LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT ACROSS THE GENERATIONS:

A cultural-historical study of everyday family practices.

HILARY MONK

Master of Education(Adult Education) (First Class Honours)
Massey University, N.Z.

Bachelor of Education
Massey University, N.Z.

Diploma of Kindergarten Teaching (Honours)
Auckland Kindergarten Teachers' College, NZ.

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Education, Monash University

July 2010

E-THESIS DECLORATIONS

Notice 1

Under the Copyright Act 1968, this thesis must be used only under the normal conditions of scholarly fair dealing. In particular no results or conclusions should be extracted from it, nor should it be copied or closely paraphrased in whole or in part without the written consent of the author. Proper written acknowledgement should be made for any assistance obtained from this thesis.

Notice 2

I certify that I have made all reasonable efforts to secure copyright permissions for third-party content included in this thesis and have not knowingly added copyright content to my work without the owner's permission.

A B S T R A C T

Intergenerational research in familial and non-familial contexts appears to be strongly influenced by the positivist traditions of sociology where top-down transmission models of intergenerational learning and development dominate thinking and research. This thesis uses an interpretivist approach framed in Vygotsky's (1987) cultural-historical theory and contributes alternative perspectives and interpretations of intergenerational learning and development. The study explored the relations and transitions of values and beliefs within and between generations. The focus of the study was the *process* of intergenerational learning and development occurring within everyday family practices rather than the actual formed values or beliefs of the families.

Three intergenerational families (grandparents, parents, and children aged between 3 and 6 years) from a sea-side suburb of a major capital city in Australia participated in the study. Data were generated over a period of 10 months through a multi-phased iterative process consisting of family dialogues, photographs, and video footage. The family dialogues were a type of semi-structured conversation where family members gathered together with the researcher to discuss family practices using the visual data they had generated. A digital camera was given to the families between dialogues to enable them to take photographs and short video clips of their everyday child-rearing practices for discussion. Analysis of the generated data occurred on three different levels; firstly at the *common sense* level, secondly at the *situated practice* level and thirdly at the *thematic* level (Hedegaard, 2008b). This interactive, dynamic process of analysis had as its focus the study's *unit of analysis* which was everyday family practices.

The inter-related cultural-historical concepts of mediation, motives, and participation were used in this research as theoretical tools and analytical categories; and as such, they opened up new ways of viewing the rich complexity of the everyday lives of participant families. This thesis argues that, when everyday family practices (for example mealtimes, shopping, and holidays) are viewed holistically through the cultural-historical concepts of mediation, motives, and participation, the intergenerational trajectories of continuation, interruption, and transformation become visible. In addition, the conceptual 'glue' that united the generations, trajectories and cultural-historical concepts were the dialectics of we-ness and between-ness. We-ness related to the *shared meaning* and values that occurred in and through family practices over time. Between-ness related to the *relations* connecting people, places, and things. It was not possible to consider we-ness without also considering between-ness; together they resulted in intergenerational family learning and development.

Intergenerational we-ness and between-ness as dialectical cultural-historical concepts are important and significant findings generated from this study. They contribute new perspectives and interpretations of *intergenerational learning and development* and they open up new ways of viewing shared meaning and relations as collective and intergenerational concepts. The dialectical cultural-historical model of intergenerational learning and development presented in this thesis responds to the commonly held view of intergenerational transmission and offers an alternative contradictory conceptualization.

P U B L I C A T I O N S

Refereed publications

Monk, H. (2009). Everyday cultural development in the life of a three year old child: A Vygotskian interpretation of dialectical relations and shared meaning. *New Zealand Research in Early Childhood Education, 12*, 43-54.

Monk, H. (2008). Funds of knowledge: A theoretical framework for designing intergenerational research. *Journal of Australian Research in Early Childhood Education, 15*(1), 49-60.

Invited presentations

Key-Note address

Monk, H. (2010, 29-31 March). *Rethinking children's learning and teacher's teaching: What's in focus?* Paper presented at the National TAFE Children's Services Conference, Perth, Australia.

Other invited presentations

Monk, H. (2010, 29-31 March). *Family matters in early childhood education contexts: Partnership, separation or somewhere in between?* Paper presented at the National TAFE Children's Services Conference, Perth, Australia.

Monk, H. (2010, 19 January). *Between generations: Exploring relations, transitions and transformations embedded in family childrearing practices.* Paper presented at the International Society for Culture and Activity Research Asia and the Pacific Regional Symposium, Monash University, Peninsula Campus, Melbourne, Australia.

Monk, H. (2009, 19 August). *Play in three-generational families: A tapestry of children's cultural development.* Paper presented at the Hong Kong Institute of Education, Department of Early Childhood Education, Hong Kong, China.

Monk, H. (2009, 17 June). *Exploring children's everyday lives in intergenerational families.* Paper presented at the Bayside Family Connect Group workshop, Frankston, Victoria, Australia.

Conference presentations

Monk, H. (2010, 20-21 January). *"I'll be the hairdresser": Exploring young children's development during adult/child play in families.* Paper presented at the 17th Conference of Australian Research in Early Childhood Education, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia.

Monk, H. (2009, 26-27 August). *Play in three-generational families: A tapestry of children's cultural development.* Paper presented at the 19th European Early Childhood

Education Research Association (EECERA) Annual Conference, Diversities in Early Childhood Education, Strasbourg, France.

Monk, H. (2009, 3 July). *"Eating sweet treats": A cultural-historical analysis of the motives and goals imbued in a shared family practice of baking biscuits.* Paper presented at the Monash Education Research Community Annual Conference, Go Boldly: Act locally, think globally, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia

Monk, H. (2009, 22-23 January). *'Alive!' A Vygotskian interpretation of the dialectic relationships occurring through shared meaning and speech within intergenerational households.* Paper presented at the 11th New Zealand Early Childhood Research Conference, Massey University at Wellington, New Zealand.

Monk, H. (2008, 9-11 July). *Between generations: Exploring the dynamics of value transfer and/or transformation using a cultural-historical theoretical framework.* Paper presented at the 10th Australian Institute of Family Studies Conference (Poster Presentation), Melbourne, Australia.

Monk, H. (2008, 4 July). *Ethical consent with young children: More than a signature on a piece of paper.* Paper presented at the Monash Education Research Community (MERC) Annual Conference, Melbourne, Australia.

Monk, H. (2008, 22-23 January). *The dynamics of intergenerational research into child-rearing practices: Grappling with methodological design issues.* Paper presented at the Australian Research in Early Childhood Education Melbourne, Australia.

Awards related to publications

Monash University, Faculty of Education, Annual Post-graduate Publication Award – Runner-up. (2009). For the publication - Monk, H. (2009). Everyday cultural development in the life of a three year old child: A Vygotskian interpretation of dialectical relations and shared meaning. *New Zealand Research in Early Childhood Education, 12*, 43-54.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It has been the relations and connections with people that have brought this thesis to completion. Without the involvement of the families who told their stories and shared their lives, the support of friends and colleagues, and the encouragement, and challenge of my supervisor, this thesis would not be what it is today. My wholehearted thanks go to each of you. To quote a Maori proverb, he tangata, he tangata, he tangata (it is people, it is people, it is people).

More specifically, I firstly acknowledge and thank my supervisor, Professor Marilyn Fleer. Thank you Marilyn for the amazing conversations we have shared, for your belief that there really was a thesis in my project, and more recently for the 'crisis' (in Vygotskian terms) that led me to a whole new level of theorising. This thesis would not be what it is today if you had not willingly shared your depth of knowledge, scholarship, and experience in the field of cultural-historical theory and research. Thank you for walking with me on this once-in-a-life-time journey.

My thanks and appreciation go to the participants of this study. This thesis is your story, for without your generous participation this work would not have been possible. It was a delight to get to know each of you and I appreciate the ways in which you opened your everyday lives to me. Thank you for sharing your homes, joys, challenges, histories, and dreams.

The encouragement and support of my friends both in New Zealand and in Australia has been a lifeline to mental and physical health. Special thanks go to Jan

Gilling and Dr Corrine Rivalland who have stood with me through the ups and downs of doctoral study. Your texts, phone calls, and talks over a coffee have provided invaluable support. To Dr Avis Ridgway, Gloria Quinones, Robyn Babeaff, Ana Manetlla, and Kofi Davis who have journeyed with me as doctoral students, I say thank you. It has been a special privilege to share this time with each of you. I thank my colleagues at Monash University, especially Dr Jill Robbins (who acted as interim supervisor for six months) and Dr Jane Bone, as well Dr Beverley Norsworthy and Dr Andrew Smith from New Zealand, for the stimulating and encouraging conversations we have shared about family research. My thanks and appreciation also go to Lesley Brighting and Robert Taylor who have spent many hours proof reading this work. Dr Corrine Rivalland provided expert assistance in formatting this document.

The financial support provided through my being recipient of the 2007-2010 Monash Silver Jubilee Post Graduate Scholarship has been invaluable; this award was such an unexpected privilege. In addition, I am very grateful for having received a Monash University Post-graduate travel grant, which assisted me to present my work to international audiences in Hong Kong and in France.

In concluding this section I would like to acknowledge my parents and grandparents who have instilled in me a legacy and love of family. It would have been wonderful to share this thesis with them but that was not possible, never-the-less I dedicate my work to them. Finally, my thanks go to "the God who made the heavens and the earth" (Genesis 1.1) for His continued grace and faithfulness in guiding this work to its conclusion.

DECLARATIONS

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any educational institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed: ……..

This research received the approval of the Monash University Standing Committee for Ethical Research on Humans project number CF08/0124-2008000055.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF APPENDICES

CHAPTER 1

FAMILY RESEARCH MATTERS

Why is it necessary to continue theorizing about families? Today, more than ever, family scholars need to be curious. To be relevant, we need to ask new questions and generate new hypothesis. We need new frameworks and methods through which to understand differences *and* commonalities in couples and families across the United States and around the world. To analyse the enormity of data, we need linkages to frameworks, but they must be culturally inclusive. Whether we use models or metaphors, we can make sense of old and new knowledge about a diversity of families in diverse contexts – sickness and health, poverty and prosperity, conflict and harmony, and in times of peace and war. Theoretical thinking helps us see the big picture.
(Boss, 2005, p. xvii)

1.1 Introduction

Over the past fifty years there has been a wealth of research concerning families and family relationships. Data about family structures, diversity of families, family membership, complex family relationships, and the cultural nature of families have created a great deal of knowledge across many different communities and societies. However, Bengtson, Acock, Allen, Dilworth-Anderson and Klein (2005) argue that family researchers need to go beyond the *what* about families and try to better understand and explain the *why* and *how* about the complex nature of families. They believe researchers have come to know a great deal *about* families, but much less about why and how they 'do' family. These authors propose that the problem is the "inadequate attention to *theorising*" (Bengtson et al., 2005, p. 4) [original emphasis] occurring within the field of family research. They would like to see a greater emphasis on family theory, thereby making family studies more relevant to students, researchers,

and practitioners. Theorising involves a complex mix of creativity, imagination, analysis, explanation, association, and meaning making. Theorising is a *process* of problem solving, developing ideas and explanations from generated data. Theorising goes beyond description. Theorising involves questioning and reflection, it leads to a greater understanding of relations and connections creating more holistic perspectives. Theories provide researchers with a variety of lenses. The use of one lens reveals particular understandings and, when the same phenomena are viewed through another lens, something different comes into view. Theorising is an essential element in this thesis. The process of theorising within this study has opened up new understandings, explanations, and meanings related to the everyday lived experiences of participant, intergenerational families.

The problem of intergenerational learning and development is central to this thesis. A review of the literature has shown that this problem has been largely addressed through sociologically framed studies that have focused on the concepts of the intergenerational transmission, top-down channels, and the congruence of particular societal values, beliefs and behaviours occurring across generations (see Chapter 2). This thesis offers a different view. Framed in cultural-historical theory (see Chapter 3) this study investigates the ways in which family values, knowledge and practice traditions relate, transition and transform within and between generations during the everyday child-rearing practices of participant families. The emphasis is on the *processes,* the relations, transitions, and transformations occurring within and between the generations, the *how* and *why* of intergenerational learning and development and less on the *what,* or the end result. The cultural-historical concepts of participation, mediation,

and motive are of prime importance in this study and are operationalized as both theoretical and analytical tools (see Chapters 3 & 4). This interpretivist study was framed using a dialectic-interactive methodology (Hedegaard, 2008c). Intergenerational family dialogues, photographs, video clips and family treasures were employed to generate data for analysis (see Chapter 4). Throughout this thesis the theoretical ideas build, culminating in a model that provides a cultural-historical view of intergenerational learning and development (see Chapter 8). Importantly this thesis recognises the need to theorise family and family practices because they are a fundamental aspect of most people's everyday lives.

1.2 Everyday life in intergenerational families

The everyday lives of families are rich and complex. Behind the obvious daily routines of activities and practices is authenticity and vitality, the potential for learning, development, and change, a sense of newness that is present in the sameness, a sense of history in the present and dreams of the future. Bakardjieva (2010) points out that "the everyday harbours those elementary relations and actions that form the flow of social life and give the culture we inhabit its distinctive characteristics" (p. 62). She goes on to emphasise that "researchers who espouse the interpretative approach do not see the everyday as an objective flow of routine events by which human beings are swept passively along" (p. 62), instead they attempt to capture and understand everyday life "as it is perceived and made sense of" (p. 62) by their research participants.

1.2.1 Everyday life

Lefebvre, a seminal author and researcher in the field of sociology, has written extensively on the concept of everyday life (Lefebvre, 1991, 2002, 2005). Reviewing volume III of Lefebvre's trilogy, Curry (2009) summarises this work by stating

> the fundamental point of Lefebvre's work is that there exists within the everyday a potential for things to be otherwise – but not merely otherwise. This otherness within the most mundane aspects of our lives encompasses a substantially new way of being in the everyday (. . .) [this] provides him with a mechanism in order to understand the relationship between continuity and discontinuity in modern everyday life that is layered with a constancy of newness. (p. 170)

Lefebvre's work considers the dialectical relations of continuity, discontinuity, and newness or transformation. This dialectical approach provides hope in the everyday rather than drudgery and at the same time there is the realisation that what appears so secure in the everyday is also so vulnerable to change. Lefebvre refers to Hegel when he urges his readers to open their eyes to the everyday, recognising that what is so familiar, is not necessarily known, that "it is in the most familiar things that the unknown – not the mysterious – is at its richest" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 132). He mused over the idea that scientific researchers might be interested in the "first hesitant words of infants ... or the shape of houses" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 133), suggesting that a century or more ago these topics would not have been part of a scientific research agenda, that somehow the idea that what happened everyday needed to be separated from the focus of study.

Lave (2008) explains this notion of separation as assigning a location to different aspects of social existence, polarizing the ordinary or everyday and the special or privileged. She suggests that there is an epistemological premise that learning only occurs away from the ordinary and the everyday, that everyday life is defined "abstractly as the base, the lowest form of living and learning, or as a site of social disorder and faulty social reproduction" (p. 12). She goes on to challenge her readers to consider "alternative ways to look at learning as part of everyday life and everyday life as in part a matter of learning" (p. 13). Over recent years more and more researchers and scholars from a range of disciplines and fields of interest have been pursuing the everyday and finding it an exciting area for inquiry. Examples include studies that have been undertaken on topics such as the everyday use of the internet (Bakardjieva, 2010); the everyday lives of young children and their families (Hedegaard & Fleer, 2009; Tudge, 2008); everyday finance (Fünfgeld & Wang, 2009); everyday health (Kivits, 2009); everyday literacy (Papen & Trusting, 2008), and everyday spirituality (Bone, 2007).

Vygotsky recognised and valued children's everyday life experiences. He wrote extensively on what he termed everyday and scientific concepts (Vygotsky 1987) acknowledging their different genesis while investigating the relations and transitions between them. He linked everyday concept development to unstructured and spontaneous activities while proposing that scientific concepts developed in the presence of systematic instruction and conscious acquisition. Although these topics are outside the scope of this thesis they highlight Vygotsky's ability to view the everyday in new and revolutionary ways. Vygotsky's study of children's learning and development was not restricted to formal settings, he was interested in the everyday social relations

children engaged in and was able to pinpoint aspects of learning and development within everyday contexts that might otherwise go unnoticed (Vygotsky, 1987; 1997b).

Within this thesis the study of everyday family practices involved inquiry into the normal, ordinary daily lives of three-generational families as they raised their young children. Special events such as birthdays or holidays were not polarised or separated from such routine events as household chores, both were understood as part of everyday family life and participants could choose what aspects of their everyday lives they included in the data they generated. Everyday life might seem so familiar yet the dynamic complexity of the everyday is so rich. It is in studying the everyday lived experience of three-generational families that the complexity of process, genesis, history, change, disruption and transformation can be found. Theorising everyday lived experiences helps us see, and understand more holistically, the big picture of intergenerational learning and development (Boss, 2005). The dialectical relations within and between the everyday practices of intergenerational families were crucial aspects of this thesis.

1.2.2 Family

The concept of 'family' like the concept 'everyday' holds a great deal of rich, complex relations and shared meanings. Of all social institutions the family is likely to be the one with which people are most familiar. There is however, little consensus on what constitutes a family (Bowes & Watson, 2004; Greenstein, 2006; Jayakody, Thornton & Axinn, 2008; Pool, 2005; Robinson, 2009). Poole (2005) poses the question "How useful is the concept of 'the family' in the twenty-first century, given that in most

Western countries there is so much diversity in family forms?" (p. 20). Poole goes on to suggest that we all know what a family is, yet trying to define family is difficult. Definitions of family change over time. This raises questions such as: is a family defined by a blood tie, a legal document such as a civil partnership, marriage, adoption or birth certificate, or is family defined by an emotional commitment or a place of residence? Greenstein (2006) asks

> are cohabiting couples families? What about gay and lesbian couples? Do foster parents and the child for whom they are responsible constitute families? What about groups living in communal settings where childcare is shared among unrelated adults? (. . .) should we define two elderly siblings who live together as a family? Are childless married couples families? (p. 8)

Contemporary western society has seen huge social change take place over the last few decades, with changes in migration, shifts in the status of marriage, decline in fertility rates and the growth of an ageing population (Pool, 2005). These shifts have been reflected in the way many societies view the institution of family and the way family is defined. The concept of "mum, dad and the kids" being constructed as "typical or normal [meeting a] standard model of domestic life" has been challenged by changes in the workforce, as well as differing cultural values and beliefs (Reiger, 2005, p. 62). Families define and redefine themselves as family members enter and exit the family residence or household for a range of reasons. Terms commonly used to describe families in Western societies include step-families, blended families, and extended families. Over a decade ago Beck-Gernsheim (1998) argued that the "family is acquiring a new historic form" (p. 54), that relationships of different kinds were emerging and lasting for different periods of time. For example, a parent might spend

the working week in another city or child might live between homes through shared parenting arrangements. She went on to suggest that these relationships "in all their intermediary and secondary floating forms represent the future of families or what I call the contours of the post-familial family" (pp. 67-68).

Families might also be defined by who is considered 'immediate' family. For some cultures the nuclear family of people that reside together are considered immediate family whereas in other cultures immediate family includes a larger group of 'blood related' relatives. Still other groups include a wider range of family friends as immediate family giving them the title of 'aunt or uncle' and 'sister or brother' (Robinson, 2009). Family structures are always changing, "the family is not a static concept either for individual families or within society in general" (Wild, 2007, p. 69). Families have always changed (Draper & Duffy, 2006) and they will continue to do so. Family changes influence societal changes and at the same time societal changes influence family changes and family diversity.

1.2.3 Australian Families

This study is located in Australia. Australia is a nation of rich climatic, geographical, cultural, and family diversity. Australia's six states and two territories span three time zones (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008; Philip's, 2007). The estimated residential population of Australia as at June 30, 2009 was 21,875,000 with migration amounting to 64% of the total population growth of 2.1% over the previous 12 months (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009). English is the national language of Australia but, due to the diversity of the population, over 200 languages are spoken with more than 60 different

languages spoken by the indigenous populations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). This study was undertaken within the state of Victoria which is situated in the south east of the country. The state of Victoria had an estimated residential population of 5,402,600 as at the end of March 2009 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009).

The families that comprise the Australian population are very diverse. Family groups participate in a wide range of cultural, linguistic, social, and religious activities as well as experience different levels of economic and job security (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). The structure of family groups varies and includes heterosexual and same-sex coupled families, lone parent families, reconstructed or step-families, extended families, and grand-families (where the grandparent is the primary caregiver of their grandchildren) (Pool, 2005; Robinson, 2009; Weeks & Quinn, 2000). For census and statistical purposes, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2007) has differentiated between who constitutes a family and who constitutes a household. Families are defined as

> two or more persons, one of who is at least 15 years of age, who are related by blood, marriage (registered or de facto) adoption, step or fostering, and who are usually resident in the same household. The basis of a family is formed by identifying the presence of a couple relationship, lone parent-child relationship or other blood relationship. Some households will, therefore contain more than one family. (p. 3, article 21)

Households are defined as "one or more persons, at least one of whom is at least 15 years of age, usually resident in the same private dwelling" (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007, Article 18, p. 3). The important difference between household and family is the provision for one person households that for statistical purposes are not considered families.

This thesis adopts in principle the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2007) definition of family. However, participant intergenerational families were not required to be resident in a single dwelling. The intergenerational nature of the study led to the likelihood of different generations residing in different residences. Therefore the term family is used in this thesis to refer to two or more persons, one of whom is at least 15 years of age, who are related by blood, marriage (registered or de facto) adoption, step or fostering. (Full details regarding the participants of the study are provided in Chapter 4.)

1.2.4 Personal narrative

As a researcher, I bring my personal and professional experiences of everyday life in intergenerational families to this study. Although the study took place in Australia where I currently reside, I have lived most of my life in New Zealand, the country of my birth. An only child of older parents (one of whom was himself an only child and a migrant) meant that I had limited experience and interaction with immediate family members such as aunts, uncles, or cousins. As a young child I was always interested in the way other families lived, I wondered what it might be like to have a sister or brother, aunts, uncles and cousins, and spent large portions of my time in the company of friends visiting their family homes. My experiences of family were somewhat different to those of most of my friends. As well as being an only child my maternal and paternal grandmothers both spent many years living with my parents and me in our family home.

My interest in the lives of children and families continued to develop as I left school. At that time I moved to a major city and began tertiary education to pursue my dream of becoming an early years teacher. As part of my professional role as a qualified kindergarten teacher and later head teacher, I have interacted with a wide range of children and families including extended family members and grandparents. Having taught in Asia, the Pacific, and Europe I have had the opportunity to live and work in a range of cultural communities and at times have resided with local families for extended periods. I acknowledge these experiences as a way of providing background to my choice of research topic and situating this study culturally and historically in my personal and professional areas of interest.

1.3 Researching families using dialectical methodologies

Researching the everyday lives of intergenerational families involves investigating rich, complex, dynamic relations. The choice of research approaches and methodologies involves thoughtful consideration. Davis and Barton (2005) challenge family researchers to consider using dialectical approaches in their work. They argue that "the dialectical dynamic of interacting opposites is the integrative pattern of life" (p. 327). Recognising the complexity of using dialectical methodologies, these authors suggest that they make the relations between and among the multiple influences on families more visible, particularly in relation to cultural and social transformations.

1.3.1 The notion of dialectics

The notion of dialectics had its beginnings hundreds of years ago. Originating from the Greek "dialegein" meaning to argue or converse, dialegein was a form of technical

argument that occurred through the system of questions and answers, having as its object the sense of "arguing for a conclusion" (Smith, 1999, p. 232). Early understandings of dialectical thought were attributed to Socrates for whom dialectics "referred to a type of argument that proceeds by question and answer and seeks to refute an opponent's viewpoint by revealing its logical flaws" (Fox, 2005, p. 37). For Plato, who was mentored by Socrates, "dialectic came to represent a philosophical pathway to the highest truth – knowledge of the eternal essences of things (the Forms) and ultimately of the Form of the Good" (Fox, 2005, p. 37).

Dialectical reasoning was brought to modern philosophy by Kant who used dialectics to vindicate the "objectivity of mere appearance" yet recognise the necessity of "contradiction" whereby thought itself could be examined (Pinkard, 1988, pp. 18-19). Such expansion from the mere appearance of contradiction opened up new holistic understandings embracing opposites, suggesting that incompatibility was only apparent within a limited framework and that it was possible to move beyond contradiction to new understandings. Pinkard (1988) further explains that Hegel developed Kant's ideas, defining dialectics as "the grasping of opposites in their unity or the positive in the negative in which speculative thought consists" (p. 19).

Hegel understood the world to be characterised by constant transition and change driven by conflicting forces yet unified within diversity. Hegel learnt much from Kantian dialectical thought but moved away from the idea that dialectics was a "*negative* method (. . .) used only to expose illusion" (Heiss, 1975, p. 8) [original emphasis]. Hegel was interested in how things were possible yet also recognised that some point of absolute truth, a final conclusion that could be taken no further, was of little use and lay

only in the imagination (Engels, 1976). Hegel understood the world as "fluid", "in the process of becoming", full of "oppositional relationships", and "self-transformative" (Fox, 2005, p. 38). He was interested in studying things in their own being, their own movement. Hegel argued that "in essence everything is *relative*" (Hegel, 1843, cited in Engels, 1964, p. 216) [emphasis added by Engels], that the positive and the negative derive their meaning from each other. Hegel's dialectical approach embodied a constant movement or development of becoming and dying yet at the same time a movement from lower to higher thought. The *process* of cognition rather than the final result was of importance (Engels, 1976). Dialectics is a way of understanding reality involving the unity of motion, movement, and change as continual and holistic (Engels, 1964), similar to an open-ended spiral or helix.

Dialectics is a method of reasoning that involves investigating phenomena holistically, in motion, and in process opening up understandings of connections and relations including the contradictory. This approach is very different from isolating individual aspects or parts of a process. Dialectical reasoning emphasises the genesis as well as the unity within the phenomena under investigation. For example, light can be understood as either a wave *or* a particle but light can also be understood dialectically as *a unity* of both wave and particle. It is the dialectical unity of the intergenerational patterns or trajectories of continuity, interruption, and transformation that are important aspects of this thesis (see Chapters 5, 6, & 7). Appropriating a dialectical approach to the study of intergenerational learning and development through the use of Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory (1987) as the framework for this study, has provided a new lens through which to view familiar everyday family practices. This

approach has offered an opportunity to explore everyday family practices within the contexts of the relations, transitions, and transformations that bind them together into an interconnected whole.

1.3.2 Vygotsky's dialectical cultural-historical theory

Vygotsky adopted the dynamic complexity of a dialectical world view which was in contrast to the Cartesian, dualistic, either/or espoused by many scholars interested in human development at that time (Daniels, 2008; van der Veer and Valsiner, 1991; Vygotsky, 1987; 1997a; 1999) (see Chapters 3 & 4). For Vygotsky (1997b),

> to study something historically means to study it in motion. Precisely this is the basic requirement of the dialectical method. To encompass in research the process of development of something in all its phases and changes – from the moment of its appearance to its death – means to reveal its nature, to know its essence (. . .) In accordance with this, we can study both present, available forms and past forms historically (. . .) this is a truly dialectical point of view in psychology. (p. 43)

Vygotsky recognised what he termed a "dialectical leap" that moved away from considering development as a quantitative increase of branching relations. Instead he argued that development involved a "qualitative change in the relation itself between the stimulus and the response" (Vygotsky, 1997b, p. 39). Rather than understanding the world as a complex of complete things, the principle of the dialectical method led to understanding the world as a complex of processes that undergo emergence and extinction (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991). This dialectical approach to the study of intergenerational learning and development highlights the "process in which people transform through their ongoing participation in cultural activities, which in turn contribute to changes in their cultural communities across generations" (Rogoff, 2003,

p. 37). Dialectical methodologies open up opportunities to investigate the mutual and reciprocal influences, relations, and transformations that occur between people as well as between people and their environments. Vygotsky (1997b) uses the example of the influence of nature on the person and the person's influence on nature, and how both are changed over time. The phrase "shape and shaped by" is sometimes used to refer to this holistic dialectical process (Daniels, 2008, p. 32), meaning people shape their social and natural environments and in that process are shaped by them.

Vygotsky's ability to think and theorise dialectically about everyday experiences began early in his life. Elena Kravtsova (Vygotsky's granddaughter) recounts the family story that one dark evening after very heavy rain the Moscow River was in flood, at the time the young Vygotsky was reported as saying 'I know where the rivers come from, they come from the sky' (Kravtsova, 2007). Vygotsky's conceptualization of the relations between the rain and the flooded river showed the way he made sense of the two events and revealed his understanding that they were linked and could be understood as parts of a whole, that one influenced the other.

Vygotsky's dialectical cultural-historical theory and research methodology has been used to frame this study. Decisions regarding the choice of this approach to study the everyday lives of intergenerational families are discussed in Chapter 2 and are further elaborated throughout this thesis. Intergenerational family research has commonly been framed in sociological approaches using quantitative methodologies. Framed in cultural-historical theory, this study contributes a different perspective on intergenerational learning and development, thereby opening up new ways to undertake family research.

1.4 Family research matters

Today more than ever, parents, researchers, educators and policy makers are curious about the diversity of families in diverse contexts. Social theorists are posing broad questions about continuity and change in society as they attempt to more fully understand socialization processes and intergenerational influences (Bengtson, Biblarz & Roberts, 2002), both familial and non-familial (see Chapter 2). Other researchers are using a variety of approaches including poststructualist theory to retheorize parent and child interactions, for example, the work of Grieshaber (2004) in the area of parent and child conflict.

Within the field of education and particularly early years education, teachers, teacher educators, and policy makers are emphasising the importance of reciprocal relations and connections between family and educational institutions (Australian Government Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR), 2009; Department of Education and Early Childhood Development (DEECD), 2009). The desire to make a difference in the lives of children and their families, particularly those from low socio-economic situations, has become an important societal goal as well as a huge responsibility for teachers (Fleer, 2010). The vision of the Council of Australian Governments' is that *"all children have the best start in life to create a better future for themselves and for the nation"* (DEEWR, 2009, p. 5) [original emphasis].

Within these contexts, family research matters. Family research opens up new ways to understand the dynamic complexity of relations, transitions, and

transformations that occur in families across the generations. Family research helps us to better understand how to engage and work with children and families, to value the richness of their diversity, and to hear their individual and collective voices.

The focus of this thesis is the problem of learning and development in intergenerational families. It contributes to the field of family research and scholarship by offering an *alternative theoretical approach* in which to frame research involving three-generational families. The framing of this study made a shift from the predominantly quantitative sociological discourse of intergenerational research to a qualitative cultural-historical discourse, creating new opportunities to view family practices dialectically. *Methodologically* this thesis explores, develops, and extends the use of iterative techniques for analysing data in keeping with the dialectical approach of cultural-historical theory. The use of dialectic-interactive methods (Hedegaard & Fleer with Bang and Hviid, 2008), including the generation of visual data, necessitated the development of appropriate analytical tools (see Chapter 4). In addition, this thesis culminates by revealing two important and significant *concepts*, intergenerational we-ness and intergenerational between-ness (see Chapter 8). These two concepts became apparent through the lens of cultural-historical theory and have been conceptualized within that theoretical discourse. In summary, this thesis makes theoretical, methodological, and conceptual contributions to the field of intergenerational family research.

The new ways of theorising learning and development in intergenerational families developed as part of this thesis will be of value to a wide range of researchers, scholars, and academics. As mentioned previously in this section, new curriculum documents in the field of early years education emphasise the role that families play as

children's first and most important educators (DEEWR, 2009; DEECD, 2009). This family focus encourages early years professionals to support and engage with children and their families by designing programs which respond to and include local families and their communities. As a result of these policy and curriculum developments, academics and teacher educators are seeking a range of knowledge generated from family research to discuss and critique with their student teachers as part of family studies units.

Research undertaken using quantitative and qualitative approaches, framed in different theoretical and methodological discourses, and undertaken in different cultural contexts is of importance. Approaching the problem of young children's learning and development in families from a variety of perspectives using a variety of lenses provides rich and valuable findings on complex issues. Some studies are large enough to generate broad generalisations, others are small and the findings relate to their specific participants. Important and significant knowledge is gained from both. Families by their very nature are different, their membership varies, and they have different structures that contribute to their everyday practices. Tools that can be used across cultural contexts and that help teachers, academics, researchers, policy makers and others that work with families are needed. By theorising the everyday practices of intergenerational families this thesis contributes to our understandings.

1.5 Overview of thesis

This first chapter has introduced the thesis foregrounding that everyday life in intergenerational families is rich and complex. Researchers and scholars from a range

of disciplines and theoretical perspectives have investigated the ways children learn and develop in their home and family contexts. They have questioned the ways the younger generations learn from the older generations, they have wondered why parents parent the way they do, and what happens in families. Chapter 2 presents a range of sociological and cultural-historical research and situates this study within the scholarly literature. This chapter explores the theoretical and methodological framing of intergenerational research and provides the platform from which this study was built. Boote and Beile (2005) clearly state that "to be useful and meaningful, education research must be *cumulative*, it must build on and learn from prior research and scholarship on the topic" (p. 3) [emphasis added]. The review of the literature was pivotal in this study and led to this research being framed within Vygotsky's (1987) cultural-historical theory.

The focus of Chapter 3 is Vygotsky and his contribution to the development of cultural-historical theory. A large portion of this chapter is devoted to introducing the life and times in which he lived as part of situating his work culturally, historically, politically, and ideologically. Acknowledging the connections between these factors and the development of cultural-historical theory, Vygotsky writes,

> every inventor, even a genius, is always the outgrowth of his [sic] time and environment. His creativity stems from those needs that were created before him, and rests upon those possibilities that, again, exist outside of him (. . .) no invention or scientific discovery appears before the materials and psychological conditions are created that are necessary for its emergence. (Vygotsky, 1930, translated into English and cited in van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991, p. xi)

The remaining portion of Chapter 3 explores some of the many theoretical concepts that relate dynamically and dialectically as part of Vygotsky's holistic cultural-historical

theory and methodology. The concepts discussed have relevance to this particular study and although special focus has been given to them and they may appear to be isolated, it must be recognised that each is inter-related within the holistic dialectical approach of cultural-historical theory.

The aspects of methodology and method appropriated in this study are explicated in Chapter 4. Central to all social research are the philosophical questions that relate to ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology. The answers a researcher gives to these questions leads to the choice of research approach and associated research methods. This chapter begins broadly by outlining various methodological paradigms, the focus then narrows to discuss the notion of a cultural-historical paradigm and a dialectic-interactive cultural-historical approach to studying children. In the second part of the chapter aspects of method are highlighted, in particular the research design including participant recruitment, the generation of data, ethical considerations, and the position of the researcher within the project. The generation and analysis of visual data are important aspects of this chapter. Although the use of visual images for research is not new it appears to have entered a new phase with digital technology being more available and accessible. As well as prompting a number of ethical questions, the use of visual data have necessitated the development of appropriate analytical tools. These issues are discussed in this chapter. The tools developed and used for analysing data generated as part of this study are discussed.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present the data generated for this study. These three chapters explicate the intergenerational dialectics of relations, transitions, and transformations conceptualized as intergenerational continuity (Chapter 5),

intergenerational interruption (Chapter 6), and intergenerational transformation (Chapter 7). Together these three chapters capture and exemplify the rich complexity of the everyday child-rearing practices in participant families. Each chapter foregrounds a different trajectory of intergenerational learning and development. Emphasis has been given to the words spoken by participants and their conversations are quoted at length. The intergenerational trajectories of continuation, interruption, and transformation are illustrated through a variety of different everyday practices. The three trajectories were evident in all three families, although different patterns and processes of continuity, interruption, and transformation occurred in different situations. Importantly, top-down continuity from grandparents to parents to children was found to be only one of a number of different trajectories of intergenerational learning and development.

In the final chapter of this thesis the major findings are brought together and situated in the scholarly and theoretical literatures. Framed within cultural-historical theory this thesis moves away from the dominant sociological concepts of transmission channels and top-down models of intergenerational learning and development, and instead presents a series of dynamic, holistic, and dialectical trajectories. The inter-related cultural-historical concepts of mediation, motives, and participation used as theoretical tools and analytical categories opened up new ways of viewing everyday family practices which led to these findings. This thesis concludes by presenting a model illustrating the inter-relations between the three intergenerational trajectories, the three generations and the cultural-historical concepts resulting in the emergence of two further concepts which were intergenerational, we-ness and between-ness.

Intergenerational we-ness and intergenerational between-ness as dialectical cultural-historical concepts are important and significant findings from this study. They offer new perspectives and interpretations of intergenerational learning and development.

As previously stated, this thesis proposes a conceptualization of intergenerational learning and development that is different from the commonly held top-down transmission model. The research journey that resulted in these findings began with a review of the intergenerational research literature as outlined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

SITUATING THE STUDY: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

One of the most enduring puzzles in family research is how to conceptualize and theorize intergenerational relationships
(Katz, Lowenstein, Phillips & Daatland, 2005, p. 393).

2.1 Introduction

Why do parents parent the way they do? What is known about parent-child relationships? What happens in families? These are some of the many questions that have interested researchers in a range of disciplines for a very long time. One long standing hypothesis is that the nature and quality of child rearing is transmitted from one generation to another, with parents rearing their children in similar ways to the ways they were reared. As Belsky, Conger, and Capaldi (2009) point out, various theoretical perspectives embrace this hypothesis including "life-course (Elder, 1981), attachment (Bowlby, 1969) and social-learning (Bandura, 1977; Patterson, 1998) theories" (p. 2101). In addition, there is a growing body of research literature concerned with children's everyday experiences in their families and communities seeking to understand the development and sharing of family knowledge and culture in and between generations using a cultural-historical (Vygotsky, 1987) theoretical perspective (for example Fleer, 2010; Hedegaard, 2005; Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Rogoff, 2003). Here the focus is on the development, reproduction, transfer, and transformation of child rearing practices over time.

This chapter considers a range of sociological and cultural-historical studies in order to situate the present project within the scholarly literature. National (Australian) and international literature has been included with some seminal works as well as recent publications. Of particular interest were the theoretical and methodological aspects of previous studies including the generational and intergenerational scope; the concept of intergenerational transmission, and the research problems that were central to the investigations. The chapter begins with a discussion of the sociological literature then the focus of the chapter shifts to discuss how cultural-historical researchers have approached the study of child-rearing and everyday family life. (The term 'sociological' is used loosely in this thesis to encompass studies focusing on societal practices and institutions -notably intergenerational families). Although the cultural-historical studies have not necessarily been labelled intergenerational studies, they investigate problems of an intergenerational nature. These include children's participation in the everyday life of their families and communities, their relationships with other children and adults, including grandparents, and the learning and teaching that occurs in and through these complex dynamic relations.

2.2 Issues in intergenerational research

Four issues related to intergenerational research have been identified for discussion in this section. The first considers the term *intergenerational* and the way it is used to indicate the generational scope of the studies; the second explores the concept of intergenerational *transmission* which is commonly referred to within the sociological literature. Attention then moves to the *focus topics and problems* investigated and reported on within the intergenerational research literature; and the fourth and final issue

addressed in this section is the *research approaches and designs* used to frame intergenerational research.

2.2.1 Generational scope – one, two, three or four generations?

Although the term *intergenerational* is frequently used in the literature (for example, Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Chun & Lee, 2006; Dingus, 2008; Harrel-Smith, 2006; Maré & Stillman, 2010; Newman, 2003; Yi, Chang & Chang, 2004), it is rarely defined with notable exceptions being Dingus (2008) and Newman (2003). Dingus (2008), in her study of the influence of family and culture on the professional entry and socialization of African-American teachers, "used 'intergenerational' to describe the active sharing of traditions, behaviours, beliefs and connections that contribute to both familial and individual identities across multiple generations" (p. 604). Newman (2003) in his introductory message as foundational editor of the *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships* points out that "for the past three decades, there has been an emerging interest in the 'intergenerational notion' – referring to cross-generational interaction, typically among the old and the young" (p. 1). Although both Dingus and Newman begin to define the term intergenerational there is still no clear understanding of how many generations are implied by "multiple generations" (Dingus, 2008) or "old and young" (Newman, 2003).

Conversely, the term *generation*, is widely used and clearly defined in a whole body of sociological literature and research related to individual generations evidenced by terms such as the Baby Boomer Generation, Generation X or the Millennials (Donnison, 2007). In these instances the term generation refers to the "lineage position" (Fine & Norris, 1989) of a person or a group of people within an

intergenerational family or the wider society. However who belongs to which generation and the start and end dates of particular generations is often contested (Donnison, 2007).

Returning to the term intergenerational, it appears there is an assumption that this term is easily understood and synonymous with a general understanding of generations being groups of people born at a similar time (a cohort), with intergenerational implying two or more groups of people born in different linear time periods such as children, their parents and grandparents. It must be noted however that it is quite possible that the age of any one or other of these linear family generations may be quite different in one family from another. For example, in one intergenerational family, a child of two months may have a 16 year old parent and a 35 year old grandparent; where as in another family a 16 year old may be the youngest child, with a 55 year old parent and a 90 year old grandparent. Both are intergenerational families yet drawing comparisons between any of the three generations, children, parents or grandparents is likely to be difficult. The concept of generation in this instance is different from cohort, with cohort referring to a group of people born at a particular time in history and generation referring to the linear sequencing of adults and children in a particular family (Fine & Norris, 1989). These distinctions are important yet often omitted, making the relations and comparisons between individual studies difficult to ascertain.

The lack of a clear definition for the term intergenerational is compounded with the absence of the number of generations the term intergeneration encompasses. In the literature reviewed there did not appear to be any systematic use of the term. The most

common use was reference to two-generational family groups such as grandparents and their grandchildren (Chun & Lee, 2006, Harrel-Smith, 2006; Wise, 2010); parents and their adolescent children (Yi, Chang & Chang, 2004); or older parents and their middle aged children as in the seminal work of Bengtson and Roberts (1991). Two generational non-family groups were also referred to as intergenerational such as studies of school children and older women (Bernstein, 1993) and adolescents and seniors in a residential home (Zelkowitz, 2003). Less frequently intergenerational referred to a span of three generations such as a three generational case study of woman previously unknown to each other (Lawton, 2004) and three-generational family groups of adolescent children, parents and grandparents (Mills & Wilmoth, 2002). To complicate matters further, intergenerational has been used in the literature to refer to couple-families of a single generation when the research questions consider their comments regarding prior or future generations (Boye-Beaman, 1994). In an attempt to bring clarity to the intergenerational nature of a particular study, some authors have described their intergenerational participants as multi-generational (Bengtson, 2001; Goh & Kuczynski, 2009), three-generational (Goodman, 2007; Hill, 1970; Lawton, 2004; Sabatier & Lannengrand-Willems, 2005) or four-generational (Brannen, 2006).

Overall the majority of intergenerational studies span two generations with data being generated from both generations simultaneously although some longitudinal studies have generated data derived from a birth cohort study over successive generations (for example, Belsky, Jaffee, Sligo, Woodward & Silva, 2005). The need for more three-generational studies has been expressed by a number of scholars for well over two decades (Fine & Norris, 1989; Hill, 1970; Sabatier & Lannegrand-Willems,

2005). Reasons for the dearth of three-generational studies mostly relates to the difficulties associated with the recruitment of participants. In many societies and particularly in western European families it is common for family members of different generations (particularly parents and grandparents but also young-adult children) to reside in different locations and often residences are a long distance apart, possibly even in a different state or country. Under these circumstances difficulties arise for the researcher who desires to meet face-to-face with family members spanning three generations unless either the researcher and/or the participants are willing to travel to a central location.

This thesis contributes to the growing body of literature exploring life in three-generational families. As indicated in the previous discussion, commonly intergenerational studies span only two generations. Further, participants in the intergenerational studies cited in this section spanning two, three or even four generations were of primary school age (six years old) or older. The focus children in this present study were preschoolers aged between three and six years. The children and their families are introduced Chapter 4. Finally the term three-generational rather than intergenerational has been widely used in this thesis to express clearly the nature of the participant family groups.

2.2.2 Intergenerational transmission

Many of the studies within the field of intergenerational research have focused on the concept of *intergenerational transmission*. The intergenerational transmission of culture is a multidisciplinary research field spanning such disciplines as anthropology, psychology,

sociology, medicine, business and the like. It has captured the interest of individuals and groups for decades (Schönpflug, 2001a). Ideas about what is transmitted and how it is transmitted are prevalent (see for example, Allen, 2005; Bailey, Hill, Oesterle & Hawkins, 2009; Boye-Beaman, 1994; Harrel-Smith, 2006; Kolar, 1999; Kulik, 2004; Moen, Erickson & Dempster-McClain, 1997; Shebloski, 2001; Thompson (Edosdi), 2005; Yi, Chang & Chang, 2004).

Almost two decades ago Bertaux and Thompson (1993) argued that the role of the intergenerational family was of major importance in the transmission of societal values, beliefs and behaviours. However, they also acknowledged that the intergenerational family does not hold a monopoly over social and cultural transmission, as peer groups and institutions such as schools, churches, workplaces, recreational and sports clubs also play a part. Nevertheless Bertaux and Thompson (1993) argued that

> the family remains the main channel for the transmission of language, names, land and housing, local social standing, and religion; and beyond that also of social values and aspirations, fears, world views, domestic skills, taken-for-granted ways of behaving, attitudes to the body, models of parenting and marriage. (p. 1)

Over a decade later researchers are still claiming the importance of the family in terms of the intergenerational transmission of such things as money and material goods (Brannen, 2006); human capital and socio-economic status (Maré & Stillman, 2010); parenting styles (Belsky, Conger & Capaldi, 2009) and behaviour (Bailey, Hill, Oesterle & Hawkins, 2009).

The concept of intergenerational transmission (cultural as opposed to biological) is particularly prevalent in studies with a sociological framing and has been identified as

a theoretical approach linked to the work of Boyd and Richardson (1985) and Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman (1981) (Schönplug, 2001a). The concept of cultural transmission recognizes that the similarities between parents and their children are not only biological or genetic but are also social and behavioural occurring via teaching and experience. The links between educational institutions and the family are of interest when considering the intergenerational transmission of human capital (Maré & Stillman, 2010), suggesting that "education and family comprise a conjoint system of human development" (Schönplug, 2001a, p. 132). This idea highlights the range of cultural contexts children and their families participate in as part of their everyday lives. Children are not only part of their family but also part of their educational institutions and the wider community. However, the focus on the intergenerational transmission of values within research studies reviewed was often portrayed as something that occurred in and through families alone and there appeared to be little if any consideration given to the other institutions and communities in which people relate and live out their everyday lives.

Within the literature reviewed the terms *transmission* and *channel* were often found together. Three different channels or directions of cultural transmission have been identified, the "vertical transmission" that occurs between grandparents, parents and children; the "horizontal transmission" that occurs among peers, and the "oblique transmission" that occurs between teachers/mentors and their students/mentees (Schönplug, 2001a, p. 133). Use of the channel metaphor gives the impression of a clearly defined, pre-determined route from one point to another through which something passes such as aspects of culture, attitudes and behaviours channelled from

one person to another, or one generation to another. Although lists of particular traits (for example attitudes, patterns of socialization, sex-role concepts and dietary habits) being transmitted through specific channels have been created, many traits are said to be transmitted through multiple channels and cannot be limited to just one (Schönplug, 2001a). Schönplug (2001a) also mentions the idea that intergenerational transmission is selective and is linked to adults intentionally teaching the younger generation as well as the younger generation imitating the adults.

Research studies concerned with the similarities and differences between generations are prevalent (see Bailey, Hill, Oesterle & Hawkins, 2009; Brannen, 2006; Chun & Lee, 2006; Dingus, 2008; Maré & Stillman, 2010; Sabatier & Lennegrand-Willems, 2005; Schönplug, 2001b; Yi, Chang & Chang, 2004). One example is Schönplug's (2001b) longitudinal study of 200 Turkish fathers and their sons living in Germany and 100 father/son dyads living in Turkey, which explored value similarity between the two generations. Of particular interest to Schönplug were dimensions of collectivism and individualism as he drew from a previous study that had found Turkey to be a collectivistic culture with Germany being recognized as an individualistic society. A further factor was the idea that the transmission of values from parents living in their culture of origin would be stronger than migrant parents living in a new country. Two aspects of transmission were important in Schönplug's study, firstly the contents of transmission - particular values, and secondly the factors or conditions that enhance transmission - the transmission belts. Two types of transmission belts were investigated in this study, firstly relational (parenting styles and marital quality) and secondly sociodevelopmental conditions (father's education, phase in adolescent development,

and sibling position). Participants completed a survey questionnaire that included items related to collectivist and individualistic values, perceptions of parenting style, attitudes towards marriage, level of education and child's position in the family. Findings from the study revealed that

> the transmission of values between fathers and sons seemed to be restricted to the collectivistic value categories of humanism, universalism, security, traditionalism and conformism; (. . .) that a continuous cultural context does not lead to intensified transmission; (. . .) and that later-born children seem to be more susceptible to internalized group-oriented collectivistic values than first-born and second-born children. (Schönplug, 2001b, p. 184)

Another study was undertaken by Yi, Chang, and Chang (2004). These researchers investigated the effects of cultural norms and personal resources on the intergenerational transmission of family values. Survey data were gathered from 2,750 9th graders and one of their parents in northern Taiwan. The sample was part of a larger longitudinal study with participants covering various levels of urbanization and economic structure. The students completed a questionnaire in class and took another questionnaire home for their parents to complete. The items on the questionnaire included consideration of others, being responsible, having good manners, proper behaviour, trustworthiness, patience, frugal living, curiosity, and respectfulness toward others. Findings showed some factors (conformity, curiosity, harmony and self-constraint) were identical in both parent's and children's questionnaires, with the specific values of the parents being the most significant factor accounting the children's corresponding values. Parental education levels were also important factors when explaining the similarities between parental and child values along with the strength and

nature of parental/child relationships. Yi, Chang and Chang (2004) summarise their findings by stating

> when using childrearing as an indicator, the value transmission from parent's generation to child's generation is likely to occur in a society like Taiwan. Our study provides valid data showing that not only identical values can be ascertained between generations; corresponding value of parents also reveals its significant effect in shaping teenager's similar value toward childrearing. (p. 542)

The studies undertaken by Schönplug (2001b) and Yi, Chang, and Chang (2004) were chosen for discussion in this section because they both investigated value similarity between two generations (parents and their children); both studies used similar methodologies (large scale questionnaires), and both were strongly situated in their cultural contexts. These studies surveyed large populations which resulted in findings that could be generalized in their specific communities. The concept of value transmission was highlighted both in the designs and in the findings of these studies. The focus of analysis was similarities and differences. However what remained silent in these studies was the notion of *value change*. Questions related to differences between the generations and what caused these differences were not asked or answered in either of these studies.

Boehnke (2001) argues that the omission of the notion of value change is very common. In his article proposing a 'utopian' research design for parent-offspring value transmission, Boehnke explains that within the discourse on values, the notions of value transmission and value change are commonly addressed as two separate topics. Studies of value change emphasize societal phenomena and change such as socioeconomic prosperity, heightened awareness of environmental issues or the use of technology. In

Boehnke's (2001) analysis, value transmission studies "often focus entirely on value congruence between parents and offspring, and on reasons for high versus low intergenerational similarity" (p. 242). He also refers to the top-down process of transmission where studies relate to parents "getting something across" (p. 244) to their children yet there is no mention of the children or society at large having any influence on this process. In his opinion the values studied are not always clearly justified and have little or no relation to the development and change in societal values.

Further critique of value transmission studies has been made by Yi, Chang and Chang (2004) who argue that "value transmission between parents and children is *highly accepted, but still seriously under analyzed"*(p. 526) [emphasis added]. They go on to suggest that many studies are limited because of the reliance on parental data and the link between parental values and parental behaviour; that findings are inconsistent and that there is a need to examine the effects that family relations have on children's value formation. These are important critiques and are worthy of consideration when designing intergenerational research studies such as this thesis.

Returning to Boehnke's (2001) 'utopian' research design that brings together the concepts of value transmission and value change, he suggests there is a need for a "longitudinal, cross-cultural study of parent and offspring values" (p. 251). He draws together four factors, arguing for future studies that "enable researchers to distinguish between parent–offspring value similarity [at a certain point in time] and value transmission [across time], value change [in relation to societal preferences] and value development [individual change over time]" (p. 253). Drawing together value similarity, value transmission, value change and value development across and between

generations over a long period of time as well as cross-culturally may be considered very 'utopian'. However, Boehnke has linked some very important concepts together, challenging future researchers to consider new ways of designing intergenerational studies of value transmission.

Although longitudinal cross-cultural studies are important and valuable, so too are small scale situated studies that address the issues of cultural transmission and cultural change. Payne's (2005) small scale study of 'green' families investigated environmental education in the home context. The participants of this study were 13 Australian 'green' families with children aged between 8 and 16 years. These families dwelt in inner city Melbourne where the vote for the Greens at the 2004 federal election was high. The self-selecting parents were either members of the Green Party or voted Green in the election. The study considered "how environmental learning occurs in the home, how conserver and consumer practices are explicitly and implicitly passed down by parents and 'received' or negotiated and resisted by their children" (Payne, 2005, p. 3).

Data for Payne's study were generated through individual conversational interviews of approximately one hour with parents and 30 minutes with the children, held in family homes. Each parent and child also completed a survey that addressed the environmental topics of energy, water, travel, and waste designed to ascertain actual environmental actions and inactions. The parent survey was longer and more detailed than the survey completed by the children. Individual and later collective family narratives were compiled by the researcher, then discussed and at times amended by the families. Data were analyzed using an emergent inductive grounded theory approach.

The study design enabled the researcher to investigate value similarity and difference between parents and children at a particular point in time but also the longer term value development related to the value changes (greater understanding of sustainability and environmental issues) occurring in the wider society. The findings "revealed how the parent's eco-pedagogy and praxis (re)constitute the environmental actions and learning of their children" (Payne, 2005, p. 2). The environmental sensibilities of the children were seen as a product of

> family histories being passed down in an intergenerationally continuous, but not necessarily coherent manner. Insights into at least three generations were gleaned from this study. Each generation's (grandparents to parents and parents to children) form of environmentalism differed according to prevailing social and political considerations, or eras. (Payne, 2005, p. 6)

Payne's study draws together aspects of value similarity, value transmission, value change and value development within families related to environmental issues and sustainability. The societal influences over generations are of prime consideration and are evident in the presentation of the findings from this study as Payne recognized and noted the insights gained from at least three generations even though the participants of the study spanned just two generations. This is an important point in regard to intergenerational studies as frequently participants in such studies refer to previous or future generations connecting the present with the past and the future. Small situated studies are valuable and although they may not meet all the utopian criteria set out by Boehnke (2001), in that they may not be longitudinal or cross-cultural, they can provide important insights and understandings of intergenerational value similarity, value transmission, value change, and value development within families.

The studies outlined in this section were framed within sociological approaches; they have focused on the concept of intergenerational transmission occurring down through the generations (from the grandparent generation, to the parent generation, to the child generation) and have contained the notions of transmission channels and transmission belts. Predominantly they have addressed issues of value transmission and value change as *separate* phenomenon. This thesis, framed within a cultural-historical theoretical approach, makes a paradigm shift from the predominantly sociological framing of intergenerational research and addresses the issues of intergenerational value transfer, change, development and transformation as *inter-related, dynamic, and dialectical phenomenon*. The dimensions of time (past, present, and future), as well as the multi-directional relations and transitions occurring in the everyday lives of families interacting in their homes and communities are considered *holistically* within a cultural-historical approach, and encompass individual, institutional, and societal perspectives (see Chapter 3).

2.2.3 Research focus

The *focus* of intergenerational research studies reviewed as part of this project can be divided into two main areas, firstly intergenerational familial relations and secondly intergenerational non-familial relations. This subsection considers both of these foci.

2.2.3.1 Familial relations

The high interest in family and parent/child relations has resulted in a vast number of intergenerational research studies. For example a recent themed issue of the Australian Institute of Family Studies journal *Family Matters* (2009, Issue 82) entitled *Family*

Portraits, reported on a range of studies covering relationships with step-parents (Cartwright, Fransworth & Mobley, 2009); parenting young adult children (Vassallo, Smart & Price-Robertson, 2009); and cohabiting couples (Buchler, Baxter, Haynes & Western, 2009). These studies all drew on quantitative methodologies, predominantly questionnaires, although there was also some interview data collected. Analyzed data were drawn from one or more waves of larger studies of Australian families. Overall findings revealed the importance of recognizing the variations and diversity of relations that occur amongst family groups that might initially appear to have similar characteristics such as cohabiting or being raised by step-parents. Although there was recognition of variation and diversity, the methodologies employed in these studies provided limited opportunity to ascertain the reasons and patterns associated with these differences.

Patterns of child-rearing, in particular the continuation or discontinuation of adverse child-rearing practices from one generation to another, have interested researchers for a long time. The intergenerational continuation of family violence and the interrelated topics of abuse, anti-social behaviour including drug use, and harsh parenting have been investigated in a range of small and large scale projects (for example Bailey, Hill, Oesterle & Hawkins, 2009; Capaldi, Pears, Kerr & Owen, 2008; Frazier, West-Olatunji, Juste & Goodman, 2009; Kenway & Fahey, 2007; Kerr & Capaldi, Pears & Owen, 2009; Neppl, Conger, Scaramella & Ontai, 2009; Thornberry, Hops, Conger & Capaldi, 2003). Neppl et al.'s (2009) two decade study of a cohort of 559 adolescents grown to adulthood and their families from rural communities, used twice yearly home visit interviews to collect survey and observational data regarding

parenting styles. Findings indicated that, to a significant degree, both harsh parenting and positive parenting were learned by parents as children, and later emulated with their own children regardless of the gender of the parent or child. The authors noted that the findings of the study were "rather remarkable, inasmuch as we attempted to stack the deck against finding continuities, but they persisted in spite of our efforts" (Neppl et al., 2009, pp. 1253-1254).

In contrast, Bailey et al.'s (2009) longitudinal study of parenting styles found both intergenerational continuity and discontinuity. Bailey et al.'s study was methodologically similar to that of Neppl et al.'s (2009) in that initially a yearly interview and questionnaire were completed with participants aged 10 – 16 years, then at 18 years followed by three yearly interviews until age 27 years. Neppl et al.'s study agreed that predominantly parenting practices are transmitted across generations but that there were also discontinuities. They pointed to the need for further work in understanding the mechanisms of discontinuity particularly to help identify "intervention targets useful in decreasing transmission of undesirable parenting practices" (p. 1223). The reports of both studies detailed paths of continuity or discontinuity but failed to investigate the triggers and reasons behind the chosen parenting styles.

The extent to which child-rearing practices within the parents' family of origin influence their own parental practices has been questioned by some researchers, with the suggestion that such influence is relatively modest (Capaldi, Pears, Kerr, & Owen, 2008; Thornberry, Hops, Conger & Capaldi, 2003). Almost a decade ago Bertaux and Thompson (1993) argued that there are two sides to the transmission of parental practices with some people choosing to follow in the footsteps of their family of origin

and others purposefully deciding to differ in their approach. One interesting aspect regarding parental choices in childrearing practices is the concept of parents "handing down through their ambitions for their children, their own unrealized projects: to become a famous artist, or a scholar, to be comfortable, to have a loving marriage, or to be an independent woman" (Bertaux & Thompson, 1993, p. 2). These ambitions related to unfulfilled dreams, may shape not only what the family offers but also what is taken up by the children. This idea of parental dreams being lived out in the lives of children is an interesting and important idea. It may bring increased understanding to the analysis of intergenerational family parenting practices particularly related to the motives of individual family members.

Unfulfilled dreams are one of many additional factors that have been found to influence intergenerational parenting strategies. Other factors include the child's order of birth in the family (Kulik, 2004); the influence of the parenting partner including multiple partnerships (Capaldi, Pears, Kerr & Owen, 2008; Cartwright, Farnsworth & Mobley, 2009); social norms (Shebloski, 2001), parental educational achievement and occupation (Yi, Chang & Chang, 2004), socio-economic conditions (Brannen, 2006; Payne, 2009), and cultural factors such as migration and the social influences of the new host country (Chun & Lee, 2006). Intergenerational transmission is a complex process involving a range of factors. In many of the sociologically framed studies discussed in this section particular socio-cultural and cultural-historical factors have been considered in isolation, focusing on a particular issue or trait. This raises theoretical and methodological questions such as the need for more qualitative studies focusing on the process and genesis of intergenerational learning as well as the need to view individual

issues in a more holistic manner (see section 2.2.4). However, before discussing these issues it is important to briefly mention another large body of intergenerational research that has a non-familial relationship focus.

2.2.3.2 Non-familial relations

A range of social factors in the 21st century, such as increased mobility and globalization, alongside the importance placed on individualism and the nuclear family in western societies, have influenced the segregation and isolation of young and old (Cayne-Meiskin, 2006; Newman & Hatton-Yeo, 2008; Spruston, 2006). Although older people are living longer and healthier lives, many younger people do not have regular opportunities to interact with older family members because of geographical separation. In this situation both older and younger are missing out on the valuable learning that occurs as people from both ends of life's continuum relate with one another (Newman & Hatton-Yeo, 2008).

The literature reveals various intergenerational activities that have addressed this separation by drawing together school children and older people in an attempt to challenge stereotypes of what it is like to be 'old' or 'young' and establish intergenerational interaction and communication. The environments of school classrooms or seniors' residential facilities have been the venues for such projects with either the children or the seniors being invited into the others' environment. Zelkowitz's (2003) research project involved adolescent's participation in an intergenerational community service art project which involved them in creating a wall mural in a nursing home. Elementary school children participated in Spruston's (2006)

project where children engaged in joint activities and communication with seniors in a residential home. A project joining elders, children, and the environment was developed by Peterat, Mayer-Smith and Sinkinson (2004) where a Grade 7 class of girls from a private school were joined by a group of retired farmers who volunteered to be the children's 'farm-friends' working with them to grow fruits, vegetables and flowers. The meetings occurred at both the girls' school (3 times) and the farm (11 times) over a period of six months. A three-generational study conducted by Lawton (2004) brought together woman and girls of different generations who were previously unknown to each other, to work together on a collaborative 'Artstory' narrative based on their lived experiences. The age-integrated community-service arts learning program developed by the researcher, was designed to create an extended family type network that allowed for the fostering of social, moral, and arts learning. In addition, aspects of cultural and rational harmony and a sense of community were developed among the women. Findings indicated that the relaxed setting along with the focus on creative activity positively influenced participants' perceptions regarding aging.

All four studies (Lawton, 2004; Peterat, Mayer-Smith & Sinkinson, 2004; Spruston, 2006; and Zelkowitz, 2004) reported positive gains for participants, both seniors and young people. Of particular note were the social and emotional gains. The findings also highlighted greater intergenerational understanding and increased community commitment from both seniors and young people. The studies mentioned here are not necessarily representative of the large number of intergenerational non-familial studies being undertaken. However they do identify some of the important aspects of such studies including the range and nature of participants, the types of joint

activities, and the powerful mutual learning that is beyond familial learning, which takes place.

The relations and transitions of family values are central tenets of this thesis. The generation, transfer and transformation of family values and the ways in which they are appropriated in, through, and between generations is of interest. This subsection (2.2.3) has highlighted studies that have investigated intergenerational relations within families as well as those that occur in the wider community. These studies have emphasised the importance of the childhood experiences of parents and how such experiences may influence their future parenting styles negatively or positively. In addition, the literature alerts us to the wider influences of educational achievement, societal values, socio-economic status, and the importance placed on individualism, mobility and globalization in the modern western world.

2.2.4 Qualitative and/or quantitative methodologies

In 1989 Fine and Norris noted that most of the studies within the field of intergenerational relations were qualitative in nature, this claim appears to be still evident today. For example, almost all of the local and international research presented during the 2008 three day bi-annual Australian Institute of Family Studies conference, explicated qualitative studies.

The use of questionnaires or surveys to generate quantitative data for intergenerational research has been a common practice for some time (see Bengtson and Roberts, 1991; Harrel-Smith, 2006; Kulik, 2004; Moen, Erickson & Dempster-McClain, 1997; Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004; Shebloski, 2001; Simons, Whitbeck,

Conger & Chyi-In, 1991; Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001; Yi, Chang & Chang 2004). Many studies have canvassed large sample groups and in some cases a subset of data from an even larger longitudinal study has been the focus (for example, Bengtson and Roberts, 1991; Kulik, 2004; Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004; Yi, Chang & Chang 2004). Although Yi, Chang and Chang (2004) expressed a concern that the findings of qualitative intergenerational research were often based on data generated from a single generation, mainly parents, this has not been evident in the literature reviewed for this thesis. Participant dyads of older parents and their middle aged children (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991); undergraduate students and their grandparents (Harrel-Smith, 2006); mothers and their daughters (Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997); and parents and their adolescent sons (Kulik, 2004) have all contributed as research participants. Where there does appear to be a gap is research spanning *three* generations with few studies actually engaging family members of three generations as participants. The difficulties involved in recruiting participants spanning three generations from one family were discussed in section 2.2.1. There are exceptions such as the qualitative study undertaken by Mills and Wilmoth (2002) where three generational families were surveyed in relation to family decision making processes related to death and dying.

The concept of *relations* between people of different generations is a strong focus in intergenerational research. However it is interesting to note that many studies rely on a non-relational means of generating data such as the written survey or questionnaire rather than relational methods such as interviews, focus groups, and observations. Also of interest is the number of times perceptions of one generation regarding another are requested in surveys and questionnaires. The canvassing of one,

two or three generations using tools asking for participants' perceptions of intergenerational relations may produce very different results than if the relations were observed in practice or spoken about in a multi-generational interview or focus group. One study that used a mixed method approach to generate data was Goodman's (2007) study of grandparent headed families called grandfamilies. In Goodman's study the grandmothers' completed a range of questionnaires providing data related to demographics, health, and the co-parenting relationship, and then answered open-ended questions during a one hour interview. Interestingly, the open-ended questions focused on the grandparent's perspective of relationships between the grandmother herself, the parent and the grandchild. Multi-generational data were generated by one generation (the grandmother).

There is no doubt that quantitative methodologies provide valuable insight, often from very large longitudinal studies, but there is also a need for the depth that qualitative methods bring. This has been recognized, particularly more recently, as researchers have brought quantitative and qualitative methods together with varying degrees of success. Bengtson, a seminal writer in the area of family solidarity research, argued in his Burgess Award Lecture (Bengtson, 2001) that

> further exploration of multigenerational family issues will be advanced best by a combination of methods: qualitative studies focusing on a few families leading the way in generating new hypotheses, which can then be tested using large-scale survey data. (p. 12)

Although the majority of intergenerational studies still appear to use quantitative methodologies, some researchers have undertaken small scale qualitative studies where

interviews and focus groups, along with other tools such as observations, visual means (photographs and video) and journals have been used to generate data. The study developed by Peterat, Mayer-Smith, and Sinkinson (2004) (introduced in the previous section) investigated intergenerational partnering of community elders with farming backgrounds and school children. The concept of 'farm friends' was documented using video, photographs and fieldnotes combined with a series of interviews conducted at the start, middle, and end of the project culminating in a focus group of all participants. At the same time the students kept journals and wrote assignments about the six month project. The data generated were analysed using Grandparenting theories (see seminal work by Neugarten and Weinstein, 1964, cited in Peterat et al., 2004) that delineates four types of grandparents according to the roles they fulfil – formal, fun-seeker, distant figure and the reservoir of family wisdom. Findings emphasized the mutual learning (elders learning from children and children learning from elders) that occurs in intergenerational programs and therefore the need to go beyond grandparenting theories to include cross-generational social learning frameworks. Also of importance was the farm environment and the opportunities this afforded for relationship building as the elders and the children worked together on a mutual project.

The intergenerational study designed by Peterat, Mayer-Smith, and Sinkinson (2004) appears to be one of a very few qualitative studies with a sociological theoretical framing, the majority being quantitative in nature. Overall there appears to be a limited number of qualitative intergenerational studies and those that are available seem to be framed in sociocultural or cultural-historical theories such as the work of Robbins and Jane (2006) and Allen (2005). Robbins and Jane (2006) investigated the role of

grandparents in the lives of young children particularly in relation to the support they provided to their grandchildren in relation to scientific and technological thinking and learning. Grandparents took photographs of their grandchildren involved in everyday experiences that the grandparents believed represented technological or science activities within their homes and communities. The grandparents were also invited to keep brief notes about the activities. Data were analysed using a sociocultural analysis which highlighted the "transformational, collaborative and contextual" (Robbins & Jane, 2006, p. 20) nature of the grandparent/grandchild interactions.

Allen's (2005) study investigated cross-generational experiences within communities of faith (Christian churches) and the spiritual development of children. She interviewed 40 children (9-11 year olds) from Christian homes who regularly participated in church activities. One group of children were involved in regular intergenerational settings such as family services and intergenerational small group meetings; the other group also participated in church activities but these were age segregated such as age-related Sunday school. The children were drawn from six different churches from two different American states. Allen found that children who regularly (at least bi-monthly) participated in intergenerational, faith community experiences were more aware of their relationship with God and more able to articulate it. She drew on the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and argued that "intergenerational Christian settings are authentic, complex learning environments, made up of individuals at various stages in their Christian journey" (Allen, 2005, p. 326) and as such are the ideal places for children and adults to "grow each other up" (p. 331).

The choice of research methodology and theoretical framing for any research study rests with the degree of fit with the research problem (see Chapter 4). The studies outlined so far in this chapter exemplify the wealth of, predominantly, quantitative studies available in the area of intergenerational research. However, it has been argued that quantitative methods particularly using pen and paper type questionnaires and surveys are non-relational for the topics under consideration yet appear to be the primary method of generating data. Alongside the use of *quantitative methods* has been the reliance on *sociological framing* of many intergenerational studies. When these two aspects are taken together I believe there is reason to consider the use of qualitative methodologies as well as broadening the theoretical base of intergenerational studies. These conclusions caused me to widen my search of the literature, looking for a possible way forward. I therefore began to reflect on the work of sociocultural/cultural-historical researchers who have investigated family relations including parenting, child-rearing, and the transfer and transformation of family and societal cultures using qualitative methodologies. These studies were not usually labelled 'intergenerational' yet involved participants from two or more generations. The remainder of this chapter discusses some of these studies.

2.3 Sociocultural/Cultural-historical Intergenerational Research

The work of sociocultural/cultural-historical researchers focuses on the dynamic, complex, holistic social situation of development rather than taking a reductionist stance that focuses only on the individual or particular aspects of the individual such as their cognition or behaviour. Inspired by Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory (see Chapter 3), researchers using this paradigm find it possible to analyse children's

development through their interactions and participation in everyday life at home, school and in the wider community. The different *perspectives* of the participants as well as the particular *practices* within the institutions of home, school, and work can be considered as a whole, while recognizing and appreciating the *time dimensions* of past, present and future. Therefore the dialectical relations, transitions and transformations that occur in, between, and among individuals within their social groups are opened for investigation (Hedegaard & Fleer, with Bang and Hviid, 2008).

This section considers the work of four groups of researchers who have conceptualized different aspects of the social situation of development using qualitative methodologies within socio-cultural/cultural-historical theoretical frameworks. After beginning with Moll's work in the area of family and community *funds of knowledge,* the discussion then moves to an explication of Lave and Wenger's research concerning *communities of practice* and *legitimate peripheral participation.* Rogoff and her colleagues are also interested in the collaborative nature of learning occurring in formal and informal contexts. These researchers have conceptualized the notion of *guided participation* and different *interactional patterns* occurring between adults and children in home and community settings, and are discussed next. This section concludes by continuing the discussion of interactional patterns moving to the work of Kravtsov and Kravtsova within the Golden Key schools of Russia. Their work with children and their families includes conceptualising what they term *subject positioning*.

2.3.1 Households' funds of knowledge

Drawing on sociocultural and anthropological methodologies Moll and his colleagues (see Moll, Amanti, Neff & Gonzalez, 1992; Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 2005) have made an important contribution to intergenerational family research by investigating a concept they have termed *households' funds of knowledge*. Framed in Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory, they have investigated the learning and understanding held by and learnt in families and households, with that taught in schools. Their work has focused particularly on the domains of literacy (Moll & Greenberg, 1990) and mathematics (Andrews & Yee, 2006). Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg (2005) explain the origin of the concept of households' funds of knowledge by referring to the work of Wolf (1966) where he discussed the notion of household economies or funds of economy. Wolf's anthropological studies of peasants considered a range of funds which multi-generational households managed such as funds for food and rent, replacement funds, ceremonial funds, and social funds. Wolf found that households developed strategic and complex economic knowledge and activities as part of their way of life. Such knowledge was passed from generation to generation within families and community groups. The economic and political struggles experienced by families shaped the content, transfer and transformation of this knowledge.

Working with Mexicans living in the United States of America, Moll and his colleagues (for example, Moll, Amanti, Neff & Gonzalez, 1992; Moll & Greenberg, 1990) recognized the role economic and political struggles had for the creation of residential clusters of U.S.-Mexicans and the formation of their cultural identities. Further, they predicted that the day-to-day knowledge generated in these residential

clusters of family and kin could enhance children's school learning if it was acknowledged and used as a foundation for pedagogy. They theorized the social distribution of knowledge and cultural thinking of households and community clusters as funds of knowledge. They argued that the strategic and cultural resources of ethnic minority households could be an important and useful asset in classrooms but that it had been almost entirely ignored (Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 2005). Under the guidance of Moll and his colleagues, classroom teacher/researchers entered the children's homes and local communities to carry out ethnographic studies aimed at recognizing, valuing and building on the funds of knowledge that were specific to those communities. Examples of households' funds of knowledge in everyday use in communities might be the garden or botanical knowledge needed to plant crops or grow flowers; the masonry knowledge needed to build a wall or house; mechanical knowledge needed to change the oil in a vehicle; the relational knowledge needed run a household while caring for children and the aged or the mathematical and literacy knowledge needed for sewing, cooking and managing finances and other resources.

Moll and his colleagues were interested in the everyday lives of children, families and communities, recognizing that everyday family practices

> do not emerge from nowhere, they are formed and transformed within sociohistorical circumstances. Practices are also constructed by and through discourses, the ways of knowing that populate our streams of talk. The lives of ordinary people, their everyday activities, and what has led them to the place they find themselves are the bases for our theorizing of practices. (González, Moll & Amanti, 2005, p. 1)

Using the qualitative research methods of interviews and observations in family homes, Moll and his colleagues began by inviting families to tell their life-history stories, which

led to hearing tales and sagas of migration, resiliency and survival over multiple generations. During a subsequent interview, regular household activities and practices were discussed including family routines and the children's involvement in on-going household activities such as shopping, sports, and gardening. In the third interview parents were asked their views of parenthood, and raising children, as well as their experience of being a parent, their own schooling and the schooling experiences of their children (González, Moll & Amanti, 2005). From these interviews the researchers/teachers found families and communities were rich resources for teaching and learning and that children possessed vast funds of knowledge that they brought into classrooms. Where before, teachers at best viewed homes as irrelevant to education and at worst the cause of student problems, but after participating in the households' funds of knowledge projects they realized just how little they knew about the students in their classrooms and the families and communities from which they came. The success of Moll's work with U.S.–Mexicans in Tucson, Arizona led to similar projects and research occurring in New York City with families and teachers of Puerto Rican ancestry (Mercado & Moll, 1997). Moll's work has influenced researchers as far away as Britain (Hughes & Pollard, 2006) and Australia (Fuller & Hood, 2005).

The conceptualization and theorization of funds of knowledge within family, community and societal contexts offers a rich, complex, holistic and dialectical way of viewing and researching intergenerational learning and teaching. Meeting families in their home contexts, listening to life-histories as well as observing and talking about everyday routines and experiences opened ways for these researchers to investigate the literacy and mathematical practices children encounter at home.

Alongside this, the iterative process of interviews building one upon the other over time proved to be a useful way of developing relationships with the families, generating rich data. Moll and his colleagues have drawn attention to the important cultural and participation structures within families, households and communities and not only that; they have also outlined possible methods of researching them. These aspects of the funds of knowledge methodology provided useful signposts in the development of this thesis.

In addition, although the funds of knowledge projects have focused on the development of literacy and mathematical knowledge, there has also been vague mention of the beliefs and values held by participant families. Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg (2005) mentioned "a child observing or assisting (. . .) [learning] to persevere, to experiment, to manipulate and to delay gratification" (p. 62), but these characteristics were not pursued in depth or related to the particular values and beliefs families or households held. Further characteristics identified in the funds of knowledge projects included 'reciprocity' (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1988, p. 28); 'trust' (González, Moll, et al., 1995, p. 447) and 'wellbeing' (González, Andrade, Civil & Moll, 2001, p. 116), each of which appear to been 'under theorized' (Monk, 2008, p. 55). Vélez-Ibáñez (1988) claims that family and community funds of knowledge form "the basis of social platforms from which subsequent generations are socialized and emerge" (p. 27) and are therefore helpful when analysing the relations and transitions of values and beliefs held by intergenerational families (see Chapter 4).

2.3.2 Communities of practice

The situated nature of learning is of interest to a range of scholars who draw on cultural-historical and anthropological methodologies in similar ways to the work of Moll and his colleagues. Lave and Wenger have written extensively on concepts they term 'communities of practice' (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002; Wenger, 2000), 'legitimate peripheral participation', and 'situated learning' (Lave & Wenger, 1991), drawing on their respective backgrounds in anthropology and education. The focus of situated learning is the social relationships involved in the learning contexts. Hanks, in the forward to Lave and Wenger's (1991) book, explains that situated learning

> takes as its focus the relationship between learning and the social situation (. . .). Rather than asking what kinds of cognitive processes and conceptual structures are involved, [the questions asked relate to] what kinds of social engagements provide the proper context for learning to take place. (Hanks, 1991, p. 14)

This shift foregrounds a learning participation framework where "learning is a way of being in the social world, not a way of coming to know about it" (Hanks, 1991, p. 24). The learner is not gaining abstract knowledge outside of the situation such as learning in a classroom, but rather the learner is participating alongside the expert with some responsibility for what is being produced.

Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002) define a community of practice as

> groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis (. . .) as they spend time together they typically share information, insight and advice. They help each other solve problems. They discuss their situations, their aspirations and their needs. (p. 4)

It is within these communities of practice that transformation takes place. Lave and Wenger (1991) explain that, within their work, they place emphasis on the "connecting issues of sociocultural transformation with the changing relations between newcomers and old-timers in the context of a changing shared practice" (p. 49). People everywhere participate in communities of practice. Most people of all ages belong to a number of communities of practice at the same time, such as at home, at school, and at work but also recreational communities, faith communities and the like. Some of these communities are given a particular name, others are more informal and at times people are core members of some communities and less active members of others (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002).

Mainly working with adults in business and other similar organizations, Lave and Wenger wanted to broaden the concept of master/student or mentor/mentee to one of changing participation and changing identity within the community of practice (Wenger, 1998). Here learners are full and legitimate participants in their respective communities albeit performing different roles dependent on their developmental levels, but nonetheless recognised as valued members of the community. Within this concept, learning is viewed not only as a condition of community membership but the membership itself is constantly evolving because of the interaction of understanding and experience being mutually constructive. Wenger (1998) suggests that participation is "both a kind of action and a form of belonging (. . .) such participation shapes not only what we do, but also who we are and how we interpret what we do" (p. 4). Participation in this instance is more than engagement in activities, but rather

participants are active members of social communities constructing both personal and collective identities.

A new theorisation of learning has been offered by Lave and Wenger in their seminal text (1991) and later writing. The idea of communities of practice has also had a huge impact across a range of disciplines including business, management and education. Their work shifted and broadened the lens of educational enquiry from the individual to embrace the contexts in which learning took place (Hughes, Jewson & Unwin, 2007). Fuller (2007) is one of a number of authors (see for example Amin & Roberts, 2008; Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 2004; Hughes, Jewson & Unwin, 2007) who recognise the contribution made by Lave and Wenger but at the same time raise questions and critiques regarding its application to contemporary workplaces highlighting the need to rework, extend and address gaps in the original work. However, detailing these arguments is outside the scope of this thesis.

The kinds of social relations that children and adults engage in as part of their everyday lives in families and communities are of interest in this thesis. The concept of intergenerational learning occurring through the ever-changing relations and transitions within communities of practice that might involve conflicts and struggles as well as times of stability for everyone concerned, is very different from the notion of top-down value transmission and assimilation discussed earlier (see section 2.2.2). Lave and Wenger (2005) argue that

> learning is never simply a process of transfer or assimilation: learning, transformation and change are always implicated in one another (. . .) we must not forget that communities of practice are engaged in the generative process of producing their own future (. . .) leav[ing] a historical trace of artefacts –

> physical, linguistic, and symbolic – and of social structures which constitute and reconstitute the practice over time. (p. 155)

In addition, Lave and Wenger (2005) highlight the concept of legitimate peripheral participation that they position as a "conceptual bridge" (p. 154), where changing forms of participation and identity occur as people participate in communities of practice. Here people who enter a community of practice as newcomers develop and change through their participation with other more experienced members of the community and, over time, become old-timers who interact with newcomers. Dialectics are evident as not only are the newcomers themselves changing but so too are the old-timers as they relate to the newcomers. This is so much more than a teacher/learner dyad. Instead this concept of a community of practice "points to a richly diverse field of essential actors and, with it, other forms of relationships of participation" (Lave & Wenger, 2005, p. 154). A community of practice involves multiple relations, transitions and transformations in and between people of all ages. Conceptualizing relations in these ways provides further insights into social relations and opens new ways to view the relations, transitions and transformations that occur in intergenerational families.

2.3.3 Guided participation and interactional patterns

Rogoff is another researcher who is interested in everyday participation in sociocultural communities. She and her team have a particular interest in young children, families, and their cultural communities. Where Lave and Wenger (1991) conceptualized people's participation and development within cultural communities of practice as legitimate peripheral participation, Rogoff and her team developed their work around a conceptualization they termed "guided participation" (Rogoff, Mistry, Goncu, Mosier,

Chavajay & Heath, 1993, p.1). Rogoff's work focused on the interactions of children and their caregivers, particularly on the "cultural differences in the goals of development, arrangement of childhood activities, and nature of communication between children and their caregivers" (Rogoff et al., 1993, p. 2). Interviewing and observing in four cultural communities, Rogoff and her team explored how toddlers and their caregivers interacted during typical daily activities that involved both joint action and challenge. In particular they examined how toddlers and their caregivers interacted while operating a range of novel objects (for example a wooden jumping-jack doll that dances when a dangling string is pulled; a wooden pencil box with a sliding lid, and an embroidery hoop) and dressing (putting on or taking off an item of clothing with sleeves in it).

The four cultural communities where the research took place were a Mayan Indian town in Guatemala, a middle-class urban community in the United States, a tribal village in India and an urban middle-class community in Turkey. Members of the research team responsible for each community spoke the local language and had lived in or close to the research sites. Fourteen families were observed in each community. This number was seen as sufficient as usually after visiting 12 families in a given community it was possible to predict the types of patterns that were reasonably general to the given community. The children observed were aged between 12 and 24 months. This age range was chosen as it was predicted that more observable and frequent interactions between adults and children would occur than with older children. The venue for observations and interviews were family homes and at times mothers and toddlers were joined by other family members and friends who happened to be present

at the time of the researcher's visit. Observations were videotaped. Data were analysed through a systematic abstraction of communication and interactional patterns. The aim of the study was to understand "how children become increasingly involved participants in and contributors to the activities around them" (Rogoff et al., 1993, p. 3).

Of interest to Rogoff and her team was who was responsible for and took a lead in the learning, the adult or the child. In this regard data analysis focused on two sets of interactional patterns.

> One pattern emphasises adults structuring children's learning by organizing children's attention, motivation, and involvement and by providing *lessons removed from the context of ongoing mature activities*. Another pattern emphasises children taking the primary responsibility for learning by managing their own attention, motivation and involvement through *observation and participation in ongoing mature activities*, with adults providing more responsible (than directive) assistance. (Rogoff et al., 1993, p. 3) [emphasis added]

Both sets of interactional patterns involve adults and children paying attention to particular aspects of social interaction and ignoring others, guided by the values and practices of their cultural communities (Rogoff, 1990). Of note is the ways in which children are separated from, or included in, the mature activities of cultural communities. Culture itself is not seen as static by these researchers and although cultural tools and practices have a historical dimension they are also changed and developed as people of all ages work and interact together within their cultural communities (Rogoff, 2003; Rogoff et al., 1993). In these ways the norms of social interaction and participation are transferred between generations. In other words the children learn how, when, where, and with whom to relate and participate within their cultural communities.

An important contribution of Rogoff and colleagues' (1993) work was the detailed coding and analysis undertaken. The overall classification scheme involved multiple variables that were suitable for use by multiple researchers in cross-cultural contexts. For example, classifying interactions as verbal or non-verbal was not sufficient and details such as touch, posture, timing, and gaze were included. In addition the positioning of the child and adult within the interactions was also highlighted. Categories such as the caregiver simplifies the activity, demonstrates, teaches and tests knowledge, acts as a playmate, uses babytalk, attends to several events simultaneously or engages in one event at a time; or the child introduces information, seeks involvement, or seeks clarification, were some of the coding categories used. The methods of analysis developed by Rogoff and her team systematically abstracted patterns combining qualitative and quantitative analysis as they coded observational video recordings of interview sessions with young children and their care-givers. Although these methods were originally designed and used in a cross cultural study they are not restricted to cross cultural investigations, as they have also been utilised in studies of a single cultural community (Rogoff et al., 1993).

Findings from the study revealed that the concept of guided participation included similarities and differences between cultural communities. Within the two middle-class communities, guided participation involved an emphasis on verbal instruction with adults "structuring children's motivation and involvement in learning through adult play and conversation as peers with young children and through the provision of lessons" (Rogoff et al., 1993, p. 148). In contrast, within the two non-middle-class communities, nonverbal communication was more prominent and children

were given more responsibility for their own learning as they were sensitively guided by their caregivers. In addition, caregivers were skilled at sharing their "attention between competing events evidencing keen observation and engagement as members embedded in group activity" (p. 148).

The work of Rogoff and her colleagues (1993) and, in particular, the conceptualization and theorization of guided participation through the analysis of interactional patterns, opens up particular ways of viewing and researching intergenerational learning and teaching in different cultural communities. Although not specifically framed as an intergenerational study, the work of these researchers investigates activities and practices of an intergenerational nature as young children observe, learn and participate in the cultural ways of living and relating in their particular communities. Referring to the intergenerational nature of learning and development, Rogoff in a more recent publication refers to the ways individuals and communities develop and change when she states, "across generations some continuities from the past are preserved and built on, at the same time that each new generation transforms what is *given*" (Rogoff, 2003, p. 90) [original emphasis]. It is the intergenerational continuities and transformations that are of interest in this thesis. The organisation of intergenerational learning and teaching takes different forms in different communities and at different times in history, however the differences are seldom clear cut or all one way or all another. Rather, the forms of guided participation relate to what is considered appropriate in one community or another, one family or another, and in one generation or another. The work of Rogoff and her team, particularly their

conceptualization of guided participation and interactional patterns, is useful when considering analysis categories for this thesis (see Chapter 4).

2.3.4 Subject positioning

Kravtsov and Kravtsova (2008; 2009) are two further authors and researchers who have conceptualized and theorized learning and development within a cultural-historical perspective. The context for their work has been the classroom settings of the Golden Key Schools in Russia. Of particular interest have been the role of the adult and the role of the child in teaching and learning interactions. The Golden Key Schools, initially established by Elena Kravtsova (the granddaughter of L.S. Vygotsky) and her team in 1989, use pedagogical methods drawn from Vygotsky's theorising including his work concerning the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1987). The schools were established on the premise that "education and mental development of children can be effective only if it is closely linked with an effective development of the emotional sphere of the child" (Kravtsov & Kravtsova, 2009, p. 208). The pedagogical framing of the Golden Key Schools brings together the school and the family in very specific and purposeful ways. The Golden Key schools are understood as an extension of the family, with children grouped in 'families' of mixed ages (3 – 10 years) rather than classes of a similar age. The parents and families of all the children participate in the events and activities arranged by the school, and there are two educators that work together with 'family' groups of 15-20 children (Kravtsova & Kravtsova, 2008; 2009). This is very different from many generally accepted educational contexts where there is a separation of "upbringing (vospitanie) from teaching (obuchenie)" and a "one sided domination of the values of teaching over the values of cultivating the child's

personality and emotional well-being" (Kravtsov & Kravtsova, 2009, p. 203). Of importance to this thesis are the related concepts of pair pedagogy and subject positioning (Kravtsova, 2008) fostered within the Golden Key Schools.

Pair pedagogy and subject positioning are ways of conceptualizing adult/child communication and interactions that are the basis for programming in the Golden Key Schools. The teachers position themselves and the children quite deliberately in an effort to maximise communication, learning, and development. At different times teachers will position themselves alongside the children as *equals*; *above* the children as more knowledgeable; *below* the children as less knowledgeable; with the children as *primordial "we"*; or as *independent* of the children, being aware of each other but deciding to work alone (Kravtsov & Kravtsova, 2008). The learning and development afforded by each of these positions changes. For example, teachers may position themselves in the 'below' position and children in the 'above' position. In the above position children can demonstrate their knowledge and gain new understanding and confidence in what they know as they communicate with the teacher who is pretending to be less knowledgeable or confident. Children might also assume the above position, playing school with other children or with their toys. In contrast, teachers may position themselves in the above position and the children in the below position. Teachers might take the above position when they want to introduce the children to new content. However if children are always in the below position being controlled and instructed it becomes very tiresome for them. Similarly if children are always in the above position it becomes very difficult for the adult or more advanced peer to help them as they 'know it all'. On other occasions one teacher may be positioned alongside a child in the

primordial 'we' position while the other teacher is in the above position; the primordial 'we' position can be a comfortable and safe position for the child that is unsure or afraid. This is a more passive position and if it was the only position available to children it would limit their learning and development in the area of independence. However, there are times when it is appropriate and can assist a tentative child to join in with new activities and learning, or a group of children to begin a new challenge (Kravtsov & Kravtsova, 2008). Each position has limitations as well as benefits for the child. The teachers in the Golden Key Schools are well aware of this and plan accordingly maximizing learning and development opportunities for the child. It is possible for this deliberate positioning to occur because there are two teachers working with each group of children and teachers are able to position themselves differently in different situations. This is similar to the types of interactions and communications that might occur in a family or community where there is a mix of adults and children of varying ages participating in everyday activities and practices that children are able to observe and participate in. In the Golden Key Schools pair pedagogy provides a structure for these interactions to occur, whereas in a setting where there was a single teacher working with a large group of children of a similar age, they would not be possible.

The program of school activities is organised around a series of 'events' that involve the teachers and children along with their families. These special events are designed to arouse the children's initiative and learning within the sensitive context of cultural traditions. These special events might be linked, for example, to a fairy tale, a given time in history (past, present or future) or a particular geographical location.

Elements of imagination are prevalent with the teachers 'setting the scene' for a particular course of investigation. One example explicated by Kravtsova (2008) during a seminar presentation involved a teacher writing a letter to be 'found' by a group of children explaining that the teddy bear (a class-room artefact) had left and gone on an expedition to Greenland. This scenario led to the children investigating topics such as the geographical location of Greenland, what the bear would need to take on his journey, what he might eat along the way, how he might travel, how long it would take. After a period of time working on this project a combined 'event' would take place at the school involving the children and their families to culminate the project. The event might involve games, creative works of art, drama, singing, and the like.

The work of Kravtsova and her colleagues, in particular their work related to the conceptualization and theorization of subject positioning, highlights interactional and communication patterns that occur between adults and children within the Golden Key School programs. Although the context for the work of Kravtsov and Kravtsova has been educational institutions, the strong focus and orientation towards interactions and relations across a range of ages, within family groupings, and using pair pedagogical practices is of interest within this thesis. The role/s of the teachers within the pair pedagogy model is similar to the role/s taken by adults as part of everyday intergenerational family practices. Therefore the categories of subject positioning suggested by these researchers (equal, above, below, primordial "we" and independent) may be useful when considering analysis categories for use with data generated for this thesis (see Chapter 4).

2.4 Conclusion

The field of intergenerational research is extensive and with researchers from many different disciplines interested in familial and non-familial intergenerational relations, it continues to expand. The theoretical, methodological and empirical literatures reviewed and explicated in this chapter provided a context and a direction for this thesis; they also highlighted gaps and raised questions for future intergenerational research. Of particular interest within the initial review of the literature were

- the lack of a clear definition of the term 'intergenerational',
- the few studies that included participants of three different generations,
- the large variety of sociologically framed studies,
- the use of quantitative methodologies when considering the topic of relations and relationships, and
- the predominance of studies that focused on the intergenerational transmission of deficit and/or deviant behaviours such as abuse, drug use and harsh parenting.

A broadened search of the literature that moved away from the terms 'intergenerational' and 'transmission' but was still inclusive of multi-age and maturity-level interactions within 'family type' communities, opened up further avenues to explore. Of particular interest were the studies framed within a cultural-historical perspective that used qualitative methodologies. These studies focused on the *processes* of learning and development that occur as people of mixed ages *participated* in the activities and practices of everyday life within families, educational institutions and work

situations. These studies raised questions regarding the transfer and transformation of cultural knowledge, skills and attitudes; they highlighted different roles and responsibilities taken by children, adult family members, teachers as well as newcomers and old-timers in work situations; plus they pointed to alternative ways of generating and analysing rich, deep data.

I began my candidature with a very broad and general research topic, I wanted to study the everyday life experiences of children in intergenerational families, I wanted to know why parents parented the way they did, and how family values moved from generation to generation. Reviewing the literature led me to consider different theoretical and methodological approaches used in family research and alerted me to some of the unanswered questions researchers were still grappling with. Drawing from these understandings I concluded there was need for intergenerational studies that used qualitative methodologies (see Chapter 4); that were framed in cultural-historical theory (see Chapter 3); that included participants spanning three or more generations; and that focused on the ways in which family members develop, change, and participate in the activities and practices of their everyday lives.

Therefore the overarching research question that guided this study was:

How do family values, knowledge and practice traditions relate, transition, and transform within and between generations during child-rearing? The related sub-questions were framed out of the cultural historical literature and as such are listed at the end of Chapter 3.3. In addition, the research literatures reviewed in Chapters 2 and

3 highlighted a range of possible categories for data analysis related to the research questions (see Chapter 4).

The following chapter (Chapter 3) further explicates the framing of this thesis. Influenced by the literature discussed in the present chapter, this thesis has been framed within a cultural-historical theoretical perspective. The use of cultural-historical theory affords the researcher with a framework that can capture the dynamic processes of ideas, understandings, learning, and development which are central to this project. The next chapter introduces L.S. Vygotsky, cultural-historical theory, and particular cultural-historical concepts that are of importance to this study.

CHAPTER 3

VYGOTSKY'S CULTURAL-HISTORICAL THEORY

> Vygotsky was one of the great theory makers of the first half of this century – along with Freud, McDougall, Piaget, and a very few others. Like them, his ideas are situated in his times. But like the best of them, those ideas still point the way to the future of our discipline. (Bruner, 1987, p. 16)

3.1 Introduction

When introducing the work of L.S. Vygotsky, Daniels (2008) draws from the work of Puzyrei (2007), a modern day Russian psychologist, who went to great lengths to link Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory to an imaginary city. This illustration captured my imagination, bringing understanding and inspiration to the complex task of introducing Vygotsky and his work within this chapter. I think of the city in which I presently live, Melbourne, Australia; the complexities and multiple dialectics it contains, people, places, spaces, the loud and the silent, the visible and the invisible, the known and the unknown. There are parts of the city that I know well and travel around daily, but there are also those areas, big and small, that I have never traversed and maybe never will. This analogy sits well with my understandings of Vygotsky and his work. As I write this chapter I realize there are aspects of Vygotsky's work that I am becoming familiar with and others that I have not begun to fully explore. There are the concepts and notions that seem to vibrate life and energy to my research and others that remain silent waiting for another time and space. I also realize that what I have put forth here is my understanding at this time and that my learning is itself, dialectical in nature and in process, in motion, and is culturally and historically positioned.

This chapter begins with an introduction to Vygotsky, foregrounding his life and his work. It is fitting to begin by positioning a cultural-historical theorist within the cultural-historical contexts of time and space as an entry point into his theorizing. The focus of the chapter then shifts to explicate some of the central tenents of Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory that are relevant to this thesis, namely mediation and motives. The strong focus on citing Vygotsky's writing in this second section is intentional as it is the seminal work in the area of cultural historical theory. At the same time I recognize the access I have to his work and those of his colleagues is limited by the fact that I am relying on English translations and interpretations.

3.2 Vygotsky – his life and his work

Lev Smenovich Vygotsky (formally Vygodsky) was born in the small town of Orshe (northeast of Minsk in Byelorussia, Russia) on November 5th, 1896. Before his first birthday the Vygotsky family moved to the city of Gomel where he spent his childhood. He later returned to this city after his university education in Moscow (Vygodskaya, 1995). Gomel is situated in the southeastern part of Russia on the right bank of the Sozh River close to the border with Ukraine (Map 3.1).

Map 3-1 The Pale of Settlement in the Russian Empire

Retrieved from http://www.berdichev.org/mappaleofsettlement.htm 7 April 2010.

Gomel was a town within the Pale of Settlement (Map 3.1), which was a region of Russia designated as an area of Jewish settlement by the Tsarist government of the time. Established in 1791 by Catherine II, more than 90% of Russian Jews were forced to live in the poor conditions of the Pale. Even within the Pale, the Jews experienced pograms as part of their daily lives including restrictions related to education, commerce, language and dress. It was not until 1917 when the Czarist regime was overthrown, that the Pale of Settlement was abolished (Oreck, 2007).

3.2.1 Childhood and adolescence

Vygotsky was the second child in a family of eight children; his parents were highly educated members of the Jewish community in Gomel. Vygotsky's daughter Gita Vygodskaya described one of the traditions of both her parents and grandparents as "getting together after evening tea (. . .) when everyone was done with his or her activities (. . .) [and discussing their] common interests [in] history, literature, theatre, and art" (Vygodskaya, 1995, p. 107). Vygotsky was initially educated by private tutors and later attended classes at the private Jewish Gymnasium (a secondary school in pre-revolutionary Russia) in Gomel, graduating in 1913 with a gold medal (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991).

His Jewish heritage restricted his entry to University with Tsarist Russia enforcing a quota for Jewish admissions. Those awarded a gold medal, however, were assured entry. At the time Vygotsky was completing his final exams at the Gymnasium, the University entry criteria for Jews was changed to a system of casting lots. Fortunately for Vygotsky the lot fell in his favour and he gained entry to Moscow University and, at the insistence of his parents, began studies in medicine. After a very short time Vygotsky switched to law, which was of more interest to him. The choice of medicine and law may have been linked to the post-graduation opportunities they provided in regards to employment and residence outside the Pale. Simultaneously Vygotsky enrolled at an unendorsed institute, the Shanjavsky People's University, taking courses in history and philosophy.

During his university years he maintained his interests in literature and art and, before his graduation in 1917, broadened these to include psychological and pedagogical problems (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991). Vygotsky was an able and capable scholar who worked in many directions at the same time. For example, during his student years he studied classical German philosophy, became acquainted with the philosophy of Marxism, and developed a lifelong interest in the philosophy of Spinoza (Leont'ev, 1997).

3.2.2 New graduate and teacher

As a new graduate Vygotsky returned to Gomel and remained there until 1923. At the time of his return, the city of Gomel was occupied by World War 1 German forces. Under these conditions it was impossible to find a job and during 1918 Vygotsky cared for sick relatives. However, in January 1919, Russian rule was re-established in Gomel and Vygotsky "began to teach literature, aesthetics, philosophy, and Russian language in the newly opened vocational school and then psychology and logic in a local teachers' college" (Vygodskaya, 1995, p. 110). During this time he was vitally engaged in the cultural activities of Gomel, he directed the theatre section of an adult education centre and gave many lectures related to literature and science. He also founded the literary journal *Verask* where he published his first literary research which was later reissued as *The Psychology of Art*. While employed at the Teacher Training Institute, Vygotsky founded a psychological laboratory and led a course on psychology (Luria, 1978). During this time Vygotsky read widely including

> poets such as Tyuchev, Blok, Mandel'shtam and Pushkin; writers of fiction such as Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Bely, and Buinin; and philosophers such as James and

> especially Spinoza. He also read the writings of Freud, Marx, Engels, Hegel, Pavlov and the Russian philologist Potebnya. (Wertsch, 1985, p. 7)

Meanwhile life in Gomel, and in many parts of Russia, was deteriorating because of war and the failing economy, food was scarce and disease prevalent. Vygotsky fell ill with tuberculosis and, although he recovered from this initial attack in 1920, the disease was to plague him for the rest of his life. This period of Vygotsky's life (1917-1923) marked the genesis of his psychological thinking for it was in "Gomel that he performed his first psychological experiments and gave his first talks on subjects related to education and psychology" (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991, p. 12). In 1924 Vygotsky married Roza Smekhova, also from Gomel, before taking up residence in Moscow.

Vygotsky's move to Moscow was initiated through his participation in the Second All-Russian Psychoneurological Congress which took place in Leningrad in January 1924. Here Vygotsky presented several papers related to the work he had undertaken in the psychological laboratory in Gomel, one of which was titled 'Methods of reflexological and psychological investigations'. Vygotsky's persuasive style and fluent presentation without the use of notes, gave a clear indication that this young man from a provincial town was an intellectual voice to be listened to (Vygodskaya, 1995; Wertsch, 1985). Leont'ev (1997) later explained that

> although in 1924 the 28-year-old Vygotsky was still a beginning psychologist, he was already a mature thinker who had gone through a long spiritual development which logically led him to the need to work in the area of scientific psychology. (p. 12)

Vygotsky was described by Luria at the time of his initial presentations at the 1924 Congress as "not being afraid to 'go against the tide' " (Vygodskaya, 1995, p. 111). This description of a young presenter, who chose to discuss one of the 'hot' topics of the day

rather than a minor theme, was a great compliment. Vygotsky's presentations made a strong impression on Kornilov, the newly appointed director of the Psychological Institute in Moscow, who invited him to join the staff there (Leont'ev, 1997).

3.2.3 Junior scientist/psychologist

By the end of 1924, Vygotsky had moved to Moscow taking up a position as "junior staff scientist" (Wertsch, 1985, p. 10) at the Moscow Institute of Experimental Psychology (formally the Psychological Institute). The institute, which had been founded by Chelpanov (who headed it until 1923), was undergoing institutional reform including the dismissal of staff and the reorientation of the research program (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991). Wertsch (1985) explains that

> Kornilov was viewed as a "materialist" devoted to developing a Marxist psychology, whereas Chelpanov had been labelled an "idealist". Kornilov's takeover signalled the seriousness and dedication with which scholars were then trying to employ Marxist principles when approaching issues in psychology [as well as other disciplines]. (p. 10)

Under Kornilov, the research program of the Institute became overtly reactologist and most research topics were rephrased in reactological terms (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991).

A significant interest of Vygotsky's during this period was defectology. He worked in the area of social education of blind and deaf children which led to publications in this field as well as his involvement in the founding of the Institute of Defectology. The term defectology referred to the study of children with various mental and physical problems including those who were "deaf-mute, blind, ineducable, and mentally retarded" (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991, p. 60). Vygotsky combined

these activities with his work at Kornilov's Institute of Experimental Psychology where he worked with colleagues Aleksandr Romanovich (A.R.) Luria and Aleksei Nikolaevich (A.N.) Leont'ev, undertaking a critical review of contemporary psychology. The three became known as the "*troika*" or threesome of the Vygotskian school (Vygodskaya, 1995). During this period and beyond, Vygotsky gathered around him an ever increasing group of young scientists working in the areas of psychology, defectology and mental abnormality (Luria, 1978).

To further understand the context for Vygotsky's work it is important to note that Russian psychologists of the 1920's could be broadly divided into three groups:

1) a small noninfluential group led by Chelpanov who continued the traditional focus on consciousness as the object of psychological research,
2) a much larger and clearly dominant, group led by Pavlov and Bekhterev who eschewed the study of subjective phenomena and defined psychology as the science of behavior, reflexes, or reactions, and
3) a group led by Kornilov who argued for a synthesis of these two perspectives. (Minick, 1987, p.18)

However, Vygotsky's work and associated writing developed from what he perceived as a 'crisis' in psychology. He rejected the three aforementioned positions in favour of a claim that human behaviour was inherently social and culturally organized. He redefined the object of psychological research offered by both American behaviourists and Soviet psychologists and he argued against the separation of mind and behaviour. He replaced it with notions and concepts related to complex dialectical holistic relationships occurring as part of human development (Vygotsky, 1987; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 1999).

Vygotsky set out to achieve a synthesis of contending views (the isolation of biological and mental development) within the structure of a completely new theoretical basis. He ambitiously sought to combine description and explanation along with a deepening understanding of the higher mental processes of thought, language, and decision making, as social and cultural processes. He was interested in the genesis and process of human development, and not just what had already developed and could be tested (Vygotsky 1987; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 1999).

The influence of Marxist thought on the expansion and acceptability of ideas also must be mentioned, as it was in this context that Vygotsky was developing his thinking. Lenin's 1922 directive to "adopt dialectical materialism as the guiding framework for developing knowledge" (Gredler & Shields, 2008, p. 13) impacted all Soviet scholars. In addition, there was the pressure to adapt to new and varied interpretations of Marxism that were announced from time to time. Cole and Scribner (1978) refer to the stereotype of "Soviet scholars scurrying to make their theories confirm to the Politburo's most recent interpretation of Marxism" (p. 6). The usefulness of such a stereotype is uncertain but the change in leadership of the Moscow Institute of Experimental Psychology (as mentioned previously) appeared to have had its roots in the 'acceptable' thought at the time.

There are various opinions regarding the influence of Marxist thinking on Vygotsky's work. Gredler and Shields (2008) suggest that many academics of the time searched for connecting points between their theorizing and Marxist philosophy, looking to "find phrases in Marxism that could be included in their work" (p. 13). They go on to argue that Vygotsky criticized these efforts to find 'ready made' links to

Marxist ideals. Cole and Scribner (1978) propose that Vygotsky viewed "Marxist thought as a valuable scientific resource from very early in his career (. . .) [seeing] in the methods and principles of dialectical materialism a solution to key scientific paradoxes facing his contemporaries" (p. 6). van der Veer and Valsiner (1991) argue that

> the distinction Vygotsky made between biological evolution and human history was based on the writings of Marx and, more importantly, Engels (. . .) [with] Marx [having] defined man [sic] as a 'toolmaking animal' (. . .) and Engels (. . .) [having] elaborated this view. (p. 197)

In his writing, Vygotsky often referred to the work of Darwin, Engels, and Marx (for example Vygotsky, 1987, 1997b, 1998, 1999). However Bruner (1987) reminds us that Vygotsky did *not* subscribe to Soviet Marxist thought in every area. For example, Vygotsky viewed humans as more than a 'product' of history and circumstance. For Vygotsky the interactions, relationships, processes and transformations occurring between humans and their tools, particularly the symbolic tool of language, was "the *heart* of the matter" (Bruner, 1987, p. 2) [emphasis added]. In a detailed article entitled "Marxist and non-Marxist aspects of the cultural-historical psychology of L.S. Vygotsky", Veresov (2005) states

> it was not only Marxism which influenced Vygotsky. He was a child of the Silver Age of Russian culture and philosophy and the influence of this should not be underestimated. Some traits in Vygotsky's theory, traditionally considered as Marxist – such as the concept of the social origins of mind or sign as psychological tool – have deeper and wider roots in the works of Shpet, Blonsky, Sorokin and Meierhold. As for Marxism as such, it must be mentioned that during all three periods of his creative evolution Vygotsky had different approaches to what was true Marxist psychology and how it should be built. (p. 31)

Like Marx, Vygotsky's search for a theory of development was central to his work although their ideas did not always correspond. These differences came to the

fore when, in the early 1930's, Vygotsky's work was suppressed by the governing bodies of the time. However, his work remained of interest to many working in the area of psychology and was passed 'underground' from person to person (Bruner, 1987). This was not an easy time in which to live in Russia and it is important to realize that Vygotsky and his colleagues were all wrestling with the issues of the time including "how to reconcile *idealism* and *materialism*" (Daniels, Cole & Wertsch, 2007, p. 5) [original emphasis] while being required to work within the context of a growing Soviet state embracing Marxist-Leninist ideology. There were high levels of uncertainty. These included the exalting or suppressing of intellectual ideas at short notice by governing bodies which, in some cases, resulted in chosen or imposed exile or even death (Daniels, Cole & Wertsch, 2007). What became known as the Kharkov School is an example of a response to these pressures (see Chapter 3.2.4 section 1930-1932).

3.2.4 Vygotsky's final 10 years

Where the previous paragraphs have been concerned with the context in which Vygotsky lived and worked this subsection continues chronologically from Vygotsky's initial employment in Moscow in 1924 to his untimely death in 1934. During this short 10 year period, Vygotsky developed many of the theories for which he is recognized and known today. Chronologically three major phases in the development of Vygotsky's thought can be identified: 1925 – 1930; 1931 – 1932, and 1933 – 1934 (Minick, 1987). A similar chronological grouping has been used by van der Veer and Valsiner (1991).

1925- 1930

Taking up residence in Moscow in 1925, Vygotsky began work at the Moscow Institute of Experimental Psychology. During this time he worked both within and outside the institute conducting studies concerning the "psychology of art, problems of defectology, pedagogical psychology and [later] paedology" (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991, p. 44). In 1925 Vygotsky gained permission as the delegate of the People's Commissariat of Education (where he taught), to travel abroad (an unusual occurrence) and made his one and only trip to the United Kingdom and Europe, participating in conferences and giving lectures related to the study of defectology. In this same year (1925) Vygotsky was to defend his dissertation *The Psychology of Art* but was unable to do so because of illness. However in an unusual move, the dissertation was accepted without oral defence and Vygotsky became a Doctor of Psychology with the right to teach in institutions of higher education.

Throughout his life, art, literature, theatre and literary criticism were consistent personal interests. Of note is the fact that his dissertation *The Psychology of Art* was eventually published in a variety of versions and languages. van der Veer and Valsiner (1991, p. 19) suggest that it was from Vygotsky's "interest in issues of literature and art (. . .) [that his] questions of psychology gradually emerged". In van der Veer and Valsiner's (1991) view, the young Vygotsky's analysis of Shakespeare's Hamlet, together with his interest in Hegelian philosophy during his Gymnasium days, led him to the discovery and exploration of dialectical reasoning. The dialectical unity of opposites became a vital aspect of his psychological cultural-historical theory (Vygotsky, 1987; 1993, 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 1999).

The cultural-historical theoretical framework developed by Vygotsky and his colleagues expanded and changed over the years. As mentioned earlier (see section 3.2.3), Vygotsky argued against the three main streams of philosophical thought that were prevalent at the time. He proposed that human development is a "process (. . .) characterized by a unity of material and mental aspects, a unity of the social and the personal" (Vygotsky, 1998, p. 190). This holistic perspective was very different from conceptually isolating the human mind and consciousness from behaviour, as was prevalent in contemporary psychology of the time (Vygotsky, 1987). Vygotsky's work outlined this problem for which he had no direct answer. Minick (1987) argues that "the entire history of the Vygotskian school, including the contemporary development of what is known as the 'theory of activity' (. . .) must be understood as an attempt to solve the conceptual problem that Vygotsky outlined" (p. 19) in his early writing.

It was during the years of 1925 – 1930 that the Vygotskian School focused on what became known as higher mental functions in response to the commonly held notions concerning stimulus/response (see section 3.3.1). Vygotsky and his colleagues engaged in numerous studies investigating the child's use of sign systems and cultural tools as mediators for thought and the internalization of behaviour (Vygotsky, 1987; 1997b; Vygotsky & Luria, 1994). He "was attempting to demonstrate the socio-historical roots of the higher mental functions and the differences between these functions and instinctive or conditioned reflex behaviors" (Minick, 1987, p. 22). As part of these studies Vygotsky considered the role and function of human speech and drew conclusions that differentiated the utterances of animals, including apes, and the speech development of children (Vygotsky, 1987). Vygotsky drew on the work of

Spinoza in this regard, with both men indicating an understanding that humans used intellectual functions (speech, thinking) to master their behaviour and personality. Both men also shared notions regarding the role of tools and intellectual functioning. However, Vygotsky extended these ideas further as concepts within his cultural-historical theoretical framework (Vygotsky, 1987; 1993; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 1999).

1930 – 1932

As Vygotsky and his colleagues continued to develop their cultural-historical theory, they became interested in the possible similarities and differences in the development of lower and higher mental functions of people living in different cultures. According to van der Veer and Valsiner (1991), "Vygotsky and Luria felt the need to witness these cognitive similarities and differences themselves in a carefully designed psychological study" (p. 242). In this regard visits to some primitive regions of the Soviet Union were arranged by Luria during the summers of 1931 and 1932. However useful the results of these cross-cultural studies appeared to be to the researchers involved, little was published at the time because of the 'social reforms' that were occurring in the region studied. The political 'agenda' of the time included the move from 'individual' to 'collective' farming and the elimination of 'prosperous' farmers who were exploiting their fellows who were 'less prosperous'. In this regard research portraying the 'primitive' (or lower rather than higher level) thinking of 'prosperous' farmers was not politically sensitive (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991).

It was during the early 1930's that the Ukrainian Psychoneurological Academy in Kharkov was established. As the political environment in Moscow became

increasingly intolerant of the intellectual pursuits of Vygotsky and his colleagues, along with the closing of the Psychological Laboratory of the Academy of Communist Education in 1932, the facilities available at Kharkov provided an alternative place for meetings and research. Researchers from all over the Soviet Union, including some of Vygotsky's colleagues (Bozhovich, Leont'ev, Luria and Zaparozhec) relocated to what became known as the Kharkov School (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991). Initially seen by Vygotsky as a place where experimental research could be carried out to support the development of his cultural-historical theory, Kharkov became a place of differing opinions, dissention and conflict. It was at Kharkov that Vygotsky's conceptualization of peadology was questioned by Gal'perin and where Leont'ev distanced himself from Vygotsky's ideas in response to ideological criticism and began developing his activity approach to cognitive development (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991). Where Vygotsky was concerned with tools and signs as mediators of internal processes and higher mental functioning, Leont'ev focused on actions as mediators. van der Veer and Valsiner (1991) explain

> it is clear that in replacing Vygotsky's emphasis on signs as means of mediation between objects of experience and mental functions with the idea that physical action (labour) must mediate between the subject and the external world, Leont'ev aligned himself with the official ideology. According to the ideological gatekeepers, labour (physical activity) had to take precedence of speech. (p. 289)

Leont'ev's change in focus, along with the ideological debates and conflicts concerning Vygotsky's work, made this a difficult period for the theorist. To gain further understanding of some of these dissentions it is vital to make mention of Vygotsky's thinking surrounding paedology. From early on Vygotsky's work was

closely associated with paedology, however his interpretation of paedology was somewhat different from that of his contemporaries. Rather than emphasizing the "interdisciplinary nature of paedology in the study of the child, Vygotsky explicitly differentiated paedology from other disciplines by defining it as *the science of children's development"* (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991, p. 308) [original emphasis]. For Vygotsky, paedology encompassed his interests in the study of normal and retarded children as well and teaching and learning outside formal contexts. Vygotsky brought a dialectical perspective to the study of childhood development which in turn led to the questioning of the concept of development and the argument that chronological age does not equate to development (Vygotsky, 1997b; 1998).

In addition, Vygotsky sought to generate new methods of studying development that proposed a move from investigating external indicators of development to that of examining internal processes (see section 3.3.1). Vygotsky's contributions to paedological study caused his work to be banned by the authorities between the years 1936 – 1956. Although this occurred after his death in 1934, there was growing political concern about his work in the later years of his life. van der Veer and Valsiner (1991) suggest that initially, apart from minor squirmishes, Vygotsky and his colleagues managed to avoid major confrontations with the governing party's ideologies. However, a major attack did eventually arise in 1932, growing worse in 1933, when Vygotsky's work in the area of paedology was attacked publicly as well as through private interrogations. Yet for Vygotsky, the drawing together of his interests in the complexity of human development along with the education of normal and retarded

children in paedology would seem to have been exactly what he had been working towards and defending throughout his career.

The growth of ideological pressures in the early 1930s also affected Luria's relationship with Vygotsky and his ideas. No longer did the threesome of the Vygotsky School (Vygotsky, Leont'ev, and Luria) have a common purpose and aim. As time passed, Vygotsky, who never relocated to Kharkov but remained in Moscow, began working with other researchers in Leningrad at the Herzen Institute of Education. A further indication of the instability of educational institutions and thought at the time is the fact that by the mid 1930's the Psychoneurological Academy at Kharkov ceased to exist due to economical and political factors (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991).

1933 – 1934

During the remaining years of his life Vygotsky raised questions regarding cognitive development within formal teaching and learning contexts. Where the focus of his inquiry had been social interaction and cognitive development in the initial phase of his work, followed by an emphasis on the centrality of language in the second phase, here in this third phase he extended the theoretical framework he had created to include the relationship of instruction and cognitive development and the problem of stages or age periods in child development (Minick, 1987; van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991; Vygotsky, 1997b; 1998). It is interesting to note that

> Vygotsky rarely abandoned concepts that had been central to his work as his thinking developed. He tended, rather to redefine useful concepts and integrate them into the more general and powerful conceptual frameworks he was developing. (Minick, 1987, p. 18)

Some of his work during this period is possibly the most well-known including his theorizing on the zone of proximal development and the relation of teaching to cognitive development (Vygotsky, 1987). Despite ill health, political opposition, and the constant regrouping of associates, Vygotsky worked tirelessly through to the end of his life. It was "not long before his death [that] Vygotsky was invited to head the department of psychology in the All Union Institute of Experimental Medicine. He died of tuberculosis June 11, 1934" (Luria, 1978, p. 16).

The focus of this chapter now moves from this introductory section which focused on the context of *Vygotsky, his life and his work* to an exploration of the main concepts developed by Vygotsky and of relevance to this thesis. The threads of context, history and theory continue to be interwoven in this next section although specific aspects of his theory are consciously foregrounded. I have not hesitated to quote Vygotsky at length; this has been a conscious decision to include his 'voice' bringing history and context to this present work.

3.3 Aspects of Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory

In order to understand Vygotsky's theory in relation to this thesis it is necessary to focus on specific concepts. However, these concepts are inter-related and it becomes difficult to isolate any particular concept within the complexity of Vygotsky's dialectical theorising. Therefore in the following sections, although particular concepts are in focus, the inter-relations between these concepts and other concepts are mentioned, recognising the holistic and dialectical nature of his theory. Of particular relevance to

this thesis are the cultural-historical concepts of mediation, motives, practice, and activity.

3.3.1 Mediation

Kravtsov and Kravtsova (2009) alert us to the importance of mediation in Vygotsky's work. They argue that "the idea of mediation (oposredstvovanie) was one of the most important of L.S. Vygotsky's teachings" (p. 204). Leontyev (2009), a student and colleague of Vygotsky, explained "Vygotsky, we know, based his research on the following two hypotheses: that of the mediated character of man's [sic] mental functions; and that of the origin of inner mental processes from originally external, 'interphysiological' activity" (p. 252).

Vygotsky's interest in the development of mental functions led him to investigate and question some of the current understandings of his time related to the psychological problem of stimulus-response (Vygotsky, 1997b). Where the focus had been on the direct movement between a stimulus and a response indicated by the solid arrow in Figure 3.1, Vygotsky introduced the concept of a mediator that would come between the stimulus and the response as indicated by the dotted lines in Figure 3.1. He, therefore, proposed that the relations between a stimulus and a response could be direct, unmediated or natural. Alternatively they could be mediated and thereby assisted by socially and/or culturally available signs or tools.

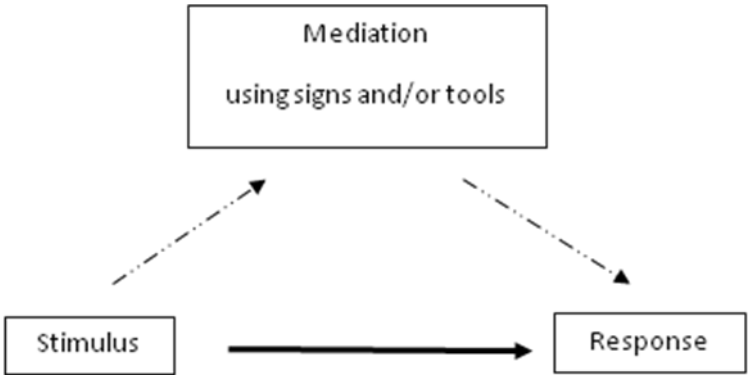


Figure 3.1 The relations occurring between a stimulus and a response, adapted from Leontyev, (2009) and Vygotsky, (1997b)

The unmediated relations between the stimulus and the response occur in what Vygotsky terms lower mental functions, such as *involuntary* memory, attention, perception, and volition. The different relations that occur between the stimulus and the response through the introduction of a "mediating activity" (Vygotsky, 1997b, p. 61) are concerned with higher mental functions – *voluntary* memory, attention, perception, and volition (Vygotsky, 1997b). A mediating activity is one that assists the person to create new relations between the stimulus and the response (Vygotsky, 1997b). The mediating activity comes between the environmental stimulus and the person's response to that stimulus. Both connections lead to a result, there is a response to the stimulus, but this result comes by a different path.

> What is new is the artificial direction given to the natural process of the circuit of a conditioned connection (i.e., the active use of natural means of brain tissue). This new artificial direction is provided by means of an instrument [the mediator]. This scheme elucidates the essence of the instrumental method. (Vygotsky, 1981, p. 138)

Vygotsky explained the concept of mediated activity using a number of different examples including that of a person throwing a dice. In this instance the person was trying to make a decision about a particular course of action to follow. To help make the decision the person decided to throw a dice and the course of action followed would depend on how the dice landed. If 'a' came up on the dice then the person would follow a certain course of action and if 'b' came up then the person would follow a different course of action. Both outcomes were decided before the dice was thrown. The dice was used to mediate the decision and thereby the action the person was going to pursue. Vygotsky (1997b) explained "the man [sic] himself determined his response with the help of an artificial stimulus [the dice] (. . .) the man directed the mastery of his own behaviour" (p. 48). The dice was used as a means of directing behaviour. A new relation between the stimulus and the response was created because of the introduction of the dice. The person gave the dice a decision-making role in the particular situation, and therefore the dice was used to mediate the particular decision.

Just as a dice can be used as a mediator so too can a knot tied in a handkerchief. In this instance the knot can serve as an aid to remember something. Knot tying might be quite simple or very highly developed. Vygotsky explained that

> tying a knot for remembering (. . .) was one of the very first forms of the written word (. . .) widely developed knot records, the so-called quipu, have been used in ancient Peru for keeping chronicles, for keeping data of personal and government life. (Vygotsky, 1997b, p. 50)

One further mediating activity Vygotsky explained was what he termed a form of "cultural arithmetic: counting on the fingers" (Vygotsky, 1997b, p. 52). This method of counting moved beyond the stimulus-response approach of determining numbers

visually. Because of the introduction of an auxiliary stimulus that aided or mediated the solving of the problem of quantity, the process moved from visually perceiving, to counting.

These activities, throwing the dice, knot tying, and finger counting were of significance to Vygotsky because of what was "hidden behind them" and what could be understood regarding what he termed "higher behaviour" (Vygotsky, 1997b, p. 53). It was the analysis of the mediation process that was of importance to Vygotsky. He was interested in the new and changed psychological systems that were created by the people involved; the move from lower functions to more complex higher mental functions. Vygotsky argued that "the presence of *created* stimuli together with the *given* stimuli seemed to us to be the distinguishing characteristic of human psychology" (Vygotsky, 1997b, p. 54) [original emphasis]. Vygotsky named these artificial stimuli created as a means of mastering one's own or another's behaviour - signs. He stated that there were "two points (. . .) essential for the concept of a sign: its origin and its function" (Vygotsky, 1997b, p. 54). It is the ability of humans to create and use signs that set them apart as humans. In the case of the knot used for remembering, the knot itself did not remember but rather the person was reminded of something because of the knot. The same situation occurs when people erect a monument or statue, purchase a souvenir, take a photograph, or paint a portrait in order not to forget someone, a geographical location, or an event.

Like signs, tools also have a mediating function. However, within Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory, tools are different from signs, as they have a different purpose.

> The tool serves for conveying man's [sic] activity to the object of his activity, it is directed outward, it must result in one change or another in the object, it is the means for man's external activity directed toward subjugating nature. [Whereas] the sign changes nothing in the object of the psychological operation, it is a means of psychological action on behaviour, one's own or another's, a means of internal activity directed toward mastering man himself; the sign is directed inward. (Vygotsky 1997b, p. 62)

A mediating tool might be a plough that is used by a person in the activity of preparing the land for planting. The tool serves the person in his/her activity and is directed in this example, toward the land, the plough aids the farmer in preparing the land for the planting of crops. The tool, the plough, is a device of work used for the mastering of the processes of nature.

Tools and signs bring with them a cultural inheritance. By learning to use, adapt, and transform tools and signs people experience and change themselves, their societies and the environments in which they live and work. In addition people draw on the experiences of previous generations. For example, every time a person wants to count something they do not need to create a new numeracy system but can use one that is available within the society in which they live. Every time a person wants to find a particular geographical location they do not necessarily need to survey the area afresh but instead they can draw on the cultural knowledge and navigational ways of their society. In a similar way people develop, change and transform the tools used within a society such as the farming equipment and methods of transportation. Although tools

and signs have different origins and functions Vygotsky argues that there are important relations between them. He states that the

> mastery of nature and mastery of behaviour are mutually connected because when man [sic] changes nature he changes the nature of man himself. (. . .) The use of auxiliary devices, the transition to mediated activity radically reconstructs the whole mental operation just as the use of a tool modifies the natural activity of the organs and it broadens immeasurably the system of activity of mental functions. We designate both taken together by the term *higher mental function* or higher behaviour. (Vygotsky, 1997b, pp. 62-63) [original emphasis]

The mastery of nature and the mastery of behaviour are dialectically related, they are connected. For example, mastering the elements for the production of electricity is dialectically related to the ways in which people live and behave in their everyday lives, and the ways they live and behave in their everyday lives is related to the availability of the elements to produce electricity.

Vygotsky's concept of higher mental functions is not to be confused with the idea of higher being on-top-of something that is lower. Higher mental functions are not a second-story of lower mental functions nor are they a dualism of lower and higher levels (Vygotsky 1997b). Vygotsky's work broke new ground in this area because he investigated the *processes* of the development of mental functions leading to new understandings of the "origin", "structure" and "function" of lower and higher mental functions (Vygotsky, 1999, p. 40). Of importance were the *relations* between lower and higher mental functions. These aspects of Vygotsky's work have not been discussed in detail here as they are outside the scope of this thesis.

Returning to the concept of mediation, it is interesting to note the significance Vygotsky placed on verbal mediation and the relations between speech, thinking, and social interaction (Vygotsky, 1987). He explained

> just as social interaction is impossible without signs, it is also impossible without meaning. To communicate an experience or some other content of consciousness to another person, it must be related to a class or group of phenomena .(. . .) this requires generalisation. (Vygotsky 1987, p. 48)

Vygotsky provided the example of someone wanting to communicate that they are cold. The person could communicate through the use of gestures and movements. However being able to generalise and name the experience, and thereby communicate the concept to another person through the use of words that are mutually understood, is more effective. Of importance is the shared meaning the words engender. There is a relationship between the word 'cold' and the meaning or feeling of being cold that is communicated. The sign (the word) must be understood by others in the social group, for example the family or wider society, to form meaningful social interactions. There is a relationship between the thought and the word which is generalised to the social situation. Sometimes young children may use the correct words in a given situation but they may not be appropriate to the concept and/or context and therefore may not lead to shared meaning because of their lack of generalization. It is common for persons closely associated with very young children to mediate understanding, bringing *interpretation* to their speech so others (outsiders) understand what is intended. For example, a child wanting a drink might say say 'd-d-d-d' and the child's parent might interpret this to an outsider by saying 'John would like a drink of orange juice, please'. The sign system (the word, the language) mediates the social interaction, and it is the

social situation that imbues the sign system with meaning and purpose. It is the cultural and family meanings attributed to signs and tools that are of relevance to this thesis.

Connected to and as part of his extensive writing on thinking and speech, Vygotsky investigated the role and function of the human mediator within his conceptualization of the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1987). The zone of proximal development is related to the ideas of instruction and development, and Vygotsky emphasises that "the only instruction that is useful in childhood is that which moves ahead of development, that which leads it [suggesting that the] potentials for instruction are determined by the zone of proximal development" (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 211).

Vygotsky critiqued the notion of instruction being related to the *actual* development of the child, in other words, what the child already knew and could do independently. He recognised that children were able to do far more when they worked in partnership with others including their peers and adults. Further, Vygotsky explained *"the teacher must orient his work not on yesterday's development in the child but on tomorrow's"* (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 211) [original emphasis]. Although this study is not concerned with formal schooling and teachers, Vygotsky's conceptualization of the zone of proximal development is of value as it is related to the role and function of the human mediator and the ways in which family members mediate the learning and development occurring within everyday family practices.

Mediation is one of the most important ideas in Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory (Daniels, 2008; Kozulin, 2003; Kravtsov & Kravtsova, 2009; Leontyev, 2009).

He based much of his research and wrote extensively on the topic (Vygotsky 1981; 1987; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 1999). For Vygotsky, mediation was not an isolated concept but rather was part of his wider theorising that focused on the genesis, function, and role of mental functions. In the early stages of his work he focused on the "instrumental act" (the mediated activity) as the unit of analysis and as time passed his focus shifted to the "psychological system" (the relations within and between mental functions) (Minick, 1987, pp. 17-18; Vygotsky, 1981; 1987). Vygotsky's theory must be understood as dynamic and dialectical; the holistic way in which he approached his research, and the theorization and conceptual understanding he developed from it, is extremely complex. Mediation is a strong and vital thread that weaves in and through his theoretical exposition.

The concept of mediation is helpful when theorising, conceptualising, and explicating the rich tapestry of relations, transitions, and transformations within the everyday practices of three-generational families. The tools and signs used to mediate behaviour, activities, and practices are imbued with cultural and historical meaning. As family members use, adapt, and transform these tools and signs they change themselves, their families, and the societies in which they live and work. The processes of intergenerational change and transformation are at the core of this thesis.

3.3.2 Motives

Another cultural-historical concept central to this thesis is that of motive. The concept of motives is very powerful; it is also very complex. Currently there is growing interest and debate regarding cultural-historical perspectives of motives. Examples of this are a

recent Cultural Historical Approaches to Children's Development and Childhood (CHACDOC) Symposium that was held in Denmark early in 2010, and a related forthcoming book (Hedegaard, Edwards & Fleer, in preparation). However, at this time there is limited literature available on the topic, particularly in English. Nevertheless, a cultural-historical perspective on motives in relation to individual family members and the intergenerational family as a whole, is an important aspect of this thesis. The roots of a cultural-historical perspective on the topic of motives are explained by Hedegaard and Chaiklin (2005) when they state "Vygotsky's colleagues El'konin (1999) and Leontiev (1978) both extended Vygotsky's theory by introducing development of motives as a central aspect of human development. Motives are seen as culturally created through the child's participating in institutional activities" (p. 15).

3.3.2.1 Leont'ev's conceptualization of motive

When considering a cultural-historical perspective of motives it is important to realize that the term motive has been used within psychology to represent many different phenomena. This causes confusion as Leont'ev (1978) points out

> the term *motive* (motivation, motivating factors) can represent completely different phenomena. Those instinctive impulses, biological inclinations, and appetites, as well as experiencing emotion, interests, and wishes, are all called motives: in this mixed enumeration of motives may be found such things as life goals and ideas, but also such things as an electric shock. (p. 115) [original emphasis]

Here Leont'ev stresses the diverse understandings of motives, recognizing that there are a range of interpretations both in common usage and within different theoretical perspectives. However in Leont'ev's (1978) view

> the main thing that distinguishes one activity from another (. . .) is the difference of their objectives (. . .) the object of an activity is its true motive (. . .) the motive may be either material or ideal, either present in perception or existing only in the imagination or in thought. The main thing is that behind the activity there should always be a need (. . .) *thus the concept of activity is necessarily connected with the concept of motive.* (p. 62) [original emphasis]

For Leont'ev, it is the *object* of the activity that is its true motive. The activity is determined by the needs of the person and the activity changes once those needs are satisfied. Fleer (2010) puts it succinctly when she states "the central idea in Leont'ev's theory is that every activity is driven by distinct motives and these motives do not arise from within but rather are objects of the material world" (p. 23). The understanding of motives being derived from and existing objectively in the world rather than internally within the person's mental processes or human soul, is central to Leont'ev's theory (Fleer, 2010; Leont'ev, 1978; Stetsenko & Arievitch, 2004).

3.3.2.2 El'konin's conceptualization of motive

A different view of motives was proposed by El'konin (1971). Where Leont'ev linked motive-object-activity, El'konin developed his conceptualization related to the changes occurring over the course of a child's life. For example, he suggested the dominance of playful motives for the young child, learning motives being of significance for an older child, and vocational motives being in the forefront later in life (El'konin, 1971). These periods can be seen as linked to the various institutions western-heritage children encounter throughout their life, family, school, and work. Each of these different institutions has particular practices the child encounters and these various practices contribute to the development of the person's dominant motives. For example, the

child's social relations within the school practices of teaching and learning contribute to the child developing a dominant learning motive.

Motive development involves the social relations a person encounters in various institutions; motives are "mutual constructions between people and practices" (Dindler & Iversen, 2009, p. 3). Fleer (2010), when defining the term motive, further clarifies this position by foregrounding the importance of the "dialectical relations between the child and the object through the social", making visible the "child's perspective within the child-social-object relations" (p. 221). She draws on the work of El'konin who in turn drew from Vygotsky's theorizing. This understanding of the ways in which the social relations of people, both children and adults, give form to the development of motives is important in this thesis.

However it is not just random casual social relations that lead to the development of motives, rather it is a special kind of social relation. Motives are developed through people's engagement within the social situations, activities and practices that occur as part of their daily lives which are imbued with cultural values. Motives develop as people draw from and relate to their social situations. Vygotsky's (1998) theorizing of the 'social situation of development' is important here as it is a much broader and more holistic understanding of social interactions than random casual social interactions such as a friendly greeting. Vygotsky (1998) describes the social situation of development as a "unique relation, specific to the given age, between the child and reality, mainly the social reality that surrounds him [sic]" (p. 198). It is a unique set of social and environmental factors that combine to create a context in which the child interacts and develops. Although the concept of the social situation of

development has been briefly mentioned here a full discussion and analysis of it is outside the scope of this thesis. As previously stated, the inter-relations of the various concepts of cultural-historical theory, in this instance motives and the social situation of development, must be recognized, even though only one of a number of related concepts might be foregrounded in any particular discussion.

3.3.2.3 Intention, motives, and motivation

The concept of engagement is also significant in this context as it is dialectically related to the development of motives. People are likely to bring their personal needs, interests, knowledge and preferences to an activity or practice that they engage or take part in. Hedegaard (2005) distinguishes between three forms of dynamic relations or types of engagement - intention, motives, and motivation. She puts forward that

> *intentions* are the goal-directedness of the person's daily activities and describe the person's will in specific situations. Intentions are based on the child's motives, but motives and intentions are not synonyms. *Motives* are the longer-lasting dynamics, giving directedness to a person's life and characterizing his or her personality across different situations. A person's motives are related to each other (. . .) in the same situation several motives can be functioning. (. . .) *Motivation* deals with the dynamic that characterizes actions in concrete everyday situations. (. . .) An activity or practice can be motivating and then a person can intentionally join the activity. Through shared motivating activities in social practice at home and at school, the child learns to combine needs with objects and thereby acquire new motives. (pp. 192-193) [emphasis added]

Hedegaard's (2005) understanding of motivation characterizes people's actions and relations to their environment in *particular* given situations. Motivation is likely to decline unless there is re-engagement in another motivating situation, it could therefore, be termed a "situational interest" (Dindler & Iversen, 2009, p. 3). Alternatively, motives characterize people's actions and relations to their environment over *different* situations

over *extended* periods of time; they are also strongly related to the cultural values of societal institutions.

3.3.2.4 Motives and institutional practices

People, both adults and children, participate in a range of institutionalized practices that are characterized by particular types and methods of communication and shared activities. Such institutionalized practices occur in families, preschools, schools and other educational settings as well as workplaces, clubs, associations, religious institutions, and the like. Commonly, adults and children participate in a number of different institutions at any given time, such as a child moving between the institutions of family and school. Hedegaard's (2009) model of children's learning and development (Figure 3.2), graphically portrays the relations between the individual, various institutions and the wider society and includes the concepts of motives and value positions.

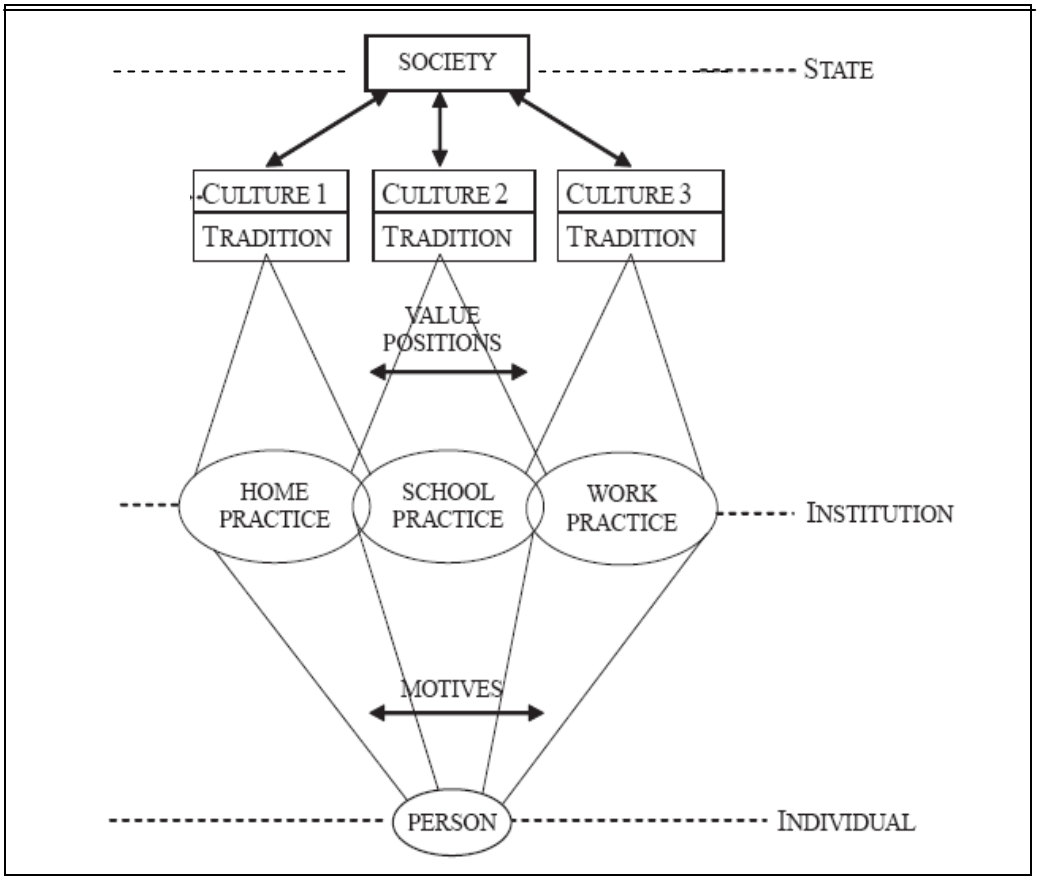


Figure 3.2 A model of children's learning and development through participation in institutionalized practice (Hedegaard, 2009, p. 73)

This model helps us understand the relations between the person and the various institutions they participate in, influence, and are influenced by. Hedegaard (2009) uses the example of a young child Jens, who attended a Danish kindergarten. In her example, Jens had developed a particular perspective related to what were appropriate activities to participate in at kindergarten, his motive was an "orientation toward learning", he wanted to do "real school activity" (Hedegaard, 2009, p. 67). When his pedagogue at kindergarten provided activities that she considered appropriate related to care, nurture and play, Jens experienced conflict with his own dominant

motive. It was not that Jens was opposed to care, nurture, and play but that his dominant motive was that of school learning. Hedegaard and Chaiklin (2005) explain

> a person's motives are related to each other. The relation between the different motives can take the form of a hierarchy (. . .) [for example] a child who has acquired a learning motive will engage for a longer time if he thinks the activity is serious and not a play activity. (p. 64)

There is a relation between the child's motives and the adult's demands, both of which are associated with the institutional practices they are engaged in, be it at home, at kindergarten, or at school. In addition, the adult's demands are connected to other societal influences such as the rules and regulations associated with the operation of a kindergarten. The child's motive and development is not related to social relations alone but is a result of the social relations, the activities available, including those introduced by the adult or teacher, as well as the child's developmental capacities and perspectives. Motives develop through common cultural practice. This conceptualization of motives aligns to the work of El'konin (1971) and relates to the predominant institutions in which the child participates and the common motives associated with them, such as the family – direct emotional contact; the school – formal learning; and the workplace – vocational or career oriented activity.

To further illuminate the relations between the child, the social and the object, Fleer (2010) uses the example of the young child Louise, who was introduced to a swing and slide set (a Christmas gift to her family), but was unable to use it effectively whenever she wished because she had not learned to walk. Family circumstances meant that she was often transported long distances in a push-chair, carried by an adult, or

placed in a high-chair, even though many children of a similar age would have developed the skills of independent walking. When Louise was positioned on either the swing or slide by an adult she enjoyed participating in the activity. She also observed her siblings using the equipment independently and wanted to join them. Louise's motive to walk occurred because her relations with her family and her environment had changed through the introduction of the swing and slide set – she wanted to use the swing and the slide and the adult family members were not always available or willing to assist her. In addition, her siblings were not physically able to assist her. A new sense of self-awareness arose in Louise creating a new psychological state. Alongside this Louise had developed the upper-body strength needed to balance on the swing and slide through the constant movement she had experienced being carried or pushed in the push-chair. The activities of swinging and sliding were certainly important factors but could not be isolated from Louise's relations with her family, her environment, her physical capabilities and her new self-awareness. Louise's engagements in her social and material world plus her physical and psychological behaviours were dialectically related in the formation of her motive to walk.

3.3.2.5 <u>The good life</u>

Perceptions of a 'good life' are connected to institutional and societal practices as well as the development of motives. Louise's walking motive could be interpreted in relation to her desire to play on the swing and slide set like her siblings. Playing on the swing and slide set in her garden was, at that time, viewed by Louise as the good life, whereas being carried or placed in a high-chair or push-chair were not. Ideas about what constitutes a good life are anchored in the everyday practices of different

institutions (Hedegaard, 2009): in Louise's case her family, and in Jens' case the kindergarten. However, "a philosophical analysis of the concept of 'good life' is complicated" (Hedegaard & Chaiklin, 2005, p. 18). What one person considers a good life, such as playing on a swing and slide set, academic learning, material wealth, sleeping in a swag in the bush, or attending the concert of a famous musician, might not constitute a good life for someone else. Similarly, a person with much material wealth may be miserable and a person with little wealth may be very happy; yet others looking on might consider the wealthy person was the one with a good life. It therefore appears that there are emotional and imaginative aspects related to the concept of the good life, with people imagining how others might perceive life situations and thereby assuming happiness or unhappiness.

Because perceptions of the good life differ, people involved in various social institutions are likely to have different value positions, different expectations regarding participation, and different motives related to the activities and practices they engage in. Also, different people engaging in the same activity or practice may have different motives for their engagement or participation. The good life is not solely a psychological state of an individual but it also relates to the "concrete, societal conditions within which life is lived" (Hedegaard & Chaiklin, 2005, p. 18).

Conceptual and theoretical understandings of motives are both complex and dynamic. Cultural-historical perspectives on the development of motives connect multiple relations between individuals, institutions, and societal environments as well as activity, participation, engagement, and practice. The cultural creation of motives that occurs through the person's participation in institutional and societal practices differs

immensely from the idea that motives develop in some isolated manner as an internal personal drive. Within cultural-historical theory the concept of motive cannot be isolated, it must be understood as being a dynamic and dialectical thread that is part of the tapestry of human life and development.

Within this thesis the concept of motive is powerful for investigating the relations, transitions, and transformations within the everyday activities and practices of three-generational families. The concept of motive provides opportunity to explore different family members' reasons for engaging in particular activities and practices; it is therefore helpful for gaining a deeper understanding of family members' lived experiences and their relations to them. Further, motive as a psychological concept provides opportunity to theorize and conceptualize how particular family practices are created, sustained and/or transformed within and between generations.

3.3.3 Activity and practice

Within the discussion of mediation (see section 3.3.1) and motive (see section 3.3.2), two further cultural-historical concepts have been mentioned but not discussed in any depth; these concepts are those of practice and activity. This section foregrounds these two interrelated concepts.

3.3.3.1 Practice

Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory of child development, explicated particularly in Volume 5 of the collected works (Vygotsky, 1998) where he theorizes the concept of

the social situation of development, has formed the basis of Hedegaard's (2005; 2009) work related to institutional practices. Fleer, (2010) argues that

> Hedegaard (2009) takes a step further than Vygotsky by relating society and community to the concept of institutional practice. She has conceptualized child development through considering the societal conditions that form cultural practices in institutions, which in turn shape those activities that children participate in. (p. 190)

The term institutional practice was introduced previously in this chapter in section 3.3.2, and related to the concept of motive. Hedegaard's model reproduced in Figure 3.2, included reference to the institutional practices of home, school, and work. An institutional practice can be viewed as an "integral whole, realized by the actions and interactions among multiple participants" (Hedegaard & Chaiklin, 2005, p. 38). In order to view the practice as a whole, it is also necessary to consider the various perspectives that are present in the practice. It is these perspectives that lead to the practice being continued, reproduced, changed, and developed. Hedegaard and Chaiklin (2005) explain that

> these perspectives are *societal*, reflected in historically evolved traditions and interests in society that are formalized into laws and regulations; *general* which can be seen as guided by generalized or theoretical outlines for institutional activities and *individual* which characterizes the shared activities of persons in specific institutions. (p. 38)[original emphasis]

When attempting to understand an institutional practice it is important to consider all three perspectives. Each perspective is dialectically related to the other two

(Figure 3.3); in addition, each perspective is conditional on the other two for without the three perspectives the idea of an institutional practice does not exist.

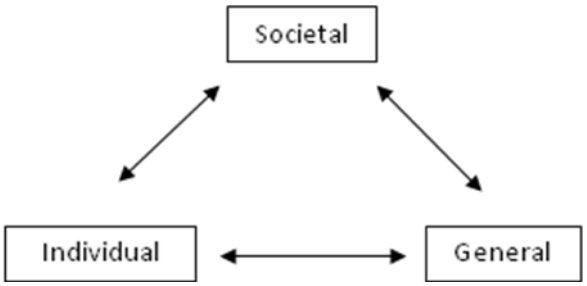


Figure 3.3 General model of institutional practice. (Hedegaard & Chaiklin, 2005, p. 38)

This model (Figure 3.3) is useful when considering family practices - the family commonly being the first institution the child encounters. More often than not *individual* family practices are unspoken and not written down in any formal way. Individual family practices are often unique to a particular family; for example, a particular way of folding the laundry so it will fit in a designated drawer or cupboard. Other families also fold the laundry but it is likely that they will fold items in different ways. The *general* aspect of a family practice is one that pertains to the ways families live and act in a specific society or group. Knowledge of such practices might occur through the available news media, books and magazines, or television as well as interactions with other families within a community. Continuing with the laundry example, a general aspect of a family practice might be washing clothes in an electric washing machine and then placing them in an electric clothes dryer or pegging them on

a washing line to dry. In another community the washing of clothes might take place on the river-bank and, after being washed, the items may be spread out on the bank to dry. The *societal* aspect of a family practice is related to something that is required of the family by law; something regulated or imposed on the family in some way. Returning to the laundry example, there are laws and regulations about the care and safety of children. A duty of care includes care of children and their surroundings so they can remain free of disease. Clean clothes and the like would be part of that.

All three aspects of an institutional practice are present in this example of doing the laundry; however within family practices it is likely that the individual aspects and perspectives are more dominant than the general and societal ones. Within the laundry example, societal laws and regulations are likely to be invisible unless some area of conflict emerges between the family and the state, such as the mistreatment of children. In this instance laws related to the care of children may be enforced by the work of a child protection officer. In contrast, the societal and general aspects or perspectives of an institutional practice are likely to be more dominant than the individual aspects within a formal school situation that is regulated by a government body. In these instance regulations concerning the school's opening hours, curriculum, attendance, and the like, will be dominant and highly visible. Different forms of practice (individual, general, and societal) dominate in the different institutions of family and school (Hedegaard & Chaiklin, 2005). Within this thesis, Hedegaard's conceptualization of institutional practices is useful when considering intergenerational family practices and their associated activities, especially the ways in which the practices are originated, continued, changed, and developed.

3.3.3.2 Activity

The concept of activity "is probably the most important concept in Soviet psychology" (Wertsch, 1981, p. 6) and within the cultural-historical tradition (Vygotsky, 1998; Leont'ev, 1978), activity is a central concept. Hedegaard has extended the conceptualization of activity developed by Vygotsky (1998) and Leont'ev (1978) through her introduction of a societal perspective formulated within the concept of institutional practices (Chaiklin, Hedegaard & Jensen, 1999; Fleer & Hedegaard, 2010; Hedegaard, 2009; Hedegaard & Chaiklin, 2005; Hedegaard & Fleer, 2009) (see section 3.3.3.1). She explains:

> "practice" is a conceptualization of Leont'ev's concept of "activity" when viewed from a societal perspective. By this it is possible to conceptualize the influences of traditions and value positions in institutionalized practices. Person's activities can be related to institutionalized practices by the perspective of the person that participates or enters the practices. An institutional practice will have multiple activities; in each of these activities one or several person's motives and projects can be distinguished. (Hedegaard & Fleer, 2009, p. 255)

The connections and relations are important here. Not only is the institutional practice related dialectically to the person's activities but also the practice and associated activities are dialectically related to the person's motives and value positions (see Figure 3.2). Practices, activities, motives, and value positions are not isolated entities but relate and interrelate with each other.

van Oers (2009) connects the cultural-historical concepts of practice and activity by defining a practice as "a culturally evolved constellation of integrated activities that aim collaboratively at the production of specific products" (p. 216). He illustrates this definition by citing the practice of a bakery where the bakers integrate the activities of

selecting and buying ingredients, calculating quantities, reading recipes, and carrying out the instructions to produce the baked goods, the products of the bakery. The bakers have participated in a range of activities involved in the institutional practice of baking. van Oers (2009) goes on to explain that activities are "culturally developed, systematic, and tool-mediated" (p. 216) - semiotic mediation might also be a factor although it is not mentioned by van Oers. . The same activity (for example baking) might be viewed by different people in different institutions as being a work task or a leisure activity. For the commercial baker, baking is a work task yet for the child or family members at home baking could be a leisure time activity.

Within the example of baking it is possible to view the interconnections of practice, activity, motive, and value positions mentioned earlier in this section. It is these interconnections that are important in this thesis when viewing family practices from an intergenerational or three-generational perspective. In addition, institutional practices and activities involve the use of cultural tools and signs (see section 3.3.1). These tools and sign systems are used by people in their institutional practices to master nature and their environments, alongside their own mental functions such as memory, attention, and decision making. Unfortunately in the West, Vygotsky's theory is often misunderstood with "many reviewers present[ing] Vygotsky's theory as a set of separate ideas (. . .) without showing (or even understanding) that these ideas are interrelated as basic components of Vygotsky's holistic theory" (Karpov, 2005, p. 12). It is therefore important to reiterate that Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory is dynamic and dialectical. Each concept must be understood in relation to other concepts and although in the second part of this chapter I have foregrounded individual concepts

(mediation, motives, practice and activity), they can never be understood in isolation; they form part of an interrelated whole.

The concepts of mediation, motive, practice and activity led to the development of the research sub-questions that guided this study. The overarching research question was presented in Chapter 2.4 and read - How do family values, knowledge and practice traditions relate, transition, and transform within and between generations during child-rearing? The following three sub-questions emerged from the cultural-historical theoretical literature.

- How do family members participate in the shaping of their own and their family's development and culture?
- What are the motives of family members?
- What social and/or cultural signs and tools mediate everyday family practices?

3.4 Conclusion

Over the years Vygotsky's work has been approached in many different ways. Some people have embraced his ideas and developed them further, others have critiqued and then discarded them, but as van der Veer (2007) graphically reminds us

> whether we see Vygotsky as a researcher who polished old pearls of insight to make them shine again, whether we regard him as a genius who single-handedly created a new view of human psychology, or whether we value him for the retouching and synthesizing of existing ideas, it does not make a difference for present-day psychology. Modern psychology has recognized the value of the ideas that Vygotsky discussed, has elaborated, amended and discarded them, and will never be the same again. (pp. 8-9)

Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory has been used as the framework for this thesis. His theoretical work and conceptual ideas have been used to provoke new possibilities and understandings in the area of intergenerational family research. The cultural-historical concepts of mediation, motive, practice, and activity are complex. There is an ongoing dynamic between them. They open up opportunities to explore the relations, transitions, transformations, and origins of intergenerational family practices and are helpful for gaining a deeper knowledge of the lived experiences of family members within and between generations. However, Vygotsky was not only concerned with the theorization of a range of social and cultural concepts. His radical and innovative work required new methods of analysis that permitted the exploration of relations and processes leading to explanations rather than descriptions of human development. His methodological work was dialectically related to his theoretical work. The following chapter (Chapter 4) explicates the methodological aspects of this thesis. It draws from the work of Vygotsky and neo-Vygotskians who have developed his work in new and innovative ways particularly in the area of studying children in the institutions of family and school.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

The research methodology must capture the institutional motives, goals and values if the dynamic interactions of children within educational institutions and family institutions are to be understood (Fleer, 2008a, p. 103).

4.1 Introduction

Davidson and Tolich (1999) explain that "methodology is different from methods precisely because it is about the logic and philosophical questions that particular methods assume" (pp. 25-26). Aspects of methodology and method are discussed in this chapter. The chapter begins by explicating the research focus and the development of the research questions which led to the selection of the research approach that guided this study. As part of this discussion aspects of Vygotsky's work in the area of methodology are highlighted. The methodological section of this chapter concludes by foregrounding the cultural-historical approach to studying children that guided this study. The second part of this chapter outlines the development of the research design, the selection of methods used to generate data, ethical implications, and the analysis procedures employed. This whole chapter traces my developing understanding of how to draw on a cultural-historical methodology to inform a research study of three-generational families.

4.1.1 Research aims and the development of the research questions

The aim of the study was to investigate the relations and transitions of family values and beliefs between generations. The elusive concept of 'between-ness' was my main point of interest. I wanted to know more about the genesis of family values and beliefs and the processes by which they move in and between generations. Although the topic and essence of my project have been constant throughout my candidature, the conceptual development of my questions has been an ongoing iterative process. This has primarily occurred through my growing knowledge and understanding of the theoretical and empirical literatures. For example, I began with the concept of transmission, a term widely used in the sociological literature concerning intergenerational influences within families (see Chapter 2). The concept of transmission was originally a key concept expressed in my main research question. However, the more I came to understand the way the word transmission was defined in the literatures (one directional, top-down, channel) the more I recognised a tension between my ontological and epistemological assumptions; I believed that learning and development were not one-directional but multi-dimensional. I came to realise that this framing of transmission was not the essence of what I was endeavouring to investigate. I needed to search for further concepts and theoretical constructs that were more flexible and encompassing of the dialectical process and motion that I was interested in. The process of searching the literatures, both theoretical and empirical, resulted in the narrowing of my research focus and capturing the essence of my investigation in the following research questions.

4.1.2 Research questions

The overarching question for this study was:

How do family values, knowledge and practice traditions relate, transition, and transform within and between generations during child-rearing?

Related sub-questions were:

- How do family members participate in the shaping of their own and their family's development and culture?
- What are the motives of family members?
- What social and/or cultural signs and tools mediate everyday family practices?

Figure 4.1 is a visual representation of the research questions that guided this study. The three sub-questions have been represented by intersecting ovals in an attempt to capture the dialectical tension of separation and togetherness. Although there are three separate questions they form a whole picture allowing for each to be foregrounded at different times with the other two remaining in the background rather than being divorced from the focus area. The question mark in the centre triangle represents the over-arching research question, the prime focus of this study - the relations, transitions, and transformations of family values, knowledge, and practice traditions that are operationalized in child-rearing. The main question is found at the centre of the three sub-questions as it intersects and relates to each of the questions and their interrelationships. The research questions are captured within a larger oval which

represents the study's unit of analysis a 'family practice' (see section 4.9.1). Family practices were the essence of the data generated and analysed for this study.

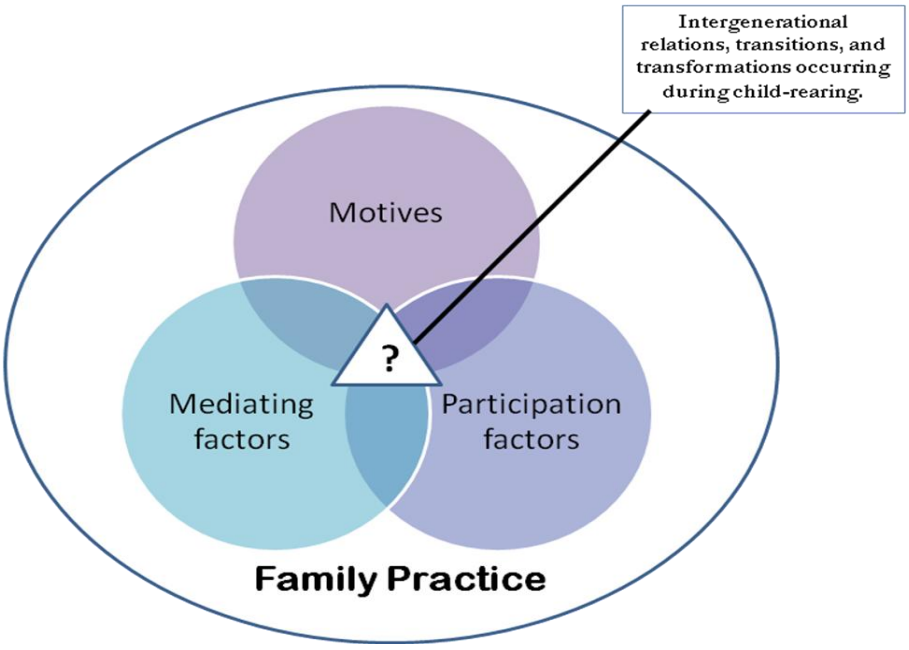


Figure 4.1 Research questions within the unit of analysis – a visual representation

4.2 Paradigms: Choosing an approach

Central to all social research are the philosophical questions that relate to ontology (what is real? what exists in the world?) and epistemology (what counts as knowledge? how can we know things?). Alongside the constructs of ontology and epistemology are those of axiology (what is ethical or moral?) and methodology (what is the best means of acquiring knowledge about the world?) (Baptiste, 2001; Creswell, 1998; Davidson & Tolich, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2002). The answers a researcher gives to these questions can be brought together in what is commonly termed a paradigm or a "basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 183).

> The term paradigm
>
> comes from the Greek word *paradeigma* which translates literally as 'pattern'. It is used in social science to describe an entire way of looking at the world. It relates to a particular set of philosophical assumptions about what the world is made of and how it works. (Davidson & Tolich, 1999, p. 26)

Paradigms are human constructs that deal with the beliefs of the researcher. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) argue these beliefs "can never be established in terms of their ultimate truthfulness" (p. 183). Paradigms provide the "landscape in which individual theories can flourish" (Davidson & Tolich, 1999, p. 26).

4.2.1 Positivism and interpretivism

Two main competing paradigms or approaches are identified in the research literature: positivism (or quantitative research) and interpretivism (or qualitative research) (Creswell, 1998; Davidson & Tolich, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2002). These two paradigms differ radically from each other. Positivism arises from the success of scientific enquiry as a method to combine deductive logic with exact empirical data in order to discover or confirm a set of natural laws or pre-existing patterns. Consistency and reliability are valued and there is an underlying assumption that complexity can be reduced to component parts and these can then be studied in isolation. Interpretivism, on the other hand, is inductive in nature and uses data such as detailed observations with the aim of understanding how people create and maintain their social worlds in their natural settings. Validity along with flexibility and change are valued, and complex, holistic and interwoven variables are embraced (Davidson & Tolich, 1999).

Citing the work of Guba and Lincoln (1998), Creswell (1998) links the rhetorical (What is the language of research? How is it written and reported?) and methodological (What is the process of research? How is it designed?) questions, assumptions, characteristics, and implications for practice, alongside those related to ontological, epistemological, and axiological constructs. Viewing sets of assumptions together with their characteristics and implications for practice creates a holistic and transparent picture allowing for the confluence as well as difference and contradiction between paradigms to be evident (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

The research questions were central to the choice of research paradigm for this study; therefore it is guided by an interpretivist paradigm or approach whereby

- reality is understood as subjective and multiple as seen by the participants of the study;
- knowledge is constructed collaboratively and there is no single right way;
- the values and interpretations of the researcher are acknowledged and discussed openly, recognising that biases are present;
- the language of the research includes the personal voices of both participants and the researcher;
- the research process involves a degree of emergence; and
- the inquiry is contextual and unlikely to generate generalisations (adapted from Creswell, 1998 with reference to Baptiste, 2001).

4.2.2 The search for guidance

At this point the way forward in terms of choosing a research approach to guide my study became less straightforward. As I searched through the methodological texts that are commonly cited I found detailed information on a range of options. Creswell (1998), for example guides his readers to choose between "*Five Traditions*" a biographical study, a phenomenological study, a grounded theory study, an ethnographical study, and a case study. Davidson and Tolich (1999) alert their readers to further possibilities including historical research, action research, and a Maori-centred approach to inquiry. Possibly the most commonly cited text is the work edited by Denzin and Lincoln (2005) who include extensive discussion on different forms of ethnography, aspects of feminist research, critical theory, cultural studies, narrative inquiry, and arts based inquiry, to name a few. Alongside these texts are the more specific texts explicating one specific approach such as Yin's (2009) writing on the design and methods of case study research and the seminal work of Glaser and Strauss (1967) regarding the strategies involved in undertaking a grounded theory inquiry.

Like Robbins (2007), I found that various characteristics of these different approaches were relevant to my study but as a 'whole package' none of them encompassed all of my research intentions or philosophical assumptions. A search of further methodological texts (Berg, 2007; Bryman, 2004; Creswell, 2003; Patton, 2002) still failed to uncover mention of cultural-historical, sociocultural, or Vygotskian theory. On the other hand, reference to these approaches could be found, if somewhat briefly, in research texts focused on researching children such as the work of Lambert (2003); Greene and Hogan (2005), and Christensen and James (2008). This is interesting,

especially considering the widely acknowledged work of socio-cultural researchers such as Rogoff and her team with work dating back to 1990s and Rogoff's seminal work "The Cultural Nature of Human Development" published in 2003. Other researchers and scholars around the globe have also written extensively using Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory (for example, Daniels, 2008; Hedegaard & Chaiklin, 2005; Kozulin, Gindis, Ageyev & Miller, 2003; Tudge, 2008; van Oers, Wardekker, Elbers & van der Veer, 2008). In addition, doctoral dissertations have been framed within the socio-cultural, cultural-historical Vygotskian theories (for example, Brennan, 2005; Ridgway, 2010; Robbins, 2007).

The recent publication of the book "Studying children: A cultural-historical approach" (Hedegaard & Fleer with Bang & Hviid, 2008) that explicates a dialectic-interactive approach, has been an important step towards addressing the gap in the literature. This publication has been used extensively to guide the methodological aspects of this study (see section 4.3). However, before moving to this recent work I return to the methodological focus of Vygotsky's own work.

4.2.3 Returning to Vygotsky

Vygotsky's interest in the social and cultural origins of the child's psychological development, meant that he engaged in theoretical and methodological debate, critique, investigation, and writing. When explaining the focus of Volume 4 of the "Collected Works of L.S. Vygotsky" (Vygotsky, 1997b), Glinck (1997) states

> as is evident throughout this book, Vygotsky is centred on a core theme – to develop a theoretical and methodological approach that will differentiate "higher" mental functions from the more basic functions that many other

> theorists of his time were positing as the functions upon which the psychological apparatus was built. (p. xiv) [original emphasis]

Vygotsky carefully read and explicitly critiqued the methods of investigation others were using at that time (Vygotsky, 1987, 1997b, 1998). This led him to reject the reductive conceptual isolation of fully formed concepts in favour of investigating the dialectical processes involved in their origin/genesis and development. He ambitiously sought to combine description and explanation along with a deepening understanding of the higher mental processes of thought, language, and decision making, as *social and cultural processes* (see Chapter 3).

Vygotsky's desire to study mental functions in the process of development required new methods of investigation. The methods that allowed for the study of separate and developed mental functions were unsuitable for the study of complex, socially formulated whole processes. He sought to study mental functions in motion, in the process of development. For Vygotsky "the past and present are inseparably merged. In it the present stands in the light of history and we find ourselves simultaneously in two planes: that which is and that which was" (Vygotsky, 1997b, p. 41). His life work led him to the study of relations, transitions, processes, motion, and history. His dialectical methodology encompassed the genesis, structure, and complexity of development, not just the final result. He insisted that "what must interest us is not the finished result, not the sum or product of development, but the very process of genesis or establishment of the higher form caught in a living aspect" (Vygotsky, 1997b, p. 71).

Vygotsky's aspiration to capture the social and cultural process of development required new methods of analysis given that the task of analysis was to disclose relationships (Vygotsky, 1997b). Vygotsky highlighted three aspects that formed the basis of his cultural-historical analysis

> analysis of *process,* not thing, analysis that discloses the real causal-dynamic connection and relation, but does not break up the external traits of the process and is, consequently, an *explanatory,* not a descriptive analysis, and finally *genetic* analysis which turns to the initial point and re-establishes all processes of development of any form that is a psychological fossil in the given form. (Vygotsky, 1997b, p. 72) [emphasis added]

This new focus on relations was a radical departure from the subjective, introspective analysis that was limited to pure description. Vygotsky was interested in the dynamic and dialectical relations of the internal and external connections between higher and lower mental functions, to capture the process of genesis as a living aspect of development. For Vygotsky (1997b), this focus moved away from

> the negative description of the child that results from existing methods (. . .) [that] speak of what the child does not have (. . .). Such a picture tells us nothing about the positive uniqueness that distinguishes the child from the adult (. . .). But a positive description is possible only if we radically change our representation of child development and take into account that it is a complex dialectical process that is characterized by a complex periodicity, disproportion in the development of separate functions, metamorphoses or qualitative transformation of certain forms into others, a complex merging of the processes of evolution and involution, a complex crossing of external and internal factors, a complex process of overcoming difficulties and adapting. (pp. 98-99)

As part of his methodological work Vygotsky differentiated between analysis of elements and analysis of units. He explained "the term 'unit' designates a product of analysis that possesses *all the basic characteristics of the whole.* The unit is a vital and

irreducible part of the whole" (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 46) [original emphasis]. In contrast, Vygotsky viewed analysis of the element as a reductionist strategy that separated an aspect of development such as a reflex or a stimulus-response and missed the connection of the aspect under investigation with the holistic process of development. Vygotsky (1987) further explained that "unlike elements, units do not lose the characteristic inherent to the whole. The unit contains, in a simple, primitive form, the characteristics of the whole that is the object of analysis" (p. 244). The search for the holistic, dynamic, dialectical unity, and essence of the phenomena was of vital importance.

4.3 A dialectic-interactive methodology

As mentioned earlier, although there are many eminent researchers and academics using Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory to guide their work, there still appears to be little, if any mention of cultural-historical approaches within the commonly cited methodological texts. Therefore the recent publication by Hedegaard, Fleer and colleagues (2008) explicating a dialectic-interactive methodology was utilised in this study as it captures the philosophical and theoretical assumptions inherent in this thesis. This dialectic-interactive methodological approach is explained in this section.

4.3.1 Paradigm

As stated earlier in this chapter (see section 4.2.1), central to the choice of research paradigm were the research questions which guided this study, it was these questions that led me to embracing an interpretivist or qualitative paradigm. Foundational to the dialectic-interactive methodology proposed by Hedegaard and Fleer with Bang and

Hviid (2008) is the "qualitative methodology of field research" (p. 6) and its associated philosophical assumptions.

Hedegaard (2008b) draws on work of Iljenkov (1977), Davydov (1990) and Schutz (2005) to explain the dialectical epistemology leading to the understanding that the "*activity* of humankind has to be seen as the foundation for knowledge" (p. 37) [emphasis added]. It is through activity that objects are produced and the objects contain the knowledge and activity of their production. Through involvement in the activity, knowledge can be transformed. For example the activity of building a house embodies a range of knowledge and skill (architectural, plumbing, electrical, and carpentry), however the knowledge and skill in each of these areas develops, changes and transforms according to available resources, terrain, climate, technology, and the like. The relations between the activity or practice (building the house), the artefact or object (the house), the conditions in which the house has been built (terrain, climate, availability of materials) and the social situation (past, present, and future) are all part of a connected conceptual system that cannot be divided into separate entities. Hedegaard (2008b) argues that this epistemological knowledge perspective can be used to investigate the practices and activities of a specific society, an institution with specific practices such as a family or school, or an individual.

The study of human activity also encompasses experiences of social reality. Here the ontological assumptions related to what constitutes reality are important. In this instance Hedegaard (2008b) draws on the work of Schutz (2005), concluding that there are different types of reality including "everyday immediately experienced reality (. . .) scientific reality and dream world reality [and that these] different forms of reality

can also be considered in relation to different institutional practices, as these different institutional practices give different perspectives" (Hedegaard, 2008b, p. 41). This concept of perspective is a vital component of the dialectic-interactive approach as discussed in the following subsections concerning the focus of the research, the position of the researcher, and aspects of the reliability and validity of the research.

4.3.2 Aim, focus and context

The social situation of children's development is the focus of the dialectic-interactive approach, in particular the study of children's everyday lives within particular historical settings such as the family, educational institution, and the wider society. Hedegaard, Fleer, Bang and Hviid (2008) argue

> that it is not enough to focus only on the societal conditions and values, we must also have a methodology that will allow both theory and research about child development to be generated. Such a methodology must be anchored in a concrete historical setting and at the same time contribute towards an understanding of the *general conditions* that support child development. (p. 4) [original emphasis]

Importantly "visual models should be formulated that depict the dependent and complementary core relations" within the everyday practices of particular settings (Hedegaard, 2008b, p. 39). Therefore, cultural-historical orientated research will consider the

- children's participation in the everyday practices of the research setting;
- children's motives, competencies and perspectives; and the
- norms, values, and demands of those involved in the setting (for example adults and other children).

4.3.3 Position of the researcher

Within this approach the researcher engages in two different roles. One role involves the researcher as a partner with the researched within the research setting. Here the researcher enters the social situation with the aim of understanding what is going on as a participant in the setting. However, at the same time the researcher must realise the reason for being in the setting which is to research the activities that are taking place. Hedegaard (2008d) explains that "the social scientist both participates in activities in everyday settings paying attention to others' needs and motives and, at the same time, includes these activities as her object of study – with the focus on the participants' motives, projects and intentions" (p. 202). Therefore researchers must conceptualise their own participation within the research setting. These concepts are discussed further later in this chapter (see section 4.8).

4.3.4 Analysis

The dialectic-interactive methodology employs three main forms of interpretative analysis (Hedegaard, 2008c). Initial analysis occurs at the *common sense* level. This initial analysis takes place away from the research site and provides opportunity for the researcher to note obvious relations and patterns that stand out in the generated data, thereby objectifying the research participants' interactions. This initial analysis does not require explicit conceptualization of the data and is performed with individual pieces of data rather than across sets of data.

Analysis continues at the *situated practice* level. Analysis now moves from the single activity to transcend and link several activities in the same setting within the same

project. "Dominating motives, patterns of interaction and problems can be explicated at this level. The conceptual relations are used explicitly in analysing the concrete activity settings, and finding conceptual patterns" (Hedegaard, 2008c, p. 58). Analysis at this level is systematic. Interaction patterns are considered individually and narratives are created. This leads to the unravelling of themes through an iterative process of formulating and reformulating categories, culminating in the formulation of ideas and concepts.

Finally, analysis moves to a *thematic* level which is directly connected to the aim of the research (Hedegaard, 2008c). The purpose here is to find meaningful patterns (not necessarily identical events) leading to generalization and situated interpretation related to the research aim. Here the dialectics between the aim of the research and the theoretical preconditions and the concrete material is evident. It is from this thematic approach that the formulation of new theoretical insights can occur.

4.3.5 Trustworthiness of the study

Dialectic-interactive research has as its focus the practices, activities, and activity settings of the child's everyday life. The measure of validity of such research is connected to the degree to which the "historical tradition of the practice and the preconditions that are anchored in the values that integrate and specify different perspectives" have been explicated by the researcher and caught in the resulting theoretical model (Hedegaard, 2008b, p. 43). This is quite different from approaches that value objective measurement of children's functioning, events or phenomena such as classical experimental research.

Reliability is also treated differently within different research traditions. Rather than trying to eliminate the influence of the researcher, a dialectic-interactive research approach conceptualises the researcher as both a partner within the research and a researcher (see section 4.3.3 the position of the researcher). Reliability, as with validity, involves the researcher in clearly explicating the different intentional orientations and goals of the researcher as well as the participants.

The dialectic-interactive theoretical and methodological principles discussed in this section are reiterated and further elaborated on later in this chapter, explicating their operationalization in this particular study. Many of the same headings are used in later sections, for example the position of the researcher (Chapter 4.8) and analysis of the data (Chapter 4.9), to provide clear links between the methodological principles and the ways in which these principles have influenced the research methods employed in this project.

4.4 Research Design

This section discusses the overall research design and although mention is made of the tools used to generate data for this study these are discussed in depth in section 4.5. Beginning with an exploration and explanation of the iterative nature of the research design, this section provides a schedule of the generation of data, discusses access to the field, and introduces the research participants.

4.4.1 *The iterative nature of the research design*

In keeping with the dialectical theoretical framework and methodology underpinning this study (see section 4.2 and Chapter 2), the research design encompassed an iterative dimension on a number of levels. The concept of iteration, revisiting ideas, understandings, topics of interest, and the like, was an intentional aspect of the research design. Iteration potentially allows for the generation of rich, thick data. Figure 4.2 below visually portrays two of these iterative levels, the first being the fine arrows at the top of the diagram, and the second the fine arrows at the bottom.

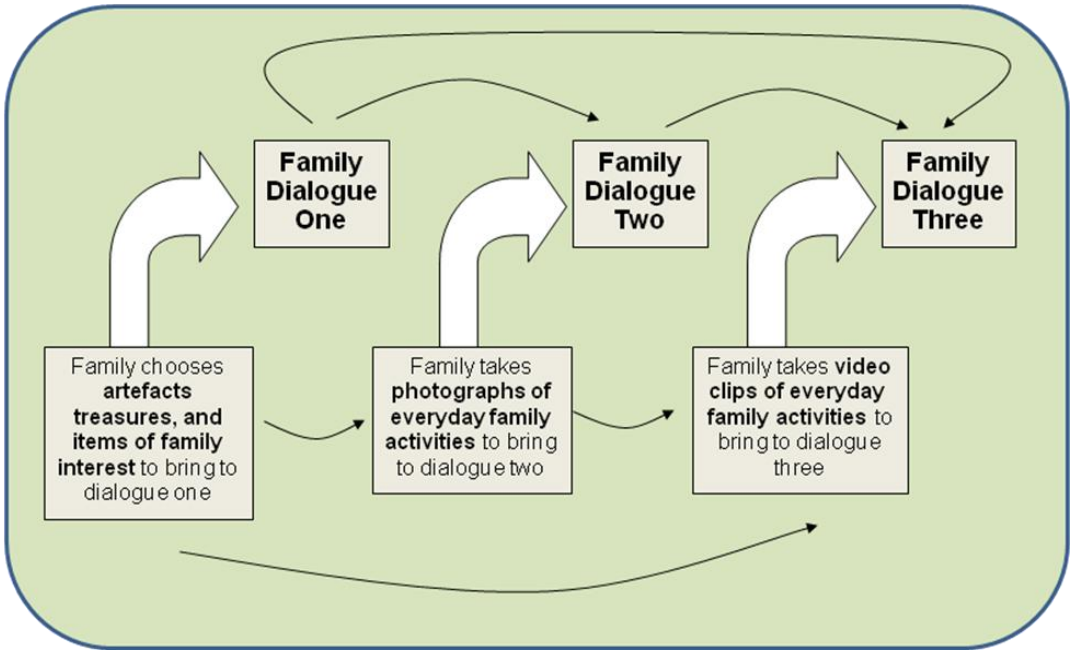


Figure 4.2 Iterative research design: Generation of data.

The first level of iteration (indicated by the fine arrows at the top of Figure 4.2) involved the three family dialogues. Each family dialogue built upon the previous dialogue. For example, topics discussed in dialogue one were revisited and received

further elaboration in dialogues two or three. This revisiting was sometimes initiated by family members and at other times by the researcher. On occasions the stimulus for this was a comment or idea discussed at an earlier dialogue, at other times the family referred to one of the dialogue feedback sheets they had received after a previous dialogue (see section 4.6.4). However, the main stimulus for revising and elaborating on ideas were the artefacts, photographs, and video clips the family generated.

The second level of iteration (indicated by the arrows at the bottom of Figure 4.2) was data generated by the family. Before the first family dialogue I asked the family to choose one or two artefacts, treasures or items of family interest to discuss when we met. Between the first and second dialogues I provided the family with a camera to take photos of everyday family activities for discussion at the second dialogue, and between the second and third dialogues I asked the family to take short video clips or photos of everyday family activities for discussion at the third dialogue. These activities were designed to build one upon the other and to feed into the family dialogues, potentially providing richer and deeper data as the study progressed. Details regarding each of these tools are provided later in this chapter (see section 4.5).

4.4.2 Data generation schedule

Data for the study were generated over a period of 10 months as outlined in Table 4.1. Data from each family were generated successively, *not* simultaneously, although recruitment of the next family occurred before the completion of the generation of data with the previous family. Generating data with one family at a time was particularly important with the first family (the Hill Top Family), allowing for the completion of a

full set of data before beginning with the second family (the Peninsula Family). (Participant families are introduced in more detail in section 4.4.4). After feedback from the first family, changes were made to the data generation process (see section 4.6.2).

2008								2009	
May	**June**	**July**	**August**	**Sept**	**Oct**	**Nov**	**Dec**	**Jan**	**Feb**
Family one (Hill Top Family)									
			Family two (Peninsula Family)						
						Family three (Bayside Family)			

Table 4.1 Schedule of data generation

A number of factors influenced the data generation time-frames with participant families. For example, from making initial contact with the Hill Top Family there was a gap of six weeks before the first family dialogue took place because of family birthday celebrations and an out-of-state family holiday. Once the generation of data had begun with the Hill Top Family, other factors including an overseas work commitment and the health of grandparents influenced the family's availability to meet. Similar family circumstances influenced the time-frames for the generation of data with the other participant families. For example, the data generation period for the Bayside Family included the Christmas/New Year period of holidays as well as the focus child, Charlie, starting school in February, which became the focus of the family's attention. On one occasion a scheduled family dialogue with the Bayside Family was cancelled because of adverse weather conditions – the area in which they were living was experiencing an unprecedented heat-wave and forest fires. A detailed schedule of data generation can be found in Appendix I. Alongside the actual availability of the family to meet, were the opportunities families had for taking photographs and video footage, as well as the

researcher's need to gain access to the visual data and process them (download and/or print) in order to have them available for the following family dialogue. In summary, factors influencing data generation time periods with each family were a multi-level mix of family circumstances (birthdays, work and holidays), time of year (Christmas, start of the new school year and weather), and technology (the taking and processing of photographs and video-clips).

4.4.3 Access to the field

The participant families were recruited through a University Children's Centre and a local Community Crèche. The University Children's Centre was a five-day-a-week, all-day child-care facility that catered for children aged 6 weeks to 6 years; the Community Crèche catered for children 'walking through preschool' and met once a week at a local church. Both facilities were within walking distance of the University. There were multiple steps within the participant recruitment process.

Firstly, I approached the Supervisors/Leaders of both facilities requesting their assistance in recruiting participants for my study by placing an advertisement in their regular newsletter or beside the sign-in sheet used daily by parents registering the attendance of their children at the facility. I provided the Supervisors/Leaders with a pack of information which contained a recruitment advertisement/letter (Appendix A), an explanatory statement (Appendix B), a family consent form (Appendix C), a child's information and consent form (Appendix G) and a letter of permission to recruit participants (Appendix D). The Supervisors/Leaders then approached the management committees of their respective institutions before giving written permission for

recruitment to occur (Appendix D); these letters were a requirement of the University Standing Committee on Ethics in Research involving Humans (SCERH) and were forwarded to SCERH before the commencement of family recruitment (Appendix H). Once this initial process had been completed the Supervisors/Leaders were provided with further copies of the family recruitment information (Appendix A) to be made available to families through their regular newsletters or to be placed beside the daily attendance sign-in sheet. A labelled box for family responses was also provided and a suitable date for collection of the box was arranged.

Secondly, the Supervisors/Leaders made the recruitment information available to the families which they could take home. Interested families could then request further information by completing their contact details on the cut-off slip and place it in the box provided. This box was collected by me on a pre-arranged date.

Thirdly, I made contact with the families by phone and arranged for them to receive a pack of further information which contained an explanatory statement(Appendix B) and consent forms (adult: Appendix C, and child: Appendix G). At this stage the interested family member was requested to recruit other members of the family (the child, husband/wife, and the grandparent/s or other significant family member/s) and have them complete the consent forms. This process provided an opportunity for the family as a whole to consider involvement in the project and to make an informed collective decision regarding their involvement. The completed forms could then be returned to me either by Australia Post or through a 'post-box' system at the Children's Centre. Although my overall recruitment strategy was successful, initially no families responded to the advertisements in the centre

newsletters. The more personal approach of providing envelopes containing the recruitment information that could be left on the sign-in table or handed to parents by the centre staff was much more forthcoming. The first three families that met the participation requirements of a child between the ages of 3 to 6 years, parent/s and grandparent/s or significant person from a third generation, and completed the recruitment/informed consent process became the participants of the study.

4.4.4 Participant families

The three families (children and parent/s) who participated in this study lived in a seaside satellite city which is part of a large capital city in Australia. All lived within a two kilometre radius of the University. The grandparent participants lived outside of this area. Pseudonyms were chosen by the families for each of the children participating in the study and I gave each family an identifying name. The participant children were aged between 3 and 6 years.

<u>The Hill Top Family</u>

Mary had just had her third birthday when she began participating in the study. Mary was an only child and her mother and father identified themselves as 'older' parents. Mary was an In Vitro Fertilisation (IVF) child. Mary lived with her parents in an urban setting. Both of Mary's parents were in paid employment, and travelled up to an hour to get to work each day. Mary's maternal and paternal grandparents were all living and she had regular contact with them, although they lived some distance away in a more rural area. Mary's maternal grandparents lived in an historical family homestead approximately three hours drive from Mary's home. Mary would spend time with her

grandparents at least once a month, often spending the weekend at their home. During the course of the study Mary's grandmother came to stay at Mary's home for over a week. Mary, her mother, father and maternal grandmother took part in the study. Mary attended the University Children's Centre.

The Peninsula Family

Hope and Beverley were the twin girls of the Peninsula Family aged four years and five months. They lived with their parents and an 18 month old male sibling in an urban setting. Hope and Beverley's father owned and managed a local business and at the time of the study their mother was not engaged in paid employment. Hope and Beverley's paternal grandmother participated in the study; she lived over an hour away in the centre of the capital city and visited with her grandchildren regularly. At the time of the study she was preparing to shift closer to her son, daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. During the course of the study the girls had a number of 'sleep-overs' at Gran's home. Hope and Beverley attended the Community Crèche for two hours once each week and a local kindergarten for three half-day sessions per week. Hope, Beverley, their mother and father as well as their paternal grandmother took part in the study.

The Bayside Family

Charlie was five years 10 months old when he began participating in the study. Charlie was an only child, lived with his mother, and was in regular contact with his father who also lived in the local area. Charlie's mother worked part-time and Charlie attended the University Children's Centre two full days per week. He also regularly attended a crèche

at the local gym for approximately an hour once or twice a week while his mother was involved in gym classes and activities. Charlie's maternal grandfather participated in the study. At the time of the study he lived in an outer suburb of the capital city, about an hour away, but had recently purchased a home closer to his daughter and was planning to shift in the near future. Although Charlie's father and maternal grandmother did not actively participate in the study they both signed the consent form agreeing to Charlie's involvement. In addition, a friend of Charlie's grandfather was visiting on one occasion and participated in one family dialogue as well as some video footage.

The following chart, Figure 4.3 is a visual summary of participant families.

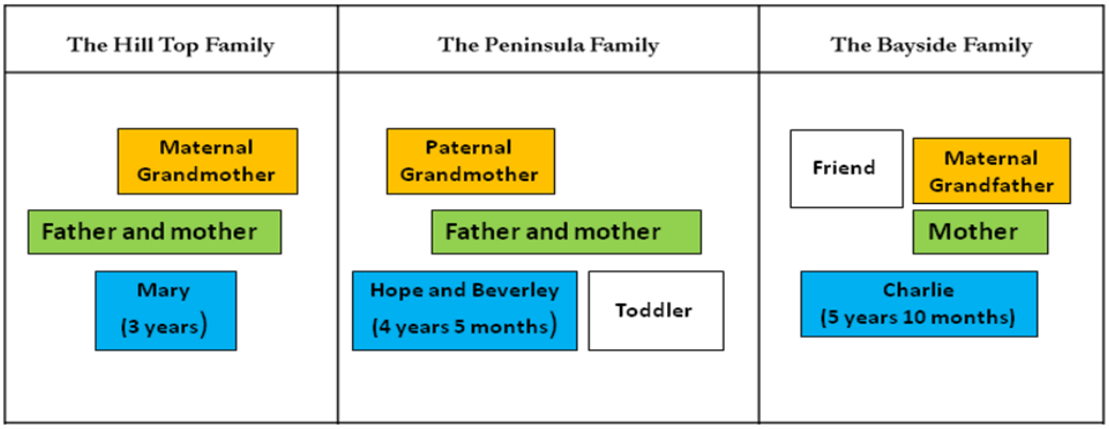


Figure 4.3 Participant Families

4.5 Data Generation tools

The cultural-historical theoretical and methodological framing of the study influenced the choice of tools for the generation of data. Each family participated in three family dialogues as well as generating visual data (digital photographs and video clips). The families also selected a range of artefacts, treasures, and items of family interest to

discuss during the first family dialogue. During the data generation phase I kept descriptive and reflective field notes. This section outlines each of these tools.

4.5.1 Family Dialogues

The choice of the term *family dialogue* has been intentional and is reflective of the particular type of research interview that was embarked upon to generate data for this study. The term family dialogue brings together the nature of the participants (who were each members of a three-generational family), and the broad concept of dialogue or conversation (a process where two or more people mutually share understandings and points of view).

The research interview is recognised as a common choice of data generation and is especially associated with interpretative, qualitative methodologies (Bryman, 2004; Creswell, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2009). The research interview consists of two or more persons engaging in conversational dialogue around a particular set of topics normally chosen by the researcher. The interview may be formal or informal. However, it differs from general conversation as the focus of the research interview is normally the research participants and their particular opinions about the world in which they live and work, with researchers themselves omitting or at least limiting their personal opinions and world-view. In addition, it is the researcher who initiates the interview with the data generated being a necessary part of a research study (Hviid, 2008). Patton (2002) differentiates what he terms the "informal conversational interview, the general interview guide approach, and the standardized open-ended interview" (p. 342). Each approach differs in relation to the extent to which questions

have been prepared in advance, with the informal conversation relying on spontaneous generation of questions, the guided interview approach having a basic check-list to ensure particular topics are covered, and the standardized interview consisting of a set of predetermined questions to be asked in a particular way within a fixed order. Each approach serves a different purpose, and has its particular strengths and weaknesses. For example, data generated by an informal conversation will differ for each person each time they are interviewed; there is opportunity to revisit responses, and the interview questions will change over time. However because of the spontaneous and flexible nature of the conversation there is the likelihood of it being very time consuming, susceptible to leading questions and biases, and can be difficult to analyse because of the time involved in pulling the ideas together. Conversely, the standardized interview ensures each interviewee has been asked the same questions, in the same order with the same prompts, allowing for more systematic analysis, but at the same time stifling any new ideas that move outside the list of predetermined questions (Patton, 2002).

When reflecting on the type of interview best suited to the theoretical and methodological framing of the study, I considered the various types of interview techniques explicated in the literature (for example Bryman, 2004; Creswell, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2003). The literature led me toward a combination of approaches, not too formal but not totally informal either, but even so that did not fully meet my aspiration to interview in a way that could be appropriated within a cultural-historical dialectical framework. Further, I desired to create opportunities for family members of all three generations to talk together as well as with

me, an approach that did not fit a one-on-one interview; this led me to consider group interview techniques or what is commonly referred to in the literature as focus group interviews (Berg, 2007; Bryman, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2002).

Focus group interviewing originated in the 1950s where market researchers used focus group interviews as a strategy for investigating consumer group decision making processes. The focus group technique was adapted and began being used by sociologists at about the same time (Patton, 2002). A focus group interview is not a problem solving or decision making situation. Rather it is a group interview where participants discuss a fairly well defined topic and are able to hear the responses of others "allowing people to probe each other's reasons for holding a certain view (. . .) listen to others' answers [and thereby] qualify or modify a view" (Bryman, 2004, p. 348).

Focus groups can provide participants with a sense of safety as they tentatively express ideas that are taken up and expanded on by others; alternatively participants may realise their views are alternative and not be inclined to speak them forth. Like all tools used for the generation of data, focus groups have their limitations, including the skill required of the interviewer to both facilitate the participants' interactions (for example, encourage those who are not very verbal) and to focus the discussion. The time-frame of the group meeting is likely to limit the response time of any participant individual. For example, six group members meeting for an hour would equate to each member having approximately 10 minutes of speaking time. The focus group literature provided me with further ideas regarding the type of interview that might be suitable for use in generating data for this study.

I then returned to the cultural-historical literature where Hviid (2008) reminded me of the need to consider the "dialectical nature of [an] interview, (. . .) [and therefore the] implication of *dialogue* between persons, highlight[ing] the necessity of viewing the interview as more than questions and answers, but rather as shared knowledge construction and deconstruction while dialoguing" (pp. 139-140) [original emphasis].

For me the concept of dialogue became the key. As a researcher I wanted join with the participants in my study and to be involved in *generating* data **not** *collecting* data. I wanted to give the participant families opportunities to share knowledge construction and deconstruction – I realised the dialectical nature of a cultural-historical interview was one of dialogue. I therefore brought together a mix of informal conversation and pre-selected interview topics (see Appendices E & F). along with opportunities for the sharing of knowledge construction and deconstruction while participating in family intergenerational dialogues. Importantly I recognised my role as a researcher (see section 4.8); the needs of the intergenerational participants spanning three generations; the inclusion of and respect for the young children of each family, and the likelihood of families discussing topics that they had not thought about in a long time, including the sharing of fulfilled or unfulfilled dreams (see section 4.6.2 D).

Although telephone interviews are not usually a major way of generating qualitative data I felt it was important to be open to the possibility of one or more telephone interviews. In particular I recognised that family members of the older generation may find their geographical location made it difficult to travel to a particular interview site, or they could be incapacitated in some way, yet be very happy to engage in dialogue with me over the telephone. Berg (2007) provides specific

recommendations regarding telephone interviewing, including making initial contact with the person by mail, ensuring the time of the telephone call is convenient for the interviewee and if possible, having been in face-to-face contact with the person before a telephone interview. He also advised that "qualitative telephone interviews are likely to be best when the researcher has fairly specific questions in mind" (Berg, 2007, p. 108), but without the structure of a survey or questionnaire. Although the telephone interview can provide opportunities for dialogue with persons unable to meet in face-to-face situations and with modern technology it is possible to make voice recordings of such interviews, there are also difficulties particularly related to the fact that neither the interviewee nor interviewer can read the visual clues and gestures offered by the other. Bryman (2004) notes further limitations of the telephone interview such as "respondents with hearing impairments (. . .) find[ing] telephone interviewing difficult, the length of a telephone interview [being] unlikely to be sustainable beyond 20-25 minutes (. . .) [and] the interviewer [or interviewee] cannot readily employ visual aids (. . .) [such as] diagrams or photographs" (p. 115).

4.5.2 Artefacts, treasures and items of family significance

Physical and cultural artefacts and objects are frequently associated with anthropological research; however Yin (2003) acknowledges they can also be an important component of case study research. He lists them as one of the six commonly used sources of case study evidence. Bryman (2004) explains that artefacts and objects are often used to stimulate discussion in life history research and Creswell (1998) refers to the gathering of artefacts by the ethnographer.

Less obvious in the methodological literatures is the use of artefacts within cultural-historical research. Vygotsky discusses the use of tools (including objects) for particular purposes, for example the ways in which tools mediate higher mental functions and children transferring meaning to objects in and through their play (Vygotsky, 1987). Vygotsky (1997b) further argued that meaning is often attributed to objects through the gestures that are associated with their use (see Chapter 3.3.2.2). El'konin (1971) reminds us that objects can be understood as 'social objects' and that it is only as an object is "incorporated into a system of human relations that we can discover its true social meaning, its purposefulness as regards other people" (p. 13). In other words, objects cannot be understood in isolation, they are imbued with social significance and meaning. Therefore, if objects are imbued with meaning or sense, it is possible that the meaning/sense of an object may change over time and an object in the possession of different people maybe imbued with different meaning/sense. Kravstov and Kravtsova (2008) in their work on cultural-historical understandings of children's play discuss the concepts of 'sense field' (meaning) and 'optical field' (visual appearance), explaining how these two fields interact and come together through a child's imaginary play. Their work highlights the changes and transformations occurring as children use materials including objects, to bring meaning to their endeavours. This understanding further aids the concept of artefacts, objects, and treasures being more than isolated items devoid of anything but visual appearance (see Figure 4.4).

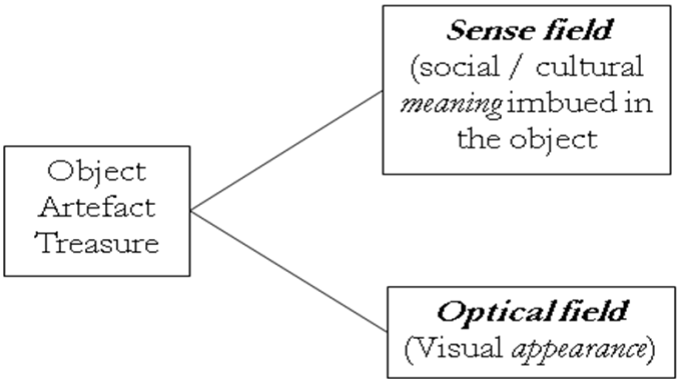


Figure 4.4 The 'sense' and 'optical' fields of objects adapted from the work of Vygotsky (1987, 1997b); El'konin (1971) and Kravstov & Kravtsova (2008)

When objects, artefacts, and treasures are understood as dialectical, dynamic, social objects imbued with cultural-historical meaning that may develop and change over time; they have the potential to generate rich data for cultural-historical research.

4.5.3 Visual data

"One of the most striking developments in qualitative research in recent years has been the growth of interest in the use of visual materials" (Bryman, 2004, p. 312). Although the use of visual images for research is not new, with anthropologists having used them for many decades, the generation of visual data, both analogue and more recently digital within social research, appears to have entered a new phase with the technology being more available and accessible (Berg, 2007; Bryman, 2004; Pink, 2007). Recent developments especially in digital technology bring new ethical issues including the credibility of images when they can be produced and altered very easily (Patton, 2002). Two types of visual data are discussed in this section, firstly photographs and secondly video clips.

4.5.3.1 Photographs

"The use of photographs as data requires a theory of how pictures [can and] should be used by both picture makers and viewers" (Berg, 2007, p. 250). Bryman (2004) points out that "there is an important distinction between the use of *extant* photographs that have not been produced for the research and *research-generated* photographs that have been produced by the researcher or at the researcher's behest" (p. 384) [original emphasis]. Both *extant* and *research-generated* photographs can be useful mediators or prompts within an interview, just as they may form useful data for analysis in and of themselves (Berg, 2007; Bryman, 2004; Pink, 2007). Pink (2007) points out that during her visual ethnographic research exploring bullfighting in Spain she used photographs of bullfighters' performances to prompt discussion with bullfighters about various skills, and at the same time, she increased her knowledge and skill of when to take the 'right' photograph to capture aspects of the fight that were important to the bullfighters themselves.

Bryman (2004) discusses the issues surrounding the *representativeness* of photographs, pointing out that the survival of photographs over time is likely to be linked to various hazards such as damage but also linked to "selective retention" (p. 385) where the owner may choose to keep, for example, photographs of 'happy times' and not other aspects of their lives. Many family photographs are taken as a record of holidays or ceremonial occasions, such as weddings or the first day of school. He identifies three types of home photographs: "idealization", which is a formal pose for example, a wedding photograph; "natural portrayal", capturing actions as they happen,

and "demystification", capturing untypical and often embarrassing situations (Bryman, 2004, p. 384).

Photographic data are also used by "photovoice researchers" (Berg, 2007, p. 233) who provide their participants with cameras to document the positive or negative issues that are part of the communities in which they live. Berg (2007) explains: "photovoice [research] provides a means for involving people in both sharing and defining issues, problems and concerns" (p. 235). Berg (2007) links photovoice research with action research projects involving adults. Similar opportunities for children to voice their opinions on aspects of their everyday lives, such as their play and recreational spaces, have been provided by researchers such as Greenfield (2007), whose research involved young children taking photographs of their early childhood centre's playground, and Fleer and Quiñones (2009), who involved primary school aged children in an investigation of their community's recreational spaces, leading to a report to the local municipal council.

The study undertaken by Fleer and Quiñones (2009) used a cultural-historical approach to studying children and emphasised the dialectical relations between children, their families and their communities. Photographs were used by the children as a tool to capture the dynamics of their participation and perspectives regarding their everyday practices, including their relations with others and their local communities. The study design also ensured that the perspectives of the local municipal council, in relation to the children and the children's voices, could be foregrounded in the data generation process and later in the analysis. The theoretical and methodological framing of the study shaped the ways in which photographs were used.

For the purposes of this project, which was framed within a cultural-historical theoretical and methodological perspective, photographs were valuable tools whereby participants could share what mattered to them through what they captured in their photographs as the family members were taking the photographs, not the researcher. There are two aspects here, firstly the relations captured in the photograph and secondly, the person's relation to what was captured in the photograph. This dynamic relational dimension is so much more than using the photograph solely for memory recall.

4.5.3.2 Digital video

Research involving digital video observation is becoming more popular, with technological advances making the use of digital video cameras more convenient, economical and durable than previous film making methods that were more cumbersome and costly (Pink, 2007). The design of video technology also makes it less obtrusive, changing not only the camera operator's view, but also what the videoed subjects see. For example, cameras with fold-out screens can be held away from the eye of the operator allowing them to view both what is being recorded as well as seeing the wider environment. Using the open camera screen the operator can also maintain eye contact with the subject because the camera is not hiding the operator's face. Alongside this, new digital video technology allows for filmed footage to be viewed immediately by the operator and subjects while still in the field (Pink, 2007). Cameras can also be strategically placed, set to record, and left for a period of time without an operator needing to be 'attached' to them. Internal microphones are also helpful, although extended distance between the subject and the camera can limit the sound quality.

There is also the possibility of using more than one camera at one time which can provide the opportunity to capture multiple views of the same situation, or could be used to 'follow' one or more participants around a larger environment.

There are multiple ways in which video data can be generated. On one occasion Pink (2007) developed a method she named the "video tour". She engaged her participants in a "collaborative exercise that involved each research participant working with [her] to represent her or his experience of everyday life in the home and the routine practices this involved" (Pink, p. 107). The video was approximately an hour in length and included demonstrations of how everyday domestic activities were performed. As the researcher, Pink (2007) "probed and guided the 'tour' according to the objectives of the study" (p. 107).

Fleer, (2008b) alerts us to consider carefully what is captured on the video recording recognising that this is a major source of challenge in any data generation process. She suggests that where

> sociological research approaches tend to focus on social contexts, documenting the social interactions of all the participants while traditional psychological research generally examines the individual person (. . .) a cultural-historical approach examines the person in relation to the conditions and possibilities for development found within the institutions in which a particular person participates such as family, school, clubs, etc (. . .) What is important here (. . .) is capturing the dynamics of a child's participation in several institutional settings and recording what possibilities this holds for the child's development (. . .) [therefore] *the researcher points the video camera at the children as they participate in everyday practices, including their relations with others.* (p. 106) [original emphasis]

Importantly, the researcher must identify and recognise that the theoretical and methodological framing of a study will shape the ways in which video technology is used to generate data.

Just as photographs can be data in their own right or can be used as prompts within the interview process, the use of video data can be extended beyond the capturing and analysing of an observation by introducing clips of data into an interview situation as a stimulus for analysis and further discussion as part of an iterative, interactive and holistic approach to the data generation process. These interviews themselves can be either audio or video-taped: "in this way digital video observations allow for additional material to be gathered in order to compensate for the limitation of only working within a 180-degree frame" (Fleer, 2008b, p. 111). Pink (2007) explains that viewing and discussing video footage with participants should be more than simply using the footage to gain a response or extract information *about* the images but also examining how participants situate themselves as viewers of the footage. Further, from a cultural-historical perspective what is important are the relations captured within the video clip by the family member, the relations between what is captured and the person who filmed the video clip, and the relations between the other family members as they view the video clip alongside the family member who filmed the video clip.

4.5.4 Field Notes

Most researchers have their own individual style of keeping notes while on the research 'field'. Patton (2002) stresses that no matter what style is used field notes *must* be a part of the research process, there is no option. Field notes range from mental notes (making a conscious effort to remember something until it is appropriate to write it down), brief jottings (taken inconspicuously on the field to jog one's memory at a later time), to full in-depth descriptions that are written up upon leaving the field on any given occasion (Bryman, 2004). Researchers are often advised to write notes, no matter

how brief, as quickly as possible after they have seen or heard something of interest, and to write fuller notes on exiting the field or at the very latest, at the end of the day (Berg, 2007; Bryman, 2004; Patton, 2002). The content of field notes may vary from person to person but first and foremost they will be descriptive noting date, place, persons present, a description of the physical setting, the types of interactions that occurred, and the activities that took place (Berg, 2007; Bryman, 2004). Patton (2002) reminds us that interpretations are very different from descriptions, and phrases like 'poorly dressed' require some understanding of what might be termed 'well dressed' for them to have any meaning. Vague and over generalized notes have little value, where as thick rich descriptions are both meaningful and useful. Field notes also contain the researcher's own feelings, reactions and reflections on what has been observed or experienced. While it is important not to impose preconceptions and early judgements on the phenomena under investigation, field notes will include the researcher's insights, interpretations and beginning analyses about what is happening in the setting and what it means (Patton, 2002). Field notes are important data that are generated during the field work phase of the research.

4.6 In the field

This section outlines the ways in which the data generation tools discussed in the previous section (4.5) were operationalized in the study.

4.6.1 The phases of data generation

Data were generated with three families in three phases. The participant family members spanned three generations and were introduced in section 4.4.4 of this

chapter. Each phase involved preparation by family members and researcher, a family dialogue with the researcher, and the creation of feedback sheets which were given to the family. The activities of each phase are outlined in Table 4.2.

Phase One	Phase Two	Phase Three
Preparation: Family members selected one or two artefacts, treasures or items of family interest to bring to the family dialogue as a starting point for getting to know the family.	**Preparation:** At the close of the first family dialogue the family was given a digital camera capable of taking still photos and video clips. The family was requested to take photos of everyday child-rearing practices they were involved with over a two week period. The family returned the camera to the researcher who then arranged for two sets of photographs to be printed, one to be kept by the researcher and the other to be returned to the family.	**Preparation:** At the close of the second family dialogue the family was given a digital camera capable of taking still photos and video clips. The family was requested to take short video clips of everyday child-rearing practices they were involved with over a two week period. The family returned the camera to the researcher who then arranged for two sets of video clips to be burned onto CDs, one to be kept by the researcher and the other to be returned to the family.
First family dialogue: Family members met with the researcher for approximately 1.5 hours to discuss the artefacts, treasures and items of family interest. Possible discussion questions were prepared in advance (see Appendix E). Photographs were taken of the items the family discussed.	**Second family dialogue:** Family members met with the researcher for approximately 1.5 hours to discuss the photographs. Possible discussion questions were prepared in advance (see Appendix F).	**Third family dialogue:** Family members met with the researcher for approximately 1.5 hours to discuss the video clips. Possible discussion questions were prepared in advance (see Appendix F).
Follow-up/Feed-back: The researcher created two A4 laminated sheets containing visual images and words as a summary of topics discussed during the family dialogue to give back to the family (see section 4.6.4 for further details and 4.9.4.1 for an example).	**Follow-up/Feed-back:** The researcher created three A4 laminated sheets containing visual images and words as a summary of topics discussed during the family dialogue to give back to the family.	**Follow-up/Feed-back:** The researcher created two A4 laminated sheets containing visual images and words as a summary of topics discussed during the family dialogue to give back to the family. A questionnaire, feed-back sheet was given to the family to complete (see Appendix J).

Table 4.2 Phases of data generation

The full details of dates and family members present at each dialogue can be found in Appendix I. As indicated in sub section 4.4.2 of this chapter, each family completed all three phases of data generation before the next family began. Importantly the phases of data generation were designed to be iterative as outlined in subsection 4.4.1 of this chapter.

4.6.2 The first family – pilot study

The first family (the Hill Top Family) that generated data for the study also took the role of a pilot study family. Yin (2003) explains that the pilot study can "assume the role of a 'laboratory' for the investigators, allowing them to observe different phenomena from many different angles or to try different approaches on a trial basis" (p. 79). Although data generated from this family have been fully analysed and used as part of the findings for this thesis, during the initial introduction to this family I made it clear that I was at the early stages of my research. I went on to request their willingness to make comment regarding their experiences as study participants, noting that at the same time I would be reflecting on the design of the study including the methods employed and their usefulness in generating data appropriate to my research questions (Yin, 2003). In addition, I explained that it could be necessary to repeat one or more phases of the study if we found there were issues with any of the research methods or methodology being employed. I purposefully used the collective word 'we' in the previous sentence to express the collaborative and interactive nature of the research relationship between the participant family and myself as the researcher. When discussing pilot study reporting in regard to case study research, Yin (2003) emphasises that reports concerning the pilot study "should be explicit about the lessons learned for

both research design and field procedures" (p. 80). A range of lessons were learned while working with this initial family.

A) Meeting time and venue.

A meeting room in the University Children's Centre was the venue for the three family dialogue meetings with the Hill Top Family. This venue was chosen because of its easy access and familiarity to both participants and researcher. It also provided a familiar place for Mary (the 3-year-old child of the Hill Top Family) and I arranged with the centre staff for her to be able to join the other children at any time during my meeting with the adult members of her family should she choose to do so. This she did, moving in and out of the family dialogue as she chose. Because the meetings were held at the Children's Centre they were scheduled on a week day at 4.00 p.m. with centre staff and other children being present until the centre closed at 6.00 p.m. When requested to comment (see Appendix J) regarding the venue and time of meeting, the Hill Top Family wrote

> meeting venue, easy for us to get there in time. We may be more relaxed at different time of day (or Saturday). Duration good. Father said he could go much longer. Considering afternoon and Mary, 1 – 1½ hours enough at end of day (Hill Top Family, Family Feedback Sheet, Question 1.2 [HTF, FFS, Q1.2]).

When asked if there was anything they would like to have been done differently they noted

> to see us as a family in our own environment, more relaxed, ourselves. At end of day although <u>very</u> convenient we are tired and haven't had a chance to unwind. If at home or at the park there may be more parenting issues seen by you and questions could be asked regarding values (HTF, FFS, Q2).

As I reflected on these comments in regards to data generation for other participant families, I decided to change the meeting venue to participants' homes and offer to meet the families during the week or in the weekend. This resulted in the dialogues for the Peninsula Family and the Bayside Family being held in the weekend in both cases on Sunday afternoons. However, changing the venue raised ethical issues in regards to visiting with families in their own homes. I had originally stated on the ethics application that the venue *may* be a home, and in this regard I had set up a protocol where there would be two researchers entering a home at any given time. This protocol provided for the safety of both the researchers and the family. I envisaged the second researcher would assist by videotaping the family dialogue. However, the family dialogues with the Hill Top Family were audio-taped, and not video-taped; alongside this, the venue for the dialogues was the Children's Centre and there had been no need for a second researcher.

As time went by I began to feel uncomfortable about introducing a second researcher to participate in the family dialogues with the Peninsula Family and the Bayside Family as some of the conversations with the Hill Top Family had become quite personal. In this regard an 'extra' researcher might cause unnecessary emotional discomfort to the participants through creating an artificial and intimidating interview environment. In response to that dilemma I contacted the University ethics committee (SCERH) asking for and receiving advice. That led to permission being granted by the committee for me as a solo researcher to generate data in homes, provided that notification of when and where the meetings were to occur was known by a University

staff member. I did this by contacting the staff member just before I entered the home and immediately when I left the home.

B) Camera type

Initially two single-use cameras were given to the Hill Top Family to generate photographic data for discussion during the second family dialogue. Upon return of the cameras I took them for processing and found that the quality and clarity of the photographs was very poor. Photographs taken outdoors were clearer than those taken indoors. Quite a number of the photographs taken with the first camera had inadequate light and were therefore not able to be processed into prints. The results from the second camera were more dismal with very few being of a useful standard. After discussion with the family I decided to pursue the purchase of a basic digital camera that was easy to use, I then gave it to the family and requested that they take another set of photographs. A simple instruction sheet was also included. The digital camera images were clear and the family found the camera easy to use. The same camera was loaned to the Hill Top Family during phase three of the study when they were requested to film short video clips. On the feedback comment sheet the family noted "disposable camera did not work so well, digital great especially for taking small movies" (HTF, FFS, Q1.1).

C) Telephone interview

The maternal grandmother of the Hill Top Family lived some distance away and was unable to attend the first family dialogue but was willing to engage in a telephone dialogue. In preparation for this I piloted the use of a speaker phone and two tape

recorders in one of the university offices. The system worked well and there were no obvious problems. On the day of the dialogue with the grandmother of the Hill Top Family I used the same system in the same office and no difficulties arose.

D) Topics discussed

The Hill Top Family commented that they were

> very comfortable [with the topics discussed]. Gave us a chance to discuss some family topics we have never thought about and enjoyed learning each other's views. Topics with grandmother and mother emotional although we were happy to feel and remember that emotion, be aware some families may not! (HTF, FFS, Q4)

I felt this was an important comment and took particular note of it when deciding how to approach meeting in participants' homes (see section 4.6.2 A) and I decided not to video-tape the family dialogues or to introduce a second researcher.

E) Other comments

When asked if there were any changes they would like to see made to the data generation process the Hill Top Family went on to note

> you (researcher) explained clearly what was needed to photograph. It was easy to speak with you (researcher). I felt comfortable to ask and re-ask if I was not sure. We love the laminated pictures and photos I am going to make into a small book. Work friends have been interested and I want to present it better such as sequenced and in a folder. We absolutely LOVED this time with you (researcher). We really enjoyed reflecting on our families, our memories and thinking about our future for/with Mary. Father thought it might go longer, perhaps because he was away for one session. Please contact us anytime if you need to follow-up or need our assistance with any of your study (HTF, FFS, Q2).

4.6.3 Communication with families

Communicating with the participant families before, during, and after the study occurred in a number of ways. There were times when telephone conversations were the most practical and convenient, and these often occurred in the evenings after the children had gone to bed. Telephone calls were particularly useful during the initial contact and explanatory stages. On many occasions, once the family had consented to participate in the study, mobile telephone text (sms) messaging was used as it allowed for short messages to be conveyed backwards and forwards, to confirm meeting times or notify that a camera was ready for collection. The Children's Centre served as a convenient drop-off and collection point for both the Hill Top Family and the Bayside Family, especially for items like the digital camera, photographs, and compact discs. The Peninsula Family choose to contact me directly and ask that I collect or deliver items directly to their home.

4.6.4 Laminated image and text feedback sheets

At the conclusion of the first family dialogue, during which I had photographed the various items the Hill Top Family had brought along for discussion, I wanted to be able to capture the complexity of the family members' participation, practices, and relations that were spoken about during our meeting. I decided to create two A4 poster-type sheets using Microsoft PowerPoint, copy them in colour, and laminate them before giving them to the family. Importantly, these sheets were not an isolated activity but rather part of the tapestry of my research, drawing connections and relations between the family artefacts/treasures, visual data, and family dialogues. These sheets were well

received by the family who without my asking, brought them along to the second family dialogue and used them as a means of making links between the first and second family dialogues. They were particularly useful in orientating the grandmother of the family to what had transpired at the first dialogue when she had been unable to be present (see Appendix I). After this experience I decided to continue with this feedback practice after each family dialogue. The only alteration I made was that I included snippets of interview transcript on the sheets from the second and third dialogues.

The choice of images and snippets arose firstly from photographs that had been taken at the dialogue (photographs of the family members looking at the photographs or video clips); and secondly from the reoccurring themes within a particular dialogue (for example, a number of photographs or video clips related to visiting a favourite spot or singing). Pink (2007) suggests that "video tapes and photographs are usually of interest to the people featured in them and the people who were involved in their production (. . .) [and] could be an appropriate return for the favours they have performed during fieldwork" (p. 57).

Along with the laminated image and text feedback sheets, I also provided each family with copies of all photographs and video clips that they took or were taken of them during the project. Comment from the Peninsula Family regarding being given the feedback sheet, photographs, and video clips was "fantastic! We all loved them and really appreciated the time and effort to put them together and the attention to detail" (PF, FFS, Q1.3).

4.6.5 End of project family feedback sheets

Participant families were asked for their feedback and comments at the conclusion of their involvement in the data generation phase of the project. I was particularly interested in the comments of the Peninsula Family and the Bayside Family regarding the changes I had made to the venue (meeting in family homes), the day and time of meetings (the weekend); the ease of use of the digital camera, and the comfort level with topics discussed (see section 4.6.2). The Peninsula Family commented that

> it was good having the meetings at home, the camera was easy to use, the topics were all good and diverse, very comfortable talking with (researcher) about the topics discussed, she made us all feel very comfortable, (researcher) was very professional and delightful! She made the process very enjoyable and easy (PF, FFS, Q1).

Comments made by the Bayside Family included that the meeting venue, time, and duration of interviews was "perfect" (BF, FFS, Q1.2); they also mentioned that the photographs, video clips and laminated feed-back sheets were "great keepsakes" (BF, FFS, Q1.3). The Bayside Family were "comfortable with the topics discussed" (BF, FFS, Q1.4) but also noted "there were so many other aspects not discussed, I guess time is a factor, it would have taken forever!" (BS, FFS, Q3). Their only comment regarding the use of the digital camera was that it was "fun and interesting to spend quality time with Charlie" (BF, FFS, Q1.1), which seemed to indicate they had no problems. When asked if there was anything they would have preferred to have been done differently the Bayside Family answered "no" (BF, FFS, Q3).

The feedback from the Peninsula Family and the Bayside Family indicated that the changes I had made in terms of venue, camera, and sensitivity to topics discussed had been appropriate. In particular the change of venue from the Children's Centre to meeting in participants' homes during the weekend provided a more relaxed and family-friendly situation for all involved and this was appreciated by the families.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for the study was sought from and granted by the Monash University Standing Committee on Ethics in Research involving Humans (SCERH) (project number CF08/0124-2008000055).

During the course of the project there were two matters of an ethical nature that arose and warrant discussion, the first is in relation to the Children's Centre Staff giving out recruitment letters and the second relates to the involvement of people other than consenting family members brought into the project by the families.

4.7.1 The role of the Children's Centre Staff

I initially anticipated that the role the Children's Centre staff would play in the participant recruitment process would be negligible. My request was for a notice, prepared by me (Appendix A), to be placed in the centre newsletter to families or as a poster placed beside the daily sign-in/sign-out book. The staff agreed to this request and in addition asked how many families I required altogether. My reply was that I would like to work with one family initially but would want to recruit up to five families altogether. The centre staff then requested five envelopes containing the necessary

information to be handed to families. Before the notice was published in the newsletter a centre staff member spoke to a family, gave them an envelope and within a few days the family returned the slip asking that I contact them with more information, which I did. This family became the first family involved in the study. When the time came for me to work with another family the centre staff placed a notice in the newsletter but when after two weeks no families had responded, again a centre staff member spoke to a family and provided them with an envelope of information, after which the family returned a slip with their contact details for me.

These processes alerted me to the ethical issue of prior relationship and the possibility of pressure associated with relationship when recruiting participants. The advertisement in the centre newsletter was non-relational; it was something that may or may not have been read by families with young children who are likely to lead very busy lives. It was an invitation to become involved in yet another activity with someone they had never met or heard of (me). The result was that no-one responded. However, when a staff member personally approached a family member, giving them an envelope that contained exactly the same information, the response was quite different. The families were willing to consider the request and respond 'yes' or 'no' accordingly.

David, Edwards and Alldred (2001) discuss the issues of teacher and classroom pressure on children and families to participate in research, including underlying ideas of being cooperative and helpful to staff. They also mentioned that approaching children (and in my case, families) through educational institutions "was likely to contextualise [the researchers'] relationships with them [the participants] as *educationally based*" (David, Edwards & Alldred, 2001, p. 352) [original emphasis]. This was definitely

the situation that I experienced. Embedded in a video clip filmed by the Bayside Family was a conversation that occurred at the local beach when the mother of the Bayside Family explained to a passer-by why she was filming her child's activities. She said "one of the ladies at Charlie's child-care is studying children and I'm doing this for her". Such comments could be interpreted as 'helping' the child-care staff in return for what they have done for the parent or their child. The potential for 'hidden pressure' is an important ethical consideration that needs to be considered, especially as it may or may not be within the control of the researcher. This is especially important when recruiting through a third party such as an educational institution. The situation was quite different with the Community Crèche. A family, having heard that I would be recruiting participants through the crèche, approached me asking if they could please take part and where would they get the necessary forms to fill in.

4.7.2 Participants in addition to the consenting family members

There were three incidents when people other than consenting family members became involved in this research. The first was an incident with the Peninsula Family when a photograph was taken during an extended family birthday party. Although I was informed by the family that the people photographed gave verbal consent at the time, I decided not to use the photograph as research data. The second incident involved the Bayside Family when Charlie and his mother were at the local beach. Charlie's mother was taking a video of Charlie's activities when Charlie began interacting with another child playing nearby and the interaction was subsequently captured in a video clip. Before proceeding to film the children, the mother of the Bayside Family approached the mother of the other child and asked her permission to film her child interacting with

Charlie. The conversation between the mother of the Bayside Family and the other mother was captured on film and this video clip has been used as data. The third incident was when a friend of the grandfather of the Bayside Family participated in the third family dialogue along with a video clip of interactive play with Charlie and his family that occurred on the same day. On that occasion I was present and therefore able to provide information about the research project and gain written consent from the family friend. These data have also been used as part of the project.

The ethical reasons for inclusion or non-inclusion of data from participants other than those who had originally signed the consent forms, related to informed consent. I had no way of knowing what information had been given to the people that attended the birthday party at the Peninsula Family's home and I had no record of who the people were or that they had agreed to participate in the research. I therefore decided not to include the photograph as research data. On the other hand, I was able to see and hear what information was given to the mother and child on the beach by the mother of the Bayside Family, as the discussion and subsequent consent were captured on video. The situation with the friend of the grandfather of the Bayside Family participating in a family dialogue and video clip was different again. In this instance the family had explained the reason for my visit before I arrived at the family home and once there I was able to give full details of the project, answer any questions as well as request and gain written consent from the person concerned.

4.8 Position of the researcher

The theoretical and methodological framing of a study influences the positioning of the researcher in relation to the research participants. Hedegaard (2008b) argues that the social science researcher has two roles

> 1) as a social actor who enters into a social situation with other people where he or she understands what is going on as a participant in everyday practice;
> 2) as a researcher researching the practice, where the meaning construction is related to the tradition in the scientific problem area. (p. 42)

In other words, the researcher is interested in people's activities in their everyday settings as the object of the study, but at the same time, the researcher is a scientist who is conceptualising his or her participation in the people's activities. Whereas in some research traditions the influence of the researcher is reduced as much as possible so that the researcher becomes like 'a fly on the wall', within a dialectical-interactive research approach the researcher recognises that they are different from the people being researched, yet at the same time, the researcher becomes a partner in their activities.

The concept of doing research *with* rather than *on* brings the researcher and the researched together as communication partners. Hedegaard (2008b) further explains that

> the interaction between a researcher and the participants can in practice take several forms. Interactions during interviews can be based on verbal communication, where the researcher can not only ask, but also answer questions from children as well as other people in the social situations. In field research using participant observations, the researcher can also communicate verbally with the child or children and adult participants. The researcher can also use other forms of interaction, such as participate in games (play football) or introduce a task that is mainly manual. The interaction can also be a form of

> interview around topics, mediated by pictures or drawings or the researcher can participate without directly taking part in the activity. (p. 44)

This does not mean that the researcher becomes another teacher in the classroom, or another family member in the household, rather the researcher is able to interact with participants for short periods at appropriate times such as answering a child's question while observing in a classroom.

As a researcher I positioned myself in the way that Hedegaard (2008b; 2008d) suggested. There were times during the family dialogues that I answered participants' questions and took an active role in the social situation, such as initiating a bead threading activity with the children of the Peninsula Family while talking with their parents and grandmother. On another occasion I instructed the child of the Bayside Family in the use of the digital camera and suggested he might like to take some photographs, while his mother and grandfather remained in conversation with me. Both of these activities were consciously initiated by me (the researcher) as a means of relating to, and involving, the children in the research project in a range of ways while participating in the family dialogues.

4.9 Data Analysis

Analysis of the data generated as part of this study occurred on three different levels; firstly, at the *common sense* level; secondly, at the *situated practice* level, and thirdly, at the *thematic* level (Hedegaard, 2008c) (see 4.3.4). This interactive, dynamic process of analysis had as its focus the study's *unit of analysis* (Vygotsky, 1987).

4.9.1 Unit of analysis

Determining the unit of analysis for this study was not an easy process. Yin (2003) encouragingly states that "most investigators will encounter confusion in defining the unit of analysis" (p. 24). He goes on to warn that "when you have arrived at a definition of the unit of analysis do not consider the closure permanent" (p. 24). The complexity of determining the unit of analysis is, in the words of Wertsch (2007), "inherently complex and dynamic" (p. 185). The common unit analysis within social and behavioural research is the individual or groups of individuals, such as a group of college-educated individuals, and in family research, the unit of analysis is commonly the family group, for example the parental couple, the nuclear or extended family (Greenstein, 2006). In contrast, within cultural-historical research the individual or the group is considered part of, not separate from society, culture, and the environment. Therefore the unit of analysis within a cultural-historical theoretical framework is not an isolated *element* but rather a *unit* that contains and preserves all the characteristics of the whole (Daniels, 2008; Vygotsky, 1987).

Vygotsky (1987) explained that he proposed a form of analysis that

> relie[d] on the partitioning of the complex whole into *units*. In contrast to the term 'element' the term 'unit' designates a product of analysis that possesses *all the basic characteristics of the whole*. The unit is a vital and irreducible part of the whole (. . .) Psychology must identify those units in which the characteristics of the whole are present, even though they may be manifested in altered form. (pp. 46-47) [original emphasis]

Using the example of water, Vygotsky (1987) explained the difference between analysing the chemical formula of water (the elements) and a molecule (the unit). Vygotsky's ideas and understandings regarding a suitable unit of analysis for his work

did not come easily. Daniels, Cole and Wertsch (2007) suggest he "struggled" and his ideas "developed" over time (p. 2). Minick (1987) contends that there were three major phases in the development of Vygotsky's thought and that these can be "identified by focusing on the constructs that served as his analytic units and explanatory principles" (p. 17).

In keeping with a Vygotskian perspective, the unit of analysis identified and selected for this study was a *family practice*. My journey to this point corresponded with my theoretical journey of weaving through social and behavioural research (with the unit of analysis being the individual), through family research (with the unit of analysis being the family group), through to cultural-historical research where I considered the unit of analysis as an event, a process, or an interaction. Upon reflection I decided that an event seemed to indicate importance, a particular occasion such as a birthday or a sporting event and that deviated from the focus of my study, which was everyday child-rearing. Alternatively a process was closer to the essence of my study but seemed to encapsulate my research question rather than identify an analytical unit for my study. The concept of interaction was also important, but again interaction seemed to be more of an element of analysis rather than a unit of analysis. Aided by the work of Hedegaard and Fleer with Bang and Hviid (2008), who emphasise the need to research the everyday practice traditions children participate in, I decided that a suitable unit of analysis for my study was a *family practice* (see Figure 4.5).

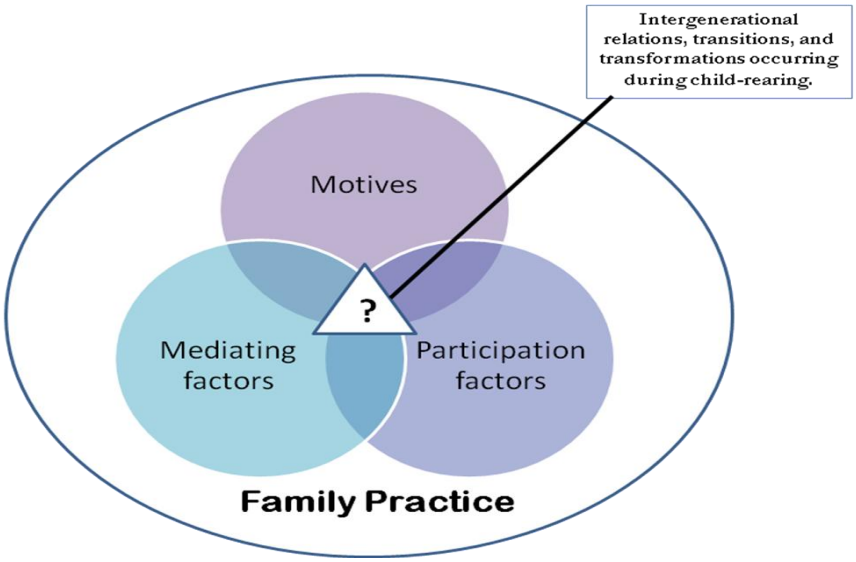


Figure 4.5 The unit of analysis – a family practice

A family practice (for example a bedtime story, a roast dinner, or a child's song) was the smallest possible unit within this study that would allow for the analysis of intergenerational relations, transitions and transformations occurring through

- individual and/or group participation,
- individual and/or group motives, as well as the
- social and/or cultural factors that mediated the practice.

Having determined the unit of analysis I then returned to the literature for guidance regarding possible categories for data analysis.

4.9.2 Categories for data analysis

The literatures reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 highlighted possible categories for data analysis. Table 4.3 contains a detailed list of these categories which acted as a starting point for the analysis of the data generated for this study.

RESEARCH QUESTION	CATEGORIES

Participation	**Interactional patterns**
	Subject positioning (Kravtsova, 2008)
	• Adult positions child as learner (under)
	• Child positions adult as learner (under)
	• Adult positions child as knowledgeable (above)
	• Child positions adult as knowledgeable (above)
	• Adult positions child as equal
	• Child positions adult as equal
	• Adult and child positioned as independent
	• Adult positions themselves as learner alongside or with the child (primordial 'we')
	
	Social structures (Lave and Wenger, 1991)
	• Novice / newcomer
	  o Observes
	  o Assists by holding or passing items/tools
	  o Contributes by undertaking simple/small tasks
	• Expert / old-timer
	  o Demonstrates
	  o Assists by holding items/or passing items to assist novice
	  o Sets small/simple tasks
	
	Guided participation (Rogoff, Mistry, Goncu, Mosier, Chavajay & Heath, 1993)
	• Verbal and non-verbal communication
	  o Adult instructs verbally
	  o Adult instructs non-verbally by gesture, gaze, touch, demonstration
	  o Child seeks instruction verbally
	  o Child seeks instruction non-verbally by gesture, gaze touch
	• Motivation, attention, and involvement
	  o Adult manages child verbally or non-verbally
	  o Adult manages child non-verbally
	  o Child manages themselves verbally
	  o Child manages themselves non-verbally
	• Adult and child engage in shared endeavour
	• Participants
	  o Adult and child
	  o Adult and more than one child
	  o Child along
	  o Child with other children
	• Decision making
	  o Shared – adult and child
	  o Adult
	  o Child

Research question (continued)	Categories (Continued)
Mediation	**Human mediators** (Vygotsky, 1987) • Adults • Children • Researchers **Symbolic mediators** (Signs and tools, Vygotsky, 1987) • Language • Writing systems • Counting and numbering systems • Drawing • Works of art • Monuments • Everyday items such as a knot in a handkerchief • Coloured cards **Technological mediators** (Signs and tools, Fleer, 2007; Kenner, Ruby, Jessel, Gregory & Arju, 2007; Robbins & Jane, 2006) • Computers • Videos • Photographs **Activities** • Science and technology projects (Robbins & Jane, 2006) • Art projects (Lawton, 2004; Zelkowitz, 2003) • Church activities (Allen, 2005) • Literacy (Moll & Greenberg, 1990) • Mathematics (Andrews & Yee, 2006)

Motives	The good life (Hedegaard & Chaiklin, 2005)
	• Socio-economic resiliency and survival (Moll & Greenberg, 1990)
	• Valuing
	  ○ Reciprocity (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1988)
	  ○ Trust (Gonzalez et al., 1995)
	  ○ Wellbeing (Gonzalez, Andrade, Civil & Moll, 2001)
	  ○ Perseverance (Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 2005)
	  ○ Delayed gratification (Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg , 2005)
	
	Parental dreams (Bertaux and Thompson, 1993)
	
	Child's motive (Hedegaard & Fleer with Bang & Hviid, 2008)
	Adult's motive (Hedegaard & Fleer with Bang & Hviid, 2008)

Table 4.3 Possible categories for data analysis generated from the research and theoretical literatures

The list of categories contained in Table 4.3 was positioned as a *possible* set of categories, a place to start. These categories have been mostly derived from studies involving children and sometimes their families, but few come directly from intergenerational research and even fewer from intergenerational research framed in cultural-historical theory. It was therefore anticipated that further categories would be generated during the data analysis phase of the project, and that some of the categories derived from the literature would have little or no value within the present study.

4.9.3 Data sources

Data were generated for this study by three, three-generational families using multiple data generation methods (family dialogues, artefacts/treasures, photographs, and video clips) as explicated earlier in this chapter. This resulted in a rich complexity of data as outlined in Table 4.4.

Data sources	Hill Top Family	Peninsula Family	Bayside Family
Objects and treasures	5	5	4
Photographs	42	88	58
Video footage	10 short video clips up to five minutes in length	35 short video clips up to five minutes in length	27 short video clips up to five minutes in length
Transcribed Family Dialogues	3 x 1 hour face-to-face dialogues 1 x 1 hour telephone dialogue	3 x 1 hour face-to-face dialogues	3 x 1 hour face-to-face dialogues

Table 4.4 **Data sources**

Table 4.4 shows the vast amount of data generated by participant families. Families were free to generate the amount of visual data they considered appropriate. There were no restrictions placed on the families apart from an arranged time-frame in which to return the camera to the researcher. In some instances families generated three or more short video clips at one time. For example, the Peninsula Family generated three short video clips during one mealtime, and the Bayside Family generated six short video clips during one visit to a local park. Similarly, the Bayside Family took five photographs of their dog, and the Hill Top Family took nine photographs of Mary standing at the front of their house. However, these instances were exceptional, and overall there was a wide range of family practices featured in both video clips and photographs.

4.9.4 Data analysis tools

The dynamic nature of data generated by the participants through the iterative data generation process necessitated a carefully sequenced, yet dialectically focused, process of data analysis. Drawing from the work of Hedegaard, (2008c), data were analysed firstly at the *common sense* level, secondly at the *situated practice* level and thirdly at the *thematic* level (see section 4.3.4). These tools were adapted for use with intergenerational data in an attempt to capture the complexity, dynamics, and dialectical relations embedded in the data (Figure 4.6).

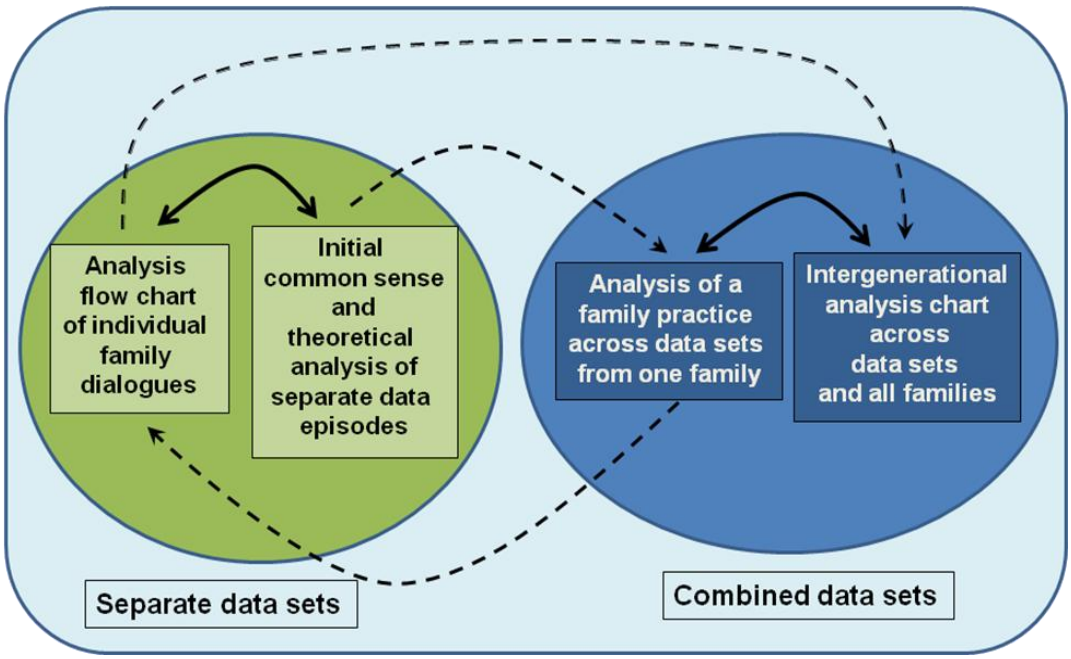


Figure 4.6 A model of dialectical analysis (Monk (2009) adapted from the work of Hedegaard (2008c) in discussion with M. Fleer, October 3, 2009)

Figure 4.6 portrays the dialectically inter-related levels of data analysis employed in this study. Data analysis began with initial common sense and theoretical analysis of separate data episodes (centre left) such as a photograph or a video clip or a transcript. This was followed by the analysis of specific family practices across data sets (centre right) such as photographs, video clips and transcripts of mealtimes in one family, drawing from and adding to the initial common sense analysis. Next, a detailed analysis of each family dialogue from each family was undertaken (far left), followed by the creation of intergenerational analysis charts across all data sets and all families (far right). The dual directional dotted arrows in this figure indicate the inter-relations of the data analysis tools as well as the movement backwards and forwards from separate data sets to combined data sets. The solid arrows indicate the analytical relations within

separate data sets and combined data sets. Each level of analysis had a different purpose and afforded different information.

4.9.4.1 Initial common sense and theoretical analysis

Initial analysis occurred at the common sense level. Here the researcher noted obvious topics, relations, patterns, and understandings. This level of analysis was useful in validating the data with the participants as well as the researcher gaining an initial impression. The family dialogue feedback sheets (see Figure 4.7) created at this stage were given to the families and in some cases used by them as data to discuss in subsequent family dialogues.

Figure 4.7 Hill Top Family dialogue feedback sheet

Figure 4.7 is an example of a family dialogue feedback sheet created for the Hill Top Family after their first family dialogue. The artefacts and treasures discussed by the family were photographed and the main topics discussed were noted. This feedback sheet and others like it provided an overview of the discussions that could be referred to during subsequent dialogues. They were not isolated sheets but rather part of the tapestry of the study (see section 4.6.4).

Common sense analysis also took place during the transcription of the family dialogues. Here obvious relations, patterns, and understandings were noted using the 'comment' function of Microsoft Word Track Changes (Figure 4.8).

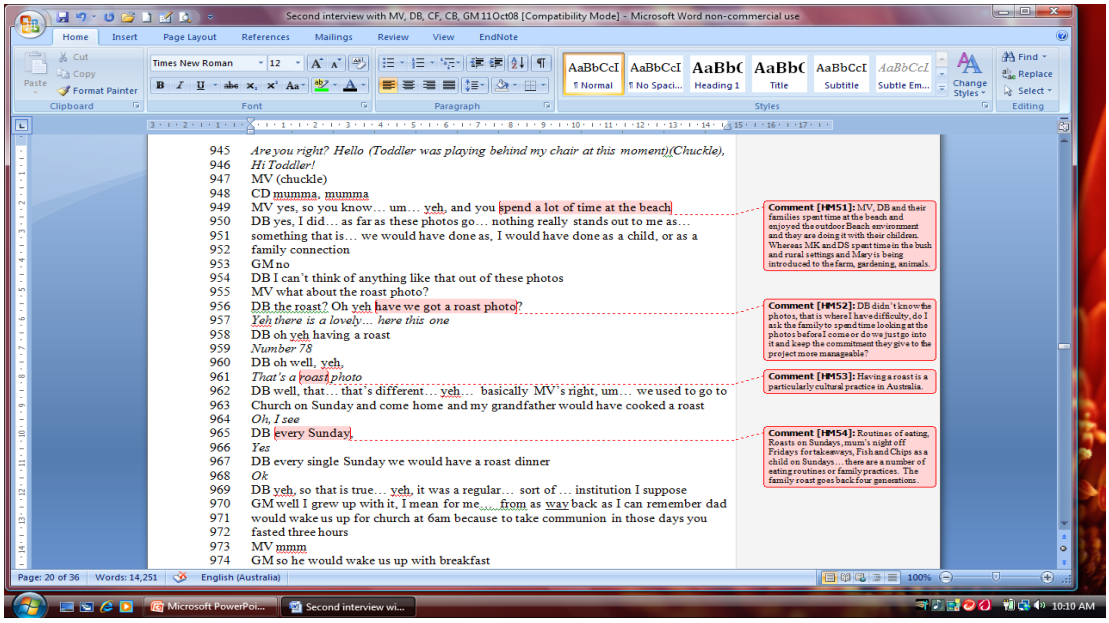


Figure 4.8 Family dialogue transcript

This initial analysis was not focused on explicit concepts or theorization but was a useful way of noting initial impressions, thoughts, and questions that could be considered later. Figure 4.8 is an example of this process taken from the second family

dialogue with the Peninsula Family. In this example relations have been noted related to the Peninsula Family as well as immediate obvious connections between data generated by other families in the project.

An initial theoretical analysis was a further tool used at this stage. Moving beyond the initial common sense analysis the initial theoretical analysis began to draw from the categories explicated in the literature and focus on the research sub-questions. Individual pieces of the data were considered separately such as the photograph shown in Figure 4.9.

9 (78) Roast dinner
(6/10/08)

Commonsense analysis:

- All members of the family eating dinner together around the table (see also Photo 10)
- All eating the same dinner – roast dinner
- Father and Hope eating dinner with utensils ; Beverley and toddler with their fingers.

Motives and goals:

- Mother and father – promoting a sense of 'being together' 'we are a family unit' (see interview transcript)
- Dinner time is a chance to communicate after a day apart, father at work, children at kinder

Mediators:

- Round table, everyone able to see everyone else
- Dinner, served for all to eat together
- Dinner time – an opportunity to talk about the day (see transcript)

Participation:

- Shared family practice all eating dinner, sitting at the table, talking
- Conversation led by parents with children encouraged to participate equally

Categories from the literature

Motives
•The good life
•Values and beliefs
•Parental dreams
•Children's motives
•Adult's motives

Mediators
•Human mediators
•Symbolic mediators
•Activities

Participation
•Subject positioning
•Social structures
•Guided participation

Figure 4.9 Analysis of a single family photograph

4.9.4.2 Analysis of a family practice across data sets from one family

The initial common sense and theoretical analysis of individual data sets provided the basis for further analysis. Individual pieces of data, which related to specific family

practices such as mealtimes (Figure 4.10), were drawn together allowing for a situated practice analysis (Hedegaard, 2008c) to take place. Hedegaard (2008c) explains:

> situated practice interpretations generally focus on an interpretation of the practice (. . .) Dominating motives, patterns of interaction and problems can be explicated at this level. The conceptual relations are used explicitly in analysing the concrete activity settings, and finding conceptual patterns. (p. 59)

This process is systematic and includes the writing of a narrative that draws the analysis together. Part of this process involves the checking, creating, and recreating of analytical categories leading to new insights and understandings.

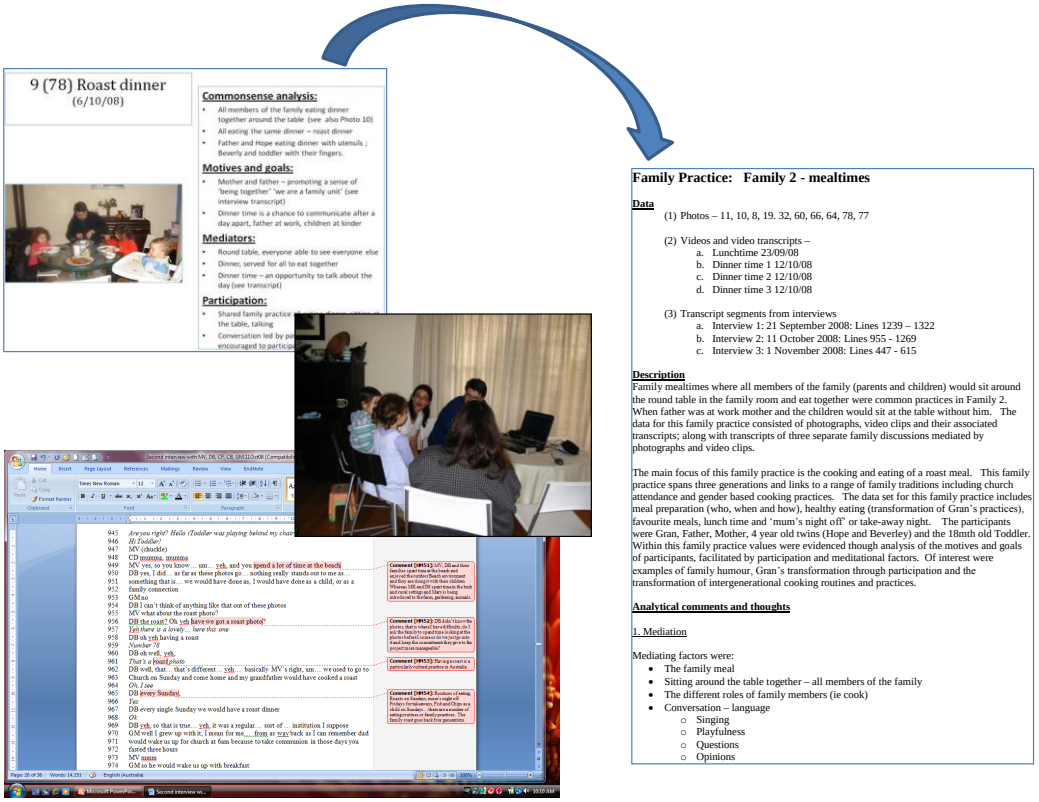


Figure 4.10 Analysis of a family practice across data sets from one family

The example shown in Figure 4.10 drew together visual data (photographs and video clips), transcripts from family dialogues including discussion regarding the photographs and video clips, and an artefact (the dining table) discussed during the first family dialogue with the Peninsula Family. The dialectical process of data analysis (Figure 4.6) including the relations, transitions and conflicts between separate and combined data sets can be evidenced at this level of analysis. Importantly, the intergenerational nature of the family practice, particularly in relation to its origins and the processes by which it is continued, disrupted or transformed, begins to become evident.

4.9.4.3 Analysis flow chart of an individual family dialogue

At this stage of the data analysis process I returned specifically to the transcripts of the family dialogues to ensure important data had not been missed. Creating an overall analytical flow chart of individual family dialogues (Figure 4.11) provided an opportunity for wide as well as in-depth analysis (see far left box in Figure 4.6). The flow-chart example (Figure 4.11) depicts the analysis of the first family dialogue with the Hill Top Family. It is in two parts. The lower section is a continuation of the upper section with "food" (in the lower section) forming a further category similar to "place" and "treasures" in the top section. In addition, the lower section contains reflective thoughts linking this dialogue to dialogues with other participant families. The two sections were created simultaneously.

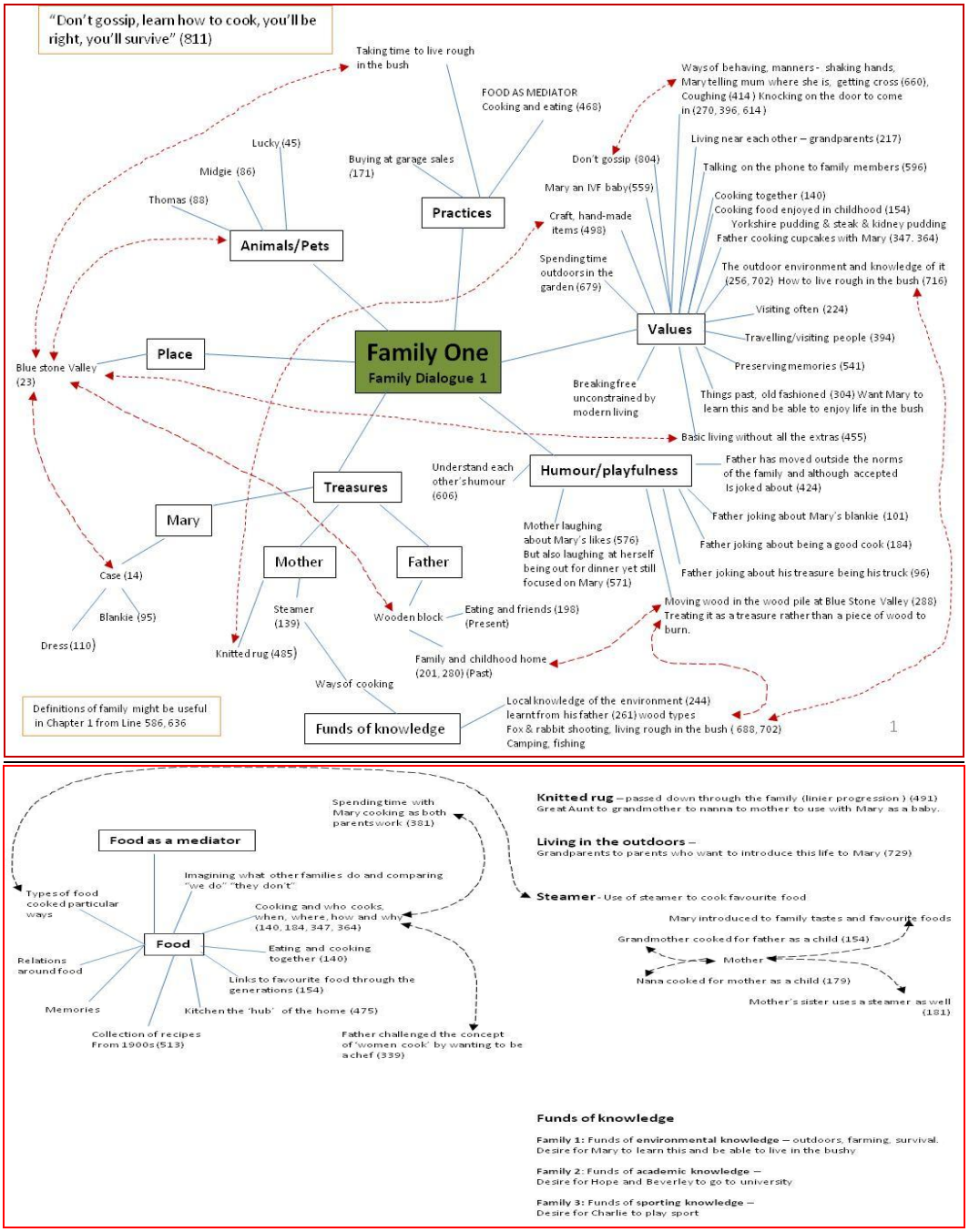


Figure 4.11 Analysis flow chart of an individual family dialogue

Unravelling the dialogues in this way (Figure 4.11) provided a visual map of relations between the ideas discussed by the families and opened up the possibility of discovering family practices that had not been photographed or videotaped, and were

therefore not as evident. Further, this process of revisiting the family dialogues led to additional theorising around themes from the literatures that were outside the categories being used earlier. Finally, emerging from this process of in-depth revisiting of the family dialogues were initial indications of intergenerational patterns and relations occurring within and across the participant families. The emergence of these patterns and relations led to the final level of data analysis which was directly connected to the intergenerational aim of the research.

4.9.4.4 Intergenerational analysis chart across all data sets and all families

The identification of meaningful patterns in relation to the aim of the research is a key component of what Hedegaard (2008c) terms "interpretation on a thematic level" (p. 61). At this level of interpretation it is important to reduce the level of complexity in order to form new conceptual relations. This generalisation is not an attempt to find identical practices within or across families, but rather to identify processes, relations, transitions, and transformations through a system of connections between the aim of the study, the theoretical underpinning, and the generated data. Hedegaard (2008c) explains "the researcher starts with the preconceptions and through analysing the situated interpretations evolves these conceptions into a relational scheme of interpretation" (p. 61). In this study, hints of conceptual patterns began to emerge as earlier levels of analysis were undertaken; these became stronger and more clearly defined during the construction of a series of intergenerational analysis charts that spaned all data sets and all families (Figure 4.12). Finally, this level of analysis was developed further and the conceptual patterns and relations became the basis for Chapters 5, 6, and 7, the data presentation chapters of this thesis.

Intergenerational Relations (the child is the research focus child)

CONTINUOUS - DOWN THROUGH THE GENERATIONS

Grandparent → Parent → Child

- Knitted rug (F1, FD 1, L 491) (F1, FD 2, L 175)
- Living in the outdoors (wild/bush) (F1, FD 1, L 729)
- Knowledge of the environment (bush) (F1, FD 1, L 261)
- Steamer used for cooking (F1, FD 1, L 154, 179, 181)
- Collection of recipes (F1, FD 1, L 513)
- Animals and pets (F 1, FD 1B, L 180)
- Help with household chores - gardening (F 1, FD 1B, L 146, 150, 390, 399)
- Care for other family members when ill etc (F1, FD 1B, L 386, 624)
- Photographs taken in the same spot in the same park interstate (F 1, FD 2, L 967, 969)
-
- Names – Angus passed through the male line (F 2, FD 1, L 1503)
- Pocket watch – (F2, FD 1, L 123 & 1555)
- Living in close proximity (F 2, FD 2, L 987)
- Roast Dinners (F 2, FD 2, L 955)
- Friday night fish and chips (F 2, FD 2, L 1030)
- Close connections with cousins (F 2, FD 2, L 1341)
-
- Sport (F3, FD 1, L 63, 107, 151) Also linked to other family members of mother's generation (F3, FD 1, L 149)
- Lived childhood in same town (F3, FD 1, L 465)
- Pet dogs and cats (F3, FD 1, L 606) plus other family members of mother's generation (F3, FD 1, L 897)
- Same spots at same beach (F3, FD 2, L729, 743 and FD 3 with father taking Charlie to fish at same beach) (F3, FD 3, L 212, 217, 244)

SIMILAR CONTINUATION BUT GENERATIONAL CHANGES

Grandparent → Parent → Child

- Music – nana played the piano, father sang, children being introduced to guitars and singing (F2, FD 2, L 709, 753)
- Spending time at the local park (different parks for different generations) (F2, FD 2, L 918)
- Spending time at the local beach (different beaches for different generations) (F2, FD 2, L 942)
-
- Local park in close proximity to home (F3, FD2, L 727, 787, 781, 791)
-

Grandparent → Parent (unknown)

- Folding clothes the same way, washing the same way, using the same brands of cleaners (F1, FD 2, L 996) (F 1, FD 1B, L 564)
-
- Mother providing activities for child that she enjoyed as a child (F 3, FD 2, L 772, 773, 775, 778, 782, 882)
- Facing hurdles and hard times and working through them (F 3, FD 2, L1198)

INTERRUPTED / INTRODUCED

CHANGE – PARENTIAL INTENTIONAL CHANGE

Grandparent → Parent → Child

- Moving away from living in same town or very close by (F1, FD 1B, L 211, 289)
- Travel nationally and internationally (F1, FD 2, L 313, 325, 402)
-
- Spending quality time with children (F 2, FD 2, L 1298) Father raised by solo mother, intentionally parenting as a married couple.
- Acceptance, inclusion, equality (F 2, FD 2, L 1467)
- Emotional wellbeing with new sibling entering the family (F 2, FD 3, L 751)
-
- Riding bikes, grandparent provided bikes for parent and siblings to ride but parent wants to ride bikes with child (F3, FD2 L 907, 924)

CHANGE – PARENTAL INTENTIAL CHANGE THAT INFLUENCED GRANDPARENT CHANGE

Grandparent Parent Child

- Healthy eating (F 2, FD 1, L 1247)
- Spending time with grandchildren (F 2, FD 1, L 689)

Telling stories about childhood (F 2, FD 3, L 688, 716, 751)

SKIP - MISS A GENERATION

Grandparent Child

- Jewellery passed through the female line – (F 2, FD 1, L 453)

SKIP – MISS A GENERATION

Great-grandparent parent child

- Craft/handwork (F 1, FD 1B, L 345)
-
- Christian faith (F 2, FD 1, L 1020)

Round table (F 2, FD 1, L 253, 265, 302

THREADS

- PLAY
- HUMOUR
- PLACE – GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION
- FUNDS OF KNOWLEDGE
- DISCIPLINE
- WAYS OF BEHAVING – MANNERS
- HEALTH
- PARTICIPATION STRUCTURES INCLUDING GUIDED PARTICIPATION
- CHANGING FAMILY, ECONOMIC, MARITAL STATUS, TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES, SOCIATIAL SITUATIONS
- IMAGINED FAMILY LIFE OF 'OTHERS'

INTRODUCTION – CHILD INITIATED/INFLUENCED CHANGE

Grandparent Parent Child

- Discipline (F2, FD 2, L 1617)
-
- Technology (F3, FD 1, L 1309, 1340, 1359, 1386. 1394)
- Charlie explaining to mother difference between pausing a DVD and not being able to pause the TV (F3, FD 3, L 7
- Mother beginning to value the digital camera (F3, FD 3, L 104, 129)

Grandparent Parent Child

- Attachment/separation (F2, FD 2, L 436)

Grandparent Parent Child

- Shopping behaviours – influencing visits to Toys-R-Us and the buying of high-tec toys and gadgets when the parent/grandparent don't like or want them (F3, FD 2, L 1440, 1456)

Figure 4.12 Intergenerational analysis charts across all data sets and all families

The data generated by the participants in this study were dynamic and complex. Data spanned three families, were generated using a range of inter-related tools (family dialogues, photographs, video clips, and artefacts/treasures) and involved participants from three different generations. An important aspect of the study was the formulation of data analysis tools that were appropriate for use within the cultural-historical theoretical constructs that underpinned this project, and that were suitable for use with the rich and complex generated data. The analytical processes outlined in this section were systematic and involved a series of levels of analysis that built one upon the other yet at the same time were operationalized within a dialectical model (see Figure 4.6).

Originating from the work of Hedegaard and Fleer with Bang and Hviid (2008) and their dialectic-interactive approach to data generation and analysis, the analytical tools used and developed as part of this study captured the complexity, dynamics, relations, transitions, and transformations embedded within the study's rich intergenerational family data. These tools enabled the researcher to move beyond a descriptive account of already formed or static family practices to an investigation of the genesis and dynamic processes of development and change that occurred during the everyday family child-rearing practices of three-generational families.

4.10 Conclusion

The cultural-historical dialectic-interactive methodology explicated in this chapter formed the framework for this study. Central to the choice of a research paradigm were the research questions that guided the study. This study sought to recognise the child not just as an individual but as an active member of a living, changing intergenerational

family and wider community, necessitating a methodology that could capture multiple perspectives holistically. Today, over half a century after his death, Vygotsky's theoretical and methodological work is inspiring growing numbers of researchers around the world working in a range of fields, yet to my knowledge, cultural-historical theory is not commonly used in the area of three-generational family research. This chapter drew together a discussion of Vygotsky's cultural-historical methodology and the methods that have been employed to operationalize it within this thesis. Referring to cultural-historical methodology, Fleer (2008a) argues:

> the research methodology must capture the institutional motives, goals and values if the dynamic interactions of children within education institutions and family institutions are to be understood. These must be understood as moving and dynamic. A wholeness approach seeks to capture all perspectives so that development can be conceptualised beyond something occurring within a child's head or body and move towards a dialectical relation between the child and his or her social situation across time and institutions. (p. 103)

It is the dynamic and complex relations and transitions that occur during child-rearing that are at the centre of this study.

The concepts of intergenerational continuity, disruption, and transformation are discussed in the following three data presentation chapters (Chapters 5, 6, and 7). Together these chapters form a dialectical understanding of the complex and dynamic everyday child-rearing practices that occurred in participant three-generational families.

CHAPTER 5

INTERGENERATIONAL CONTINUITY

...well mum and I, we have some extreme things we do the same (. . .) we wash clothes exactly the same, we do the dishes exactly the same, we do our washing in order, like the same way, we fold things the same way, we have our bathroom the same way, we shop the same way, we buy the same brands
(Mother of the Hill Top family)

5.1 Introduction

Whereas discussion in previous chapters has highlighted the theoretical and methodological aspects of the study, this chapter and the following two chapters (Chapters 6 and 7), foreground data generated and analysed as part of the study. These three chapters become a relational triad. Although a linear rendition of the data are presented in three separate chapters following one another, the dialectical complexity of relations, transitions, and transformations within intergenerational families does not easily 'fit' a linear interpretation.

The dominant theme of this chapter is intergenerational continuity. Intergenerational continuity is conceptualised by foregrounding three inter-related sub-themes: firstly, *exact* continuation (see section 5.2) and secondly, *generalised* continuation (see section 5.3) across three or more generations, from grandparent to parent to child (Figure 5.1).

Grandparent → Parent → Child

Figure 5.1 Exact or generalised intergenerational continuation

Thirdly, the aspect of *possible* continuation is presented. In this section intergenerational continuity is evident across two generations but it is unknown if the young children of the family will continue the family practice (see section 5.4 and Figure 5.2).

Grandparent → Parent (Unknown)

Figure 5.2 Possible intergenerational continuation

Each section in this chapter begins with a chart that provides an overview of the data related to the sub-theme. This is followed by the presentation and discussion of selected data drawing together initial conceptual theorising around participation, mediation, and motives as outlined in the research sub-questions (see Chapter 8). It is important to note that the unit of analysis for this study was family practices. Data presented are examples of specific family practices occurring as part of everyday life in the participant families (the concepts of 'everyday life' and 'family' have been discussed in detail in Chapter 1, while practice has been discussed in Chapter 3).

5.2 Continuous – Down through the generations

Intergenerational continuity was clearly evident in the data generated for this study. This subsection presents and explicates some of the many examples discussed, photographed, or videoed by participant families. The handing down from generation to generation of specific family artefacts and family names, the enjoyment of specific geographical locations, knowledge of the outdoors and natural environments, as well as

specific food preferences and practices were common to the three participant families in the study (see Figure 5.3).

Key: (HTF, FD1, L149) = Hill Top Family (HTF), Family dialogue one (FD1), Line 149 (L149).

EXACT CONTINUATION

Grandparent → Parent → Child

Hill Top Family

- Knitted rug (HTF, FD1, L491; FD2, L175; Photograph 40)
- Living in the outdoors (wild/bush) (HTF, FD1, L729)
- Knowledge of the environment (bush) (HTF, FD1, L261)
- Steamer used for cooking (HTF, FD1, L154, 179, 181; Photograph 41)
- Animals and pets (HTF, FD1B, L180; Photographs 10, 11, 13, 24, 25, 26; Video clips 1, 3, 7, 8)
- Help with household chores - gardening (HTF, FD1B, L146, 150, 390, 399; Photographs 2, 3)
- Photographs taken in the same spot in the same park interstate (HTF, FD2, L967, 969; Photographs 4, 5, 6, 7)

Peninsula Family

- The name 'Angus' passed through the male line (PF, FD1, L1503)
- Pocket watch – (PF, FD1, L123 & 1555; Photograph 90)
- Living in close proximity (PF, FD2, L987)
- Roast dinners (PF, FD2, L955; Photographs 77, 78; Video clips 28, 29, 30)
- Friday night fish and chips (PF, FD2, L1030; Photograph 19)
- Close connections with cousins (PF, FD2, L1341)

Bayside Family

- Sport - football (BF, FD1, L63, 107, 151), cycling (Photographs 11, 12, 13), swimming (Photograph 40), gym class (Photographs 24, 25, 26). Also linked to other family members of mother's generation (BF, FD1, L149)
- Lived childhood in same town (BF, FD1, L465)
- Pet dogs and cats (BF, FD1, L606; Video clips 7, 18, 19, 20; Photographs 2, 15, 20, 22, 34, 38, 39, 50, 51) plus other family members of mother's generation (BF, FD1, L897)
- Same spots at same beach - swimming (BF, FD2, L729, 743; Video clips 16, 17) fishing, (BF, FD3, L212, 217, 244)

Figure 5.3 Exact intergenerational continuation – examples from the data

5.2.1 Family artefacts and family names

Specific family artefacts and treasures seemed to provide a link between past and present generations. Sometimes these artefacts and treasures were no longer functional, such as the pocket watch that was treasured by the Peninsula Family (PF, FD1, L123 & 1555; Photograph 90): whereas at other times the artefact was still in everyday use, such as the knitted rug treasured by the Hill Top Family (HTF, FD1, L491; PF, FD2, L175; Photograph 40). During the course of the study the mother of the Hill Top Family became interested in the origins of a knitted rug that she had used as a baby-wrap for her child Mary, aged three years at the time of the study. The knitted rug was one of a number of family treasures that were shown to me as part of the first family dialogue with the Hill Top Family. The mother in this family treasured the knitted rug because she imagined that other families might not have hand-knitted rugs. She didn't knit herself, but she appreciated the time and effort that had gone into making it along with the fact that it was a family heirloom and a warm blanket for her new baby.

Mum:	And this um.. rug (pulled out of the case) is because it is knitted, because no … there is rarely knitted rugs and Mary has had this since she was a little baby as well, and for me it is special because I can still picture her as a tiny little baby underneath it … you know, it is just something I remember of her being little so, I suppose it is more for me, I don't want to get rid of it (laugh) not that I would
Researcher:	*So where would it have come from*
Mum:	Ah… one of my great aunts made this for my grandmother …
Researcher:	*It's been in your family a long time*
Mum:	Yeah, probably…. But I… when Mary came along I just said to mum, pull out one of those old leg rugs, leg rug being … you know
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mum:	For Mary um... because wool's warmer, you know, because Mary was a winter baby, and she pulled this out, so … I suppose we … we're spoilt with this type of knitting and um… you know, not every family has such nice craft in their family.
(HTF, FD1, L485-498)	

During the second dialogue, a photograph prompted a further conversation regarding the knitted rug which developed into a search for its origins. On this occasion the grandmother of the Hill Top Family was present and discussed the rug from the perspective of the "keeper of local knowledge" (Ridgeway, 2010, p. 239). It transpired that this knitted rug had been used as a baby-wrap over three generations.

Mother:	So Mum (addressing Gran), that rug (pointing to the knitted rug in the photo from the first family dialogue)….is that… do you recall that from anything or was that just something I pulled out when we found out that I was having Mary?
Gran:	Rita made that
Mother:	Who's Rita … oh Aunty
Gran:	Yeah mum's, my mum's niece
Mother:	Did she make it for someone? Or…
Gran:	Probably for my mum when she was in the nursing home (having a baby)
Mother:	Oh
Researcher:	*So for your mum* (talking to Gran)
Gran:	Yeah
Researcher:	*Ok so that … that's really come down what… four generations*
Mother:	Mmm, and we have still only got one hole in it
Researcher:	*Well that's pretty good*
Mother:	Mmm
Gran:	I'm pretty sure that was it, I don't think mum made it …. Mmm, this aunt that's made it, she used to come and stay with mum … when mum was having another baby
Researcher:	*Oh, ok*
Gran:	Yeah
Mother:	Yhat's interesting that I've taken it for… for when <u>my</u> baby came, isn't it.
(HTF, FD2, L175–194)	

The handmade knitted rug was a valued possession in the Hill Top Family as it had been used over a number of generations as a wrap for a newborn baby. The warmth of a woollen blanket for the baby was important but alongside this were the origins of the rug, and the personal nature of it being handmade. The knitted rug as an artefact held and mediated family history. It also linked very strongly to the present, through being used as a baby-wrap for Mary (the three-year-old child of the Hill Top Family) and stimulating the desire within Mary's mother to learn to knit, to carry the

craft of hand-knitting into the next generation. Mary herself was very familiar with the rug as it was often used in the car on long trips (HTF, FD2, L104-105).

The desire for intergenerational relations that was evident in the Hill Top Family through the passing down of an artefact (the knitted rug) was present in a different way in the Peninsula Family. The father of the Peninsula Family spoke of names being an important family identity marker on the male side of his family.

Father:	Dad's side of the family is another thing altogether, I mean that man had a real thing about passing on the family… identity, you know like… I'm Brent Angus, my father was Ryan Angus, he was Kenneth Angus, his father was Angus and this name of
Researcher:	*Ok*
Father:	Angus… my son's David Angus, and I've carried it on and … you know, so
Researcher:	*Right*
Gran:	Keith was all about tradition
Father:	A tradition going down, you know what I mean… but um… yeah so you know, the McDonald family, the McDonald clan, the identity of belonging to the McDonald… clan
(PF; FD1; L150-1513)	

The naming of a baby provided a link between past, present and future generations. Although this occurred through the male line in the Peninsula Family there was no mention of a similar practice occurring in the female line. In this instance a name became a mediator of family identity, providing a sense of connectedness and belonging that would stay with the child throughout his life.

These two examples, the baby wrap and the naming of a child, focus on the next generation being 'wrapped' both actually and metaphorically in the history of the family into which they have been born. The knitted rug was imbued with family history over three generations, and the name Angus spanned four generations. These family

practices created initial intergenerational relations between the newborns and their families. As the children grew older, they were introduced to a range of other intergenerational family practices such as various particular geographical locations that were imbued with family meaning that spanned a number of generations.

5.2.2 Geographical locations

During the course of data generation for this study the Hill Top Family embarked on an interstate family holiday. Before they left they explained to me that they would be taking their three-year-old daughter, Mary, to a particular park in Perth that had family connections over the generations. On their return the family provided me with a series of photographs taken in the park and discussed these during the second family dialogue (Photographs 4, 5, 6, 7).

Mother:	So these photos all in the same park in Perth and I know that um… I have a photo of my niece and I in that same spot overlooking Perth city
Researcher:	*Oh is that the one you were telling me you would take*
Mother:	And mum also has a photo of my niece … mum also has a photo of her and Kerry in that same spot and I
Researcher:	*Oh right*
Mother:	When mum (Gran) came to visit when we (Mother and Father) lived in Perth … yeah?
Gran:	Mmm
Researcher:	*So what is special about that park?*
Mother:	Um…. It's beautiful … it's a beautiful, beautiful park, it overlooks the city… it's <u>really</u> calm … um… I've had some really great … um… barbeques and things there … some really good barbeques and they are good memories, of friends and family in that spot.
(HTF, FD2, L102-1037)	

For the mother of the Hill Top Family, it was important for Mary (her three-year-old daughter) to visit and enjoy this particular park. Making and recording memories of the park was also significant and therefore photographs were taken to

record the visit. These photographs were taken at the same site as photographs taken years earlier that featured Mary's mother and grandmother on one occasion, and grandmother and niece on another (HTF, FD2, L1073). The park was an important location as a range of family events had been celebrated there. The park had become a traditional meeting place filled with memories of family and friends, and Mary's parents wanted Mary to come to know and love this particular geographical location. Photographs of Mary's visit to the park included her playing with her father and standing on the viewing platform looking over Perth city (HTF, FD2, L1073). The geographical location as well as the photographs mediated recent and past family memories, providing strands of relationship between Mary, her parents, and her grandparents, as each had experienced visits to the park at different times in their lives.

For the Bayside Family the local beach was an important location that drew three generations of family members together. Whereas the Hill Top Family had taken time to plan a family holiday in Perth during which they introduced their daughter Mary to a special family location and the friends and family members associated with it, an important family location for the Bayside Family was in close proximity to where the family lived and was visited regularly. For the Bayside Family the local beach was imbued with memories of childhood over the generations, Pop's childhood (BF, FD1, L236; FD2, L729; FD3, L212), Mother's childhood (BF, FD1, L220), and now six-year-old Charlie's childhood (BF, FD3, L164; video clips 16,17, and photograph 40). Each family member held memories of swimming, snorkelling, fishing, and playing at the local beach.

Mother:	Oh, and he does swimming lessons too
Researcher:	*Ok*
Mother:	Which is important… I think because we live so close to the beach we… we go to the beach a lot and we… need to learn how to swim
Pop:	We're lucky in Benston… I've lived in Benston all me life, I was born in Benston here… we are lucky with the beach
Researcher:	*Oh definitely*
Pop:	Yes
Researcher:	*It's a beautiful beach*
Mother:	Mmm
Researcher:	*I mean it's won awards and everything, it's amazing*
Pop:	I feel sorry … for the kids that live in the country
Mother:	Yeah
Pop:	They have got no idea what it would be like to live in Benston in the summer
Mother:	Mmm
Researcher:	*So would you spend a lot of time at the beach in the summer?*
Mother:	Yeah... I do, I do with Charlie
Pop:	It's what I'd like … to live there… with the beach with all the kids
Mother:	Yeah… and the same… the very same spot that… when you were little you used to go snorkelling and… at the bottom of Bluff Hill… you used to go… you used to catch a lot of fish there didn't you?
Pop:	Went spear-fishing there
Mother:	Spear-fishing
Pop:	And fish off the pier with a fishing rod
Mother:	And there used to be heaps of fish to be caught you know
Pop:	At the bottom of Bluff Hill
Mother:	But now… you are lucky to catch a flat head fish and…
Researcher:	*Oh that's rather a shame, isn't it?*
Mother:	Yeah… yeah… not much to be caught now in the bay… but… um… yeah
Researcher:	*But you still see people … um… fishing off the pier*
Pop:	Oh, yeah ... but not like you used to, not as many
(BF, FD1, L215-252)	

Not only did the Bayside Family visit the same beach, they had areas at this particular beach that had been favourite spots over the generations. There was a sense of ownership and identity that came with frequenting these particular places. As a boy, the grandfather of the Bayside Family, along with his friends, considered that the pier belonged to him, that he had particular custodial rights as a local boy that visitors did not have. He imagined that his grandson Charlie would have a similar experience when he was older, and even now that Charlie would identify with the pier by walking along it and fishing from it.

Pop:	Or we used to jump off the end of the pier
Researcher:	*(chuckle)*
Pop:	We all knew how to swim (smiling)
Researcher:	*Yeah, but maybe he will do that one day too*
Pop:	He probably will
Researcher:	*Yeah… I mean, like how old would you have been when you were jumping off the end of the pier?*
Pop:	Oh anything from 10, 10 onwards
Researcher:	*Yeah, yeah*
Pop:	More so when we were a bit older like 16 or 14 – 16
Researcher:	*Yes (quietly)*
Pop:	Because we used to um… jump in and splash the people that were on the pier
Researcher:	*Oh! ok (laugh)*
Pop:	Yeah… we were devils… (chuckle in his voice) when we were boys
Family friend:	He still is (quietly) (chuckle)
Pop:	Well we were the Benston boys, we used think that the pier was <u>our pier</u> not, not <u>your</u> pier
(BF, FD2, L743-759)	

Charlie's father further developed Charlie's relations with the beach and the pier through spending time with Charlie at the beach fishing, swimming and playing (BF, FD3, L217) during custodial visits.

These were two examples (Mary visiting the park in Perth and Charlie participating in activities at the local beach) where participant families discussed the continuation of family practices in particular geographical locations. The park and beach were mediators of intergenerational knowledge, experience, memories, and relations. The children (Mary and Charlie) were introduced to and guided in their participation in these locations as they shared enjoyment, physical activities, and gatherings of family and friends; in the process they created their own memories of these locations. Both families valued the relationships that were afforded by these locations where open spaces allowed for gatherings of family and friends, participation in physical activities, and the enjoyment of particular physical environs.

5.2.3 Knowledge of the outdoor environments

Knowledge of the local area, in particular where to fish, snorkel, and swim, along with how the local beach environment had changed over the years, were some of the funds of environmental knowledge (Moll and Greenberg, 1990) held and shared within the Bayside Family. The Hill Top Family also had extensive environmental knowledge, not of a particular seaside location but of the bush and farmland. For many generations the Hill Top Family had lived, worked and enjoyed leisure activities in rural environments, which were very important to them.

Mother:	They are just things that I um … we value and we want Mary to value that … we really want Mary to learn about how to light a fire and to learn about the different types of wood and what they are for and… to learn about the ways of cooking and not just turning on power or
Father:	Where Mary's granddad can tell you … ah … you go out in the bush with Mary's granddad and he can tell you every native name of the tree
Researcher:	*Ok (softly)*
Father;	You know the ones that are 50 letters long … yeah
Mother:	Oh he can't tell you the …
Father:	Yeah
Mother:	Oh.. can he?
Father:	Yeah … he's good at it
(HTF, FD1, L306-317)	

Mary's dad had a strong desire for Mary to appreciate the bush and learn to live 'rough'. Knowledge about living in the bush and using the resources available was important to the Hill Top Family. Particular local knowledge had been passed from grandfather to father and now Mary was being introduced to this knowledge, especially when she visited her grandparents. The family often joked about the grandfather's knowledge of the wood types available in the local area, especially in relation to what

was considered 'day' wood and 'night' wood that had been collected for the homestead fires.

Mother:	So my father would actually um… search for that type of tree for the qualities that it burns longer and there is not a lot of ash so that when you burn in a wood stove … you, you get the best out of the wood and then there's not … a lot of waste afterwards, so he would go out and pick the tree that he wants, … the dead tree, cut it down and then … he brings it home and then if he's got large pieces that he has difficulty …. chopping … he would have sawn that (. . .)
Mother:	So… we have been up there for the weekend and father would have felt that he needs to do something so he would have then started chopping into grandfather's wood pile and…
Father:	Grandfather would be down at the shed and we would say he will be home from fox shooting soon… you'll hear him in a minute because he'll know I've been in his wood heap … I've wrecked it… moved it… and we will hear him bellow in a minute so everyone will sit there in anticipation waiting for the bellow (laughing loudly)
Researcher:	*And will it come*
Father:	Yeah, yeah, eventually (laughing loudly)
(HTF, FD1, L261-291	

Life in, and knowledge of, the bush was understood as part of 'normal' life for the Hill Top Family, just as life at the beach was considered normal by the Bayside Family.

Father:	I go bush a lot
Researcher:	*Oh right*
Father:	When I can … go away
Researcher:	*Yeah … So what do you mean by go bush?*
Father:	Camping, fishing
Researcher:	*Oh right*
Father:	Yeah, go and get lost (little chuckle)
Researcher:	*Yeah, that kind of thing*
Father:	Yeah, yeah, boy things
Researcher:	*Yeah … so would you take the girls with you?*
Father:	Yeah, yeah, yeah, if they want to come, they'll come … yeah we are just starting now um… getting Mary out and about a bit now … you know, so just got a campervan and we'll get that up … and … yeah … she'll come out in the campervan. So if Mary wasn't along we would both just take the swags and roll out the swags … none of these land cruisers, … we live pretty rough
Researcher:	*Yeah, yeah, but you enjoy that?*
Father:	Yeah, it's good
Researcher:	*Yeah that's part of life*
Father:	Yeah … living like champions with nothing yeah! So, no it's good … I've spent a lot of my time travelling like that, so… yeah, it's good… good memories
Researcher:	*Yeah … so yeah… how do you feel about Mary getting involved with some of that kind of thing?*

Father:	Oh yeah, for sure… yeah, yeah, I try and get her into it, so that's what I want her to do
Researcher:	*Yeah*
Father:	She needs to I don't want her to be a little puppy doll that … a little princess doll that won't go to the toilet because … there isn't a toilet – she's got to learn to wee in the grass
(HTF, FD1, L688-716)	

For the Hill Top Family (Mary's family), life in the bush was considered the 'good life' and for the Bayside Family (Charlie's family), life at the beach was considered the 'good life' (Hedegaard, 2005). Charlie's pop said 'I feel sorry for kids that live in the country' (BF, FD1, L227) and yet for Mary's family there could not be anything better than living in the country and camping 'rough'. The concept of what is considered 'good' appeared to be linked to what had been experienced by these two families, where family memories and relationships had been established. Both families wanted their children to experience, enjoy, and come to know what the previous generations had valued and considered important aspects of life. Both families were introducing their children to family practices and geographical locations that they knew deeply and identified with.

5.2.4 Food preferences and practices

Often alongside the choice of geographical location and at times related to it, were the food preferences and practices continued by participant families over three or more generations. Members of the Hill Top Family spoke about how they valued the handing down of family recipes, recipe books, and cooking equipment.

Mother:	If you think about the things in my grandmother's home … my mother now lives in there and … at odd times mum's said get some of this stuff out of this house so I would take …. a… these types of things, cooking trays, anything that I thought was … you know … old, old tins, old recipes and my sister has taken knitting needles, knitting books and crochet hooks and … so I suppose it just shows where we are different
Researcher:	*Well it is, it is different*
Father:	I've got a collection of recipes here that go back to the 1900's
Mother:	Mmm… we have
Researcher:	*Have you?*
Father:	Yeah, truly… all handwritten
Mother:	Yes, from my great grandmother (talking over each other)
Researcher:	*Where have they come from?*
Mother:	My great grandmother
Researcher:	*Your great grandmother from your side of the family*
Father:	Yeah
Mother:	Yeah, my mother's mother
Father:	In broken tins … yeah, the tins that they are still in
Researcher:	*How amazing*
Mother:	My sister asked me about those the other day
Father:	And they are in pounds and ounces
Mother:	Yeah …
Researcher:	*Yeah they would be*
Father:	And we got the old scales, and they use ah… suet instead of butter and all that … yeah…
(HTF, FD1, L505-531)	

The recipes, ingredients, cooking methods and equipment used in previous generations appeared to have a fascination for both the mother and father of the Hill Top Family. They endeavoured to hold on to some of these 'older style' cooking methods as they, particularly father, had a liking for food cooked in these ways.

Researcher:	*Yeah… So would you ever use any of them?*
Mother:	Yeah, I have, I have, I've used some in the um… like shortbread at Christmas time Mary and I have had a bit of a go at shortbread and … there's some other things there ah… there's some things that I thought that um… mainly because I've um… things … I've thought that maybe father would like to eat because he likes to eat some of the older style foods that his mum would cook like … steak and kidney pudding and things like that …
(HTF, FD1, L533-539)	

The steak and kidney pudding would be steamed using a particular type of cooking pot or steamer. The mother of the Hill Top Family had brought her steamer to talk about during the first family dialogue. On that occasion she spoke about the steamer being one of her 'favourite things'. She made reference to the types of food cooked in the steamer along with the fact that this method of cooking was still being used by Mary's maternal and paternal grandparents as well as other family members. Mary, the three-year-old child of the family, had also been involved in meal preparation using the steamer, guided by her mother (HTF, FD1, L140).

Mother:	I suppose this (the steamer) is probably one of <u>my</u> favourite things
Researcher:	*This pot? Well actually what is it?*
Mother:	It's called, it's a steamer,
Researcher:	*It's a steamer*
Mother:	So you actually make something in it seal the lid and then you would put it in boiling water and then you would boil whatever it is
Researcher:	*Oh yes*
Father:	Yorkshire pudding
Mother:	Well steamed pudding usually a sweet pudding
Father:	Rr... Yorkshire pudding that mum (Mary's grandmother) makes
Mother:	Yeah, I think she makes
Father:	Steak and kidney
Mother:	Steak and kidney pudding, yes. So more of a traditional type cooking
Researcher:	*Right*
Mother:	That my mother would have used so it's probably not something that people use so much now, but I um… like to use it
Researcher:	*So where did this particular um … bowl come from?*
Mother:	My sister
Researcher:	*So she's used it in the past?*
Mother:	Probably my grandmother more or …or I would have purchased it at … or I would have purchased it at a garage sale so it is similar to mum's
Researcher:	*Oh right … And so are steam puddings something… a sort of a family … something that comes in your family?*
Mother:	Ahhh, I suppose, well something my mum used to make so … yeah
Researcher:	*And do you make the same ones as she used to make?*
Mother:	Well my sister recently found a recipe so she tried it and then mum said "I used to make it just like that" so I would assume so
(F1, FD1, L145-182)	

The steamer and the meals cooked in it were referred to a number of times during the first and second family dialogues with the Hill Top Family. There was talk of this particular cooking method being 'traditional' and the mother of the family imagined that few families would cook in this way, preferring quicker and more modern methods such as the microwave (F1, FD2, L310). However in the Hill Top Family, steak and kidney pudding was a special treat that was sometimes prepared as a gift by the grandmother of the family in celebration of a family member's birthday (HTF, FD2, L319).

Family gatherings that included particular food choices and meal preparation methods were sometimes important occasions and other times part of weekly routines for the families in this study. Although the Peninsula Family did not use a steamer, the children were being introduced to roast dinners which were a particular favourite of their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. The weekly roast dinner had been a tradition when the children's father was a young boy, with his grandfather (the children's great-grandfather) preparing the roast for Sunday lunch while other family members attended church (PF, FD1, L1286 and FD2, L963). Over the course of this project the Peninsula Family shared photographs and video footage they had taken of the family members gathered around the table eating a roast meal (Photographs 77, 78; Video clips 28, 29, 30).

Father:	The roast? Oh yeah have we got a roast photo?
Researcher:	*Yeah there is a lovely… here this one*
Father:	Oh yeah having a roast
Researcher:	*Number 78*
Father:	Oh well, yeah,
Researcher:	*That's a roast photo*

Father:	Well, that… that's different… yeah… basically um… we used to go to Church on Sunday and come home and my Grandfather would have cooked a roast
Researcher:	*Oh, I see*
Father:	Every Sunday,
Researcher:	*Yes*
Father:	Every single Sunday we would have a roast dinner
Researcher:	*Ok*
Father:	Yeah, so that is true… yeah, it was a regular… sort of … institution I suppose
Gran:	Well I grew up with it
(PF, FD2, L956-971)	

The tradition of roast dinners being prepared by the male members of the family was a Peninsula Family ritual but was not rigidly adhered to as female family members also prepared roast dinners. Over the years the roast dinner had became a mediator of family relations, humour, and playfulness. One video clip provided by the family exemplified this relational playfulness while discussing father's cooking.

Father:	Hope (father addressing one of the four-year-old twins), what do you think about Daddy's cooking? (speaking as he is pouring gravy onto her dinner)
Hope:	Mmm
Father:	Is Daddy a good cook?
Hope:	(no reply)
Father:	Bev? (addressing the other twin)
Beverley:	Yeah
Father:	Yeah?... I think so!... what do you think Mummy?
Mother:	Yeah, I think so, I think Daddy is a good cook.... (chuckle directed at father while pouring gravy on her dinner)...
(PF, Video clip Dinner 1)	

Playfulness and humour was intergenerationally associated with the family practice of roast meal preparation both in the present and in the past. Memories of the twins' great-grandfather were recalled with stories of how he would often cook apple pie to follow the roast meal, and how extended family and friends were always welcome to participate in the Sunday meal.

Gran:	Well in the later years and it continued so we were always expected to be there on Sunday for family
Father:	Yeah, and it was the sort of thing where … where a lot of people would um… come, you know, you would get other members of the family
Gran:	Drop in
Father:	Just drop in, and there would always be enough, you know, you would just sort of get ... oh do you want a roast and he'd cut off a little bit for them
Gran:	He'd say 'now what do you want?' … He'd put a chicken in to make sure there was um... plenty there... so it didn't matter who called in they'd get a roast lunch
Father:	Yeah
Gran:	And for a long time he'd make an apple pie as well but the days, Sundays when he wouldn't make apple pie he would say ... um... there might be a friend of ours he'd say 'would you like apple pie and cream?' and they would say ' yes thank you', he'd to 'oh sorry we haven't got any' (laugh)
Researcher:	*(Laugh) yeah*
Gran:	But no, he'd just, he liked to cook
Father:	Yeah, that was true, that's why I enjoy roasts… I love having roast meals…
(PF, FD2, L991-1008)	

These family practices of meal preparation involved so much more than just the intergenerational continuation of a particular food preference. In both the Peninsula Family and the Hill Top Family particular foods and the ways in which they were cooked were dialectically related to and mediated by the participation of particular family members. The young children in these families were being introduced to particular foods and tastes but these foods and tastes were not isolated, rather they were imbued with family history, cultural identity, and shared meaning that was of particular importance to the families in which they were being raised.

This subsection has focused on some of the continuous and uninterrupted practices of participant families, practices that have continued with very little or no change over three or more generations. The following subsection of this chapter continues the focus on intergenerational continuity, recognising that participant families identified some family practices that had continued over a number of generations but had greater evidence of generational change.

5.3 Continuous but generational changes

The intergenerational continuity of family practices did not always replicate exactly what had taken place in a previous generation. On occasions participants spoke of the changes that occurred from generation to generation and yet the focus or essence of the practice remained the same. Examples of such practices included generational changes associated with geographical locations and family music practices (see Figure 5.4).

CONTINUOUS BUT GENERATIONAL CHANGES

Grandparent → Parent → Child

Peninsula Family

- Music – nana played the piano, father sang, children being introduced to guitars and singing (PF, FD2, L709, 753; photographs 26, 27); singing at bed-time (video clips 2, 3); dancing in the lounge (video clips 1, 22); dancing lessons (photograph 28)
- Spending time at the local park (different parks for different generations) (PF, FD2, L918)
- Spending time at the local beach (different beaches for different generations) (PF, FD2, L942)

Bayside Family

- Local park in close proximity to home (different parks for different generations) (BF, FD2, L727, 781, 787, 791)

Figure 5.4 Generalised intergenerational continuation – examples from the data

5.3.1 Geographical locations

Where specific beaches and parks sometimes remained favourite spots visited again and again over many generations (see section 5.2.2) for both the Peninsula Family and the Bayside Family, there were generational changes in the parks and beaches that they

frequented related to their proximity to the location of the family residence. For the Bayside Family, a small park in the local neighbourhood where children could play on swings, climbing frames and the like, was an important mediator of family outings as well as social interaction with neighbourhood children. For the grandfather of the Bayside Family, a park at the end of the street when he was a youngster was an important meeting place for the children of the neighbourhood (BF, FD2, L727), as was the local beach (BF, FD2, L731). The mother of the Bayside Family lived close to a different local park when she was a child (BF, FD2, L787) and now Charlie (the six-year-old child of the Bayside Family), his mother and grandfather spend family time together with their dog at another local park that was within five minutes walking distance of Charlie's home (BF, FD2, L791). Each generation enjoyed a different park in a different locality but proximity to a local park was an important feature of the local neighbourhood for the Bayside Family, affording playful activities, social interactions, and strong links to the local area.

A similar situation occurred in the Peninsula Family where proximity to a local beach provided summertime activities and social interactions with family and friends. Each generation enjoyed a beach that was in close proximity to their place of residence and each generation lived in a different location. As a child, the mother of the Peninsula Family lived opposite a swimming beach and was a frequent visitor.

Mother:	And the beach… going to the beach, we went to the beach a lot as kids and I loved it… I <u>love</u> going to the beach … yeah, really free, it's free, there's a lot of um… little discoveries to make… and um…
Researcher:	*And did you live in this area?*
Mother:	No
Researcher:	*Would you have come to Benston Beach?*
Mother:	No, no, we didn't live in Benston but I did live at West Shore

Researcher:	*Oh yes*
Mother:	Which is … right on the beach, I actually lived opposite the beach… so we used to spend all our summer … just going swimming, in the water at the beach…
(PF, FD2, L934-943)	

The four-year-old twins of the Peninsula Family (Hope and Beverley) lived in the seaside town of Benston and visited the beach often in the summer with their parents, but visits needed to be planned outings as the beach was not within walking distance of their home. Photographs and video clips of family outings to the beach were discussed during two of the family dialogues with the Peninsula Family.

Father:	I've picked out two photos, the first one is photo number 73… and it is a photo of… Mum and all the kids on the beach
Researcher:	*Right*
Father:	The reason I picked this one is because everyone in this photo is part of my family that I love so much… and…. that everyone is just having a good time… um just enjoying the day… it was a beautiful day that day
Beverley:	Mum we had ice-cream
Father:	Having an ice-cream
Hope:	We had the ice-cream
Researcher:	*Did you?*
Hope:	Yeah
Father:	Oh we just decided to get out as a family and… you know, have some fun so we went down to the park and then after the park we went down to the beach and we just thought it was a nice day
Mother:	Mmm
Father:	And um… yeah, I like it because it has got everybody in it
Researcher:	*And is that a favourite spot?*
Mother:	Yes
Father:	Yeah we go there… fairly regularly, we would go there… that's down in Benston beach down there and the park is down there
Researcher:	*Yes*
Father:	Um… because it is a good park, the kids have a lot of fun down there,
Researcher:	*Yeah*
Father:	And um … there's … a restaurant where you can get things if you need some food
Researcher:	*Yes*
Father:	And you can jump on the beach and enjoy it… so it was… um… good … so that is why I picked that one…
(PF, FD2, L359-387)	

The twins' nana also spoke of living close to the beach as an adult and as a child. She enjoyed being able to watch the ships coming in and out of the harbour (PF, FD3, L210-216) and although she now finds it difficult to walk on the sand at the beach she has many childhood memories of times spent at different beaches with family and friends.

Visits to the beach were not isolated activities; rather the beach became a mediator of complex dialectical relations and transitions of family memory-making, social interactions, as well as enjoyment of the outdoors, and water activities across and between the generations. For the Peninsula Family it appeared that visiting the same specific beach over the generations did not matter, there was something deeper than a specific location that drew them back to the beach, any beach. The experience of being 'free' (PF, FD2, L935) in the outdoors and able to make 'little discoveries' (PF, FD2, L936), enjoying the water, sand and sun, spending time together as a family - these were some of the important things that this family wanted their children to experience and enjoy, and the beach, any beach, provided a setting for this to occur.

Similarly, the Bayside Family placed importance on spending time at the local park. It was not a particular park that was important but rather what the park and its facilities afforded the family in terms of space, equipment, and a place to socialise amongst themselves or with the wider local community. Intergenerational continuity might involve exact replication or continuity (see section 5.2) but at another level, different places and different activities might lead to the same outcomes that were valued by the family.

5.3.2 Music

Music in a range of forms, including singing, dance, and playing instruments, was an important intergenerational activity in the Peninsula Family. Nana spoke of "doing lots of singing" (PF, FD2, L599) when she visited her grandchildren. Photographs discussed during the second family dialogue included scenes of Hope and Beverley (the four-year-old twins of the Peninsula Family) playing ukuleles, accompanying their father playing a guitar and singing (PF, Photographs 26, 27): the girls creatively dancing to music in the lounge (PF, Photograph 4), as well as in more formal ballet dress before attending a lesson (PF, Photograph 28). Video clips filmed by the family included two of Hope, Beverley, their dad and younger brother sitting on one of the bunk beds singing together before bed-time (PF, Video clips 2, 3) and the girls creatively dancing to music in the lounge (PF, Video clips 1, 22).

Music was an important family activity in its many and varied forms and although it was an intergenerational activity there had been changes through the generations. Nana played the piano (PF, FD2, L716), father sang in the choir and played various instruments (PF, FD2, L710), and mother always wanted to learn ballet and the piano but did not have the opportunity (PF, FD1, L1145). Presently the children and their father enjoy singing and playing instruments together (PF, FD2, L709; Photographs 26, 27; Video clips 2, 3) and the girls attend ballet classes (PF, FD1, L1140; Photograph 28).

Father:	I sang in… oh yeah, I sang as a child and I played instruments… I played the clarinet and the… mmm baritone and… but I didn't get together with Mum… and you know, Mum, pull out the (chuckling) guitar (referring to the photo of him playing the guitar and the children playing ukuleles) (everyone laughing)

Nana: He sang, he started at age seven as a reserve in the local men's choir, so I had to drive him there every week… no that's all… to his um… lessons, I took him to clarinet lessons but I'm not musical… I did learn the piano
Researcher: *You've been singing for a long time*
Father: Yeah
Researcher: *In choirs?*
Father: In choirs, yeah lots of choirs,
Mother: As a child, since he was about seven I suppose
Father: Since I was about five
Nana: No he started, excuse me… his first concert was with the Voice Academy was four years of age
Father: Oh… there you go
Researcher: *Oh, my goodness*
Father: I stand corrected
(everyone laughing)
Nana: And one of the Voice Academy students, and father sang Jingle Bells and he got up on the stage, and when he got up there he was only… he wasn't, he hadn't turned five
Researcher: *Right*
Nana: And he was getting… it was a big hall and he was getting a bit nervous so this other student went up with him and put her arm around him and started just singing Jingle Bells to support you and then your whole crew joined in because you were the littlest one
Father: Yeah
Nana: In the Voice Academy it was their Annual Concert
(everyone laughing)
Researcher: *Oh how amazing*
Nana: So… yeah…
Father: Well there you go… so to answer your question, I didn't really do much of that like with the family… but yes I was musical
Researcher: *Yes*
Father: Growing up
Researcher: *Yes, well I … there is already different signs of the girls enjoying music*
Mother: Yep
Researcher: *Um... in different ways and moving to music*
Mother: Yeah, dance
Researcher: *Yes*
Mother: And actually it is funny because over the last two weeks um… they've, I've give… I gave the camera back, but they've been putting on concerts for mum, haven't you?
Beverley: Yes
Father: Yes
Mother: And Hope is the singer
Researcher: *Oh yes*
Mother: And Beverley plays the guitar
(PF, FD2, L710-760)

Participation in music making and dancing in both formal and informal contexts has occurred in this family over at least three generations. Everyday home experiences have been enhanced by professional lessons and formal concerts, drawing together everyday and scientific (professional or academic) learning (Vygotsky, 1987). Musical talent and interest have been recognised and encouraged by parents and grandparents. The children themselves have created their own play contexts of concerts (PF, FD2, L754) as well as using books and DVDs such as "Barbie and the twelve dancing princesses" (PF, FD3, L316; Video clips 1, 22) to further their interest in music and ballet. Music is a valued activity in the Peninsula Family, although over the generations the particular ways in which music has been practised have varied.

The final subsection in this chapter considers family practices that have been continuous over two generations and as yet, are not actively engaged in by the young children of the family. Therefore the children may or may not continue the practices that their grandparents and parents have followed.

5.4 Continuous through two generations – third generation unknown

In the previous two sections data have been presented that exemplified the continuous nature of a range of family practices: firstly, practices that showed exact or similar continuation and secondly, those that had been substantially similar although there had been generational changes. The final subsection of this chapter considers family practices that are evident over two generations but have not yet been taken up by the children of the family (see Figure 5.5). One reason for this might be the adult nature of the activities and the young age of the children. Family practices discussed in this

subsection are firstly, the care and support of family members facing hurdles and hardships in their lives and secondly, everyday routines, household chores, and shopping preferences.

CONTINUOUS THROUGH TWO GENERATIONS – THIRD GENERATION UNKNOWN

Grandparent → Parent (Unknown)

Hill Top Family

- Collection of recipes (HTF, FD1, L513)
- Care for other family members when ill or in need (HTF, FD1B, L386, 624)
- Folding clothes the same way, washing the same way, using the same brands of cleaners (HTF, FD2, L996; HTF, FD1B, L564)

Peninsula Family

- Living with and assisting an aging parent (PF, FD1, L587-594)

Bayside Family

- Mother providing activities for child that she enjoyed as a child (BF, FD2, L772, 773, 775, 778, 782, 882)
- Facing hurdles and hard times and working through them as an intergenerational and extended family (BF, FD2, L1198)

Figure 5.5 Possible intergenerational continuation – examples from the data

5.4.1 Personal hurdles and hardships

All three participant families spoke of times where they had supported each other through hurdles and hard times including sickness, financial difficulties, and the struggles of everyday life circumstances. Members of the Bayside Family had experienced marital difficulties including separation and divorce. When discussing these

difficulties both the grandfather and mother of the Bayside Family identified a family strength of 'getting over' things and 'keeping going' when the circumstances of life became a hurdle for them; giving up was not an option.

Pop:	Yeah, I think we are all … go-with-the-flow, happy-go-lucky… I don't know if that is a strength
Mother:	Yeah
Pop:	It is <u>not</u> a weakness
Mother:	I think it's um… I think it's a <u>strength</u> because … if we approach a <u>hurdle</u>… in life, in anything well, we get over it and keep going
Pop:	Push it aside, yeah
Mother:	Yeah, I don't know if push it aside, yeah… we often go around it
Pop:	Yeah
Mother:	Or get over it (chuckle) either
Researcher:	*Either, yeah*
Mother:	Yeah, … we wouldn't break down
Researcher:	*It doesn't … It doesn't suddenly make everyone, make you collapse and*
Pop:	No
Researcher:	*And you can't keep going?*
Mother:	No
Pop:	No
Researcher:	*Yeah*
Mother:	Mmm…
Pop:	Yeah (quietly)
Researcher:	*Any ideas where that came from?... how… how that developed in your family?*
Pop:	… probably just because we had to… there was … no other way in life… to survive … you have just got to… keep going…
Mother:	Mmm
Pop:	That is all I can think of… I've always had to… struggle through life … and if <u>anything is in the road</u> … you have got to <u>beat it</u>… … all the kids (now adults) have been the same… they've… all had a struggle at different times… and… I suppose… well… yeah, that is all I can think of … I couldn't think of anything else
Mother:	Yeah… …
(BF, FD2, L1174-1202)	

One aspect of not giving up and keeping going was the support the Bayside Family offered each other through the sharing of knowledge and expertise, sharing their family 'funds of knowledge' (Moll & Greenberg, 1990). The grandfather (pop) of this family had been employed in the car industry all his working life. During the first family dialogue with the Bayside Family he brought a newspaper cutting to share. The

photograph and the associated article told of his high work ethic which had been recognised by the company and he had been awarded 'Employee of the Year'. When it came to his daughter (Charlie's mother) needing to buy a car after her separation it was pop that shared his technical, relational, and financial knowledge to ensure she got a suitable car within her budget.

Pop:	And the other one is just a photo of Charlie (the six-year-old) and his mother's car… I spent all one day going with her to buy that car (laugh)
Researcher:	*(laugh)… ok come on tell us … tell us a little about the story… number 23… (chuckle) the story of buying the car*
Pop:	Well I was with her when she went to buy the car… we finished up buying a completely different car from what she was going to buy
Mother:	Oh … that's right, what's the name of the one I was going to buy?
Pop:	It was a Subaru. A Subaru Impresser or something … we talked you out of that
Mother:	Yeah
Pop:	You got a Toyota Rav
Mother:	Yeah
Pop:	Yeah, and you got a good price too
Mother:	Yeah
Pop:	Yeah, you got it from Benston Toyota
Researcher:	*And why did they talk you out of what you wanted?*
Mother:	I think it was out of my price range
Pop:	Yeah
Mother:	So um… yeah
Pop:	And I thought a Toyota was a better buy than the
Mother:	Yeah
Pop:	Subaru
Mother:	That's right
Pop:	So … like… I've been.. in the car game all of me life
Researcher:	*Ok*
Pop:	And I thought Toyotas were the best cars to buy
Researcher:	*Ok (quietly)*
Mother:	Yeah, that's why I took dad with me too… because… I know nothing about cars and it was great that dad could … give me some guidance on the day of … what to buy and what to look out for and … and he knew… the car dealers… the salesmen and…
Researcher:	*Oh right*
Mother:	Which made it easier ... so …. it saved me making the wrong choice
(BF, FD2, L226-263	

In an earlier family dialogue with the Bayside Family, mother and pop spoke about the some of the difficulties families were facing in the present economic and

social climate. Although they began by talking about families in general they went on to mention specific hardships and hurdles that they had personally faced. Yet even though these situations had been difficult there seemed to be strong intergenerational threads of commitment, concern, and pulling together that united this family in the midst of separation and difficulty.

Pop:	That's the way life is going, it's not going to get much better really, is it? It's pretty hard at the moment.
Researcher:	*Pretty hard for a lot of people*
Pop:	Yeah
Researcher:	*A lot of people are struggling*
Pop:	Yeah
Researcher:	*But I think, … you know, that is where it is really interesting to think about family… you know, you were saying … well, ok in hard times families*
Pop:	Stick, should stick together
Researcher:	*In your way of thinking, come together*
Pop:	Yeah
Mother:	Mmm… yeah, <u>we do</u>
Researcher:	*So you as a family sound like you actually experienced that, where you have come together to help*
Mother:	Many times… yeah, through accidents um… or… whether you have a gambling problem or a… yeah, a road accident… um… other accident
Researcher:	*Difficulties*
Mother:	Difficulties, yeah
Researcher:	*Where things have been really hard*
Mother:	Yeah… separations, divorces… and lots of things and we have… always know that there will be <u>someone</u> within a phone call away to come and help… or just give an ear… a listening ear or … whatever
(BF, FD1, L1004-1025)	

Knowing that there was someone just a phone call away who would be willing and able to come and help seemed to be a vital part of the lives of participant families. Just as the mother of the Bayside Family spoke about the need to have other family members, such as parents and siblings, willing to help or listen when difficulties arose, the same occurred in the Hill Top Family. During the time of data generation the father of the Hill Top Family was unexpectedly asked to travel overseas as part of his

job. This meant that Mary (the three-year-old of the Hill Top Family) and her mother would be left alone for a period of a few weeks and father was not happy about that so he contacted his mother (Mary's grandmother) for help.

Gran:	Well the phone rang and he said Gran what are you doing? And I said oh… nothing much and he said oh I want you for a fortnight and I said god! Who's going into hospital or something … he said, oh I'm like going to China, I thought … I beg your pardon! (getting louder) (laugh) He said could you stay with the family and I said, yeah and I said, I'll get back to you, cause I thought I better ask Nick (her husband) first, He said, don't tell, I haven't rung my wife yet (getting excited) she doesn't know. I said, alright (laugh)
Researcher:	*(laugh)*
Mother:	(laugh)
Researcher:	*Now isn't that fascinating, that he would ring you first*
Gran:	So then I … I think I rang him back the next night, did I?
Mother:	Yeah,
Gran:	You (referring to Mary's mother) knew then
Mother:	I didn't know he had called <u>you</u> then though, … until that night or something, he said oh I rang Gran and I said, what did you do that for? He said, well to see what she was doing and, cause … um… although Gran doesn't work she has physio appointments and swimming and those types of things are important for her arthritis you know
Gran:	Yeah
Mother:	To keep doing those things and she would have to, you know reschedule those things, they are not things that … it's just … we don't like her to miss out on them for long periods of time so it's about re-juggling things for her more so … and um…. so I suppose he was just warning her if she could come down … which has been great because even though she can't physically look after Mary as such … she certainly helps out heaps by … well she's washed all week and ironed all week (laugh)
Gran:	(laughed)
Researcher:	*(laugh)*
Mother:	And had our meals ready when we (Mother & Mary) get home (mother from work and Mary from day-care) you know and those things are so much easier <u>and</u> she washed the floors and I told her she shouldn't have and Mary told her off – Gran, you're not meant to, that's – I'm cross now and she started saying (laughing while talking) all these things
Researcher:	*(laugh)*
Mother:	And mum said no …
Researcher:	*Oh dear*
Mother:	But it's just nice to um… mum challenges Mary and she gets grumpy at her … and it's nice for them to … have time together and… yeah… it's been really nice. So I suppose he just thinks about things before he
Gran:	Yeah
Mother:	But mum's always come to us if we need her like when I was pregnant and when Mary was tiny and then when I had trouble with post-natal depression she came

and … when I have had operations she comes so… I suppose she thought, oh god (laugh)
Researcher: *(laugh)*
Gran: (laugh) I know what I thought it was, I thought it was hospital, yes for someone
(HTF, FD2, L401-443)

Helping and supporting one another through the ups and downs of daily life were important aspects of being family in the lives of these participants. The children from these two families (Mary and Charlie) were experiencing the support and care freely given to their parents and themselves from their grandparents and aunts, uncles, and cousins in times of family challenge and stress. A family crisis may have been large or small but it provided a stimulus for action across and between the generations. Strong bonds of care, love, commitment, and putting others first above their own needs for periods of time, were evident in the everyday lives of these families. The children saw and experienced important family values as they themselves were cared for and nurtured by grandparents and parents who supported each other. It appeared they were learning that their parents and grandparents did not have to walk through a crisis alone, but that there were always others available and willing to help. In turn, the children were experiencing that they did not need to fear difficulties in life but rather that there would be support from family members to take them through. At this stage it is unknown whether or not these children will continue the strong bonds of family commitment and support they are encountering; what is apparent is that they are not only hearing family relationships being spoken about but also experiencing them in their everyday lives.

Moving from crisis situations as previously discussed to what may be seen as more mundane or routine everyday life activities such as household chores and

shopping, the children in participant families were being introduced to specific practices including ways to wash dishes and choose cleaning products. Again, although participant families spoke of a continuation between the grandparent generation and the parent generation of these exact activities, it is unknown whether or not the children will follow in their parents' and grandparents' ways.

5.4.2 Everyday routines and shopping preferences

In the Hill Top Family there was a lot of laughter and humour surrounding the ways in which everyday routines such as washing dishes, doing laundry and shopping were carried out. The mother of the Hill Top Family emphasised the way she exactly replicates her mother's (Mary's grandmother) household routines, categorising this as 'extreme'.

Mother:	Well mum and I … we have some EXTREME … EXTREME things we do the same… terrible… (chuckle) … you should have my sister here … what would she say that we do the same….. Mother? … we wash the same, we do the dishes the same… we…
Researcher:	*How do you mean, you wash the same?*
Mother:	We wash clothes exactly the same, we do the dishes exactly the same
Researcher:	*Ok*
Mother:	We…. do our washing in order, like the same way … we fold things the same way…. We have our bathroom the same way …we
Researcher:	*Do you agree? (me asking Gran)*
Mother:	We shop the same way, … we buy the <u>same</u> brands ….
(HTF, FD 2, L1055-1068)	

There was much humour and enjoyment surrounding this 'extreme' imitation and intergenerational continuation of routine practices inside the home and the laughter continued as they spoke of their love for shopping and their practice of 'shopping till they drop'.

Mother:	We love to shop, we could shop all day every day, our arthritis is the only thing
Researcher:	*(laugh)*
Mother:	That … we don't have to buy anything, we could shop all day everyday and not buy anything …
Researcher:	*Gosh you are a laugh (quietly)*
Mother:	Couldn't we Mum?
Gran:	Mmm
Mother:	Our arthritis is the only thing that stops us… we can get…. We will stop for coffee and then we can't even get up… because we are so… so sore and arthritic
Gran:	And when I come down here to stay… if my husband or my daughter are trying to get us on the phone WHERE HAVE YOU BEEN?, where have you been? You know you mustn't go out shopping you should be at home all the time (chuckle)
Mother:	The first thing we do is …. go …
Gran:	(laughing)
Mother:	As soon as we can
Researcher:	*Right*
Mother:	Because we just love it, we love being out in the shops
Researcher:	*What is it that you love about it?*
Mother:	If you take us to a department store you will find us both in the kitchen part
Gran:	(laugh)
Researcher:	*Ok (laugh)*
Mother:	Looking at all the things … I don't know why, because we don't need it, we are not exceptional cooks or anything like that, we just look at all the gadgets and clothes ...
(HTF, FD 2, L 1068-1091)	

These particular family practices of shopping and household chores were the focus of family humour and jokes within the Hill Top Family yet in amongst all the laughing there was a seriousness and acceptance of family members doing things in exactly the same way or doing things differently. Neither gran nor mother could explain to me what it was about the shopping or household routines that caused them to carry them out in exactly the same way and for mother's sister to appear to be opposite in her practices. There was an acceptance of one another and their particular preferences; a sense of 'togetherness' or 'we-ness' between mother and gran and yet at the same time there was a sense of family unity within the diversity of practices that was mediated by humour.

Researcher:	*So what is it about… is it being together, is it the shopping, is it the place, is it…*
Mother:	No, no
Researcher:	*The time? What is it? Do you know?*
Gran:	I can't tell
Mother:	I don't know, we just like to do it
Gran:	Where as her sister is just… swish oh… you know
Mother:	If we take her with us she goes – alright are you ready … let's go… wizzz, wizzzz, wizzz (laugh) and we are home, and we talk to her about that openly
Researcher:	*And does she laugh?*
Mother:	Yeah
Gran:	Yeah, she knows ….
Researcher:	*Oh dear (softly)*
Mother:	She is very different to both of us
(HTF, FD 2 L 1093-1105)	

Mary, the three-year-old child from the Hill Top Family, was growing up exposed to both options. She was participating in household routines and shopping excursions with her mother and gran, carrying them out in exactly the same way. But she was also witnessing the way her aunt and cousins lived, seeing and experiencing different ways of carrying out the same activities. At the time of the study it was unknown if Mary would continue the practices of her gran and mother or if she would adopt other ways of implementing these routine activities.

5.5 Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter have exemplified the intergenerational continuity of some everyday family practices implemented by the families participating in this study. Analysis of the data revealed that there were three different aspects of intergenerational continuity evident in the everyday lives of participant families – exact continuation of particular practices, practices that had a similar focus but generational changes, and lastly family practices that were evident over two generations and not yet over three. What is important to note here is what is occurring *between* the generations. These

family practices are so much more than imitation, the values and beliefs of participant families permeate their everyday intergenerational family practices. The artefacts they hold dear, the names they choose for their children, the locations they visit, their knowledge of the local environment, their food and cooking preferences, the way they deal with personal hurdles and hardships, and the ways in which they carry out everyday routines all stem from what was considered important in these families. These practices were so important to the family members concerned that they desired subsequent generations to become familiar with them, to make them their own, and then introduce them to the next generation of children. There is a profound richness in these data that not only shows relations and transitions between generations but also exemplifies the ways in which individual family members as well as families as a whole maintain their 'togetherness' through shared experiences, memories, crisis situations, and humour. There is a sense of family identity and belonging that has deep roots in past generations that is being lived out in the everyday lives of the present generation and passed on to the children.

However, the everyday practices of participant families were not limited to those that were exactly or even generally continued intergenerationally. Intergenerational continuity appeared to be but one facet of a dynamic and complex dialectical inter-relations, transitions and transformations occurring in the everyday child-rearing practices of participant families. The elusive concept of *between-ness* which is central to this thesis, also encapsulates dimensions of interruption and introduction, both of which are the focus of the following chapters (Chapters 6 and 7). There is no doubt that intergenerational continuity plays a vital role in the everyday practices of

families but analysis of data generated for this study showed that it was but one aspect of the complex dialectics associated with intergenerational learning and development.

CHAPTER 6

INTERGENERATIONAL INTERRUPTION

because of, I didn't have the best of upbringings, I have intentionally changed the way that we parent.
(Mother of the Peninsula Family)

6.1 Introduction

The data presented in Chapter 5 focused on intergenerational continuity as one aspect of the dynamic and complex dialectics of inter-relations, transitions, and transformations that occur in intergenerational families as part of their everyday childrearing practices. This chapter (Chapter 6) explores the dialectical tension of interruption - the antithesis of continuation. Intergenerational interruption has been conceptualised by foregrounding three interrelated sub-themes – firstly, the intergenerational continuity interrupted by a *generational skip* (see section 6.2). Here a family practice that begins with a great-grandparent skips the grandparent generation but is continued by the parent generation to the child (Figure 6.1).

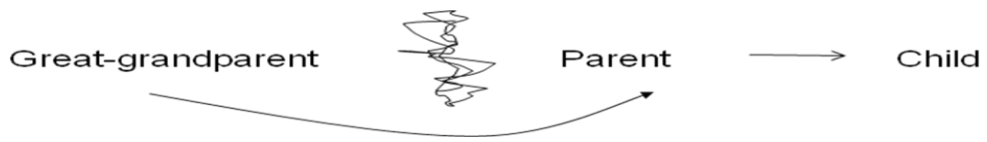


Figure 6.1 Generational 'skip' of the grandparent generation

Alternatively, the generational skip might occur in the parent generation whereby a practice continues from the great-grandparent to grandparent, skips the parent generation and is passed on to the child (Figure 6.2).

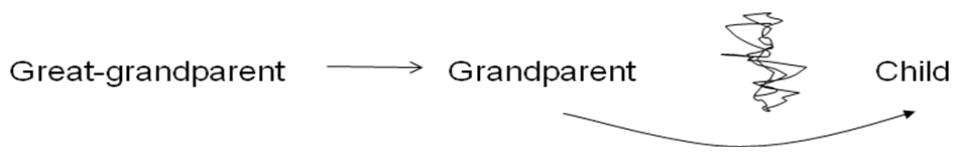


Figure 6.2 Generational 'skip' of the parent generation

The second sub-theme presented in this chapter also conceptualises an interruption in intergenerational continuity; in this instance a break occurs when the parent generation introduces an *intentional change* in an everyday family practice (see section 6.3). In other words, the family practice has been passed from grandparent to parent, but at this point the parent has intentionally discarded the family practice or introduced a new form of the practice with the parent passing the new or modified practice on to the child (Figure 6.3).

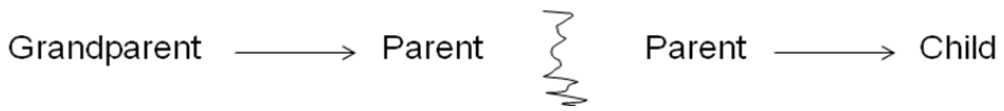


Figure 6.3 Generational intentional change

The third and final sub-theme presented in this chapter further exemplifies the notion of intergenerational interruption. In this instance interruption is conceptualised as not simply an intentional interruption related to the next generation, but as a *complex intentional intergenerational interruption* with relations and transitions in and between all three generations (see section 6.4). This intergenerational interruption is both complex and dynamic; being initiated by the parent generation, it influences both the next generation (the child), and the past generation (the grandparent), in a series of interrelated tensions and crises that require intergenerational negotiation and change (Figure 6.4).

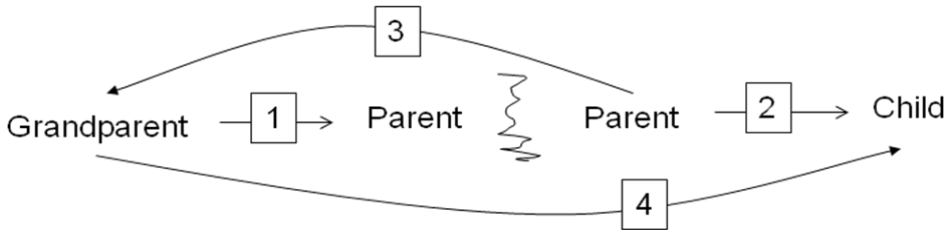


Figure 6.4 Complex intentional intergenerational interruption and change

The format used for presenting data in this chapter is the same as that used in Chapter 5. Each sub-theme is introduced through the use of a chart that provides an overview of relevant data, followed by the presentation and discussion of selected data drawing together initial conceptual theorising around participation, mediation, and motives (these concepts are more fully discussed and developed in Chapter 8 and were introduced initially in Chapter 3).

6.2 Interrupted – Generational 'skip'

On a number of occasions the participant families spoke about family practices that had roots in previous generations but for one reason or another continuity of the practice had been broken, thereby the practice skipped a generation. Although not a major theme in the data, the concept of continued family practices that are interrupted with a 'generational skip' is an important aspect of intergenerational 'betweenness' that highlights the relations occurring between grandparents and grandchildren. Within the data such relations were evident in the teaching of handcrafts, the sharing of strong values and beliefs, and also the passing down of family treasures (see Figure 6.5).

INTERRUPTED – GENERATION 'SKIP'

Hill Top Family

- Craft/handwork (HTF, FD1B, L345; photograph 40)

Peninsula Family

- Christian faith (PF, FD1, L1020)
- Round table (PF, FD1, L253, 265, 302; photographs 77, 78, 91; video clips 28,29,30)

Peninsula Family

- Jewellery passed through the female line (PF, FD1, L453)

Figure 6.5 Generational 'skip' – examples from the data

6.2.1 Teaching and appreciating handcrafts

Handcrafted items were precious treasures within the Hill Top Family, particularly those that were knitted or crocheted. The knitted rug that had been handed down through the generations and used as a baby wrap for Mary (see Chapter 5.2.1) and a container with a crocheted top used as a crochet hook holder (see transcript below) were two of the handmade items that members of the Hill Top Family treasured. It appeared that the item itself was not so important, rather it was the memories associated with it that provided links with the person who made it and others who had owned it, that made the item meaningful.

Gran:	My mother was a great crocheter
Researcher:	*Ok*
Gran:	And I've got a little um… what … um half a milk bottle cut off and it had a crocheted top on it
Researcher:	*Right*
Gran:	With a string and she would keep all her crochet and …. crochet hooks and that in it and I've still got that
Researcher:	*Right*
Gran:	I'm not a crochet person myself
Researcher:	*I was going to say do you do handwork too?*
Gran:	No, I'm just saying much to her (referring to her mother) disgust (laugh), my eldest daughter is she a… yeah, she's a great crocheter, cross-stitcher and yes … and so she passed it on to her –
Researcher:	*So it (the handwork skills) didn't come via you?*
Gran:	No… it didn't
(HTF, FD1B, L334-348)	

Within the Hill Top Family there were funds of handcraft knowledge that were shared among family members. However, the sharing of this knowledge did not always occur directly from parent to child but rather skipped a generation. The grandmother of the family explained that she had never been a "crochet person" or a "sewer".

Gran:	I've never been a sewer or … and my mum did all her things, it is funny isn't it, or it's not funny
Researcher:	*Well it is interesting, it is interesting*
Gran:	Yeah …
Researcher:	*I don't know, what else…*
Gran:	Like I've done a little bit of knitting and I like knitting but I've got osteoarthritis so
Researcher:	*Oh right*
Gran:	So I can't do it with my hands, that's the problem
Researcher:	*Oh, would you have taught your girls (Mary's mother and her sister) to knit?*
Gran:	No my mum would have
Researcher:	*Oh*
Gran:	Yeah, my eldest one, Louise, she would have … when she would be…. (sigh) I used to work at night
Researcher:	*Right*
Gran:	And they used to come up here (to their grandmother's home) while I worked and I picked them up when I finished and yes she would be sitting up with a crochet hook or the knitting needles then … and she (Mary's mother) is trying to get the hang of it now (laugh)
Researcher:	*It's not easy is it?*
Gran:	(Laugh) Well ah… Louise has tried, she (Mary's mother) wants to start knitting these squares, and Louise has tried to teach her … oh dear….

Researcher: It's not an easy task Gran: Never mind, she is having a go at it (HTF, FD1B, L355-377)

The grandmother of the Hill Top Family spoke about her children (Mary's mother and her sister, Mary being the three-year-old of the Hill Top Family) learning handcraft skills from their grandmother and not from their mother. A generational 'skip' is evident here. The fact that the children (Mary's mother and sister) spent considerable time with their grandmother (Mary's great-grandmother) while their mother (Mary's grandmother) was working, may have been a mediating factor for this generational 'skip' as the children needed to be occupied during the evening hours before being taken home when their mother returned from work. It is likely that the children would have observed their grandmother practising her craft; they may have even participated alongside her while they were cared for in her home; these details were not discussed.

Although Mary's mother was introduced to handcrafts as a child by her grandmother, it was only recently that she had become keenly interested in knitting, wanting to make a peggie-square knitted rug. This may have been prompted by the rug she used as a baby wrap for Mary. Alongside this Mary (the three-year-old) is being introduced to knitting by observing her mother and aunty practising the craft. Spending time with grandparents seemed to create opportunities for children to participate in and learn aspects of family knowledge such as handcrafts that for one reason or another 'skip' a generation but later continue from generation to generation.

6.2.2 Sharing, connecting, and checking-in

Handcrafts were not the only family practice that participant families spoke of having skipped a generation. An important family practice in the Peninsula Family was sitting around a circular table for meals and the sharing of day to day family values, beliefs, and experiences (PF, FD1, L253, 265, 302; Photographs 77, 78, 91; Video clips 28, 29, 30). The shape of the table as well as the type of conversation it afforded, were important factors related to this family practice that had originated from the grandparent/grandchild interactions experienced by the mother of the Peninsula Family.

Mother:	…and there is a bit of a history behind a round table, my grandparents had a round table in their kitchen
Researcher:	*Aaah!*
Mother:	And we sat around it and just after we got married or when we were dating or whenever
Father:	Yeah… mmm
Mother:	We would sit around it with them and we would have the best conversations… so even though they were quite old they were very with-it and very particular and up to date you know with current affairs and
Researcher:	*Yes yes*
Mother:	And we would talk to them about anything, they were that sort of people and so we have great memories of sitting around the kitchen table with Nana and Pop and just, yeah having the best conversations. And I sort of wanted to bring that into our family because of the open dialogue that the circular table provides…
(PF, FD1, L253-266)	

The mother of the Peninsula Family explained that when she was a child her personal family circumstances were such that she spent a considerable amount of time away from her parents and family members which made in-depth conversations with her grandparents very special and important. She formed deep relations with her grandparents and was able to discuss matters of significance to her, such as her Christian faith, that she was unable to discuss with her own parents. These conversations often occurred around her grandparents' circular table at mealtimes.

Mother:	My husband and I have faith, my Nana and Pop had a strong faith as well, and I often find it easy… I found it easy to talk to my Nana and Pop about my faith rather than my parents, they were more open to talking about Jesus …
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	Um… they were Catholic, they were both Catholic, ah… but they both had a very strong faith and they went to a Charismatic Catholic church so it was very um… yeah, it was quite a lovely church actually (…) they got buried from there
(PF, FD1, L1020-1028)	

There was a sense of openness, equality, and 'we-ness' afforded by the circular table that seemed to provide an environment or space for conversations about deeply held values and beliefs as well as everyday events. Being circular made it impossible to sit at the top or bottom of the table as might be the case when sitting at a rectangular table. The mother of the Peninsula Family wanted her children to experience a sense of being equal around the table with their parents where each was important, where open communication could occur, where big as well as everyday issues could be discussed, and where family relations could be established as 'we' rather than positioning mother and father at separate ends of a rectangular table and the children along the side. Not only was the circular shape of the table significant, so too was the table itself as it originally belonged to nana and pop.

Mother:	We didn't have this table, but it wasn't until my Nana and Pop died, my Nana died actually that I… got this table, I dragged it from outside and I just brought it in and um we started sitting around this table because I wanted to continue that, you know that
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	The conversation
Researcher:	*Yes, yes*
Mother:	With my Nana and my Pop, I just wanted that to come into our family so yeah… it was um…
Researcher:	*So how long have you had this table here then?*
Mother:	Two years
(PF, FD1, L302-312)	

The circular table provided a vital link between generations in the Peninsula Family. The table itself was imbued with memories as was the family practice of sitting around the table at mealtimes conversing with one another. There were links from one generation to another but there was not a continuous link from one generation to the next, instead there was a generational 'skip' from the great-grandparent generation to the parent generation. The family practice of conversing around a circular table was not practiced by Hope and Beverley's (the Peninsula Family's four-year-old twins) grandparents but their mother, having appreciated and valued the conversations she had with her nana and pop (the children's great-grandparents), wanted to continue the practice with her children, thereby continuing the practice within the family. The generational 'skip' occurring here in the Peninsula Family was similar to that described as having occurred in the Hill Top Family in regards to handcrafts (see section 6.2.1). The generation skipped in both examples (sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2) was that of the focus children's grandparents.

6.2.2 Family treasures

A further example of this concept of a generational 'skip' was briefly alluded to by the grandmother of the Peninsula Family. In this example the skipped generation was that of the focus children's parents. The special family treasures (brooches and jewel boxes) that had been passed from the great-grandmother of the Peninsula Family through to the grandmother were to be passed to the children (Hope and Beverley), skipping the parent generation.

Nana:	I do have material things, a couple of jewel boxes, they come from my grandmother (Hope and Beverley's great-grandmother) ah... that will eventually

> go to the girls, um... things like this brooch (pointing to a brooch she was wearing) ah... that ring, they all have a special significance and of course eventually they will go to the girls...
> (PF, FD1, L451-455)

Of importance is the fact that these items were jewellery usually worn by a female and in this instance the grandmother of the Peninsula Family had only one child who was a male. The family practice of passing jewellery from one generation of females to the next would therefore have been interrupted by the fact that there were no females in the next generation, hence the generational skip that nana spoke about when she explained that her jewel boxes and jewellery would be given to her grandchildren (Hope and Beverley, the four-year-old twins of the Peninsula Family).

This subsection has highlighted the concept of a 'generational skip' where a family practice has not flowed continuously from one generation to the next but for one reason or another has missed or skipped a generation. The following subsection of this chapter conceptualises a different type of intergenerational interruption. Subsection 6.3 discusses an interruption that occurs within a generation. In other words, a family practice that has been experienced by a child is later changed, discarded or adapted when that child becomes an adult raising his or her own children.

6.3 Interrupted – Intentional generational interruption

Data from each of the participant families included instances of family practices being passed from grandparents to parents with the parents intentionally changing or modifying the practices in some way before introducing them to the children of the family. This break or interruption in intergenerational continuity has been

conceptualised as an *intentional generational interruption.* Commonly, this *intentional generational interruption* occurred in the parent generation of participant families. Within the data this type of interruption was evident in family mobility and intentional changes in parenting style (see Figure 6.6).

INTERRUPTED – INTENTIONAL GENERATIONAL INTERRUPTION

Grandparent → Parent ⚡ Parent → Child

Hill Top Family

- Moving away from living in same town or very close by (HTF, FD1B, L211, 289)
- Travel - nationally and internationally (HTF, FD2, L313, 325, 402; photographs 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19)

Peninsula Family

- Spending quality time with children (PF, FD2, L1298; photographs 26, 27, 42, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78; video clips 2, 3, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33)
- Intentionally parenting as a married couple (PF, FD1, L1120-1159)
- Acceptance, inclusion, equality (PF, FD2, L1467)
- Emotional wellbeing with new sibling entering the family (PF, FD3, L751)

Bayside Family

- Riding bikes, grandparent provided bikes for parent and siblings to ride but did not ride with the children, however parent wants to ride bikes with child (BF, FD2, L907, 924; Video 13)

Figure 6.6 Generational intentional change – examples from the data

6.3.1 Family mobility

For a number of generations the Hill Top Family had lived and worked in the reasonably small rural town, Blue Stone Valley (pseudonym). The 100-year-old family homestead was a precious place full of memories that had been home to Mary's (the

three-year-old child of the Hill Top Family) great-grandparents and was presently occupied by her grandparents (HTF, FD1B, L94). The home was very familiar to the mother of the Hill Top Family as she had spent a lot of time there as a child. Mary herself was also familiar with the homestead, having visited many times and enjoyed weekends and holidays staying in Blue Stone Valley with her parents and grandparents (HTF, FD1, L23). Mary's maternal and paternal grandparents both lived in the valley, and at the time of the study were still living there in very close proximity to one another, as they lived just a couple of streets apart. The grandmother of the Hill Top Family described her home in some detail during a phone dialogue.

Gran:	I have got an electric stove, years ago it would have been a combustion stove or when my parents were first moved in, it was just a little wood stove
Researcher:	*Right*
Gran:	And… but … the fireplaces, … double chimneys….
Researcher:	*Oh ok*
Gran:	So … you have a fireplace in the bedroom and a fireplace in the lounge room
Researcher:	*Right*
Gran:	That's a double chimney
Researcher:	*Yes*
Gran:	And … there is a long passage and on the other side there is the same, a bedroom and the dining room and it's a double chimney
Researcher:	*Ok, so there are two double chimneys?*
Gran:	Yes
Researcher:	*Ok*
Gran:	And they (Gran's parents) just had… when they first moved in they just had … you know…. the little grates they used to have years ago and you would have the fire in the little
Researcher:	*Yes, yes*
Gran:	Yeah,…
Researcher:	*Ok, because your daughter said to me that the family home is a pretty special place*
Gran:	Yeah, ….yeah
Researcher:	*Yeah*
Gran:	For a young person (laugh) when you go to put a light globe in or something or it is not very funny when you're in your late 60s (laugh)
Researcher:	*(laugh) and you have got to get 13 feet up (laugh)*
Gran:	Yes … yeah
(HTF, FD1B, L273-299)	

Where the two previous generations of family members had lived and worked in Blue Stone Valley, the parents of the Hill Top Family made an intention change at the time of their wedding, deciding to move out of the valley and begin their married life in Singapore.

Mother:	I stayed home until I was married
Researcher:	*Yeah*
Mother:	Yeah, so I lived at home until I was 30
Researcher:	*Mmm*
Mother:	Which is quite long
Researcher:	*Yeah it is for now*
Gran:	Then she got married and went to Singapore
Mother:	Yeah, … like I left home
Researcher:	*Like left home, left the country ...*
Mother:	Yeah… I left home,… I left my mother for the first time, I had never lived out of home, I had been in my job for 10 years … and I left that and took long service leave … I moved overseas … I married … I'd never lived with him … and I just went
(HTF, FD2, L528-539)	

This was a monumental intentional change for the mother of the Hill Top Family who had lived at home and worked in her local community all her life up until that point. She explained that she cried all the way to Singapore; nevertheless, this had been an important decision for her at the time and no matter how hard it was she was determined to see it through. There was something about the need to separate; deep down it was something she wanted to do. Being closely attached to her mother was important but so too was living life separate from her mother, visiting and experiencing new things in other parts of the world. Five years later, after spending time in Singapore and Western Australia, the mother and father of the Hill Top Family moved back to the major city located near Blue Stone Valley; however, they never returned to

live in the valley itself. For the grandmother of the family, who had lived in the valley all her life, the separation was still a challenge but one that she had come to accept.

Gran:	Every day … everyday I think about family … I'd like to live a lot closer to family so I could help them more … but um… that's not to be …
Researcher:	*Right*
Gran:	Sometimes it is better if you don't live close (laugh) you get on a lot better (laugh)
Researcher:	*(laugh) That can be the case can't it?*
Gran:	And in some cases well… it can come in handy
(HTF, FD1B, L211-216)	

Life for the grandparents of the Hill Top Family was located in Blue Stone Valley; not only had they never lived anywhere else but in the valley, but they had also very rarely travelled out of the area and were somewhat reluctant even to go out of their home for a meal. The grandmother of the family laughed as she described herself as "a sook" (HTF, D2, L414). As a young wife raising her children, the life of the grandmother of the Hill Top Family was centred on the responsibilities of the farm and those of her aging, ailing parents (Mary's great-grandparents) who lived in the family home close by. These family practices were interrupted by the mother of the Hill Top Family who had come to enjoy living away from the area in which she was raised, travelling and eating out; in turn, she was introducing her child Mary to these types of experiences.

Mother:	Yeah and um we travel a lot you know, a lot of people don't like to go out of their comfort zone and … um…you know, people get a bit stuck in their…. their um…. own environment and don't sort of go out a lot, like we travel like we went to Perth this year and we always go on the other side of town and we go over that side of town and… we like to move around … and things like that I suppose (voice tapering off to very quiet)
Researcher:	*Is that something that comes through the family, are you (talking to grandmother) like that too?*
Gran:	No (strongly)
Mother:	No
Gran:	Absolutely the opposite

Mother:	None of my family is
Researcher:	*Oh, now that's interesting*
Mother:	None of them
Researcher:	*Now talk about that a little bit between you*
Mother:	Well they never go anywhere (laugh)
Gran:	(laugh)
Mother:	I'm battling to get them out to dinner!! … And then we never go out
(HTF, FD2, L311-327)	

The mother of the Hill Top Family made a conscious decision to interrupt the family practices connected with living in a particular location and staying close to the family home in every area of life, including dining. Whereas in previous generations family mobility was restricted because of the responsibilities of running a farm, the expense of travel and possibly the lack of nearby dining establishments, as the mother of the Hill Top Family grew from a child to an adult these aspects of life in society changed. There was greater access to travel locally, nationally, and internationally and facilities, including dining establishments in local areas, became more prolific. What had been normal practice in one generation changed, and the mother of the Hill Top Family made a decision to take hold of that change for herself, her husband and later, her child. The decision was not an easy one as it involved lifestyle change and separation, moving away from the familiar into the unknown. Her choice was for a different life and different family practices, for herself, her husband and her child. In very different circumstances the mother of the Peninsula Family also interrupted the family practices of her childhood to embrace a different parenting style with her children.

6.3.2 Parenting style

On a number of occasions the mother and father of the Peninsula Family spoke of their child-rearing decisions and what they termed their "intentional parenting" (PF, FD1, L1059). What they appeared to mean was that they had made some carefully thought-out decisions as to how they would raise their children. These decisions were based on their own experiences as children in their families of origin but also related to what they believed would be good, right and proper for their own children's wellbeing and development. Alongside this, 'intentional parenting' involved reflection and review and if something the parents of the Peninsula Family decided to do was later found 'not to work' then it would be discarded and another approach would be taken. 'Intentional parenting' appeared to be a progressive and interactive process as evidenced in this example of the parents' approach to discipline.

Mother:	Yeah... that's where I'm coming at … because of I didn't have the best of upbringings… I have intentionally … changed the way that we parent… I've intentionally been mindful of not hurting or anything like that, do you know what I mean… there is no smacking … in our house … there is definitely no smacking, um… there might have been a time when, you know, we have given the girls one or two smacks… just because we are at the end of our tether and
Father:	Yeah
Mother:	And we didn't like it
Father:	We found for us it didn't work
Mother:	For us it didn't work and we got rid of it
Researcher:	*Oh, ok*
Mother:	So, um… so there is no smacking in our house and the girls know that… that there is no smacking in the house…
(PF, FD1, L1120-1133)	

The mother of the Peninsula Family interrupted the family practice of parenting and discipline she had experienced as a child. She was very intentional about the parenting practices she and her husband were using. The interruption of the child

rearing practices the mother of the Peninsula Family had experienced herself as a child related to the discarding of some practices such as smacking, and the introduction of others such as opportunities to pursue dancing and music - experiences that had been missing in her own childhood.

Mother:	Um… I intentionally… put them in extra curricula activities… like dancing
Researcher:	*Oh, ok*
Mother:	Um… they do gymnastics, you know, kinder gym
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	Because, I had a love of dancing as a child and I missed out
Researcher:	*Ok*
Mother:	So I've… given that to my girls… if they don't love dancing, that's ok… but I'm giving them that opportunity to foster that love if they have it
Researcher:	*Yeah, yeah*
Mother:	Um… and… music is another one, I'd like to get them involved in music
Researcher:	*Yeah*
Mother:	Just because I didn't have those opportunities, we didn't have any money or… my parents gave… my other siblings the opportunities, to do dance and music but I missed out so it's something that… it's something within me that I've had to deal with in my life and
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	Happened to me as a child, so that's the way I see it
Researcher:	*Yeah*
(PF, FD1, L1133-1151)	

The mother of the Peninsula Family felt she had 'missed out' and didn't want her children to feel the same way. Lost opportunities had haunted the mother of the Peninsula Family throughout her life. She wondered what might have been but was not, and had to deal with those deep feelings of loss. Importantly, this sense of loss could also be seen as a positive experience as the mother of the Peninsula Family seemed to be very emotionally and psychologically aware of her own and others' wellbeing, belonging, self-esteem, and the like. She spoke of intentionally 'checking in' with her children on a regular, if not daily, basis, ensuring that they were emotionally 'ok' as that had not happened for her as a young child. She particularly focused on

equality of opportunity for her own children, which may have been a result of her perceived unequal status as a child in her family of origin where she missed out on the opportunities afforded to her siblings.

Mother:	(quietly asking herself) What else do I do?... I…intentionally… make sure they (the children) equally feel loved… in our home
Researcher:	*Oh, ok*
Mother:	So the girls so… I check in on their self-esteem, it's very important that their self-esteem is good
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	In our family… so I am constantly just… just making sure that they are ok… you know what I mean, and it's part of talking around the dinner table…
(PF, FD1, L1152-1159)	

Of note here is also the fact that the girls of the family are twins and that the concept of equality seemed to be intentional and strongly embedded in many family practices. In the previous section of transcript the mother of the family mentioned the family discussions and checking-in that occurs during family meal times at the circular table. The concept of equality was discussed in sub-section 6.2.2 as one of the reasons a circular table was preferred to a rectangular table. There was an emphasis on turn-taking during baking activities (PF, FD2, L474, Video clip 12), not leaving someone out of playful situations (Video clips 34 & 35) and sharing school type resources (Video clips 15 &16). The children were encouraged to be aware of the feelings others might be experiencing and be ready to put their own immediate impulses aside so others could take a turn and be included. This aspect of intentional parenting seemed to originate from a deficit in the child-rearing the mother of the Peninsula Family had experienced and now appeared to be firmly established in the child-rearing practices used within the family.

Whereas in the Peninsula Family there was evidence of a very strong and well thought through intentional interruption to the child-rearing practices experienced by the mother of the family and the way she chose to parent her children, there were similar interruptions within the Bayside Family, although they did not express them as strongly. One family practice mentioned by the Bayside Family was that of bike riding. As a child, the mother of the Bayside Family had been introduced to bike riding and had practiced the skill with siblings and other friends. Her parents had not participated in riding bikes with her; in fact her father (Charlie's grandfather) mentioned that he did not have a bike. However, now that she had a child of her own (Charlie, the six-year-old child of the Bayside Family), the mother of the Bayside Family intended to engage in bike riding with her child; she wanted bike riding to be an activity they would enjoy together.

Researcher:	*Like you and Charlie are enjoying the bikes <u>together</u>*
Mother:	Mmmm
Researcher:	*Um… Did you… actually ever ride bikes with your…. parents, or… did you (asking Pop) ride bikes*
Pop:	No, I didn't have a bike
Mother:	No
Pop:	I just used to always run all the time (chuckle)
Researcher:	*You would run with them rather than ride a bike?*
Pop:	Probably … yes
Mother:	Yeah, I think you did… yeah, you'd run… I actually haven't ridden a bike with Charlie… <u>yet</u>, because he is still a bit small … for me to have control of him … on my bike …
Researcher:	*Yes (quietly)*
Mother:	I'd rather run… like dad just said, run beside him or walk beside him…. Um… but <u>maybe</u> … when Charlie is older and he learns road rules and things, then… we can go riding <u>together</u>
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	Yes
Researcher:	*Right, ok*
Mother:	Yeah… and he has only just <u>started</u> riding his bike so …. we could even put the bikes in the car now and go to a…. a bike track, somewhere… um
Researcher:	*So he is actually doing really well … with his riding*
Mother:	Yeah
(BF, FD2, L902-926)	

Charlie riding his bike was a big achievement that was celebrated during the data generation phase of this study. The mother of the Bayside Family filmed a short video clip of Charlie riding his bike for the first time without trainer wheels (BF, FD3, L527; BF, FD2, L636-654; Photograph 54; Video clip 13), something he had been practising with his father during custodial visits. The prospect of mother and son bike-riding excursions was of importance, especially as Charlie was growing old enough to participate in and enjoy such activities. It seemed that as Charlie was an only child living in a single parent home, finding activities that could be enjoyed together (mother and son) was important. This aspect of child-rearing differed from the opportunities the mother of the Bayside Family had experienced as a child, where she had been part of a two parent family and spent a lot of her time with siblings and their friends; she was choosing to parent Charlie in a different way, which may in part have been influenced by the fact that she was a sole parent and Charlie was her only child.

Mother:	Sometimes it is not fun for Charlie to have to play by himself all the time... so... when we go out ... when we normally go out we try and find some other children ... whether it be the park or the beach or ...
(BF, FD3, L1317-1321)	

Charlie's mother was very intentional about providing activities and contexts where they could visit together and interact with other families and children such as the park, the beach and the bike track. She was modifying and adapting the child-rearing practices she had experienced as a child, ensuring that Charlie had opportunities to socialise with other children and families by taking him out and accompanying him on excursions, participating in activities together as mother and son.

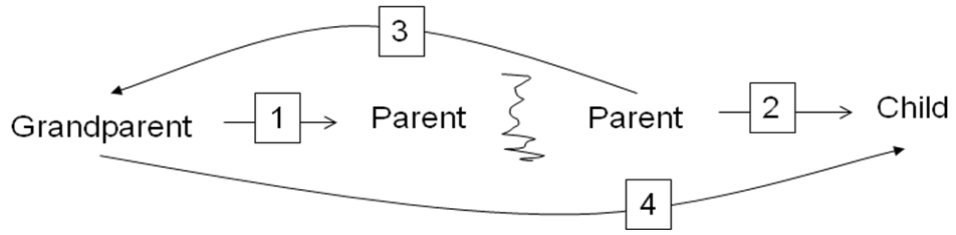
The family practices discussed in this section and conceptualised as *intentional generational interruptions* exemplified the changes and modifications made to family practices that appear to have been influenced by societal, marital and individual circumstances and choices. In each case the parent generation experienced particular child-rearing practices as a child but then chose to discard, modify, or adapt these practices as they raised their own children. These changes occurred within the parent generation. The next subsection (6.4) continues the theme of intentional generational interruption and begins to portray the dynamic complexities that may occur intergenerationally when a family practice is modified or changed.

6.4 Interrupted – Complex intergenerational interruption

Conceptualised as a *complex intergeneration interruption,* the family practices presented in this subsection exemplify shifts and changes occurring within and between generations. In the previous subsection (6.3), the focus of attention was the parent generation with the family practices being interrupted and changed within that *one* generation; in this subsection (6.4), the focus has shifted from one generation to *multiple* generations. In other words, the interruption that occurred in the parent generation influenced the family practices of not just the next generation (the child) but also the previous generation (the grandparent), as shown diagrammatically in Figure 6.7 below. One example of this type of complex intergenerational interruption was apparent in the Peninsula Family's practice of healthy eating habits.

INTERRUPTED –

COMPLEX INTERGENERATIONAL INTERRUPTION



Peninsula Family

- Healthy eating (PF, FD1, L1247)
- Spending time with grandchildren (PF, FD1, L689)
- Telling stories about childhood (PF, FD3, L688, 716, 751; Video clip 32)

Figure 6.7 Complex intentional intergenerational interruption and change – examples from the data

6.4.1 Healthy Eating

As mentioned in subsection 6.3.2, the mother of the Peninsula Family, along with her husband, had made a number of carefully thought-out intentional child-rearing decisions that differed from those made by their respective parents when they themselves were children. One such decision was that of diet and what would be provided for Hope and Beverley (the four-year-old twins of the Peninsula Family). Initially, the interruption to eating practices occurred within the parent generation but it did not remain there. This interruptive decision impacted on what Hope and Beverley and their parents ate but in time also influenced the eating habits of the grandmother of the Peninsula Family. The grandmother of the Peninsula Family shared the following story.

Gran:	I grew up in an era where… my father would make us toast and… everything for breakfast, say before we went to church on a Sunday, Dad would make sure, because we had to eat three hours or whatever before communion…
Researcher:	*Yes*
Gran:	And the butter would be layered on the bread
Mother:	(chuckle)
Gran:	And the whole thing and you would come home and he would have cooked the big roast dinner… you know the roast lamb and you would have gravy and potatoes and all the bread and lots of butter and you grow up with all these things and you don't realize the harm … people these days are more aware of the healthy aspect and living longer
Researcher:	*Yes*
Gran:	And… but… it's funny, one day I bought the bread roll for dinner or whatever and I buttered the bread roll and then I found her (the mother of the Peninsula Family) scraping … the butter off it (chuckle)
Researcher:	*(laugh)*
Gran:	And I said 'what are you doing?' and she said 'did you watch that program on television the other night?'
Father:	(laugh)
Gran:	NO! I said 'that's rude, you can't do that, I've just ..' (chuckling)
(Everyone chuckling)	
Gran:	And then she simply said 'Gran did you realize… the harm of all this', and yes I do understand cholesterol
(PF, FD1, L1279-1302)	

As a child, the grandmother of the Peninsula Family had a lot of butter and fat as part of her diet. This was normal for her and it was not until she began to enact these same eating practices with her grandchildren that she was challenged to rethink the food she was providing for them and in turn rethink the food she was eating herself.

Researcher:	*Yes*
Gran:	And then I realized … but the thing is I took that on board and I took it away with me
Mother:	She did and she is doing it (chuckle)
Gran:	And I don't actually buy
Researcher:	*(Laugh) Oh she is?*
Gran:	I don't buy… I tend to have soup and the dry biscuits so I don't buy a lot of bread at home but for some reason I had bought a little cob loaf
Researcher:	*Yes*
Gran:	And I had a very small tub of margarine, it had probably been in my fridge, I don't know how many weeks and I found when I was buttering it (chuckling while talking) I started to scrape it off like she (the mother of the Peninsula Family) had said…
Father:	Yes

Gran:	But… but you see we all have to learn because when she (the mother of the Peninsula Family) explained to me that 'I don't like the children having a lot of lollies' … and 'I don't like them to have a lot of this… um these are the reasons' well I understand that and then it was important if I am moving down (to Benston) it was important that they get toothbrushes that they can bring to my house, …
Researcher:	*Aha*
Gran:	So that they can clean their teeth so we have to learn
(PF, FD1, L1303-1322)	

The grandmother of the Peninsula Family respected and acknowledged the decisions made by Hope and Beverley's parents, and in so doing was not only changing some of the food choices she made while visiting her grandchildren but she also decided to change some of her own eating habits at home. Her participation in this family practice changed from being a critical observer through to being an active participant and finally to the point of embracing the practice of healthy eating for herself. She was willing to be flexible and learn new ways of child-rearing as part of relating with her son, his wife, and her grandchildren.

Gran:	My role is, I respect what they do and leave it to them because they're the parents and ah… I have to learn behaviours to… to suit the way that my son and his wife are choosing to raise their children… to the point of what they eat
Father:	Yeah
Researcher:	*Oh I see … oh that's interesting*
Gran:	Yeah, and… because I'm familiar with a different era and a different type of family upbringing and lifestyle
Researcher:	*Right*
Gran:	And to me it's ok to bring biscuits and … whatever… lollies, but now I'm beginning to realize, she's (the mother of the Peninsula Family) educating me… which is important
Researcher:	*Mmm*
Gran:	And I'll take it on board
(PF, FD1, L1239-1250)	

This interruption of eating habits was initiated by the mother of the Peninsula Family. It began within the parent generation as part of the intentional child-rearing

practices the parents of the Peninsula Family were enacting with their children, Hope and Beverley (the four-year-old twins of the Peninsula Family), and in turn influenced the eating practices adhered to by the grandmother of the family. The complexity of interaction involving relations and transitions led to transformed eating habits by the whole family over three generations. Whereas in past generations what were considered 'good' food choices included a lot of butter and fat, over time health issues such as high cholesterol have been highlighted by various health organisations and the media, leading to changes in what are commonly considered 'good' food choices.

The mother of the Peninsula Family wanted the best for her family and, informed by sources such as television programs and documentaries about good health, she intentionally changed the food choices available in her home. The grandmother of the Peninsula Family related to her son and daughter-in-law with respect and flexibility, acknowledging that their child-rearing practices might differ from her own and she was comfortable with that. She showed a willingness to adjust and adapt her ideas while in their home, yet through that process she began to reflect on her own eating habits and later, under no compulsion, she choose to adopt these same healthy eating practices in her own home.

6.4.2 Family stories

Members of the Peninsula Family clearly articulated the complex intentional intergeneration interruption related to healthy eating and this same complexity of interaction and change was also evident in other family practices, such as the family practice of telling stories about childhood (PF, FD 3, L168, 716, 751; Video clip 32).

Again it appears that the intentional nature of the child-rearing practices of the parents strongly influenced both the children and grandmother of the family. In this instance the mother of the Peninsula Family was aware of possible emotional stress her twins might experience when her third child was born. She herself had not been supported through the birth of siblings by her parents and wanted to rear her children in a different way. She decided to attempt to reduce this stress by helping the twins understand human birth and development. To do this she initiated the family practice of telling stories to the twins of what it was like when they were born, how they and those around them behaved, and that they were just like their little brother when they were his age.

Mother:	What we did was, when we had our next child… we started talking about when they (Beverley and Hope, the four-year-old twins of the Peninsula Family) were little babies… because we had a little baby and we started sharing about what they were like when they were like him
Beverley:	Yes (loudly)
Researcher:	*Oh*
Mother:	So they felt… happy about having another… little baby around… so to overcome a bit of jealousy
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	So they <u>loved</u> hearing about stories about when they were little babies and we went through the different milestones, of you know, when they were eating… and what they did when… when they first walked and you know when I was pregnant in my tummy so we... we talk about those stories and every now and again they … they want to know about, you know when <u>I</u> was a little baby did I do that, so when their brother does something <u>new</u>, they always ask me 'did we do that when we were little babies?'
Researcher:	*Right*
Mother:	And it's really cute, it's nice…. I think it's their way of … knowing they were really loved like he is, I don't know… they feel a sense of um… I think they get a sense of security… mummy you know, … I was like that, mummy loves me
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	Having a little baby brother
(PF, FD3, L751-772)	

The grandmother of the Peninsula Family adopted the family practice of telling stories about childhood introduced by Hope and Beverley's mother and began telling stories of her childhood as well as stories about the children themselves when they were younger. This had not been a practice she had used with her own child but rather one she had implemented after she had heard the twins' mother telling them stories about themselves as babies. The grandmother of the Peninsula Family assumed this practice when Hope and Beverley were in her care either in their own home when she was baby-sitting or when they came to her home for a sleep-over. In addition, she extended this practice to include stories about when she herself was a child.

Gran:	I think sometimes when Nana looks after them and Nana puts them to bed, … they like Nana to tell them stories about when I was a little girl… so I've told them stories about … my friend Joy … and how… Joy tried to teach me to ride her bike
Beverley:	Yes
Gran:	And I'd fall off
Beverley:	And we're having a sleep-over at Nana's house
Gran:	We are having a sleep-over tonight at Nana's house
Researcher:	*Oh, are you*
Beverley:	And Nana, can you tell us a story before we go to sleep?
Gran:	Yep and we are going to visit Joy next Thursday, aren't we?
Beverley and Hope together:	Yes (very loud and long)
Gran:	And visit her four-year-old granddaughter, aren't we
Beverley and Hope together:	Yeah
Gran:	Breanna
Beverley:	And have fun
Researcher:	*So who is Joy?*
Gran:	Joy is my best friend… I met her when I was four
Researcher:	*No, no, just leave him, he will be fine (referring to toddler pushing a chair around the room and making rather a lot of background noise)*
Gran:	So we tell stories don't we, we read books and then they like to hear a story so Nana tells them stories about Nana's mummy, and my Nana and just things that I did when I was a little girl
Researcher:	*Ok*
Gran:	And they also like me to tell them about <u>them</u>, … when they were babies
Researcher:	*Oh!!! So is that…*
Beverley:	Nana
Researcher:	*That whole story about telling … stories when they were babies*
Father:	Yeah
Beverley:	'cause we don't know 'cause we was little babies

Gran:	They just like
Researcher:	*Ok (laughing)*
Gran:	They <u>really do</u> like to hear stories about themselves… when they were little and the things that they did
Father:	Mmm
Researcher:	*Right*
(PF, FD3, L715-749)	

The family practice of telling stories opened up a whole new world for Beverley and Hope: a world of the past that they could not remember, but that was brought into the present through the telling of stories alongside their day-to-day observation of the growth and development of their little brother. The twins participated in, and sometimes initiated, this family practice by often asking for stories to be told to them at bedtime although not exclusively at that time. One video clip filmed by the family (PF, Video clip 32) showed Beverley and Hope talking with their grandmother outside at their home when she was visiting, on this occasion Beverley initiated the conversation by talking about their mother's pregnancy. As the conversation progressed Beverley began acting out the role of their mother when she was pregnant with a very large stomach, which caused her to walk with a wobble from side to side. Much laughter resulted both at the time the video was filmed and again later when the family watched the video while discussing it with me (PF, FD3, L674).

In both of these examples (healthy eating, 6.4.1 and family stories, 6.4.2) the intentional parenting occurring in the Peninsula Family interrupted previous family patterns of behaviour and introduced new family practices that affected and influenced the children of the family as well as their grandmother. In both instances there were complex relations and transitions of knowledge and behaviour that involved personal and societal influences alongside what was considered 'good' for the children. Healthy

eating habits were influenced by a desire for the family to be well and healthy and where possible to avoid the likelihood of heart problems later in life caused by high cholesterol. The family knowledge of heart conditions had come from a range of sources including the media, such as television documentaries, and so family practices of eating large quantities of butter and fat were discarded. The family practice of telling stories about babyhood resulted from a perceived need for the twins' emotional wellbeing and wholeness when their younger brother was born. The mother of the Peninsula Family had experienced some major challenges herself as a child and desired a different type of emotional environment for her own children.

6.5 Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter have focused on conceptualising intergenerational interruption in three different forms; firstly, the generational skip, secondly, an intentional interruption occurring in the parent generation, and thirdly, a more complex interruption that began in the parent generation but affected both the child and the grandparent generations. What is important to note here is what is happening *between* the generations, in particular what is interrupted, stopped, challenged, adapted, or changed before being passed to the next generation of children in participant families. In some instances the intergenerational interruption might be termed passive, such as when jewellery was passed down the female line of the family, skipping a generation because there was no female child; whereas in other examples participant families spoke of very strong and reflective interruptions that the Peninsula Family termed 'intentional parenting'. These decisions were made because of the parents' own experiences as children as well as being influenced by the society in which they were living, including

media presentations. The parents of the participant families were concerned about, and committed to, providing the 'best' possible child-rearing environments for their children. The parents' own experiences as children, both positive and negative, contributed to their understanding of appropriate parenting for their children. Interestingly, the challenges, changes and adaptations parents made sometimes caused the grandparent generation to also challenge, change, and adapt their own practices, both with their grandchildren and also in their own lives.

The analysis of these complex and dynamic relations and transitions between generations captured something of the values and beliefs of participant families. The values and beliefs of participants in relation to their child-rearing practices appeared to be constantly moving and shifting as they were challenged from within the family as well as from society and the wider world. Each family member brought a different perspective to the child-rearing practices that were occurring within, across, and between the generations of participant families. Whereas some family practices evidenced the concept of continuation (see Chapter 5), others (as explored in the present chapter) appeared to be dialectically opposed, challenging and interrupting the concept of smooth intergenerational continuation. *Intergenerational continuation* seemed to originate from the grandparent generation and flow down through subsequent generations, whereas *intergenerational interruption* seemed to originate within the parent generation, bringing disruption, challenge and change that affected both subsequent and past generations.

What then of the child generation? Was it possible that the children of participant families influenced, challenged or even initiated family practices related to

the ways in which they were being reared? Did the children have a part to play within the complex dialectics of family child-rearing practices? Possible answers to these questions are explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 7

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSFORMATION

I personally don't want to be involved (. . .) and I have to come to terms with, the future is electronic, technology and next year he will be using a computer at school (. . .) and I will have to learn more (Mother of the Bayside family).

7.1 Introduction

This is the third of three data presentation chapters. These three chapters are dialectically related. Chapter 5 focused on intergenerational continuity, the initial thesis of this study, with Chapter 6 exploring the dialectical tension or antithesis of intergenerational interruption. This chapter (Chapter 7) highlights the dialectical notion of synthesis conceptualised as *intergenerational transformation*. In the present chapter the focus generation is that of the child whereas in Chapter 6 it was the parent generation, and in Chapter 5, the grandparent generation was foregrounded. Nevertheless, although a particular generation may have been in the forefront of the discussion, the other generations remained in the background; in other words, the generations were not and could not be discussed in isolation as each is intricately interrelated with the other and must be viewed as part of an intergenerational whole.

In this chapter intergenerational transformation has been conceptualised in two ways: firstly as a *transformational twist* (see section 7.2) and secondly as a *transformational double-loop* (see section 7.3). The *transformational twist* conceptualises a family practice that pivots on the parent generation, beginning with the parent as a child and later twisting to the parent as parent of their own children. This complex twist is diagrammatically

illustrated below (Figure 7.1) with the relations and transitions between the generations numbered in sequence 1 - 5. It is important to note that although the arrows indicate an initial relational direction, once initiated the relations flowed freely between the generations as indicated by the bold two directional arrows (numbers 2, 4 and 5).

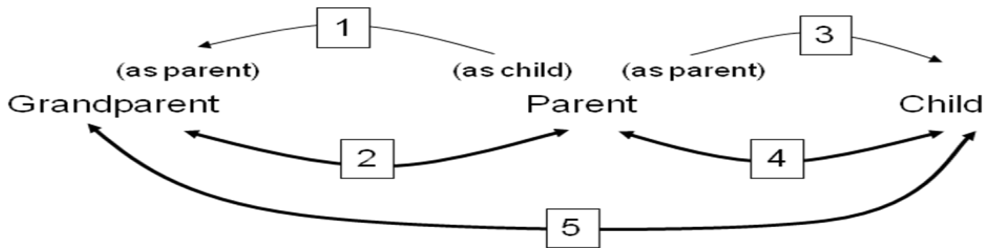


Figure 7.1 Intergenerational transformational twist

The second sub-theme in this chapter is conceptualised as a *transformational double-loop* (Figure 7.2). Here the family practice is initiated in the child/parent loop and later involves the grandparent generation in an outer second loop. The arrows numbered 1 and 3 show the initial direction of the family practice, but it is important to note that the flow was not all one-way but rather multi-directional, as indicated by the bold two-directional arrows (numbers 2 and 4) as illustrated below.

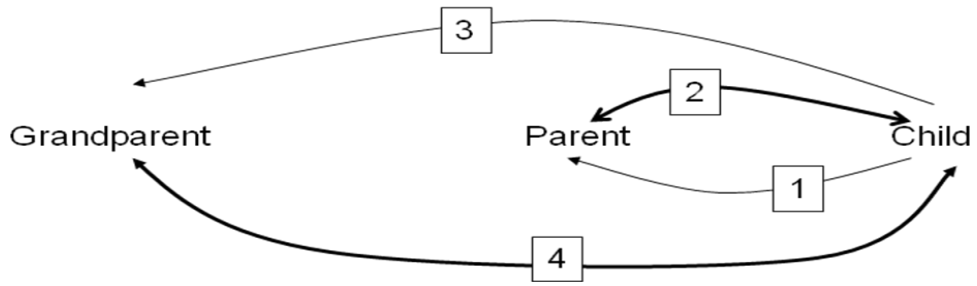


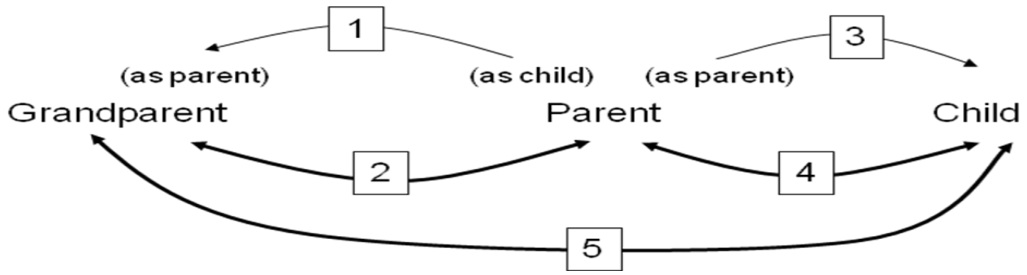
Figure 7.2 Intergenerational transformational double-loop

Data presented in this chapter follow a similar format to that used in Chapters 5 and 6. Each sub-theme is introduced through a chart that provides an overview of relevant data. This is followed by the presentation and discussion of selected data, drawing together initial conceptual theorising around participation, mediation and motives (these concepts are more fully discussed and developed in Chapter 8 and were previously introduced in Chapter 3).

7.2 Intergenerational transformational twist

The transformation of family practices occurring between and among generations was evident in the data generated for this study. Participants spoke of family practices that pivoted within the parent generation, twisting from their experiences as children to their experiences as parents of their own children; such practices have been conceptualised as an *intergenerational transformational twist* (see Figure 7.3).

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSFORMATIONAL TWIST



Hill Top Family

- Attachment/separation (F1, FD 2, L 436)

Figure 7.3 Intergenerational transformational twist – examples from the data

The complex transformations of the intergenerational transformational twist encompassed all three generations, transforming family child-rearing practices influenced initially by the motives and participation of the children. It appeared that family practices involving an intergenerational transformational twist were more likely to be expressed by families with strong reflective capabilities who acknowledged the voices of their children and intentionally parented in relation to them. Data generated by the Hill Top Family exemplified the concept of an intergenerational transformational twist as they spoke about attachment and separation issues.

7.2.1 Attachment and separation

The relations and transitions surrounding attachment and separation of child and parent became a major discussion point during the second family dialogue with the Hill Top Family. The participants in this particular dialogue were Mary (the three-year-old child of the Hill Top Family), her mother, and her maternal grandmother; however, at the time this topic was raised Mary had decided to leave the room and join the activities occurring in another part of the early childhood centre, which was the venue for the dialogue. The dialogue highlighted the emotional experiences that both mother (as child) and grandmother (as mother) experienced in relation to the mother's school attendance as a 13-year-old.

Mother:	I stayed home until high school and Mum even had to <u>push</u> me out of the car screaming, like I cried every day at high school, … Mum and I hadn't separated up until high school, it was horrific, it was absolutely terrible
Researcher:	*So did you have to live away from home for high school?*
Mother:	No … just go on a bus
Researcher:	*Ok*
Mother:	It was awful
(HTF, FD2, L436-443)	

As a 13-year-old the mother of the Hill Top Family experienced major emotional discomfort at being separated from her home and her mother as she was required to attend a high school that was some distance from her home, and to get there she needed to catch the school bus. This situation was aggravated when in the second week of high school the mother of the Hill Top Family was required to attend a school camp.

Gran:	You went to high school for a week?
Mother:	Yeah, and then I had to go on school camp
Gran:	And then she had to go on school camp
Mother:	And I had never slept away from Mum, only at Nana's which I never recalled ….
Gran:	I was up <u>all</u> night with her (the night before the school camp)
Mother:	I cried all night long
Gran:	She dry retched, she vomited
Researcher:	*Oh no (quietly)*
Mother:	I recall it, it was terrible
Gran:	I had to push her, I thought if I don't push you …
(HTF, FD2, L445-454)	

Again the grandmother of the Hill Top Family responded by strongly insisting upon her daughter's attendance at the school camp, believing it to be for her daughter's own good even though it might appear to be easier to 'give-in' to her daughter's repeated requests not to attend. Evident here is not only the role and voice of the parent but also the influence of the child on the ways in which family child-rearing practices were shaped, formed, and transformed. If the child had enthusiastically responded to the idea of attending school camp the family practices surrounding camp attendance would have differed. However, in this incident, it appeared that the grandmother of the Hill Top Family (as mother) possessed the underlying belief that a transformation of her daughter's behaviour and attitude was required. She reasoned that such transformation or development could only occur through her daughter's

participation at school and in school events. This understanding was a motivating force behind her actions even though it was an extremely difficult situation for both of them.

Mother:	And now that I'm a mother, it must have been awful for Mum
Researcher:	*Mmm*
Gran:	But that was the makings of her …
Mother:	Because I went to camp and
Researcher:	*So you persevered?*
Gran:	Yes, you had to
Mother:	She had to … she pushed me on the bus and went (left) like wwwoooooohhhh!!!
Gran:	(laughing while talking) I looked in the rear vision mirror (laughing)
Researcher:	*(laughing)*
Mother:	Terrible
Researcher:	*How incredible*
(HTF, FD2, L455-465)	

Once at camp the mother of the Hill Top Family (as child) appeared to decide that the only thing to do was to make the best of a difficult situation. Any change was now dependent on how she approached the situation. Whereas at home she had her mother for support, at camp, she was forced to rely on her own inner strength and the support of other young people attending the camp. Her motive was now how to survive at camp whereas earlier, while she was still at home, her motive appeared to be how to avoid camp and stay at home.

A transformational twist occurred as she participated in the camp situation. As she faced the crisis she was experiencing she began to realise that other young people at camp were also facing difficult situations. Together they decided that they could support one another and become friends. One particular friendship that she developed continued after she and her friend returned home from camp, providing further opportunities for the mother of the Hill Top Family (as child) to work through her separation anxiety as she participated in 'sleep-overs' at her friend's home.

Mother:	And then … I met this girl at camp and I was sad and she helped me… and um we are still friends to this day, twenty years later or more
Researcher:	*Great (quietly)*
Mother:	Yeah, … lovely girl she was from another small town, she had an older sister similar to my sister … she doesn't have a father, she'd had … her first father died and her step-father has just recently died … um… her step-father was a lovely father figure for her and um… the first time I slept over at her place, it was about 20 minutes away and Mum had to come at 10 o'clock at night and get me, I couldn't manage
Researcher:	*Right (quietly)*
Mother:	But then I was right after that
Gran:	Mmm
Mother:	I managed after that … and then from that day on … I've pretty much never been home a lot (in a sing-song voice), although … I stayed home until I was married
(HTF, FD2, L466-478)	

Over time the mother of the Hill Top Family resolved the crisis of separation anxiety. Through this process she developed into an adult who was willing, prepared, and able to cope with separation and change. Upon leaving home at the time of her marriage, she and her husband left Australia and migrated to Singapore where they lived for an extended period of time before returning to Australia to raise their own child (HTF, FD2, L493). The *intergenerational transformational twist* occurred as the daughter became mother; at this point she experienced a change of roles and responsibilities which brought back memories of her own childhood and the attachment/separation crisis she experienced, which in turn influenced the choices she made raising her own child.

Mother:	And I'm very paranoid about Mary (the three-year-old of the Hill Top Family) feeling that … that separation … I want her … I try really hard for separation to be easy for us …
Researcher:	*Oh… ok*
Mother:	Yes
(HTF, FD 2, L536-539)	

The mother's pending fear created an opportunity for the transformation of family child-rearing practices within this family. The intergenerational twist took a full turn as at this point the mother of the Hill Top Family, influenced by her own experiences, societal expectations of independence and separation, as well as responding to her daughter's needs and desires, created family practices that she believed would be 'good' for her child.

Mother:	I try to separate from Mary a lot … like …. I … try and balance her time with her dad and I … which … at night time and stuff she really relies on me to go to bed and … I try hard to… um… to not pamper her at bed time to say to her, ok good night, I'm saying good night to you now, I love you, good night, and leave the room
Researcher:	*Right*
Mother:	So that's part of … you know, that she's ok to go to sleep on her own… which I always was… but if I was upset mum stayed with me, she made sure I was ok, which I will do for Mary … um … when I separate from her (at childcare) from her when she starts to… at the moment she is going through a phase where she is whining and stuff when I leave … so I've let the staff know, and that when I actually leave I need to go straight away and so they redirect her on to something else ….
Researcher;	*Ok*
Mother:	Um… I'm not good with letting her stay over … I hate it … um the few times that she has done it at my mother-in-law's I've let her go and been great about it but I… I <u>hate</u> it
Gran:	(chuckle)
Researcher:	*Yeah*
Mother:	Yeah, it's just a really, <u>really</u> hard thing for me to do … but I do, do it… her (Mary's) father doesn't really understand it so much but he doesn't have that bond that I had with <u>my</u> Mum and I know what it <u>feels like</u> and I don't want … I don't want her (Mary) to experience that, but at the same time, … it's a great bond to have with your mother
(HTF, FD2, L592-612)	

Interestingly, the mother of the Hill Top Family appeared to be creating family practices that she believed would provide easier separation and less anxiety for her child, yet she spoke of the difficulties she experienced in 'letting go'. There was a tension between separation and bonding and she appeared to be trying to find a midpoint that both she and her child Mary (the three-year-old of the Hill Top Family)

were comfortable with, similar to what happened when she herself was a child. Neither separation nor bonding were considered totally negative; both had aspects that were valued, important, and desired, yet developing family practices that acknowledged the voices of parent and child was not easy. The intergenerational transformation twist appeared to be a continuous process of twisting and turning as relations, tensions, and transformations occurred within and between the generations.

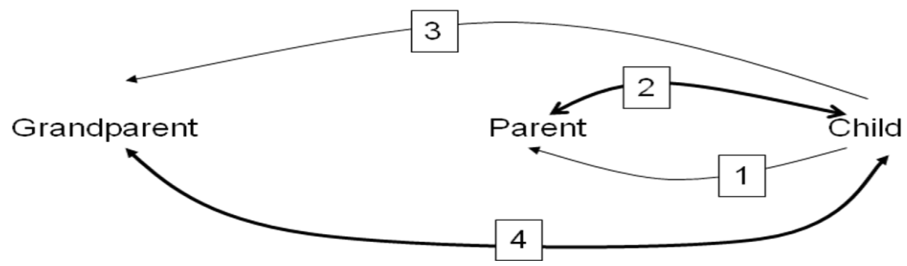
This subsection has conceptualized what has been termed an intergenerational transformational twist. Family practices conceptualized as those that twist differ from those that are continuous (see Chapter 5) or that are interrupted (see Chapter 6) because they are strongly influenced by the child generation, with the twist occurring when the child becomes an adult and raises her own children. The parent as 'child', and the parent as 'parent', approached a similar crisis situation (attachment and separation) but from two very different perspectives, as exemplified in the Hill Top Family.

7.3 Intergenerational transformational double loop

Alongside the concept of an intergenerational transformational twist the data generated for this study contained numerous examples of what has been conceptualized as an *intergenerational transformational double-loop*. Like the 'twist', the 'double-loop' is also strongly influenced by the child generation with the parent and grandparent generations creating family practices that are adapted, changed, and transformed through child/parent and child/grandparent relations. However, the transformational double-loop appeared to be a more common phenomenon than the transformational twist and was evident in all three families. Examples of the double loop were evident in the ways

families spent time with their children in play and routine household activities, the use of technology, and on shopping expeditions (see Figure 7.4).

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSFORMATIONAL DOUBLE-LOOP



Hill Top Family

- Use of TV (HTF, FD3, L665; Video clip 2)
- Large quantity of toys, 'too much, too early' (HTF, FD2, L946; Video clip 4 & 6)
- DVD particularly during long trips (HTF, FD2, L953; Photograph 23)
- Imaginative intergenerational play such as hairdressers (HTF, FD3, L440; Video clip 2)
- Answering questions and explaining processes (HTF, FD3, L470)

Peninsula Family

- Discipline (PF, FD 2, L 1617)
- Routine household chores such as putting away clean clothes (PF, FD2, L804; Photograph 23, 24)

Bayside Family

- Technology (BF, FD 1, L 1309, 1340, 1359, 1386. 1394)
- Charlie explaining to mother difference between pausing a DVD and not being able to pause the TV (BF, FD 3, L 7)
- Mother beginning to value the digital camera (BF, FD 3, L 104, 129)
- Shopping behaviours – influencing visits to Toys-R-Us, buying of high-technology toys and gadgets when parent/grandparent don't like or want them (BF, FD 2, L 1440, 1456)

Figure 7.4 Intergenerational transformational double-loop – examples from the data

7.3.1 Intergenerational play

A typical family practice in the Hill Top Family was the intergenerational (adult/child) play. Intergenerational play occurred on a regular basis, particularly over the weekend,

and often at home in the lounge. Mary (the Hill Top Family's three-year-old) would initiate the play commonly involving her father with her mother watching.

Mother:	I l o v e to watch her play
Researcher;	*How did you start doing this kind of thing?*
Mother:	She does it… she initiates it
Father:	Yeah, yeah,
Researcher:	*Has she always initiated it?*
Father:	Yeah, yeah, most of the time ..yeah… 99%
Mother:	Or if… if you can … if she is just being annoying or you can tell she's lost you might say why don't you go and wash dolly's hair, so she might start to wash dolly's but then she says 'Dad I'll wash your hair'
Researcher:	*Right*
Mother:	And of course Dad participates every time
(HTF, FD3, L438-448)	

Mary's mother mentioned that due to health reasons she was often unable to participate actively in Mary's play but that Mary and her father would play together in the same room where she could become involved by watching or making suggestions for furthering the play interactions. The topic of these play episodes appeared to vary, with inspiration coming from routine visits to the hairdresser or doctor (HTF, FD3, L375; Video clip 2) or favourite television programs (HTF, FD3, L460).

Father:	So yesterday, like the last couple of days "Dad do you want to play a game?" "Yeah, I'll play a game, what is it?" "Oooh… Dora" "how does the Dora game go?" "oh well you have got to dance… like me" and we are dancing … "and now you have got to chase me" (laugh)
(HTF, FD3. L459-462)	

Mary's participation in these play episodes was often that of initiator and leader with her father participating as requested. The family practice of intergenerational play transformed the ways in which the Hill Top Family spent time together during the weekend. With both parents working and Mary attending day-care during the week, these times of interaction became important family times spent together enjoying the

relations they afforded. Play mediated Mary's relationship with her parents as well as her learning and understanding of many and varied concepts, such as the everyday concept of going to the hairdresser as client and the scientific concept of being hairdresser. One video clip (HTF, Video clip 2) depicted Mary and her father involved in hairdresser play where Mary began as the hairdresser then moved to the client role before returning to the hairdresser role. During this episode Mary's play became increasingly more complex as she participated in the two roles (hairdresser and client) and had these two roles modelled to her through her father's behaviour. It appeared that the Hill Top Family regarded spending time together in play as 'good' for both Mary and her parents, and was enjoyed by everyone.

7.3.2 Answering questions and explaining processes

Another regular family practice that occurred in the Hill Top Family was extended and complex question/answer sessions. Mary's participation in everyday routines often involved her parents, particularly her father, in lengthy conversations. What had previously been reasonably quick routine activities in the Hill Top Family home had been transformed through Mary asking questions. These questions were not answered with a simple 'yes' or 'no' or even Mary being told to go away, but rather Mary's participation had transformed the activities and her parents' involvement in them, meaning that they took place over extended periods of time.

Mother:	… they are taking longer now because we're … talking with her probably word by word … like her father made her a milkshake yesterday
Father:	More time
Mother:	And he said… I don't think I have ever made a milkshake and explained <u>every single</u> thing of how to make a milkshake
Researcher:	*Ok (quietly)*

Mother:	Because I wasn't home and he said he would make her milkshake because that is something they do when I am not around
Researcher:	*Yes (quietly)*
Mother:	And… I said, you know she takes a long time, she takes a lot out of you now, not so much physically but mentally as well because you are answering tons of questions and explaining lots of things that you are doing
Researcher:	*Yes (quietly)*
Mother:	So she, she has really moved into a different sort of
Father:	So the milkshake was
Mother:	Milestone I suppose
Father:	Getting the milk, Why do you want milk? Why do you want the glass? What
Researcher:	*So were you asking the questions or was…?*
Mother:	No
Father:	No, no she was
Researcher:	*She was asking you the questions*
Father:	She asked them all … Oh yes… I got the topping, Why do you want the topping for Dad? Don't you like chocolate? … Oh I love chocolate … Oh well we have to have the topping then she'll say …
Researcher:	*Ok (quietly)*
Father:	So then the ice-cream, Oh what's the ice-cream for Dad? The milkshake. Why do we have ice-cream? … aaahh so… my answer to that, why do you have the ice-cream? So I can give you the lid and you can run your fingers through it and lick it (chuckle to a laugh) ooh! That's good dad! (laugh)
Researcher:	*(laugh) And away she goes!*
Father:	So that will keep her quiet for a bit (laugh)
(HTF, FD3, L467-497)	

Interestingly, Mary's father included a certain level of humour in the question/answer exchange when he mentioned the reason for including ice-cream in the milkshake. Mary and her father both enjoyed the joke, recognising the reality and the fantasy involved, thereby affording another level of relationship and participation for both Mary and her father. Importantly, the concepts of 'togetherness' and 'we-ness' seemed to prevail in this incident as father and daughter were sharing the milk-shake making experience at many different levels. Of note is the fact that Mary's father recalled the conversation with so much detail, it would appear that he was quite fascinated by the conversation and that he valued the interaction he had with his daughter.

Mary's parents were both fully committed to her involvement and had no misgivings about her role in influencing the transformation of family routines and practices. They appeared to be 'rewarded' by Mary's interest and her attitude to life. They enjoyed her growing knowledge along with her emerging sense of self as she initiated interactions and relations with them and they responded to her.

Mother:	I suppose you know, may be… I've seen many parents dismiss a small task like making a milkshake but for us that is a learning thing for Mary and the more she wants to learn from us we will stand there for as long as it takes… for her to learn
Father:	Yeah
Researcher:	*So why do you do that? What's got you to the stage where you want to do that?*
Father:	Well she… she shows participation when you do it
Mother:	Yeah
Father:	You can see the smile on her face when you are trying to cook something… she brings her little table around puts her … puts her little um…
Researcher:	*Apron*
Father:	Apron on… and then you know you give her a knife and a zucchini and she is into it
(HTF, FD3, L503-514)	

Mary's involvement and interest in everyday activities also brought change and transformation to the practices and routines of daily life when she was with her grandparents. As her grandparents lived in a rural setting at Blue Stone Valley, Mary participated in many outdoor activities, including feeding the chickens with her Pa, when she and her parents went to stay with them.

Gran:	Everything is special with Mary really when she comes up … you know, she gets outside there, doesn't matter if it is raining, snowing or what, she is out amongst the animals or … up with Pa feeding the chooks or ….
(HTF, FD1B, L164-166)	

Although not mentioned specifically, it is very likely that Mary's involvement in the routine activities on the farm would have transformed the way they were done with

Mary asking questions and wanting to 'help'. At the close of the data generation phase with the Hill Top Family Mary's mother made a special effort to pass to me some extra photographs of Mary planting pansies with her grandfather (HTF, Photographs 42, 43), commenting that a few weeks before Mary had been planting pansies at her own home with her father (HTF, Photographs 2, 3). It can only be imagined that Mary, an articulate three-year-old, asked her pa many of the 'why' questions she would have asked her father during her previous pansy planting experience and that these interactions would have transformed her grandfather's gardening routine, making it longer, more involved, and filled with conversation. Certainly her grandmother's comment during the second family dialogue with the family indicated that when Mary was nearby the activities her grandparents were involved in were strongly influenced by her interest, questions, and involvement.

Mary:	Granny
Gran:	Yes love
Mary:	What are you doing?
Mother:	We are still looking at some photos ... um...
Gran:	What are you doing? … that's <u>most important</u>, … What are you up to?
(HTF, FD2, L1005-1009)	

It appears that a wide range of everyday family practices have been influenced by Mary's initiation and involvement and that the adults in the Hill Top Family have adapted and transformed their everyday lives (see sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2) to include and accommodate Mary's involvement. Conceptualised as an intergenerational double-loop, beginning with the child/parent loop and then widening to the child/grandparent loop, similar transformations were apparent in the family practices of other participant families.

7.3.3 Developing games to complete everyday household chores

There is a need to undertake and complete the daily chores of cooking and cleaning in all households. In most cases the size of the family equates to the volume of washing required to maintain sufficient clean clothes for all family members. This was certainly the situation in the Peninsula Family where the folding and putting away of clothes was a regular if not daily activity. Beverley and Hope, the four-year-old twins of the Peninsula Family, had influenced and transformed the task of pairing, folding, and putting away the numerous pairs of socks that were regularly in the wash through their interest and enjoyment of the family practice of 'sock races'.

Mother:	So the sock one (photograph)… what um… as you know because I have got the three kids a lot of my time I spend doing … housework
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	Because I have to… and rather than just ignoring the kids and going off in my own little world doing my housework, I try and include them in it
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	So what we did this day was… in the other photo um… 23 Beverley is matching the socks because she wanted to… help mummy, so I got her to match the socks and she did a good job of that
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	And then Hope wanted to do something different, didn't you, you didn't want to match the socks so what we did was when we matched the socks, we handed them to Hope and then she put them up on the bench for Mum so we had like this little um… production line going (laugh)
Researcher:	*(Laugh) So Beverley was matching them and Hope was folding them?*
Mother:	Folding them and putting them on the bench, then what we did was when we folded all the socks we had a sock race… didn't we, so they would run... between the two of them they would see who could get them to their drawers the quickest
Researcher:	*Oh*
Mother:	One sock at a… one pair of socks at a time...
Researcher:	*One pair of socks at a time (laugh)*
Mother:	So we had about 50 races, didn't we and we had… you thought… what did you say to Mummy… 'it was so much fun, Mum' and
Nana:	You made it really fun, yes
Mother:	And Mummy was rapt because she got all her socks that she had
Nana:	(laugh)
Researcher:	*(laugh)*
Mother:	Had in her basket for weeks…
Nana:	(laugh)

Mother:	So we sort of killed you know, three birds with one stone, it was great
Researcher:	*Yes*
Nana:	yes
Researcher:	*That whole thing of helping and*
Mother:	Yeah
Researcher:	*And cooperation and working together and*
Mother:	Yeah, it was fantastic… and it was just that spontaneous thing again that… just sort of happened, it just sort of evolved you know, the next minute I think, oh we could have a sock race you know… with these socks…
Researcher:	*Yeah*
Mother:	Yeah, it was great… so just those things I try and do at home as much as I can… just, it just makes things fun
Researcher:	*Yes*
Mother:	Like it is just a daily chore but we make things fun, we make it into a race or ...
Researcher:	*Something*
Mother:	Yeah
(PF, FD2, L804-850)	

Sock races were a family practice in the Peninsula Family that happened time and time again. One afternoon I visited the family unexpectedly to deliver some papers and I found the twins and their mother engaged in sock racing; this was some weeks after the family dialogue when I was originally introduced to the practice. The twins were very involved and wanted me to watch as they raced to put pairs of socks as well as other items of clothing in their drawers. The practice that had begun as a fun way for the children to engage in a routine household chore had developed into the 'normal' way of dealing with the clean clothes. The twins involvement and enjoyment in this game had transformed a fairly mundane household chore and although the mother of the Peninsula Family could probably do the chore a lot quicker if she did it herself, instead she choose to involve her children and take the extra time necessary. The chore had moved from being a 'mother centred' chore to being a family practice that both mother and the twins performed together, a shared activity that required Hope and Beverley's participation as much as it required the involvement of their mother. Although the children were playing a game there appeared to be a motive of 'being

mother' as they took part in an activity that was necessary for the smooth operation of the household.

Hope and Beverley also liked to help their grandmother when she was at their home involved in various household chores. The attitude of helping seemed to be an important aspect of family life as grandmother would help the twins' mother by doing such chores as the ironing when she was visiting, and in turn the girls would help their grandmother by putting the clothes away that had been ironed. The family practice of helping which was valued in the children's own home was also appreciated by their grandmother when the twins visited her home. Data included a number of photographs generated by the family that depicted the twins helping their grandmother peg out the washing while visiting her home (PF, Photographs 92-95).

Nana:	When Nana comes down, Nana often … does the ironing, doesn't she…
Beverley:	Yes
Nana:	And the girls like to help Nana and we can see here (discussing photograph 23) that mummy obviously this day was folding washing and sorting socks… I chose this one (photograph to talk about) with Beverley with the socks because… Beverley is a very good helper, so is Hope, but they both are very good at different things sometimes… now… Beverley loves to take their socks and their undies and put them away in the drawers, she likes to put things away
Researcher:	*Right*
Nana:	Don't you Beverley?
Beverley:	Yes
Nana:	And she always
Researcher:	*She likes it tidy*
Nana:	Very tidy, always wants to help Nana and I saw that and I thought oh… that's so typical Beverley… and for me
Researcher:	*Yes*
Nana:	And I thought, yes that is just so typical Beverley…
(PF, FD2, L600-616)	

Just as Mary (the three-year-old of the Hill Top Family) had influenced the transformation of family practices in her home (see sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2), so the

twins had influenced the ways in which the household routines of washing, ironing, and putting away clothes were undertaken in the Peninsula Family. Hope and Beverley's initiation and involvement transformed the routine family practices of both their mother and their grandmother.

7.3.4 Technology

The participant children's interest in and use of technology provided further examples that illustrated the ways in which children influenced the transformation of everyday practices in their respective families. The technical innovations of the 21st century such as television sets, video players, computers, PlayStations, and digital cameras are some of wide variety of technological equipment available in many family homes. The family practices associated with their introduction and use was often influenced by the children.

Charlie, the almost six-year-old of the Bayside Family, was intrigued and fascinated by technology. He confidently operated the television and video player that he used on a daily basis. Charlie and his mother had separate television sets in different rooms of the house, giving them both opportunities to choose what programs they wanted to watch, with Charlie often choosing DVDs from his collection. Although watching television and DVDs was quite a normal family practice, Charlie's mother had decided that she would not purchase a PlayStation game console for Charlie until he was older. However, that all changed when family friends lent an old PlayStation to Charlie to see if he liked using it, as they had upgraded theirs.

Mother:	Yeah, well…. I always said to myself… I won't buy Charlie a PlayStation or anything like that until… maybe he's at school or older because I didn't want him inside in front of … the TV playing games all day
Researcher:	*Yeah*
Mother:	And accidentally… we got one... we got a PlayStation… well a friend… gave me one and said 'here use this, my son has a new one, borrow this and see if Charlie likes it' and I thought, 'oh, ok' I didn't really want to take it but I did… so we bring it home and I didn't have any games to play… it was a PlayStation… the older one, PlayStation Three… was it? Is that old?
Pop:	I don't know
Mother:	PlayStation One (quietly) PlayStation One (normal level) so we couldn't find any games and the movie shops don't hire them out any more because it is a really old model… and that made Charlie upset… so… I weakened and I thought we will go and buy a PlayStation Two … and since then I can't… get him away from the TV
(BF, FD1, L1280-1293)	

The mother of the Bayside Family enjoyed sport and the outdoors and she wanted her child to be active outside rather than sitting in front of the television watching DVDs or playing screen-based games using a PlayStation. Somewhat reluctantly she purchased a PlayStation for Charlie however; she was not willing to spend time working out how to use it or to teach Charlie how to use it, hoping this might act as a deterrent. Charlie, on the other hand, wanted to be like his friends who were proficient users of the PlayStation program and the games that were available. Therefore, although he had not yet started school and was unable to read printed instructions, he managed to work out how to use many of the features of the PlayStation he had in his home by using trial and error techniques and picture clues. He also became proficient at playing his favourite games, constantly challenging himself to obtain higher scores and move to the next level of difficulty.

Mother:	... and he taught himself how to use it … because I'm not interested in playing the games
Researcher:	*Right*
Mother:	He taught himself and although he can't read yet… but he still has learned the symbols on the TV and how to use it … and … um…

Researcher:	*So this is trial and error… just*
Mother:	Yeah he's fiddling
Pop:	By him
Mother:	And so
Researcher:	*Until it has either worked or it hasn't worked*
Mother:	Yeah, trial and error… he taught himself um… often he'll ask me to come and help him… with um… with the game, like he didn't… doesn't know how to move forwards or backwards or… and I just say to him 'Charlie I'm busy, I can't help you, honey' (slight chuckle) because I am really not interested
(BF, FD1, L1296-1309)	

Charlie's level of motivation was extremely high; he persevered using the technique of trial and error until he managed to master the technology and achieve his aim of playing the games provided on the PlayStation program. The mother of the Bayside Family explained that she worked in front of a computer all day and when she got home sitting in front of a screen watching something or playing games did not interest her. However, in saying that, both the mother and the grandfather of the Bayside Family were very aware that technology was the way of the future and that Charlie would need to learn to use various forms of technology. In other words, because Charlie was part of their family and because they were living in a technological age, changes in their family practices were inevitable.

Pop:	I myself, would be like you (referring to the mother of the Bayside Family)… I'm… I'm not interested in the thing… so… I wouldn't want Charlie to do it… that's something (...) as I said to you before… <u>but</u>… I know what the future is… the <u>future</u> …is going to be all of that sort of stuff, so he has <u>got to learn</u> it I reckon…
Researcher:	*Mmm (quietly)*
Pop:	If he doesn't learn it at <u>home</u> he will learn it at <u>school</u>… won't he?
Researcher:	*Oh definitely*
(BF, FD1, L1340-1347)	

Mother:	Personally I don't want to be involved
Pop:	Yeah, that's it ... I'm like that myself
Researcher:	*Yeah*
Pop:	Charlie will have to be involved with it… I think
Mother:	Yeah… and I have come to terms with yes… the future is … electronic, technology and next year he will be using a computer at school… and that is only two months away… I guess
Pop:	Which means… he will have to be sitting over there (referring to a computer on a desk in the lounge)
Mother:	Yeah
Pop:	Playing with that
Mother:	And I will have to learn more about
Pop:	Yeah
Mother:	My own computer… and um… have the disk cleaned and ready for all his
Researcher:	*Stuff*
Mother:	Stuff on it… yes
(BF, FD1, L1383-1398)	

As Charlie grew, the adults in the Bayside Family realised that they would have to change and adapt as technology became a greater part of Charlie's life at home and at school. Charlie's mother had moved from being totally opposed to her son playing games on a PlayStation to allowing him to do so but providing time limits (BF, FD1, L1311) and then requiring him to do something more active like jumping on the trampoline. The grandfather of the Bayside Family did not want to change his own behaviour but acknowledged the need for changes in overall family practices so that Charlie would be able to function in a technological world.

Charlie's aptitude for technology was very obvious when I introduced him to the digital camera I was going to leave with the Bayside Family to take photographs and video clips as part of this project. Charlie had been talking to me about some of his possessions and I suggested he might like to photograph them for me. I clearly explained some simple features of the camera to him and then gave it to him to use. Charlie's grandfather had been listening with intent and later remarked that he thought

Charlie must have used a digital camera before as he seemed to understand how to operate it so easily.

Pop:	I don't know, while you was talking to Charlie with that camera how to work it, I don't know if you heard me saying to his mother, 'have you got one of those?' (whispering) … because I thought … she must have had one of those cameras
Mother:	No, not one of those
Pop:	The way Charlie picked that up and done it straight away
(BF, FD1, L1414-1418)	

On my next visit with the Bayside Family the topic of the camera was raised again as Charlie had enjoyed using it over the previous few weeks taking photographs and short video clips. Interestingly, a family friend who was visiting at the time of the second family dialogue with the Bayside Family linked Charlie's ability to use the camera with his interest and perseverance playing games on the PlayStation.

Mother:	Yeah, he um… Charlie … <u>loved</u> using the camera… and he … he knew where to press the buttons… and um…
Pop:	Well that <u>first day you were here</u>… anybody would think he was showing <u>you</u> (referring to the researcher) how to work that camera, didn't ... Wouldn't they?
Mother:	Yeah
Pop:	And he had <u>never ever used one</u>
Mother:	Yeah
Visitor:	I think using those games and that makes a lot of difference, doesn't it? that they learn all the buttons and things
Mother:	Yeah
(BF, FD2, L1342-1352)	

Charlie's interest in available technology and his desire to use many and varied forms of technology was transforming the family practices within the Bayside Family. Whereas initially his mother had been totally opposed to the introduction of a PlayStation, the influence of Charlie and his friends led her to 'reluctantly' purchase the technology and permit its use in her home. Interestingly, when I introduced a digital camera for use by the family as part of the data generation phase for this research,

unknowingly I first approached Charlie and taught him to use the camera before proceeding to explain the camera's features to his mother. As part of the data generation phase Charlie took numerous photographs and some short video clips using my camera. During the third family dialogue I took my lap-top computer to enable the family to view and discuss the video clips they had generated. Charlie took great interest in my navigation of the video clips, progressing to the stage of telling me where I needed to click the mouse to move to the next clip if, in his opinion, I was not moving quickly enough. Charlie was quick to understand and grasp the functions of various pieces of technology. On another occasion while visiting the family I overheard Charlie explaining to his mother that he could not pause the television program that he had been watching as it was not a DVD, he clearly differentiated between the operation of the television and the DVD.

Technology had become a mediator of relations and transitions between Charlie, his mother, his grandfather, and the wider world of 21st century innovation that he was coming to know and experience. He participated as both an avid learner and a knowledgeable teacher. For Charlie, the 'good life' included the use of technology in its many and varied forms; he valued technology. 'Being like his friends' as well as 'owning and using products advertised on television and available in the shops' appeared to be motives behind his interest and persistence. Charlie, the almost six-year-old of the Bayside Family, was strongly influencing the technological practices of his family.

7.3.5 Shopping practices

Charlie's influence in transforming the family practices of the Bayside Family was also evident on shopping expeditions. He would often go shopping with his mother or his grandfather. On expeditions to the local shopping complex at Benston Charlie knew exactly what he wanted to do and where he wanted to go. To achieve his purposes he had internalised the rules of shopping with his mother and grandfather, and then attempted to use them to his advantage. He knew that 'looking' was an acceptable practice and often more achievable than 'buying'.

Pop:	You can't walk past the toyshop… with Charlie… without going in
Researcher:	*Oh… Ok (chuckle)*
Pop:	Oh
Mother:	He'll say… "I want to have a look, Mummy, just a look" and I'll say "yes Mummy does have enough money today" and he'll say "ok Mummy, just a look"… so yeah, they're… Super-heroes… they're around everywhere and he likes to feel like a super-hero… it gives him power
Pop:	He goes to "Toys R Us" (the name of a shop) in Benston (the local city mall and shops)… I've… I've looked after him every now and then
Researcher:	*Yes*
Pop:	And … taken him into Benston
Researcher:	*Yes*
Pop:	But he knows where "Toys R Us" is… and that… he'll be… he'll be trying to go down this street
Researcher:	*(chuckle)*
Pop:	And "Toys R Us" is over there and he soon makes
Mother:	Yeah (quietly)
Pop:	A quick left-hand turn
Researcher:	*(laugh)*
Pop:	And he's there, and he says "Let's go in there Poppie" "Yeah, alright" (Laugh) and you are there for an hour… easily
Researcher:	*Just looking?*
Pop:	He sits there and plays with the toys
Mother:	Yeah
Pop:	Always… always to do with Batman, or Spiderman or … those…
Mother:	Ben10 is the flavour of the month
(BF, FD2, L1437-1462)	

Charlie's interest in super-hero toys and paraphernalia could be met by visiting the very large local toy store and spending time playing with the toys. Charlie had developed a keen knowledge of the local area and knew the exact location of the toy store. Both his mother and grandfather were aware of Charlie's 'plan' and even seemed to enjoy the game of 'accidently' passing the toy shop and succumbing to spending extended time 'looking' at the toys. They were fully aware that taking Charlie to Benston shopping was very likely to involve a visit to the toy store and if they intended otherwise they would need to prepare Charlie for that. On one occasion the mother of the Bayside Family kindly gave me a ride into Benston after we had met for the third family dialogue, and on the way I heard her explain to Charlie that they needed to be very quick shopping that day and that there would be no time to visit the toy store. Shopping was a regular activity in the Bayside Family that had been adapted, changed, and transformed through Charlie's involvement and initiation.

7.4 Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter have drawn together examples of what has been conceptualised as intergenerational transformation. As with the previous data presentation chapters (Chapters 5 and 6), importance was placed on what was happening *between* the generations alongside what was happening *within* a particular generation. Two forms of intergenerational transformation have been exemplified in this chapter; firstly, an intergenerational transformational twist and secondly, an intergenerational transformational double loop. It appeared that the intergenerational transformation twist was a less obvious concept in the data generated for this study from this particular group of participants. I have purposely used the words 'less

obvious' as I wonder if the twist is really more common but difficult to explain and analyse. Important aspects of the 'twist' were

- the same situation occurring across the generations (for example separation anxiety see section 7.2.1);
- tackled or approached in the same way (insisting the child act independently in educational contexts); and
- with the same intended outcome (separation and independence).

On the other hand, the conceptualization of an intergenerational transformational double loop (see section 7.3), although complex, appeared to occur more frequently in the data and was easier to identify. Again the child was at the centre of the transformation but the movement between the generations occurred firstly between the child and the parent (forming the inner loop), and later between the child and the grandparent (forming the outer or second loop).

The data and analysis presented in this chapter captured the child's participation in the creation and transformation of everyday child-rearing practices in intergenerational families. Data revealed that the children took an active role in transforming the daily practices of family members as they introduced their perspectives, questions, comments, desires, and goals. Adult family members were often seen to accept, include, and welcome the children's 'voices', showing a willingness to adapt and transform family practices which at times required a considerable extra investment of time and energy on the part of the adults. The children's involvement in the wider community, including appointments with the doctor or hairdresser, accompanying their parents or grandparents on shopping expeditions, and playing with

friends in their respective homes, seemed to widen the children's knowledge and perspectives on life which they then wanted incorporated into their own home lives. The families did this in a range of ways including child/adult play episodes and children participating in everyday household chores. Growing up in the 21st century and therefore being exposed to the global world as well as a range of fantasy worlds through television and other technologies, also affected the ways in which the children influenced the child-rearing practices directed towards them and the ways in which they responded to them. Although not analysed or referred to specifically in this study, I wonder about the influence of commercialisation and advertising on both children and families' everyday practices. The children in this study were active participants in the multiple layers of relations, transitions and transformations occurring in their homes and their wider worlds as part of the everyday child-rearing practices of their families.

These three data presentation chapters (Chapters 5, 6, and 7) have captured something of the essence of everyday child-rearing practices in three Australian three-generational families. They have explicated the intergenerational dialectics of relations, transitions, and transformations conceptualised as intergenerational continuity (Chapter 5), intergenerational interruption (Chapter 6) and intergenerational transformation (Chapter 7). These chapters have highlighted aspects of the elusive relational concepts of 'between-ness' and 'we-ness' that occurred within participant families while also acknowledging family values and knowledge. Woven through these chapters have been threads of individual and collective motives where family practices have been continued, disrupted, or transformed related to perspectives of what might be termed 'the good life'. Alongside and woven in and out of these threads of motive have been threads of

participation as family members have exhibited different roles and responsibilities, creating patterns of practices unique to their individual intergenerational families and family contexts. Finally, the frame holding these aspects of motive and participation together has been the actual family practices that have mediated the relations, transitions, and transformations occurring in and between generations in participant families. In the next chapter I return to the research questions guiding this study and weave together perspectives from the data, theory, and literature as I draw together conclusions and insights from this study.

CHAPTER 8

INTERGENERATIONAL WE-NESS AND BETWEEN-NESS: A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

… we go for walks and we look at flowers, and we share, we play hide and seek,
I like to share stories with my granddaughters, stories about when I was little,
I just strongly believe you need to know that you belong
(Grandmother, Peninsula Family, Family Dialogue 1)

8.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together the major findings of this thesis and situates them in the scholarly and theoretical literatures. Beginning by reiterating the research questions that guided the study, the chapter then briefly summarises the research literature that explicates a transmission model for intergenerational learning and development. This literature played a pivotal role in the decisions related to the theoretical and methodological framing of the study which culminated in the choice of Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory (see Chapters 2 & 3). Framed within cultural-historical theory, this thesis provides an alternative and contradictory view of intergenerational learning and development. It moves away from the dominant concepts of transmission channels and top-down models to a series of dynamic, holistic, and dialectical trajectories - intergenerational continuation, interruption and transformation – that are discussed in this chapter (see also Chapters 5, 6, & 7). Importantly the inter-related cultural-historical concepts of mediation, motives, and participation, used as theoretical tools and analytical categories, opened up new ways of viewing the complex everyday lives of intergenerational families which, in turn, led to these findings. Further, this chapter

shows that, when the intergenerational trajectories of continuation, interruption and transformation are viewed in relation to the concepts of mediation, motives and participation within three-generational families, two additional concepts can be seen – intergenerational 'we-ness' and 'between-ness'. Intergenerational we-ness and between-ness, as dialectical cultural-historical concepts, are important and significant findings from this study. These concepts appear to be absent from the literature and thereby contribute a new perspective on intergenerational learning and development in three-generational families.

8.2 Research questions

The overarching question that guided this study was

How do family values, knowledge and practice traditions relate, transition and transform within and between generations during child-rearing?

The associated sub-questions were

- How do family members participate in the shaping of their own and their family's development and culture?
- What are the motives of family members?
- What social and/or cultural signs and tools mediate everyday family practices?

These questions stimulated a journey of inquiry that began while searching the intergenerational literature and led to the development of a conceptual model for intergenerational family learning and development framed within Vygotsky's cultural-

historical theory. The following subsection of this chapter summarises the initial phase of that process.

8.3 A transmission model for intergenerational learning and development

Intergenerational learning and development have been widely discussed in the literature, particularly the sociological literature (see Chapter 2). The concept of intergenerational transmission has been a central focus across a range of multidisciplinary research fields (Schönpflug, 2001b). Within the intergenerational sociological literature the terms 'transmission' and 'channel' are often found together. Bertaux and Thompson (1993) argue that the family is the "main channel for transmission" (p. 1) of particular aspects of culture. The channel metaphor infers a clearly defined and pre-determined route from one point to another and has been used to refer to parents teaching and children learning cultural values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours with researchers checking for congruence between the generations (Boehnke, 2001; Yi Chang & Chang, 2004).

Recent studies related to intergenerational patterns of child-rearing. particularly the continuity of family violence (for example. Kenway & Fahey, 2007); abuse (for example, Frazier, West-Olatunji, Juste & Goodman, 2009) and harsh parenting (for example, Capaldi, Pears, Kerr & Owen, 2008) appear to outnumber those concerned with supportive and growth promoting parenting (Belsky et al., 2005). There is, however, a developing body of literature within the counselling field, concerned with family strengthening (DeFrain & Asay, 2007). Some researchers have questioned the extent to which the parent's family of origin influences their own parenting practices (for example, Capaldi, Pears, Kerr & Owen, 2008), suggesting the amount of influence

can vary and that other factors may sway child-rearing choices. Overall these studies appeared to investigate linear or maturational forms of intergenerational transmission, with findings often exemplifying top-down models or channels of transmission from the older or more mature generations to the younger less mature generations. The data generated and analysed as part of this study provided an alternative, contradictory view of intergenerational learning and development.

8.4 Three trajectories of intergenerational family learning and development

Framed in Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory (see Chapter 3), this thesis argues that intergenerational learning and development is multifaceted, complex, dynamic, and dialectical and it cannot be limited to or explained exclusively by a straightforward linear maturational view. This research found top-down continuity from grandparents to parents to children was only one trajectory and that intergenerational learning and development were dialectical and holistic processes that were sometimes continuous, sometimes interrupted, and sometimes transformed by family members of different generations (see Chapters 5, 6, & 7). In other words, that intergenerational learning and development were in constant motion and change. Importantly each generation (grandparent, parent, and child) was found to influence members of other generations, bringing transformation and change to a wide variety of family child-rearing practices (Table 8.1). In addition, different patterns and processes of continuity, interruption and transformation were evident in different families in different situations and also in the same family in different situations. For example, a family practice might 'skip' a generation because it was linked to children of a particular gender and there was not a male child in the following generation; or the interruption might occur because of a

considered decision of a family member to stop a particular practice. These patterns have been illustrated in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 and are summarised in Table 8.1.

Concepts	**Examples**	**Initiating Generation**
Intergenerational Continuation (Chapter 5)	• Exact continuation • Generalised Continuation • Possible Continuation	Grandparent
Intergenerational Interruption (Chapter 6)	• Generational 'skip' • Generational intentional change • Complex intergenerational interruption and change	Parent
Intergenerational Transformation (Chapter 7)	• Intergenerational transformational 'twist' • Intergenerational transformational 'double-loop'	Child

Table 8.1 The intergenerational trajectories of continuation, interruption and transformation

Table 8.1 provides an overview of the intergenerational trajectories, however this is limited as there is no indication of the dialectical relations and transitions between the three generations (grandparent, parent and child) or between the trajectories (continuation, interruption and transformation). (These relations become evident as the model builds throughout this chapter beginning with Figure 8.1 and culminating in Figure 8.4. Therefore Table 8.1 and Figure 8.1 could be misinterpreted as portraying a linear and hierarchical model when viewed in isolation.) It was the complex and dynamic relations that were present *between* the trajectories of continuation, interruption, and transformation that made them evident. Similarly the complex and dynamic relations *between* the three generations were important factors (see lower section of Figure 8.1). For example, because some family practices were sustained from

generation to generation (intergenerational continuation), interruption and transformation became evident because these trajectories differed from continuity. The trajectories were in dialectical relationship one with another. They were not individual or separate phenomenon but rather they related one to another as part of a whole intergenerational system of relations. Similarly the three generations (grandparent, parent, and child) became evident because of their relations with one another; for example, the parental role became evident because there was a child to parent.

In addition, relations were not limited to occurring within either the trajectories or the generations as they also occurred *between* the trajectories and the generations (see the upper section of Figure 8.1). It was not possible to consider the intergenerational trajectories without the existence of the three generations, and without the practices and activities of the three generations it was not possible to consider the intergenerational trajectories; together they resulted in opening up new ways to view intergenerational learning and development. No single generation was associated with a single trajectory although the relations between one generation and one trajectory might be more apparent, for example, the grandparent generation and the continuation trajectory. Of importance here were the multiple relations that *together* influenced the practices and activities of participant families (Figure 8.1).

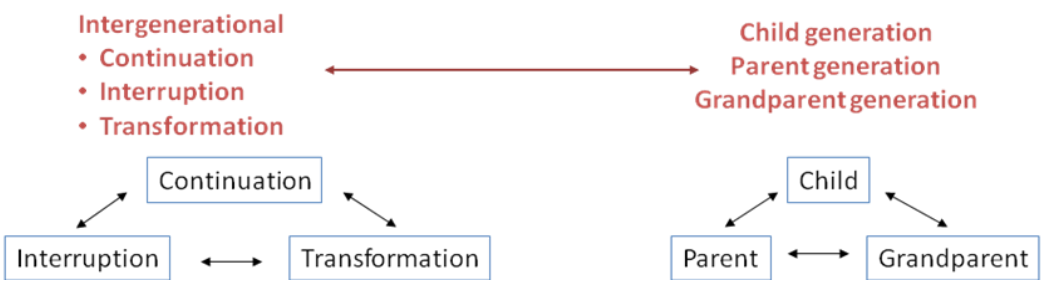


Figure 8.1 Relations occurring between the trajectories of continuation, interruption, and transformation, and the child, the parent, and the grandparent generations

The three sets of relations illustrated in Figure 8.1 are an indication of the complexity of life in three-generational families. They also point to the dialectical nature of movement, transition, and change that happened as part of the everyday child-rearing practices within participant families. The use of a dialectical theoretical and methodological frame for the study made it possible to view these interactions in this way. When discussing dialectical methods for family research Davis and Barton (2005) argued

> the dialectic dynamic of interacting opposites is the integrative pattern of life. (. . .) Dialectic tensions are not only located in intimate relationships but are intertwined with social, historical, cultural, and environmental contexts. Scholars should study families in all aspects of their existence. (. . .) Although at first very challenging, complex frameworks make the dynamic and changing instructiveness between and among multiple layers of influence on families more visible: the surfaces and depths and the individual and collective levels of families. (p. 327)

Although these scholars are not particularly discussing cultural-historical theory, their comments relate to the theoretical and methodological framing of this study. What became evident in the findings from this study was that learning and development within three-generational families was both complex and dialectical in nature, it involved multi-directional transformation and change, and could not be explained by a one-directional transmission model.

The use of Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory and, in particular, the concepts of mediation, motives, and participation as theoretical and analytical frames for this thesis (see Chapters 3 & 4) made it possible to conceptualize the three trajectories in

relation to the three generations of family members. Vygotsky's work moved the lens off the individual and individual traits of learning and development to the much broader focus of the individual in society (Vygotsky, 1987; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 1999). Vygotsky understood the social world to be the *source of development* and not merely an influence on development (Veresov, 2010).

Viewing the individual as part of the three-generational family engaged in everyday practices, opens up the possibility of investigating the relations occurring within a particular generation (for example, among siblings), between generations (for example, between grandparents and grandchildren), as well as between the individual and the family, and their environmental contexts (for example, geographical, economic and technological contexts). Importantly, the cultural-historical concepts of mediation, motives, and participation used as theoretical and analytical tools within this thesis draw the researcher's attention to

- the ways people use signs and tools within their cultural contexts to mediate thinking, activity, and social interaction (Vygotsky, 1987);
- the ways social interactions and everyday life in communities lead to the development of motives and how family members respond to and create a hierarchy of their different motives (El'konin, 1971; Hedegaard, 2005); and
- the ways family members position themselves and others as part of everyday activities and practices within families and how these positions relate, change and transform over time (Rogoff, 1993).

8.5 Three theoretical concepts – Participation, mediation, and motives

Learning and development within intergenerational families is a dynamic and complex process. Part of the complexity is linked to family members' motives and participation within everyday family practices. In addition, various factors mediate the relations between people that occur within these family practices. The inter-related concepts of participation, mediation and motives are discussed and elaborated on in this section drawing together the empirical data and the theoretical literature. While each concept has been foregrounded separately it is important to remember that the other concepts are still present but in the background. The concepts of participation, mediation and motives are dialectically related.

8.5.1 Participation

Family members are involved in a range of different social interactions with one another as they participate in everyday family practices. Rogoff and colleagues (1993) argued that children's development "is a creative process of participation in communication and shared endeavours that both derives from and revises community traditions and practices" (p. 3). Over time children's participation in the everyday activities and practices of their family changes as they become increasingly involved in and contribute to these activities. Differing patterns of social interactions between children and adults reflect differing perspectives on who takes the leadership role in children's learning and development, the child or the adult (Kravtsova, 2008; Rogoff et al., 1993). Differing patterns of interactions involve adults and children paying attention to particular aspects of the social interaction and ignoring others. These decisions are guided by the values

and practices of different communities. It is through these social interactions that children learn how, when, where, and with whom they can relate and what aspects of everyday life are 'open' for them to engage in. At the same time, the norms and values of the society, including the ways of social interaction and participation, are shared and transformed between generations. In her work, Rogoff (1993, 2003) refers to and elaborates the idea of guided participation (see Chapter 2), which was inspired by Vygotsky's (1987) theorization of the zone of proximal development (see Chapter 3). Vygotsky paid particular attention to the more formal academic instructional interactions that occur in educational settings. However, the idea that children learn through their interactions with more experienced adults and peers as they are assisted to move beyond their level of actual or present development to the new levels of proximal and potential development is useful in both formal and informal settings. Within the family, adults may or may not 'intentionally' plan to 'teach' children, yet children often initiate conversations and desire to 'help' with routine daily tasks, positioning themselves as learners and adults or peers as teachers.

Within this study all family members participated in everyday family practices in different ways, they performed different interactional roles at different times and in different situations. Aspects of participation were not usually formally stated, verbalised or written down yet they appeared to be shared and understood by family members. At times these ways of behaving were intentional and had been discussed and reflected upon by the family members concerned. The ways in which individual family members participated in everyday family practices were in constant motion, with transformation and change occurring in and between generations (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7). There were

five specific ways participation was evident within the everyday practices of participant families. Table 8.2 provides an overview of these examples of participation and links them with particular illustrations discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Theoretical concept	Examples	Illustrations presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7
Participation	Guide/ guided or expert/novice	Knowledge – family history (5.2.1; 6.4.2); natural environment (5.2.3); food preparation and preferences (5.2.4; 6.2.2; 6.4.1; 7.3.2); living 'rough' (5.2.3); musical appreciation (5.3.2); handcraft skills (6.2.1); everyday household routines (7.3.3)
	Together "we"	Time spent at the local beach or park (5.3.1); shopping (5.4.2); dinner time conversations (6.2.2); intergenerational play (7.3.1); asking and answering questions (7.3.2); games to complete household chores (7.3.3)
	Initiator	Family mobility – travel, change of residential location (6.3.1); parenting style (6.3.2; 7.2.1); healthy eating (6.4.1); play episodes (7.3.1); technology (7.3.4); shopping preferences (7.3.5)
	Giver/receiver	Artefacts – pocket watch (5.2.1); handcrafted items (5.2.1; 6.2.1); furniture (6.2.2); broaches and jewel boxes (6.2.3) Names (5.2.1) Support during personal hardships (5.4.1) Opportunities – ballet, music (6.3.2)
	Insider/ outsider	Local identity, belonging (5.2.2); family gatherings (5.2.4); family humour/jokes (5.4.2; 7.3.2); family stories (6.4.2); family games (7.3.3)

Table 8.2 Examples of participation

Table 8.2 makes it clear that family members participated in the everyday practices of their respective families in a variety of ways. Commonly, older and more mature family members shared their expert knowledge of, for example, family history, handcraft skills, the natural environment, and food preparation as they spent time with

younger members of the family, guiding them in joint endeavours as they undertook everyday family activities and practices. Family funds of knowledge (Moll & Greenberg, 1990) were shared, formed and transformed through these family practices as family members contributed their own perspectives and knowledge. Here the learners were full and active participants, yet their participation levels were related to the task at hand and the guidance given by the 'expert' (Rogoff, 2003; Wenger, 1998). There were a number of different aspects of participation happening. Firstly, the expert was sharing knowledge or skills or understanding with the learner and, at the same time, the learner was sharing his or her growing perspectives, understandings, and skills with the expert. Collectively they were building a sense of family togetherness through their joint engagement.

There was a strong sense of 'we' that occurred as family members participated in joint activities, for example, engaging in leisure time activities or working on a special project. This sense of 'we' at times involved the whole family and at other times particular members of the family, for example, a child and her father engaged in making a gift for another family member. The gift making involved only the child and her father, other members of the family were not invited to participate. Kravtsov and Kravtsova (2008) referred to this position as the 'primordial we', where the adult came alongside the child and they acted as one unit in relation to one or more others. The 'primordial we' position involved a special sense of awareness of one another; this awareness involved being familiar and 'safe' with one another that developed because of long term and close involvement with one another. This 'we' position was not restricted to one adult and one child but at times involved the whole family coming

together as one unit. This togetherness seemed to lead to a sense of family identity that resulted in another type of positioning that has been termed 'insider/outsider' participation.

Data for this study exemplified the insider/outsider position occurring at a number of different levels. At times the whole family were insiders in relation to others who were not family members, on other occasions particular members of the family acted as insiders in relation to other family members. Humour was a particularly strong example of this. Different family members were accepted and joked about because of their individual 'quirks' or little habits that were understood in relation to past events and personality characteristics. Particular food preferences, particular ways of stacking wood or doing laundry were all examples of individual preferences that were laughed and joked about. There were also particular expressions or words used within the families that an outsider would not comprehend. Vygotsky (1987) refers to the problem of generalisation and how social interaction "*presupposes generalization and the development of verbal meaning*" (p. 48) [original emphasis]. It was the shared meaning that created the insider position, the words and incidents had a particular set of meanings to the family members that were not understood and could not be generalised by others until they were fully explained. Even when explained, their relevance and meaning was often not appreciated or understood by outsiders.

The simple passing of artefacts, treasures, and names from one generation to another was an aspect of participation within participant families that could easily be missed, yet it was a key way of maintaining and continuing family identity through the generations. This aspect of participation, that has been termed giver/receiver (See

Table 8.2), was less evident in the literature although it might be understood as linked to a transmission model of participation where the giver was in an active role of giving and the receiver was in a more passive role as receiver. However, the giver/receiver participation highlighted here was concerned with a positive attempt to keep the past in the present, which is very different from the transmission of negative behaviours of violence and abuse (see Chapter 2). The baby being named after his father who had been named after his father created a unique lineage within the family. Similarly the jewellery box passed from grandmother, to mother, to daughter, carried with it memories and connections to previous generations in positive and affirming ways.

The five aspects of participation identified in this study do not equate to a maturational view of learning and development, rather they are dynamic and dialectical in nature. For example, the family member exhibiting the role of 'guide' may or may not be more advanced in years than the family member who was being guided. There were occasions when a grandparent would guide a parent or a child as part of a particular family practice (see Chapter 5.2.2), but on other occasions a parent would guide a grandparent and a child (see Chapter 6.4.2). Further, at times, a child would initiate and introduce family practices that were taken up by a parent and a grandparent (see Chapter 7.3.5). It must also be remembered that the five aspects of participation are constantly in relation one with another and cannot be isolated, although in order to discuss them it was necessary to foreground one while the others were in the background.

The relations, transitions, and transformations that occurred as family members participated in their everyday family practices meant that many times participatory roles

changed within a short space of time, sometimes even instantaneously, as family members contributed to joint endeavours. One moment a parent might be leading a routine task (for example sorting, folding and putting away the laundry) when a child initiated a new idea that was taken up by the child's parent who then transformed the idea into a joint game where participation of parent and child became equal (see Chapter 7.3.3). Using the subject positioning theorised by Kravtsova (2008), it is possible to identify the role of the parent changing from 'over/leader' to 'under/learner' to 'equal'; and the role of the child changing from 'under/learner' to 'over/leader' and then to 'equal'. In this instance the game mediated and facilitated the transformative participation of both parent and child. Within this study participatory roles were found to be vibrant, and at the same time constantly changing and transforming. This is a significant finding from this study and again highlights the dynamic and dialectical relations occurring within intergenerational families.

8.5.2 Mediation

Participation in its various forms mediates learning and development (Rogoff, 1995). Mediated learning is very different from the more traditional acquisitional learning where children were perceived as passive empty containers that needed to be filled with pre-packaged knowledge. Vygotsky's (1987; 1997b) theorization of mediation introduced new ways of understanding learning and development that emphasized the roles of signs and tools actively appropriated by children and adults in formal and informal contexts (see Chapter 3). Vygotsky viewed the concept of mediation as central to learning and development, mediators (signs and tools) served as a means by which individuals mastered nature and their own behaviour. He explained that the "mastery

of nature and the mastery of behaviour are mutually connected because when man [sic] changes nature he changes the nature of man himself" (Vygotsky, 1997b, p. 63). Isolating the concept of mediation from the holistic process of growth and development is not possible, neither is it possible to isolate particular aspects of mediation such as signs or tools; they are mutually connected. Aspects of the mediation process can be described separately but each is inherently connected with the other. Learning and development are holistic, complex, and dialectical processes.

Vygotsky was particularly interested in the mediating functions of signs and tools in relation to the development of the higher mental functions of voluntary memory, attention, perception, and volition (Vygotsky, 1997b) (see Chapter 3). He identified a range of cultural signs and tools including language, speech, and writing systems; counting and numbering systems as well as drawing, works of art, and the building of monuments. More recently, cultural-historical scholars have explored the cultural signs and tools of computers, videos, photography, calendars, and maps (Fleer, 2007; Kenner, Ruby, Jessel, Gregory & Ariu, 2007; Robbins & Jane, 2006; Verenikina, 2010). The participants of this study used a wide range of signs and tools to mediate the continuation, interruption and transformation of family values, knowledge, and practices. Examples of these mediators are listed in Table 8.3.

Theoretical concept	Examples	Illustrations presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7
Mediation	Artefacts and treasures	Jewellery - pocket watch (5.2.1); broaches (6.2.3) Handcrafted items - knitted rug (5.2.1; 6.2.1); crochet basket (6.2.1) Cooking utensils - steamer (5.2.4) Furniture - circular table (6.2.2)
	Geographical locations	Park (5.2.2); beach (5.2.2; 5.3.1); bush (5.2.3) Place of residence (5.3.1; 6.3.1)
	Funds of knowledge	Bushcraft (5.2.3) Cooking methods (5.2.4); healthy eating (6.4.1) Vehicle mechanics (5.4.1) Asking and answering questions (7.3.2) Music, playing instruments and singing (5.3.2) Dance (5.3.2)
	Household routines	Washing, folding and putting away clothes (5.4.2; 7.3.3); mealtimes (6.2.2; 6.4.1); shopping (5.4.2; 7.3.5)
	Sport and exercise	Swimming (5.3.1); walking the dog (5.3.1) Bike-riding (6.3.2)
	Play	Hairdresser play (7.3.1)
	Technology	Television, computer, camera, PlayStation (7.3.4)
	Interpersonal interactions and relations	Playfulness and humour - food preparation (5.2.4; 7.3.2); shopping (5.4.2); laundry (5.4.2) Support and assistance during hardships and interpersonal hurdles (5.4.1) Checking emotional wellbeing – attachment and separation (7.2.1); equitable opportunities (6.3.2); family stories (6.4.2) Creating memories - people, places, things (5.2.2)

Table 8.3 Examples of mediators

Family members in this study used mediators to remember particular people, particular ways of doing things, and particular geographical locations. Objects, artefacts, and treasures including jewellery, handcrafted items, photographs, cooking equipment, and newspaper cuttings were imbued with family knowledge and history.

These objects, artefacts, and treasures were passed from one generation to the next; they were carefully preserved, and at times were spoken about at length as they were shown to others. Of significance was the *meaning* that was attached to them, from one perspective they were nothing more than an old faded newspaper cutting, or a broken pocket watch, or an out-of-date cooking pot, yet to the family member concerned they reminded them of an event or a person that was precious and had special meaning to them. The object, artefact, or treasure mediated the memory and the amount of attention given to it (Vygotsky, 1997b). The item itself did not remember the event or the person but the family member was reminded of the event or person because of the item, and because of the memory, particular attention was paid to the item.

In addition, the children of the family who had not met the person who had owned and used the object, artefact or treasure, or attended the event featured in the newspaper were introduced to family and societal history through these items. The knowledge of family history was continued and sometimes resurrected through the existence of these items and the meanings attributed to them as they were passed from generation to generation. The object, artefact, or treasure was used to mediate the transfer of family knowledge and values. Leont'ev (1978) puts this succinctly when he states "equipment [in this instance the object or treasure] mediates activity [in this instance the sharing of values] connecting man [sic] not only with the world of things but also with other people" (p. 59).

El'konin (1971) explicates that objects can be understood as "social objects" (p. 13) connected to a system of human relations and that they cannot be understood in isolation. As social objects they are imbued with social significance that may change

over time with the object becoming more or less significant; these changes often occur when the owner of the object changes. For example, a particular style of cooking pot may be a useful utensil in one generation, a prized possession in the following generation because of whom it originally belonged to, yet in the third successive generation, it might be considered an old broken piece of rubbish and be discarded.

Kravstov and Kravtsova (2008) discuss the concepts of 'sense field' (meaning) and 'optical field' (visual appearance), explicating the dialectical nature that can be attributed to objects (see Chapter 4). They were particularly relating this concept to children at play and gave the example of a child playing with a long wooden pole. In the optical field the pole was just a pole but the child gave the pole meaning as s/he played, referring to it as a horse to ride, while making appropriate movements and gestures. An example of the dialectical nature of social objects evidenced in this study was the grandfather of the Bayside Family discussing a newspaper cutting. Visually it was just an old piece of newspaper; however, the grandfather attributed particular meaning to it because the cutting showed a picture of him receiving an award (see Chapter 5.4.1). In addition, the grandfather remembered the event, what led up to it, and what happened after it. Not only did the newspaper cutting have a visual appearance and a sense of meaning or significance, it also triggered a wide range of memories associated with the event which could be shared with others. Visual appearance, meaning and memory were dialectically related; the newspaper cutting mediated the sharing of family history and family values.

Specific geographical locations were also used by family members to mediate intergenerational learning and development. In a similar way to objects, artefacts, and

treasures, specific geographical locations were imbued with particular significance and meaning, for example, the Hill Top Family's association with a particular botanical garden park (see Chapter 5.2.2). In this instance the family took their preschool child on an inter-state holiday to visit family and friends as well as this particular park. The family explained that they wanted their child to know, love, and appreciate the park which had been a favourite family location for three generations. The family wanted to take the child's photograph in exactly the same spot as the mother and grandmother had been photographed. There was a sense of ownership, the park was 'our' special place; the geographical location mediated the family memories, history and values. The child was given the opportunity to share something of the family's past and make it her experience in the present, and in time she would be able to draw her experience into future family discussions about the park. The child's visit to the park created new relations between the child herself, other family members and the park. In addition, the child's focus and attention (Vygotsky, 1998) were drawn to this specific location and the flora and fauna it held. These aspects were important to this family as they highly valued the natural environment and desired for their child to also appreciate and enjoy the natural world, firstly together as part of the family and later as a voluntary act of her own choosing.

Mediators of family knowledge and values were not limited to objects, artefacts, treasures or geographical locations. Everyday household routines, play, leisure and sport activities as well as the use of various technological devices were all used by family members to mediate the learning and development that occurred across and within the generations. Central to all these activities were communication, language and speech.

Vygotsky placed major importance on the role of verbal mediation and the relations between speech, thinking and social interaction (Vygotsky, 1987) (see Chapter 3). Communication involves the sharing of meaning, and "the nature of meaning is revealed in generalization. The basic and central feature of any word is generalization. All words generalize" (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 249). Yet, at the same time, word meanings change. A word used in one situation or one cultural community might mean something very different in another situation or cultural community.

Family humour is an example of this, in one family the words 'wood pile' mean simply a pile of wood but in another family (the Hill Top Family) the wood pile is associated with a family joke about grandfather who carefully sorts the wood into 'day wood' (quick burning wood) and 'night wood' (slow burning wood) (see Chapter 5.2.3). When the father of the family visits he likes to sort through the wood pile for interesting pieces of wood to use for craft projects and in the process regularly messes up the wood pile; the grandfather does not take kindly to this and the whole family joke about his reactions as well as the father's annoying habit. Humour is used to mediate relations between the grandfather, father, and other members of the family; humour also mediates the learning, development, and transformation of family values. Humour is a complex mix of activity, memory, perception, attention, past/present, speech, language, meaning, and generalisation.

Humour cannot exist without shared meaning; it is the shared meaning attributed to a particular word or phrase or activity that ignites the humour. Vygotsky (1987) was interested in not only the development of meanings and their structures "but the process through which *meanings function in the living process of verbal thinking*" (p. 249)

[original emphasis]. Humour is a dynamic formation, a process of the making of meaning that sometimes occurs within the cultural community of the intergenerational family. Humour can mediate family relations and participation, and is often linked to the motives of individuals or groups of family members.

8.5.3 Motives

The concept of motives is very powerful. In this study motives have been understood as being culturally created through persons' participation in everyday life of their families and communities (El'konin, 1971; Leont'ev, 1978, Vygotsky, 1997a). Motives are an essential element of learning and development. Leont'ev and El'konin both extended Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory and conceptualized motives in different ways (see Chapter 3). Leont'ev proposed that the object of the activity was its true motive. He argued that "the motive may be either material or ideal, either present in perception or existing only in the imagination or in thought" (Leont'ev, 1978, p. 62). In addition, an activity might be multi-motivated, leading to the concept of one motive being dominant or there being a hierarchy of motives. El'konin developed his conceptualization of motives related to the changes occurring over the course of a child's life, for example, the dominance of playful motives for the young child, learning motives being of significance for an older child, and vocational motives being in the forefront later in life. In El'konin's view there are links between the various institutional practices of home, school and work and the development of a person's dominant motives at different times in his/her life. Importantly, the institutions of family, school and work are likely to have different value positions and different expectations regarding a person's participation, thereby leading to the development of

different motives. Table 8.4 details the range of motives that were evident in participant three-generational families.

Theoretical concept	Examples	Illustrations presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.
Motives	Being 'connected' and 'bonded'	Artefacts and treasures – knitted rug (5.2.1; 6.2.1); cooking equipment and recipe books (5.2.4); jewellery (6.2.3) Frequenting specific geographical locations together as a family – parks and beaches (5.2.2; 5.3.1; 5.3.1) Photographs (5.2.2) Celebrations and family gatherings (5.2.2; 5.2.3) Support in times of challenge (5.4.1; 6.2.2) Intergenerational play (7.3.1, 7.3.3); Food preparation (7.3.2)
	Creating and maintaining family identity	Names given to newborn children (5.2.1) Residential location – custodial rights to local pier (5.2.1); historic homestead (6.3.1); Food choices (5.2.4); Shared humour (5.2.4; 5.4.2); Family stories (6.4.2)
	Living 'the good life'	Outdoors - 'roughing it' in the bush (5.2.3); living near the seaside (5.2.3); Pets (5.3.1) Cultural activities – singing, music, ballet (5.3.2) Intentional parenting – provision of opportunities (6.3.2) Sport and exercise (6.2.3; 7.3.4) Health and hygiene (6.4.1; 7.3.3) Shopping practices (7.3.5)
	Being an 'overcomer'	Support through personal hardships (5.4.1) Emotional wholeness (6.2.2; 6.4.2) Separation and independence (7.2.1)
	Enlarging horizons	Changing residential location (6.3.1); Travel (6.3.1) Separation and independence (7.2.1) Children participating in household routines (7.3.2; 7.3.3) Embracing technology (7.3.4)

Table 8.4 Examples of motives

The concept of a 'good life' (see Chapter 3) appeared to be a strong and dominant motive guiding everyday practices in participant families. This is not surprising. Hedegaard (2008a) points out that

> institutional practice and children's development are connected to a conception of what constitutes a 'good life' and these vary within the different types of institutions and even among those who participate in the practices found within these institutions. (p. 11)

Perceptions of a 'good-life' are likely to differ from institution to institution as well as from person to person. Different members of the same family engaged in the same practice are likely to have different motives for their involvement related to their perceptions of what constitutes a good-life; for example, Mary (the three-year-old of the Hill Top Family) and her father made a milk-shake at home in the kitchen (see Chapter 7.3.2). In this instance Mary's father was happy to assist Mary because he wanted her to drink milk and be healthy, he valued time spent in joint activities with Mary, and he believed it was important for Mary to 'help' with routine tasks as these activities would prepare her for later life. Conversely, Mary wanted to lick the ice-cream lid (something that her mother was not happy about but her father permitted), spend time with her father, and be like an adult using full-sized kitchen equipment (see Chapter 7.3.2).

The family practice of making milkshakes on Saturday morning revealed multiple motives for Mary and her father. Of particular importance to Mary and her father was spending time together engaging in joint activities that were fun and playful (see Chapter 7.3.1, 7.3.2). During the week she attended day-care and her parents were at work; therefore there was limited time available for complex activities. Play and playfulness were valued in this family. Mary and her father laughed and joked together and as part of the fun Mary was permitted to lick the ice-cream lid, something that in a more formal context would not be acceptable. Mary's motive for engaging in the activity of making the milkshake was play and fun with her father. Drawing from their own experiences as children, as well as the societal expectations that a good-life should

include a 'work-life balance' and children having 'quality time' with their parents, this family developed particular weekend practices. The parents imagined that other families might not have these priorities but from their perspective an important priority (or dominant motive) was spending time together. Relating as father and daughter undertaking joint activities such as making a milk-shake afforded that. What was considered a good-life by the participants of this study appeared to be linked to what they had experienced in life as well as what they perceived or imagined as being experienced by others. Imagining the lives of others and linking these imaginings to one's own life has been theorised by Anderson (1983).

Anderson's work on nationalism and 'imagined communities', first published in 1983, highlights the ways "communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). Anderson (2006) conceptualizes communities or nations as imagined, suggesting that it is unlikely that all members of any nation or even community within a nation, would ever meet each other. Yet in their minds they have an image of what makes them unique as a group, community or nation, what unites them and distinguishes them from other groups, communities or nations.

Re-theorising this concept from Anderson's work in relation to the family as a community and the concept of the good-life, it is possible to propose that something similar happens when families consider themselves as the same or different from other families, even from those they have not actually met. Repeatedly during the data generation phase of this study participants commented on how their family practices were unique, similar or different from those of other families; they spoke in generalized

terms assuming or imagining how other families 'did' family. For example, for the Hill Top Family the good-life was living rough in the bush and for the Bayside Family the good-life was living near the beach; both families imagined that families who did not experience what they perceived as the good-life were missing out (see Chapter 5.2.3).

Ideas and understanding of what constitutes a good-life are connected to the values and norms of particular cultural communities and institutions. They are expressed through the different opportunities and practices that are made available to the members of these communities and institutions. For all the participants of this study, the unity of the family, being connected and bonded together across the generations was important. The expectation that family members would support and care for each other in times of crisis (such as marital separation) or need (such as illness) led to the development of a dominant 'overcomer' motive, a sense of 'together we can make it through'. For one family member there was a need for help and assistance, and for other family members there was an opportunity and expectation that they would assist. The social situation within the family afforded the development of personal helping motives and the children of the family were being introduced to the values and practices of the three-generational family. However, when help was no longer needed, for example, the sick family member had recovered, the situation changed and so did the activities and motives of those involved.

The good-life was also associated with activities and situations that family members had not yet experienced or undertaken. The enlarging horizons motive (Table 8.4) related to family members perceiving and imagining that the good-life was in another location and therefore involved moving out of the family home, travelling to

another land, buying a home in a different area, or taking up a new job. Societal and cultural expectations of where and how a person should live, and the activities and practices they should engage in led to the enlarging horizons motive of living differently. Members of the Hill Top Family experienced a great deal of emotional upset when the mother and father of the family married and went to live overseas. The couple's dominant motive of enlarging their horizons remained strong throughout the initial move even though they experienced conflicting emotions and the transition to living in another country was not easy. This situation is an example of how powerful dominant motives can be. The family linked this experience to a previous situation when the mother of the Hill Top Family was a teenager and experienced difficulty leaving home and going on a school camp (see Chapter 7.2.1). On this occasion the demand placed on the family from the school for camp attendance, led to the mother (as a teenager) developing a survival motive which in time developed into a motive for exploration and enlarging her horizons. It was the learning and development that occurred through the school's expectations for camp attendance and the subsequent actions of the grandmother (at the time the mother of the teenager) that led to the development of new motives.

The concept of motive is complex, dynamic and dialectical. Within a cultural-historical theoretical framework motives are understood as being culturally created through the person's participation in the everyday life of his/her family, school, workplace and community (El'konin, 1971; Leont'ev, 1978; Vygotsky, 1997a). A person's motives change over time and it is the development of new motives that advances learning and development (Vygotsky, 1966). In addition, often the activities

and practices a person engages in are multi-motivated, leading to an understanding of the concept of a hierarchy of motives and dominant motives (El'konin, 1971). Motives cannot be viewed as an isolated concept; motives develop as people (children and adults) live their everyday lives in various institutions within their cultural communities. Motives are dialectically related to a person's participation and engagement in family and community practices. Just as a person's motives influence what is continued, interrupted, and transformed within intergenerational families, so to the development and creation of a person's motives is influenced by the family and community practices that have been continued, interrupted, and transformed. Motives do not and cannot exist in a vacuum, they are social constructions. This does not mean that society imposes motives on people but rather that persons actively develop their personal motives through their participation in social situations – motives are "not acquired, but *develop*" (Vygotsky, 1998, p. 9).

8.5.4 The relations between participation, mediation and motives

As previously stated in this chapter, the concepts of participation, mediation, and motives cannot be viewed or understood as isolated entities, they are dialectically related within the social situations of learning and development. While each concept has been foregrounded separately in sections 8.3.1, 8.3.2, and 8.3.3, the focus now changes to the relations that are apparent between these concepts (Figure 8.2). Vygotsky proposed that human development was a "*process* … characterized by a *unity* of material and mental aspects, a unity of the social and the personal" (Vygotsky, 1998, p. 190) [emphasis added]. This *holistic* perspective concerned with the *process* of development and the *unity* of the social, individual, material and mental, was very different from

conceptually isolating the human mind and consciousness from behaviour, as was prevalent in the contemporary psychology of his time (Vygotsky, 1987). Within this study, participation, mediation, and motives form a conceptual unity (Figure 8.2) when understood as aspects of the process of intergenerational learning and development. Learning and development are not static; they involve movement, change, and transformation. Participation, mediation, and motives are not static concepts either. The ways in which family members participate in everyday family practices is constantly changing, sometimes instantaneously (see Chapter 8.3.1); the motives of family members also change over time (see Chapter 8.3.3) as do forms of mediation, especially the meaning that is attributed to different mediators (see section 8.3.2). *Together* these concepts open up new ways to view intergenerational learning and development. Present day sociocultural and cultural-historical scholars have identified relations between two of these concepts. For example, Rogoff (1990; 1995; 2003) argues that participation mediates learning and development and Hedegaard (2005) links motives and engagement in institutional practices. This thesis draws all three concepts together (Figure 8.2).

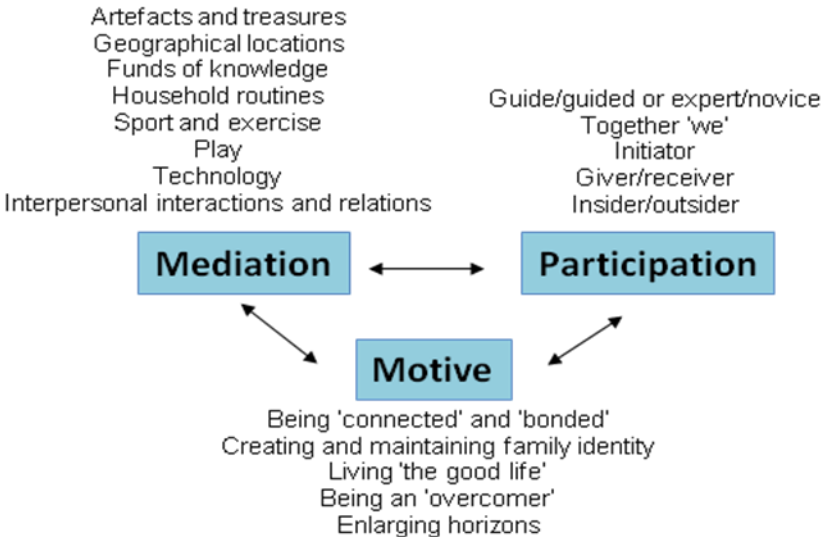


Figure 8.2 The inter-related concepts of participation, mediation, and motives

The relations between the concepts of participation, mediation, and motive, as well as a list of examples of each of these concepts drawn from Tables 8.2; 8.3; and 8.4, have been illustrated in Figure 8.2. However, while particular examples have been placed above or below specific concepts this study found that these examples were not limited to one specific concept. For instance, play has been listed as an example of the concept of mediation. Although play may mediate the values and beliefs held by the family (such as time spent together, see Chapter 7.3.1), play might also act as the child's motive for engaging in a family practice (for example, sock races, see Chapter 7.3.3); and play and playfulness could be a type of participation within a family practice (for example, humour, see Chapter 7.3.2). This is a significant finding as it illustrates the breadth, depth, and dynamic complexity of intergenerational learning and development occurring in everyday family practices. It also highlights how play in intergenerational families can be viewed holistically through multiple perspectives and concepts. The use

of Vygotsky's dialectical cultural-historical theoretical and methodological frame for this study made it possible to view play in this way.

8.6 A dialectical model of intergenerational learning and development

If the two models introduced earlier in this chapter (Figures 8.2 & 8.2) are brought together, a new conceptualization of the process of intergenerational learning and development emerges (Figure 8.3). This conceptualization is illustrated as a dialectical model of intergenerational learning and development, which is very different from the top-down or transmission models commonly presented in the intergenerational family literature. The model presented here has developed as part of an iterative process occurring throughout the course of this thesis. Separate sections of the model have been explicated in this chapter. To begin, Figure 8.1 illustrated the dialectical relations between the intergenerational trajectories (continuation, interruption, and transformation), and the three generations (child, parent, and grandparent); then Figure 8.2 illustrated the relations between three cultural-historical concepts (participation, mediation and motive). Now Figure 8.3 combines these two previous models, creating a holistic and dialectical model of intergenerational learning and development, and highlighting the relations between the three trajectories, the three generations, and the three cultural-historical concepts.

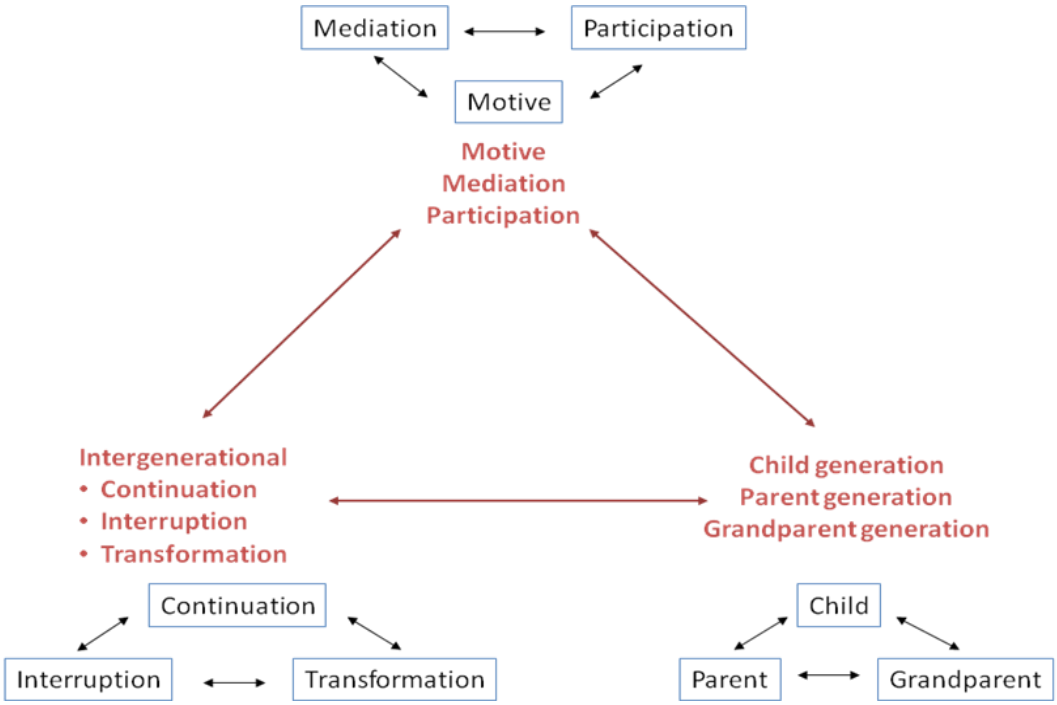


Figure 8.3 Relations occurring between the trajectories of continuation, interruption, and transformation; the child, the parent, and the grandparent generations; and the concepts of mediation, motive and participation

This model (Figure 8.3) shows a complex conceptual system of intergenerational learning and development. The red dual-directional arrows that create the central triangle indicate the relations between the generations, intergenerational trajectories and cultural-historical concepts. In addition, the three sets of boxed words with their associated arrows illustrate the relations occurring within and between different subsections of the model. This model draws strongly on the theoretical literature and illustrates the multiple relations that were evident in the everyday practices of the participant three-generational families. It is a model that encompasses movement and motion and provides opportunities to investigate the genesis of intergenerational family practices. It is framed within a desire to study the processes of transformation, change,

learning and development dialectically, which were foundational goals of Vygotsky's theoretical and methodological work (Vygotsky, 1987; 1993; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 1999). This model affords an opportunity to investigate intergenerational learning and development holistically, considering past and present family practices holistically involving the individual, the family group, and the wider society. This model is radically different from a traditional, linear, maturational, 'ages and stages' view of the learning and development where aspects of learning and development are investigated as separate entities (for example cognitive or social skills) that have already developed. Central to this model is the dynamic complexity of family practices studied in motion and foregrounding relations, transitions, and transformations in process over time.

The Peninsula Family's present day practice of the father cooking a roast dinner and the family sitting at a round table to eat it illustrates the relations between the three trajectories, the three generations and the three theoretical concepts (Figure 8.3) (see Chapter 5.2.4). Eating a roast dinner was a family practice that had an intergenerational history; in addition the person who cooked the roast dinner was an important factor in this family practice. As part of this study the Peninsula Family generated photographic and video data of the family sitting at the dining table conversing while eating a roast dinner that had been prepared by the father of the family. Although the father did not always prepare the roast dinner, it was a common practice for him to do so. When he was a child, his father, and before that his grandfather, had commonly prepared the roast dinner on Sunday while the other family members attended church. The practice of the father of the household cooking a roast dinner for the family had been *continued* over three generations and presently the toddler of the family who was also a male, was

being introduced to the practice. The photographs and video clips of the family showed them seated at a round table. Sitting at a round table to eat a meal was another very important family practice in this household. The shape of the table had no particular importance to the father but the mother of the Peninsula Family favoured a round table. For her the round table afforded a sense of equity between the adults and the children, unlike a rectangular table where people would sit at the top, bottom, and sides of the table. As a teenager, the mother of the Peninsula Family had spent time with her grandparents who owned a round table. Together they would spend many hours in deep conversation as they sat at the table. This practice of sitting at the table long after a meal had been eaten afforded opportunities to share ideas and discuss hard questions openly without being put down or feeling inferior. The mother of the Peninsula Family valued these opportunities and wanted to make them available to her children as this had not been her experience as a young child.

The father preparing a roast dinner and the family sitting at a round table to converse while enjoying the meal was a present day practice in the Peninsula Family. This practice was imbued with family meaning and history; there were important connections between the generations that linked the paternal and maternal and grandparents to the present practice. There were aspects of this practice that had been continued down through the generations (the father preparing the meal) and aspects that had roots in previous generations, but not direct links from generation to generation as it had skipped a generation (sitting at a round table to converse). The intergenerational trajectories of continuation and interruption were both evident in this practice. In addition, the practice was being transformed and adapted to the particular

circumstances and social situations of the family's present everyday lived experience. Roast dinners were no longer restricted to Sundays as the Peninsula Family attended church together and roast dinners prepared by the father of the family were now more likely to occur on Friday evening or Saturday – there was no set pattern. The children were also influencing the family practice through their involvement and enjoyment of the roast dinner as it was a favourite meal that they sometimes requested. At times they were also involved in the food preparation, helping their father. The three trajectories of continuation, interruption, and transformation (Figure 8.3) were all evident in this one family practice. Importantly the trajectories were not isolated entities but rather there was a unity and wholeness that involved movement, change, and transformation.

Similarly the concepts of participation, mediation, and motive were evident in the Peninsula Family's practice of preparing and eating a roast dinner. The roast dinner and sitting at a round table involved in conversation were important mediators of family values. The roast dinner is a particular type of food, cooked and eaten in particular ways. The children were being introduced to the cultural ways of their family and community; it is likely that children in another family and community would not eat a roast meal. Eating a roast dinner not only connected the children to the previous generations in their family, it also connected them to a particular cultural community and the food preferences and cooking methods of that community. Ways of participating in the preparation and eating of the dinner were also important. The role of the father as cook and the particular food he prepared led to a changed role for the mother; she was able to be involved in other activities while the father prepared dinner for the family. The children participated in this family practice through being

encouraged to share their thoughts and ideas, initiate conversations, ask questions, listen to each other, and discuss things that were troubling them while they sat around the table eating dinner. Roles and positions constantly changed as part of the family practice. Family members also had multiple motives for their involvement in this particular family practice that related to what was considered a good-life. For the father, the good-life included taking a turn at cooking to support his wife and give her a break; he enjoyed a roast dinner and was proficient at this type of cooking. Over the years there has been a change in western societal attitudes to sharing household tasks such as cooking and not relying solely on woman to undertake household tasks. For the mother, the good-life included family conversations seated around the table eating good food. She wanted her children to participate actively in the conversations and create a sense of family belonging, acceptance, and contribution. The concepts of participation, mediation, and motives opened up some of the depth and richness imbued in the simple family practice of cooking and eating dinner.

Everyday family practices are dynamic and complex, they are in a constant state of change and development, and they cannot be investigated or explained as isolated, static entities. Specific family practices such as mealtimes are multi-faceted and must be viewed holistically as part of the everyday life of the family. Within this study specific family practices have been explored as units for analysis (Vygotsky, 1987). Each practice was a vital part of the whole life of the family and, when brought to the forefront, could be viewed from a range of perspectives. The model of intergenerational learning and development (Figure 8.3) explicated in this chapter highlights the dynamic complexity of everyday family practices. When used as a tool to

investigate the relations, transitions, and transformations of family values this model opens up new ways to view learning and development in three-generational families. Central to this model are two further concepts which become apparent when the trajectories, generations, and concepts are understood in relation to one another. These additional concepts act as 'glue'; they permeate and give meaning to the family practices, they are illusive yet ever present, and they are rich and complex. Intergenerational 'we-ness' and intergenerational 'between-ness' as dialectical cultural-historical concepts are important and significant findings from this study.

8.7 Intergenerational we-ness and intergenerational between-ness as cultural-historical concepts

Intergenerational we-ness and intergenerational between-ness contribute new perspectives and interpretations of intergenerational learning and development. Within this study we-ness included a sense of shared family identity, belonging, participation, and togetherness. When families spoke of themselves as 'we', there was a sense of unity and understanding, a sense shared history and shared present, shared futures and shared dreams. In contrast, between-ness included a sense of separateness, difference, and gaps such as different generations, different roles, and different priorities. This sense of separateness and difference was connected and mediated through relations with people, places, and objects, and these connections occurred as part of everyday family practices. It was the threads of connection and relations that mediated the spaces of 'between'. It was not possible to consider the idea of we-ness without also considering the idea of between-ness; together they resulted in intergenerational learning and development. We-ness and between-ness were the central concepts that formed the essence or the

glue that united the generations (grandparents, parents, and children), the intergenerational trajectories (continuation, interruption, and transformation), and the cultural-historical concepts (participation, mediation, and motive) evident in this study (see Figure 8.4).

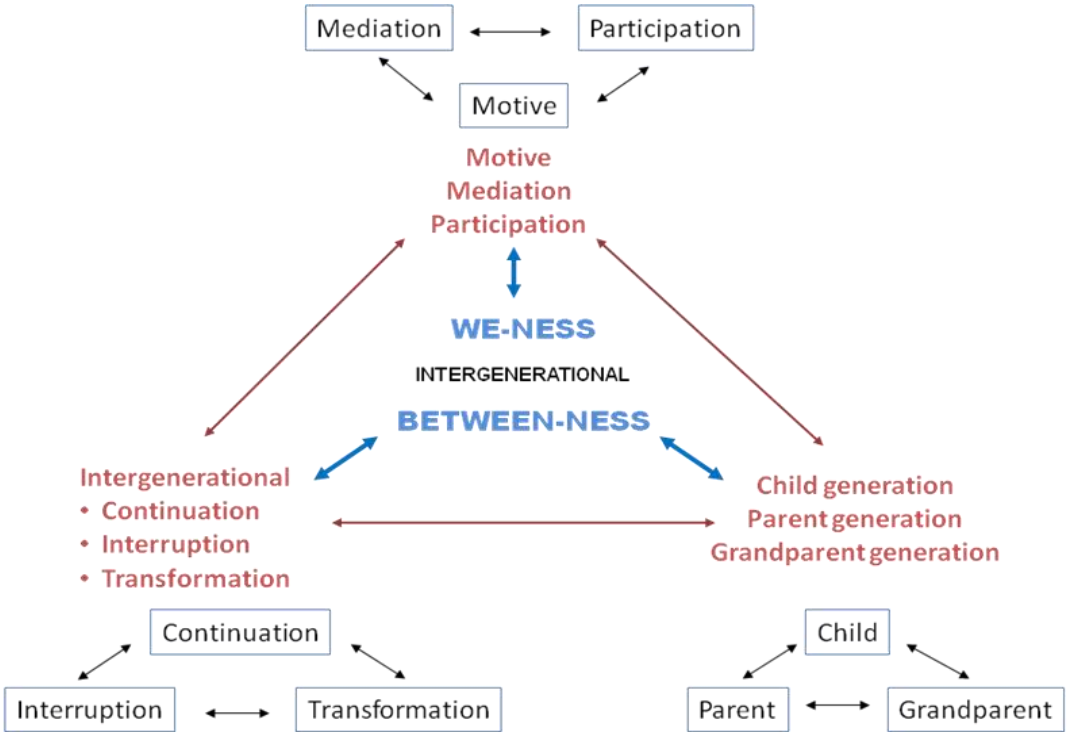


Figure 8.4 A cultural-historical view of intergenerational learning and development

The addition of we-ness and between-ness as central dialectical concepts (Figure 8.4) extends and completes the complex conceptual systems of intergenerational learning and development presented throughout this thesis. Importantly, it provides a visual illustration of relations, transitions, and the sharing of meaning which is very different from linear or top-down transmission models commonly attributed to intergenerational learning and development.

Vygotsky was interested in ways of creating meaning and meaning systems, he argued that social interaction is "impossible without meaning" and that *"social interaction presupposes generalization"* (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 48) [original emphasis]. We-ness involves a sharing of meaning. It occurs when small or large groups of people have a common understanding about something, and, when meanings are shared, a sense of accord and belonging increases. Shared meanings develop over time; they involve memories, attention to detail, and decision making. Meanings are mediated by people, places, objects, practices, and activities. Within this study family practices were imbued with shared meaning, the scenario of the roast dinner explicated earlier in this chapter is an example of a sense of we-ness occurring in the Peninsula Family. Particular meanings were attributed to preparing and eating a roast dinner, the meanings came from the past yet, at the same time, new meanings were emerging in the present as the parents and children of the Peninsula Family adapted and transformed the practice to suit their needs as a family. There was an understanding among members of the Peninsula Family about what roast dinners meant to their family, there was a sense of 'this is the way *we* do roast dinner' and 'this is what roast dinner means to *us*'. The sense of intergenerational we-ness did not only involve participation and mediation but at times this sense of intergenerational we-ness was the motive for particular family practices. We-ness emerged dialectically as the complexity of family practices were given meaning by the family and at the same time participation in the practices continued to generate further shared meaning.

Alongside shared meaning, Vygotsky's work also involved the search for relationships between different concepts such as the relationship of "thought to word"

and "the relationship between sound and meaning" (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 49); the relationships between lower and higher mental functions (Vygotsky 1997b), and the relationships between individuals and their social situations (Vygotsky, 1998). He was interested in processes of learning and development, the problems of relations, genesis, and dialectical unity (Vygotsky, 1987; 1998). He proposed that human development is a "process … characterized by a unity of material and mental aspects, a unity of the social and the personal" (Vygotsky, 1998, p. 190). The concept of between-ness in this thesis highlights the relations and transitions that occur during the process of intergenerational learning and development. Between-ness conceptualizes the transitions and transformations that occur between generations, between family practices and activities, and between families and the societies in which they live their everyday lives. Between-ness is more than a separate space that might be termed in-between, or some blurred waiting zone between two separate situations. Between-ness as a cultural-historical dialectical concept explicated in this thesis is a rich, complex, and dynamic set of relations, transitions, and transformations that occur as intergenerational families live their everyday lives. Between-ness brings a unity or fusion of relations creating a new synthesis and, at the same time, this new synthesis continues to generate change and transformation, providing new opportunities for unity. Between-ness is in constant process; it cannot be understood as static or fossilized (Vygotsky 1997b).

Intergenerational we-ness and between-ness as dialectical cultural-historical concepts are important and significant findings generated from this study. They contribute new perspectives and interpretations of *intergenerational learning and development,* and they open up new ways of viewing shared meaning and relations as collective and

intergenerational concepts. The dialect cultural-historical model of intergenerational learning and development presented in this thesis responds to the commonly held view of intergenerational transmission and offers an alternative and contradictory conceptualization.

This thesis, though limited to the study of three intergenerational families, makes visible the problem of intergenerational learning and development. It contributes to the theoretical, methodological, and empirical literatures, and it puts forward a dynamic and dialectical model of intergenerational relations and transitions. Framed in cultural-historical theory, this thesis positions everyday family practices as rich and complex, and in so doing it opens up new ways to investigate intergenerational learning and development. In addition this study has highlighted the need for continued theorizing about intergenerational families using innovative methodologies framed within cultural-historical frameworks in a range of contexts.

REFERENCE LIST

Allen, H. (2005). Bringing the generations together: Support from learning theory. *Christian Education Journal, 2*(2), 319-333.

Amin, A., & Roberts, J. (2008). Knowing in action: Beyond communities of practice. *Research Policy*(37), 353-369. doi:10.1016/j.respol.2007.11.003

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andrews, J., & Yee, W. C. (2006). Children's 'funds of knowledge' and their real life activities: Two minority ethnic children learning in out-of-school contexts in the U.K. *Educational Review, 58*(4), 435-449.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2007). Family, household and income unit variables, 2005. Retrieved 4 February, 2010, from http://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsf/0/93E468A5C48B343ECA25703C0082B0D6?opendocument

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2008). Year book Australia, 2008. Retrieved 5 February, 2010, from http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/7d12b0f6763c78caca257061001cc588/636F496B2B943F12CA2573D200109DA9?opendocument

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2009). Australian Demographic Statistics. Retrieved 5 February, 2010, from http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/3101.0

Australian Government Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations. (2009). *Belonging, being and becoming: The early years learning framework for Australia*. Barton, ACT: Australian Government Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations.

Bailey, J.A.; Hill, K.G., Oesterle, S., & Hawkins, J.D. (2009). Parenting practices and problem behaviour across three generations: Monitoring, harsh discipline, and drug use in the intergenerational transmission of externalizing behaviour. *Developmental Psychology 45*(5), 1214-1226. doi: 10.1037/a0016129

Bakardjieva, M. (2010). The internet in everyday life: Exploring the tenets and contributions of diverse approaches. In R. Burnett, M. Consalvo & C. Ess (Eds.), *The handbook of internet studies* (pp. 59-82). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Baptiste, I. (2001, September). Qualitative data analysis: Common phrases, strategic differences. [Electronic Version]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *2*. Retrieved 1 April 2009, from http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs/fqs-eng.htm

Beck-Gernsheim, E. (1998). On the way to a post-familial family: From a community of need to elective affinities. *Theory , Culture and Society, 15*(3-4), 53-70.

Belsky, J., Conger, R., & Capaldi, D.M. (2009). The intergenerational transmission of parenting: Introduction to the special section. *Developmental Psychology, 45* (5), 1201-1204.

Belsky, J., Jaffee, S. R., Sligo, J., Woodward, L., & Silva, P. A. (2005). Intergenerational transmission of warm-sensitive-stimulating parenting: A prospective study of mothers and fathers of 3-year-olds. *Child Development, 76*(2), 384-396.

Bengston, V. L. (2001). Beyond the nuclear family: The increasing importance of multigenerational bonds. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 63*(1), 1-16.

Bengston, V. L., Acock, A. C., Allen, K. R., Dilworth-Anderson, P., & Klein, D. M. (2005). Theory and theorizing in family research. In V. L. Bengston, A. C. Acock, K. R. Allen, P. Dilworth-Anderson & D. M. Klein (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theory and research* (pp. 3-33). Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Bengston, V. L., Biblarz, T., J., & Roberts, R. E. L. (2002). *How families still matter: A longitudinal study of youth in two generations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bengston, V. L., & Roberts, R. E. L. (1991). Intergenerational solidarity in aging families: An example of formal theory construction. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 53*(4), 856-870.

Berg, B. L. (2007). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (6th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson Education.

Bernstein, B. P. (1993). *The effects of an intergenerational social learning group on children's attitudes toward older people.* Unpublished Dissertation, Southern Connecticut State University.

Bertaux, D., & Thompson, P. (1993). Introduction. In D. Bertaux & P. Thompson (Eds.), *International yearbook of oral history and life stories: Between generations: Family models, myths, and memories* (Vol. II, pp. 1-12). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Boehnke, K. (2001). Parent-offspring value transmission in a societal context: Suggestions for a utopian research design - with empirical underpinnings. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32*(2), 241-255.

Bone, J. (2007). *Everyday spirituality: Supporting the spiritual experiences of young children in three early childhood educational settings.* Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy in Education, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Boote, D. N., & Beile, P. (2005). Scholars before researchers: On the centrality of the dissertation literature review in research preparation. *Educational Researcher, 34*(6), 3-15.

Boss, P. (2005). Forward. In V. L. Bengston, A. C. Acock, K. R. Allen, P. Dilworth-Anderson & D. M. Klein (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theory and research* (pp. xv-xvi). Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Bowes, J. M., & Watson, J. (2004). Families as a context for children. In J. M. Bowes (Ed.), *Children, families and communities: Contexts and consequences* (pp. 91-115). South Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.

Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss: Attachment* (Vol. 1). New York: Basic Books.

Boyd, R., & Richardson, P. J. (1985). *Culture and the evolutionary process*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Boye-Beaman, J. M. (1994). *The intergenerational transmission of physical aggression: A social learning model.* Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York.

Brannen, J. (2006). Cultures of intergenerational transmission in four-generational families. *The Sociological Review 54,* (1), 133-154

Brennan, M. A. (2005). *"They just want to be with us" Young children: Learning to live the culture.* Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy in Education Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, NZ.

Bruner, J. (1987). Prologue to the English edition. In L. S. Vygotsky, *The collected works of L.S. Vygotsky: Volume 1, Problems of general psychology.* N. Minck (Translator). New York: Plenum Press.

Bryman, A. (2004). *Social research methods* (2nd ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Buchler, S., Baxter, J., Haynes, M., & Western, M. (2009). The social and demographic characteristics of cohabiters in Australia: Towards a typology of cohabiting couples. *Family Matters*(82), 22-29.

Capaldi, D. M., Pears, K. C., Kerr, D., C. R., & Owen, L. D. (2008). Intergenerational and partner influences on fathers' negative discipline. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*(36), 347-358. doi: 10.1007/s10802-007-9182-8

Cartwright, C., Farnsworth, V., & Mobley, V. (2009). Relationships with step-parents in the life stories of young adults of divorce. *Family Matters*(82), 30-37.

Cavalli-Sforza, L. L., & Feldman, M. (1981). *Cultural transmission and evolution: A quantitative approach*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cayne-Meiskin, S. J. (2006). *The attitudes of seniors who participate in a school-based intergenerational volunteer program toward public schools and education: A case study.* Unpublished Doctor of Education Thesis, Rutgers The State University of New Jersey - New Brunswick.

Chaiklin, S., Hedegaard, M., & Jensen, U. J. (Eds.). (1999). *Activity theory and social practice.* Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Christensen, P., & James, A. (Eds.). (2008). *Research with children: Perspectives and practices.* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Chun, J., & Lee, J. (2006). Intergenerational solidarity in Korean immigrant families. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 4*(2), 7-21.

Cole, M. & Scribner, S. (1978). Introduction. In L.S. Vygotsky, *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches.* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Curry, N. (2009). Review of Henri Lefebvre's book "Critique of everyday life, Volume 3: From modernity to modernism". *Capital and Class*(33), 170-171.

Daniels, H. (2008). *Vygotsky and research.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Daniels, H., Cole, M. & Wertsch, J. (2007). Editors' introduction. In H. Daniels, M. Cole, & J. Wertsch (Eds). *The Cambridge companion to Vygotsky.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

David, M., Edwards, R., & Alldred, P. (2001). Children and school-based research: 'informed consent' or 'educated consent'? *British Educational Research Journal, 27*(3), 347-365.

Davidson, C., & Tolich, M. (Eds.). (1999). *Social science research in New Zealand: Many paths to understanding.* Auckland, NZ: Longman.

Davis, D. A., & Barton, E. R. (2005). Holding multiple theories in our hands: Advanced dialectical research methods. In V. L. Bengston, A. C. Acock, K. R. Allen, P. Dilworth-Anderson & D. M. Klein (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theory and research* (pp. 327-328). Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Davydov, V. V. (1990). *Types of generalization in instruction: Logical and psychological problems in the structuring of school curricula*. Reston, VA: National Council of Teachers of Mathematics. (Original work published 1972).

DeFrain, J., & Asay, S. M. (Eds.). (2007). *Strong families around the world: Strengths-based research and perspectives*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2005). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Department of Education and Early Childhood Development. (2009). *Victorian early years learning and development framework*. East Melbourne, Vic: Early Childhood Strategy Division.

Dindler, C., & Iversen, O. S. (2009, August 30 - September 1). *Motivation in the museum - mediating between everyday engagement and cultural heritage*. Paper presented at the Nordic Design Research - Engaging artefacts, Oslo, Norway.

Dingus, J. E. (2008). 'Our family business was education': Professional socialization among intergenerational African-American teaching families. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 21*(6), 605-626. doi: 10.1080/09518390701470313

Donnison, S. (2007). Unpacking the millennials: A cautionary tale for teacher education. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education, 32*(3), 1-13.

Draper, L., & Duffy, B. (2006). Working with parents. In G. Pugh & B. Duffy (Eds.), *Contemporary issues in the early years* (4th ed.). London, UK: Sage.

Elder, G. (1981). History and the life course. In D. Bertaux (Ed.), *Biography and society: The life history approach in the social sciences.* (pp. 77-115). Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.

El'konin, D. B. (1971). Toward the problem of stages in the mental development of children. [Electronic Version]. *Voprosy Psikhologii*, *4*, 6-20. Retrieved 15 April 2009, from http://www.marxists.org/archive/elkonin/works/1971/stages.htm

Engels, F. (1964). *The dialectics of nature* (C. Dutt, Trans. 3rd revised ed.). Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Engels, F. (1976). *Ludwig Feuerbach and the end of classical German philosophy*. Peking, China: Foreign Lanugage Press.

Fine, M., & Norris, J. E. (1989). Intergenerational relations and family therapy research: What can we learn from other disciplines. *Family Process, 28*(3), 301-315.

Fleer, M. (2007, June 18-23). *A wholeness approach to the study of children's development in families, school and kindergarten: Children's participation across different institutions.* Paper presented at the International Society for Theoretical Psychology. Theoretical psychology beyond borders: Transdisciplinarity and internationalization, York University, Toronto, Canada.

Fleer, M. (2008a). Interpreting research protocols – the child's perspective. In M. Hedegaard & M. Fleer with J. Bang & P. Hviid (Eds.), *Studying children: A cultural-historical approach.* (pp. 88-103). Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Fleer, M. (2008b). Using digital video observations and computer technologies in a cultural-historical approach. In M. Hedegaard & M. Fleer with J. Bang & P. Hviid (Eds.), *Studying children: A cultural-historical approach.* (pp. 104-117). Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Fleer, M. (2010). *Early learning and development: Cultural-historical concepts in play*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fleer, M., & Hedegaard, M. (2010). Children's development as participation in everyday practices across different institutions. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 17*(2), 149-168.

Fleer, M. and Quiñones, G. (2009) A cultural-historical reading of "Children as Researchers". In M. Fleer, M. Hedegaard & J. Tudge (Eds.) *World yearbook of education: Childhood studies and the impact of Globalization: Policies and practices at global and local levels.* (pp. 86-107). New York: Routledge.

Fox, M. A. (2005). *The Accessible Hegel.* Amherst, New York: Humanity Books an imprint of Prometheus Books.

Frazier, K. N., West-Olatunji, C. A., St. Juste, S., & Goodman, R. D. (2009). Transgenerational trauma and child sexual abuse: Reconceptualizing cases involving young survivors of CSA. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 31*(1), 22-33.

Fuller, A. (2007). Critiquing theories of learning and communities of practice. In J. Hughes, N. Jewson & L. Unwin (Eds.), *Communities of practice: Critical perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Fuller, R., & Hood, D. (2005). Utilising community funds of knowledge as resources for school learning. *Turn-around pedagogies: Literacy interventions for at-risk students*, 63-76.

Fünfgeld, B., & Wang, M. (2009). Attitudes and behaviour in everyday finance: Evidence from Switzerland. *International Journal of Bank Marketing, 27*(2), 108-128.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Glick, J. (1997). Prologue (R. W. Rieber, (Ed English Translation), & M. J. Hall, Trans.). In R. Rieber, W. (Ed.), The collected works of L.S. Vygotsky: Volume 4, The history of the development of higher mental functions. New York: Plenum Press.

Goh, E.C.L. & Kuczynski, L. (2009). Agency and power of single children in multi-generational families in Urban Ziamen, China. *Culture and Psychology 15*(4), 506-532. doi: 10.1177/1354067X09344881

González, L., Andrade, R., Civil, M., & Moll, L. C. (2001). Bridging funds of distributed knowledge: Creating zones of practices in mathematics. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk, 6*(1 & 2), 115-132.

González, L., Moll, L. C., & Amanti, C. (2005). Introduction: Theorising practices. In L. González, L. C. Moll & C. Amanti (Eds.), *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practices in households, communities, and classrooms* (pp. 1-24). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

González, L., Moll, L. C., Tenery, M. F., Rivera, A., Rendon, P., González, R., et al. (1995). Funds of knowledge for teaching in Latino households. *Urban Education, 29*(4), 443-470.

Goodman, C. C. (2007). Family dynamics in three-generational grandfamilies. *Journal of Family Issues, 28*(3), 355-379.

Gredler, M. E. & Shields, C. C. (2008). *Vygotsky's legacy: A foundation for research and practice*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Greene, S., & Hogan, D. (Eds.). (2005). *Researching children's experience: Approaches and methods*. London: SAGE Publications.

Greenfield, C. (2007). *A case study of children's and adult's perceptions of 'being outside' in one early childhood centre*. Master of Education thesis, Massey University, New Zealand.

Greenstein, T. N. (2006). *Methods of family research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Grieshaber, S. (2004). *Rethinking parent and child conflict*. New York: Routledge Falmer.

Guba, E., G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research.* (3rd ed., pp. 191-215). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Hanks, W. F. (1991). Forward. In J. Lave & E. Wenger (Eds.), *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harrel-Smith, J. A. (2006). *An exploration of intergenerational connections.* Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, The Claremont Graduate University, Claremont, California.

Hedegaard, M. (2005). Strategies for dealing with conflicts in value positions between home and school: Influences on ethnic minority students' development of motives and identity. *Culture and Psychology, 11*(2), 187-205.

Hedegaard, M. (2008a). A cultural-historical theory of children's development. In M. Hedegaard, M. Fleer, with, J. Bang & P. Hviid (Eds.), *Studying children: A cultural-historical approach* (pp. 10-29). Berkshire, UK: Open University Press.

Hedegaard, M. (2008b). Developing a dialectic approach to researching children's development. In M. Hedegaard & M. Fleer with J. Bang & P. Hviid (Eds.), *Studying children: A cultural-historical approach.* (pp. 30-45). Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Hedegaard, M. (2008c). Principles for interpreting research protocols. In M. Hedegaard, M. Fleer, with, J. Bang & P. Hviid (Eds.), *Studying children: A cultural-historical approach* (pp. 46-64). Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Hedegaard, M. (2008d). The role of the researcher. In M. Hedegaard, M. Fleer, with, J. Bang & P. Hviid (Eds.), *Studying children: A cultural-historical approach* (pp. 202-207). Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Hedegaard, M. (2009). Children's development from a cultural-historical approach: Children's activity in everyday local settings as foundation for their development. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 16*, 64-81.

Hedegaard, M., & Chaiklin, S. (2005). *Radical-local teaching and learning*. Aarhus, N: Aarhus University Press.

Hedegaard, M., Edwards, A., & Fleer, M. (Eds.). (in preparation). *Motives, emotions and values in the development of children and young people*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hedegaard, M., & Fleer, M. (2009). Family practices and how children are positioned as active agents. In M. Fleer, M. Hedegaard & J. Tudge (Eds.), *World yearbook of education 2009: Childhood studies and the impact of globalization: Policies and practices at global and local levels* (pp. 254-278). New York: Routledge.

Hedegaard, M., Fleer, M., with Bang, J., & Hviid, P. (2008). *Studying children: A cultural-historical approach*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Heiss, R. (1975). *Hegel, Kierkegaard, Marx: Three great philosophers whose ideas changed the course of civilization* (E. B. Garside, Trans.). U.S.A.: Dell.

Hill, R. (1970). *Family development in three generations: A longitudinal study of changing family patterns of planning and achievement*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman.

Hodkinson, P., & Hodkinson, H. (2004, 11 May). *A constructive critique of communities of practice: Moving beyond Lave and Wenger*. Paper presented at the Organisational, vocational and adult learning (OVAL) Research Seminar, Sydney.

Hughes, J., Jewson, N., & Unwin, L. (Eds.). (2007). *Communities of practice: Critical perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Hughes, M., & Pollard, A. (2006). Home-school knowledge exchange in context. *Educational Review, 58*(4), 385-395.

Hviid, P. (2008). Interviewing using a cultural-historical approach. In M. Hedegaard & M. Fleer with J. Bang & P. Hviid (Eds.), *Studying children: A cultural-historical approach* (pp. 139-156). Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Ilyenkov, E. (1977). The concept of the ideal. In *Philosphy in the USSR*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Jayakody, R., Thornton, A., & Axinn, W. (Eds.). (2008). *International family change: Ideational perspectives*. New York, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Karpov, Y. V. (2005). *The neo-Vygotskian approach to child development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Katz, R., Lowenstein, A., Phillips, J., & Daatland, S. O. (2005). Theorizing intergenerational family relations: Solidarity, conflict, and ambivalence in cross-national contexts. In V. L. Bengston, A. C. Acock, K. R. Allen, P. Dilworth-Anderson & D. M. Klein (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theory and research* (pp. 393-420). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.

Kenner, C., Ruby, M., Jessel, J., Gregory, E., & Arju, T. (2007). Intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in east London. *Journal of Early Childhood Research, 5*(3), 219-243.

Kenway, J., & Fahey, J. (2007). Melancholic mothering: Mothers, daughters and family violence. *Redress*(August), 3-12.

Kerr, D., C. R., Capaldi, D. M., Pears, K. C., & Owen, L. D. (2009). A prospective three generational study of fathers' constructive parenting: Influences from family of origin, adolescent adjustment, and offspring temperament. *Developmental Psychology, 45*(5), 1257-1275. doi: 10.1037/a0015863

Kivits, J. (2009). Everyday health and the internet: A mediated health perspective on health information seeking. *Sociology of Health and Illness, 31*(5), 673-687.

Kolar, V. (1999). Learning parenting: Intergenerational influences. *Family Matters*(52), 65-68.

Kozulin, A. (2003). Psychological tools and mediated learning. In A. Kozulin, B. Gindis, V. S. Ageyev & S. M. Miller (eds). *Vygotsky's educational theory in cultural context.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kozulin, A., Gindis, B., Ageyev, V. S., & Miller, S. M. (Eds.). (2003). *Vygotsky's educational theory in cultural context.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kravtsov, G., & Kravtsova, E. (2008, 9-18 December). *Cultural-historical concepts of play.* Paper presented at the Research Symposium: Cultural-historical concepts and the Golden Key Schools of Russia, Monash University, Melbourne.

Kravtsov, G. G., & Kravtsova, E. (2009). Cultural-historical psychology in the practice of education. In M. Fleer, M. Hedegaard & J. Tudge (Eds.), *World yearbook of education 2009: Childhood studies and the impact of globalization: Policies and practices at global and local levels.* (pp. 202-212). New York: Routledge.

Kravtsova, E. (2007, 29 August - 1 September). *Vygotsky and his non-classical psychology.* Paper presented at the 17th EECERA Annual Conference, Exploring Vygotsky's ideas: Crossing borders, Prague, Czech Republic.

Kravtsova, E. (2008, 17 December). *The problems and practices of communication: Subject positioning within the Russian Golden Key program.* Paper presented at the Vygotsky Summer School, Monash University, Melbourne.

Kulik, L. (2004). The impact of birth order on Intergenerational transmission of attitudes from parents to adolescent sons: the Israeli Case1. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 33*(2), 149-157.

Lambert, E. B. (2003). *Introducing research to early childhood students*. Tuggerah, NSW: Social Science Press.

Lave, J. (2008). Everyday life and learning. In P. Murphy & R. McCormic (Eds.), *Knowledge and practice: Representations and identities*. London: SAGE and The Open University.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (2005). Practice, person, social world. In H. Daniels (Ed.), *An introduction to Vygotsky* (2nd ed., pp. 149-156). London: Routledge.

Lawton, P. H. (2004). *Artstories: Perspectives on intergenerational learning through narrative construction among adolescents, middled aged, and older aged adults.* Unpublished Education Doctorate Thesis, Columbia University Teachers College, New York.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *Critique of everyday life: Introduction* (Vol. I). London: Verso.

Lefebvre, H. (2002). *Critique of everyday life: Foundations for a sociology of the everyday* (Vol. II). London: Verso.

Lefebvre, H. (2005). *Critique of everyday life: From modernity to modernism* (Vol. III). London: Verso.

Leont'ev, A. N. (1978). *Activity, consciousness, and personality*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Leont'ev, A. N. (1997). On Vygotsky's creative development. In L.S. Vygotsky. *The collected works of L.S. Vygotsky: Volume 3, Problems of the theory and history of psychology.* R.W. Rieber & J. Wollock (Eds). R. van der Veer (Translator). New York: Plenum Press.

Leontyev, A. N. (2009). *The development of mind: Selected works of Aleksei Nikolaevich Leontyev*. Pacifica, CA: Marxists Internet Archive.

Luria, A. R. (1978). Biographical note on L.S. Vygotsky. In L.S. Vygotsky, *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes.* M.Cole, V. John-Steiner, S. Scriobner & E. Souberman (Eds.) Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Maré, D. C. & Stillman, S. (2010). *Passing it on: The intergenerational transmission of human capital in New Zealand families.* Wellington, New Zealand: Families Commission, Kōmihana ā whānau.

Mercado, C., & Moll, L. C. (1997). The study of funds of knowledge: Collaborative research in Latino homes. *Journal of the Centre for Puerto Rican Studies, 9*(1), 27-42.

Mills, T. L., & Wilmonth, J. M. (2002). Intergenerational differences and similarities in life-sustaining treatment attitudes and decision factors. *Family Relations, 51*(1), 26-54.

Minick, N. (1987). The development of Vygotsky's thought: An introduction. R. Rieber & A.S. Carton (Eds) *The collected works of L.S. Vygotsky: Volume 1, Problems of general psychology.* N.Minck (Translator). New York: Plenum Press.

Moen, P., Erickson, M. A., & Dempster-McClain, D. (1997). Their mother's daughters? The intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes in a world of changing roles. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 59*(2), 281-293.

Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & González, L. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into Practice, 31*(2), 132-141.

Moll, L. C., & Greenberg, J. B. (1990). Creating zones of possibilities: combining social contexts for instruction. In L. C. Moll (Ed.), *Vygotsky and education: Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology* (pp. 319-348). Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Monk, H. (2008). Funds of knowledge: A theoretical framework for designing intergenerational research. *Journal of Australian Research in Early Childhood Education, 15*(1), 49-60.

Monk, H. (2009, 19 October). *Family mealtime practices: Grappling with the complexities of visual data analysis.* Paper presented at the ISCAR Regional Day, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia.

Neppl, T. K., Conger, R. D., Scaramella, L. V., & Ontai, L. L. (2009). Intergenerational continuity in parenting behavior: Mediating pathways and child effects. *Developmental Psychology, 45*(5), 1241-1256. doi: 10.1037/a0014850

Newman, S. (2003). An introductory message from the editor. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 1*(1), 1-4

Newman, S. & Hatton-Yeo, A. (2008). Intergenerational learning and the contributions of older people. *Ageing Horizons.* (8), 31-39.

Oreck, A. (2007). The pale of settlement. www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/pale/html accessed 19 May 2008

Papen, U., & Trusting, K. (2008). Creativity in everyday literacy practices: The contribution of an ethnographic approach. *Literacy and Numeracy Studies, 16*(1), 5-25.

Patterson, G. (1998). Continuities - A search for causal mechanisms: Comment on the special section. *Developmental Psychology, 34*, 1263-1268.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Payne, A. (2009). Working poor in Australia: An analysis of poverty among households in which a member is employed. *Family Matters*(81), 15-24.

Payne, P. (2005). Growing up green. *Journal of Home Economics Institute of Australia, 12*(3), 2-12.

Peterat, L., Mayer-Smith, J., & Sinkinson, S. (2004, June, 3-5). *Uniting generations for the environment: Urban school and community farmers partner for lifelong learning and well-being.* Paper presented at the Global challenges - Future directions: Intergenerational programmes, research and social policy, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

Philip's. (2007). *Australian School Atlas*. London, UK: Philip's.

Pink, S. (2007). *Doing visual ethnography* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

Pinkard, T. (1988). *Hegel's dialectic: The explanation of possibility*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Pinquart, M., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2004). Transmission of values from adolescents to their parents: The role of value content and authoritative parenting. *Adolescence, 39*(153), 83-100.

Pool, M. (Ed.). (2005). *Family: Changing families, changing times*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Puzyrei, A. A. (2007). Contemporary psychology and Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory. *Journal of Russian and East European Psychology, 45*(1), 8-93.

Reiger, K. (2005). History: The rise of a modern institution. In M. Pool (Ed.), *Family: Changing families, changing times* (pp. 43-65). Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Ridgway, A. (2010). *Using a cultural-historical framework to show societal, institutional and personal influences on learning: A case study of an Australian early childhood community.* Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy in Education Thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia.

Robbins, J. (2007). *Contexts, collaboration, cultural and conceptual tools: A consideration of Vygotsky's sociocultural/cultural-historical theory in relation to young children's thinking*

about natural phenomena. Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia.

Robbins, J., & Jane, B. (2006). 'Grandad, where does the sea go when the tide goes out?' Grandparents supporting young children's thinking in science and technology. *Journal of Australian Research in Early Childhood Education, 13*(2), 13-33.

Robinson, E. (2009). Refining our understanding of family relationships. *Family Matters*(82), 5-7.

Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rogoff, B. (1995). Observing sociocultural activity on three planes. In J. Wertsch, P. Del Rio & A. Alvarez (Eds.), *Sociocultural studies of mind* (pp. 139-164). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rogoff, B., Mistry, J., Goncu, A., Mosier, C., Chavajay, P., & Heath, S. B. (1993). Guided participation in cultural activity by toddlers and caregivers. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 58*(8).

Sabatier, C. & Lannegrand-Willems, L. (2005). Transmission of family values and attachment: A French three-generational study. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 54*(3), 378-395.

Schönpflug, U. (2001a). Introduction: Cultural transmission – A multidisciplinary research field. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 32*(2), 131-134.

Schönpflug, U. (2001b). Intergenerational transmission of values: The role of transmission belts. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 32*(2), 174-185.

Schutz, A. (2005). *Hverdagslivets sociology* (A. Schutz, Trans.) (Translated from Collected Works, Vol. 1, 1972). Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel.

Shebloski, B. (2001). *Parents' and grandparents' beliefs in the Czech Republic about learning of preschool-age children.* Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Saint Louis University.

Simons, R. L., Whitbeck, L. B., Conger, R. D., & Chyi-In, W. (1991). Intergenerational transmission of harsh parenting. *Developmental Psychology, 27*(1), 159-171.

Spruston, M. (2006). *Connecting across the lifespan: An intergenerational ethnographic case study.* Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Royal Roads University, Canada.

Stetsenko, A., & Arievitch, I. M. (2004). The self in cultural-historical activity theory: Reclaiming the unity of social and individual dimensions of human development. *Theory Psychology, 14*, 475-503.

Smith, M. (1999). Dialectic. In R. Audi (Ed.), *The Cambridge dictionary of philosophy* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Thompson (Edosdi), J. C. (2005). *Gitga'at plant project: The intergenerational transmission of traditional ecological knowledge using school science curricula.* Unpublished Master of Science Thesis, University of Victoria, Canada.

Thornberry, T. P., Hops, H., Conger, R. D., & Capaldi, D. M. (2003). Replicated findings and future directions for intergenerational studies: Closing comments. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 31*(2), 201-203.

Thornton, A., & Young-DeMaco, L. (2001). Four decades of trends in attitudes toward family issues in the United States: The 1960s through the 1990s. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 63*(4), 1009-1037.

Tudge, J. (2008). *The everyday lives of young children: Culture, class and child rearing in diverse societies*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

van der Veer, R. (2007). *Lev Vygotsky*. London: Continuum.

van der Veer, R. & Valsiner, J. (1991). *Understanding Vygotsky: A quest for synthesis.* Oxford: Blackwell

van Ores, B. (2009). Developmental education: Improving participation in cultural practices. In M. Fleer, M. Hedegaard, & J. Tudge *World yearbook of education: Childhood studies and the impact of globalization: Policies and practices at global and local levels*. New York: Routledge

van Oers, B., Wardekker, W., Elbers, E., & Van Der Veer, R. (Eds.). (2008). *The transformation of learning: Advances in cultural-historical activity theory*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Vassallo, S., Smart, D., & Price-Robertson, R. (2009). The roles that parents play in the lives of their young adult children. *Family Matters*(82), 8-14.

Vélez-Ibáňez, C. (1988). Networks of exchange among Mexicans in the U.S. and Mexico: Local level mediating responses to national and international transformations. *Urban Anthropology, 17*(1), 27-51.

Vélez-Ibáňez, C., & Greenberg, J. B. (2005). Formation and transformation of funds of knowledge. In L. González, L. C. Moll & C. Amanti (Eds.), *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practices in households, communities, and classrooms* (pp. 47-69). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Verenikina, I. (2010, 19 January). *Playing computer games in early years: Vygotskian play perspective.* Paper presented at the ISCAR Pacific and Asia Regional Symposium, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia.

Veresov, N. (2005). Marxist and non-Marxist aspects of the cultural-historical psychology of L.S. Vygotsky. *Outlines,1* 31-49.

Vygodskaya, G. .L. (1995). His life. *School Psychology International, 16* (2) 105-116. I. Gindis (Translator).

Vygotsky, L. (1966). Play and its role in the mental development of children. *Voprosy psikhologii, 12*(6), 62-76.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1981). The instrumental method in psychology (J. V. Wertsch, Trans.). In J. V. Wertsch (Ed.), *The concept of activity in Soviet psychology* (pp. 134-143). Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1987). *The collected works of L.S. Vygotsky: Volume 1, Problems of General Psychology* (R. W. Rieber, & Carton, A.S. (Eds. English Translation) & N. Minick, Trans.). New York: Plenum Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1993). *The collected works of L. S. Vygotsky Volume 2, The fundamentals of defectology* (R. W. Rieber, & Carton, A.S. (Eds. English Translation), J. E. Knox & C. B. Stevens, Trans.). New York: Plenum Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1997a). *The collected works of L. S. Vygotsky: Volume 3, Problems of the theory and history of psychology.* (R.W. Rieber & J. Wollock (Eds. English Translation), R. van der Veer,Trans.). New York: Plenum Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1997b). *The collected works of L. S. Vygotsky: Volume 4, The history of the development of mental functions.* (R.W. Rieber (Ed. English Translation), M.J. Hall Trans.). New York: Plenum Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1998). *The collected works of L. S. Vygotsky: Volume 5, Child psychology* (R.W. Rieber (Ed. English Translation), M. J. Hall, Trans.). New York: Plenum Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1999). *The collected works of L. S. Vygotsky: Volume 6, Scientific legacy.* (R.W. Rieber (Ed. English Translation), M.J. Hall,Trans.). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Vygotsky, L. S. & Luria, A. (1994). Tool and symbol in child development. In R. van der veer & J. Valsiner (Eds). *The Vygotsky reader.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell. pp 99-174.

Weeks, W., & Quinn, M. (Eds.). (2000). *Issues facing Australian families: Human services respond.* Frenchs Forest, NSW: Longman.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wenger, E. (2000). Communities of practice and social learning systems. *Organization, 7*(2), 226-246.

Wenger, E., McDermott, R., & Snyder, W. M. (2002). *A guide to managing knowledge: Cultivating communities of practice*. Boston, Massachusetts: Harvard Business School Press.

Wertsch, J. V. (1981). The concept of activity in soviet psychology: An introduction. In J. V. Wertsch (Ed.), *The concept of activity in Soviet psychology* (pp. 3-36). Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe.

Wertsch, J. V. (1985). *Vygotsky and the social formation of mind.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Wertsch, J. V. (2007). Mediation. In H. Daniels, M. Cole & J. V. Wertsch (Eds.), *The Cambridge companion to Vygotsky* (pp. 178-192). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wild, M. (2007). The family and its role in development. In M. Wild & H. Mitchell (Eds.), *Early childhood studies: Reflective reader*. Exeter, UK: Learning Matters.

Wise, R. (2010). Intergenerational relationship characteristics and grandchildren's perceptions of grandparent goal influence. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships 8*(1) 54-68. doi: 10.1080/15350770903520668

Wolf, E. (1966). *Peasants*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Yi, C.-C., Chang, C.-F., & Chang, Y.-H. (2004). The intergenerational transmission of family values: A comparison between teenagers and parents in Taiwan. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 35*(4), 523-545.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Zelkowitz, M. T. (2003). *Bringing the outdoors in, bringing generations together: An intergenerational community service mural art project*. Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Union Institute and University, Ohio.

Appendix A – Recruitment letter for families (to be placed on a centre noticeboard or in a newsletter)

<Monash University Letterhead>
<date>
Recruitment Letter

Research Project - The intergenerational transfer of family values during child-rearing.

Dear families,

My name is Hilary Monk, and I am a PhD student at Monash University. As part of my studies I am carrying out research with intergenerational families under the supervision of Professor Marilyn Fleer. The purpose of the project is to learn more about what intergenerational families consider is important for children growing up in their family. I am looking for up to five families to take part in my project.

The families I am looking for would have -

- one or more children aged between 3 and 6 years and
- three generations (child/ren, parents/caregivers and other significant family members for example grandparent/s) willing to participate in the project.

If you became involved in the project I would like to meet with your family to discuss what is important for children growing up in your family. I also have some disposable cameras I would like to give you to take photos of your family engaged in everyday family activities. I would like to talk about the photos with your family and to video some of these activities. At the conclusion of the project I would like to give you copies of the photographs and video for you to keep.

If you are interested in being involved please fill in the slip at the bottom of this letter so I can contact you with further details. Please place the slip in the marked box in the early childhood centre's office. I will collect the slips on <date>

Thank you,

Hilary Monk (PhD student)
Monash University
[redacted]
Phone – [redacted]

Professor Marilyn Fleer (Chief Investigator)
Monash University
[redacted]
Phone - [redacted]

Research Project - The intergenerational transfer of family values during child-rearing.

Dear Hilary,

I am interested in knowing more about being involved in your research project. Please contact me.

My name is _____ My phone number is _____

Signed _____ Date _____

Appendix B – Explanatory statement for families

<Monash University Letterhead>

Explanatory Statement

Research Project - The intergenerational transfer of family values during child-rearing.

<Date>

Dear family,

My name is Hilary Monk, and I am a PhD student at Monash University. Thank you for responding to my invitation for families to participate in my research. I am writing to give you further information about the project called "The intergenerational transfer of family values during child-rearing". By intergenerational families I mean families that have a child or children aged 3 – 6 years, a parent/s and one or more other significant members of the family for example grandparent/s as I would like to have three generations from one family involved in my project.

The purpose of the project is to learn more about what intergenerational families consider is important for children growing up in their family. I will

- Ask you to select one or two treasures or artefacts or things you do together that you value as part of life in your family to talk about during an interview. I will ask you to share and discuss (1) how and why these things came to be important to your family; (2) what is important about them for children growing up in your family. The interview should only take an hour.
- Give your family two disposable cameras (12 photos each) and ask you to take photos of important and/or favourite activities that the children do with their parents and/or their grandparents. While you are doing this you might like to write down any information you would like to share about some or all of the activities you have photographed.
- Develop the photos and interview your family about them. I will ask you to talk about what is happening in the photo and what is important about the activity for children growing up in your family. The interview should take approximately one hour. At the end of the interview I would like your family to choose between 2 and 4 family activities you would be willing to videotape for approx 15 minutes each.
- Provide you will a video camera and tripod so you can video family activities. If you prefer I could assist with this by operating the camera.

Depending on the family activities you choose videoing might occur in short bursts of 15 minutes at different times and locations. The videoing would take approx an hour in total.

- Ask your family to meet together to view and discuss the video. I will ask you to talk about what is happening in the video and what is important about the activities for children growing up in your family. This meeting would take approx 2 hours.

Up to five families will be involved in this project. At the conclusion of the project I would like to bring all the families together to share some of their photographs and videos with each other. I imagine this will take about two hours. I will ask all the families to share and discuss

- What is important for children growing up in your family
- How and why these things came to be important to your family

Therefore this means we will be meeting four times over the six months of the project (three times as a family group and once with the other families in the project).

All members of the family (child/ren, parent/s and grandparent/s) are invited to contribute to all the activities. I will negotiate times that would be suitable for your family so we can spread the activities out over a number of weeks. I will also discuss with you the best place for these activities and meetings to take place, it might be in your home or it might be somewhere else like at the University.

During the project I will put together a photo album and a video for you to keep. I will keep a copy as well but only of the photos and video that you agree can be shown to other families or people or used in publications and presentations I might give about the project. As participants in the project you will either choose or if you prefer, I will give you a pseudonym to protect your privacy. At the end of the research I will prepare a summary of what I have learnt from the project and put it into a format that you can keep. It will have photos and comments that each family has agreed can be shared with the other families in the project and with a wider audience.

The meetings and activities you are invited to be involved with during this project will be audio-taped or videotaped as agreed on the separate consent form which I will ask you to sign before we begin. I have also attached a form for your child/children and ask that you read it through and complete it with them so that they can be actively involved in the consent process. You can withdraw from the study at any time without penalty or you can indicate at any stage that you would prefer for the audio or video recording to stop. Any visual images gathered over the course of the project will be shown to you for your final approval. You may also read the transcript of any audio tape if you request to.

I will ensure that all the data I gather is stored safely and securely in line with the University Code of Conduct for the responsible practice of research in relation to data storage and retention. This states that all data (including electronic data) must be recorded in a durable and appropriately referenced form and destroyed after five years.

If you have any questions or would like to be informed about anything please contact the Chief Investigator of this project Professor Marilyn Fleer on phone: [redacted] or email [redacted]

Should you have any complaint at any time concerning the manner in which this research <number> is conducted, please do not hesitate to contact the Monash University Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans at the following address:

The Secretary, The Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans (SCERH), Building 3D, Research Grants and Ethics Branch, Monash University, Victoria 3800, Tel: +61 3 9905 2052 Fax: +61 3 9905 1420, Email: scerh@admm.monash.edu.au

Yours sincerely,

Hilary Monk

Phone: [redacted]

Email: [redacted]

Appendix C – Consent Form for Families

<Monash University Letterhead>

Consent Form

Research Project - The intergenerational transfer of family values during child-rearing.

NOTE: This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records

I agree that our family may take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I have shared with my family and can keep for my records.

We understand that in agreeing to take part in this project our family will:

Be interviewed by the researcher	☐ Yes	☐ No
Take photos of family activities; keep a record of the photos and be interviewed about them	☐ Yes	☐ No
Video-tape family activities and be interviewed about them	☐ Yes	☐ No
Allow the interviews to be audio-taped or video-taped	☐ Yes	☐ No
Identify with the researcher aspects of photographed or videoed family activities to share and discuss with other participating families	☐ Yes	☐ No

Upon completion of the project, the researcher would like to use the words and images collected from this project for educational purposes (eg journal articles, presentations to peers at conferences and/or to students in lectures).

We give permission for the words and images of our family, which we have approved, to be used for educational purposes.	☐ Yes	☐ No

In addition we understand that

- our participation is voluntary, that we can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that we can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

- data from the interview/focus group/transcript/audio-tape/video-tape will be kept in a secure storage, accessible only to the research team. We also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless we consent to it being used in future research.

Children's names and ages

_____

Parents'/Guardians' names and signatures

_____

Grandparents' / relevant extended family members' names and signatures

_____

Date _____

Appendix D – Letter of permission

<Childcare centre Letterhead>

Letter of permission to contact participants

Research Project - The intergenerational transfer of family values during child-rearing.

<insert date>

Ms Hilary Monk
Education Building A, Room 4.15
Monash University
Frankston Campus
PO Box 527
Frankston
Victoria 3199

Dear Ms Monk,

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from <insert early childhood centre> for the above-named research.

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research <insert project number> and herby give permission for the recruitment letter to be placed in the centre newsletter and/or on the centre noticeboard.

Yours sincerely,

<insert name of the above signatory>

<insert above signatory's position>

Appendix E – First family dialogue: topics/questions

Research Project –
The intergenerational transfer of family values during child-rearing.

Family discussion around family treasures or artefacts or objects or things the family do together.

Participants will be requested to select one or two family treasures, objects or artefacts or things they do together to share and talk about as a discussion focus.

These or similar questions will be asked of the participants:

What is this?
Where did it come from?
What prompted you to select this particular (…) to talk about today?
Do you think anyone else in your family would have selected it? Why? Why not?

What if any, are the family stories around this (…)?
What does this (…) represent that is important to you and/or your family?
How did these aspects of family life become important in your family?

We have talked about some different items today – is there anything that links them together?

Appendix F – Second and third family dialogues: topics/questions

Research Project –
The intergenerational transfer of family values during child-rearing

Discussion of photographs – individual family

These or similar questions will be asked of the participants:

What is happening in this photo?
Who is involved in this activity?
Where was this photo taken?
When was this photo taken?
Who took this photo?
How did you decide who was going to take this photo?

What is it about this activity that prompted you to photograph it?
How did you decide when to take the photo?
What is involved in participating in this activity?
What are the people in the photo talking about?

What if any, are the family stories around this activity?
What is it about this activity that makes it important for children growing up in your family?
Where did these values and goals come from?
What do you hope the children are learning as they participate in this activity?
Why would it be important for children in your family to learn that?

Today we have talked about a range of activities that you have photographed – are there things that link these particular activities together? Or could they be grouped in some way?
Are there any "we always" or "we never" statements that could be made about the activities in these photographs?

Discussion of video – individual family

These or similar questions will be asked of the participants:

What is happening in this video?
Who is involved in this activity?
Where was this video taken?
When was this video taken?
Who took this video?

What is it about this activity that prompted you to video it?
What happened before you took this segment of video? What followed it?
What is it about this activity that makes it important for children growing up in your family?
Where did these values and goals come from?
What learning is occurring during this activity? Who is involved in learning?

Today we have talked about a range of activities that you have videoed – are there things that link these particular activities together? Or could they be grouped in some way?
Are there any "we always" or "we never" statements that could be made about the activities in these video segments?

Sharing of photographs and videos with all participant families

Families will have the opportunity to share their photographs/video with the other families in the project leading into discussion around topics such as:

What is important for children growing up in your family?

How and why these things came to be important to your family

Appendix G – Consent Form for Children: **(Parent to read to child)**

Research Project – The intergenerational transfer of family values during child-rearing.

This is Hilary.

She goes to University and is learning about families. She wants to know what it is like for children growing up in Australian families. To do that she wants to know if you would

1. talk to her about the things you like to do with us, your family

2. take some photos of these things and have your photo taken

3. let her or someone in our family video you doing some of the things we as a family like to do.

You can draw a circle around the happy face if you are happy about doing these things or the sad face if you would not like to take part in Hilary's project. Any time during the project you don't feel happy about having your photo taken, being videoed or talking to Hilary you can say "I don't want to do it today" and that is fine, we won't do it. Hilary will remember to ask you each time she comes to our house.

Once Hilary has finished her project she wants to tell other people about what she has learnt. She might write about families in a book or she might tell other people about families at a big meeting. She would like to use the photos, video and things we tell her to help other people learn about families. You can now draw a circle

around a happy face if you are happy about that; if you don't want her to, you can draw a circle around the sad face.




Last of all you can write your name on this page so that Hilary knows it was you who drew the circles.

Name Date

Appendix H Schedule of consent for the recruitment of participants

Setting up for field work

Activity	University Children's Centre	Community Crèche
Initial contact with Head Teacher/Leader regarding centre's willingness to recruit participants	26th March 2008	17th August 2008
Permission to recruit participants granted	7th April 2008	20th August 2008
Approval to begin granted by Monash Ethics Committee	14th April 2008	27th August 2009

Appendix I Schedule of data generation

Activity	Hill Top Family	Peninsula Family	Bayside Family
Initial phone contact with the family	2 May 2008	4 September 2008	5 November 2008
Consent forms completed by family	13 May 2008	18 September 2008	13 November 2008
Families selected artifacts, treasures, or similar to discuss during first dialogue			
Family Dialogue 1	16 June 2008 Mary, mother, father 23 June 2008 Grandmother by telephone	21 September 2008 Hope, Beverley, mother, father, grandmother and toddler	23 November 2008 Charlie, mother and grandfather
Families involved in taking [photographs of everyday family activities			
Family Dialogue 2	17 July 2008 Mary, mother and grandmother	11 October 2008 Hope, Beverley, mother, father, grandmother and toddler	7 December 2008 Charlie, mother, grandfather and family friend
Families involved in taking photographs and video clips of everyday family activities			
Family Dialogue 3	25 August 2008 Mary, mother and father	1 November 2008 Hope, Beverley, mother, father, grandmother and toddler	22 February 2009 Charlie and mother

Appendix J Family feedback sheet

The intergenerational transfer of family values during child-rearing.

Dear .....

As we come to the end of this stage of my project I would like to hear your thoughts on the following topics as I prepare to approach another family to take part in my research. As we did not have time today to talk about these points I would appreciate you making a few written comments and returning this sheet in the envelope provided.

How did you find

- Gathering photographs/video clips (i.e. explanation of what to photograph/video; the amount of time it took; use of camera or similar)

- Meeting venue, time and duration of interviews

- Feedback (i.e. A4 laminated sheets; photographs; video clips)

- Topics discussed, were you comfortable with them? Were there other aspects of life as an intergenerational family you would like to have discussed but did not? Why do you think this might have happened?

Is there anything you would prefer to have been done differently?

Are there any other comment you would like to make?

Many thanks for taking the time to complete this sheet

I will get back in touch with you near the end of the year and let you know how I am progressing with my project.

Cheers,

Hilary