, the teachers were 'scaffolding' the children's learning through their ZPD to reach their Zone of Actual Development (ZAD), which was to put the pieces of puzzles together and complete the activity. An important aspect of scaffolding during these activities was that the children felt successful in their endeavour. The greatest probability of student success is achieved when challenging tasks are matched with a high level of support. For all the children, this was their first or second time putting a puzzle together, and they were able to complete the challenging task with assistance from their teachers with the children playing the novices.

8.6.2 Child-Mother Dyads

The relationships between the children and mothers in this study are complex. All the mothers on the one hand have been raised by mothers who have a strong faith and cultural background and on the other hand have been through an education system similar to that of their children, thus sharing some of the experiences of their children's 'simultaneous worlds' (Kenner, 2004). Similar to the third-generation Bangladeshi children in Kenner et al's (2008) study, these children were also fluent English speakers born and raised in the UK.

As mentioned earlier, the language of communication between these children and their parents was mainly English. The following tables, 12 & 13, show that the interactions between the children and their mothers are closer to being equal than those with their teachers.

Table 12 Number of consecutive turns taken by child and their mother

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mother	28	6	1	2				
Samaha	19	7	3					
Mother	13	4	3					
Habib	21	9	1					
Mother	18	10	4	6		2		
Aminah	11	2	1					

Table 13 below is a breakdown of the types of questions asked by the children and their mothers during the activity.

Table 13 Child-mother dyad: non-redundant, redundant and self-responses

	Samaha	Mother (Shamima)	Aminah	Mother (Layla)	Habib	Mother (Thaminah)
No. of Non-Redundant Questions	10	19	20	31	17	34
No. of Redundant Questions	3	12	2	14	4	7
No. of Self-Response Questions	5	2	3	15	3	3
% of Redundant and Self-response Questions	44%	42%	20%	48%	29%	23%

Although I expected Thaminah to be the most similar to the teachers being a primary school teacher herself, it was in fact Layla who was. She had the highest percentage (48%) of self-responses and redundant questions and also asked the

highest number of questions (Diagram 2). In the activity between Habib and his mother he initiated the activity verbally (Turns 1 & 2) and non-verbally (Turns 5 & 7), which Thaminah endorsed (Turn 3).

E.g. 11 (child-mother dyad: M: mother (Thaminah) and A: Habib)

1. ((H has the box and is looking at the picture on it))
2. H: eh it's a solar system
3. M: °Solar system yeh°

Habib also had the courage to disagree with his mother in the home setting (Turn 27) and made suggestions (Turns 44 & 50). The turns from 4-14 involved them both getting the pieces out of the box and turning pieces over. The moves 14-27 below are very interesting as they reflect a similar set of moves between Hasna and Samiha (Transcript E.g. 10, Turns 6-9) where the child was being asked a very obvious question which was rhetorical in nature about the nature of the puzzle.

14. ((H looks at a piece in his hands))
15. M: so how does the puzzle picture look like?
16. ((M looking down and still turning over pieces))
17. H: looks like the solar system
18. ((H looks at M))
19. M: >oh ok then<
20. (...)
21. ((M laughs))

22. ((H smiles, he is slowly turning over the pieces))
23. M: >doesn't look like the solar system<
24. (..)
25. M: it looks like it's got aliens and
26. (2)
27. H: I don't think it's aliens because it looks like aliens but
it's actually astronauts

They continued to discuss the planets and the solar system pieces between moves 28-41. Habib can be seen making more confident moves with his mother than he did with his teacher. When his mother made the suggestion to start on a different part of the puzzle (Turn 48), Habib made a confident move to continue with his attempt at making the part of the rocket (Turn 50). They then continue with putting pieces together between turns 51-397.

42. M: do you know anything about space?
43. ((GM is talking to the toddler in Bengali in the background))
44. H: I'll make the rocket first let's make the rocket it's
smaller
45. M: is it?
46. M: oh ok ()
47. H: ok
48. M: Let's start with the aliens

49. ((H & M turn to look and face the box))
50. H: yeh you start with the aliens and I try [this the rocket]
51. M: [°here we are°]

The activity ends with Thaminah encouraging Habib to name all the planets and they have a conversation about the solar system. The style of questioning was very similar to that of the teachers in that the questions were direct and closed. However, Habib seemed more at ease and ready to expand on his answers with his mother.

398. M: there done the solar system
399. H: that's the whole solar system with the sun, Mercury
Venus uh uh
400. ((H swipes his hand over the completed puzzle))
401. ((Toddler is standing behind M & H observing them))
402. M: what is that?
403. ((M points to the planet Mercury))
404. H: Mercury
405. M: Mercury
406. H: yes Earth, Mars Jup-Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, U-
Uranus, U-renus
407. ((Toddler sits on M's lap and observes))
408. M: °Uranus°

409. ((H points to puzzle))

410. H: Neptune then uh Pluto

In the activity between Aminah and her mother below (E.g.12), like Habib, Aminah contributed more. Although her mother initiated the activity with a non-verbal move, Aminah made the first verbal move (Turn 2). Layla seemed to take on Aminah's suggestions. However, she did take more consecutive turns, similar to the teachers. This can be seen in the short transcript below where Layla asked three consecutive questions (Turns 8 & 9) with the directive, non-verbal move (Turn 15) which seemed to be intended to assess Aminah's knowledge. Aminah's responses to her mother were short similar to those with her teacher.

E.g. 12 (child-mother dyad: M: mother (Layla) and A: Aminah)

1. ((M is taking out the puzzle pieces from the box and puts them on the floor, she checks to see if there are any more pieces left in the box, then puts the box to one side))
2. A: put them the right way round
3. M: ok lets do ALL of them then
4. ((A & M start to turn over the pieces together in silence))
5. ((M moves back a little to make space for more pieces))
6. ((A spreads out some of the pieces behind her turning to her side so she is facing all the pieces))
7. (0.17)
8. M: Ok that's all spread out now
9. ((A leans over towards mum))
10. (..)
11. M: which one shall we start with?

12. M: ° Is there any more in there? °
13. [((M picks up the box again, checks for any pieces left))]
14. [((A watches her))]
15. ((M then closes the box and holds it in front of her and A))
16. M: [It's gotta look like?]
17. (.)
18. ((M turns over the box in her hands looking for the right picture to follow))
19. A: [° the man°]

Turns 20-81 continued where Layla asked many questions with Aminah responding to them and also asking a few herself. Although her contributions were short in nature, she responded more as Layla tended to ask for her contribution a lot more and actually followed some of it through. When they got a little stuck it was Layla who, like the teachers, suggested using the box as a guide as can be seen in turn 82.

82. M: hmm let have a look at the picture, oh you've got it
and the next bit is the rocket shall we fit the rocket in
there?

They worked more as partners in this activity than Aminah did with her teacher and continued to find pieces and put them together between turns 83-359. When they did finish, Layla celebrated (Turns 360-362) and interestingly Aminah demonstrated her confidence and took the role of establishing the learning outcome by putting herself forward to name all the planets at the end of the task to her mother (Turn 364).

360. M: Hooray finished!

361. (..)
362. M: *Masha Allah by Allah's Will* finished ok alright
363. ((M moves the box closer to herself and points at the completed puzzle))
364. A: shall I say all the names?
365. M: yeah
366. A: the solar system, Pluto, Mars, Jupiter what does that say?
367. M: Uranus

Transcript E.g. 13 below is from the activity between Samiha and her mother. Here, again, it was the mother who started the activity by asking a question (Turn 5) establishing who was the knowledgeable adult in the activity. Shamima also established the fact that Surayah, Samiha's younger sister, was there to help (Turn 11) which was taken on board by Samiha (Turn 12) with enthusiasm. Turns 1-9 were more teacher-like and this modelling of joint activity was interesting as Samiha took that on board to establish her role as the knowledgeable one among the younger children later in the activity. She took on the role of the teacher, as discussed further in Chapter 9.

E.g. 13 (child-mother dyad: M: mother (Shamima), Ak: Akhter, Su: Surayah and S: Samiha)

1. ((M & S are sitting opposite each other on the floor))
2. ((Su sitting next to M))
3. ((M is holding the puzzle box and getting the pieces out))
4. ((S is turning over the pieces of the puzzle))
5. M: what is it called?
6. ((M is looking at the picture on the box))

7. ((S looks up))
8. S: ehm ehm jung – ehm ehm flo ehm jungle floor puzzle
9. M: jungle floor puzzle
10. (..)
11. M: yes Surayah is here to help
12. S: yep!
13. ((M continues to look at the box and places it on the floor where S can see the large picture of the completed puzzle))
14. ((Ak is called away by his mother to the kitchen))
15. M: here is the picture

It is interesting to note that here it is the mother once again who suggested that the box should be used as a guide (Turn 15). Although Samiha also seemed more relaxed with her mother than she was with her teacher, her mother tended to make more suggestions on how the pieces should be put together taking on the role of the guide, as can be seen in turn 20 below:

20. M: ok shall I look for the green bits?
21. ((M pointing to the green parts on the box))

Also, in the portion of transcript below, the mother played a very teacher-like role in the way she suggested what pieces of the puzzle should be used. Even though Samiha made the suggestion (Turn 29), the mother suggested starting with the sides and reinforced this in turn 34.

29. S: yeah! yeees! I think I've got something I think
30. ((S hands over a piece of the puzzle to M))
31. (...)
32. M: I think we should start from the side

33. (...)
34. M: I found one side, I think it the pieces on that side

They continued to complete the puzzle, which Samiha took pride in achieving (Turn 333), and her mother invited Surayah to join in and asked the children to evaluate the activity by naming all the animals in the puzzle and the noises they make (Turn 343).

333. S: we done it!
334. ((M turns puzzle around to face the camera))
335. (..)
336. M: there you go!
337. ((S smiles))
338. (...)
339. M: Surayah?
340. ((M calls Su to have a look at the puzzle))
341. ((S holds out her hand to M to shake which M does by holding out her hand too))
342. ((Su looks at the puzzle))
343. M: talk about the picture to say what animals they are
and what noises they make

In the child-mother dyads, the children contributed a lot more and seemed more relaxed during the activities with their mothers than they did with their teachers. In the transcripts E.g. 11, 12, and 13 above it can be seen that the nature of questions asked by the mothers was similar to that of the questions asked by the teachers, as has been mentioned in the activity between the teachers and the children, and the existence of 'scaffolding' was apparent. Although the mothers in

some ways behaved similarly to the teachers, the activity between the mothers and their children indicated more active involvement from the novice than did the scaffolding between the teachers and the children. The role of the mothers during the activity was slightly different from that of the teachers in the way they scaffolded and guided the children's input during the puzzle activity in the context of the home away from the formal setting of the school. All the mothers also used words such as 'shall' and 'let's' similarly to the teachers to indicate a sense of ownership and joint activity with the children.

8.7 Summary

These transcripts help to emphasize that even though the parents may be very teacher-like with their children at home, the conversations taking place were more dynamic with the children contributing more and taking a little more ownership of the activity. Their voices were heard a little more than they were with their teachers. Tizard (2002) also found that although nursery staff were spending a great deal of time talking to children, their conversations were infrequent and often restricted to a few brief exchanges compared to those taking place at home. All the children demonstrated their 'learner flexibilities' by being able to adapt their practices to suit the context in which they were interacting. Although the teachers and mothers were dominating the talk, the conversation did not become a monologue; the children kept up their end of the conversations providing responses and contributions where required and sometimes encouraged. They contributed to the collaborative enterprise as, without these minimal but appropriate responses from the children, the teachers and mothers would not have felt able to continue to play their part. Learner flexibility is further demonstrated when the children are completing the activities with their grandmothers. This is explored further in Chapter 9.

Chapter 9: Family Jigsaws - Intergenerational Learning between Children and their Grandmothers

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter I continue to present an inner layer of qualitative analysis using the transcripts of the child-grandmother dyads. Through the analysis in this chapter I seek to capture the communicative purposes and functions of the grandmother's and the children's actions in relation to each other, in contrast to those with the child-teacher and child-mother dyads, over the duration of the activities. I argue that all the children show considerable 'learner flexibility' in their interactions to understand the activity and their roles in the process of completing their tasks. Also, I aim to demonstrate how the children negotiate their way through the different opportunities and demands each situation presents. I address the following aspects across the transcripts:

- Turn-taking patterns between the children and their grandmothers
- How the grandmothers and children used Bengali and English to communicate during the shared activity
- How the children took on the role of the teacher when the opportunity arose
- How the participants used the activity to talk and the nature of partnership during the activities

Through the above analysis it was possible to see how the following concepts from sociocultural theory apply to the intergenerational learning encounters in my study: 'guided participation', 'scaffolding', 'synergy' leading to mutual benefits for the young children and the adults, 'syncretizing' of knowledge from different sources, 'funds of knowledge' within communities, and the transmission of knowledge, or 'prolepsis', between generations.

9.2 Turn-taking Patterns between Child-Grandmother Dyads

'When a child makes or fails to make a particular kind of utterance, consider characteristics of the situation as well as of the child' (Cazden 1971, p48)

As is highlighted in the quote above, the data I present in this section from the transcripts demonstrate how each child responded to their different contexts in the study, how they found their way through the shared activities and the choices they made regarding the roles they chose for themselves. I argue that the way they did this was through utilizing particular strategies. I also argue that they adapted their roles in order to deal with the situation they found themselves in depending on the adult they were interacting with. These choices of roles played were not always made consciously on the children's part as sometimes they were the products of the constraints imposed on them by the adults and the boundaries set by the context they were in. Although the situations were very similar and the children had some strategies in common, each child used the resources at their disposal, adding to their ability to adapt and demonstrate their 'learner flexibilities'.

In the child-grandmother dyads the difference in the turn-taking patterns became evident in the infrequency of the grandmothers' turns and the frequency with which the children took the initiative. Here, the children seemed to take on the role of the more experienced person. They asked questions as well as answered them, sometimes taking the lead in moving from one topic to another. They were able to respond to their grandmothers and take heed of the contributions made by them and the other children present. This can be seen in the example of Samiha during both her activity with her mother and grandmother. The children were confident and showed that they were receptive and able to build on prior skills and knowledge from their different and sometimes 'simultaneous worlds'.

The children were most relaxed when with their grandmothers. It is important to acknowledge that due to the nature of the puzzle the length of time taken to complete the activity was short hence the turns were fewer in comparison to that in the child-mother and child-teacher activities. However, from tables 14 & 15 below it can be seen that there was more equality between the number of consecutive turns being taken by the children and the number of consecutive turns being taken by their grandmothers. Even though the grandmothers seemed to ask more non-redundant questions, the percentages of redundant and self-response questions were lower than those between the child-mother and child-teacher dyads indicating that there was an increase in the interaction between them. The fact that, according to the questionnaire data, these grandmothers took part in a lot of activities with their grandchildren such as reading, memorizing, gardening and many others, similar to the grandparents in the study by Kenner et al (2004), is evidence that they were creating joint interactions where learning encounters took place.

Table 14 Number of consecutive turns taken by child and their grandmother

Number of consecutive turns	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Grandmother	6	2	1					
Samiha	9	1	1					
Grandmother	9	1						
Habib	3	3	1					1
Grandmother	14	3	1					
Aminah	14	3		1				

Table 15 below is a breakdown of the types of questions asked by the children and their grandmothers during the activity.

Table 15 Child-grandmother dyad: non-redundant, redundant and self-responses

	Samiha	Grand-mother (Rekha)	Aminah	Grand-mother (Panna)	Habib	Grand-mother (Rahma)
No. of Non-Redundant Questions	7	11	19	37	8	18
No. of Redundant Questions	2	6	1	11	3	3
No. of Self-Response Questions			3	5		
% of Redundant and Self-response Questions	22%	35%	17%	30%	27%	14%

In the transcripts below it is evident that the children took on the role of the more knowledgeable person when it came to putting the puzzle together. It is also clear that the turns were not allocated by a single director, but rather seemed to be negotiated as the talk proceeded. Aminah's grandmother Panna was the most fluent in English among the grandmothers. Her interaction with Aminah was interesting as Aminah, although still shy, interacted much more with her grandmother than she did with her mother and teacher. Here (E.g. 14), Aminah initiated the activity (Turn 1), introducing the puzzle to her grandmother who positively reinforced this by saying that it's a '*shundor* puzzle **nice** puzzle' (Turn 3) supported by her non-verbal move (Turn 4) showing interest in the picture on the box. This also put Aminah at ease and aided in setting up a relaxed approach to the task. Aminah agreed and pondered upon what the next move should be (Turns 5 & 6).

E.g. 14 (Aminah-grandmother dyad: GM: grandmother (Panna), and A: Aminah)

1. A: ahh this is a JUNGLE puzzle
2. ((A takes out pieces of the puzzle and puts them on the bed))
3. GM: *shundor* puzzle **nice** puzzle
4. ((GM Leaning forward to look at the picture on the box))

5. A: °hmm°
6. (0.5)

The following sequence made up of turns 7-13 gives an indication of the way the verbal and non-verbal moves made by both Aminah and her grandmother were complementary to each other. The sequence begins with a directive from the grandmother which was followed up by a supportive non-verbal move (Turn 8), making space for Aminah to carry out the action (Turn 10). This sequence shows how they both worked together with the grandmother playing the role of the facilitator.

7. GM: *shokholti baar khori lou* **get all the pieces out**
8. ((GM moves a few pieces away to make space))
9. (0.11)
10. ((A leans forward on her knees and takes the rest of the pieces out of the box))
11. ((GM moves pieces away))
12. ((After A finishes she puts the box to one side))
13. A: ()

In the next sequence of turns (14-20), the verbal initiating move (Turn 14) made by the grandmother was followed by a subtle non-verbal supportive move (Turn 15). The act of the grandmother scratching her chin indicated to Aminah that there was room for suggestions. This along with turn 17 allowed Aminah to come up with some complex turns (16 & 18). In this section of the interaction it was interesting how the grandmother allowed or 'scaffolded' the learning of the child to play the role of the teacher through her gentle and supportive approach.

14. GM: *ono ano* **here here**

15. ((GM pointing to the box and scratching her chin))
16. A: let's separate them
17. GM: hmm
18. A: so we can see the picture, we need to keep this so we
can keep it right over there
19. ((A picks up the box and props it up against the foot of the bed))
20. (..)

This facilitation role from the grandmother continued into the next sequence of turns (21-26) where she initiated the sequence with a directive (Turn 21) followed by a whisper. Similar to turn 15 above, this also worked as a prompt for Aminah to take on the role of a teacher which she did by asking a teacher-like question (Turn 23). Here, again, she was supported by her grandmother by the gentle 'hmm' (Turn 25). It was an interesting combination of turns where, once again, the grandmother initiated the turn 21 and supported Aminah, allowing her to feel in control of the situation and make some complex suggestions. The 'synergy' in their interaction was visible through the supportive and compatible turns taken between them enabling them to complete the activity.

21. GM: corner *bhar khoro* **take out** corner we need the corner
22. ((GM whispers something))
23. A: ok shall we start from the edges?
24. ((A sits back looks at GM))
25. GM: °hmm°
26. A: ok [one edge] ()

Towards the end of the activity, Aminah did not resist handing the role of expert over to her grandmother. The grandmother also took on the role of the expert

through a smooth transition (Turns 245 & 246) by asking Aminah to observe what they had put together. Panna spoke mostly English when they were putting the puzzle together. However, after the task was completed and she took the lead in the discussion, Panna spoke more Bengali with Aminah as can be seen in the extract below.

245. GM: *shesh ni ekhon?* **Is it finished now?**
246. GM: *Eta khita oilo dekho sain* **what is it have a look**
247. A: jungle
248. GM: jungle picture dekhao amare **show me**
249. ((A picks up box and showing GM))
250. A: its this
251. GM: picture'e *khita khita amere dekho sain* **show me**
what's things are there in the picture
252. A: hmm?
253. GM: *khita ase picture'o* **what is in the picture?**
254. ((A points to each animal in the picture as she says the names))
255. A: *eta* **this is** frog
256. GM: hmm

Aminah responded to her grandmother's gentle but persistent probing. She named the animals in English and her grandmother acknowledged her input with 'hmm's. This trend continued between turns 257-275. Panna then introduced Bengali into the interaction by asking Aminah to say crocodile in Bengali (Turn 277). Aminah did not hesitate to throw the question back at Panna (Turn 278) demonstrating the relaxed learning environment created by Panna where Aminah showed confidence in the interaction. From this point onward the pattern continued with Panna naming the animals in Bengali and Aminah repeating after her.

276. A: and waterfall
277. GM: crocodile're *khita khoi Banglath*? **How do you say crocodile in Bangla?**
278. A: *khita*? **What?**
279. GM: *kumeer*
280. A: hmm
281. GM: *eta khita*? **What's that?**
282. A: eta baby monkey
283. GM: *eta banor Banglath its banor in Bangla*
284. A: *banor*

In the next series of turns Panna helped Aminah to reflect on her visits to Bangladesh by talking about the puzzle. Even though Aminah took very brief turns, through Panna's thoughtful questioning she was enabled to extend her knowledge by visualizing the context in which the Bengali being used can be practised.

- 313 GM: hmm *ota dekhsoni gaas* **Did you see those trees?**
- 314 A: *gaas trees*
- 315 GM: *khono aasil*? **Where were they?**
- 316 A: Bangladesh
- 317 GM: Bangladesh *amrar goror shamne ni in front of our house?*
- 318 A: yes
- 319 GM: *ar ekhano khita khelaisilai*? **And what did you play there?**
- 320 GM: Badminton
- 321 A: *na no*
- 322 GM: *ammu khelaisilo ni*? **Did mum play?**
- 323 A: *ami zani na* **I don't know**

324 GM: *yes tumi buli gesso tumi soto asilai tho* **you forgot you
were little that's why**

Similarly, as can be seen in turns 345-358 below, with further repetitive prompts from the grandmother Aminah gained the confidence to share experiences of where she had seen the animals in her context in the UK. As the grandmother responded with the supportive 'hmm's Aminah gained confidence in expanding her responses and contributed with longer turns.

345. GM: *hmm yes ar khita dekhsilai?* **What else did you see?**
346. GM: Fish
347. A: Fish
348. GM: hmm
349. A: and now a days only we can see in the jungle lions
and monkeys
350. GM: hmm hmm
351. A: I suppose in some [countries]
352. GM: [and those] birds you can see in the jungle and not in
the country side
353. A: yes and in the zoo you can see lions,
354. GM: hmm
355. A: in the aquariums you can see hippos
356. GM: hmm
357. (..)
358. A: then in pet shops you can see parrots

In the activity between Samiha and her grandmother, E.g. 15 below, similar to the activity with Samiha's mother, her younger siblings and cousin brother joined in

when she was completing the puzzle. It was clear from the recording that Samiha became at ease with the camera being focused on them, entering her role naturally. In the transcript extract below, Samiha was showing confidence and enjoyment in the interaction with her grandmother. The grandmother initiated 'playing with language' (Drury, 2003) as a key strategy for learning Bengali and building a rapport. The activity began with the grandmother taking the initiative to take out all the pieces from the box. Samiha started the activity using Bengali and the grandmother started the verbal turns with a slight challenge (Turn 5) in a playful manner.

E.g. 15 (Samiha-grandmother dyad: GM: grandmother (Rekha), Su: Surayah, M: mother (Shamima) and S: Samiha)

1. ((Toddler sitting on mum's lap on sofa observing the action on the floor))
2. ((GM takes out all the pieces of the puzzle from the box))
3. ((Su sits a little distance away from GM & S on GM's right and starts to play with a couple of pieces))
4. S: (Bengali)
5. GM: () *sinona kheltao sinona* **don't know how to play**
6. ((S takes the box from GM's hand and moves the box to the front so they can see the picture of the whole puzzle on the box))
7. S: *okhta dekhtai bade* **you need to look at that later**
8. ((S, Su leans forward and GM look at the box))
9. ((S is pointing to the picture))
10. GM: *khonta dekhtai?* **look at which one**
11. S: *okhta dekhtai ola banaitai* **look at that and make it like that**

12. ((S moves the box away again next to her and starts to separate the pieces))
13. M: picture
14. S: hmm
15. ((S moves the box again a little further away))

In the above sequence of turns, Samiha tried to convince Rekha to use the puzzle box as a guide just as the teachers did in all three activities during the child-teacher dyads. The teachers initiated using the picture on the puzzle's box as an aid to putting the puzzle together. The mothers also took the box as a tool to guide their activity. However, there was a role reversal when it came to the child-grandmother dyads. The children took the lead in using the box as a guide as is demonstrated in the above extract. Samiha's mother emphasized this by supporting her (Turn 13). Although Rekha entertained the idea of the box, she had her own approach which she initiated with turn 16 below. She encouraged Samiha to think for herself and find a starting point. The mother's role here did not change very much to the role she played when carrying out the activity with Samiha. As can be seen above, she was still directive in her approach but here she uses more Bengali. However, it was directed at the grandmother and not Samiha. Samiha also took on the directive tone like her mother and teacher (Turns 18 & 20).

16. GM: *khita banaitai kholla bhar khoro* **what do you want to make find the head**
17. ((GM has a piece in her hand))
18. S: *tumi ooh tumi eta khoro* **you ooh you do that one**
19. (..)
20. S: *ar tidy khoro* **and tidy up**
21. GM: *dekhi dekhi ubau* **let's see let's see wait**

22. M: *sky khorro phoila* **do the sky first**
23. S: *ami sky khorram* **hmm I am doing the sky hmm**
24. M: *tumi otha horraia* **you move those** turn it all around
25. ((S leans over to turn some pieces over))
26. ((Su watches S))
27. ((GM is trying to put a couple of pieces together))
28. ((Su joins in turning pieces))

Drury (2003) mentioned the importance of having fun with language as an important strategy for developing language competence. Here, this is the case for Samiha. In the following extract, after the puzzle was complete, Rekha, as did Panna, took the lead as the expert by asking Samiha to reflect on their accomplishment of the puzzle (Turn 317). Rekha initiated the sequence of turns by asking a question to which she knew the answer in Bengali, but did not necessarily know which language would be used in response. Therefore, in this case, it was a genuine question to which Samiha responded in English but fluently inserted Bengali words. The mother addressed the grandmother in Bengali, encouraging her to answer Samiha (Turn 321). Here the grandmother took two consecutive turns (322 & 323), possibly to encourage Samiha to interact in Bengali. However, the mother once again attempted to direct Rekha this time to use English (Turn 324), which is immediately taken up by Samiha. To ease Rekha into this, Samiha whispers into her grandmother's ears and smiles, which Rekha entertains by saying 'hmm frog *hoise ni* **is it right?**'

317. GM: *eta khita oise?* **What is that?**
318. ((GM points to the complete puzzle))
319. S: parrot, snake I don't know what that is *eta khita*
what's that?

320. ((S looks at GM))
321. M: *amma khou* the **mum say** the
322. GM: *eta khita?* **What's that?**
323. GM: *Baag beng* **tiger frog**
324. M: *English'e khou* the **say it in English then**
325. S: frog frog frog
326. ((S whispers in GM's ear and smiles))
327. GM: hmm frog *hoise ni* **is it right?**
328. S: hippopotamus
329. ((S says with an accent))
330. ((GM leans forward and presses the pieces on))
331. ((Su copies GM and does the same))

This banter continues for a while and from the extract below it can be seen that with the encouragement from her grandmother, she was no longer using self-assertion but rather that there was genuine language play on a mutual level using both Bengali and English.

361. GM: *tomar ta urer na amar ta urer* **your one is not flying
my one is flying**
362. ((GM looks at S and Su and puts out her hands to make a flying gesture))
363. S: *ehm ochta taile amar uphre urer!* **ehm that one is
mine and is flying high!**
364. ((S points to a bird in flight))
365. GM: *ochta kala!* **That is black!**
366. ((S smirks and they both look at each other))
367. ((S puts her arms up in frustration))

368. S: hmm! so *amar beak kala tomar lal ar green ar white*
hmm! So my beak is black yours is red and white
369. ((S makes gestures with her hands))
370. GM: *amar dekho green ase, red ase, tia rong o ase,*
orange ase **look I have green, have red, also have**
turquoise, have orange
371. ((GM leans forward and points to the picture while stating all the colours))
372. ((S makes head movements in rhythm with GM's tone being used))

Rekha 'orchestrated' (Ruby et al 2010) the activity so all can play their part in getting the puzzle done. She did this by using a number of strategies which allowed each participant to feel as though they were an important part of the process. Firstly, she was inclusive in her approach and the mother, Samiha and Surayah all took part in their own capacities. The whole activity began with the toddler observing the participants and Surayah also observing and copying some of the actions (Turns 331 & 362). Samiha's mother also took part without any hesitation, and Rekha, as discussed above, complied with her request to interact in English. Finally, her interaction with Samiha was collaborative and they learned from each other bringing forth their strengths to accomplish the activity. They also used it to learn and build their knowledge base of Bengali and English as well as refining the technical knowledge required to put the puzzle together through mutual guided participation, thus allowing there to be synergy in their interaction. The perfect end to the activity was shaped by the grandmother by giving an indication to their equal partnership by saying '*amar ar tomar mine and yours*' (Turn 385).

380. S: *tumi khoiso ochta tomar ar shobta amar* **you said that
is yours and the rest is mine**
381. ((S tries to push GM's hand out of the way))
382. GM: everything *amar* **mine**
383. S: everything *amar* **mine**
384. ((S mimics GM's accent and tone and they both look at each other))
385. GM: *amar ar tomar* **mine and yours**

Out of the three grandmothers, Rahma was the most fragile due to her turn of ill health very shortly before the videoing took place. In the activity between Habib and his grandmother (E.g. 16), there were choices he made during the interaction. He decided when it was acceptable for him to carry out the actions of putting the pieces together by himself and the times when he needed to involve his grandmother to participate by giving her instructions that she would understand and carry out. Turns 2-12 were all carried out without either speaking a word to each other. Neither participant seemed uneasy spending that time trying to sort out the pieces and the grandmother attempting to put pieces together. The extracts below demonstrate how Habib took the lead in guiding his grandmother through the activity.

E.g. 16 (Habib-grandmother dyad: GM: grandmother (Rahma), and H: Habib)

1. (0.56)
2. ((H & GM are sitting next to each other on the floor))
-
10. ((GM is trying to put pieces together))

11. ((H spreads out the pieces of the puzzle in front of them both))

12. ((GM sits back and watches H spread pieces out))

Habib was clearly in the role of the teacher as he used a lot of directives in the exchanges with his grandmother. Much of his language-use related to the language used by teachers and mothers as most of the verbal turns taken by him reflected the language of instruction as can be seen below. Habib gave a series of instructions to his grandmother backed up by supportive non-verbal moves (Turns 16-18). He also subtly tried to assist her by putting the box in front of them both as a guide. The grandmother was also active in her participation as she tried to put pieces together responding to his directives, but also by allowing her grandson to take the lead. Her simple 'hmm's indicated to him her participation and acceptance of his role.

13. H: °*ota okhano zai*° ° **that goes here**°

14. (0.6)

15. ((GM takes the two pieces from H and attached them to her pieces))

16. ((H sits back and watches her))

17. ((H moves the box from next to him and places in front of them both))

18. ((H leans forward to help GM put the pieces on properly))

19. H: [*ochta*] [**that**]

20. GM: ° [hmm]°

21. H: >*okhano zai na*< >**doesn't go there**<

22. GM: °hmm°

Their interaction became more collaborative as they progressed through the endeavour. Habib managed to ‘scaffold’ his grandmother’s learning as can be seen below to the point where it developed into a partnership.

111. GM: °hmm *ono ono tomar khore di°* °**there there behind you°**

112. H: *oino ochta okhano zai* **that one does go there**

113. GM: °hoise°°**that’s it°**

114. H: *ar ochta °okhano zai°* **and that °one goes there°**

As with the other two grandmothers, Habib’s grandmother also took on the role of the expert after the completion of the puzzle. She made considerable use of contextual clues and had knowledge of the child’s experiences of life in the UK and visits to Bangladesh. Rahma was able to make a good guess at what the child would learn from discussing the shared experiences of visits to Bangladesh as can be seen from the turns below. She helped Habib to build a conversation, using Bengali, about a topic that was clearly of interest to them. In their turns, the grandmother encouraged Habib to extend the topic by contributing to the discussion (Turns 214 & 216). She also took his contributions further in a number of simple and related moves which enabled him to explore and express more fully the topic of discussion. Through providing Habib with more information she simultaneously enabled him to extend his language use and their knowledge around the topic. This was evident in the ways Rahma modified her utterances so that Habib was able to make sense of them. She kept them short and simple enabling him to take longer and more complex turns (213 & 218).

210. GM: *beng beng frog frog*
211. H: *eeeh dekhsilam tura yes saw little*
212. GM: *hmm*
213. H: *amrar barir sham-khore okhano pond asil there was a pond **behind our village***
214. GM: *pond asil [thahole tho beng asil] there was a pond **[then there were frogs]***
215. H: *[khali amra dekhsilam] **[only we saw them]***
216. GM: *beng asilo bandor nai there were frogs and no **monkeys***
217. ((H&GM look down at the puzzle))
218. H: *na amra jungle'o gesilam na but waterfall amra zaitam asilam and photo dekhsilam ehm dark colour phore ekhta water fall amrar desho. **no we didn't go to the jungle but were supposed to go to the waterfall and saw photo ehm there was dark colour and a water fall in our country***
219. ((H&GM look at each other and down at the puzzle))
220. ((H traces the water with his left hand))

In all the three activities above while the grandmother's presence was visible, many of the moves which the teachers normally monopolise were clearly being taken by the children, such as asking direct questions and giving instructions.

Although within the child-grandmother dyads there was a role reversal with the children being the 'expert' while putting the puzzle together, the grandmothers took over the role once the puzzle was completed by discussing the puzzle in both Bengali and English. They contextualised that knowledge, for example, as Panna and Rahma did when they probed Aminah and Habib to think back to their visits to Bangladesh and their experiences as well as sharing their own, giving rise to 'prolepsis' where knowledge is being transmitted from one generation to another. The interactions between the children and their grandmothers involved 'synergy' where there was evidence of give and take from both parties in terms of knowledge and guided participation. The children's ability in exercising their 'learner flexibilities' enabled both the grandparents and grandchildren to support each other's needs, thus establishing a relationship that has been characterised as one of 'mutuality' by Kenner et al (2007). Also, like siblings, the grandparents were essential mediating agents (Kelly 2004) where at the end of the activities they raised the children's interest and developed their understandings of Bengali and expanded their knowledge base of the topic.

9.3 Language-use between Child-Grandmother Dyads

'If the language environment is natural, consistent and stimulating, children will pick up whatever languages are around' (Crystal 1987)

From the findings so far it is clear that the children themselves play a critical role in taking control of their learning through utilizing the opportunities provided to them by the different adults. I argue that the way the languages Bengali and English were used changed the type of interaction and role the child played with each adult. I want to highlight that the teacher's manner of speaking was in many ways similar to that of the mother and different to the grandmother's. I have found that the children responded differently through their ability to adapt and were able to

demonstrate competencies and flexibilities with their mothers and grandmothers that were not visible or known to their teachers.

One of the common features to all the child-teacher dyads was the use of English to communicate even in the cases of child-Hasna dyads where both participants were bilingual. This slightly changed within the child-mother dyads. All three mothers mostly conversed in English with their children throughout the activities even though they were fluent speakers of Bengali and English. It is interesting to note that both Habib and Samiha's mothers switched to speaking in Bengali when they were addressing the younger children. Samiha was the only child who spoke Bengali during the activity with her mother, but her use of Bengali was directed at her younger sibling, Surayah:

E.g. 17 (M: mother; S: Samiha and Su: Surayah)

344. M: what pieces have you got?
345. M: Ooh
346. ((M trying to prise it from Su))
347. (...)
348. ((Su leaning towards S))
349. S: *dilou dilou dilou* **give give give**
350. ((S says in a coaxing voice))

In the above extract both Samiha and her mother were putting pieces together. The mother then turned to Surayah to see what pieces she had in her hands. She tried to take the piece from Surayah but Surayah leaned towards Samiha. Samiha responded to the situation by asking Surayah to hand over the puzzle piece. Although the mother spoke to Surayah in English to start with, as the activity progressed, both Samiha and mother code-switched between Bengali and English

with Surayah. Habib's mother did the same when she was speaking to Maryam, Habib's younger sister. The code-switching only occurred once. Maryam sat with her grandmother on the side while Habib and mother completed the puzzle. Towards the end, Maryam came near to them, hovered around them and observed them. She also started to whine a little as she was tired and her mother responded to her:

E.g. 18 (M: mother)

370. M: Maryam *khita khor rai?* **Maryam what are you doing?**

371. M: coat *zaitaigni ni?* **Coat do you want to go?'**

Habib's grandmother was sitting in the same room but away from the activity when he and his mother were completing the puzzle. However the only couple of times (Turns 174 & 178) she spoke Bengali during the activity was when she tried to help him find a piece that he was searching for:

E.g. 19 (H: Habib; GM: grandmother; and M: mother)

173. H: right there's one part left

174. GM: *tomar khore di ase dekho* **it's behind you look**

175. ((GM speaks from the background))

176. ((H & M turn to look at GM))

177. (...)

178. GM: *oi dekho tomar khore di* **there look it's behind you**

179. H: yep this is what I need ehm this part's at the long

180. ((H finds pieces behind him))

During the Aminah-mother activity, she only responded once to her mother in Bengali, towards the end of their shared activity, responding to her mother's dictating where Aminah should put the piece of puzzle by saying 'acha ok' (Turn 329). All three children addressed their mothers as *ammu* or *amma*, which is the endearing Bengali term used by children to address their mothers. There are other terms such as 'apu' and 'bhaiaa' encouraged by Samiha's mother which are used to address older siblings during the activity and 'nanu' for grandmother is also used by the mothers and children. The marked difference in the use of Bengali took place during the child-grandmother dyads where the participant's interaction in Bengali increased considerably as can be seen in Table 16 below.

Table 16 Number of words spoken in Bengali and English by the children with their grandmothers

	Aminah	Grand-mother (Panna)	Samiha	Grand-mother (Rekha)	Habib	Grand-mother (Rahma)
No. of Words Spoken in English	312	258	112	8	37	12
No. of Words Spoken in Bengali	70	230	136	241	168	134

For both Samiha and Habib the use of Bengali was present from the beginning of the activity. They initiated the first verbal interactional turn of the activity in Bengali. For Aminah it took a little longer before her grandmother managed to coax her into using Bengali. Although Aminah initiated the activity in English, her grandmother responded in Bengali during the initial stages of the activity. Her grandmother code-switched between Bengali and English until in turn 65 Aminah responded to herself (Turn 63) in Bengali:

E.g. 20 (A: Aminah)

63. A: and this might go here

64. (..)

65. A: *na zanin na yes...eta?* **No don't know yes...this?**

From the above extract it is interesting to note that Aminah's grandmother did not pressure Aminah to use English or Bengali and when she did, she eased her in using the pause fillers, 'hmm'. This encouraged Aminah to continue from thereon to code-switch between Bengali and English.

Although the children's command of Bengali was weaker than their command of English they still managed to keep up the conversation using both Bengali and English to complete the activity. Habib and Samiha persevered as their grandmothers were not fluent in English; thus speaking very little English during the activity. Most of Samiha's use of English was directed at her mother and younger sister and she conversed with her grandmother almost entirely in Bengali. From the above table it can be seen that Habib actually spoke more words in Bengali than his grandmother.

At the end of the activities when more extended conversations did occur between the children and the grandmothers, they were of a more discursive or exploratory nature than they were with their mothers and teachers. The grandmothers recalled past events, discussing what the children had seen on their visits to Bangladesh or encouraging the children to learn the names and colours of the animals in the puzzle. The concluding conversations were facilitated by the grandmothers by freeing up the children's attention from the pressure of action (getting the puzzle done) so that an attempt could be made to achieve mutual understanding. Even

though the children had restricted powers of expression through Bengali they still managed to keep up the conversations with their grandmothers, and the grandmothers in turn made the effort to understand the child's intended meaning and to extend it in terms that the child could understand. This required them to have a willingness to listen which was characterised often by the 'hmm's and pauses. They also had an ability to pitch what they said at the right level, which was to use simple accessible Bengali and keep the utterances in the turns brief. The way the children and their grandmothers interacted with one another, code-switching and engaging in mutual sharing of expertise but also bringing the learning to a meaningful level by contextualising it with regard to their experiences demonstrates the level of 'syncretic' learning involved during the shared endeavours.

9.4 Talk and the Nature of Partnership

'The process of learning how to negotiate communicatively is the very process by which one enters the culture' (Bruner 1984)

When the conversation is between two participants who are unequally matched such as an adult and a child, the expectation of the adult being the knowledgeable participant is greater. This places a great responsibility on the adult to compensate for the child's limitations and to behave in ways to make it as easy as possible for the child to play his/her part effectively. As with all scaffolding, once the purpose for which it is erected has been achieved and the child is able to play his/her role in the conversation, it is gradually dismantled. This partnership is very much present between the children and their teachers and parents.

The nature of talk with the teachers was fast-paced and there was an attempt on the part of the teachers to complete the activity as quickly as possible. The

partnership between the child-teacher dyad was that they would support one another to get the task done with the teacher being the guide. This involved finding a strategy and a plan as can be seen from the extracts below:

Hasna and Aminah

16. H: Do you want to tell me what to do first?

22. H: do you know how best to do a jigsaw?

Hasna and Samiha

25. H: >Gosh we're in the same boat, so I know what why don't you think of a strategy? <

Jade and Habib

56. Jade: ok what's our plan to go first?

57. Jade: to do what are we looking for first?

The roles of the children in the activities were interesting when they came across difficulties. The teachers were first to express themselves verbally as can be seen in the following extracts:

Hasna and Aminah

224. H: oh yes () oh look we're not °getting far at all°

225. ((A sits and watches))

226. ((H is trying to put pieces together))

227. (0.7)

228. A: °maybe we should° ()

229. ((A is holding up a couple of pieces, A then stands up and leans over to pieces near H))

Jade and Habib

186. J: aahh it's quite hard isn't it?

187. ((H nods yes))

188. J: do you think there's any other BITS that go together?
189. J: maybe we could look at those before and then when we're looking >maybe we can just find by accident that piece <°we got loads of pieces on that one°
190. ((H keeps on looking for pieces))

Hasna and Samiha

134. H: do you know what?
135. H: I feel like giving up already how do you feel?
136. ((H Laughing))
137. S: °not really [because] °
138. H: [very] good at this then let' stick with it for a bit
139. S: °where that goes? °
140. ((S looks at H))

The children in all three situations persevered with the task and Samiha confidently expressed that she did not find it difficult (Turn 137). When she tried to elaborate she was interrupted by Hasna by turn 138. These interruptions did not occur with the mothers or grandmothers. On the contrary the child-grandmother dyads boosted each other's confidence by encouraging each other to continue when they felt there was an instance of difficulty. Panna says to Aminah '*tumi zano na ni? Don't you know?*' and '*Zanbai you will know where this one go?*' (Turns 158 & 59). When Rekha asked Samiha, '*tomar piece phailaiso ar amar koi phaitam koi thaki? You found your piece and where shall I find my piece where?*' Samiha encouraged her grandmother to look and, in turn, once Rekha accomplished fitting her pieces she reassured Samiha by saying '*hmm sintha khorio na hmm don't worry*'. The partnership here was one of mutual support and encouragement. Where the underlying basis for meaning making was concerned

the children were able to communicate with their grandmothers during the collaborative activities in which the roles they played were reciprocal rather than imitative.

In terms of talk and partnership, the important function that the children's responses had was that together with their non-verbal behaviour, they provided the teachers and mothers with the flexibility in their roles to enable a successful completion of the activity. The teachers assumed that the children comprehended their utterances regardless of their complexity and were unaware of the increased length of their utterances per move. Even though the interactions were collaborative, the teachers dominated the moves and managed the content of the conversation by means of questions and evaluations. It was as though the teachers had to assess each of the children's utterances to make sure they were factually accurate and they made sense.

At times the teachers increased the complexity of what they said by taking very long and complex turns. Where the teacher-child dyads were concerned it was less common than with the mother-child or grandmother-child dyads for the teacher to check and ensure that they had correctly understood the child before making their next move in the conversation. The teachers were so concerned that the children should see the experience from their own adult perspective that they failed to pick up some of the cues from the children. This was the case with Habib. When he wanted to extend the conversation about cars Jade changed the topic of discussion whereas the grandmothers accepted the ideas volunteered by the children and used them as a basis for collaboration in the construction of a more extended understanding. Their utterances were listened to and the grandparents shared their own experiences with their grandchildren to enrich their interactions.

9.5 The Child as Teacher

Kenner and Ruby (2012) found from their research with teacher partnerships between mainstream and complementary schools that children liked to play the role of teacher, a strategy which the complementary school teachers tended to use to support children's learning. From the questionnaire filled in by the grandparents in this study and in the study by Kenner et al (2004a), the grandparents shared their view that their grandchildren liked to take part in role plays where they acted as the teachers. This has also been the finding in research among siblings (Gregory et al, 2002) where they play 'teachers' at home. In this study it was also evident that when the child was in an interaction with a novice, irrespective of whether they were younger or older, they took on the role of the 'expert'. With the teachers they enacted the role of the novice, and with the mothers there was some expectation that they would be novices but they had the confidence to negotiate their role as has been explored earlier. They thrived in their role as the expert when they completed the puzzle activity with their grandmothers. The children directed their grandmothers on what to look for and how to fit the pieces. They were also actively involved when they handed over their reign to their grandparents at the end of the activity, during which the grandparents were the 'experts'.

During the period of listening to, interpreting and transcribing the video recordings, the following transcript of Samiha at home provided new insights into the significance of the data. I was fascinated to see Samiha using so much school language and that she sounded just like her teacher. The transcript is from the activity with her mother where her first cousin Akhter and younger sister Surayah were present. Samiha took the initiative to involve everyone in the final discussion. She 'orchestrated' the learning, like her grandmother, by inviting Akhter into the

circle and skilfully involved him in the task of reflecting on the activity (Turns 332 & 333). She also allowed her mother to play her part within the task by accepting her contributions and co-facilitating the discussion, as can be seen in the following extract:

E.g. 23 (Samiha-mother dyad: S: Samiha, M: mother, Ak: Akhter, Su: Surayah)

332. S: Akhter do you want to help us?
333. S: Come on here here here
334. ((S pats the floor next to her for her cousin brother to come and join her))
335. (...)
336. S: what sound does a lion make?
337. ((S Asking Ak))
338. ((A makes the sound of a Lion which Su copies))
339. M: wow
340. (...)
341. M: what's that?
342. ((M pointing to another animal in the puzzle))
343. Ak: p-parrot
344. S: yees
345. M: parrot
346. (...)
347. M: look at that snake what colour is it?
348. Ak: () and blue
349. M&S: yees
350. M: it's a very unusual colour
351. S: Surayah lion?

352. ((S pointing to the picture and making the sound))
353. Su: lion here
354. ((Su pointing at a different animal))
355. M: that one is a lion
356. ((All the children make the sound of a lion looking at the picture and S laughs looking up at the camera))
357. ((M laughs puts her hands up in the air and makes the sound as well))
358. ((all the children laugh))
359. S: what colour are the top of the mountains?
360. Ak: white

The significance of the teacher-like questions was evident in Samiha's interaction with Akhter and Surayah. We can also see the influence of Samiha's mother's 'teacher-style' language-use.

416. S: Akhter can you tell me what this is?
417. ((S pointing to the picture))
418. ((Ak leans forward to get a closer look))
419. Ak: a Monkey!
420. S: can you do the noise?
421. ((S looks at A))
422. Ak: yeah
423. ((S & Ak make the noises and the body gestures of a monkey))
424. S: ok this is water isn't it?
425. S: Falling from the mountains
426. (.)
427. ((S looking to and from Ak))

428. S: falling from the mountain

Samiha asks questions that are direct, closed and rhetorical, very similar in style to Hasna and Jade as well as the mothers. She is very much taking the lead.

9.6 Summary

In summary my findings have been in line with work by Gregory (1998), Gregory & Williams (2000), Gregory et al (2002), Brooker (2002), Jessel et al (2004) and Kenner et al (2004) who recognize that parents and teachers may not be the most influential facilitators and describe the important role played by siblings and grandparents in informal learning settings. With teachers the children spoke less; they took fewer turns, expressed a narrower range of meanings, asked fewer questions, made fewer requests, and initiated a much smaller proportion of conversations. This was because the teachers initiated a much higher proportion of conversations than the parents and grandparents with the children. The initiator was normally the one who chose the topic in their turns. Teachers asked a higher proportion of questions, particularly questions that tested the children's knowledge. The result was that the children were reduced for a much greater part of the time to the more passive role of respondent, trying to answer the teachers' many questions and carrying out their requests.

In my study the children played the role of less experienced students with their teachers. With their mothers and grandmother they sometimes enacted the teacher role and engaged in partnership to different degrees. The grandmothers enabled the novices to experiment with language and to rehearse and improve their repertoire by expanding their vocabulary base. In addition, they acted as socialising agents and 'cultural and linguistic mediators' (Volk & Acosta, 2004). However, in contrast to the grandmothers, the teachers and mothers introduced

the less experienced learners to a certain extent to strategies such as paying attention, listening, practicing or evaluating their competences. The most significant impact of taking on the role of an 'expected', less knowledgeable participant was the reduced level of competence that the children showed when they were interacting with the teachers in comparison to with their mothers and grandmothers. This was due to the more dominating role played by the teachers compared to the parents and grandparents during the conversations. The teachers incorporated only half as often the meanings offered by the children's utterances either by extending those meanings or by inviting the children to extend their ideas themselves. Instead, the teachers showed a greater tendency to develop the meanings that they themselves had introduced into the conversations. This led to the children having little to say or even to appear to be lacking in conversation skills in comparison to their conversations with their mothers and grandmothers.

The next chapter brings together the findings from the outer, middle and inner layers of analysis to answer the overall research question with reference to the literature discussed within this thesis.

Chapter 10: Discussion

‘Our previous sense of knowledge, language and identity, our peculiar inheritance, cannot be simply rubbed out of the story, cancelled. What we have inherited – as culture, as history, as language, as tradition, as a sense of identity - is not destroyed but taken apart, opened up to questioning, rewriting, and re-routing.’ (Chambers, 1994; p24)

10.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1 I described my journey to the starting point of this research and began by asking how the intergenerational relationship between grandparents, parents, and children impacts on the learning that takes place between the generations, and how this contributes to the child's learning experiences at home and at school. To unpick how I could investigate this led me to conduct a pilot study (Chapter 2) involving one three-generation family. This along with the literature review (Chapter 3) helped me to select a sociocultural framework as a basis for studying intergenerational collaborative interactions. Chapters 4, 5 & 6 detail in depth the methodology and the process of data collection, highlighting the choice of methodology, methods, and challenges of access as a researcher. Using some aspects of CA and my own categories of interactions I was able to decipher the transcripts and analyse the verbal and non-verbal interactions to look at patterns and emerging themes, which have been discussed in Chapters 7, 8 & 9.

Although originally I viewed the analysis of the data as a way to learn about the children's relationships at home and with their teachers at school, what has emerged, however, is a more complex understanding of the process involved in learning in a socio-cultural context. Reading through the transcripts and studying them also convinced me of the degree of similarities and differences that existed in the interactions between the children, their families and teachers. The intention in this final chapter is to bring together key findings about the overall research

question and discuss these with reference to contemporary literature - justifying the originality of the study - clarify my contribution to the body of existing knowledge in the field, and consider possible areas for future research in the field of intergenerational learning.

The research sub-questions were designed to explore the question above. The first question focused on the impact of the parenting strategies that were adopted/discarded by the grandparents on the learning experiences of their children and grandchildren. Discussion of this question is made in relation to the grandparents having to adjust to a new context and knowing what to focus on in order to give their children a good education and a sense of identity. The second question focused on how the use of different languages and cultural practices affected the intergenerational relationships between the family members and relationships with teachers at school. The analysis process highlighted these aspects as major factors in the development of the grandchildren as learners and as third-generation British Bangladeshis. The third question was to investigate whether the teachers were aware of the intergenerational learning at home and if this awareness was then reflected in their views of the children and their teaching approaches. The findings will help to highlight the impact of these areas on the way children expressed themselves as learners in their different contexts.

Three grandmothers, mothers, grandchildren and two teachers were selected to participate in the study. I chose this area of research in the hope of gaining a higher level of understanding about the significance of intergenerational collaborative interactions and how these would impact on the children's learning. By videotaping collaborative interactions and analysing them for moments of teaching and learning, I was able to delve deeper into not only the interactions

themselves, but also the new ways of communicating created by the adults and the children, which were used to facilitate these interactions. Researchers have explored the constructs of peer and sibling interactions as well as some intergenerational ones, but they have not investigated the interactions within three-generation families and the benefits children receive from such exchanges. This study addressed this gap by exploring the cognitive and social aspects of intergenerational interactions and the value and impact of these experiences to the children involved.

10.2 Theoretical Underpinnings

Wells (2009) stated that children's development depends on opportunities to participate with members of their families, peers and teachers in activities which are culturally meaningful within their social context. Rogoff (1990) also spoke about the relationships children have in their communities which allow them to experience the cultural world together and use the knowledge gained from those experiences to form their own beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours. And Moll et al (2013) refer to these learning as 'informal learning' which builds children's 'funds of knowledge' (Moll 1992). The relationships of the children in this study as pupils in the classroom and children and grandchildren in the home highlights some important findings about the children's experiences as learners and the way they utilised these experiences as guides in their learning. This thesis is not only an attempt to raise the voices of the Bangladeshi families living in the UK, but also to highlight the challenges third-generation British Bangladeshi children face in being recognized as individuals who have a great wealth of knowledge (Luke & Kale, 1997) that can be utilized by teachers to better their cognitive and social development. I also wish to point out the contributions grandparents make to their grandchildren's learning which complements and supports as well as extends their

learning both socially and academically. These are aspects which demonstrate the originality of this study. However, I am aware of the pitfalls of making sweeping generalizations based on the small number of families in my study. Therefore to make my points and weave in interrelated elements it is important for me to remain faithful to the participants' accounts of their experiences.

My investigation into intergenerational learning within Bangladeshi families, with mothers and grandmothers, as far as I am aware, is the first in this field. I have based my study within a sociocultural framework and analysed the data using what I have called an 'analysis of verbal and non-verbal interactions' (in Chapters 8 and 9). Some aspects of my analysis were informed by certain aspects of what Seedhouse (2005b) calls 'sociocultural approach to conversational analysis (CA)'. My aim was to highlight how the following key sociocultural learning constructs, 'scaffolding' (Wood, Bruner & Ross 1976), 'guided participation' (Rogoff, 1990), 'synergy' (Gregory's, 2001), 'syncretizing' of knowledge from different sources (Gregory and Williams, 2000), 'funds of knowledge' within communities (Moll, 1992), and 'prolepsis' (Cole 1996) appear in the shared endeavours.

This approach to analyzing conversations within a sociocultural framework helped delve deeper into the conversations. Some aspects from CA I used differently to Seedhouse, who used CA to show how interactions mediate language learning; I have used it to analyze how the verbal and non-verbal interactions during the activity contributed to the children's learner experiences, which partly involved the children using Bengali. The findings are discussed in Chapters 7, 8 & 9. The collaborative interactions observed in this study are based around the concepts of children's active participation in their development and the different roles they took on. I will now go on to discuss the crucial roles of the children in the interactions at

school and at home, and present the idea of 'Learner Flexibilities', a concept that has emerged from my data analysis and reflects the learner identities of these third-generation British Bangladeshi children.

10.2.1 Contribution to the Field: Learner Identity at School

The findings from the transcripts of the interactions between the teachers and the children as well as the interview data highlight a discontinuity between the nature of learning in children's everyday lives at home and in classroom settings. This is in line with the findings from previous research studies by Drury (2007) and Kenner et al (2008). The classroom interactions reflected mainly unidirectional transmission with scaffolding being the main learning construct present, despite contemporary sociocultural views promoting learning as a social and cultural process in which participation is interdependent. The teachers involved in these collaborative interactions assisted the children to reach higher levels of performance, allowing them to perform at levels they couldn't achieve on their own. Vygotsky (1978) defines this as working in the 'zone of proximal development,' and the teachers achieved this during the interactions through scaffolding (Bruner 1978) by enabling the children to put pieces of the puzzle together to completion. However, although the end goal of completing the puzzle was achieved, the strategies used to implement scaffolding involved the teachers taking on a role of authority and control, which was demonstrated by the nature of questions asked and the pattern of turn taking during the activity.

Findings from the present research revealed the constraining effects of the teacher's demonstrations of wanting to be in control, which can be assumed from their interactions. This gave rise to their role of being the more knowledgeable adult and the child being the novice. The teachers' perceptions of the children's

ability to share decisions were limited as was demonstrated by the nature of conversations between them. Tharp and Gallimore (1988) suggested teachers instruct learning by asking children specific questions which helps the child to see what they need to do next, as well as to point them to aspects of the task that the children may have overlooked. Nearly two decades later the role of teachers has not changed much as findings in this study also showed that across all the activities the children tended to ask fewer questions and took fewer turns than the teachers, and the questions asked by the teachers were directed more at the achievement of completion of activity rather than allowing the children to speak and contribute. They asked mostly closed questions (Siraj-Blatchford and Manni, 2008) and children were not given enough time to respond to them. Similarly, from a decade ago when Cazden (1998) stated that teachers were not spending enough time learning about children's backgrounds, cultures and families, the interviews with the teachers in this study also revealed that they had very little knowledge of the children's lives at home as learners or who they learned with as discussed in Chapter 7. Despite this, the children were not overtly disempowered by their experiences at school as they still managed to interact and take part in the activity. They adopted strategies when they were with the teachers, which were to listen and comply, and speak when spoken to which demonstrated their ability to manage the circumstances presented to them, and enabled the teachers to play their role as the knowledgeable adult. This insight is a contribution to the field and will be discussed later in this chapter.

The two teachers, although coming from different backgrounds, used similar patterns of interaction. Both based their interaction on a belief that their role in the process as well as achieving the product was important. What was very intriguing was that even though one of the teachers was fully literate in Bengali and in tune

with the cultural practices of the children she did not use that resource in her role as a teacher during the activities. This supports the research by Kenner et al (2008) where bilingual teachers needed prompting and coaching to realise ways in which they can use their skills and knowledge in their classrooms. As found in this study, although the children did learn in classrooms I argue that the learning experiences could have been much greater if the teachers used the opportunities to enrich the children's learning by welcoming their existing knowledge. The children are active participants in a range of activities at home, but these resources or 'funds of knowledge' (Moll et al 1992) of the children's world outside the classroom are rarely drawn on in school. Cultures and families differ in the ways in which they make sense of experience and development. These differences affect the ways in which parents, teachers and grandparents interact with children, and these resulting differences in children's early experiences must therefore be taken into account by teachers and other adults within the school settings.

The teachers can show appreciation of the children's funds of knowledge by taking the time to converse with the children about their learning at home, who they learn with, what languages they speak at home and with whom, and what activities they are involved in outside of school. Consideration of these aspects would show that the teachers are considerate of the children's wealth of knowledge they bring with them and make the teaching and learning experiences more meaningful for them and the children. It will help them to have a deeper understanding of children's emotional and cognitive behaviour and this will assist them to be effective mediators in the learning of new skills (Gregory et al, 2004).

10.2.2 Learner Identity at Home

10.2.2.1 Interaction with Mothers

My study provides information about the process of guided participation between the children and their mothers, highlighting the teaching and learning strategies that existed within these guided experiences. I put forward transcripts of interactions and discussed the specific actions and communications that occurred between the participants, and how the nature of such interactions enabled the children to take on a more relaxed role than with their teachers. In each of the shared endeavours that I observed, the mothers and children used verbal and non-verbal communication to observe and interact. The comfortable air between the children and their mothers at home during the interactions existed because the slightly more relaxed environment allowed the children to explore and learn at ease. These findings were discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8. The children were more active participants during the activity than they were with the teachers. They had a little more opportunity to observe, ask questions and give suggestions which enabled them to create a collaborative experience with their mothers. This method of interaction resulted in a situation where both the mothers and the children were able to guide each other's efforts. This Rogoff (1991; 1993) argued is 'guided participation' where the children actively observe and participate in activities on a more equal footing.

The younger children that were present during a couple of the activities heard and observed their older siblings and mothers interacting, which encouraged them to also join the activity. These then transformed into collaborative interactions with the children feeling at ease to ask more questions than they did with the teachers and to seek directions, also giving rise to non-verbal communication such as hand gestures and gaze. This supports Rogoff's (1990) statement that there are social

and participatory implications when children observe others, this can also contribute to cognitive growth as the interactions are structured with a process and goal. These second-generation Bangladeshi mothers are interesting in the way they interact with their children. The findings from this study extend the knowledge gained from studies by Schieffelin (1990) and Heath (1982) by highlighting the complex role that the second-generation women play in a context where they are mothers who have been exposed to the educational and social structures of their host community. Similar to the middle-class British and American mothers (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1983), these mothers in my study facilitated dyadic conversations treating the children as communicative partners, but at times behaved like the Roadville mothers (Heath, 1982) where they tried to show the children how to talk by choosing the language they conversed in. The children in my study were also similar to the children from Trackton (Heath, 1982) where these children also came home to an environment which included a lot of human contact and communication as well as different languages. They were exposed to the languages through different media as has been discussed in the study by Kenner et al (2004a), including Bengali TV channels, newspapers, and bilingual books as well as complementary classes.

Researchers, theorists, practitioners and policy-makers would all agree that parents play a crucial role in the education process of their children (Tizard & Hughes, 1984; Wells, 1986). Evidence comes from investigations into the practices organized by parents of monolingual (Heath, 1983; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a; Wells, 1986) and bilingual children (Gregory, 1983; Drury, 2007). Although the teachers in this and other research studies hold views that present parents as little-informed, lacking expertise and needing help in supporting their children to learn, my findings showed that all three parents were very interested in their

children's academic development and in tune with school structures, so much so that they took on the roles of teachers at home. They also felt they were well-equipped to guide their children through their academic lives. The mothers were very much like the American caregivers from the study by Rogoff (1993), acting as teachers and playmates with their children during the puzzle activities. The findings from this study also showed that guided participation, in which Rogoff (1990) and Stone (1993) say that the involvement from the novice is more active than it is in scaffolding, includes two important processes for these children. The parents like those in Rogoff et al's (1998) study structured their children's participation so that opportunities were created for them to be involved during which social support is provided. They did this in two ways, by involving the grandparents in the lives of the children and sending them to complementary classes where the children were intellectually challenged and the roles given to the children were in line with those valued in their community.

10.2.2.2 Interaction with Grandmothers

The current study contributes to a new line of thinking by clarifying the importance of considering grandparents, parents and children simultaneously as a three-generational family system. The findings from the analysis of verbal and non-verbal interactions from the transcripts suggest that there was a powerful connection between the children and their grandmothers which has been largely overlooked by researchers to date. Only one other study has been carried out by Kenner et al (2004) from a sociocultural perspective in this field. The role of grandparents as caregivers in times of difficulty is still one of the areas in which research is conducted and is a strong predictor of grandparent-grandchild relationship quality. However, in this study the general care-giving bonds have far-reaching implications within families not facing difficulties. The traditional

assumption that mothers and grandmothers fulfil most of the inter-family relationships in multigenerational families is extended in this study to demonstrate the influences they have on the cognitive and social development of children and builds on the study by Kenner et al (2004).

When considering the role of the grandmother in the lives of their grandchildren, there is evidence of transmission of knowledge which Cole (1996) identifies as the process of prolepsis. In this study there is clear evidence of this taking place between the grandparents and the grandchildren. The examples of prolepsis taking place are the maintenance of the Bengali language, faith and cultural knowledge. The grandmothers all demonstrated the importance of this by speaking mainly in Bengali with the grandchildren and using the puzzle as an opportunity to encourage and coax their grandchildren to interact in Bengali. Acculturation has taken place as both the mothers and grandmothers have adapted their styles of interaction with the children which include teacher-like behaviour and speech as well as drawing on their own experiences from their own cultures (Gregory 2004).

Following on from the studies by Drury (2007) where she found that children interacted more by talking more in the context of the home. The children in this study were actively involved in the activities with their mothers and grandmothers, which contrasted with the children's experiences with their teachers. However, with the grandmothers there was an added layer of ease which allowed the children to function within the zone of proximal development which Gregory (2001) associates with 'synergy'. This is also characterised by the grandmothers and the grandchildren having reciprocity in their interactions, teaching each other and learning themselves in the process. The obvious comfort between the children and

grandmothers in the interactions I observed existed because the grandmothers formed an environment that allowed the children to explore and learn freely as well as using each other as teaching and learning guides. The children and grandmothers observed each other's actions and manipulations, asked questions to define ideas or motivations, and built on each other's expressions and actions to create a more intricate and collaborative experience. The experiences of putting the puzzle pieces together required the children to listen to their grandmothers and follow one another's cues in order to produce behaviour conducive to the situation. The grandmothers also coordinated their ideas together with the children to create a more involving process for the activity, sometimes acting as 'orchestrators' (Ruby 2010) enabling all to take part in the activity. The relaxed atmosphere also allowed the participants to communicate their choices of moves and support each other's development throughout the process as collaborators. Rogoff (2001) described these types of interactions as opportunities where children move from their current understanding to a higher level through their communications with fellow participants. This bidirectional relationship allowed the children to take on the role of teacher and learner which did not happen with the teacher or mothers. This teacher role was demonstrated when they communicated with their grandmothers in a reciprocal manner treating them as learners. The children expressed their knowledge verbally, asked more questions and shared their ideas in a directive and exploratory tone. They also received input from others present during the activities through listening or observing.

Reciprocity (Gregory 2001) and mutuality (Kenner et al 2007) also existed in the interactions between the grandmothers and the children, where both the grandmothers and the children offered each other adjusted support in their explorations as they became more comfortable with the experiences. This

collaborative experience for the children is different as it consists of mutual involvement with certain equality in the relationship, and motivation based on a shared understanding. Vygotsky also argued that collaboration could not occur unless the children had a shared understanding or “intersubjectivity” (Rogoff, 1990; Rommetveit, 1998; Trevarthen, 1979). A shared understanding is obtained through constant communication and reciprocation between the participants. The presence of intersubjectivity in each interaction enhanced the experience for the children by allowing them to share their ideas and skills when they took on a teacher role, and at the same time attain new knowledge and skills from their grandmothers when they took on a learner role. Throughout the puzzle activities, the children actively negotiated their ideas and made their intentions known to their grandmothers as they put the puzzle pieces together. Through such expression and negotiation, the children developed insights with their grandmothers about new and creative ways to further their experiences which have been referred to as ‘syncretism’ explained by Gregory et al (2004) as involving melding different cultural practices. All three children, when interacting with their grandmothers at home, exhibited their ability to code-switch, and rehearsed some of the cultural aspects of being a student and a teacher in an English school by readily emulating their teachers during the activity. All three children are very purposeful in creating continuity from their learning experiences at school to their home contexts, where they participated in lively exchanges centred on family experiences demonstrating their ability to practise and play with their language ability and develop their competence in using it with confidence. There are also examples of the children’s attempts to teach their grandmothers English throughout their interactions.

These interactions also gave rise to opportunities where the grandmothers used the presence of the children to increase their understanding of their social world. Where Rogoff (1990) suggested that peer interactions provide children with the opportunity to practice and extend ideas, participate in role relations, and observe more skilled peers as resources as well as adults, I believe the intergenerational interactions with grandmothers fulfilled similar purposes. These interactions also gave rise to syncretic learning practices where the grandmothers and the children found new ways to learn. The grandmothers used the completed puzzles to share previous experiences, decisions and responsibilities during the activity, as well as sharing aspects of their lives which created a socially supportive and culturally responsive context in which they could learn together. Findings from this study revealed the importance of providing opportunities for children to take responsibility and to share decision making during activities.

10.3 'Learner Flexibility' and Implications for Practitioners

In this work I wish to present and suggest a new approach to the way bilingual and multilingual children function as learners. I define their ability to engage at different levels with different adults as their skill at being 'Flexible Learners'. This section discusses children's transformations of participation as they engaged with different adults and the implications this has for practitioners. This study showed that, given the opportunity to participate in a wide range of roles during their interactions, children established new identities from consciously knowing when to ask questions, when to listen, engage with ideas of others and reach new understandings. The children, when they had the opportunity with their grandmothers, moved beyond seeing themselves as 'empty vessels' to seeing themselves as learners with others as knowledge-builders who co-constructed new understandings. Participation in this way provided them with 'texture to

negotiate identities' (Wenger 1998, p269). The experiences of the three children at home reveal the 'funds of knowledge' (Moll 1992) which go unrecognised by their school teachers and at times by their mothers. The effects of these are hard to measure but their educational progress could be held back if funds of knowledge are not recognized and enhanced, as has been evidenced in the research by Kenner et al (2007). The children have developed a 'learner flexibility' as a means of 'finding their way' (Drury 2013) through the activities.

Fig. 5 Interconnected relationships between the children and adults

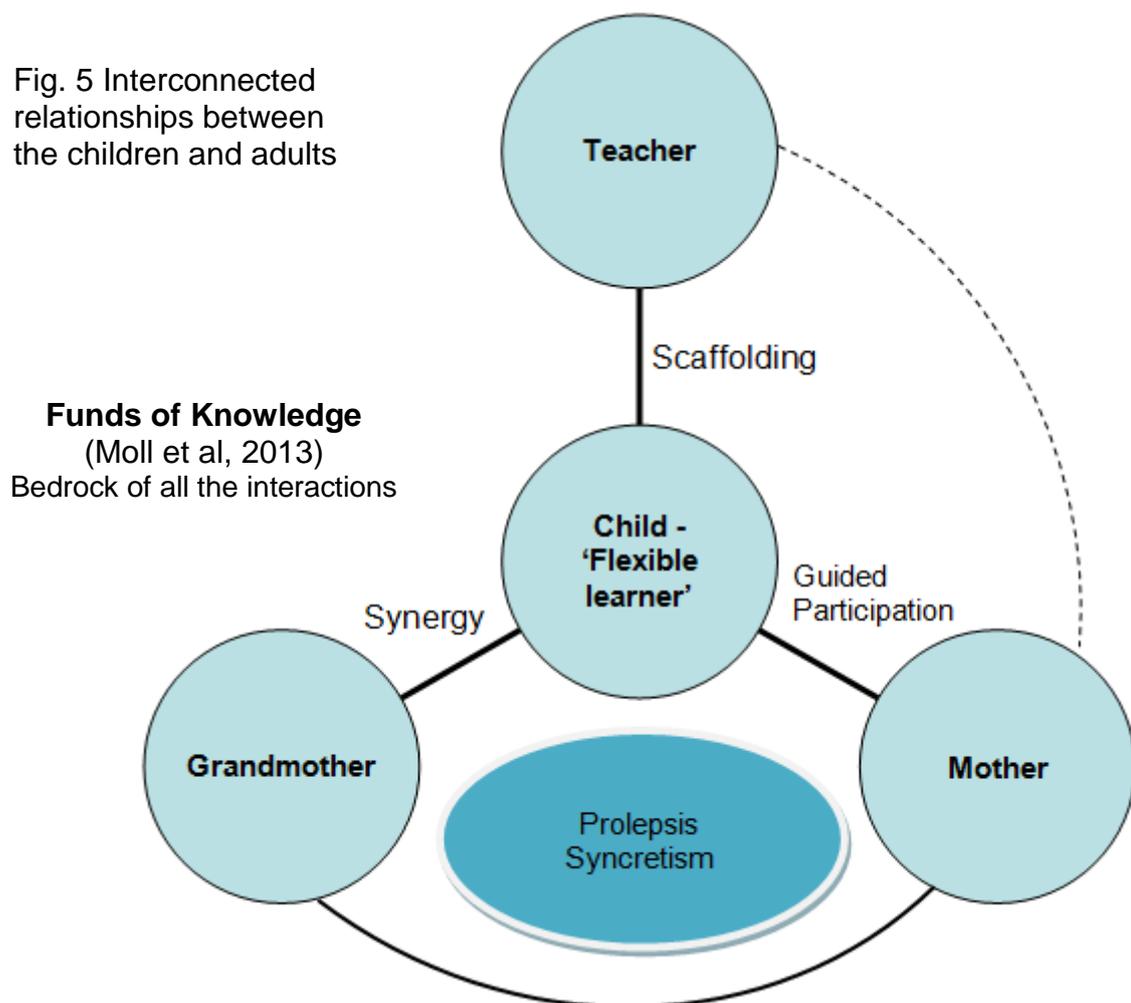


Fig. 5 above represents the relationships and connections between the children and the adults. My suggestion is that it shows how such connections help the child at the centre develop skills, consciously and through experience, into a 'Flexible

Learner' where the funds of knowledge they have is the bedrock of all the interactions. The diagram shows that the child at the centre has strong links with each of the adults and also shows the main-learner construct that is involved in the interactions between each of the relationships (scaffolding with teachers, guided participation with mothers and synergy with grandmothers). It also shows that the learning construct prolepsis is present in the space of the home. The diagram also suggests that the link between the teacher and the mother is weak or partial and the link between the mother and the grandmother is strong. However, it also shows that currently there are no links between the school and the grandparents. I suggest that the absence of the link between home and school and the lack of recognition of how and what and with whom the children learn impacts on the relationships between teachers, grandparents, parents, and children. It also potentially affects the learning that takes place between home and school, answering my overall research question. The child acquires these skills from their many interactions within school and at home which have yet to be recognized by practitioners. The quote from Chambers (1994) with which I started this chapter reflects the findings from this study. The 'previous sense of knowledge, language and identity, our peculiar inheritance' from the grandparents 'cannot be simply rubbed out of the story, cancelled'. The parents' generation inherit these 'as culture, as history, as language, as tradition, as a sense of identity' which is a part of the process of prolepsis taking place, which then is being passed onto the following generations. The third-generation children have demonstrated that all that is being passed on 'is not destroyed but taken apart, opened up to questioning, rewriting, and re-routing' demonstrated through the syncretic learning experiences that takes place between the generations as they explore new kinds of interactions.

Each connection for these multilingual children enables them to develop a set of skills and strategies that support them in their simultaneous and often multiple worlds to understand their role in each of these worlds. From the findings of this study it is clear that it is the children that are at the centre of these interactions, they acquire 'funds of knowledge' that are rich and diverse. They are in a position to juggle their fusion knowledge and develop awareness to judge when they need to fulfil the role of the learner or the role of the giver of knowledge, sometimes playing both roles simultaneously. The relationship between the mothers and grandmothers in this study is a strong link and highlights the importance of the transmission of language, cultural and faith knowledge from one generation to another. The children are enriched by the existence of prolepsis which Cole (1996) explains from a sociocultural perspective as 'the cultural mechanism that brings 'the end into the beginning' (p183). As one generation passes on the values and skills, the next generation transforms them into another set of values and skills shaped by their own experiences. This leads to syncretic forms of learning for these children in the way they are responsive and lively and use Bengali and English confidently within the home setting. The importance of using Bengali is that it allows the children to practice, rehearse and play with language when interacting with their siblings and grandparents. The guided participation and the existence of synergy within the interactions at home enable the children to understand and appreciate the roles they can play as learners and teachers.

The acquisition of faith and culture is extended for the children when they enter school where they are exposed to many more cultures and faiths. However, in this study and others mentioned previously the children leave some of their 'funds of knowledge' at the school gates as they are not called upon by the teachers. Here

the children learn to listen and comply which is a skill demonstrated on their part, as they consciously decide to enable the teacher to feel they can transmit their knowledge and skills to the children and perform the role of the more knowledgeable adult. However, what the children did do was demonstrate that they are able to bring the knowledge they acquire at school to the home context. The mothers also demonstrated this when they took on the role of teacher with their children during the activities, based on their own experiences of being schooled in the UK. The children's ability to be 'Flexible Learners' can be recognised and appreciated if the link between the school and mothers/parents can be strengthened beyond the parent-teacher meetings and the suggestions parents felt they can make during the meetings, and a link can be formed with the grandparents, which is non-existent at present.

When children were afforded roles during the interactions they became more interested in their learning, particularly when learning became personally meaningful and culturally relevant. It was also noticed that there was increased confidence in the children to share their learning and value the importance of learning together. The research makes evident through the examples the extraordinary resolve the children have in making the most out of their interactions and building on their skills and knowledge base. It is important to recognize that, although the teachers, mothers and grandmothers may have had definite plans and willingness to assist the children in their learning, the children emerge as key players in coping with the linguistic and cultural demands imposed on them, ultimately finding ways to mediate and take ownership of their own learning. It also useful for practitioners and family members to recognize and celebrate the extraordinary journeys multilingual children embark on as they confront the

overwhelming path of succeeding in linguistically and culturally-different educational environments.

There are implications for practitioners from these findings. As has been mentioned in previous research, not much attention is given to multilingual children that are fluent in their host language and are coping well at school academically and socially. However, these children can be stretched and can achieve more, cognitively and socially, if their skills and abilities as 'Flexible Learners' can be recognised. Some of the ways this can be achieved has been discussed in the research by Kenner et al (2004 and 2007). These ideas such as grandparents coffee mornings, tasks being sent home with children that require interaction with extended family members in different languages, and classroom interaction promoting the discussion of work in different languages, can be expanded on at school by practitioners making more efforts to implement them in their classrooms. The experience of the teachers making 'Learner Visits' to homes (Cremer et al, 2015) and to community classes (Kenner et al, 2012) enhanced the teacher's funds of knowledge, through simply

'asking respectful questions and by learning to listen and look with a researcher's gaze – with a willingness and openness to learn more about others' (Mottram and Powell, 2015, p144)

Which then transformed the way the teachers embedded their learning in their classrooms to aid children's learning.

10.4 Limitations

The first limitation of this research study is that it was based on three families and two teachers which is not representative of a whole community or school, and as Bateson (1984) expressed, doing ethnography means that although careful attention enables one to see, you may not see everything and others may see

differently. In future research it would be useful to observe several families across a few communities over time, including fathers and grandfathers, in order to investigate possible patterns of similarities and differences across parents and grandparents as well as children, and socioeconomic and cultural as well as gender variations. Although I have tried to interpret the findings to present a picture by bringing together the voices of the parents, teachers and grandparents as well as the children, I recognise they are 'partial' (Agar, 1996, p36) and 'constructions of other people's constructions' (Geertz, 1973, p9).

10.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have shown that my study addresses the gap in the literature on children's learning within intergenerational collaborative interactions. The originality and distinctiveness of the study has been demonstrated through the chosen topic, target community, context and research methods. The most important part of my research was my participants. The enthusiasm of parents and grandparents, their eagerness and sacrifice to participate showed their willingness to share their lives for the betterment of their children's lives as third-generation British Bangladeshis. The children also contributed through their lively participation and patience enabling all to enjoy the process. The willingness of the teachers to give up their valuable time for the study indicated to me that they wanted to make a difference to the lives of the children in their classrooms, which was reassuring and motivating. My research interpreted the lives of my participants, guided by the research questions.

Being a purely qualitative study studying three cases in depth (not including the family in the pilot study) is one of the greatest strengths of this study. My findings extend the findings from the study by Kenner et al (2004) by providing further

evidence that children's learning is influenced by their interactions and experiences from their many worlds, highlighting the role of grandparents in their learning. The children's abilities came to life when they were completing the puzzles with their grandmothers. The grandmothers empowered them and introduced new language as well as boosting children's learning autonomy, making it an integral part of the activity and thus enriching the learning experiences of the children. So, I come to the end of my study and my discussion of my participants. All except one of the grandmothers are alive and moving on. Both teachers still continue to teach. The parents are all well and are supporting their children to achieve their potentials, whilst also learning ways to juggle their responsibilities as the middle generation. The children are all older and continuing with their journey as third-generation British Bangladeshi young people demonstrating their abilities to be 'Flexible Learners'.

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Appendices

Appendix I

Grandparent's Questionnaire

We know that grandparents and parents are very important in children's lives. Children learn a lot from the everyday activities you do together. I hope you can help me to find out more.

All information provided will be used towards my thesis research and other publications in the future. I appreciate your effort and time to complete this questionnaire. Thank you.

1. Please think about your grandchild and answer the questions provided in each column:

	Is he/she at :	What is his/her sex? <i>(please tick the appropriate box)</i>	What year is he/she in? <i>(Please tick the appropriate box)</i>	How far from you does he/she live? <i>(please tick the appropriate box)</i>	How often do you see this grandchild?	What language(s) do you speak with him/her?
Grand child Name:	<input type="checkbox"/> School A <input type="checkbox"/> School in London <input type="checkbox"/> Elsewhere In UK	<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	<input type="checkbox"/> Year 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Year 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Year 3	<input type="checkbox"/> Live together <input type="checkbox"/> Less than 10 miles <input type="checkbox"/> Between 11-50 miles		

	<input type="checkbox"/> Abroad			<input type="checkbox"/> More than 50 miles		
				<input type="checkbox"/> Overseas		

3. Please complete the following table:

Which of the following activities do you take part in with him/her? Please state the language/s (Langs) used during activity	Grandchild Name:
Shopping	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Cooking	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Religious activities	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Going o the park	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Visiting others	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Gardening	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Langs:
Reading	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Telling Stories	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Singing & rhymes together	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Getting them ready for school	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Taking them to school	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Doing school work with them	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Computer activities	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Watching TV/Videos	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Playing	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Sports	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Langs:
Doing housework with them	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Eating out	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Talking about members of the family and family history	<input type="checkbox"/> Langs:
Other(s) (please state)	

8. What is your favourite activity and why?

9. What do you think your grandchild learn most from you?

10. What do you think you learn most from him/her?

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দাদা -দাদী ও নানা- নানীদের উদ্দেশ্যে প্রশ্নমালা

শিশুদের জীবনে দাদা- দাদী ও নানা- নানীর ভূমিকা অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। দাদা- দাদী ও নানা- নানীর সাথে কাজ করার সময় শিশুরা অনেক কিছু শেখে। আমরা আশা করব এব্যাপারে নতুন কিছু উদ্ভাবনে আপনারা আমাদের সাহায্য করবেন।

১. আপনার কি নাতি/নাতনী রয়েছে?

- হ্যাঁ
 না

২. আপনার তিন থেকে ৬ বছর বয়স্ক নাতি/নাতনীদের মধ্যে যারা স্কুলে যাচ্ছে তাদের ব্যাপারে এখানে কিছু প্রশ্ন রয়েছে।
অনুগ্রহ করে নিম্নলিখিত কলামে উত্তর দিন।

	সে বর্তমানে কোথায় আছে? সঠিক উত্তরে টীক দিন।	লিঙ্গ সঠিক উত্তরে টীক দিন।	কোন শ্রেণীতে পড়া শুনা করে? সঠিক উত্তরে টীক দিন।	আপনার থেকে কত দূরে থাকে? সঠিক উত্তরে টীক দিন।	কতদিন পর দেখা হয়?	কোন ভাষায় আপনি কথা বলেন?
নাতি/নাতনী ১: নাম:	<input type="checkbox"/> হ্যান্ডমেজ স্কুল <input type="checkbox"/> লন্ডনের স্কুলে <input type="checkbox"/> ইংল্যান্ডের অন্য কোথাও <input type="checkbox"/> বিদেশে	<input type="checkbox"/> ছেলে <input type="checkbox"/> মেয়ে	<input type="checkbox"/> নার্সারী <input type="checkbox"/> রিসেপশন <input type="checkbox"/> ইয়ার ওয়ান	<input type="checkbox"/> এক সাথে থাকে <input type="checkbox"/> ১০ মিনিটের কম দূরত্বে থাকে <input type="checkbox"/> ১-৫ মাইল দূরত্বের মধ্যে থাকে <input type="checkbox"/> ৫ মাইলের বেশী <input type="checkbox"/> বহির্বিধে		

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প্রশ্ন ৩: অনুগ্রহ করে নিচের ছকগুলো পূরণ করুন।

নিম্নবর্ণিত কোন কাজটি আপনি তাদের সাথে করেন (টীক দিন) এবং সে সময় কোন ভাষা ব্যবহার করেন তাও উল্লেখ করুন	নাতি/নাতনী ১: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ২: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৩: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৪: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৫: নাম:
বাজার	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
রান্না	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
ধর্মীয় কাজ	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
পার্ক বেড়াতে যাওয়া	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
অন্যদেরকে দেখতে যাওয়া	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				

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নিম্নবর্ণিত কোন কাজটি আপনি তাদের সাথে করেন (টীক দিন)এবং সে সময় কোন ভাষা ব্যবহার করেন তাও উল্লেখ করুন	নাতি/নাতনী ১: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ২: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৩: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৪: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৫: নাম:
বাগান করা	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
বই পড়া	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
গান/কবিতা আবৃত্তি	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
স্কুলে যাওয়ার জন্য তৈরী করে দেওয়া	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
স্কুলে নিয়ে যাওয়া	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
স্কুলের কাজ করতে সাহায্য করা	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				

প্রশ্নমালা

গবেষণাকর্মে ব্যবহৃত হবে

নিম্নবর্ণিত কোন কাজটি আপনি তাদের সাথে করেন (টুক দিন) এবং সে সময় কোন ভাষা ব্যবহার করেন তাও উল্লেখ করুন	নাতি/নাতনী ১: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ২: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৩: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৪: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৫: নাম:
কম্পিউটার ব্যবহার	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
টিভি/ভিডিও দেখা	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
খেলাধুলা	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
স্পোর্টস	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
ঘরের কাজ	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
বাহির খেতে যাওয়া	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				

প্রশ্নমালা

গবেষণাকর্মে ব্যবহৃত হবে

নিম্নবর্ণিত কোন কাজটি আপনি তাদের সাথে করেন (টীক দিন) এবং সে সময় কোন ভাষা ব্যবহার করেন তাও উল্লেখ করুন	নাতি/নাতনী ১: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ২: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৩: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৪: নাম:	নাতি/নাতনী ৫: নাম:
অন্যান্য অনুগ্রহ করে উল্লেখ করুন	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				
ফ্যামিলি হিষ্ট্রি	<input type="checkbox"/> ভাষা:				

প্রশ্নমালা

গবেষণাকর্মে ব্যবহৃত হবে

৪. আপনার প্রিয় কাজ কোনটি এবং কেন?

.....

.....

৫. আপনার বিবেচনায় আপনার নাতি/নাতনী কোন জিনিসটি আপনার কাছে সব চেয়ে বেশী শিখে?

.....

.....

৬. আপনার বিবেচনায় আপনি কোন জিনিসটি তাদের কাছ থেকে সবচেয়ে বেশী শিখেন?

.....

.....

৭. আপনি কি আমাদের প্রজেক্টে ভবিষ্যতে কাজ করতে আগ্রহী?

হ্যাঁ

না

আপনি যদি আগ্রহী হন তাহলে স্কুল অফিসে আপনার বিস্তারিত তথ্য জমা দিন।

প্রশ্নমালা

গবেষণাকর্মে ব্যবহৃত হবে

৪. আপনার প্রিয় কাজ কোনটি এবং কেন?

.....

.....

৫. আপনার বিবেচনায় আপনার নাতি/নাতনী কোন জিনিসটি আপনার কাছে সব চেয়ে বেশী শিখে?

.....

.....

৬. আপনার বিবেচনায় আপনি কোন জিনিসটি তাদের কাছ থেকে সবচেয়ে বেশী শিখেন?

.....

.....

৭. আপনি কি আমাদের প্রজেক্টে ভবিষ্যতে কাজ করতে আগ্রহী?

- হ্যাঁ
- না

আপনি যদি আগ্রহী হন তাহলে স্কুল অফিসে আপনার বিস্তারিত তথ্য জমা দিন।

Appendix II
Parent Interview Schedule

Dear Parent

Thank you for your interest in this survey. I am conducting this survey so that I may learn more about how grandparents, parents and children interact with and learn from each other. I am interested in learning about your thoughts and feelings concerning your role as a parent, and your relationship with your own children and your parents.

I would especially appreciate any of your own thoughts on the subject not covered in the questionnaire. The information from this interview will be used towards my PhD research and other publications in the future.

Thank you sincerely for your cooperation.

Mother

Personal Information

- Name
- Faith
- Age
- Occupation

Family circumstances

- Where were you born?
- Do you live with extended family?
- Were your children born in this country?
- What do you remember about England when you first came, if you were not born here?
- What was your own educational experience (ie school setting, teachers, and demands of education?)

Do/did you have a good relationship with your

- Grandparents

- Parents

Children

Please list the following information concerning your child

- Whether both parents are in this country
- Family structure, number of siblings and ages
- Languages spoken at home when child was growing up
- Languages child speaks now
- What language do they speak to you in, and between themselves?
- Other significant care-givers

Your children's learning experiences

- What are your earliest memories of bringing up your children in this country?
- Pre-school experience outside the home
- Your aspirations for your children's education, is it the same for boys and girls?
- What activities do you do with your children?
- What are the expectations from you from the school where your children attend in regards to their education?
- What is your relationship like with their teachers?
- What was your parent's relationship like with your teachers?
- Who played the active part in your education your mother or father?
- Who plays the active part in your children's schooling you or their father?
- If there is a difference why?
- What values do you hope to pass on to your children?
- Do you feel that having to bring them up in this country affects the values you want to pass on?

What are your feelings and how do you react to your children

- Bringing school reports home
- Fighting with each other
- Having friends from other cultures

- When older relatives or friends came to visit how do you expect them to behave?

Social experiences

- Does your relationship with your mother affect your relationship with your children?
- Do you think the way you are bringing up your children is very different to the way you were brought up? If so why?
- What memories of your upbringing do you have? Was there anything you used to think you will never do when you become a mother yourself?
- How do you feel about the way your mother is with your children and how has this affected the relationship between you and your mother?
- What sort of things do you think your child learn when they are with your mother?
- Is the relationship of the child with you different to that of the child with his/her grandparents and how does this affect the way the child learns and approaches learning?
- Do the children learn in different ways with their grandmother than with you?
- Do you feel that the teachers are aware of the knowledge children bring from home and how do they use this knowledge to help the child's learning at school?
- What key things do you think help children to build their social and academic identities?
- Do you feel that you are an effective parent? How would you describe your parenting style?
- What suggestions do you have to offer to people that would like to have a better relationship with their Grandchildren
- How would you like your children to remember your parents?
- How would you like your children to remember you?

Appendix III
Grandparent's interview schedule

Dear Grandparent,

Thank you for your interest in this survey. I am conducting this survey so that I may learn more about how grandparents and grandchildren interact and learn with each other. I am interested in learning about your thoughts and feelings concerning your role as a grandparent, and your relationship with your own children and grandchildren. I would especially appreciate any of your own thoughts on the subject not covered in the questionnaire. The information from this interview will be used towards my PhD research and other publications in the future.

Thank you sincerely for your cooperation.

Grandmother

Personal Information

- Name
- Faith
- Age

Do you reside

- with your children
- within walking distance,
- within daily driving distance
- more than 100 miles away
- More than 1000 miles away.

Family circumstances

- Where were you born?
- Where are your parents?
- Are your extended families in this country?
- Were your children born in this country?
- Where is your place of residence now and how long have you lived here?
- Where did you move from?

- Why did you move?
- What do you remember about England when you first came?
- Are you retired if so, what was your occupation
- Are you still working if yes, what is your occupation
- Do you enjoy good health
- Do you feel free to use and express the wisdom and experience that you have earned?
- Do you have influence within your family?
- Have you shared some of the skills that you have learned along the course of your life with young people?
- What was your own educational experience (ie school setting, teachers, and demands of education?)

Did you have a good relationship with your

- Grandparents
- Parents

Children

Please list the following information concerning your child (mother)

- age
- Occupation
- Whether both parents are in this country
- Family structure, number of siblings and ages
- Languages spoken at home when child was growing up
- Languages child speaks now
- Other significant care-givers
- What are your earliest memories of bringing up your children in this country?
- Where were your children educated?
- Pre-school experience outside the home
- Your aspirations for your children's education, was it the same for boys and girls?
- What activities did you do with your children? (Refer to questionnaire given previously)

- What were the expectations from you from the school where your children attended in regards to their education?
- What was your relationship with their teachers?
- What values did you try to pass on to your children?
- Did having to bring them up in this country affect the values you wanted to pass on?

What were your feelings and how did you react to your children

- Bringing school reports home
- Fighting with each other
- Having friends from other cultures
- When older relatives or friends came to visit how did you expect them to behave?

Grandchildren

- Please list the following concerning your Grandchildren (grand children)
 - age
 - sex
- How would you describe your relationship with your grandchildren?
- Do you see your Grandchildren (How often)?
- Do you know the ages of your Grandchildren?
- Do you know the favourite foods of your Grandchildren?
- Do you know your Grandchildren's friends?
- Do you have a favorite Grandchild?
- How did you feel when your first Grandchild was born? And where were you at the time?
- Do you celebrate holidays with them?
- Do you feel that you are important to your Grandchildren?
- Do your Grandchildren need you? If so in what ways
- Do you NEED your Grandchildren? If so in what ways

Your grandchildren's learning experiences

- Is your relationship with your Grandchildren different from your relationship to your own children? If yes, in what way.
- Does your relationship with your children affect your relationship with your Grandchildren?
What skills of parenting did you adopt/discard from your own parents in order to be a 'better' mother to your own children?
- How do you feel about the way your daughter is bringing up your grandchildren and how has this affected the relationship between you and your daughter in how they interact with the grandchildren/children? How do you feel this affects how the children learn?
- Is the relationship of the child with you different to that of the child with his/her parents and how does this affect the way the child learns and approaches learning? Do the children learn in different ways with their mother than with you?
- Do you feel that the teachers are aware of the knowledge children bring from their grandparents and parents and how do you they the teachers use this knowledge to help the child's learning at school?
- Do you feel that the public's attitudes are changing toward older people and their families?
- Do you feel that you are an effective Grandparent?
If you had it to do over again, as a Grandparent, what would you do differently?
- What suggestions do you have to offer to people that would like to have a better relationship with their Grandchildren
- What legacy are you leaving to your children or Grandchildren in non-material terms?
- How would you like your Grandchildren to remember you?

সুপ্রিয় দাদী/ নানী

এই জরিপে অংশ নেওয়ার জন্য আপনাকে ধন্যবাদ। আমার এই জরিপের মাধ্যমে দাদী/ নানীরা ও নাতি/ নাতনীরা তাদের পরস্পর সম্পর্কে কি চিন্তা করেন সেটা জানার চেষ্টা করব। একজন দাদী/নানী হিসেবে আপনার ভূমিকা সম্পর্কে আপনি কি চিন্তা করেন এবং আপনার সন্তান ও নাতি/ নাতনীদেব সাথে আপনার কি সম্পর্ক সেটা জানারও আমার আগ্রহ আছে। আমার প্রশ্নের বাইরে আপনার নিজস্ব চিন্তা থেকেও আপনি মতামত দিতে পারবেন।

দাদী/ নানী

ব্যক্তিগত তথ্যাবলী

- নাম
- ধর্ম
- বয়স

বাসস্থান

- আপনি কি নিজের সন্তানদের সাথে থাকেন?
- হাঁটার দূরত্বের মধ্যে থাকেন
- গাড়ি চালিয়ে যাওয়ার দূরত্বের মধ্যে থাকেন
- ১০০ মাইলের বাইরে থাকেন
- ১০০০ মাইলের বাইরে থাকেন

পারিবারিক অবস্থা

- আপনার জন্মস্থান কোথায়?
- আপনার পিতা-মাতা কোথায় জন্ম গ্রহন করেছেন?
- আপনার পরিবারের অন্যান্য সদস্যরাও কি এখানে থাকেন?
- আপনার সন্তানদের জন্ম কি এখানে হয়েছে?
- আপনার বাসস্থান কোথায়? কতদিন এই বাসস্থানে আছেন?
- এর আগে কোথায় ছিলেন?
- বাসস্থান পরিবর্তন করার কারণ কি?
- ইংল্যান্ডে প্রথম আসার স্মৃতি কি মনে আছে?
- আপনি কি চাকুরী থেকে অবসর গ্রহন করেছেন?
- কোথায় চাকুরী করতেন?
- এখনও কি চাকুরী করছেন?
- কোথায় চাকুরী করছেন?
- আপনি কি সুস্বাস্থ্য উপভোগ করেন?
- আপনার অভিজ্ঞতা ও জ্ঞান বিনিময়ে আপনি কতটুকু আর্থহী
- পরিবারে কি আপনার প্রভাব আছে?
- পরিবারের ছোটদের সাথে আপনার অভিজ্ঞতা ও দক্ষতা সম্পর্কে কি কথা বলেন?
- আপনার শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতা ও অভিজ্ঞতা কি?
- আপনার দাদী/নানী কিংবা পিতা-মাতার সাথে কি আপনার ভাল সম্পর্ক ছিল?

সন্তান/ ছেলে- মেয়ে

আপনার সন্তানদের সম্পর্কে নিম্নোক্ত তথ্যাদি প্রয়োজন:

- বয়স
- পেশা
- পিতামাতা উভয়েই কি এখানে বসবাসরত?
- পরিবারের সদস্য কতজন ও তাদের বয়স কত?
- ছেলে- মেয়ে বড় হওয়ার সময় কোন ভাষায় কথা বলতেন?
- সন্তানরা এখন কোন ভাষায় কথা বলে?
- আপনার সেবা যত্ন করার মত আর কয়জন আছে?
- সন্তানদের দেশে আনার সময়কার কোন স্মৃতি কি মনে পড়ে?
- সন্তানেরা কোথায় পড়াশোনা করেছে?
- স্কুলে যাওয়ার আগে ঘরে কিভাবে শিক্ষা শুরু হয়?
- সন্তানদের পড়াশোনার ব্যাপারে আপনার উদ্দীপনা কেমন ছিল? এক্ষেত্রে ছেলে বা মেয়ে ভেদে কোন পার্থক্য ছিল কিনা?
- সন্তানদের সাথে কি ধরনের কাজ কর্মে থাকতেন?
- আপনার সন্তানের শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানের উপর আপনার কতটুকু আশা ছিল?
- শিক্ষকদের সাথে আপনার সম্পর্ক কেমন ছিল?
- আপনার সন্তানদেরকে কি মূল্যবোধ দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করেছেন?
- এদেশে নিয়ে আসার কারণে এই মূল্যবোধে কোন পরিবর্তন হয়েছে কিনা?

নিম্নোক্ত বিষয়গুলোতে আপনার অনুভূতি কি ছিল?

- স্কুলের রিপোর্ট ঘরে আনার পর
- একে অপরের সাথে ঝগড়া-বিবাদ
- অন্য ধর্মাবলম্বীদের সাথে সুসম্পর্ক
- বয়স্ক আত্মীয় ও বন্ধু বান্ধব আসলে তাদের কি ধরনের ব্যবহার আশা করেন?

নাতি/ নাতনি

অনুগ্রহ পূর্বক আপনার নাতি/ নাতনী সম্পর্কে নিম্নোক্ত তথ্যগুলো প্রদান করুন:

- বয়স
- পুরুষ/মহিলা
- বয়স
- প্রিয় খাবার
- তাদের বন্ধুদের আপনি কি চেনেন?
- তাদের মধ্যে আপনার সবচেয়ে প্রিয় কে?
- প্রথম নাতি/ নাতনী হওয়ার অভিজ্ঞতা কি রকম? তখন আপনি কোথায় ছিলেন?
- আপনি কি তাদের সাথে ছুটি কাটান?
- তাদের কাছে আপনি কতটুকু গুরুত্বপূর্ণ?
- তারা কি আপনার প্রয়োজন অনুভব করে?
- কিভাবে আপনার প্রয়োজন অনুভব করে?
- আপনি কি তাদের প্রয়োজন অনুভব করেন?
- কিভাবে করেন?
- শিক্ষকেরা এই জ্ঞানকে কিভাবে কাজে লাগাতে পারে বলে আপনি মনে করেন?
- বয়স্ক মানুষ ও তাদের পরিবারের প্রতি মানুষের ব্যবহারের কি পরিবর্তন হচ্ছে?
- আপনি কি একজন ভুক্তভোগী দাদী/ নানী?
- দাদী হিসেবে আপনার অবস্থান পরিবর্তন করতে পারলে আপনি কি করতেন?
- নাতি/ নাতনীদের সাথে ভাল সম্পর্ক গড়ার ব্যাপারে আপনার পরামর্শ কি?
- আপনি আপনার সন্তান এবং নাতি/নাতনীদের জন্য কি উপদেশ দিবেন?
- তারা আপনাকে কিভাবে স্মরণ করলে আপনি খুশী হবেন?

আপনার সময় ও সহযোগিতার জন্য ধন্যবাদ

Appendix IV

Information Sheet for Research Participants

This Participant Information Sheet will help you decide if you'd like to take part. This research will contribute towards my PhD study and I will go through this information with you and answer any questions you may have. If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign the Consent Form on the last page of this document. You will be given a copy of both the Participant Information Sheet and the Consent Form to keep.

Title: FAMILY JIGSAWS - How intergenerational relationships between grandparents, parents, and children impact on the learning that takes place between the generations, and how this contributes to the child's learning experiences at home and at school

Researcher: Mahera Ruby

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

You are invited to take part in this study on FAMILY JIGSAWS. I am a PhD student at Goldsmiths, University of London. I am conducting my research within the Bangladeshi community to collect data to assist me in answering my research questions below.

- What parenting strategies are adopted/discarded by the grandmothers in order to contribute to the learning experiences of their children and grandchildren?
- How does the use of different languages and cultural practices affect intergenerational relationships between grandmothers, mothers and children?
- Are teachers aware of the intergenerational learning at home and how are their views reflected in their teaching approaches?

The purpose of the study is to highlight the learning interactions between the mothers and grandmothers with the children at home and at school, and how these interactions contribute to children's learning experiences. I have received approval from the University's ethics committee **REISC** (Goldsmiths Research Ethics and Integrity Sub-Committee)

WHAT WILL YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY INVOLVE

You have been approached as you fulfil the criteria of being part of a three generation family or the teacher of one of the participant children. I will arrange to meet you face to face go through the procedure and how outcomes will be used. Issues of confidentiality will be explained. Consent will be sought once the procedures have been explained. As a participant you will not be under any obligation to participate. Your participation will involve the following:

- From the point of initial contact made by me the time frame for data collection can be between 6months to one year. Your availability during this time will be needed.
- As a teacher to allow access to me as a researcher to spend some time in your classroom to get to know the participant children and build a rapport with them.
- Taking part in an interview to capture your story so far in relation to being a teacher/mother/grandmother

- Taking part in a video recording of you completing a jigsaw puzzle with the child
- The grandmothers will be expected to go through a questionnaire to capture the types of activities they do together with their grandchild
- Watching and listening to the recordings where possible and give feedback
- Where necessary to go through some of the data to help me to understand the data better

WHAT ARE YOUR RIGHTS?

- Your participation will be voluntary and if you do not wish to take part, you don't have to give a reason, and can withdraw at any point during the research.
- You will have the right to access information and data I collect as part of the study
- The data will be stored at a secure place at the University and will be used for publications, conferences and seminars and further details can be found on the consent form.

If at any time you are unhappy about the research or the conduct of me as a researcher you can complain to my supervisor Dr. Charmian Kenner (details are at the bottom of the page). If they are unable to resolve their problem, then you can use the University complaints procedure.

Dr Charmian Kenner

Phone: 02079197085

Email: c.kenner@gold.ac.uk

Research Office

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London SE14 6NW

T: + 44 (0)20 7919 7770

Participant Consent Form

Research Title: FAMILY JIGSAWS - How intergenerational relationships between grandparents, parents, and children impact on the learning that takes place between the generations, and how this contributes to the child's learning experiences at home and at school

Thank you for your interest in this research study. I am conducting this research as part of my PhD as I am interested to learn more about how teachers, grandparents, parents and children interact with each other. I am interested in learning about your thoughts and feelings concerning your role as a teacher/ parent/grandparent and to see how these interactions help children learn at home and at school.

In signing this document:

- I understand the nature and purpose of the research project and my involvement in it which has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.
- I understand that I will be audiotaped and videotaped during the interview and activities. I understand that these recordings will only be used for the purpose of evaluation, in research settings, publications and at seminars and conferences. I authorize the use of such data and recordings as described above for these educational purposes.
- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and pseudonyms will be used and the researcher shall treat the confidential information in the strictest confidence to prevent disclosure, directly or indirectly, to any other party.
- I understand that data will be stored in a secure location and I understand that the recordings will not be destroyed as the researcher may choose to use them in future publications, conferences and seminars.
- I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the University, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

I have discussed the study and I AGREE to these conditions and will participate.

Signed(Research participant)

Print name **Date**

Researcher: Mahera Ruby (Email: m.ruby@gold.ac.uk)

Appendix V

Teachers Interview

Name:

Educational background:

What motivated you to go into teaching?

How long have you been teaching?

Did your teacher training equip you to teach students from diverse backgrounds?

What would have helped?

Was your own schooling very similar or different to what you are delivering now?

In what ways do you try to encourage parents to promote their children's learning in school and at home?

What factors do you think promote children's learning at school? Are there any interesting strategies you employ towards this?

What factors do you think play a crucial role in building a child's academic and social identity? And how do you feel teachers play a role in this?

When you send work home who do you think can help? Are you aware of other languages being used to complete this work?

What role do you think grandparents can play in children's learning?

Does this child do things at home that complement their school learning?

Examples?

What are the constraints on teachers if there are any in preventing teachers from linking knowledge from home to work in school?

Are there resources available in your classroom that reflects the different languages and cultures that exist in your class? Examples?

In your busy schedule as a teacher how often do you manage to consult research?

- Where/how do you consult research?
- What research do you find useful?
- Do you feel you are able to implement what you find in your present context?

Appendix VI

CA codes used for Transcription

- (0.5) Time gap (unfilled pauses measured in seconds)
- (.) Short pause in the talk (pause less than 0.5 seconds)
- [] Concurrent speech - overlapping talk
- (()) Non-verbal activity or transcribers' comments on contextual or other features
- ! Indicates an animated or emphatic (forceful) tone
- () Empty parentheses indicate the presence of an unclear fragment on the tape
- Under Underlined fragments indicate speaker emphasis
- CAPITALS Words in capital mark a section of speech noticeably louder than that surrounding it.
- ° ° Degree symbols are used to indicate that the talk they encompass is noticeably quieter than the surrounding talk
- > < 'More than' and 'less than' symbols indicate that the talk they encompass was produced noticeably quicker than the surrounding talk

Appendix VII

Video Transcript: Aminah and mother completing the Solar System puzzle

Aminah and mother (15:48minutes)

Mum (M) and Aminah (A) in GP's house

M and A are sitting on the floor with their backs to the video

28. ((M is taking out the puzzle pieces from the box and puts them on the floor, she checks to see if there are any more pieces left in the box, then puts the box to one side))
29. A: put them the right way round
30. M: ok lets do ALL of them then
31. ((A & M start to turn over the pieces together in silence))
32. ((M moves back a little to make space for more pieces))
33. ((A spreads out some of the pieces behind her turning to her side so she is facing all the pieces))
34. (0.17)
35. M: Ok that's all spread out now which one shall we start with?
36. ((A leans over towards mum))
37. (..)

38. M: ° Is there any more in there? °
39. [((M picks up the box again, checks for any pieces left))]
40. [((A watches her))]
41. ((M then closes the box and holds it in front of her and A))
42. M: [It's gotta look like?]
43. (.)
44. ((M turns over the box in her hands looking for the right picture to follow))
45. A: [° the man°]
46. ((A picking up a couple of pieces))
47. M: that is our sample yeh?
48. ((M puts the box down on the floor in front of them and moves back a little))
49. A: the MAN
50. M: THE MAN ok let's find all the man
51. (..)
52. ((M moves back a little))
53. ((A leans forward))
54. M: there's only one how many men in there?

55. ((both look at the picture on the box))
56. M: ° one°
57. M: one man yeh?
58. A: yeh
59. M: yeh lets get the man done
60. A: () ° put this°
61. M: there's one piece
62. A: ° this °
63. M: hmm
64. A: that wicked
65. ((A looks up at mum))
66. M: is IT?
67. M: Hmm ok there's one man
68. A: this piece here
69. M: hmm
70. A: then this goes here
71. M: Yeah hmm does this go anywhere?

72. M: no no that's the hmm ok shall we do the rocket next?
73. M: WHERE'S THE FOOT?
74. M: Let's find the foot the front foot we ()
75. A: is it ()
76. M: can you see any more?
77. A: no
78. M: IT'S THAT ONE!
79. ((A leans her whole body forward looking for the piece M has indicated))
80. A: is it this?
81. (..)
82. A: I'm not sure ()
83. M: YES we have ° right ° shall we do the rocket?
84. A: yes
85. M: ok Lets get all the rocket pieces together how many rockets have we got?
86. A: we've got
87. (.)
88. ((A looks at the picture))

89. M: two
90. A: TWO!
91. M: shall we start from the bottom like this, shall we do this?
92. ((M is pulling pieces towards herself))
93. ((A is leaning over to get pieces and looking at M at the same time))
94. A: yeh
95. M: yeh?
96. M: °let's do that° hmm that one goes there right yeh?
97. M: That one goes there
98. (0.7)
99. M: ok SO where's the green bit where's the we need the other eye is it behind you?
100. ((A looks behind her))
101. A: not sure
102. M: hmm see any more oh here look?
103. (..)
104. ((A puts a couple of pieces of the green alien together with M's help))
105. M: and we have another piece there you go! we've got the bottom bit now one corner

106. A: red!

107. M: hmm let have a look at the picture, oh you've got it and the next bit is the rocket
shall we fit the rocket in there?

108. A: this one

109. M: like that?

110. M: yep

111. A: is it?

112. M: no >I got it!<

113. A: thank you

114. ((M hands over a piece of the puzzle to A))

115. M: ok what's the next bit?

116. A: it is the green thing

117. M: green thing all right

118. A: [its this]

119. M: [that way] isn't it?

120. A: huh?

121. M: no its ah yeh but I think

122. A: its this one

123. ((A coughs))

124. M: yep does that go there?

125. A: yep then it's this

126. ((A holds up the box and points to a part of the picture))

127. M: then it's the that one ok

128. (..)

129. M: Which one is that?

130. A: that's that's one

131. M: yep that way which one is that?

132. A: ()

133. ((A hands the box to M))

134. M: lets put that there actually

135. ((M putting the box in front of them both))

136. A: that's the end of that

137. ((A pointing to the picture on the box))

138. M: that part ok

139. A: does that bit go there?
140. M: yeah you're right ok what's next?
141. (...)
142. ((they both look for pieces))
143. M: you need something with a ring round here, here you go
144. A: Jupiter
145. M: [hmm]
146. A: [()]
147. (...)
148. M: look look IS THAT A RIGHT PUZZLE?
149. M: no that's not right Aminah [maybe that goes there]
150. ((M moves pieces around))
151. ((A watches))
152. A: [yep]
153. M: no that doesn't go there I think its further up
154. (..)
155. M: let's do the rocket next yeh?

156. M: so we need the blue bit isn't it?
157. A: °uhm is this?°
158. M: naah its bit fat
159. (..)
160. A: °nope°
161. M: are we stuck?
162. ((M laughs))
163. M: hang on a minute look that goes there and lets do connecting point where
164. (..)
165. A: ()
166. ((Aminah points to a piece))
167. M: where is that?
168. M: it's a nose is that?
169. ((M asks tapping on the puzzle on the floor with her finger))
170. (..)

171. M: no
172. (..)
173. M: what's that?
174. M: is there some behind you?
175. M: have a look
176. ((M points behind A))
177. A: no what's that?
178. (.)
179. A: lets look at the picture
180. ((A picks up the box and looks at the picture))
181. M: °I think we tried that before° ok
182. ((A puts box down))
183. (.)
184. M: right ok let's do that corner then that's the edge that must be it isn't it?
185. A: yep
186. M: then what's the next bit?
187. M: it's something with the writing on it solar so we need to find the solar

188. (..)
189. M: °lets put that together°
190. A: here no?
191. ((A tries to put a piece together))
192. M: hmm
193. A: solar solar solar
194. ((A Singing))
195. M: get that the writing () get that no that one look yep
196. (..)
197. ((M leaning forward))
198. M: so we're meant to get the rest of the writing
199. ((M sits back down))
200. A: its there
201. ((A leans forward picks up a piece and tries to put it together))
202. M: IS IT?
203. A: no
204. M: no no its gotta have a edge isn't it?

205. M: hmm hmm what's this?

206. ((A leaning forward towards M))

207. A: so-so-so-solar

208. ((A in a singing tone, A also looks around))

209. M: hmm here you GO!

210. A: here you go!

211. M: found two pieces

212. (0.13)

213. A: does this go here?

214. M: hmm?

215. ((M looks up at A))

216. M: na! it goes THERE isn't IT?

217. ((M pointing to a part of the puzzle))

218. (..)

219. M: hmm there you go now if we find the edge this one goes

220. A: does this go here?

221. M: °it's the bottom there° yeah yeah go on what's the next piece?

222. (..)
223. ((M allows A to put a couple of pieces together))
224. M: Find the Legs?
225. A: over here
226. (..)
227. A: right just found more writing is there any green bit?
228. ((A hands over a green piece to M))
229. ((M does not acknowledge A))
230. ((M continues to look for pieces))
231. (..)
232. A: *Ammu* can you give me that green bit?
233. M: here you go
234. ((M without looking up))
235. A: this goes together!
236. (..)
237. A: *ammu* look! There's that [thing that goes here!]
238. M: [hmm] no I think this one I think that explosion bit type of thing is next so it could be that

there and then it goes up °no° might be this way what's next?

239. A: here

240. M: No °put that there°

241. A: here

242. ((A puts a piece on))

243. M: excellent so now we got one corner that bit little bit of blue

244. A: bit here

245. M: yep next orange bit there

246. A: ok Saturn

247. M: then we've got that little bit of orange

248. A: first let me make Saturn

249. ((A looks at box and tries to find pieces))

250. M: then that then what's this bit?

251. A: maybe it's this?

252. M: °no its not°

253. A: does this go here?

254. M: no ok we need to find this bit first

255. A: that's the Earth?
256. M: hmm
257. A: above Saturn its Earth yeah its earth where's little Earth?
258. A: Here
259. M: here I got earth, no!
260. A: Earth should go where it says next to where it says earth where's E?
261. A: () [get that]
262. ((A points to a piece near M))
263. M: [hmm] yep you're right its there
264. A: this don't [go here]
265. M: [hmm doesn't it?]
266. A: where's the little piece here?
267. A: NEPTURN!
268. M: hmm?
269. A: Nepturn
270. M: So you done it Neptune °ok° what's this?
271. M: That goes [there]

272. A: [is there] a little circle thing it goes next to Nepturn

273. M: yeah I've done that and then LOOK!

274. A: wait this goes here

275. M: does it?

276. ((both A & M try to put same pieces together))

277. A: yeah it says Nepturn and then a little missing

278. M: °lets have a look° ok you've done it!

279. ((M sits back))

280. (..)

281. A: [ok]

282. M: [ok] now we have to build that [bit]

283. A: [where's]

284. M: now that bits finished

285. A: does this go there?

286. A: This way?

287. (..)

288. A: nope

289. M: hang on a minute

290. (.)

291. M: Pluto nope

292. A: DOES THIS GO [HERE]?

293. M: [hmm]

294. A: look no look [yes that] =

295. M: = [this one]

296. M: [No]

297. A: [No] that one

298. M: no

299. A: >me me<

300. ((A singing))

301. M: >no no no its not<

302. (..)

303. M: hmm [ok]

304. A: [this] fits here

305. (..)

306. A: in the middle there is a little round bit

307. M: °ok° what goes here?

308. M: lets do this can't finish that bit we [don't know what's there]

309. A: [on top of the] ahh Jupiter where's Jupiter?

310. A: yep

311. M: hmm and then it's Mars

312. A: so its just [a just a little]

313. M: [we're missing a little bit] of writing oh look found it

314. (..)

315. ((A leans forward to help))

316. M: so where's this one Pluto?

317. M: Pluto is further up there look must be Pluto there so now what we need to do

318. (..)

319. M: tell you °what give me that I think this one goes here° that one that black one look yep we
got that so now we need a little star on this one

320. A: I found a star

321. ((A looks around))

322. M: I've got it! and then the next bit?
323. (..)
324. M: °What's this? °
325. A: oh this bit °no° there's the yellow bit again
326. M: hmm
327. A: a little yellow bit
328. M: I don't think that's on that bit
329. A: yeah that bit as well
330. M: yes you've done it! Ok this last bit now come on
331. A: wait this might go here
332. M: yeah you're right turn it around, other way round, other way round and then
333. (..)
334. ((A laughs))
335. M: you've done it and so now we need to do a little bit more what's that?
336. A: [yeah]
337. M: [hmm] no that doesn't go there
338. A: oh it's a little big where's Jupiter?

339. (0.5)
340. M: just tried that, no this one Pluto stays up there like that cuz Pluto's all the way up here you need to leave Pluto there where's the moon green moon?
341. M: You've got it there isn't it?
342. M: Give me the green moon
343. A: ()
344. M: wayyy
345. A: and this goes next to the [green moon]
346. M: [yeah] yeah come over here I've got this bit nearly done that goes there
347. ((A moves over towards M, they both sit very close side by side))
348. A: this should [go]
349. M: [go] no goes somewhere
350. A: where's Pluto?
351. M: here
352. (.)
353. M: there look! So it goes there like that so we're missing a bit of orange
354. A: where's that?

355. ((A leaning back to get a piece))
356. M: yeah! that one put that one no its has to be straight
357. A: *acha* **ok**
358. ((A sits back))
359. ((M leans forward to put the piece in))
360. M: °it's tricky [ain't it?] °
361. A: [and now we need] to get this bit
362. M: yep °that goes like that° and [then]
363. A: [I found] a little bit blue here
364. M: yep that's all right, °oh God°
365. A: this should go at the top!
366. M: hmm?
367. A: so this the () there here it [can go here]
368. M: [hmm?] °there there° yep you put that up there I put this one there
369. A: there no it won't link
370. M: no
371. A: no it won't!

372. M: no that one goes up there that's why now put the rest of the writing there

373. (..)

374. M: °ahh nearly done°

375. (0.8)

376. M: where's the where does it say Earth here?

377. M: Oh here hmm

378. A: this should go [somewhere here]

379. M: [yep]

380. A: that means

381. (...)

382. M: yep

383. A: and that's Saturn this black bit there put this one

384. M: no that's the edge straight edge there's one missing there we've just got these left how many have you got?

385. (..)

386. M: hmm these are the tricky ones that one 'ono, that one over there, no that one goes here and that's it!

387. M: Hooray finished!
388. (..)
389. M: Masha Allah finished ok alright
390. ((M moves the box closer to herself and points at the completed puzzle))
391. A: shall I say all the names?
392. M: yeah
393. A: the solar system, Pluto, Mars, Jupiter what does that say?
394. M: Uranus
395. A: M..
396. M: Mercury
397. A: Mercury, sun, Venus Saturn
398. M: what's that?
399. A: Neptune
400. M: and?
401. A: Earth