Home Literacy and Agency: An Ethnographic Approach to Studying the Home Literacy Practices of Six Multiliterate Children in Qatar

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the home literacy practices of six children, aged 5-7 years, who are learning three or more languages and live in Qatar, in a middle-to-upper-middle class context. In particular, the study examined their biliteracy development and explored identity and agency issues. A particular interest was their use of media, technology and popular culture at home. This study draws on theoretical perspectives offered by the New Literacy Studies, and the fields of semiotics and multimodalities as well as studies in literacy and popular culture. Mediation, a key concept in the study, is defined as the process of how social, cultural and historical factors are influenced by and on an individual. As a result of mediation, there is a production of tools, or objects and artifacts, one of which may be language. The investigation employed a multiple case-study design with an ethnographic perspective orientation through having the participants involved as co-researchers. The six participants and their families were recruited from an international school in Qatar and represented a range of cultural backgrounds. Data were generated through observations, literacy journals, semi-structured interviews and participants' digital photographs. The analysis of the data employed a grounded-theory approach and was used to analyse the interviews of the participants and their parents as well as their digital photographs. The findings suggest that media, technology and popular culture are widely used and generate enthusiasm and interest in literacy. Additionally, children as young as five years old are aware of their different writing systems and are participating in distributed communicative practices with new technologies. Finally, agency, identity and mediation are important notions since children are active agents in their literacy learning.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ............................................ iii

Dedication ................................................... v

Abstract ..................................................... vi

Table of Contents ............................................. vii

List of Tables ................................................ ix

List of Figures ................................................ x

Chapter 1: Introduction ........................................ 1

Chapter 2: Theoretical Underpinnings ............................. 10

Chapter 3: Family Literacy and Biliteracy .......................... 32

Chapter 4: Methodology ....................................... 53

Chapter 5: Participant Vignettes ................................... 89

Chapter 6: Analysis and Discussion .............................. 128

Chapter 7: Conclusions ........................................ 164

References ................................................... 177

Appendix A: Literacy Journal ................................... 184

Appendix B: Taking Pictures Directions .......................... 185

Appendix C: Parents’ Interview Questions ......................... 186

Appendix D: Participants’ Interview Questions ..................... 188

Appendix E: Home Tour Notes Example .......................... 190

Appendix F: Transcribed Interview with Gestures Example ............ 192

Appendix G: Ethics Approval Application ........................ 203

Appendix H: Ethics Approval Letter .............................. 212

Appendix I: Parent Information Sheet ............................. 214

Appendix J: Participant Consent Form ............................ 217
List of Tables

Table 4.1 Total Data Collected ................................... 74
Table 4.2 Cross-Checked Interview Analysis ......................... 85
Table 5.1 Akari’s Home Literacy Practices ........................ 95
Table 5.2 Akari’s Time Spent in Each Language ...................... 96
Table 5.3 Alexander’s Home Literacy Practices ....................... 102
Table 5.4 Alexander’s Time Spent in Each Language ................. 103
Table 5.5 Mohammed’s Home Literacy Practices ..................... 106
Table 5.6 Mohammed’s Time Spent in Each Language ............... 107
Table 5.7 Momo’s Home Literacy Practices .......................... 112
Table 5.8 Momo’s Time Spent in Each Language ................... 112
Table 5.9 Rose’s Home Literacy Practices .......................... 117
Table 5.10 Rose’s Time Spent in Each Language ................... 119
Table 5.11 Thomas’s Time Spent in Each Language ................. 122
Table 5.12 Thomas’s Home Literacy Practices ...................... 124
List of Figures

Figure 5.1 Akari’s Pictures and Text Types .......................... 96
Figure 5.2 Alexander’s Pictures and Text Types ....................... 101
Figure 5.3 Mohammed’s Pictures and Text Types ...................... 108
Figure 5.4 Momo’s Pictures and Text Types .......................... 113
Figure 5.5 Rose’s Pictures and Text Types ........................... 118
Figure 5.6 Thomas’s Pictures and Text Types ......................... 123
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

My journey into the world of young biliterate children began fifteen years ago with my first official teaching job in Texas. At the time, my first graders spoke both Spanish and English and I was expected to help them attain grade level expectations in all areas of the curriculum, especially literacy. I did not speak any Spanish or have any classroom language support other than that of the parents and children themselves. I was amazed at how capable these young children were of managing their two languages. However, I often felt as if some of these young children were unfairly assessed in school, both by me and the school institution itself. These students were only being judged through English monolingual standards when I knew they were biliterate. Sometimes, these children were even labelled ‘at-risk’ or ‘low performing’ and started receiving additional services at school. Since teaching in Texas, I have moved onto teaching in international schools in China, Germany and Qatar where the children in the class spoke many different languages, all whilst learning the curriculum through English as the medium of instruction, in addition to learning the host country language. Many of the children flourished in this international setting where their language abilities were acknowledged. I noticed this was particularly true if their mother tongue was one of the languages taught at the school and they had plenty of access to adults who could help them transfer their knowledge from one language into another. On the other hand, just as before, some of these biliterate children were judged as being ‘low-performing’ or ‘at-risk’ and were struggling in both languages with the high academic expectations at the school. While working on my MA in New Literacies, I started investigating the home literacy practices of some of my biliterate students and was amazed at the amount of literacy they were participating in at home in
all their languages. However, I soon realised that not all of their literacy practices were aligned with schooled literacy practices. Most of all, I realised just how hidden and unknown their language and literacy abilities were to me, as their classroom teacher.

What is the relevance of this personal vignette? In part, it provides a personal perspective on the study. It also explains some of my experiences which led me to doctoral study. This professional learning experience challenged me to think more critically about disconnections between home and school literacy practices, especially for young biliterates. It made me acutely aware of how little I knew about my students’ literacy practices outside of school. Moreover, it made me consider the role that media, technology and popular culture plays in young children’s lives and how to tap into this vital resource as a learning tool in my classroom and, more broadly, in schools and education worldwide.

**Literacy in Changing Times**

We can no longer think about literacy in isolation from two important influences in the 21st century: globalisation and technology. Globalisation has completely transformed how we organise our social life in terms of geography and time (Scheuerman, 2006). The interconnectedness that we see between diverse societies is owed, in part, to the increased speed at which information is exchanged due to new technologies and the ease of global travel. When societies are interconnected in this global way, a strain exists between countries seeking cultural unification, such as the United States of America or Great Britain, and particular groups within the society who are trying to preserve their cultural diversity. This strain has important repercussions on institutions, such as schools. The New London Group (1996) defined the basic purpose of education as guaranteeing that, upon completion, all students are able to learn in ways
that allow them to fully function in all aspects of society. Literacy has played an
important role in fulfilling this task; however, literacy pedagogy has historically
reflected a monolingual, monocultural society and its rule-governed forms of language
(New London Group, 1996, p. 61). For today’s 21st century students, literacy pedagogy
must be expanded to include our increasingly globalised societies that are culturally
and linguistically diverse, which interrelate to each other through multiple text forms,
due to new technologies, that circulate now (New London Group, 1996, p. 61).

Furthermore, new technologies, such as iPods™, mobile phones connected to the
internet, online games and social networking sites, have been developed in the past
decade and are a widespread part of our everyday lives, including our children’s lives
that ‘new literacies’ have been developed and incorporated into our social lives. These
new literacies are more participatory and shift the focus of literacy from individual
creativity to community contribution (Jenkins, 2009). Kress (2003, p. 1) also argued
that literacy is in a transformative state because of the shift from the age-old supremacy
of writing to the new supremacy of the image as well as the shift from the dominance
of the book to the new dominance of the screen. However, literacy education has not
been able to maintain the same pace of development as new technologies. In part, a
generational gap of experience with these new technologies has stalled education’s
progress with technology. For example, most educators have not grown up as what
Lankshear and Knobel (2006, p. 54) described as an ‘insider’, but as a
‘newcomer/outsider’, and therefore, have not grown up learning the appropriate social
and cultural literacy practices that these new literacies support. Since educators are not
‘insiders’, education, and more specifically, literacy, is the same as before, only using
technology in the place of the traditional pencil and paper (Lankshear and Knobel,
2006, p. 54). Jenkins (2009, p. 6) also proposed that most education policy discussions around media have focused on the tools and their affordances rather than the specific cultural and institutional circumstances that mandate how and why they are used. Jenkins (2009, p. 7) explained that there are a range of technologies available to perform a task just as there are a variety of purposes to use a specific piece of technology; however, these activities only become pervasive if culture supports them. Jenkins (2009) stated “the tools available to a culture matter, but what the culture chooses to do with those tools matters more” (p. 8). Understanding how and in what contexts young children are engaging in literacy activities with new technologies is an important way teachers can attempt to bridge the home-to-school gap. Therefore, the theories of the New Literacy Studies as well as semiotics and multimodalities theory have been important influences on this thesis. It is within the implications of globalisation and new literacies that educators need to reconsider how and what we are teaching and, in particular, what new learning needs the literacy curriculum must now address.

Purpose of the Study
Street (2003) identified how literacy is a social practice that begins from everyday life and depends on cultural beliefs and philosophies, whilst recognising that it differs from one context to another as well as one culture to another. This is the essential belief of the New Literacies Studies (NLS). As soon as full social participation in society became the purpose of education, the issue of differences, such as culture, gender or socioeconomic status, became critically important. Unfortunately, schools have historically viewed literacy as only a set of skills to be learned regardless of social context (Street, 1984). In order to shift paradigms, it is important for researchers to study how people make use of literacy in their everyday lives (Barton, 2007). Under
the NLS paradigm, studying biliterate children’s everyday literacy practices outside the spheres of power and influence have become increasingly important (Anning, 2003; Drury, 2007; Gregory, Long, & Volk, 2004; Haneda, 2006; Kenner, 2004; Marsh, 2003; Pahl and Rowsell, 2005). Many researchers have found that often the range of literacies being utilized by young multilingual children at home is hidden and ignored by schools (Anning, 2003; Barton, 2007; Drury, 2007). Media, technology and popular culture texts frequently fall into this category, being ignored as an accepted literacy practice by schools and other institutions. However, recent research has shown how popular culture plays a critical role in children’s out-of-school literacy practices and the literacy affordances they provide for young children (e.g. Alvermann, Carpenter and Hong Xu, 2003; Lankshear and Knobel, 2006; Marsh, 2010; Marsh and Millard, 2000). Throughout this thesis, popular culture theory plays an important role in understanding the home literacy practices of young children.

The main Vygotskian notion that relates to his work on cognition and has influenced the social sciences is his notion of ‘mediation’, particularly in the area of literacy and language acquisition. According to Vygotsky (1978), mediation is the process of how social, cultural and historical factors are influenced by and on an individual. Vygotsky (1978) explained that when people interact with their environment, the result is a production of tools, also called objects or artifacts. These include language, since artifacts are tools that are both conceptual and material in nature and have been modified over time as a result of human focussed action (Cole, 1998). Since mediation involves negotiating social spaces, understanding how language is being used by young biliterates in their social contexts is an important area of study. Furthermore, for the 21st century learner, these mediation tools also include a range of new technologies as
well as the participatory literacy practices they have created as discussed above (Jenkins, 2009).

Researching children's home literacy practices from a sociocultural perspective requires the view that early childhood literacy is entrenched in family, community and cultural beliefs, attitudes, values and practices. Adopting the multiliteracies pedagogy infers that being literate not only involves how to operate a language system, but the cultural and critical features of the contexts in which the language system is used as well (Lankshear and Knobel, 2006; New London Group, 1996). In 1983, Heath initiated this important shift into researching family literacy practices through her ethnography conducted over a period of ten years in the 1970s in the Piedmont Carolinas to discover how children from two culturally different communities learned to use language in their homes and communities. Some contemporary researchers are bringing the importance of family roles in becoming literate or biliterate to the forefront (Gregory, Long, & Volk, 2004; Gregory and Williams 2000; Kenner, 2004). Discovering the process of how children blend literacy practices from different sources, known as 'syncreticism,' has been documented as well (Gregory, 2001; Gregory and Williams, 2000). In addition to family roles, the importance a community, as well as religion and places of worship, plays in learning to become biliterate have been another focus in recent research (McMillon and Edwards, 2004; Pak, 2003; Romero, 2004; Rosowsky, 2008). The focus for this thesis revolves around understanding multilingual children's literacy in this broader perspective, not just related to the acquisition of an additional language. Therefore, researching home literacy practices and biliteracy, the use of two or more languages in and around writing, requires also investigating the family and community contexts in which biliteracy occurs. Studies of individuals' cultural practices are closely linked to notions of identity. Street (1994) suggested that
identity and literacy practices are intertwined since they are connected to certain social discourses, behaviour expectations and role models. In addition, exploring the agency of the participants is important since they are active agents in their own learning and are negotiating their social worlds through the use of cultural tools, such as language and popular culture (Drury, 2007; Ito, et al., 2010; Jenkins, 2009; Wertsch, 1998; Woodward, 2004). The notions of identity and agency of young, biliterate children are critical when investigating their home literacy practices. My thesis aims to add to this area of work by studying young biliterate children aged five to seven years old, who are acquiring three or more languages and are living in an international context within the Middle East. My study addressed the following research question:

1. What are the home literacy practices of multilingual children in an international Qatar primary school?

The supplementary research questions were as follows:

2. What types of literacy texts are they most interested in?
3. How are home literacy practices playing a part in their multilingual development, if at all?
4. How is agency playing a part in the construction of their multilingual identity, if at all?
5. Are there any noticeable patterns across these studies in regards to their home literacy practices?

Thesis Structure

This thesis draws on a range of work from the heavily researched areas of literacy and bilingualism. Two chapters frame this study: an introduction and conclusion. Chapters Two and Three contain an analysis of theory and research relevant to this thesis. They
serve to continue to build this study’s foundation. Chapter Two begins with the New Literacy Studies theory and examines its contribution to literacy research in current times. It then moves onto describing new literacies in more detail and how new literacies encourage us to think about semiotics and multimodality theory as well as popular culture theory when researching the home literacy practices of young children. Chapter Two concludes with some reports of recent research of the technology prevalence in homes around the world and the impact these technologies and globalisation has had on how we think about literacy in the 21st century. Chapter Three examines the definitions of multiliteracies and biliteracy, which contain a union between the fields of literacy and bilingualism, highlighting the need to examine biliteracy on a set of continua developed by Hornberger (2003). Next, it reviews important research literature found in the fields of family and community literacy as well as recent research conducted around biliteracy. Finally, chapter Three concludes with the research questions and purpose of the study. Chapter Four reviews how sociocultural and cognition work have been historically researched with Vygotsky’s (1978) notion of mediation being defined and explained. Other important research implications, such as identity, agency and participants as co-researchers, are also examined. In addition, chapter Four details how the research was conceptualised as six individual case studies with an ethnographic perspective and as a cross-analysis between the studies. It introduces the participants and their families briefly as well as details how the research was devised and carried out. Chapter Four includes discussion about research quality and ethics as well as outlining the framework and process of data analysis. Chapter Five introduces the research participants and their families in a series of vignettes to give an overview of their home literacy practices. Chapter Six presents the analysis of the data. It examines the six key themes and their related patterns that emerged across the individual case studies, providing examples and discussion.
Chapter Seven concludes the thesis and summarises the findings of the key themes raised in the study with implications for policy and future research provided.

The New Literacy Studies theory and its role in literacy research in recent times will be examined in the next chapter. In addition, I explore the role semiotics and multimodality theory play when thinking about how technology has changed literacy in recent years. Furthermore, I look at popular culture theory and how the use of its texts is often excluded in the literacy curriculum despite its popularity amongst children. Chapter Two finishes with some reports of recent research of the technology dominance in homes around the world and the impact these technologies and globalisation has had on how we think about literacy in current times.
CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

Literacy education is not evolving quickly enough to keep up with today’s technological and global society. The purpose of education is to ensure that students will be able to contribute successfully to society in the future. However, our current model of literacy pedagogy was founded at a time when most societies were monocultural and monolingual. In order to reform literacy education for the 21st century, the New London Group (1996) highlights a need for “literacy pedagogy to account for the context of our culturally and linguistically diverse and increasingly globalized societies” (p. 61). In the initial section of this chapter, I describe the theoretical concepts behind the New Literacy Studies. Next, I discuss how technology advancements have created ‘new literacies’ that are more collaborative and require specific technological skills that need to be taught. Then, I discuss the increased importance of including semiotic and multimodality theory with the introduction of new technologies and the consideration that other cultures may make meaning in different ways. Subsequently, I define popular culture theory and outline research findings in this area. In the next section of this chapter, I describe the importance of studying home literacy practices of children from a sociological perspective by combining these four paradigms. Afterwards, I compare and review studies that researched young children’s media, technology and popular culture use in their everyday lives that have utilised one or more of these areas in their studies of children’s home literacy practices. Finally, I examine how my research builds on these theories by including a multilingual element. This includes how globalisation is causing institutions around the world to evaluate their values and improve their literacy education to meet the needs of their culturally diverse students.
New Literacy Studies Theory

The New Literacy Studies (NLS) view literacy as a social practice that begins from everyday life, recognising that literacy differs from one situation to another as well as from one culture to another and depends on cultural philosophies and belief systems (Street, 2003). My research is founded on this essential belief. In contrast, the 'autonomous' model of literacy considers that literacy is an isolated set of skills to be learned regardless of social context (Street, 1984). This perspective, based on previous ideas of how schools should work, has been the traditional view of literacy pedagogy and includes incorporating standardized curricula that focus on fundamental skills as well as high-stakes assessments with limited alternative methods of accountability for schools (Yagelski, 2005). Opposing the autonomous model, the NLS reflects the 'ideological' model of literacy which is more culturally sensitive and also addresses power relations within different social situations of different literacies (Street, 1984). Historically, Western ideas of literacy have been imposed regardless of culture, cultural group or class. Acknowledgment that literacy is entrenched in social contexts by politicians, administrators, teachers, parents and others who have an imperative stake in schools is vital to literacy reform. Current research under the New Literacy Studies examines the connection between literacy and social contexts. In the next section, I discuss one aspect of the New Literacy Studies, ‘new literacies’, and how within this field, connections are made among technology, evolving ethos and literacy practices.

New Literacies

In addition to viewing literacy as a social practice that begins from everyday life under the paradigm of the NLS, schools are struggling to understand the ‘new literacies’ that have developed with the advancement of technology. ‘New’ is referred to by
Lankshear and Knobel (2006) as having two distinct dimensions: ontological and ethos. The first part is based around the idea that ‘new’ literacies have impacted all domains of life in contemporary societies and that established social practices have changed and new social practices have surfaced at an accelerated rate (Lankshear and Knobel, 2006, p. 24). Many of these new social practices revolve around electronic texts and how they are produced, distributed, exchanged and received. Ontologically speaking, ‘new literacies’ refers to how we create and construct these electronic texts, such as using hyperlinks, sounds, text messaging, uploading images as well as reading file attachments with certain types of software. The second part of ‘new literacies’ has to do with the underlying social conventions associated with the technologies and the ‘ethos’ behind those social conventions. For example, these ‘new literacies’ often involve a more participatory or collaborative approach and are moving away from the conventional idea that texts are “author-centric” (Lankshear and Knobel, 2006, p. 25). Acknowledgement that young children are using new literacies (i.e., media, popular culture and technology) interactively with others helps educators understand modern literacy practices of young children. Thus, in the next section, I discuss the relevance of current investigations into semiotics and multimodality theory.

Semiotics and Multimodality Theory

Today, electronic texts are becoming increasingly multimodal. The concept of multimodality developed from the theory of semiotics. Kress (2003, p. 36) reports that semiotics, the study of sign processes, must be used for literacy theory because it accounts equally for language, gesture, speech, image, writing, 3D objects, colour, music and any other modes used. He also reports that the concepts of meaning, mode, and sign are significant in semiotic theory. Kress (2003) interprets meaning as the result of semiotic processes, “whether as articulation in the outwardly made sign, as in
writing, or as *interpretation* in the inwardly made sign, as in reading” (p. 37). He states that form (the signifier) and meaning (the signified) are interconnected and the signs created for representation are not randomly connected. Instead, representations are motivated by the meaning maker, and from the form itself an interpretation can be made of the sign as a whole because the signifiers will always be appropriate for the signified. For example, Kress (2003, p. 43) shows how one three-year-old drew circles to represent wheels for a car. This illustration is a double sign: circle (signifier) with wheels (signified) and wheels (signifier) with car (signified), but they are not randomly connected. Instead these forms (circles) were used by the child at that precise moment by choosing an apt representation for his interpretation of a car. Therefore, Kress (2003, p. 44) concludes that all signifiers, regardless of mode, are meaningful. In addition, these representations cannot be separated from the cultural and social values of the sign-maker since articulation, the outwardly made sign, operates in *communication*, which is a social custom with its own rules and power issues.

Kress (2003) further explains that “*mode* is the name for a culturally and socially fashioned resource for representation and communication” (p. 45). He goes on to report that mode has material qualities and regularities of organisation. Societies use the material qualities of different modes in ways that mirror their anxieties, ideals and understandings. This materiality can be separated into two groups: time-based modes, such as speech, music, gesture, and dance; and space-based modes, such as sculpture, image, and layout. Some modes can be mixed between the two groups, such as gesture or writing. Multimodal texts are, therefore, texts that consist of mixed modes. Kress (2003) goes on to declare how until recently, the page was where texts predominantly appeared and even images on a page were subject to the rules of writing. In contrast, the screen is now becoming an increasingly prevailing place for texts. Screens are
governed by the rules of image rather than writing. Finally, he warns that reading is changing since the screen follows the logic of images. Screens are not read from left to right or top to bottom. They are manoeuvred by clicking around the screen on signs that are of interest to the reader. He goes further to suggest that literacy must now have a multimodal design where meaning-makers can develop their purposes, interests and desires for creating texts as well as where readers can create their own reading paths according to their own interpretations, both cultural and historical.

Kress's (2003) investigation into multimodality and literacy affirms how literacy is a social practice that contains social customs and cultural beliefs through representation, communication, interpretation and articulation of signs. With the introduction of new technologies and the screen becoming the dominant place where texts are produced, language is no longer the prevailing mode for representation and communication in literacy. Other modes, such as gesture, sound, and image are equally as important. New practices of reading and writing are being created as we shift towards the logic of image on a screen rather than the logic of writing on a page. By allowing multimodal text creation in schools, Kress (2003) argues that the design of texts will permit different cultures to use different modes for their own purposes of communication and representation for meaning-making, which may be devoid of power issues. With globalisation on the rise, multimodality will permit different cultures within the classroom to be celebrated as well as allow for modes other than language to be used. This perspective coincides with the ideological model of literacy as well as the idea that literacy reform in education is vital. Since multimodality is interconnected with literacy being a social practice, my study investigates how multilingual children are including other modes for maximum communication and meaning-making. By incorporating multimodality theory into my research, I ensure that all texts made by the
participants, regardless of mode, are meaningful. The next section will explore popular culture theory since popular culture texts are often multimodal and are present in many young children’s homes.

**Popular Culture Theory**

Despite their popularity amongst children, recent research reveals that some literacy practices are often ignored, or even forbidden, at school, especially those that revolve around the use of popular culture. Popular culture is a complicated concept to define because it is so unstable at any given moment in society (Marsh and Millard, 2000). However, it is widely accepted that popular culture is driven by mass media and manifests itself socially through consumerism, actions, words or phrases, and entertainment (Marsh and Millard, 2000). Marsh and Millard (2000) have a “working definition of popular culture as a discourse, or set of discourses, which are shared by a group of people” (p.19). Schools are hegemonic by nature and this has led to the omission of popular culture texts from the literacy curriculum (Marsh and Millard, 2000). According to Marsh and Millard (2000), “hegemony therefore refers to the process by which dominant groups impose and perpetuate their power: ideologically, politically, economically and culturally” (p. 18).

Furthermore, Marsh and Millard (2000) reported that children’s popular culture reflects similar categories to adult popular culture and their artifacts include, but are not limited to, “toys, games, comics, stickers, cards, clothing, hair accessories, jewellery, sports accessories, oral rhymes, jokes, word play and even food and drink” (p. 20). However, children’s popular culture has one significant difference to adult popular culture. Marsh and Millard (2000) report that popular culture for adults is designed and
manufactured by other adults; children's popular culture is mostly designed and manufactured by adults and "this circumstance changes the fundamental nature of the discourse" (p. 20). This leads to the idea that the media and toy firms are controlling what types of items children will be interested in next (Marsh and Millard, 2000, p. 20). Consequently the 'moral panic' is that children cannot essentially determine their own culture and that they are being corrupted by the media. Problems such as violence, racism, sexism and consumerism are frequently discussed in relation to children's popular culture with the belief that children are seen to be internalising these prejudiced views from the media and toy manufacturers (Marsh and Millard, 2000, p. 23). The numerous debates and suspicions caused in society by children's popular culture texts have also contributed to its exclusion within the literacy curriculum by educators.

Research shows how popular culture plays an essential role in children's out-of-school literacy practices (e.g. Alvermann, Carpenter and Hong Xu, 2003; Lankshear and Knobel, 2006; Marsh and Millard, 2000). Home literacy practices have been categorised into two different types: those aligned with school practices and those aligned with popular culture. The first type of literacy practices, which are aligned with school literacies, include reading a book or keeping a journal. The second type, which is more connected to popular culture, includes playing computer games, watching TV, watching cartoons, reading comics, reading toy catalogues, and playing card games such as Pokémon (Dyson, 2008; Marsh, 2003; Marsh and Millard, 2000). Kress (2003) and Lankshear and Knobel (2006) discuss how these discounted popular culture practices are enormously underrated in most school curricula. However, the research indicates that popular culture plays an important role in children's home literacy practices and its omission from school curricula may need to be reconsidered.
Research on popular culture acknowledges the interest that children have for literacy as well as describes the numerous literacy opportunities provided to young children while using these cultural entities. My research aims to gather data that illustrates how much popular culture is being used in multilingual homes even though obtaining popular culture texts in children’s own languages may be difficult in international contexts. My research also intends to reveal how using popular culture texts and artifacts increases children’s enthusiasm for literacy and provides them with literacy opportunities. As Alvermann, Carpenter and Hong Xu (2003) write, “popular culture is not something to be shunned, set aside, or kept at a distance” (p. 147). Schools should consider allowing students to use popular culture texts from home literacy practices in the classroom. More research investigating home literacy practices in other cultures and international settings is needed, since schooled literacy may benefit from incorporating their motivational draw for the children.

**Studying Home Literacy Practices**

In order to shift paradigms from the autonomous view of literacy to the ideological view of literacy, educational institutions need to accept the NLS conviction that literacy begins from everyday life and that people make different uses of reading and writing (Barton, 2007). Barton (2007) uses examples from his four-year study of the role literacy plays in people’s lives to show how we, as researchers, need a combination of social, psychological and historical foundations, both personal and cultural, to situate ‘literacy events’. Literacy events are defined by Barton (2007) as any occasion where the written word is used in people’s everyday lives and studying these events can help us understand the learning of literacy. Common patterns of using reading and writing in a particular social situation are known as ‘literacy practices’. According to Barton
(2007), examining literacy practices can show how our structured use of written language directly relates to the connection between social institutions, such as schools, and the power relations they support. According to other researchers (e.g., Kress, 2003; Marsh and Millard, 2000), the concept of literacy texts expand beyond the written word to include other multimodal literacies such as popular culture artifacts, media and technology. This understanding has led to new insights into the different domains of people's lives such as home, school, and work and how they use literacy in each of these domains.

With regards to multilingual research, investigating children's vernacular literacies has become increasingly important under the NLS (Anning, 2003; Drury, 2007; Gregory, Long, & Volk, 2004; Haneda, 2006; Kenner, 2004; Marsh, 2003; Pahl and Rowsell, 2005). Barton (2007) defines vernacular literacies as "literacies associated with people's private, home and everyday lives, outside the domains of power and influence" (p. 52). Barton goes on to suggest that often these vernacular literacies are invisible and ignored by social institutions and powerful relations. This statement echoes other research conducted to examine how the range of literacies being utilized by young multilingual children at home is often hidden at school and sometimes results in the teacher viewing these young learners as being inadequate (Anning, 2003; Drury, 2007). These studies reveal that children's home literacy practices frequently differ from schooled literacies. Home literacy practices include activities such as online messaging to friends, reading comics, watching television and films, texting and playing video games. Schooled literacy practices include activities such as reading books as well as writing specific text types (e.g., procedure or narrative writing). Schooled literacy is only one form of literacy and it often marginalises other literacies and pushes them into other domains (Kress, 2003; Lankshear and Knobel, 2006).
As an institution, schools have developed their own unique set of conventions around language and language use. Barton (2007) reminds us that schools are an important reference point because within them, children spend a significant amount of time and form a large portion of their values and attitudes. However, children come to school with a vast range of knowledge of their community and home literacy practices which may not be the same as schooled literacy. Unfortunately, the ways different minority communities make meaning rarely enter into the school when a minority child enters. We must remember that literacy begins at home in everyday life and not at school. By studying the home literacy practices of six multilingual students here in Qatar, my research will lead to more awareness of literacy practices that are occurring in international homes. It is possible that educators could use this awareness to enhance educational programming at school. Children's home literacy practices often revolve around media, popular culture and technology, which indicates that children deem them important and motivating. Therefore, children's home literacy practices are worth investigating closer. In the next section, I review studies of children's home literacy practices that have utilised one or more of the previously discussed theories.

Children, Homes, and Literacy Practices

New literacies and their social practices have become more accessible to children since recent reports document the rise of popular culture, media and new technology found in homes across both England and the United States. Marsh et al. (2005) conducted their Digital Beginnings study of the use of popular culture, media and new technologies with children aged from birth to six through a survey of 1,852 parents across 120 different early years settings in England. The respondents were from different socio-economic classes with the largest group being from upper and middle class (66%) and
working class representing 30%. For analysis purposes, ethnicity was also a factor with respondents reporting their children being white (78%) and other ethnicities or dual heritage children comprising 21%. Marsh et al. (2005) evidenced that children are actively involved with popular culture, media and new technologies from a very young age. Their study revealed that children in the UK spent an average of 82 minutes per day watching television. It also reported that the children were very active during a majority of this time through singing, jumping, dancing, etc. and that the television watching was largely age appropriate. In addition, the report revealed that film and DVD watching was an important activity done by families and the children were also active during this time. Props, such as clothing, were purchased occasionally to go with the television watching in order to aid the children in their role-playing activities. Generally, the parents who responded to the Digital Beginnings survey were very positive about the benefits their children gained from watching television, including bilingual parents reporting that their child had learned some English from the television.

In addition to television and film watching, computer use was also analysed in Marsh et al.’s (2005) Digital Beginnings report. They report that 53% of children aged 0-6 used a computer on a typical day at home; 45% of the children used the computer for less than an hour and 8% of the children for an hour or more. These children enjoyed using the computer to play games, either on websites or on CDRoms / DVDs that had been purchased. The findings indicate that children with internet access (70%) preferred websites that were closely related to their favourite television channels. This study reported that the majority of these young children need adult help to access and navigate the websites as well as play the games. Parents again felt that the children learned a range of skills from participating in these activities. Console games, such as
Nintendo, Xbox or PlayStation, were owned by 48% of the families who participated in this study. In this study, children of other ethnicities (those children not from Anglo-Saxon backgrounds) were more likely to play console games. Adventure and racing games aimed at children over the age of 6, e.g. Crash Bandicoot, seemed to encourage fathers to be more active collaborators during play. The children in this study were found to be playing these games as part of a family activity rather than an independent one. In addition, many parents felt that their young child's hand-eye co-ordination and concentration were increased from playing console games.

_Digital Beginnings_ (Marsh et al., 2005) described how books and comics were utilized in the homes of children aged 0-6. They reported that at least 75% of children owned more than 20 books, but there were significant differences related to age, SES, and ethnicity. Marsh et al (2005) also found that 82% of all the children spent an average of 30 minutes per day reading or 'pretending' to read. In addition, the children spent an average of 32 minutes per day of being read to by someone else. Activities with books, either independently or with others, were discovered as being the third most common activity for children, with playing outside and television watching being the first and second most common activity, respectively. Most children (81%) owned books related to their favourite television programmes and characters and 60% of parents felt that the programmes motivated their child to read and write. Additionally, comics and magazines related to their media interests were found to motivate children to read and to develop their reading habits.

_Vandewater et al. (2007)_ conducted a similar study in the US for the American Academy of Pediatrics media-use guidelines. This study included 1051 parents of children aged 6 months – 6 years who were chosen randomly by telephone dialling to
complete a telephone survey. In this sample, 60% of respondents were identified as non-Hispanic white and 40% were of other ethnicities. Income appeared to be a factor for consideration with 6% of the sample stated annual incomes of $10,000 or less; 10% reported between $10,000 to $19,999; 13% indicated the $20,000 to $29,999 bracket; 21% from the $30,000 to $49,000 range; 18% stated $50,000 to $74,999; 11% affirmed between $75,000 to $99,999; and 11% reported $100,000 or more. Vandewater et al. (2007) confirmed that children are growing up in homes with plenty of access to different types of media. They found that children spent an average of 79 minutes per day watching television. Around 33% of these children watched videos or DVDs for an average of 78 minutes on a typical day. Very few children (2% of 0-2 year olds, 13% of 3-4 year olds and 16% of 5-6 year olds) were found to play video games either through console or hand-held games on a typical day and those who did use them, spent an average of 55 minutes playing. As for computer use, they found that around 4% of 0- to 2-year-olds, 20% of 3-4 year olds, and 27% of 5-6 year olds used the computer on a typical day, averaging 50 minutes at the keyboard. Parents who reported having a computer at home (69%) also had access to the internet. One surprising and significant finding of this study was how many young children had televisions in their bedrooms. Parents confirmed that one fifth of 0-2 year olds and one third of 3-6 year olds had televisions in their bedrooms. In contrast to Marsh et al.'s (2005) study, Vandewater et al. (2007) suggest that television watching is becoming an increasingly isolated practice in America and may be harmful to children's developmental outcomes.

Marsh et al. (2005) and Vandewater et al. (2007) have shown significant everyday use of media and technology by children in both the UK and America. Findings of these studies illustrate the key role that television and technology plays in young children's lives. Additionally, they provide strong evidence that computers and internet access
have become normalised in 21st century homes. One major difference was that Marsh et al.'s (2005) survey questions were specifically constructed to gain insight into how the children interacted with media, popular culture and technology; how parents interacted in these activities with their children; and the developmental skills parents believed they gained through this interaction. Contrastingly, the Vandewater et al. (2007) survey was designed to gain information about time allotment rather than specifics of how the children interacted and related to others through the use of media and technology. Another important difference between the studies was how the information was collected and how the response patterns may have been affected by the format of the survey. Vandewater et al. (2007) used the random digit dialling method for telephone surveys whereas Marsh et al. (2005) mailed out her surveys so her sample is derived from voluntary responses and thus may be limited by people who were interested in popular culture, media and technology use. This may be the reason Marsh et al.'s (2005) responses reflect a higher percentage of non-Hispanic white participants since phone interviews may be easier for non-native English speaking parents than filling in an English form and mailing it back. Despite their differences, it is important to note that both studies have shown the significance media and technologies are playing in young children's everyday home literacy practices. Marsh et al. (2005) in particular, have shown how popular culture is motivating the children to develop good literacy practices by motivating them to read and write. Furthermore, they reported how actively involved children become despite fears that children are inactive participants while using media and technology. Finally, Marsh et al. suggest how collaborative and social these 'new' literacies are, even for young children.

My research aims to increase the understanding of the use of media, popular culture and technology through a study of six multilingual children aged 5 to 7 within an
international environment. I will compare my findings to these reports from England and the US. I propose data collected from children in Qatar will correlate with these findings and will extend them to a wider global context. The use of comics and magazines may be an interesting contrast, since access to these popular culture texts may be limited here in Qatar. In the next segment, I will highlight important findings from Pahl and Rowsell’s (2010) collection of research that connects materials, or artifacts, from children’s homes to the New Literacy Studies, multimodality and popular culture theories.

In Pahl and Rowsell’s (2010) book, they develop a theory of artifactual literacies that give acknowledgement to the *materiality* of literacy, i.e. toys that are connected to popular culture texts. Their theory comes from numerous research projects previously conducted from the New Literacy Studies belief that literacy begins from everyday life. In addition, multimodality plays an important role in all of their research by examining the different modes used by their participants in the creation of various texts. They explain that these multimodal texts are important indicators of the meaning makers’ intentions and reveal their culture, personal history and identity. Through their work in the homes and communities of children, Pahl and Rowsell (2010) extend the idea of multimodality to include the materials, or artifacts, found in the everyday lives of children and discuss how these objects can serve as a link to literacy. From different research studies, they give examples of how these artifacts can connect communities and schools together. For example, teachers could have the students bring in a popular culture or special family artifact to help tell a story or personal history. Additionally, they describe how these artifacts from home may serve as a bridge between home and school literacies by creating spaces for talk and opportunities for writing. Pahl and Rowsell argue that artifactual literacy “is participatory and collaborative, visual and
sensory” (p. 134). Their collection of research combines the New Literacy Studies theory, new literacies, multimodality theory, and popular culture theory with the importance of studying children's home literacy practices in order to bridge the home-to-school gap. The next study will look more specifically at popular culture theory and home literacy practices under the New Literacy Studies paradigm.

In Marsh's (2010) study, she focuses on how young children, who are using popular online virtual worlds at home, are playing within these worlds. The virtual worlds chosen in this study are associated with particular companies that target parents as consumers rather than ones designed for educational use, thus aligning them with popular culture texts. The two worlds chosen in this study were Club Penguin™ and Barbie Girls™. Marsh (2010) found that the parents felt the safety measures these two websites had put into place were appropriate and were also pleased with how the websites instructed children about appropriate online chatting behaviour. This correlates directly to the Digital Beginnings study previously discussed of how positive parents felt about their children's interactions at home with new technologies (Marsh et al., 2005).

The virtual world study occurred in a primary school in a large city in England. Initially, an online survey was set up, through 'Google Docs', which questioned the children about their Internet use, including their use of virtual worlds. Additionally, these questions revolved around their activities inside the virtual worlds, i.e. if they shopped, played games, read in-world texts or chatted. A total of 175 students completed the survey, but only thirty-eight were between the ages of five and seven, which was the target age. 17 children in this age group reported using virtual worlds. Some of these younger children had assistance reading the questions and inputting their
answers, but most completed the survey independently. Afterwards, 10 children aged six and seven took part in a series of group and individual semi-structured interviews. From the data collected in the survey and the interviews, their choice of virtual world seemed to be gendered. For example, there were no boys who played on Barbie Girls™ since this world markets itself only for girls. Additionally, most of these younger children chose an avatar of the same gender.

Playing games was a major draw for these children when using virtual worlds (Marsh, 2010). Her study reported many different types of games the children utilised while using Club Penguin™. These included fantasy play, socio-dramatic play, ritualized play, games with rules and ‘rough and tumble’ play which was a virtual version of offline physical play. Fantasy play involves creating a character, dressing up and role-play. Likewise, socio-dramatic play included domestic, everyday activities and included social interaction through text messaging. Ritualistic play consists of different social groups devising rituals and performances, i.e. a ‘war’ between different gangs, and these performances were posted on YouTube afterwards for celebration and showing loyalty. The young children in this study were not involved directly with the production of these types of performance texts, called machinima, but reported searching YouTube for Club Penguin™ machinima to watch. Rule bound games allowed children to collect in-world currency in order to buy items for their avatars or homes. Some of these games are made by the producers of the virtual worlds, while others resemble games the children play in the offline world, i.e. hide-and-seek. Additionally, the ‘rough and tumble’ games describe games where children tried to have physical contact with other avatars, including chasing and snowball fights. For these children, their online play in virtual worlds was clearly a social practice and their play in online virtual worlds mirrored their play in the physical world. There were a
few differences between online and offline play, i.e. they may not know who they are playing online. However, children in this study reported that they often arrange to meet friends and relatives online. Another difference was the children were not physically playing in the virtual world other than moving their arms, hand and fingers to control a mouse.

Identity representation was also a key aspect of the children’s play in Marsh’s (2010) study. She found three dominant role categories in the reports of the children: ‘fighters’, ‘nurturers’ and ‘collector-consumers’. Seven of the six- and seven-year-old children interviewed participated in snowball fights in Club Penguin™. With the machinima mentioned earlier involving gang wars, there is evidence of constant fighting. In this study, eight of the 10 six- and seven-year-old children suggested that they were ‘nurturers’ who looked after ‘puffles’ in Club Penguin™. Caring for pets in virtual worlds was a popular activity for young children in this study. Both Club Penguin™ and Barbie Girls™ offered opportunities to buy and look after pets in order to guarantee that the children would return to the site over time. The ‘collector-consumer’ role was also evident in Club Penguin™ and Barbie Girls™ since shopping was a popular in-world activity. However, Marsh (2010) found that some children were frustrated since the opportunity for younger children to use their programming skills to create in-world objects and artifacts and customize their avatar is limited in Club Penguin™ and Barbie Girls™. In virtual worlds created for young people and adults, this type of creation is possible. For example, Lisa, aged seven, was annoyed that it was not possible for her avatar to wear a wig and a tiara at the same time. It is evidenced here that virtual worlds are being utilized in the homes of young children as sites of play where literacy is being incorporated. Although not examined in Marsh’s (2010) study, multimodality is a major underlying factor in these virtual worlds where
identity, artifacts, and culture are incorporated through the nature of play inside these virtual worlds. Since my research looks at the home literacy practices of young children within the same age range as this study, my findings may reveal children in Qatar using virtual worlds as one popular culture literacy practice. I also suggest I might find that play, literacy and identity are intertwined and multifaceted when using popular culture texts as well. The connection between globalisation and literacy will be examined in the section below since my participants are examples of the effects of globalisation.

**Literacy and Globalisation**

Street’s (1984) ideological model of literacy, which is more culturally sensitive and addresses the power relations between different literacies, is becoming increasingly important in our globalized world. An ongoing debate remains about the meaning of the word ‘globalization,’ but according to William Scheuerman (2006) most modern social theorists affirm the view that globalization refers to fundamental changes in geographic and time foundations of social life, according to which the importance of space or territory undergoes changes in the face of a dramatic acceleration in the immediate structure of essential forms of human activity. This increased ability of people to move worldwide combined with the increased rate of information exchanged with the use of new technologies, has led to the interconnectedness of diverse societies that we see today. However, a tension exists within this interconnectedness between societies seeking cultural unification while particular groups within the society are trying to maintain their cultural diversity. This tension has direct implications for schools that must be acknowledged in order for them to adopt an ‘ideological’ model of literacy pedagogy. Schools have established themselves in most societies as powerful institutions for defining and developing culture for many stages of life, and especially
in the area of literacy. These educational institutions tend to teach students how to be culturally unified rather than teaching students to be culturally sensitive or critical of what they are learning. My research on home literacy practices intends to highlight the importance of maintaining a cultural identity as well as blending different cultural identities while living in international contexts. I hope that through having an ethnographic perspective as well as studying their home language use I will be able to highlight their own family identity as well as the blending aspects between the different cultures.

Summary
The New Literacy Studies (NLS) is a paradigm of research that values how literacy is a social practice that depends on context as well as the cultural philosophies of individual people. The belief that literacy begins from everyday life and an understanding of how people make use of literacy are imperative. The NLS encourages researchers to conduct literacy research within the context of the everyday lives of people, including children. Additionally, the concept of multimodality and the belief that different cultures use different modes for different purposes is an important one. Moreover, with the increase of technology, the logic of texts is changing. The concept of image on a screen is becoming increasingly more important than the concept of writing on a page. This has important repercussions in how we view reading and writing. Kress’s (2003) semiotic theory is vital because it allows all modes to have equal value. With the multimodal implications of the screen, such as image, animation, sound, etc., as well as different cultures’ use of modes, educators may need to allow ways for students to create more multimodal texts via technology. Popular culture, media and technology are becoming a normalized feature in homes of the 21st century. Recent research chronicles how children’s home literacy practices include the use of popular culture
texts, such as magazines, video games, and comics, but these texts are excluded from schooled literacy practices (e.g. Kress, 2003; Lankshear and Knobel, 2006; Marsh and Millard, 2000). The *Digital Beginnings* report by Marsh et al. (2005) described how many parents feel popular culture texts motivated their children to read and write. Vandewater et al. (2007) and Marsh et al. (2005) documented the important role technology, both television and computers, are playing in children’s everyday lives. Pahl and Rowsell’s (2010) compilation of studies introduced the concept of artifactual literacies that extended the idea of multimodality to include artifacts, or objects, which helped the participants to reveal their culture, personal history or identity. These artifactual literacies can help link homes, communities and schools with literacy. Similarly, Marsh’s (2010) study of young children playing in virtual worlds at home showed how their virtual play was linked to their physical play. Furthermore, identity was an important factor when modifying their avatars or showing allegiances online.

In order for literacy reform to occur, institutions must re-evaluate the literacy affordances these texts give children. In addition, they must consider using popular culture, media and technology to minimize the gap between home literacy practices of different cultures and schooled literacy practices. In today’s globalized world, these concepts are becoming increasingly important. If educational institutions do not value or understand the broader landscapes of the cultural capital in which their students are situated, the local ideology of the institution may marginalize the students’ cultural experiences and the literacy practices they encounter at home or in their community. This marginalization may lead to a misrepresentation of their literacy identity and abilities at school. Additionally, this might result in the parents being reluctant to be involved in the school domain because they may not understand or share the same values about literacy as the institution. Also, looking at the different type of texts that
are used in the different domains and allowing different types of texts to be created may help to celebrate the different cultures of the students.

My research into the home literacy practices of six multilingual students adds insight into all of these areas of the New Literacy Studies. I examined the use of media, popular culture and technology by six multilingual children aged 5 to 7 within an international environment and compared my findings to previous studies with young children. Since multimodality is an important consideration, my study investigated how my participants were using other modes for maximum communication and meaning-making. I hypothesize that the data collected from children in Qatar will correlate with previous findings. This will extend the data to a wider global context. By studying the home literacy practices of six multilingual students here in Qatar, my research will lead to more awareness of literacy practices that are occurring in international and bicultural homes. Cultural identity and how a bicultural family blends their cultures together within an international setting due to globalisation will also be explored. In the next chapter, I will define family literacy and biliteracy. Then, I will review previous studies conducted in the areas of family and biliteracy. Finally, I discuss my own research questions.
CHAPTER 3

FAMILY LITERACY AND BILITERACY

In the previous chapter, I described Street’s (1984) ideological model of literacy that recognises that literacy practices are related to specific cultural situations. In addition, these practices are always connected to power relationships and beliefs. Furthermore, Street (1994) suggests that literacy practices are fundamental to identity because the types “of reading and writing we learn and use are related to certain social identities, expectations about behaviour and role models” (p. 140). Researching children’s home literacy practices from a sociocultural perspective requires the view that early childhood literacy is entrenched in family, community and cultural beliefs, attitudes, values and practices. The focus for this chapter revolves around understanding multilingual children’s literacy in this broader perspective, not just related to the acquisition of an additional language. I first define multiliteracies and biliteracies in this chapter. Next, I review important research conducted around literacy in families and communities. Finally, I examine some biliteracy studies that are specifically interested in early childhood literacy development.

Definition of Multiliteracies

In 1996, The New London Group used the term, ‘Multiliteracies’ to combine two arguments of how the variety of new technologies are coinciding with the prominence of cultural and linguistic diversity. The Multiliteracies pedagogy focuses on different modes for representation of meaning, such as language, visual, audio, spatial, behavioural, and so on, which vary according to culture and context. This relates directly to the reality of local diversity and globalisation happening in every society around the world, as discussed in my previous chapter. Cope and Kalantzis (2000)
argue that "effective citizenship and productive work now require that we interact effectively using multiple languages, multiple Englishes, and communication patterns that more frequently cross cultural, community, and national boundaries" (p. 6). Barton (2007, p. 34) states how different literacies have different literacy practices that are associated with different domains of life, such as home, school, religion and work. Multiple literacies occur within a language because of the different literacy practices used. For example, you use a different literacy practice when writing a shopping list than when sending an email to a friend. Lankshear and Knobel (2006) examine how literacies from a multiliteracies perspective involve a wide range of knowledge. They describe how being literate not only involves how to operate a language system, but the cultural and critical features of the contexts in which the language system is used as well. Gee (2007) explains that different literacies require different social practices that must be understood within each context. Gee (2007) also refers to these contexts as semiotic domains or "an area or set of activities where people think, act and value in certain ways" (p. 19). Therefore, for example, rap, medicine and computer games are very different semiotic domains with their own literacy practices and multimodal texts. Critical literacy plays an integral part in understanding individual literacies because certain literacies are valued over others, especially in the different domains of life. For instance, schools may value the literacy practice of reading a bedtime story over playing a video game (Dyson, 2003; Heath, 1983; Marsh and Millard, 2000; Snow, Burns and Griffin, 1998). Barton (2007) goes on to suggest that in multilingual contexts, different literacies will often be associated with different languages or scripts as well. Saxena's (1994) study of the literacies among the Panjabis in Southall (Britain) revealed multiple literacies that were associated with their multiple identities. In his findings, being literate in Panjabi, Hindi or Urdu means being identified with the Sikh, Hindu or Muslim religions and a person learns the different scripts associated
with those religions in addition to learning English. This is an example of how multiple literacies can be closely related to identity, as Street (1994) suggests.

**Definition of Biliteracy**

Biliteracy is defined by Hornberger (2003) as the use of two or more languages in and around writing. The concept of biliteracy refers to cases when one language and literacy is developing in relation to one or more other languages and literacies. I especially like Hornberger's (2003) idea that biliteracy happens on three continua in which biliterate contexts, individual development, and content/media elements are represented, since they are interrelated to the whole concept of biliteracy. Her continua are especially important when researching biliterate children and their contexts.

Biliteracy research adopts a sociocultural perspective that believes context and culture cannot be separated from the literacy event, since literacy is a social practice. If we apply the idea that there are many different literacies in one language, then the numbers of literacies increase with each additional language.

Biliteracy also represents a field where literacy and bilingualism meet. However, little research has been done that connects the two together (Dworin and Moll, 2006; Hornberger, 2003). One reason for this could be that bilingualism and literacy are situated in two very separate fields with their own immense amounts of research. Hornberger (2003) suggests an explanation for the lack of intersecting research may be that these two very complicated areas become even more confusing when they are joined together. For example, it is difficult to understand whether a bilingual child who is having difficulties becoming biliterate is experiencing a language problem or a neurological disability. My own research will attempt to combine these two very distinct areas. Additionally, I acknowledge that bilingualism and biliteracy
development cannot be separated since the two are interdependent on each other. The next section will review literature that shows the importance that families and communities play in the literacy development of young children.

**Literacy in Families and Communities**

Heath (1983) conducted an ethnography over a period of ten years in the 1970s in the Piedmont Carolinas to discover how children from two culturally different communities learned to use language in their homes and communities. Her research was ground-breaking because she was one of the first researchers to move educational research into the social sciences field from the previously established field of psychology. The research came about at a time in the United States when there was a massive reshuffling of students and teachers due to desegregation. Roadville was a white working-class community of families that had worked in the textile mills for generations. Trackton was a black working-class community where the older generations grew up as farmers, but current generations worked in the textile mills. The children from these communities, even though they lived only a few miles apart from each other, developed patterns of language use that were in sharp contrast to one another as well as to the townspeople children, a third community. Parents in all three communities wanted their children to succeed in school. However, their conceptions of the social activities that the children must engage in for access to language, both oral and written, varied greatly. Trackton children developed language such as telling stories, making metaphors and seeing patterns across items and events; however their way did not fit the developmental patterns of either linguistic or cognitive growth that had been reported in the research on mainstream children. On the other hand, Roadville children developed many of the common cognitive and linguistic patterns that were associated with readiness for school, yet they were unable to maintain success
at school. In contrast to the two previous groups of children, the town children
developed mainstream patterns that allowed them to be successful in a traditional
school setting. A multiliteracies perspective would argue that the Trackton and
Roadville children lacked the knowledge and critical features of school culture to use
their language system successfully.

From her research, Heath (1983) discovered three general points about the ways that
families and communities socialise their children through language. First, patterns of
language use in any community correspond and sustain other cultural patterns such as
the sequencing of space and time, problem-solving strategies, group allegiances and
preferred recreational hobbies. The interactional rules for occasions of language use
within a community rely on space and time usage as well as the role of the individual in
the community. Additionally, the imposed physical and social boundaries within each
community combined with the extent and depth of interactions, actually influence what
appears to be the most culturally insignificant language practices. For example, talking
to or about babies in a community appears to be completely removed from sustaining a
community's language practices; however, this is not the case. All language
interactions between various participants help maintain the community's values and
beliefs. The second point revolved around factors that prepare children for success in
mainstream classrooms. These factors are deeper than just differences in formal
structures of language, amount of parent-child interaction, and other previously used
single-factor explanations. The language socialisation process is much more complex
and powerful in determining academic success. Finally, the patterns of interactions
between oral and written uses of language are diverse and multifaceted. Different
cultures use oral and written language differently and the traditional oral-literate
dichotomy does not account for these variances. For example, in both Trackton and
Roadville homes, more occasions for extended oral discussions around written materials occurred rather than occasions for extended reading and writing. Heath's research has led to more research being conducted in homes to investigate how different cultures and communities pass on language patterns to their children and how schools can use this knowledge to improve instruction for children who may struggle to maintain success at school.

Building on Heath's (1983) research, some contemporary researchers are bringing the importance of family roles in becoming literate or biliterate to the forefront (Gregory, Long, & Volk, 2004; Gregory and Williams 2000; Kenner, 2004;). Rather than only looking at parent-child interactions, researchers are currently expanding their focus to examine how extended family members and community support a child's literacy development. In summary, this research highlights the important roles that not only parents, but also grandparents, siblings, aunts, uncles, friends and community play in the literacy development of children, particularly in bilingual or multilingual contexts. In the next section, I will examine a few of the more recent studies that highlight the significance of these supportive roles.

Gregory and Williams (2000) refer to the process of how children blend literacy practices from different sources as 'syncreticism.' These literacy practices come from a variety of places such as home, school, popular culture, religion, and community groups and children learn to blend the different practices together to create new forms. For example, when siblings 'play school' they are blending literacy practices from school and home to create their own form as a way to practise what they have learned. Gregory's (2001) study of siblings 'playing school' confirms how siblings can be language teachers for each other. Her study demonstrates how older siblings can act as
cognitive facilitators and younger siblings act as prompters. Her findings reveal how the older sibling supports, praises and teaches while the younger sibling demands the older sibling to think, explain and assist. This allows both of the children to practise what they have previously learned through play while motivating and encouraging each others' literacy development. This research directly relates to the multiliteracies perspective where different literacy practices require different social practices and must be examined within each individual context.

Similarly, Gregory, Arju, Jessel, Kenner and Ruby's (2007) study revealed the important role that grandparents play in the literacy development of young children. This particular study showed how both generations syncretise languages, texts and communication patterns to produce energetic and linguistically rich practices. In this particular research, the grandmother reads moral and religious rhymes in the forms of a 'chora', as well as stories in Bengali, as a way of passing down her cultural heritage to her grandchildren. During the reading of the choras, she reads solemnly and has her grandson use repetition as a way for him to learn even though he cannot read these texts himself. Additionally, the grandmother in this study also consciously introduced European traditional tales written in Bengali, thus blending what her grandchild was learning at school with her own culture. During this activity, she allows her grandson to move around, climb or wiggle but still expects him to pay attention to the story. This is a very different experience to her own childhood since she was not exposed to books in her village and had to listen intently to other adults telling stories orally. In this way, she is blending her own known literacy practices with what she believes happens at school during story reading time. This study reveals how the grandson participated in a complex blending of literacy practices across home and school. It also reveals the multiliteracies perspective where negotiating and blending cultures requires more than
the knowledge of language structures. The fusion between western and traditional Bengali teaching styles gives the grandson a wealth of cultural knowledge to draw upon when interpreting this particular traditional tale. Finally, it affirms how the literacy practice of reading stories is likely to be different from one home to the next as well as one generation to another.

Mui and Anderson’s (2008) study further portrays the importance that other extended family members and caregivers have in supporting the literacy development of young children. In this study, the Johar family are an Indo-Canadian family that lives in an eight bedroom house. The participant, Genna Johar, lived in this house with her grandparents, mother, father, siblings, two uncles, two aunts, as well as cousins. Besides the family members in the house, there were 4 part-time Filipino nannies, a cook and 2 part-time domestic workers. The languages used in their home were as complex as their literacy practices. The children often used both Punjabi and English to communicate with different family members. Since the part-time domestic workers had a limited working knowledge of English, the children would often use a mixture of Punjabi, gestures, facial expressions and English to communicate with them. The nannies also used Tagalog in addition to English in the home. The literacy practices Genna regularly participated in ranged from playing school, playing board games, skill-and-drill workbooks, phonics and grammar worksheets, spelling drills, Math drills, counting games and dramatic play. Even though there were lots of books and texts available in the home, the children only read for functional purposes, such as reading a recipe for cooking or as required for homework, and did not enjoy reading for pleasure. Each of these literacy practices required different contextual social practices and is further evidence of the presence of multiliteracies.
This study (Mui and Anderson, 2008) revealed how learning through play with her cousins as well as having complex interactions with the nannies played an important, supportive role in Genna's literacy development. Genna's siblings and cousins would often scaffold her learning even while playing board games. For example, when playing Scrabble, Genna was often paired with an older player and would not be asked to think of difficult words. Additionally, when working on school projects or assignments, the children would often brainstorm together and give each other ideas. The nannies supported the functional literacy events by reading recipes, encouraging and supporting the children's dramatic play and by role-playing when the children played school. More specifically, since the nannies were non-native English speakers, they would always role play as students while the children would role play as teachers. In this literacy exchange, the children assisted the nannies with learning English vocabulary, usage and syntax. Interestingly, the nannies also helped to incorporate television and other forms of popular culture in their home literacy practices. For example, one dramatic play event that was observed by the researchers was a re-enactment of American Idol, a popular television show with singing and dancing. By investigating different family literacy practices we learn that different families support and encourage young children's literacy development in many different ways; traditional story book reading is not always one of them. This research also supports the findings in Gregory's (2001) study of how siblings can enhance each other's learning and extends this notion to cousins and other caregivers.

Community also plays a vital role in a young child's language socialisation process. Educators may not recognise that children's experiences within their communities before entering school are directly related to early literacy acquisition. However, children are acquiring cultural and linguistic capital in order to be a part of their
community and this aligns with the multiliteracies perspective (New London Group, 1996). For example, Romero's (2004) study of the Pueblos in New Mexico revealed how Pueblo children grow up learning from members of their community in addition to family members. In the traditional Pueblo world, community is more essential than the individual. Through daily encounters, rituals, and ceremonies, Pueblo children experience and acquire cultural, social, religious, linguistic and non-linguistic ways of becoming capable members of their society. For example, they learn the proper customs and language for birth rites, baptismal ceremonies, weddings, traditional winter dances, making Pueblo bread, as well as the behaviour that is expected in places of reverence. This cultural socialisation starts from birth and carries through to adulthood. Romero found that some of the Pueblo ways of learning and teaching happen through “teaching by doing, active participation, silent learning, teaching by example, role modelling and mentoring” in order to maintain the community’s life and cultural heritage (p. 216-219). While these types of predominantly oral literacy practices are not acknowledged by most mainstream educators, Pueblo children come to school with many rich and meaningful experiences. These conclusions directly correspond to Heath’s (1983) findings about interactional rules for language use, the complexity of language socialisation and the intricacy between oral and written uses of language within a given community.

Additionally, recent research is revealing the importance that religion and places of worship have within a community (McMillon and Edwards, 2004; Pak, 2003; Rosowsky, 2008). These are sites that attempt to pass on cultural values and traditions as well as literacy practices to children and are another example of multiliteracies. McMillon and Edwards (2004) revealed the rich literacy practices that occurred around reading the Bible, songbooks, class worksheets and church bulletins. In addition, the
management, techniques and communication by teachers who shared the same cultural values and learning styles helped encourage and scaffold the learning for all children. For example, the teacher created a nurturing environment where the children were not embarrassed or discouraged by making mistakes. Additionally, by having a structured weekly pattern in the classroom and allowing students to learn in rhythm with movements, the teachers catered to the needs of children with different learning styles. Similarly to Romero’s (2004) study, McMillon and Edwards (2004) also revealed that meaningful relationships were vital to the children’s learning environment and the cultural identity of African Americans. Both of these studies discovered that when the adults were respected and intergenerational relationships were enjoyed, adults had high expectations for children and the learning was scaffolded so the children would succeed.

Pak (2003) and Rosowsky (2008) both researched the importance of religion and places of worship within multilingual contexts. These researchers discovered that in multilingual contexts, places of worship transfer cultural values, beliefs and practices; however, they may also be sites of biliteracy education. In Pak’s (2003) study of one Korean church school in America, she discovered how the adults felt that learning the Korean language, behaviours expected and customs were directly tied to the culture of being Korean in their community. She went on to use Hornberger’s (2003) three continua of biliterate context, development and content/media to explain how biliteracy was developing at the Korean church school, where the children attended each Saturday. In her study, Pak found that inside the context of the Korean church school, the community had created a context where Korean was the privileged language. This was contrary to what occurred outside of the church school in American society where English was the more powerful language and the language of choice for the children.
On the biliterate developmental continuum, a similar switch was found. The children were learning Korean, their mother tongue, as if it were their second language. Often, the teachers at the Korean church school would use English to explain grammar and new vocabulary. In relation to biliterate media, or texts, the children were learning a very different script in the Korean church school than they were at public school in English. For most of the children, their mother tongue was Korean. However, once they started public school, they began to read and write in English. While their parents still mainly spoke Korean to them, the children used English more frequently with their siblings and peers. In relation to identity, the better your Korean was, the more Korean you were and vice versa. So as they worked through the biliteracy media continuum, they were also negotiating their own identity within their Korean community.

Furthermore, through the content of what was studied in the Korean church schools, the children and teachers were negotiating their connections and affiliations between Korean culture and American culture. Some of the teachers wanted the children to feel more proud to be Korean than to be American. One example was the idea of respect in Korean culture versus American culture in language use, such as specific grammatical features in Korean that represent respect, and observed behaviours, such as bowing.

Rosowsky (2008) also found similar correlations in his study of a particular Muslim community in the United Kingdom (UK) with regards to the negotiation of identity. Rosowsky’s (2008) study focused on the liturgical literacy of Islam and the learning of the Qur’an, which is written in Classic Arabic, in the mosques. In the Arab world, Classical Arabic differs from the spoken Arabic of communities and the Standard Arabic used in more formal settings. Conversely, the community in this study were not Arabic mother tongue speakers. Instead, most of the participants speak Mirpuri-Punjabi as their mother tongue, which is a dialect spoken in the related area of Pakistan.
Mirpuri-Punjabi’s written form is usually only found in poetry; the literary language of Pakistan is Urdu and, in this study, is employed and privileged as the formal language of the mosque. Children from the community usually begin going to the mosque for two hours, five times a week, from the age of 5 until around the age of 13 or 14 in order to learn the Qur’an. At times, there were no female teachers in the mosque, so the girls usually had lessons in their house or in their teacher’s house. Since the languages spoken at home and school were mainly Mirpuri-Punjabi and English, the students did not fully comprehend the meaning of the text. By participating in these liturgical literacy practices, the students were negotiating their social, cultural and religious identities since learning the Qur’an was more important than learning Urdu or Mirpuri-Punjabi. For this particular Muslim community, the liturgical literacy of the Qur’an held a prominent and supported position. However, Rosowsky (2008) discovered the community was realising that Classical Arabic and Urdu were becoming less and less accessible to the younger generations. Parents in this study advocated a greater use of English in the mosque in order to improve their understanding of Islam. Rosowsky (2008) also revealed how the systematic teaching of phonics and the use of memorisation techniques could be transferrable to other learning contexts, such as schools, since they were successful techniques used in the mosques.

Both Pak (2003) and Rosowsky (2008) focused their research on religious communities and identity. The negotiation of cultural identity within these literacy practices is another example of multiliteracies present within communities. In both of these studies, there was an additional focus of the use of two or more languages in and around writing, or biliteracy. However, I felt that these two particular studies focused more on the community as a support network rather than the learning to read and write
in two or more languages. In the next section, I will review studies that focus specifically on becoming biliterate.

**Biliteracy Studies**

The importance of researching young, biliterate children in how they develop linguistically and understand their diverse cultural worlds has been highlighted in recent years. In this particular biliterate study, Kenner (2004) conducted research with six young children learning to become biliterate in different writing systems; Chinese / English, Spanish / English, and Arabic / English. Her analysis revealed that young children can understand and distinguish between different writing systems even at the early age of 5 or 6. This includes understanding that different writing systems may look different (Chinese vs. English), that letters in a system may change forms within word placement (Arabic) or that the alphabets may be similar but have different letter-sound relationships (Spanish and English). Furthermore, the young children in her study were able to identify differences when writing different scripts. These differences included producing precise stroke patterns, directionality and using accents. Finally, Kenner’s (2004) belief that these children live in simultaneous language worlds is represented through their production of bilingual texts and conversations that reveal their multiple cultural worlds and identities. This research also highlighted how young bilingual children switch between languages to maximise understanding between interlocutors.

Secondly, Manyak (2006) conducted a two year ethnographic study of biliteracy instruction and development of young Latino / Latina children after Proposition 227 legislation was adopted in California. Proposition 227 was a law passed mandating that students with limited English proficiency be placed in a structured English immersion
class for one year and effectively eliminated bilingual programs in the state of California. The legislation required complete English immersion in first grade classrooms. This particular study was positioned in classrooms where the teachers were resisting this mandate by allowing the children to use both Spanish and English in the classroom. Similarly to Kenner (2004), he found that children were creating bilingual texts to explore identity as well as to maximise understanding. Additionally, the children were able to point out the linguistic differences between phrases written in English and Spanish. For example, in English you would write ‘George’s sister’ but in Spanish you would write ‘the sister of George’. Manyak (2006) also documented how a hegemonic relationship between English and Spanish existed in the school through the perspectives of other English immersion teachers. This highlights the need for critical literacy when looking at individual literacies in various domains. This study supports Kenner’s (2004) biliterate research findings as well as highlights a need for a critical literacy approach in different domains from the multiliteracies perspective.

In the next study, Reyes (2006) explored the biliteracy development of three 4-year-old children from a Mexican background growing up in southern Arizona. She observed and analysed the children’s home and classroom exchanges and referred to the development process as ‘emergent biliteracy’ since they could neither read nor write conventionally in either English or Spanish. The research revealed that these children were developing emergent literacy behaviours as well as their own theories around the functions of language and literacy. The children in the study were exposed to various multiliteracies at home and at pre-school. Reyes (2006) found that the children were using and developing both their languages in both contexts with the support of family and other adults. She concluded that the children in these case studies were developing bilingualism and biliteracy towards a standard where the question of language
dominance may no longer be valid in the near future. She believes this is happening because of the bidirectionality process involved in developing their biliteracy from such an early age.

Similarly, Martínez-Roldán and Sayer (2006) researched the role of language in a group of third grade children’s reading comprehension of narrative texts in both Spanish and English in south-west USA. They were interested in examining their biliteracy development and used Hornberger’s (2003) three continua model to analyse their findings. The researchers originally intended to find out which language was dominant, but instead realised that these children used both languages simultaneously for constructing meaning and asserting their identities. Their evidence also supports the idea that children who often code-switch are very strong bilinguals. This is in contrast to the deficit view of code-switching that assumes code-switchers are lazy or have only partial acquisition of one or both languages. The way the students combined Spanish and English reveals their linguistic awareness by using loan words as well as syntactic and semantic loan translations. This study is aligned with Kenner’s (2004) research that implied that children do not live in separate language worlds.

In other research into mixed language practices, Gort (2006) conducted a multiple case study of eight first-grade students becoming biliterate in Spanish and English in northeastern USA. In her study, four of the students were English-dominant and four of the students were Spanish-dominant. This study found that these young writers engaged in a mixture of language and literacy practices that incorporated their proficiency in both Spanish and English, their previous knowledge and experiences, their official and unofficial ways of speaking and meaning making, and their developing bilingual and bicultural identities. All of them used purposeful code-switching in the process of
writing texts. These code-switches included lexical meaning as well as the loan words and syntactic and semantic loan translations that Martínez-Roldán and Sayer (2006) found. Additionally, these students were transferring their knowledge about writing between the two languages both cross-linguistically and bi-directionally. Gort (2006) demonstrates how interliteracy, or "the application of language-specific elements of literacy from one language to the other", is an aspect of becoming biliterate since they are exhibiting general literacy knowledge (p. 348). These language-specific elements included encoding, spelling, monitoring, punctuation, capitalization, editing, and revising.

In contrast to the other studies mentioned, Li (2006) studied three Chinese-Canadian first and second graders biliteracy (Chinese and English reading and writing) and trilingual (Mandarin, Cantonese and English) practices in the home. These students came from middle to upper-middle class families. This study demonstrated how the home context plays a crucial role in the development and attitudes of the students' biliteracy practices and identities. Two of the participants did not develop biliteracy even though their parents were multilingual and biliterate. It was believed that there were multiple reason for this, one of which was the parents' linguistic resources were not being utilized. Moreover, the parents' awareness of their minority position in the host country was seen to have a negative impact on the participant's ability to develop biliteracy. In addition, the Chinese heritage school's instructional methods and the public school's 'English-only' policy may have contributed to the student's biliterate resistance. Li (2006) also attributes the availability of media (cartoons and video games) to the children's preference for English. These factors directly relate Pak's (2003) research with regards to the importance of looking at Hornberger's (2003)
context, development and content/media continua. All three of the continua must be supported and valued in order for children to become biliterate.

In a different study, de la Piedra (2006) completed her research in a rural Quechua indigenous community in the Peruvian Andes. Quechua is predominantly an oral language that has limited written texts. In this study, syncretism was seen once again, as community members of all ages devised a mixture between local oral language practices and the use of alphabetic literacies to make sense of either Spanish or Quechua texts. Similarly, code-switching was utilised for maximum meaning making of texts. However, it also highlights how in the wider society where Spanish texts dominate, Quechua oral literacy practices are not valued or acknowledged. This directly relates to the important role critical literacy plays within a multiliteracies perspective where one literacy or language may dominate another. The concept of Barton’s (2007) vernacular literacies being ignored by social institutions and powerful agencies also applies here. In her study, she also uses Hornberger’s (2003) framework of the three continua, especially the development continuum, in order to account for oral and literate modes. Additionally, this study highlights the value of cultural identity through combined literacy practices and using collective linguistic resources of a community for biliteracy development. Finally, this research highlights the need to value the role oral literacy plays within reading and writing in some cultures.

Summary

In my previous chapter, it became clear that literacy pedagogy in the 21st century needs to cater for our increasingly cultural and multilingual globalised societies. The New Literacy Studies is a sociocultural research paradigm that recognises that literacy begins from everyday life and differs in each situation as well as according to cultural
philosophies and belief systems. It values the ‘new literacies’ and the access to media in homes that the advancement of technology has allowed and acknowledges that it is having a significant impact on societal rules and conventions of how we interact with each other. Additionally, multimodality is becoming increasingly important due to the availability of technology that allows different modes to be represented in texts and thus caters for a wider range of cultures to express themselves more clearly.

Furthermore, popular culture is prevalent in the homes of children and is motivating their play and home literacy practices. The NLS also recognises that we will only find out what is occurring in homes with regards to everyday literacy by researching the home literacy practices of multiple communities. Furthermore, it recognises that some home literacy practices are undervalued in social institutions and that their home literacy practices could be the key to linking home and school literacies. Finally, with globalisation on the rise, there is an increased need to become more culturally sensitive in every aspect of education as well as maintaining the cultural identity of individual students.

With these theoretical perspectives in mind, I align myself in this chapter with Street’s (1984) ideological model of literacy that identifies a variety of literacies where the meaning and use of language structures is communicated in specific cultural circumstances. There are multiple literacies, or multiliteracies, in every aspect of language due to the different literacy practices used by cultures following specific social conventions. In a multilingual context, even more literacies are present with each additional language. Biliteracy can be defined as the use of two or more languages in and around writing. Biliteracy is also where the fields of bilingualism and literacy intersect. Using Hornberger’s (2003) three continua to investigate children’s biliteracy development is important because it incorporates contexts, development and
content/media elements for a complete picture. In my literature review, I reviewed studies that highlighted the important roles that family and communities play in the literacy development of a child. These studies evidenced that the language socialisation process is complex and differed, syncreticising language practices enhances young children's literacy development and that the values in the home/community contexts can provide the young child with rich and meaningful experiences. Additionally, the biliterate studies emphasised how children live in simultaneous worlds where their languages are entangled with their sense of identity, purposeful code-switching is a signal of children becoming strong biliterates, and how oral language plays a dominant role in developing literacy in some cultures.

My own research aims to adopt the sociocultural perspective under the New Literacy Studies paradigm. Due to such little research conducted in the field of biliteracy, my research aims to contribute to this field. Additionally, there is little research conducted with participants set in international settings where most participants are emigrants to the host country. Since young children's literacy development starts from home, I studied the home literacy practices of six 5-7 year olds who are developing three or more languages to determine how their home literacy practices are influencing their multilingual development, if at all. My study addressed the following research question:

1. What are the home literacy practices of multilingual children in an international Qatar primary school?

The supplementary research questions were as follows:

2. What types of literacy texts are they most interested in?
3. How are home literacy practices playing a part in their multilingual development, if at all?

4. How is agency playing a part in the construction of their multilingual identity, if at all?

5. Are there any noticeable patterns across these studies in regards to their home literacy practices?

Since my study was undertaken from the sociocultural perspective, my research methods were predominantly qualitative. By using qualitative methods, I could closely examine the home literacy practices of multilingual students. In the next chapter, I explain sociocultural theory and describe the history of its methodologies. Constructing the research with the participants is important to my research and I discuss this following sociocultural theory. Along with constructing research with the participants, I examine how the identity and agency of the participants play a part in the research process. Furthermore, I look at ethnographic case studies and review the literature around this particular research design. Explaining my particular sampling process with bilingual families happens subsequently along with a brief vignette of each participant. I then discuss the strengths and weaknesses of different data collection methods and state the reasons for my choices. Afterwards, I consider the ethical issues around my research, including my own positionality within the study. Finally, the use of the grounded theory approach is examined within the data analysis section.
CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

As previously discussed, societies around the world are changing due to the advancement of technology and globalisation. As cultural diversity increases in societies, there is a need for institutions, such as schools, to understand different cultures and their values as well as understand how these cultural beliefs influence the language socialisation process of children and literacy practices. Literacy begins from everyday life; therefore, literacy is a social practice that is situated in specific cultural contexts. In order to gain insight into the methodologies used for literacy research, I must consider the theoretical origins of studying both literacy and culture. Additionally, I must review how the methodologies have evolved over time in relevant fields of study (i.e. psychology, social sciences, and anthropology) and align myself with the appropriate methods. This chapter will examine sociocultural theory: its origins, how it remains important today and its particular relevance when researching multilingual participants. I will examine an important notion, mediation, from Vygotsky and explain how this idea relates to my research. In addition, I will highlight aspects of literacy research and research involving children, which had a particular impact on the methodology I used in my study. Specifically, I trace how the methodology for researching literacy has changed in order to bring culture to the forefront, describing the importance of children's voice in the research process and illustrating how identity and agency are closely linked to the individual and their culture. Finally, I describe and analyse the methodology I used. I discuss my use of the ethnographic case study as a research design, the sampling process I used with my participants and the methods I chose for my research. I determine the strengths and weaknesses of the design I chose as well as inspect ethical issues and my own
positionality. Finally, I discuss my data analysis within the context of using a grounded theory approach to see patterns emerge (Glaser, 1999).

Sociocultural Theory and Methodologies

Sociocultural approaches are founded from the sociohistoric tradition in psychology. Sociohistoric approaches to learning and development in cognition were developed by L. S. Vygotsky and his Russian colleagues in the nineteen twenties and thirties (Daniels, 2001). In his time, Vygotsky was a psychologist who branched out in order to develop a complex theory to explain the links between psychology and art; language and thought; and learning and development, with a special consideration for special needs children. The sociohistoric concept stems from the belief that individual activities are situated in cultural and social contexts, are mediated by language and other modes, and can be best understood when examined from a historical perspective (Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky theorised the psychological repercussions of social, cultural and historical influences and proposed the development of sufficient methodologies in order to research them. The development of such methodologies led Vygotsky to cross into other fields of science, ultimately resulting in cross/multi-disciplinary involvement (Vygotsky, 1978). Since then, sociocultural approaches have gained recognition and have been further advanced by different scholars over time (Daniels, 2001). These developments and interpretations have led to different views on sociocultural theory. My aim here is not to review the vast amount of literature around interpretations of Vygotsky's work. Instead, I will review important understandings by specific researchers that have influenced my own methodologies.

According to Vygotsky (1986), thought and understanding are both social practices. He argued that children's thought must be examined within biological and cultural
contexts. He went on to explain that humans differ from animals because of three main features: we have language, create our own tools and transfer knowledge from one generation to the next via language and institutions, such as schools. Vygotsky (1986) believed that the acquisition of language was the most important achievement in children’s early development. First, he reported that children learned language for social, or interpersonal, reasons. Next, children internalise this language and use it for intrapersonal, or self-regulatory, purposes. Finally, the language socialisation process begins, including social practices they will participate in as adults. Some of these social practices occurred in primary school with the teaching of reading, writing and mathematics and were followed by the teaching of science and formal mathematics in secondary school. Followers of Vygotsky believed that the first sets of skills were causally related to the second set of skills. Vygotsky (1986) also believed that writing and speech involved a different set of psychological functions and conducted research in these areas.

Vygotsky studied cognition from the social and artifactual history of the participant’s culture (Vygotsky, 1978). In addition, he studied the tools, perceptions, and sign systems that the culture had developed for interacting within their environment. These early cognition studies from the sociohistoric perspective had some interesting findings. Vygotsky, working with Luria, found that in a traditional agrarian society, people who have not attended school tended to score at a much lower level than those who have attended school (Luria and Vygotsky, 1992). This led Vygotsky and Luria to infer that modern schooling was the major influence on cognitive growth. Luria (1976) conducted follow-up studies in remote agricultural villages of Uzbekistan and Kirghizia in the early nineteen thirties. Luria (1976) discussed how the methodologies within psychology were insufficient and had to adapt his methodologies to be more aligned
with anthropology and the social sciences. For example, Luria (1976) described how he and his fellow colleagues had to incorporate fieldwork into their research instead of conducting experiments inside a laboratory since this would have appeared suspicious by the villagers. Additionally, he found similar results to Vygotsky (1986) about the major influence formal schooling played on cognition. However, over the past few decades, the relationship between cognition and schooling has been challenged and has led to a variety of responses from researchers (Daniels, 2001). In the following section, I will examine some important results of Vygotsky’s cognition studies.

The main Vygotskian concept relating to his work on cognition that has influenced the social sciences is his notion of ‘mediation’, particularly in the area of literacy and language acquisition. The meanings and applications in education of this notion are widely disputed by a number of scholars (Daniels, 2001). According to Vygotsky (1978), mediation is the process of how social, cultural and historical factors are influenced by and on an individual. He went further to explain that when people interact with their environment, the result is a production of tools, also called objects or artifacts. Humans change objects, whether psychological or material, in order to manage their interactions with others and their surroundings. Activity theory, formulated by Leont’ev (1981), is based around this concept of human action and mediation. Cole (1998) begins his discussion of mediation by linking objects to artifacts, which he defines as, “an aspect of the material world that has been modified over history of its incorporation into goal-directed human action” (p. 117). Cole (1998) further elaborates that this definition of an artifact includes language, since artifacts are tools that are both conceptual and material in nature. In this way, artifacts may include people as well as material objects from everyday life. Mediation is an important concept to my own research since multilingual children are navigating their social
worlds through the use of tools, i.e. language, people and material artifacts. For example, in chapters Two and Three, I demonstrated the importance of mediation through the use of popular culture in children's everyday lives (artifacts) as well as children's use of code switching to maximise understanding between interlocutors (language). It is important to study both the tools they use and how they use these tools for their own understanding and agency purposes.

Constructivism, a learning theory widely used today in education, has its foundations in both Piaget's (1950) and Vygotsky's (1978) work. Piaget (1950) studied how knowledge is internalised by learners and this led to the notion that individuals construct new knowledge from their experiences. Both Piaget (1950) and Vygotsky (1978) acknowledged that cognition was a social process. However, Vygotsky (1978) believed that social, cultural and historical influences played a more significant role than Piaget, who alternatively believed that there was a fixed biological nature to cognitive development. Vygotsky's (1978) perspective has led to a branch of constructivism, called social constructivism, where collaboration between peers and adults assist learning. Social psychologists and anthropologists who align themselves with this viewpoint have discussed the need for "collaborative learning", "distributed learning" and the need to study "communities of practice" where the focus of learning is shifted from the individual mind to societal practices, or also known as human activity (Lave, 1988; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 2003; Rogoff and Lave, 1984). Their combined research values the concepts of mediation and human activity discussed above (Leont'ev, 1981; Vygotsky, 1978). I align my own research into multilingual literacy practices within this sociocultural perspective since I believe that literacy learning is set within cultural, psychological and historical contexts of their society. For multilingual learners, the idea that their cultural knowledge is constructed within
social contexts for social purposes is an important one, especially since family and communities have been shown to have such an important influence on literacy practices, as discussed in chapter Three. Next, I will look at how the sociohistoric tradition had to alter its methodologies in order to bring culture to the centre of the research.

In order to research the psychological impacts of social, cultural and historical factors, the sociohistoric tradition turned to methodology closely associated with anthropology for insight into culture. Understanding mediation in context led Scribner and Cole (1981) to blend quantitative and qualitative data collection methods in their research. Their study was monumental in joining the two fields of psychology and anthropology. Scribner and Cole (1981) researched the Vai people of Liberia and combined anthropological fieldwork with experimental psychological methods in order to study their multiliterate practices. In their study, they found that writing served a wide range of social purposes within this predominantly oral community. They proposed that institutions have failed to include the “indigenous interests and practices which confer significance on writing” (p. 85). This finding coincides with earlier discussions on the uses of popular culture in chapter Two. Furthermore, Scribner and Cole (1981) found that writing in schools held a higher status. Additionally, they demonstrated that out-of-school literacies improved performance on certain cognitive tasks. For example, learning the Qur’an improved skills on certain types of memory tasks and learning the Vai script letters improved skills on a particular communication task. Scribner and Cole (1981) further suggested that more ethnographic studies be carried out in different communities and social contexts to help broaden perspectives. Around the same time, other researchers started using ethnographic practices when studying different communities in the fields of education (Heath, 1983) and literacy (Street, 1984). Later,
Cole (1998) related cognitive development to social context and argued the need for combining the methodologies from humanities, social sciences and biological sciences in order to study culture. Cole (1998) describes how he relied upon interacting with participants in their everyday activities and conducting interviews in a relaxing and socially acceptable way. Wertsch (1998) advocates for a research methodology that combines multiple perspectives from the human sciences merged together in a creative approach to perform as an essential role in sociocultural analysis.

I have shown how merging various perspectives within the human sciences and using creative approaches have blended methodologies in the last century. The perspective that methodologies in the field of psychology have to be purely 'scientific', or quantitative, in order to be valid was considered inadequate by both Vygotsky (1986) and Luria (1976). This inadequacy was the catalyst for researchers to consider more 'naturalistic', or qualitative, approaches. This trend has expanded to include various naturalistic methodologies, such as ethnography and grounded theory, when studying participants from a sociocultural standpoint. In my own sociocultural research, I have applied a blend of methodologies as well. I combine case studies with ethnography as well as incorporate grounded theory as a method for data analysis, all of which are discussed later. However, in the next section, I investigate and incorporate another creative approach where researchers are co-constructing their research with their participants.

Participants as Co-Researchers

If we acknowledge that cognition and learning are social processes, we also acknowledge that participants in research, including children, are meaning-makers who use a broad range of tools, both psychological and material in nature, to interact with
and on their environment. In other words, children, as well as adults, are active agents constructing meaning in their social worlds. This directly relates to the concept of mediation and how an individual is influenced by and acts upon their social worlds using various artifacts. One of the psychological artifacts they use is language (Cole, 1998). Using a range of qualitative methods, such as interviews, researchers have gained insight into participants’ understanding of the world around them through expanding the theory of social constructivism into the sphere of research. The notion that children are co-constructors of meaning in research has been widely accepted in the field of education and new methods for participatory research have developed in the past 10 years, since 1989, when the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was adopted and gave children all over the world legally binding human rights in order to protect children. Since then, societies have come to realise that children have specific rights and should be consulted in matters that affect them, including any research in which they are participants (Whitehead, 2009). Researchers who have acknowledged that research must be conducted with children recognise the need for participatory techniques to be interwoven throughout the research process in order to give children a voice in the research and insight into their perceptions and cultural constructions (Clark, 2007; Mitchell, Stuart, Moletsane, and Bheka Nkwanyana, 2006; O’Kane, 2000). Lahman (2008) states that children are oppressed by adults; in contrast, participatory methods can empower them as social agents in their own world. Some participatory tools that are verbal and visual include photographs, guided tours of the research setting, mapping, talking about the texts produced, role-play, interviews, conferencing and observation (Grieg, Taylor and MacKay, 2007). Using a combination of verbal and visual texts for participatory methods is an asset to second language research as well as providing insight into their multilingual worlds. I argue here that giving children a voice in the research empowers them and allows insight into their
cultural views. Based on the acknowledgement that participatory methods enhance research, I will incorporate such methods with my participants. Subsequently, I discuss the important aspects of identity and agency in sociocultural studies.

Identity and Agency

Identity involves belonging to a particular social group at a particular time in history. It differs from personality because it involves some element of choice (Woodward, 2004). Woodward (2004) states, "when people take up different identities there are different processes taking place as people position themselves, and are positioned, in the social world" (p. 1). While there are some aspects of choice, different dimensions of identity also include gender, class and ethnicity, all of which people have limited control over. Therefore, studies of individuals' cultural practices are closely linked to notions of identity. Street (1994) suggested that identity and literacy practices are intertwined since they are connected to certain social discourses, behaviour expectations and role models. According to Hymes (1996), a multilingual participant's identity is situated between language use and culture. In my previous chapters, I have shown how identity is an important feature in both popular culture and biliteracy research (Heath, 1983; Marsh, 2010; McMillon and Edwards, 2004; Pak, 2003; Rosowsky, 2008; Saxena, 1994). Identity is influenced by the sociocultural, historical and political forces that are both visible and invisible (Hymes, 1996). Studying multilingual children is very complex because it is not only necessary to study their every day literacy actions and movements but to connect these with the wider political and historical discourses in which they are situated. The choice of public contexts in which one language is favoured over another is not often an innocent and apolitical one (Hymes, 1996).
Currently, ensuring that identity and culture are fostered within the classroom, as well as creating a space for maximum learning, is becoming a priority in literacy initiatives (Cummins, Chow, Schecter, Yeager, et al., 2006). Promoting identity and culture is especially important in institutions where some learners may be perceived as ‘at risk’ due to their lack of English. By valuing and understanding children’s home literacy practices, teachers can acknowledge the extent of multiliteracies that are being employed by the young child that may be concealed during the school day, especially within multilingual contexts (Anning, 2003). This appreciation of home literacy practices would promote each child’s full scope of literacy capabilities in all languages and contexts, thus encouraging their multiliterate identity, instead of judging their literacy capabilities through the restricted view of their English mastery.

If identity involves an element of choice, then choosing an identity becomes an action. Agency is defined as “the degree of control which we can exert over who we are” (Woodward, 2004, p. 6). According to Wertsch (1998), agency involves the use of tools for a particular purpose. The notion of agency leads us back to Vygotsky’s (1978) idea of mediation, or human action. Of course, in the social world, there are restrictions that may limit degree of agency that individuals have. This creates a tension between individual agency and social structures. Individually, we can negotiate and interpret the role we choose in society, i.e. as working mother. As a collective group, we can exert our agency to change the social structures in which we live. For example, the women’s movement in the 1970s was a collective action to change the constraints that society had put in place on women. Identities are complex and we have multiple identities. For example, my identity at work revolves around my knowledge of literacy, but at home part of my identity revolves around my interests in travel. Negotiation is the key to the interrelationship between the personal and the social when
constructing identities. The tools you choose and how you negotiate social structures is your choice, or agency. This is especially important when studying multilingual children and literacy practices since they have different identities in different social settings. Multilingual children purposefully choose which language to use with each person, thus showing different identities to different people, even their own family members, as discussed in chapter Three. For example, a child may choose to use one language predominantly with one parent and a different language with another parent. Often, this choice of language is not an apolitical one. There are issues of power that revolve around children's use of agency and this is explored below.

The tensions between individual agency and social structures usually revolve around issues of power (Rapport and Overing, 2000). When considering that a child is an active meaning-maker in a dynamic social process acting in and upon their own world, then the concept of agency is an important one. Children act as agents in the domains of school and home, but in both places, the effect of their decisions may be limited by the power adults wield over them in traditional adult-child relationships. This relates to Lahman's (2008) view of how children are oppressed by adults and how participatory methods can empower them as social agents in their own world. Additionally, when investigating the interrelationships between children, Löfdahl and Hägglund (2007) found that agency was an important factor "as a means of (re)constructing and maintaining power orders and status at a micro-level in peer groups" (p. 328). In this sense, children make decisions that shape the social structure of their childhood and as a result, agency and identity are linked together. By allowing children to be co-researchers, you give them opportunities to critically reflect upon their lives, a voice to express their cultural understandings and a means to inflict change on oppressive social structures.
The Ethnographic Research Design

Ethnography is difficult to define since it is a methodology used to research culture. Agar (2008) states, "ethnography is an ambiguous term, representing both a process and a product" (p. 53). Ethnographers are interested in making sense of everyday life, events and cultural practices of a particular group. Therefore, ethnography is a unique methodology for understanding human circumstances (Agar, 2008). This research design directly correlates to the New Literacy Studies (NLS) ideals as discussed previously. Ethnography has its origins in anthropology since it enables the study of different cultures and their practices (Agar, 2008). Historically, ethnography focused on entire cultures or "traditional communities" by anthropologists (Agar, 2008, p. 3) as well as "strange ethnic groups" by social scientists (Delamont, 2002, p. 7).

Ethnography also has early roots in the social sciences, as discussed previously in this chapter. Ethnography has become a widely recognised interdisciplinary method. Today, ethnographic methods are being employed in the fields of "social and administrative studies, child and family development, sociology, systemic studies, social psychology, speech communication, education, nursing, cultural studies, social and behavioural science, English, education administration, higher education policy studies, management, and political science" (Agar, 2008, p. 2). An ethnographic research design also implies that the researchers are directly involved with the participants, and thus, build up a relationship with them over a significant period of time (Agar, 2008). Therefore, my study will utilise 'an ethnographic approach' because it will involve using methods associated with ethnography, but I as the researcher will have a limited amount of time with the participants in the field, and thus, I cannot call my research a genuine ethnography.
Case Studies as a Research Design

Case studies are a study of any single unit or group, however large or small, with clear boundaries. In other words, case study researchers are interested in the sense people make of their everyday lives in a very particular setting (Dyson and Genishi, 2005). In language education research, Brown and Rodgers (2002) state that case studies often involve following the language competence of an individual or a small group of individuals and include research into the background, current status and social interactions of the chosen participants. Brown and Rodgers (2002) describe how many case studies are also developmental in nature due to the fact that they are investigating patterns and sequences of growth and change over a period of time. Since it is what is being investigated that defines a case study rather than the specific methodology, there are no distinctive methods in this approach. The methods employed by the researcher can include, but are not limited to, observation, questionnaires, standardised assessments, rating scales, in-depth interviews and can include other data sources such as narratives, documents and reports. For this reason, case studies can be both quantitative and qualitative depending on the type of data analysis conducted.

Therefore, due to its flexibility, case studies are appropriate for undertaking research with children. Case studies, when being qualitative by nature, allow the researcher to let patterns emerge as well as allowing the data to guide the results. For example, in a case study, the data may take the researcher into many different directions depending on how the patterns unfold. However, a researcher conducting a case study must be careful not to generalise their findings to the mass population and must carefully link their findings to other similar studies. Case studies are especially useful when conducted over a lengthy period of time in order to fully document the growth and change of the participant.
I have chosen to use individual small-scale case studies combined with an ethnographic approach because it has clear boundaries of looking at the home literacy practices of each multilingual participant and finding patterns that emerge individually as well as between the studies. Moreover, I wanted to have three boys and three girl participants between the ages of five and seven in order to have an equal number of genders between a specific age range. Furthermore, I included families where the children were learning three or more languages. All six participants had the shared languages of English and Arabic, but the third language was different for each participant. Additionally, by using an ethnographic perspective, I was able to use ethnographic methods to collect the data and gain the perspective of the participants without intruding into their family lives over a lengthy period of time. Moreover, by having my participants as co-researchers, I was able to gain insight into each participant’s multilingual world and their own perceptions and cultural understandings. Finally, since identity is so intertwined with culture and agency and therefore is so important for children to negotiate issues of power, I am interested to see if any patterns emerge in these areas within the data.

**Sampling Process with Bilingual Families**

In a case study, the process of choosing and the choice of participants, known as the sampling process, is an important one as it has direct impacts on the representativeness and generalisability of the research (Mackey and Gass, 2005). Mackey and Gass (2005) state the two main categories of the sampling process are random and non-random. Non-random sampling can include systematic, convenience and purposive sampling. Mackey and Gass (2005) define purposive sampling as the researcher knowingly selecting participants based on their knowledge of the community in order to extract information in which they are interested. In my research, I used purposive
sampling to find my participants. First of all, my access point into the research was the international school in which I worked. I had originally conducted my pilot study of the home literacy practices of a girl who was four-years-old while I was living and working at an international school in Germany. My pilot study findings enticed me further into researching the home literacy practices of other multilingual children from different cultural backgrounds. The thesis proposal for this study occurred at a time when I was transitioning to Qatar. Since I was new to the country and the school, I had to rely on the knowledge of my colleagues as to which families had children between the ages of five and seven who spoke more than two languages. I also required an equal number of boys and girls participating in the study. Additionally, being new to the Middle East culture and unsure of the willingness to have both a foreigner and a woman enter their homes, I had to ensure that the families would be willing participants in the research and allow me to visit their homes. Moreover, knowing the time restrictions on my doctorate research, I had to choose participants who fit the criteria within the first three months of working at the school so I could get the necessary ethical approvals and begin my research. Therefore, I relied on the knowledge of my colleagues who knew the families quite well and could recommend willing participants to me. I asked the expertise of the assistant principal and several teachers who taught within this age range, all of whom I worked with in my specialist literacy role at the school. My colleagues based their knowledge on their interactions they had with the families at school. After forming a potential list of participants, I casually introduced myself to the parents and informally discussed my research about studying the home literacy practices of multilingual children in order to have them begin to think about the possibility of participating. When the participants asked why I had chosen them and their child, I was honest and told them that they had been recommended as willing participants as well as the fact that their child was currently learning three or more
languages. The participants I approached were all learning Arabic and English due to the nature of our international school, but in addition, had a mixture of other languages including Urdu, Japanese, Slovak, Dutch, Spanish and Japanese/Italian. Next, I will briefly introduce each participant and their family.

Akari is a 7.4 year old girl who was in the first grade when she participated in my research. Her mother is from Japan and her father is from Canada. Her paternal grandparents originate from Italy and Macedonia. Akari was born in Al Ain in the United Arab Emirates but has lived in Qatar for 4.5 years. She has a younger sister at home as well. Akari is learning English, Arabic, Japanese and Italian and speaks varying amounts of these languages at home. Her family is of the Bahá'í faith, so she attends moral classes on Fridays and the Bahá'í School on Sundays where she is exposed to a variety of religious literacy practices from all religions.

Alexander is a 6.3 year old boy who was in kindergarten when he participated in my research. His mother is from Slovakia and his father is from England. Alexander was born here in Doha, Qatar and has lived here all his life. He has an older sister and a younger brother. In the summer, he often goes to Slovakia to spend an extended amount of time with his mother's extended family. Alexander is learning English, Slovak and Arabic and speaks both English and Slovak at home on a regular basis. He also enjoys playing football and trains with a team on Fridays here in Qatar.

Mohammed is a 7.1 year old boy who was in first grade when he participated in my research. His mother is from the Netherlands and his father is from Qatar. Mohammed was born here in Doha, Qatar and has lived here all his life. He has twin older brothers and a big extended family on his father's side here in Qatar. Often, in the summer, the
family travels back to the Netherlands to visit his mother’s family. Mohammed is learning English, Arabic and Dutch and speaks a mixture of these languages at home. He also attends the Dutch school on Wednesdays after school for three hours each week.

Momo is a 6.7 year old girl who was in first grade when she participated in my research. Her mother is from Japan and her father is from Australia. Momo was born in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and has lived in both Singapore and Japan before moving to Qatar a year and a half ago. Momo is an only child but has extended family in both Japan and Australia. She attended a Japanese nursery school in both Singapore and Japan before entering our international school. In the summertime, Momo and her mother travel back to Japan. During their summer stay, Momo attends the Japanese school to see her friends and improve her Japanese literacy skills. Momo is learning Japanese, English and Arabic. She mainly speaks Japanese and English at home. In addition, she is very active in sports and ballet after school.

Rose is a 5.8 year old girl who was in kindergarten when she participated in my research. Both of her parents are originally from Pakistan but have lived abroad for many years. Rose was born in Al Ain, in the United Arab Emirates and has lived in Qatar for the past 5 years. Rose has two older sisters and an older brother. Rose is learning English, Arabic and Urdu. She mainly speaks English and Urdu at home. Rose’s family are Muslim and are very religious. Shortly after the research data was collected, they moved to Canada but are still in contact with me via email.

Thomas is a 5.8 year old boy who was in kindergarten when he participated in my research. His mother is from Spain and his father was originally from Syria, but
migrated to the United States. Thomas was born in Leon, Spain but has lived in Qatar all his life. He also has older half siblings who attend university. However, he is mainly an only child in his home environment as his siblings live elsewhere. His paternal extended family lives in Doha, Qatar and he interacts with them often. Thomas is learning English, Arabic and Spanish. He speaks a mixture of all of his languages in his home. During the summer, his family often go back to Spain where Thomas is enrolled in summer camps for a couple of weeks where he interacts with other Spanish children to improve his Spanish. Additionally, he spends an extended amount of time with his maternal side of the family.

Below I describe the different methods for conducting a case study with an ethnographic perspective along with the methods and tools I chose for my own research.

Methods

According to Delamont (2002), the job of the ethnographic researcher is to “find out how the people you are researching understand their world” (p. 7). In order to fully understand the participants, ethnographic researchers must be fully immersed into the group being studied in order to represent the knowledge gained by writing with ‘thick description’ (Geertz, 1973) and analyse of daily life inside the particular group studied (Agar, 2008). Ethnographic research methods usually involve some participant observation, writing field notes, as well as interviewing, collecting documents and other forms of texts including, but not limited to, photography and film. Delamont (2002) describes ethnographic research methods as where the researcher “values the views, perspectives, opinions, prejudices and beliefs” of the participants and “takes them seriously” while understanding that participants “may lie or be deluded or
misinformed themselves" (p. 7). Agar (2008) also explains how ethnographic methods have altered to include the ethnographer in the account, to admit that communities are in constant flux, and finally, that the writing of ethnography research has become more subjective.

The methods I have chosen for my research are ethnographic by nature and participatory by choice. I discuss how each of these tools was introduced to each of the participants in the 'ethical issues' section further down. One research tool that I used involved the parents completing a literacy journal over the course of one week in order to identify the kinds of home literacy events and practices that were occurring as a useful reference point for formulating my interview questions (Lankshear and Knobel, 2004). It included the date, literacy activity, type of text, language of the text, duration of activity and a brief description of how their child had participated in that particular activity (see Appendix A). This allowed some discoveries into how often each participant was reading and writing, what types of texts were used and which language or languages were being used for particular literacy activities. Similarly to Anning's (2003) research where the parents were given disposable cameras, each participant was given a digital camera during the same week as the literacy journal to collect evidence of the types of texts used during literacy activities. I asked them to review the photographs with their parents at the end of the week to remove any unethical photos they may have taken. Afterwards, I utilised these photographs for discussion during their home interviews. This reflects the importance of conducting research with children in order to give them a voice in the research and value their perceptions and understandings (Grieg, Taylor and MacKay, 2007). The camera instruction sheet for the participants had to be designed so they could understand exactly what types of photographs were expected for the research (see Appendix B). This involved using
simple pictures in colour and captions of each different type of literacy activity. Thirdly, as seen in Appendices C and D, semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the parents and participants once they had finished their literacy journal and camera week to gain insight into their individual perspectives (Grieg, Taylor and MacKay, 2007; Lankshear and Knobel, 2004). The interviews took place at their homes once I had time to preliminarily go through the data and print off the photos for use during the interview. The parent interviews focused on the following areas:

- What types of literacy activities happen at home;
- What languages are spoken during literacy activities;
- How their multilingual experiences are perceived to be affecting their literacy development (see Appendix C).

In addition, each participant’s interview focused on the types of texts used for literacy activities, using evidence from the photos each participant had taken during the week (see Appendix D).

During the interviews, I used both audio and video technology. With the parents, I used a digital audio recorder. This was in order to show cultural sensitivity and respect as some families were Muslim and did not want to be videoed. In order to have consistency, none of the parents were videoed. However, all the child participants had parental permission to be videoed. The video recording of the children was done for three specific reasons. First of all, I had the children give me a tour of their house and the areas where they conducted their literacy activities in order for me to be able to use ‘thick description’ as I did not trust my memory with so many participants. Secondly, I wanted to be able to go back and look at specific artifacts they used in their houses that might not have been reflected in their photographs (see Appendix E). Thirdly, I wanted
to be able to analyse their gestures in addition to other modes in the transcription, i.e. language and photographs, employed by the children during their interviews (see Appendix F). This directly relates to multimodality and semiotics, as discussed in chapter Two. I felt that the gestures used by the participant in my pilot study revealed a lot of information about her motivation towards certain literacy text types and wanted to incorporate that aspect into this study as well.

Finally, I kept field notes in the form of a research diary. This was another tool that I employed solely for the purpose of producing a 'thick description'. Each time I met with a family, I recorded the date as well as my reflections about the home visit. I tried to include any interesting observations that may not have been captured on the audio or video recorder. The diary was useful since a few of the families treated me to a lunch consisting of food from their culture after the interviews were completed. I made a mental note of interesting artifacts and topics of discussion that took place during that time to record later.

In Table 4.1 below, I show the total amount of data that I collected from each of these tools from the participants.

Afterwards, I discuss the importance of following ethical procedures and my own positionality within the research.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Participant's Languages</th>
<th>Total Minutes in Literacy Journal</th>
<th>Number of Participant Photos</th>
<th>Length of Participant Interview</th>
<th>Total Transcribed Words - Participant Interview</th>
<th>Total Transcribed Words + Gestures - Participant Interview</th>
<th>Length of Parent Interview</th>
<th>Total Transcribed Words - Parent Interview</th>
<th>Research Diary Reflection Words</th>
<th>Total Words Home Tour Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akari</td>
<td>English, Japanese, Italian and Arabic</td>
<td>330 minutes = 5 hours and 30 minutes</td>
<td>52 photos</td>
<td>26:55 min/sec</td>
<td>3,927 words</td>
<td>5,544 words</td>
<td>30:53 min/sec</td>
<td>4,640 words</td>
<td>155 words</td>
<td>229 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>Slovakian, English and Arabic</td>
<td>490 minutes = 8 hours and 10 minutes</td>
<td>25 photos</td>
<td>18:10 min/sec</td>
<td>2,625 words</td>
<td>3,939 words</td>
<td>29:34 min/sec</td>
<td>5,068 words</td>
<td>121 words</td>
<td>482 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammed</td>
<td>Arabic, Dutch and English</td>
<td>645 minutes = 10 hours and 45 minutes</td>
<td>10 photos</td>
<td>17:40 min/sec</td>
<td>2,332 words</td>
<td>3,073 words</td>
<td>34:39 min/sec</td>
<td>5,068 words</td>
<td>254 words</td>
<td>294 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Momo</td>
<td>Japanese, English and Arabic</td>
<td>1090 minutes = 18 hours and 10 minutes</td>
<td>101 photos</td>
<td>24:38 min/sec</td>
<td>3,121 words</td>
<td>5,150 words</td>
<td>27:48 min/sec</td>
<td>4,166 words</td>
<td>218 words</td>
<td>990 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>Urdu, English and Arabic</td>
<td>*780 minutes = 13 hours [*with unlimited media and play on weekends]</td>
<td>Take 1 = 18 photos and 3 movies (all were staged.) Take 2 = 34 photos (with just 2 still staged.)</td>
<td>16:22 min/sec</td>
<td>2,190 words</td>
<td>3,446 words</td>
<td>22:08 min/sec</td>
<td>3,544 words</td>
<td>444 words</td>
<td>693 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>Spanish, Arabic and English</td>
<td>295 minutes = 4 hours and 55 minutes</td>
<td>56 photos</td>
<td>19:58 min/sec</td>
<td>2,410 words</td>
<td>3,451 words</td>
<td>23:41 min/sec</td>
<td>3,500 words</td>
<td>268 words</td>
<td>897 words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ethical Issues

Ethics are concerned with ensuring that the interests and well-being of the participants are not harmed as a direct result of participating in the research being done. Lankshear and Knobel (2004) state that "harm can range from people experiencing affronts to their dignity and being hurt by conclusions that are drawn about them all the way through to having their reputations or credibility undermined publicly" (p. 101). Being in the field and collecting data is an essential part of the research for ethnographers and it is often invasive and time-consuming. While collecting data, researchers need to ensure that the confidentiality, dignity and integrity of the participants are maintained at all times. Evans and Combs (2008) disclose that obtaining consent with minors is even more challenging, requiring extra procedures to be followed. For example, obtaining informed consent with minors may require an adult's presence when asking for consent. In addition, guaranteeing forms and requirements are easily understood by the child participant is essential. In order to protect the participants' identities, all the participant names have been changed within my research. Also, for identity protection, the audio and video interview footage has only been used for analysis purposes and no one outside the project has had or will have access to these recordings. For further safety precautions, I have kept all the data on the computer in a private internet cloud where a password is required to gain access to the data.

After applying and gaining official ethical approval for my research, I formally approached each participant and their parents about my research (see Appendices G and H). Initially, I made appointments at school to see each participant and their
parents in order to inform them about the purpose of my research and explain that their participation was completely voluntary. Also at that time, I gave the parents the information letter to take home and read, discussed what their participation would look like as well as gave them a chance to ask any questions that they may have had (see Appendix I). In addition, I talked about the research with the participants and asked them to think about whether or not they would be willing to help me learn about the kinds of literacy activities they do at home in all their languages. For the participants, I showed them the picture directions for the camera and explained how I wanted them to take the pictures of their literacy activities if they decided to partake in the research. I encouraged each family to take the paperwork home to think about it and then come back to sign the consent forms when they had made a decision. All of the participants that I approached willingly agreed. On the child participant consent form, I asked the children to sign their own names on the forms along with the witness signature of one parent (see Appendix J). The parents each had their own consent form to sign (see Appendix K). After the consent forms were signed, we arranged a convenient time in their family schedules for the parents to document activities in their child’s literacy journal and the children to use my digital camera over the period of one week. Both of these occurred in the same week in order to make it more convenient. Once their ‘research week’ was finished, we arranged another time for me to come and visit them in their homes in order to conduct the interviews. All of these times were arranged with convenience of the families in mind. Finally, I had my participants choose their own anonymous name after explaining that I could not use their real names in order to protect their identity. This also gave them some ownership and agency over their own names within the research.
Positionality

One weakness of using an ethnographic approach lies in the relational aspects of conducting fieldwork. Maintaining trust with the participants through the entire research process is very important and may involve reciprocity, or exchanging deeply personal information with each other. Lankshear and Knobel (2004) convey how maintaining a professional distance from participants is impossible when conducting ethnographic research. Coffey (1999) also describes how both our own identity and representation of the fieldwork affects the product. Our identity includes our physical and emotional selves in the field and our representation of the research includes our analysis of the findings, our biases brought with us into the field and the biases of the participants. Separating these perspectives has resulted in the creation of the words etic and emic. Etic refers to meanings generated by those in the field and emic refers to meanings generated by the researcher (Agar, 2008). For the ethnographer, there exist many relational variables that can either disrupt or enhance the fieldwork that must be recognised and acknowledged in the writing. The final result will be an interpretation by the ethnographer of those experiences, meanings and relationships encountered in the field.

For these reasons, considering our positionality is very important for the ethnographic researcher since we try to make sense of a culture from an outsider’s point of view without adding to further misconstructions and generalisations by the public. According to Milner IV’s (2007) framework, whenever conducting ethnographic research, we must first identify and understand what misconceptions, generalisations, prejudices and beliefs we bring with us to the field about culture and race and how we
experience the world. Secondly, we must try to imagine these same issues from our participant’s viewpoint and critically reflect how our presence in the field may change our participant’s reaction to the research (Milner IV, 2007). Thirdly, we should discuss with our participants what is happening in the field, with race and culture at the centre of the discussions in order to clarify any misinterpretations that may occur (Milner IV, 2007). Because of the culture, race, gender and socioeconomic status of the researcher, issues of power may be an undercurrent in the field and become a hindrance to the research.

Of course, language plays a key role in positionality since it is one tool we use in order to mediate our social worlds. It is our words that betray our innermost thoughts, beliefs and prejudices. Lankshear and Knobel (2004) testify that researchers cannot be completely neutral or unbiased when recording observations. I believe that this notion extends into preparing for fieldwork and is obvious in researcher-participant relations as well as relationships between various participants. Ethnographic researchers must choose their words carefully in formal interviews and in informal situations in order to respect the participants in the study. Of course there will be times when words are misused, misconstrued and misinterpreted. It is our job as researchers to clarify and repair any damage that may have been caused to our participant as soon as we become aware of the situation. The identity and role of the researcher is closely interrelated to positionality and I will now examine my own misconceptions and biases I may have brought to the research.

Each of my participants was from a different culture to me. I am a white, middle class American raised with a strong Christian background. I had envisioned that moving to
the Middle East would be difficult for me because I imagined lots of restrictions on women; this was a major misconception of mine before moving to Qatar. Additionally, since some Americans are very open about their religious views and at times pushy, I was unsure of what to expect in the Middle East with regards to religious conformity. Of course, some of these were misconceptions. In Qatar, as a woman, I have more freedoms, such as being allowed to drive, than women in other Muslim countries. Additionally, I do not have to cover when I leave the house. However, I must be respectful of Islam and make sure that my knees and shoulders are covered. There are certain social customs in Islam that one must adhere to as well. One of these is that women should not offer to shake the hands of any men. This was a social custom that I had to remember upon entering traditional houses as my natural response upon meeting an acquaintance is to shake hands. I did not want any of the families to feel uncomfortable by forgetting this rule. Moreover, certain topics of discussion are forbidden, such as discussing other religions or speaking ill of your parents. Knowing some of these social rules as well as not knowing how religious some of the participant families may or may not be, made me feel very nervous about conducting the home interviews. Additionally, I am aware that I am still new in this culture and there may be a plethora of social customs that I am unaware of that may make my participants feel uncomfortable. Three out of the six families had the potential to be very religious in the Muslim faith. The other three families were more Western by nature and my preconception was that they were not Muslim. Socioeconomic factors did not seem to be an issue since we were all predominantly middle class, with the possibility of a couple families being upper-middle class or higher. However, I do not know the exact socioeconomic status of each family. Qatar is the second wealthiest country in the world and as an expatriate, I know that the salaries are high and completely tax free, even for myself as a teacher. Only two of the participant families were teachers or
professors; the other families all had jobs in other professional fields, such as construction, interior decorating and engineering. Finally, my role at the school as a literacy support teacher for children aged five to seven helped me gain access to the families, but also was a hindrance a couple of times. A couple of the participants were not performing up to grade level standards and ended up on my school caseload. One family in particular used the research interview to question me about their child’s progress at school once the interview had finished and the audio recording had stopped. This put me in an awkward position between being a researcher in their home and a teacher at the school. However, I believe that I handled the situation well and did not damage the relationship I had built up with them as both a support teacher and as a researcher.

Dress, personal appearance, demeanour, and decorations such as jewellery, instruments or artifacts are additional concerns for the ethnographer (Coffey, 1999). Participants make judgements concerning these embodiments of identity, whether consciously or subconsciously, that will either help us gain access to the field as an insider or hinder the process (Agar, 2008). As discussed previously, dress was an important consideration for me when I went to conduct the interviews at the participants’ homes. I made sure that my knees and shoulders were covered as well as not wearing any item that would have been deemed inappropriate. At times, when I was unsure of how religious the family may be, I made sure to follow a strict Muslim dress code and even covered my elbows. During the interviews, I tried to maintain a friendly demeanour. In one particular instance, however, this became very difficult for me and I felt uncomfortable by the end of the interview. This particular family was very religious in the Islamic faith. Their Islamic beliefs were extremely strong and each member had a
traditional family role. The father was very dominant and spent a majority of the time I was with them telling me about the problems with the West and Western culture, especially with the breakdown of the traditional nuclear family. They were kind and opened their house to me, but the discussions around religion made me feel uncomfortable, like I was being lectured. In fact, at the end of that particular interview, I was incredibly uncomfortable and it may mean that my data interpretation with that family is biased from my experience at the interview. I aimed to overcome this perception by grounding my analysis data, and I had to review this particular family’s data very carefully to look for any bias reflected in the write up. In the next section, I describe how I conducted my data analysis.

Data Analysis: Grounded Theory Approach

It is for the reason of subjectivity that ethnography as a methodology has been widely disputed (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). Clifford and Marcus (1986) suggest that ethnography is fiction since it is only a representation of reality. However, despite the critics, ethnography and the ethnographic approach are widely used today. The notion of 'making the familiar strange' is now a key concept in ethnography where the researcher extracts patterns that may be undetectable to an insider of the group being studied (Agar, 2008). Spindler and Hammond (2000) indicate that the time spent in the field is one difference between conducting traditional ethnography in anthropology and an ethnographic perspective study in education. Data analysis begins in the field and ends with the written report and the amount of information collected in the field is vast. Organising, rereading, and coding of observations all occur when the researcher is still in the field, again reminding us that ethnography is not a linear technique (Coffey, 1999; Heath and Street, 2008). The data may be organised by themes, concepts, beliefs
or any other pattern that emerges from the fieldnotes, data collected (photographs, texts, artifacts, etc.) as well as the interview transcripts.

This process of seeing the patterns emerge is using a process called grounded theory, which originated from the book *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss published in 1967. Grounded theory is an approach that originates from fieldwork and connects any explanations to what happens in practical situations in everyday life. According to Denscombe (2007), the grounded theory approach is appropriate for researchers who explore practical activities and routines as well as researchers who are interested in the participants’ perspectives. Grounded theory is particularly well suited for small-scale studies due to its aspiration to create justifications from the research of particular instances, its need for detailed information about events and practices as well as placing significance on exploratory research (Denscombe, 2007). Glaser (1999) explains how globalisation has helped spread the popularity of grounded theory due to the fact that “people, including researchers, are constantly running into the multitude of ways in which diversity affects the worlds of business, health and education” (p. 839). In addition, Glaser (1999) advocates using grounded theory in sociocultural research because “...preconception(s) can lead the researcher far astray from realities that are not in his or her cultural view. These differences cannot be imagined or conjectured. They must be discovered to be relevant, work, and fit.” (p. 839).

Additionally, O'Reilly (2005) describes how grounded theory can be used as a methodology to aid a researcher needing more structure in ethnographic research. However, due to the sociocultural aspect of my small-scale case studies and my desire to gain the participants’ perspectives, I used grounded theory as the basis for my data
analysis since it is exploratory research. To aid in my analysis, I used a programme called NVivo 9 which was specifically developed for qualitative researchers to analyze their data. After uploading all my sources into the programme, I was able to place every photo into a category as well as do line-by-line interpretation of each interview into multiple categories. Through the process of initial coding where I interpreted the essence of the data of each interview line-by-line, I developed 83 categories: 11 categories related to text types and 72 categories related to themes (See Appendix L). The titles of these categories were named by me and directly relate to my interpretation of a participant's comment. I interpreted the data line by line in order to allow the data to speak for itself without imposing my own biases. Because these categories were developed from small bits of data (i.e. single comments at times), they did not necessarily relate to any of the research questions. The main themes around the research questions were captured in the focused coding, or second phase of the analysis. During the focused coding, several of the initial categories were collapsed into a major category because their themes were related to the research questions. After this second stage of coding, 14 major categories had evolved related to themes; the 11 categories related to text types remained the same (see Appendix M). Then I produced a report showing the hierarchical structure of the major categories under the groupings 'Themes and Categories' and 'Text Types' (See Appendices N and O). This was to help me determine how the children's home literacy practices are playing a part in their multilingual development. Additionally, this grouping of similar categories together helped me to determine how agency is playing a part in their multilingual identity. Using the data, I developed a correlation between blending home literacy practices and agency to explain how children are constructing their multilingual identity in order to develop their multilingual abilities. In the next section, I describe how I justify the validity of my research.
Coffey (1999) explains that data analysis is the most beloved element of the research for the ethnographer because it brings together "how we feel about the data, the people and often ourself" (p. 139). The written product is a description of our experiences in the field and tells the tale of the relationships and patterns we encountered. The quality of ethnographic research findings will be judged on the forthcoming validity, honesty and justifiable interpretation (Lankshear and Knobel, 2004). Firstly, Lankshear and Knobel (2004) report that validity is concerned with making sure there are multiple sources of substantiation, which is similar to triangulation but in a non-traditional way. They recommend using participant checks that allow the participants to read and respond to how the researcher interpreted meanings during the drafts of the report. Participant checks are another participatory method that I employed. In addition, they suggest using assessments with colleagues not associated with the research who question the assumptions and the interpretations of the study. For this reason, one of my colleagues agreed to help me check the validity of my interpretations. She took one of my participant interviews and used the categories I had found using NVivo to interpret the interview herself. Then I cross-checked her analysis with my analysis of the same interview. We compared tallies for individual categories but used the grouped categories to determine inter-rater reliability. As shown in the following table (See Table 4.2), two groups were slightly below the 80% criterion level. However, upon reflection, this difference can be explained by lack of solid category knowledge on my colleague’s part. After further clarification, my colleague made changes in her coding that would bring her at the inter-rater reliability above 80%. We also combined the two major groups of ‘Resistance’ and ‘Lack of’ because both categories revealed power issues between an authority figure and the participant. Without being in the interview or seeing the video, it was difficult for my colleague to discriminate the difference.
between my participant’s lack of linguistic control and her resistance to a language or a literacy activity. Yet, she was able to identify power issues; this is the reliability reflected in the combined category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cross-Checked Interview Analysis</th>
<th>Inter-Rater Reliability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grouped Categories</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enthusiasm and Interest in Literacy</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended Family</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resistance and Lack of (Combined)</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media, Technology and Popular Culture</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice and Control</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy Practices</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2

Secondly, Lankshear and Knobel (2004) associate the trustworthiness of the study with its credibility. In order to determine trustworthiness, Lankshear and Knobel (2004) report that sufficiency and rationality are important factors. Sufficiency is directly related to “the amount of data collected and the quality of evidence to support the interpretation” (p. 366). In order to achieve coherence, the researcher must explain the methodology and research designs by provided detailed accounts of decisions made during the process and the justification for those decisions (Lankshear and Knobel, 2004). Finally, Lankshear and Knobel (2004) define defensible interpretation as:

“...offering sound explanations of what took place in the data, drawing conclusions and extrapolating from the data to relevant contexts and practices, making inferences, accounting for data that does not ‘fit’ an analysed pattern or category, accounting for other irregularities, considering alternative or rival interpretations and selecting the ‘best’ in the light of the research purpose and questions of a study.” (p. 370)
Data analysis in ethnography is multifaceted as well as spontaneous and introspective. There is no one ‘right’ analysis and ethnographic researchers must strive to use all approaches and tools of analysis that are appropriate for their study.

I obtained validity through conferencing with my participants and their families about the interpretations of my findings, making sure the written product is a reflection of their actual perspectives. In addition, I asked colleagues and professors to be my critical friend and question my assumptions and interpretations of the data. Throughout the entire research process, the integrity of the data was maintained through the direct connections made from the multiple sources of data to the interpretations. For example, I limited my biases by identifying them and grounding my analysis in the data. Finally, I justified my interpretations of patterns (or the irregularities of patterns) by being as clear as possible when explaining my conclusions, citing examples from the data and considering different possibilities for the patterns found. Above all, I aimed for the interpretations to be practical and reflect what was happening in the everyday lives of my participants in line with the grounded theory approach.

Summary
The methodology that I have used in my research stems from the theoretical origins of studying both literacy and culture. Researching literacy practices has its foundations from a sociocultural perspective and researchers have historically drawn on anthropological methods in order to understand the psychological impacts of social, cultural and historical influences. One important Vygotskian idea that has influenced my literacy research is the notion of mediation (Vygotsky, 1978). Mediation refers to the process of how we interact in and on our social world. This is important to my
research because literacy is a social practice that is situated in cultural contexts as discussed in both chapters Two and Three. We navigate our social worlds with every utterance and artifact we use. Mediation recognises that some artifacts, such as language and social customs, are passed down from generation to generation. Mediation also recognises that each time we use an artifact, we are influencing our community around us. Studying how multilingual children navigate their social situations and use literacy artifacts is important to gain insight to their needs and recognise their strengths. For the multilingual child, collaboration with peers, adults and communities assist their learning of both literacy practices and knowledge of cultural customs, as shown in chapter Three. The child's interaction, with a more knowledgeable peer or sibling, increases their knowledge as well as cements the conceptual knowledge for the peer or sibling as previously discussed. These interactions are social constructivism, where learning is increased by all participants in social contexts. Co-constructing my research with participants through participatory methods increases my insights into the children's perspectives and respects them as meaning-makers as well. Furthermore, identity is closely related to language and culture, so it is an important aspect for my study. Agency is seen in each choice a child makes in order to navigate their social world and make sense of the social structures around them, whether it is with other children or adults. These choices range from the language the multilingual child chooses to use, which popular culture artifact they play with or which text type they use at home. My research investigated each child's use of agency to see how it connects to their multilingual identity.

Since culture is at the centre of my research, it is important to use a range of methodologies from a range of different fields of study. I have chosen to utilise case studies because of the narrow guidelines for choosing participants and its allowance for
a flexible methodology, which is appropriate for studying children. Using an
ethnographic perspective and participatory methods allowed me to gain a view into my
participants' philosophies and beliefs, which I might not have had access to if I had
chosen a different method. Since language is not the only mode of communication
valued in line with semiotics and multimodality theory, I chose to use language and
images (photographs and video) in order to be multimodal in my research approach.
Using the parent literacy journal as a tool for documenting the text types of interest of
my participants allowed me to compare my findings with current research on popular
culture. Semi-structured interviews allow more detail of literacy practices to be shared
and gain deeper knowledge of my participants' agency and identity. Ethically, I have
presented my own biases and misconceptions openly in order to be aware of them so
they do not influence my interpretations. My interpretation of how agency is playing a
part in each child's multilingual identity as well as how their home literacy practices
are supporting their multilingual development is grounded in the data collected.
Furthermore, I compared the literacy journal, literacy photographs and interview
transcriptions with each other to search for any patterns that may emerge. I shared my
interpretations of these patterns with my participants and a colleague to ask for their
opinions in order to triangulate all the data for validity. Finally, my research adds to
other case studies conducted in other cultures and international contexts on multilingual
children's home literacy practices. My next chapter will look at each participant's
individual vignettes in relation to the research questions and briefly describe them.
CHAPTER 5

PARTICIPANT VIGNETTES

To share the findings of the home literacy practices of six multilingual children in an international Qatar primary school, I explain each of the six most common themes that emerged in the data analysis over the next two chapters. I draw mainly from data generated from home tours, home literacy journals, each participant’s photograph data, and the semi-structured interviews of the participants, but occasionally, I also gleaned information from fieldnotes and observations. Over the next two chapters, I examine six major themes uncovered in the process; each with over 200 instances coded (See Appendices N and O). In this chapter, I only discuss three major themes in each vignette that emerged: school related literacy practices; media, technology and popular culture; and children’s knowledge and uses of language.

Below, I describe the international school context with its curriculum requirements in order to understand the expectations of the children’s learning and academic achievements. Furthermore, I give a description of the three major themes discussed in this chapter. In addition, aspects of each participant’s homes and their individual literacy practices are described. The descriptions of each participant’s home literacy practices are grouped to link with three main categories which arose from the NVivo analysis of my research questions:

- Each multilingual participant’s home literacy practices
- Types of texts that each participant is most interested in
- How participants’ home literacy practices play a part in their multilingual development
• How agency is playing a part in the construction of participants’ multilingual identities

International School Context

The international school where each of the participants attended during the time of the research is a typical International Baccalaureate® (IB) school. In the primary school, the curriculum comes from the IB directly and is called the Primary Years Programme (PYP) and is for students aged 3-11. The PYP programme focuses on the development of the whole child as an inquirer, both in the classroom and in the world. The most distinguishing feature of the IB Primary Years Programme are the six transdisciplinary themes which are about issues that have meaning for, and are important to, everyone. The six themes are: who we are; where we are in place and time; how we express ourselves; how the world works; how we organise ourselves; and sharing the planet. These six transdisciplinary themes help teachers to develop a programme of inquiries, or in-depth investigations into important ideas, identified by the teachers, and require a high level of involvement on the part of the students. These inquiries are substantial, in-depth and usually last for several weeks. Assessment is an important part of each unit as it enhances learning and provides opportunities for students to reflect on what they know, understand and can do. In response to their learning, children are encouraged to take action on these transdisciplinary issues. In the final year of the PYP programme, students engage in a Grade 5 exhibition where they are placed in small groups of 3-4 students. The Grade 5 exhibition allows them to demonstrate the understandings and skills they have learned across the programme. At the end of Grade 5, the students transfer into The Middle Years Programme (MYP) for students aged 11-16. After that, students transfer into the Diploma Years Programme, which is for students aged 16-18.
The curriculum and requirements of students at an IB school are academically challenging. This demanding curriculum encourages students to embrace and understand the connection between traditional subjects and the real world in order to become critical and reflective thinkers. In the PYP programme, English is the language of instruction, even if a child’s mother tongue is not English. Approximately 92% of students at this international school are learning English as a Second Language (ESL). Only 68 out of 841 students in the primary school have English as their sole mother tongue. In addition, the students are required to study the host country’s language, which in this case, is Arabic. In line with the IB curriculum, the school’s mission statement states that they desire to develop independent critical thinkers, lifelong learners, responsible citizens, and empower students to gain entrance to elite universities and colleges.

This particular international school is also very well resourced in all areas. For example, the primary school has a wealth of technology resources available to the students. For students aged 3-7, each classroom has an interactive whiteboard, three Mac laptops as well as three to four iPod touches. For students aged 7-11, there is a 1:1 laptop programme in place that the school provides to each student. In addition for students aged 7-11, there is an interactive whiteboard in each classroom. Finally, there are other mobile devices available for classroom use across the primary school such as digital microscopes, digital voice recorders, digital cameras and data logging equipment. Two computer labs are also available for use. This is just an example of the plethora of technology resources available. All academic areas, libraries and classrooms have a wide variety of resources and teachers can order more if necessary.
Moreover, there are support resources in terms of staff. Each classroom from Pre-School 3 to Grade 1 has a full-time assistant in addition to the classroom teacher. After that, there is one designated teaching assistant per grade level from Grades 2-5. Our classroom sizes range from 18-22 students per class depending on age. Also on staff, there are four ESL/ literacy support personnel, like myself, as well as two learning support teachers, two counsellors, and two gifted and talented teachers.

School Related Literacy Practices

From all the data, 279 coded instances were identified from the participants and their parents’ home literacy practices, which were grouped under this theme. The findings in this category are in line with Heath’s (1983) research, which found that different cultures use oral and written language differently and also the language socialisation process of children varies from culture to culture and from home to home. Additionally, previous research conducted on the importance of family roles in becoming literate or biliterate reported similar findings on the important role of collaboration in literacy activities (Gregory, Long, & Volk, 2004; Gregory and Williams 2000; Kenner, 2004).

Media, Technology and Popular Culture

With regards to media, technology and popular culture, I found 258 coded instances. Next, I discuss the popular culture and media and technology theme in more depth.
Popular Culture

Finding out the types of texts my multilingual participants were interested in was the focus of my second research question. My findings around popular culture are in line with other research findings that reveal the critical role popular culture plays in children’s out-of-school literacy practices (e.g. Alvermann, Carpenter and Hong Xu, 2003; Lankshear and Knobel, 2006; Marsh and Millard, 2000). In addition to literacy activities that were aligned with school literacies, all of my participants engaged in recreational use of popular culture texts and artifacts. Additionally, I found similar categories of popular culture artifacts to those found by Marsh and Millard (2000) such as, “toys, games, comics, stickers, cards, clothing, hair accessories, jewellery, sports accessories, oral rhymes, jokes, word play and even food and drink” (p. 20). Data gathered from each participant’s home tours, observations, photographs and interviews provided evidence that my participants pursued a variety of popular culture literacy activities.

Media and Technology

Recent reports documenting the rise of technology and media found in homes across England and the United States making new literacies and their social practices more available to children was also true for my participants (Marsh et al., 2005; Vandewater et al., 2007). Technology and media played a significant role in these children’s lives. Below I discuss the key role technology and media played in their everyday lives in each of the vignettes.
Children's Knowledge and Uses of Language

As expected when conducting research with multilingual participants, facets surrounding becoming literate in multiple languages were coded. In this section, I discuss the 268 coded instances where the participants and their parents discussed different aspects about their knowledge and uses of language during their interviews.

Next, I describe my participant vignettes using the three main categories found during my thematic analysis: school related literacy practices; media, technology and popular culture; and children's knowledge and uses of language.

Akari

Akari was born in Al Ain in the United Arab Emirates in 2002. Her younger sister was also born there. Akari's parents moved to Qatar four and a half years ago. Her mother is originally from Japan and her father is from Canada. In addition to the UAE and Qatar, her parents have lived together in Japan, Oman and Canada. Being of the Bahá'í faith means they believe the world is one country and they embrace diversity. Their dream is to eventually move to Italy because neither parent desires to live in their home country. Akari's Doha home is located in a typical community of two-storey villas near school. Their home has three bedrooms, two and a half bathrooms, a large living/dining area and a large kitchen. Part of their living/dining area had been turned into an office because her father was working on his PhD in linguistics. The downstairs was filled with various books, papers and children's toys. They welcomed me into their homes for the interviews and provided me with homemade cookies and some tea.
School Related Literacy Practices

I could immediately tell their home was a literacy rich environment. The downstairs was filled with various books, papers and children’s toys. Akari’s literacy journal clearly showed what types of literacy practices occurred most often. In total, she spent five hours and thirty minutes engaged in literacy activities in her home during the week. In Table 5.1, we can see that Akari spent the majority of time completing school homework in both English and Arabic and a significant amount of time engaged in Japanese literacy activities that also resembled schooled literacy practices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akari’s Home Literacy Practices</th>
<th>Total Duration of Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>1 hour and 40 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>20 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading / Writing Mixed</td>
<td>50 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Homework</td>
<td>2 hours and 40 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media, Technology and Popular Culture</td>
<td>Less than 60 minutes (it was embedded in another activity)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1

With further analysis, types of texts and languages start to emerge, as we can see in Table 5.2. She spent the majority of her home literacy time using books and worksheets, mostly in English due to school homework tasks. Two hours and ten minutes of her English literacy activities were directly related to her school homework, leaving only one hour and twenty-five minutes of free choice English activities. Her Japanese literacy activities involved learning to write Japanese characters using Kumon worksheets as well as reading short Japanese stories which are also activities that resemble schooled literacies. These directly relate to her learning to be literate in Japanese. All of the time she spent in Arabic was directly related to completing her
school homework. For Italian, she spent five minutes looking at a book of her own choice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akari’s Time Spent in Each Language</th>
<th>Total Time Spent in that Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3 hours and 35 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1 hour and 20 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>30 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>5 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2

Akari’s digital photographs and her interview also provided clear insights into the text types she was using during the literacy activities mentioned above. Her photograph data were categorised and used as discussion points in Akari’s interview. Akari took a total of 52 photos all related to literacy. First, I sorted them into four categories: school homework (25), reading books (12), Kumon worksheets (8), and free drawing (7). The majority of pictures were taken of her school homework. Since I wanted a clearer picture of the types of texts she was using during homework, I analysed the homework category further. This left three text types: books, worksheets and free writing/drawing (see Figure 5.1).
Additionally, I had her choose five photographs that she thought would be important for my research. Three of her favourite photos were from the book and worksheet categories; Akari chose those photos because she stated doing homework in English and Japanese was important.

Her parents also stated how homework, reading and learning through Kumon worksheets are regular home literacy practices:

Misti: And so can you describe some of the everyday literacy practices that Akari does around the home?

Akari’s Mum: Reading, definitely every day.

Akari’s Dad: Homework every day.

Akari’s Mum: Homework, and Kumon because I am teaching her every day.

This information is primarily based on the home literacy activities that occurred during the course of a school week and is only a small glimpse into Akari’s home literacy practices. However, we can clearly see that the majority of literacy practices that occurred were school related literacy practices.

Media, Technology and Popular Culture

When I interviewed Akari and her parents, some additional text type categories were found, including environmental print, screens, games and popular culture. For example, the remaining two photos she chose were from the free writing / drawing
category. These photos were of ‘Ariel’. This character is directly related to a Disney movie, which is part of many children’s popular culture. She also spent a significant amount of time explaining the game Monopoly™. She had stickers stuck on her bedroom wall of Snow White, Jasmine, Ariel and Cinderella in two different places. Moreover, she had a Hello Kitty jewellery box, a fairy jewellery box, a Japanese Barbie™ and a Cinderella doll on her dresser. With regards to media and technology, she discussed watching DVDs, videos, and using popular websites such as Pop Tropica™ and the school’s wiki page. In addition, she discussed how she uses Skype™ to keep in contact with her extended family in both Canada and Japan. Therefore, Akari is interested in media, technology and popular culture texts and artifacts.

Children’s Knowledge and Use of Language

I asked Akari’s parents to describe Akari’s multilingual abilities and her literacy development. Her father replied:

“I think she’s quite honestly gifted linguistically. You know I’m impressed that she can distinguish words and she can pick up things and….she gets concepts around language so, you know, etymology, she can grasp that […] Just the other day, so this isn’t rehearsed or anything, she said to me, ‘Oh dad isn’t it interesting like how in different languages words are similar’ so […] she used the example of the Japanese word ‘telebi’ which is ‘television’. And that’s like television. And we talked about why that was and how they were (similar)…..and then we talked about another word, ‘telephone’ and how that […] doesn’t have a cognate in Japanese or it’s not a derivative necessarily, but she could see how that word was also built in the same way.”

When asked about code-switching, both Akari and her parents reiterated Kenner’s (2004) findings that code-switching occurs to maximise understanding. An example of this comes from Akari when asked if she ever code-switches. She says, “Yeah, because
I [...] forget what the word is [...] in Japanese sometimes. So I have to say it in English.” Her mother also gives an example how she has to sometimes use English while reading:

“Like, [...] if she has to read a story in Japanese then she says “what does this mean?” and I have to explain. Because English is easier for her to understand so I have to explain. And sometimes she kind of mixes Japanese and English and I don’t like that so I [...] try to reword it.”

Akari’s father explains how she plays with language further by combining Japanese and English grammatical structures:

Akari’s Dad: So what has happened, she’s picked up on that and she knows that I can borrow lexis from English....and insert it into a Japanese sentence, and it gets understood.

Misti: And she does it correctly with the right meaning.

Akari’s Dad: That’s right. But they wouldn’t use that in Japan. So it would be like ‘read suru’ which means “to read” but it doesn’t, no one would use that, right? So it would be “yomu” you know. And she might try to do that with Italian.

Clearly, Akari’s biliteracy is developing in a broad way due to her home literacy practices. This evidence lies in her ability to ‘play’ with language structures, to code-switch to maximise understanding, and to recognise similarities/differences between languages. These are prime examples of how Akari is using her knowledge of languages to construct understanding within her multilingual and multicultural worlds. With each blend and construction of new linguistic knowledge, Akari is forming and shaping her biliterate identity.
Alexander

Alexander was born in Doha, Qatar in 2003. He has an older sister and a younger brother. Alexander’s parents moved to Qatar nine years ago when his older sister was one year old. His mother is from Slovakia and his father is from England. In addition to Qatar, his parents have lived together in Slovakia and his mother has lived in Germany. They own a flat in Bratislava where they stay during the summer holiday when they are not visiting extended family. Alexander’s Doha home is located in a lovely community made up of apartment buildings and villas near school, with a large green park in the middle. Alexander’s dad works for the international school and their home is located on the property owned by the school’s governing foundation with access to a pool, gym, a small supermarket and a doctor’s office. Their home has three bedrooms, two and a half bathrooms, a large living room, a dining room and a large kitchen. Alexander and his brother share a very large bedroom. Alexander is a very good footballer and trains multiple times during the week. They welcomed me into their homes for the interviews and provided me with Slovak style pancakes with nutella and tea.

School Related Literacy Practices

Alexander’s literacy journal showed what types of literacy practices occurred most often. In total, he spent eight hours and ten minutes engaged in literacy activities in his home during the week. Around three hours of his literacy activities involved reading books. Since he was in kindergarten at the time of the research, the only homework assigned was reading. Additionally, all of the literacy time recorded using Slovak revolved around reading a book and recognizing different Slovak letters. Arabic was not a language used the week his parents completed the literacy journal. However, in
their interview they mentioned that his Arabic homework often involves learning how to write Arabic letters. These types of literacy activities are reflective of school related literacy practices.

Alexander's digital photographs and his interview provided clear insights into his preferred text types. His photograph data was categorised and used as discussion points in Alexander’s interview. Alexander took a total of 25 photos all related to literacy. First, I sorted them into six categories: books (6); environmental print (5); screens (2); games, puzzles, cards and magazines (5); posters (1); and school newsletters/phone directory (5). The pictures were evenly dispersed between the following categories: environmental print; books; games, puzzles, cards and magazines; and school newsletters/phone directory (see Figure 5.2).
As we can see, books were important literacy texts to Alexander. This information is primarily based on the home literacy activities that occurred during the course of a school week and is only a small glimpse into Alexander’s home literacy practices.

Media, Technology and Popular Culture

In Table 5.3, we can see that Alexander spent the majority of time at home engaged in media, technology and popular culture activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alexander’s Home Literacy Practices</th>
<th>Total Duration of Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>15 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading / Writing Mixed</td>
<td>30 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media, Technology and Popular Culture</td>
<td>4 hours and 25 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3

With further analysis, types of texts and languages start to emerge. He spent the majority of his home literacy time using media, technology and popular culture, mostly in English, as seen below in Table 5.4. The media, technology and popular culture literacy activities included watching the 3D movie ‘Alice in Wonderland’, playing a Ben 10 Monopoly™ game, and using the ‘Mathletics’ website from school, all in English. Even his writing activity involved popular culture: a Star Wars™ crossword puzzle. Additionally, he listened to a tape and read cards for the game ‘Who Am I?’ as well as completed a community helpers’ floor puzzle using both English and Slovak.
### Table 5.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Total Time Spent in That Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>4 hours and 50 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovak</td>
<td>1 hour and 15 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English and Slovak mixed</td>
<td>2 hours and 5 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additionally, I had him choose five photographs that he thought would be important for my research. Two of the five photos were from the games, puzzles, cards and magazines category: one was of the Monopoly™ game and the other was of his Star Wars™ Lego pack. Two more photos were from the environmental print category: his Reebok™ football and a DVD cover from the movie Star Wars™. Furthermore, when I interviewed Alexander, he spent a large portion of interview time discussing how he plays different games: Y8 car games on the computer, Monopoly™, his Star Wars™ Lego pack, a dinosaur board game and a card game. He also had Spiderman™ stickers stuck on his headboard and two posters of Bakugan Battle Brawlers™ hung on his wall, which he told me he got out of a magazine. With regards to media and technology, he discussed watching Star Wars™ DVDs as well as using popular websites such as Y8™ car games and the school’s wiki page. Additionally, he watched the popular 3D movie, ‘Alice in Wonderland.’ Therefore, we can clearly determine that Alexander is interested in media, technology and popular culture texts and artifacts.

**Children’s Knowledge and Use of Language**

I asked Alexander’s parents to describe Alexander’s multilingual abilities and his literacy development. Both parents speak both languages, but speak their own mother tongue exclusively with their children. In fact, his parents alternate days and languages.
they speak to each other: on even days they speak Slovak and on odd days they speak English. So, Alexander understands both languages very well. His parents described how he was secure in his English literacy abilities, but his Slovak vocabulary was weak mainly due to his English exposure at school and the lack of extended family, or friends his age, in Qatar who speak Slovak. Until recently, his Slovak aunt lived in Qatar. She visited frequently and always spoke Slovak with Alexander. Additionally, his mum discussed how he was just beginning to learn to read and write in Slovak. However, both parents expected his Slovak language to increase in the summertime once he was back in a total Slovak environment surrounded by extended family and friends as well as Slovak television.

When asked about code-switching, Alexander’s parents stated that code-switching rarely occurs now because he prefers to use English. However, when he was younger, he would code-switch. His mother stated:

"Most of the time he speaks in English [...] to me. But yes, yes, it was actually at the beginning it was always [...] first Slovak, and then when he started to get better in English it was like half of the sentence was Slovak and half was English. But now most of time he (speaks in English) [...] I just ask him, ‘Darling, I didn’t understand it. Could you tell me that in Slovak please?’”

Additionally, both parents stated it is normal for some English words to be inserted into Slovak, or vice versa, when there is no direct translation for the word.

Alexander’s father explained how he plays with language further by combining Slovak and English grammatical structures:
"Sometimes he'll use the grammar from the other language, so he might be speaking in English but structures his sentence using Slovak grammar and the other way round as well. [...] There's also a Slovak word, 'aby', which doesn't have a direct translation in English but he uses it in English sentences completely wrongly. [...] If you say to somebody, 'I'd like you to play with me', then in Slovak a literal translation would be something like 'I want so that you play with me' [...] and it's the 'aby' that kind of translates roughly to be Slovak, and [...] he hasn't worked out how that works in English, so he just throws that word in. But [...] it shouldn't be there at all. He should just leave it out."

Furthermore, one of his literacy journal activities involved rhyming in English and then trying to rhyme in Slovak. Clearly, Alexander's biliteracy is developing in a broader way due to his home literacy practices. This evidence lies in his ability to 'play' with language structures and to code-switch when a word does not directly translate. These are prime examples of how Alexander is using his knowledge of languages to construct understanding within his multilingual and multicultural worlds. With each blend and construction of new linguistic knowledge, Alexander is forming and shaping his biliterate identity.

Mohammed

Mohammed was born in Doha, Qatar in 2003. He has twin older brothers. Mohammed's parents moved to Qatar ten years ago. His mother is from the Netherlands and his father is from Qatar. In addition to Qatar, his parents have lived together in England and Japan. In fact, Mohammed's older brothers were born in Japan. They often go back to the Netherlands during the summer holiday to visit the maternal extended family. Mohammed's Doha home is located in a lovely community close to his paternal side of the family, which they visit often. Mohammed's parents designed their architecturally modern home themselves. Their home has a large upstairs and downstairs as well as a lovely large garden area in the front and a smaller
garden at the rear. I only saw the downstairs portion of their house, which had an open plan design big enough to have space for a ping pong table, a football table and a cross trainer in the living area in addition to the other furniture. Downstairs, there was a large living and sitting room, a winding staircase in the middle that led upstairs, a large kitchen and a small women’s majlis area. A ‘majlis’ is an Arabic term which means ‘a place of sitting’ and usually has cushions on the floor which are used for sitting during special social functions; men and women usually have separate sitting areas. This women’s majlis area was a nice blend of Dutch and Arabic culture since it had European paintings and decorations but retained the Arabic function. Mohammed and his brothers also have a computer room off the main area and the guest bathroom is also located downstairs. They welcomed me into their home for the interviews and provided me with cake and tea.

School Related Literacy Practices

Mohammed’s literacy journal showed what types of literacy practices occurred most often. In total, he spent ten hours and forty-five minutes engaged in literacy activities in his home during the week. In Table 5.5, we can see that Mohammed spent the majority of time engaged in reading, attending Dutch school and completing homework.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mohammed’s Home Literacy Practices</th>
<th>Total Duration of Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literacy Practices</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>3 hours and 45 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>15 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch school</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homework</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workbook</td>
<td>30 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media, Technology and Popular Culture</td>
<td>1 hours and 15 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5
With further analysis from Table 5.6, types of texts and languages start to emerge. He spent the majority of time reading books in English. All of the literacy time using Dutch revolved around attending Dutch school and listening to stories being read to him before bed. This directly relates to him learning to be literate in Dutch. Additionally, his Arabic time involved completing his Arabic homework and practicing in a workbook with the assistance of a tutor. This information is primarily based on the home literacy activities that occurred during the course of a school week and is only a small glimpse into Mohammed’s home literacy practices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Total Time Spent in that Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>5 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>2 hours and 30 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>3 hours and 15 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6

However, we can clearly see that the majority of the literacy practices that occurred at home were school related literacy practices.

**Media, Technology and Popular Culture**

Mohammed’s digital photographs and his interview provided clear insights into his preferred text types. His photograph data was categorised and used as discussion points in Mohammed’s interview. Mohammed took a total of 10 photos all related to literacy. First, I sorted them into five categories: screens (5); books (1); newspapers (2); workbook (1); free drawing (1). (See Figure 5.3)
Therefore, from his photo data, we can determine that he is mostly interested in
screens, which is media and technology. When I interviewed Mohammed it became
evident that he was also interested in popular culture. Mohammed spent a large portion
of interview time discussing how he plays different computer games: Facebook™,
Miniclip.com, Dragon Gamez™ and Sim City 4™. During the video tour, he even
showed me how to play Sim City 4™. In the computer room, he also had Kung Fu
Panda Monopoly™, Who is It?, Hangman, Luxor, and a Bob the Builder™ puzzle.
Additionally, his literacy journal revealed that he watched DVDs in English.
Therefore, Mohammed is interested in media, technology and popular culture texts.

Children’s Knowledge and Use of Language

I asked Mohammed’s parents to describe Mohammed’s multilingual abilities and his
literacy development. In the interview, both parents expressed how English was his
strongest language:

Mum: Definitely a preference for English.
Both parents expressed that his Dutch and Arabic are improving slowly, but realise that Mohammed may require more time learning these languages.

When asked about code-switching, Mohammed's parents stated that he code-switches
because his vocabulary is weak. His father stated he often code-switches with Mohammed in order to maximise understanding and to not put too much pressure on Mohammed to speak only Arabic. Mohammed’s mother explained how the family often code-switches around the dinner table, “I think if anybody [...] were to sit at the dinner table, you cannot follow the conversation because there’s three languages.”

Mohammed was also very keen to describe to me similarities and differences between Dutch and English. He described how reading in Dutch was easier than in English because each letter says its sound and there were no rules. He stated about the Dutch alphabet, “It’s like the same letters. You think and there’s no magic ‘e’ so you think it is like ‘e’, ‘i’ and ‘s’.”

Mohammed’s biliteracy is developing due to his home literacy practices, although at a slower rate than the previous two participants. The evidence of his biliteracy development lies in his ability to code-switch to maximise understanding and to recognise similarities/differences between languages. These are examples of how Mohammed is using his knowledge of languages to construct understanding within his multilingual and multicultural worlds. With each blend and construction of new linguistic knowledge, Mohammed is forming and shaping his biliterate identity.

Momo

Momo was born in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in 2003 and she is an only child. Momo’s dad moved to Qatar two and a half years ago. Momo and her mother moved to Qatar one and a half years ago after receiving confirmation of her place at the school. Her mother is originally from Japan and her father is from Australia. In addition to
Malaysia and Qatar, her parents have lived in Singapore. While waiting for the school placement in Qatar, Momo and her mother lived in Japan and Momo attended preschool there. Momo’s Doha home is located in a lovely community made up of apartment buildings and villas near school, with a large green park in the middle. Momo’s dad works for the school’s governing foundation and their home is located on the property owned by the foundation with access to a pool, gym, a small supermarket and a doctor’s office. Their home is a two-storey, three-bedroom villa with two and a half bathrooms, a family room upstairs, a large living room downstairs, a play area, a dining room and a large kitchen. Their villa also has direct access to the large green park in the middle of the community. They welcomed me into their homes for the interviews and provided me with lunch consisting of typical Japanese summer food with chopsticks as utensils. An interesting point to note was that the chopstick rests were Aboriginal, painted stones of different animals. It was a nice blend of Australian and Japanese cultures.

**School Related Literacy Practices**

I could immediately tell their home was a literacy rich environment. The downstairs play area was filled with various books, papers, posters and children’s toys. There were also Arabic and Japanese posters hanging on the wall in the bathroom and by her little desk. Momo’s literacy journal showed what types of literacy practices occurred most often. In total, she spent eighteen hours and ten minutes engaged in literacy activities in her home during the week. In Table 5.7, we can see that Momo spent significant amount of time engaged in Japanese literacy activities that also resembled schooled literacy practices in the reading / writing mixed work. She also spent a
significant amount of time doing school homework and reading. All of these literacy practices and texts resemble school related literacy practices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Momo's Home Literacy Practices</th>
<th>Total Duration of Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>3 hours and 40 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>40 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading / Writing Mixed</td>
<td>7 hours and 50 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Homework</td>
<td>2 hours and 35 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing the Piano</td>
<td>20 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media, Technology and Popular Culture</td>
<td>3 hours and 5 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7

With further analysis, types of texts and languages start to emerge. In Table 4.8, seven hours and fifty minutes of her Japanese literacy activities involved learning to read and write Japanese using Kumon worksheets as well as Kanji, Hiragana, Katakana and Shimajiro worksheets. Kanji, Hiragana and Katakana are different character sets in the Japanese language; Shimajiro is a popular cartoon that has a club you can join to receive their fun learning worksheets. Two hours and twenty-five minutes of her English literacy activities were directly related to her school homework. These activities directly relate to her learning to be biliterate in Japanese and English. All of the time she spent in Arabic was directly related to completing her school homework.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Momo's Time Spent in Each Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8
Her parents also stated how school homework and studying Japanese are regular home literacy practices. Her mother is directly involved with teaching her Japanese every day and states:

“My mother [...] believed it’s very easy to bring up (a child) to be bilingual; this environment naturally becomes bilingual. They believed that (you don’t) have to really [...] study. And they now see and understand what we (do), so she is very happy.”

Momo’s digital photographs and her interview also provided information into her preferred text types. Her photograph data were categorised and used as discussion points in Momo’s interview. Momo took a total of 101 photos all related to literacy. First, I sorted them into categories: worksheets (35), books (26), free writing/drawing (6), screens (12), wall posters (11), puzzles and cards (9) and environmental print (2). The majority of pictures were taken of books and worksheets which are school related literacy texts types (see Figure 5.4).
Additionally, I had her choose five photographs that she thought would be important for my research. Three of the five photos were from the book category. Momo chose those photos because she stated that she liked the photos.

This information is primarily based on the home literacy activities that occurred during the course of a school week and is only a small glimpse into Momo’s home literacy practices. However, we can clearly see that the majority of literacy practices that occurred were school related literacy practices.

**Media, Technology and Popular Culture**

When I interviewed Momo and her parents, popular culture texts were revealed to be another text type of interest. Momo and her mum mention ‘Doraemon’, who is a cartoon cat character that is popular in Japan. Additionally, Momo had lots of Disney books, a Winnie the Pooh™ picture frame, a Winnie the Pooh™ writing journal, a Hello Kitty™ container and Hello Kitty™ stickers stuck on her bedroom plastic storage drawers. Moreover, she had Cinnamaroll™ writing paper, a Madagascar™ clock, a Minnie Mouse™ jewellery box, a Little Mermaid™ dress and a Snow White™ box trinket. With regards to media and technology, she discussed watching DVDs, videos and popular Japanese cartoons such as Tamagocchi. Furthermore, two of the five photos Momo chose were from the screen category and related to a website she regularly visits. Momo also discussed using popular websites such as PlayPink.com™ and the school’s wiki page during her interview. Therefore, Momo is interested in media, technology and popular culture texts and artifacts as well.
I asked Momo’s parents to describe Momo’s multilingual abilities and her literacy development. Her parents replied:

Momo’s Dad: Oh for me it’s very impressive because I’m just one language, so she’s smarter than me, she’s way ahead of me. So, for my family, very impressive. [...] Because now she’s (be)coming multilingual as well so everyone’s very impressed. And they [...] listen (to) what Momo and Momo’s Dad (say) in English and also then switch to me in Japanese, so very.....

Momo’s Mum: Yeah, she tries to link...

Momo’s Dad: She can switch in one conversation multiple times and explain what’s going on and continue the sentence in both languages. [...] She switches between the two just fluently without any issues at all. [...] If she doesn’t understand something in English then she switches to Japanese to explore more possibilities, and then she’ll come back in English.

Momo’s Mum: She links all the words in....yeah but it happens just naturally, very quickly. [...] So that to me is pretty impressive.

Momo’s biliteracy is developing in a broad way due to her home literacy practices. Above are examples of how Momo is using her knowledge of languages to construct understanding within her multilingual and multicultural worlds. With each blend and construction of new linguistic knowledge, Momo is forming and shaping her biliterate identity.
Rose

Rose was born in Al Ain in the United Arab Emirates in 2004. She has two older sisters and an older brother. Rose’s parents moved to Qatar over five years ago. Both of her parents are originally from Pakistan and speak Urdu as well as Panjabi. Her parents have lived together internationally in the UAE and Qatar and were in the process of moving to Canada during the research. They are devout Muslims and her mother had recently passed her Islamic exams. Her father is the head of technology at one of the local universities and is about to transfer jobs back to the UAE. Rose’s Doha home is located in a typical community of two-storey villas fifteen minutes away from school. Their home has three bedrooms, two and a half bathrooms, a large living/dining area and a large kitchen. They welcomed me into their homes for the interviews and provided me with a traditional Pakistani meal. The traditional Pakistani rice was very colourful with yellow, green and red food colouring drops used to create this effect.

School Related Literacy Practices

Rose’s literacy journal showed which types of literacy practices occurred most often. In total, she spent thirteen hours engaged in literacy activities in her home during the week. Around three hours and thirty minutes were spent reading and writing in English, Arabic or both during school related literacy practices. Similarly to Alexander, she was in kindergarten at the time of the research, so the only homework assigned was reading books in English. With further analysis of Table 5.9, we can see that one hour and twenty-five minutes of her English literacy activities were directly related to her school homework. The remaining two hours and five minutes were her Arabic literacy activities. These involved learning to read and write Arabic as well as
studying the Qur’an with a tutor. These directly relate to her learning to be literate in Arabic. Reading books, completing workbooks/worksheets and using tutor services are all reflective of school related literacy practices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rose's Home Literacy Practices</th>
<th>Total Duration of Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>1 hour and 5 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading the Qur’an</td>
<td>1 hour and 10 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>1 hour and 15 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media, Technology and Popular Culture</td>
<td>9 hours and 30 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.10

Rose’s digital photographs and her interview also provided clear insights into her preferred text types. Her photograph data were categorised and used as discussion points in Rose’s interview. Rose’s first set of photographs were staged, so I had to carefully ask her and her family to allow her to take the photos again in a second week. In her second set of photos, she took a total of 34 photos, of which 28 were related to literacy. Additionally, two of these photos were still staged. First, I sorted the 28 photos into the following categories: books (9), worksheets and workbooks (10), free drawing (2), word cards (2), newspapers (1), a Qur’an plaque (1) and screens (3). The majority of pictures were taken of books, worksheets and workbooks (see Figure 5.5).
Additionally, I had her choose five photographs that she thought would be important for my research. One of the five photos was of the Qur'an plaque and one was from the worksheet category. Two other favourite photos were from the book category. Rose chose those photos because she felt they were all important for my research.

As we can see, books, the Qur'an and worksheets/workbooks were important literacy texts to Rose. This information is primarily based on the home literacy activities that occurred during the course of a school week and is only a small glimpse into Rose’s home literacy practices.

Media, Technology and Popular Culture

I could immediately tell Rose’s home was a technology rich environment. In the living room, there was an iPad, an iPhone 3GS, another mobile telephone, a large flat screen
television and two standalone PCs to the left. In Table 5.10, we can see that Rose spent the majority of time using technology, media and popular culture, all in English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Total Time Spent in that Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>10 hours and 55 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1 hour and 20 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English / Arabic Mixed</td>
<td>45 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.10

Additionally, media, technology and popular culture were important topics when I interviewed Rose and her parents. In her interview, Rose mentioned playing on the Barbie Girls™ website as well as Mathletics™ from the school wiki page. She had access to numerous types of technology, such as the iPad™, where she played games. During her interview she also discussed two cartoons from Cartoon Network™ that she watched regularly. She also had two Barbie™ books in her photograph data. In her room she also had Hello Kitty™ and Strawberry Shortcake™ stickers over her bed. Therefore, Rose is interested in media, technology and popular culture texts and artifacts.

Children's Knowledge and Use of Language

I asked Rose's parents to describe Rose's multilingual abilities and her literacy development. Her father replied:

"I would say she is very strong in English and she [...] grasps things quickly and fast. [...] We haven't put any effort on Urdu (with) her but she has picked it up by speaking to us [...]. She's very good [...] in grasping the sense and the meaning. I mean she could now make sentences in Urdu which we never have
taught her at all, so she is making sense. And when she talks to her grandfather she [...] knows in English how to (say it) in Urdu [...] translating, so she tries to make sense out of it. So sometimes, you know, the pro(noun) or the verb [...], she mixes it up. I mean she could communicate with the [...] essence of what she wants to say.”

This is also an example of how Rose is playing with language further by combining English and Urdu grammatical structures.

Urdu was not used for literacy activities during the week and seemed to only be used as a spoken language at home. Her parents stated in their interview, that her understanding and spoken Urdu is better than her Arabic. Her parents also declared they will teach her to read and write Urdu once she has a basic understanding of Arabic:

Misti: And how will you teach her Urdu, how will she learn Urdu?
Rose’s Dad: Well speaking at home.
Rose’s Mum: I will try. [...] Not only one the main, but so she can read and write.
Rose’s Dad: [...] We’re waiting on that until they know the alphabet well in Arabic so we can use that [...] as a springboard to start up the other one.

When asked about code-switching, Rose’s parents confirmed that code-switching occurs to maximise understanding. An example of this comes from Rose’s father when asked if she ever code-switches. He replied, “It’s a mixed communication all the day [...] It’s always mixed. You naturally switch anyway [...] for understanding. To make sure she gets it [...]. She starts in Urdu and then switches in English.”
Clearly, Rose’s biliteracy is developing in a broad way due to her home literacy practices. This evidence lies in her ability to ‘play’ with language structures and to code-switch to maximise understanding. In addition, Rose described how lots of her literacy activities are usually in collaboration with family members. Rose’s next oldest sister is directly involved most of her home literacy activities and these often involve playing together on the internet or writing and drawing together.

Thomas

Thomas was born in León, Spain in 2004. Thomas’s parents moved to Qatar eight years ago. His mother is from Spain and his father is originally from Syria but immigrated to the United States when he was 23 years old. Thomas has university age half siblings on both sides of his family that sometimes come to visit; however, Thomas is the only child from this marriage. In addition to Qatar, Thomas’ parents have lived together in the United States and Spain. Since his paternal grandparents and aunt live in Qatar, they often spend the summers in Spain to visit the maternal side of the family. Thomas’s Doha home is located in a lovely, exclusive community made up of detached houses and villas with a green park in the middle near the golf course and city centre. In addition, Thomas’s house is a three-storey detached home with its own pool and a large outside area. Three Filipino nannies are also employed by the family. Their top floor is used for storage and also has a walk-out, roof top terrace. The middle floor of their home has four bedrooms, an office area, three and a half bathrooms, and a family room with a balcony. Downstairs on the ground floor, they have a large living room, a large dining room, another sitting room off the kitchen, and a very large kitchen. The entire house is exquisitely decorated, i.e. the winding staircase is made of marble with
large chandeliers hanging from the ceiling. Thomas’s bedroom is located upstairs next to his mother’s room. They welcomed me into their home for the interviews and provided me with an elaborate meal consisting of a mixture of Arabic and Spanish food cooked outside on the grill. The main Spanish dish was seafood paella. Additionally, it was an interesting insight into the Thomas’s everyday world to have the Filipino nannies serving us dinner.

School Related Literacy Practices

Thomas’s literacy journal showed which types of literacy practices occurred most often. In total, he spent four hours and fifty-five minutes engaged in literacy activities in his home during the week. Similarly to both Alexander and Rose, he was in kindergarten at the time of the research, so the only homework assigned was reading books in English. With further analysis of Table 5.11, we can see that one hour and five minutes of his English literacy activities, thirty-five minutes of his Arabic literacy activities and thirty minutes of his Spanish literacy activities were spent reading books. Additionally, he spent ten minutes mixing both English and Arabic to practice reading and handwriting. Reading books and using workbooks for handwriting are all reflective of school related literacy practices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Total Time Spent in that Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2 hours and 35 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1 hour and 20 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>30 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English / Arabic mixed</td>
<td>30 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.11
Thomas’s digital photographs and his interview provided clear insights into his preferred text types. His photograph data was categorised and used as discussion points in Thomas’s interview. Thomas took a total of 56 photos all related to literacy. First, I sorted them into four categories: environmental print (3); books (44); screens (7); free drawing / writing (1). The majority of pictures were taken from the book category (see Figure 5.6).

From his photo data, we can determine that he is most interested in these main categories: books, including comic books, screens and environmental print. Additionally, I had him choose three photographs that he thought would be important for my research. Two of his favourite three photos were from the book category.

This information is primarily based on the home literacy activities that occurred during the course of a school week and is only a small glimpse into Thomas’s home literacy.
practices. However, we can clearly see that the majority of literacy practices that occurred were school related literacy practices.

Media, Technology and Popular Culture

In Table 5.12, we can see that Thomas spent the majority of time engaged in media, technology and popular culture activities and reading.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thomas’s Home Literacy Practices</th>
<th>Total Duration of Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>2 hours and 10 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading / Writing Mixed</td>
<td>10 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media, Technology and Popular Culture</td>
<td>2 hours and 35 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.12

With further analysis, languages start to emerge. He spent a large portion of his home literacy time using media, technology and popular culture in both English and Arabic. The media, technology and popular culture literacy activities included watching a dragon movie in English, Tom and Jerry™ cartoons in Arabic, and watching a DVD with his aunt in both English and Arabic.

When I interviewed Thomas it became evident that popular cultural texts were of interest. One of his book photos was from his Ben 10™ comic book. The last photo he chose was from the environmental print category: his DVD cover from the movie Eragon™. Therefore, from his photo data, we can determine that he is very interested in popular culture texts. He also had a huge Spiderman™ poster over his bed with bed
sheets and pillow cases to match. In addition, he had a Spiderman™ computer that he
told me played math games as well as a Spiderman™ pencil case, a doll and
Spiderman™ stickers stuck on his wardrobe doors. Thomas also had a Spanish Mickey
Mouse™ game and a stuffed Nemo™ toy. With regards to additional media and
technology in his room, he had a standalone PC, a printer, a digital camera and a hand
held game console.

Children’s Knowledge and Use of Language

I asked Thomas’s parents to describe his multilingual abilities and literacy
development. Both parents speak their native languages with Thomas but the main
language of communication in the home is English. His parents described how he was
secure in his Spanish speaking abilities; however, he had not started to learn to read or
write Spanish as of yet. Additionally, his parents described how Thomas feels proud of
his English abilities, especially around his Spanish friends who do not speak English.
His father felt that because of his language experiences, he was willing to try and speak
Arabic. His mother expected his Spanish language to increase in the summertime once
he was back in a totally Spanish environment, surrounded by extended family and
friends, as well as Spanish television.

In the interview, Thomas stated that English was his strongest language overall in
literacy even though he preferred speaking Spanish. Additionally, both parents
expressed how English was his strongest language:

Misti: And what language, or languages, do you think are his
strongest, and why?
When asked about code-switching, Thomas's parents stated that code-switching occurs around other family members. His father stated:

“That's what he (is) doing when we are around my parents. So he speaks with me in English and then he starts to speak to my mother, who is sitting next to me, in Arabic. And he asks for his mother in Spanish.”

His father also expressed how Thomas communicates with him solely in English even though he has tried to communicate with him in Arabic. However, Thomas's mother expressed that at home, Thomas usually communicates with her in Spanish. During his interview, Thomas was also very keen to describe similarities and differences between Spanish and English. He described how Spanish letters were written the same way as English letters. He stated, “Yes, but Spanish, the letters (are) the same (as) in English. [...] The ‘s’ (looks) the same [...] but the sound is different.”

Clearly, Thomas's biliteracy is developing in a broader way due to his home literacy practices. This evidence lies in his ability to code-switch as well as to acknowledge similarities and differences between languages. These are prime examples of how Thomas is using his knowledge of languages to construct understanding within his
multilingual and multicultural worlds. With each blend and construction of new linguistic knowledge, Thomas is forming and shaping his biliterate identity.

Summary of Vignettes

Clearly, biliteracy is developing in a broad way due to the home literacy practices of all the participants. This evidence lies in the participant’s ability to ‘play’ with language structures, to code-switch to maximise understanding, and to recognise similarities/differences between languages. Above are prime examples of how the participants are using their knowledge of languages to construct understanding within their individual multilingual and multicultural worlds. However, each participant is developing at his/her own rate. By using Hornberger’s (2003) biliteracy continua in which biliterate contexts, individual development, and content/media elements are represented, we get a clearer picture of each participant’s biliteracy development. For example, Mohammed’s biliteracy is developing more slowly due to his language delay in his early years (individual development), school being predominantly in English (biliterate contexts) and his natural preference for English (content/media elements). With each blend and construction of new linguistic knowledge, each participant is forming and shaping their individual biliterate identity.

These participant vignettes provide a context against which chapter Six can be read. The next chapter constitutes the major analytical work of the study. Chapter Six comprises the remaining three major themes discovered in the study: choice and control; insecurity; and enthusiasm and interest in literacy. I use these three major themes to critically analyse the three themes discussed in this chapter: school related literacy practices; media, technology and popular culture; as well as children’s knowledge and uses of language.
CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Barton (2007) argues that literacy begins from everyday life and people make different uses of reading and writing. Additionally, under the New Literacy Studies, investigating vernacular literacies, or everyday literacies of multilingual participants outside the realms of power and influence have become increasingly important (Anning, 2003; Drury, 2007; Gregory, Long, & Volk, 2004; Haneda, 2006; Kenner, 2004; Marsh, 2003; Pahl and Rowsell, 2005). The purpose of this study was to examine the home literacy practices of six 5-7 year old multilingual participants. The investigation was guided by five research questions: (1) What are the home literacy practices of multilingual children in an international Qatar primary school? (2) What types of texts are they most interested in? (3) How are home literacy practices playing a part in their multilingual development, if at all? (4) How is agency playing a part in their multilingual identity, if at all? and (5) Are there any noticeable patterns across these studies in regards to their home literacy practices?

This chapter begins with a description of the remaining three themes: choice and control; insecurity; and enthusiasm and interest in literacy. The analysis portion of this chapter has three main sections; one for each major theme that emerged out of my grounded theory analysis from the previous chapter. I am using three additional categories discovered as lenses to look deeper into the three categories from the previous chapter. The three themes to be used as lenses are: choice and control; insecurity; and enthusiasm and interest in literacy. The inquiry lines were generated from the research questions. In the data analysis, I discovered these categories as
noticeable patterns across the individual case studies and previous three themes. The next section will define these three additional categories.

**Choice and Control**

As previously discussed in chapter Four, identity involves being associated with a particular social group at a specific time in history. Woodward (2004) states identity differs from personality because identity involves an element of choice. This element of choice then becomes an action and Woodward’s definition of agency applies. Woodward defines agency as “the degree of control which we can exert over who we are” (p. 6). Vygotsky’s (1978) concept of mediation as human action also relates to Woodward’s (2004) definition of agency since choice and control are actions.

Understanding agency and how it relates to identity with my multilingual participants was my fourth research question. Next, I discuss issues around choice and control found in the research from each of the key themes discussed in chapter Five and how this relates to the participants’ agency, or their way of mediating and controlling their multilingual identities. In each of the choice and control sections, I discuss the 259 coded instances that were identified relating to this major theme.

**Insecurity**

Hornberger (2003) clarified how the development continuum is not intended to lead to the interpretation that development is constant or slow. Instead, she states how development may occur in bursts and with some seemingly backwards movement. I argue here that just as the children are linguistically more aware because they have multiple languages, they are also more aware of their own biliterate development, with the same level of sensitivity. Due to this development sensitivity, multilingual children
and adults may feel insecure about the levels of one language over another in their repertoire at any given time. Therefore, their biliterate insecurities directly affect their biliterate identities. The inquiry into biliterate identities was explored in the fourth research question. With regards to insecurity, 217 coded instances were found. There were two patterns found under this major category including language insecurity (144 instances) and literacy insecurity (66 instances). I discuss these two main patterns in the major category of insecurity by using insecurity as a lens to discuss the three key themes found in Chapter Five.

Enthusiasm and Interest in Literacy

Research has shown that children are enthusiastic and interested in literacy when popular culture texts and artifacts are involved (Dyson, 2008; Marsh, 2003; Marsh and Millard, 2000). My research builds on this notion. 210 coded instances of enthusiasm and interest in literacy activities were found, although not all were related to popular culture. When the participants were discussing their free writing and drawing, different websites and games they played, they became animated while talking. The participants used gestures to help describe their actions, as seen in each of the sections below. Participants’ gestures helped me identify their enthusiasm and interest in literacy activities.

The next section outlines the key findings in the category of school related literacy practices through the lenses of: choice and control; insecurity; and enthusiasm and interest in literacy.
School Related Literacy Practices Analysed

Since discovering the home literacy practices of six multilingual children was the main research question, the prominence of school related literacy practices as a noticeable pattern in the coded instances is not surprising. However, it was discovered that the literacy practices of the participants varied depending on their grade level. All three first grade participants recorded school homework, in both English and Arabic, as part of their literacy practices during the week in their literacy journals. The school homework tasks ranged from reading books, completing worksheets or workbooks, Practicing handwriting to using the school’s wiki page. For example, Akari’s parents recorded that 2 hours and 10 minutes of her English literacy activities were directly related to her school homework, leaving 1 hour and 25 minutes of free choice English activities. Momo’s parents recorded that she spent 2 hours and 25 minutes of her English literacy activities completing her school homework, leaving 3 hours and 50 minutes of free choice English activities such as listening to stories or watching a DVD. Finally, Mohammed’s parents recorded that he completed 2 hours of school homework in Arabic with a tutor during the course of the week. However, Mohammed was reading books in addition to this, but it was unclear if this was assigned homework. None of the kindergarten participants, Alexander, Rose or Thomas, had homework in their literacy journals other than reading books sent home from the teacher. In addition to this was an example from Rose, whose father bought simple grade-level appropriate workbooks in the United States to help advance her English. The activities in these workbooks often involved matching and colouring. As discussed above, this desire for Rose’s dad to have her complete workbook activities in English are school-valued literacy practices that have been incorporated at home. All of the following extracts from the theme of school related literacy practices are examples of everyday literacy...
practices that are happening in the homes of six different multilingual 5-7 year olds in Qatar. Most of these practices are directly linked to school homework or to maintaining a language and learning to be biliterate.

These home literacy practices, reading books and completing homework, are in line with school related literacy practices that educational institutions often require families to participate in regardless of class or culture (Dyson, 2008; Gregory, Long and Volk, 2004; Marsh and Millard, 2000). Reading books at home is a prime example of the power social institutions have and how Western ideas of literacy have been imposed regardless of culture, cultural group or class. While some of these homework activities involved the use of technology, these tasks are what Lankshear and Knobel (2006, p. 54) refer to as “old wine in new wine bottles syndrome” where school literacy practices involve technology but without changing the essence of the practice in any way. For example, lots of the computer games from the school’s wiki page are skill-and-drill activities. Whether these activities are performed on paper or on a screen, they are not helping students to develop, critique, analyse or become technically proficient.

Regularly attending local community schools was also found to be part of two participants’ home literacy practices. Again, the parents decided that the participants would attend these schools, leaving little choice or control to the children. Akari’s parents reported in their interview that she attended Bahá’í School on Sundays and moral classes on Fridays. Additionally, Mohammed’s literacy journal and his parent’s interview recorded that he attended Dutch school for three hours on Wednesdays. This finding aligns with the multiliteracies perspective from the New London Group (1996) that acknowledges children are acquiring social and linguistic capital at community
schools in order to be part of their society. The findings were also similar to Creese et al (2007) who also reported that community schools were important contexts where participants learned their language as well as particular cultural traditions and histories. Additionally, Akari attending Bahá’í School and Rose studying the Qur’an are similar to recent research that show how religion and places of worship are important sites that attempt to pass on cultural values, traditions and literacy practices (McMillon and Edwards, 2004; Pak, 2003; Rosowsky, 2008).

In addition, different cultures had different levels of mother tongue homework to maintain at home in line with the third research question. The two Japanese participants had additional homework in the form of Japanese language workbooks and worksheets to complete in order to learn the characters at the same pace as their Japanese peers back in Japan. The prevalence of using workbooks and worksheets to aid the participants in learning their mother tongue was similar to findings in Kenner’s (2004) study. All of these school related literacy practices directly relate to Akari and Momo learning to be literate in Japanese.

Choice and Control

Drury (2007) emphasises in her study how young emerging biliterate children take control of their learning in both the home and school environments. Using resistance as a tool is one way in which children gain control back from adults and exert their own agency. Barton and Hamilton (1998) also documented in their study that children resisted their parents’ regulation of their reading and became secret readers and writers of their own desired texts. Boldt (2006) recorded how instances of resistance in her
young son while reading were mainly due to anxiety, fear, and needing to feel successful. Resistance has often been cited in research as being associated with oppression and hegemonic relationships (Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Boldt, 2006; Drury, 2007; Marsh and Millard, 2000).

The participants in my study had little choice or control over completing their homework, whether for school or to maintain their mother tongue. Additionally, my participants had little choice or control about whether or not they attended community schools. Therefore, when negotiating power struggles over school related literacies between children and adults, some of my participants used literacy resistance as a way of regaining control. For example, Mohammed’s mother stated, “He doesn’t like to read English books [...] as practice for school. His homework, he doesn’t want to do that ever.” His father reiterated this sentiment when he said, “No, the last thing he wants to learn is Arabic. [...] You have to push him really to study Arabic.” Additionally, his mother discussed how doing the Dutch school homework was too much since he was struggling at the international school and the Dutch school agreed to let him attend without completing any homework. Akari also expressed some resistance to her Japanese work when she said, “This is from Japan, and [...] you’re supposed to work from this, these books [...] and you have to read stories.” The phrases ‘supposed to’ and ‘have to’ alerted me to her resistance to do these literacy activities. Furthermore, Akari stated, “but I just do [...] reading and writing (in) Japanese, but sometimes I don’t do it.” The phrase, ‘but sometimes I don’t do it’ also seems to be an element of resistance. Momo’s mother also gave an example of how she needs Momo to cooperate with her and not resist when she is helping Momo with her English homework because her English is limited. During the following exchange I
had with Thomas, he displayed some resistance towards the Arabic books on his desk, even though they were not officially assigned school homework:

Misti: What are these? What do you do in these books? Do you learn Arabic?

Thomas: (Takes the Arabic book out of my hands and puts it back on top of the pile.) No, it’s for my dad. He just wants to keep it here.

In contrast to resistance, when the participants had free choice, they chose to read books, write and draw and did not resist these school related literacy practices because they had control. These participants are negotiating power struggles by choosing to resist homework and other school related literacy practices where they have little control. I argue here that these instances of literacy resistance resemble Boldt’s (2006) study where her son felt inadequate, angry and lacked self confidence in his literacy capabilities. These forms of resistance may be attempts by each child to resolve conflicts internally surrounding the social practice of learning to be literate and using schooled related literacy practices. In this manner, from the new literacies perspective, being literate is a potentially political and personal tool and any child, whether monolingual or bilingual, may encounter difficulties in their social worlds while trying to become literate in any language. Boldt (2006) determined that responding to such literacy resistance with restrictions, demands and punishments only creates a feeling of alienation and negative expectations.

Insecurity

In my research, there were 66 coded instances of literacy insecurity. The participants and their parents commented during the interviews on instances where reading and
writing was perceived to be weak. The parents of Alexander, Mohammed, Rose and Thomas all expressed that their children either had not started or had just begun learning to read and write in their mother tongues. All of the parents described how six years of age was the age in which learning to read and write began in their cultures. In contrast to this, both Akari and Momo had been learning to read and write Japanese for some time. This is another example of how literacy practices vary from culture to culture (Heath, 1983; Street, 2003).

Due to the international school context, all the children had started to learn to read and write in both English and Arabic using traditional school related literacy practices. Mohammed’s language delay had a significant impact on his literacy abilities and ultimately led to insecurity. His parents stated:

“I think his Arabic is a little bit I think below average. [...] He went to KG and he was very slow in starting to learn to read and to write and a weak student. And he passed KG but on probation, because especially because his reading was weak. And so he started now this year in Grade 1 on probation with extra help for reading, and it was very hard work; especially, I think the first semester with a lot of homework in English, homework in Arabic and homework in Dutch.”

At the international primary school Mohammed attended, the term ‘probation’ refers to the school identifying him as a child who needs additional support to be successful at school. This additional support includes in-class and/or pull-out support where he receives targeted instruction in his areas of weakness. Since the curriculum is so academically oriented in both Arabic and English, if a child is not showing any progress at all, they may be asked to leave the school after a full year on probation. A large number of international schools do not have any resources for teaching students with severe learning disabilities. It has been my experience that a large number of
international schools openly state that they do not cater for children with special education needs. However, it is clear that this additional stress from the international school led to his feelings of insecurity at home around school related literacy practices.

Other literacy insecurity issues were found as well. For example, Momo’s parents expressed how they cannot help with any Arabic homework because they do not speak, read or write Arabic themselves. Additionally, the participants liked their parents to be close by when completing English homework so they could ask their parents questions due to their own insecurities. For example, Akari’s father noted how literacy activities at home are usually undertaken in collaboration with family members. Her mother is directly involved with learning Japanese and her father states:

“We’ll sing prayers together in English and sometimes Italian, and also in Arabic. I mean when it comes to homework, how we combine is that I’ll often be there so she’ll be working on her homework, like her spelling, and I’ll be a resource for her to help her out with that.”

Momo’s dad also stated how Momo likes to “flood ideas” past him when she is doing homework and describes how “she sits on one side of the table and I sit on the other doing something else until she asks me a question.” Similarly, Thomas’s dad explained that while doing Arabic homework together sometimes Thomas says, “Daddy can you show me how to write?” Also, his dad explained that Thomas often asks for reassurance that his Arabic writing is correct. Again, the notion of syncretic literacy practices applies where home and school literacy practices meet in order to complete homework (Gregory, Long and Volk, 2004). Literacy practices from home and school are remixed with a language mediator, or parent, guiding the learning and the younger child prompting the experience mainly because of their insecurities around school
related literacy practices.

All of my participants revealed literacy insecurity around reading and writing during their interviews. For instance, Alexander stated that he preferred reading and writing in English because he is just learning to speak Slovak with his mother. Taylor (1994) reported similar findings of insecurities with his participants around the same age. Taylor (1994) also noted that children play an active role in bringing specific written literacy activities into the home and parents incorporated them into the life of the family because they were sensitive to the child’s response to schooled literacy activities. My participants’ families were equally sensitive to their child’s literacy needs and also incorporated schooled literacy activities into their everyday family routines. The adjustment of families to support literacy learning in all languages was also seen in Kenner’s (2004) research. Kenner (2004) describes biliterate families as operating as “literacy eco-systems” and they adjust their roles to assist in the children’s biliteracy development in order to ensure “their child’s educational success and the linguistic survival of their family and community” (p. 130). Barton (2007) states that to be literate is to be active and confident in the literacy practices you participate in. For my participants, their interactions within all of their social contexts had a profound influence on their self-confidence and, ultimately, their biliterate identity. It is vital for parents and educators to understand how sensitive young biliterates are towards their language and literacy abilities and help them to feel included, secure and valued within their homes and classrooms.

**Enthusiasm and Interest in Literacy**

There were two school related literacy practices that the participants were enthusiastic and interested in: books and their own free writing and drawing. However, the
participants were only interested and enthusiastic about books they chose themselves, i.e. their free reading books that were not associated with reading homework. Both of these literacy practices drew upon their media, technology and popular culture interests, therefore blurring the lines between school related literacy practices and media, technology and popular culture. For example, Rose explained how she enjoyed reading Barbie™ books, which mixes literacy practices from school with out-of-school literacy practices. Alexander shared another example when he showed me his Star Wars™ book. Again, the notion of syncretic literacy practices applies where home and school literacy practices meet and are remixed to create new literacy practices (Gregory, Long and Volk, 2004). Below is just one example of Akari’s enthusiasm for free writing and drawing:

Akari: Yeah. And this is an Ariel mermaid.
Misti: Did you use markers [...]?
Akari: *(The body is coloured green, the top is coloured purple and the hair is coloured red.)* Markers and pencil. And [...] so I wrote a song, it goes like this (Starts singing.) “The air goes up, the air goes down, the air goes up, we all fall down”. And there is no more of it.
Misti: Oh that’s good. OK. Do you ever do any writing like this in Japanese?
Akari: *(She is using both her hands to describe what she did. She is smiling and laughing.)* Sometimes [...] in Japan I used to do this. I used to write on a little piece of paper and put it in the mail box and I said “mum there’s mail” and I gave it to my mum and it said “I like you mum”.

In another example of enthusiasm for drawing, Mohammed stated, “This is like a drawing of [...] a police car. *(He was using his fingers to gesture.* It’s a Lexus and it’s like going [...] and this stopped and jumped on it and it’s in the sky.” Momo also showed enthusiasm for a tornado picture including a picture of her and her neighbour’s
house where her mother was yelling “Aahh”. She was interested in tornadoes because her class had been discussing weather at school. During her interview, Rose also discussed how she liked to draw with her next oldest sister and frequently did this at home. In all of the examples of free writing and drawing above, the participants drew from knowledge in their social worlds of home and school to create their texts. Therefore, their interest and enthusiasm in free writing and drawing was because of their social worlds and interests. Barton (2007) defines this as “intertextuality,” or the way that texts refer to the external world, common knowledge and also other texts, both implicitly and explicitly (p. 76). Vygotsky (1976) also emphasised how children’s literacy learning was directly linked to their participation in community activities.

From Mohammed’s example, we can see that Lexus police cars are part of his external world in Qatar. Dyson (1997) also reports how the participants in her study revealed that the act of writing was interconnected with social play. All of the examples above portray how each participant’s writing was interconnected with their social play.

**Media, Technology and Popular Culture Analysed**

Comic books, computer games, cartoons, popular television and movie characters as well as virtual worlds were all different types of popular culture texts that provided numerous literacy opportunities for these young children. These findings reiterate Kress’s (2003) results of how the screen is becoming the dominant place where texts are produced and language is no longer the prevailing mode for representation and communication in literacy. These participants were using multimodal texts where gesture, sound and image were equally as important as language for understanding literacy texts. The integration of more multimodal texts into school literacy practices as well as the inclusion of popular culture texts needs to be reconsidered in literacy
programmes around the world. The enthusiasm and interest that multilingual children have for multimodal texts is documented here as well as the numerous literacy affordances they can provide for young children learning to be literate. Below, I describe patterns of choice and control around media, technology and popular culture that occurred in my data.

*Choice and Control*

All of my participants reported watching DVDs, videos, movies and cartoons on television of their choice. Also, many popular culture artifacts were found in the participants’ homes that related to their television and film interests. Similarly to Marsh and Millard’s (2000) data, I also found that my participants’ shelves at home were filled with books and comics related to these television and film interests. In addition, other artifacts such as stickers, picture frames, games, writing journals, toys, bed sheets and posters were also found. Watching television and films in multiple languages was an advantage that technology afforded these young biliterates. As Marsh and Millard (2000) report, “television and film can enhance children’s oral skills” which ultimately have a positive effect on biliteracy, as previously discussed (p. 155). Marsh and Millard (2000, p. 156) contend that since television is a tool that the majority of children share, regardless of their cultures, it can offer occasions to develop collaborative talk between young children, through play or other structured activities. In addition, it provides opportunities for young children to share their cultural capital with one another and demonstrate that they have common interests with one another. Again, identity is belonging to a specific cultural group at a specific time, and using their cultural capital knowledge builds, as well as affirms, their identity.
My participants were also motivated to read and write texts that were related to their television and film interests, also similar to the findings in Marsh and Millard's (2000) study. For example, Alexander's writing activity in his literacy journal included a Star Wars™ crossword puzzle. Momo also used Winnie the Pooh™ writing journals and Cinnamaroll™ writing paper for her free writing activities. From all of the examples given in the vignettes, we can see that popular culture artifacts are important motivators for encouraging literacy activities in young biliterate children because they are directly linked to their interests from their social worlds.

In addition, the participants discussed using computers to go to popular websites, the school's wiki page as well as using Skype™ to keep in contact with extended family. Using Skype™ is a perfect example of new literacies and how new social practices are being formed involving new technologies (Lankshear and Knobel, 2006). For example, Akari stated, "I go on the computer to Skype™ to my mum and dad's...my grandma and grandpa." She discussed calling her grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins, living in both Canada and Japan, but that she usually calls Canada and Japan on different days. I interpreted this as being due to the time differences between Qatar, Canada and Japan. This particular example demonstrates how young children are participating in distributed social networks and developing new kinds of communicative practices with extended family members. Additionally, the availability to use more recently developed technology, such as the iPad™, was also recorded in my participants' homes. For example, during Rose's home visit before the interview, she and I played an air hockey game together on her iPad™ and she won every game. During her interview, Rose stated that her favourite game on her iPad™ was the air hockey game. Again, the motivation to use these technologies derived from their social worlds.
Furthermore, my participants’ choices of popular culture artifacts also seemed to be gendered. For example, all of the girl participants were interested in fairies, Hello Kitty, Disney princesses and Barbie™. On the other hand, the boys were interested in Star Wars™, Spiderman, Ben 10™ and Bakugan Battle Brawlers™. Barton (2007, p. 64) discusses how literacy is a highly gendered activity, even in today’s contemporary society. Additionally, my participants’ choices of games, whether conducted on a board or on a computer screen, seemed to reinforce their own genders, similar to findings in Marsh’s (2010) study of young children and play in virtual worlds, as discussed in chapter Two. For example, the girls were interested in websites such as PlayPink.com™ and Barbie Girls™ while the boys were interested in Y8 car games, Dragon Gamez™ and Sim City 4™. I believe that my participants were choosing to reinforce their own gendered identities with the use of these artifacts. In addition, these texts and artifacts provided numerous literacy opportunities for these young biliterates.

In addition to gender, the desire to be connected with a specific culture through popular culture artifacts was also found. For example, Momo and her mum mentioned ‘Doraemon’, who is a well-liked cartoon cat character in Japanese popular culture, in their interviews. Momo also had a Doraemon comic book that she was reading towards the end of her interview. Tamagocchi was another popular Japanese cartoon that interested Momo. In addition, Akari had a special Japanese Barbie™ on her dresser. Both Akari and Momo had Hello Kitty artifacts. While Hello Kitty is known worldwide, its origins are from Japan. From these instances, we can see the desire for Momo and Akari to also align their identity with Japanese popular culture.

There was only one negative recorded instance of choice and control surrounding media and technology. This occurred when Akari’s mum stated, “She does the internet
sometimes, not every day because you (Akari’s dad) are using the computer all the time.” However, most of my participants had their own computers and therefore, accessibility to media and technology was not an issue. I argue here that the socioeconomic affordances of living and working in Qatar added to the readily available funds for the participant homes being rich in technology.

Insecurity

As expected, there were no instances of insecurity recorded around the use of media, technology and popular culture.

Enthusiasm and Interest in Literacy

In addition to free writing and drawing, the participants were enthusiastic and interested in games and websites in line with popular culture research as discussed above (Dyson, 2008; Marsh, 2003; Marsh and Millard, 2000). Below is just one example of Momo’s enthusiasm for a screen picture she chose from a website she uses:

Misti: I saw this one which looks like it was Playpink.com™.
Momo: (Looks at the photo, and takes it out of my hands. She then uses her finger again to point directly onto the photo.) Yeah, you have to dress the girl up. And then choose the shoes.
Misti: Oh so you like dressing it up.
Momo: (Nods her head.) Yeah.
Misti: Can she do anything?
Momo: (Shakes her head.) No, just like[...] (She freezes in a pose here to show me the action. She goes back to pointing directly on the photo in my lap.) and she could even hold a [...] necklace or a
drink or a bag. *(She is using her hands to act out the words 'necklace' and 'drink').*

Misti: Oh so she could get handbags?

Momo: Mmm.

Misti: Could you give her pets?

Momo: *(Shakes her head, points to the picture, acts out the words 'hold them'. She shakes her head and laughs a little at the end.)* No, no the pets you just hold them. I tried to do it but it didn't work.

In addition, Alexander discussed how he plays car games on Y8.com™. Thomas also stated how he played rocket games and gun games on his LTPS Handy™. Mohammed also shared his enthusiasm and interest in gaming by stating that he plays Facebook™, Miniclip™ and Dragon Gamez™. When I asked him how he played Dragon Gamez, he replied:

“**Dragon Gamez™, [...] there are some(thing) like 4 rows and like there's like one car, one baseball, and fighting... loads. And then there's five of those so....and there are like games, every single day it change(s). So you go and check on these words, these words [...] You go on them with your mouse and (if) you don't click them, it will show you the picture and then if you like it you click it.”**

The findings of children being enthusiastic and interested in games and websites is not surprising since both of the digital surveys discussed in Chapter Two outlined the prevalence of computer games in 21st century homes (Marsh et al., 2005; Vandewater et al., 2007). Additionally, these games are of interest to them due to their social worlds. Kress (2003) discussed the ways these multimodal texts require children to analyse the meaning of specific signs, symbols and images, which are essential to each game. Gee (2007) argued that when children interact with video games and other
popular cultural texts, they are learning and internalising their learning. Marsh and Millard (2000) describe how the narratives of computer games are helping children learn about the structures and conventional features of narratives. In addition, computer games also produce related texts such as comics, books, and films which also provide numerous literacy opportunities for young children (Marsh and Millard, 2000). By drawing on the motivational characters and narratives of computer games in the classroom and children’s individual interests from their social worlds, teachers can provide critical links between children’s home and school literacy knowledge all whilst providing rich literacy experiences. These cultural resources have widely been ignored or shunned in schooled literacy. I am arguing that computer games are important cultural resources that can assist in the difficult process of learning to be literate across cultures regardless of race or class.

In this group of children, enthusiasm and interest for media and technology was prevalent, especially since multiple computers and other technology devices were found in their homes. In lieu of this finding, I argue that media and technology also afford opportunities for young biliterate children to develop the ability to learn to read images. Marsh and Millard (2000) contend that in order to become effective readers of the moving image, children must learn “to analyse camera angles and their uses, how lighting affects scenes, use of iconography, body language of characters and so on” (p. 152). In addition, Marsh and Millard (2000, p. 152) also suggest that children learn to analyse the target audiences for television and film in order to deconstruct the ideologies they represent. Finally, they suggest that children have the opportunity to produce media texts as well (Marsh and Millard, 2000, p. 152). This is in line with what Kress (2003) advocates with schools allowing multimodal text construction in order to allow other modes, rather than just language, to be represented. Allowing
media text production so different cultures can use different modes for their own interpretation and representation is also in line with the multiliteracies pedagogy from the New London Group (1996). With digital technology, these opportunities are becoming easier and my participants have all used digital video recorders at school, reflecting on what they had learned in different units in their classroom. As Wohlwend (2010) advises, literacy activities involving media and technology can provide excellent opportunities for children to participate in interactive and collaborative ways of producing widely distributed digital texts such as wikis, classroom blogs and podcasts. Jenkins (2009, p. 5) suggests that media and technology is serving to network the younger generation by offering children opportunities for personal development, identity cultivation and avenues for expressing themselves through these participatory literacy practices. Finally, Ito, et al. (2010) concludes that participatory literacy practices are strengthening the force of peer-based learning and adults should create spaces where interests and expertise can be shared equally between children and adults. From the evidence shown, my participants are developing the types of participatory literacy practices that Jenkins (2009) and Ito, et al. (2010) argue are necessary for 21st century learners to be successful in the future.

Finally, Momo and Thomas were also interested in comic books. Momo was interested in her Doraemon comic book and Thomas was especially interested in his Ben 10™ comic book since he chose that photo as one of the three photos important for my research. These particular comic books arose from television and media. I believe Momo was attracted to Doraemon because it linked her to Japanese culture and Thomas used the Ben 10™ comic book to reinforce his gendered identity. In their study of popular culture, both Dyson (1997) and Marsh and Millard (2000, p. 106) document the popularity of reading comics, especially boys, and how comics provided an early
introduction into reading for some children. Multimodality plays a key role in comics with both image and language intertwined. Marsh and Millard (2000, p. 105) also state that teachers tend to be prejudice against comics because teachers feel that looking at a predominantly picture oriented text tends to limit a child's fluency and critical reading skills. However, as Marsh and Millard (2000) point out, comics can play a part in developing critical textual awareness.

As evidenced above, all of the participants were interested in media, technology and popular culture texts and artifacts. Identity construction is about belonging to a particular social group at a particular time. This includes being identified as belonging to specific cultures, genders, and interest groups. My data reaffirms the important role that media, technology and popular culture plays in young children's everyday literacy lives by providing opportunities for literacy learning as well as opportunities for identity affirmation and construction. Next, I discuss the key theme of children's knowledge and uses of language through the three lenses of: choice and control, insecurity and enthusiasm and interest.

Children's Knowledge and Uses of Language Analysed

Certain aspects of identity, such as ethnicity, class and gender, are elements of our identity over which we have limited choices and control. However, Street (1994) suggested that literacy practices are entwined with identity because they are connected to certain social practices, behaviour expectations and role models. Identifying yourself as a member of a specific culture determines the world perspective and sign systems used to encode and interpret the world. Culture provides the tools, including
language and literacy, for organizing and understanding our worlds. Thus, learning and thinking are embedded in culture and dependant on cultural resources. As evidenced below, each multilingual participant's identity is positioned between language use and culture just as Hymes stated in 1996. My participants' choices around language use are helping them to form their biliterate identities. Kenner (2004) reports how young children switch between both spoken and written languages as a way of indicating and creating their identities. Moreover, Kenner (2004) states that interviews with young bilinguals suggest that they are capable of handing their co-existing identities and see their varied experiences as advantageous. My data also reveals that these young biliterates are very capable of handling their co-existing identities. They seemed at ease with their identities and acknowledged the reasons for their own preferences of one language over another.

Barton (2007) also describes how texts are also involved around identity construction. For example, Rose and her family construct a large portion of their identity around the Qur'an. Akari and her family are also constructing their identity when they sing or recite prayers from their faith. Language and culture are embedded within those texts. My participants illustrate how they use biliteracy to affirm themselves, relate to others around them and gain access to a broad range of cultural resources, both intellectual and emotional. Supporting the language preferences of young biliterates and building up their knowledge of language and literacy in those languages will result in the positive identity creation and cultural synthesis from all cultural origins. Additionally, using the natural language preference of young biliterate children to act as a springboard into literacy activities in their other languages may help with language transference.
Choice and Control

During the interview, I asked the participants directly which language or languages they liked listening to, speaking and reading/writing. The answers from these questions directly relate to this pattern and gave me a clear idea of which language or languages they preferred and chose. These choices show how the participants are mediating their language worlds and the multilingual identities they are forming with their own agency. Below, I show evidence of how language preferences (mediation and agency) are playing an important role in shaping each participant’s biliterate identity. I draw on data evidence from the photograph data, the literacy journals, observations and semi-structured interviews. Next I discuss data from this research, which suggests that participants used choice of language and resistance as another form of agency or as a degree of maintaining control of their multilingual identities.

Akari stated that she prefers listening to English because she understands it the most and she prefers to read and write in English and Japanese. Italian and Arabic seem to have little influence on her choices. For example, when asked about the languages Akari uses with her dad, she responded, “Umm...My dad tries to make me use Italian but I like to use English.” Her mother also gave an example of her language resistance by stating, “I tell her ‘you can say it in Japanese, why don’t you just speak it in Japanese, please’.” Therefore, Akari is choosing both English and Japanese languages as part of her biliterate identity, with a preference towards English. When negotiating
power struggles over language use between her and adults, Akari chose to use resistance as a way of regaining control. In regards to mediating where she comes from, Akari chooses to tell people that she comes from the United Arab Emirates because she was born there. However, she does not have a strong sense of where she belongs culturally. When I asked her where home was for her she responded, “I like Japan a lot.” When questioned further if she thought anywhere else was home, she replied, “I’ve forgot what Italy was like but when I was a baby I went there.” She did not mention Qatar as being her home even though she has lived here for the past four and a half years. She has some understanding that Japanese, Italian and Middle Eastern cultures are important to her, but no secure sense of her identity within these cultures. Alternatively, this lack of a strong identity could also reflect the family’s Bahá’í faith and the perspective that the world is one country.

Alexander, on the other hand, definitely prefers English although he enjoys speaking Slovak at home. One explanation for this preference for English comes from Alexander himself when he stated, “I learn [...] way more English than [...] Slovak because I spend more time in Qatar than (in) Slovak(ia).” Furthermore, his preference for English may be because he had not yet begun learning to read and write Slovak at home. When negotiating power struggles over language use between him and adults, Alexander used ‘choice of language’ as a way of regaining control. One example was where he chose to use English with his mother when he could say it in Slovak. In contrast to these examples, language resistance as an agency tool was not observed in Alexander’s case because his parents want his Slovak language to develop naturally without too much pressure. For example, his mother stated:
"I want to actually encourage them when they want to buy something, 'OK go there and ask them. If you don't know how to ask, I can tell you and you can (do it yourself).' I want them to learn practical things and encourage them to do (it) by themselves [...] all with confidence."

With regard to mediating where he comes from, Alexander chooses to tell people that he comes from England and Slovakia. He has a strong sense of where he belongs culturally and that his home is in Qatar. The fact that Arabic was only mentioned in the context of school, suggests that Arabic is not a strong influence on his identity. Alexander, therefore, is choosing both English and Slovak languages as part of his biliterate identity with a preference towards English. He understands that Slovak and English cultures are important to him because of his family.

Mohammed discussed a preference for Dutch for speaking, reading and writing during his interview; however his mother was present at the beginning of the interview and she felt as if she was influencing his answers. When looking at other data evidence, this seems to be the case. His parents described how he is more confident in his English literacy abilities even though he was struggling at school. His mother also stated how she felt that having three languages was holding him back because he struggles so much with any language. His Dutch and Arabic were both weak mainly due to his preference for English. His dad stated, “But for his Arabic, [...] because we live in Qatar and he is seen as Qatari, [...] he has no option but [...] to learn Arabic eventually; [...] fluently and confidently.” Additionally, Mohammed's parents do not feel confident speaking each other's language, so they choose to communicate exclusively in English to each other, even though they try to speak their mother tongue to their children. When negotiating power struggles over language use between him and adults, Mohammed used both 'choice of language' and 'resistance' as a way of
regaining control. One example was given how he chooses to watch cartoons only in English even though the Dutch and Arabic cartoons are available. Mohammed’s literacy journal also seemed to show a preference for English and both parents discussed this in their interviews. An explanation for this preference was discussed above with regards to his delayed language development. Resistance as an agency tool was used for both language and literacy activities, especially homework, due to the pressures of high academic performance at the international school. Therefore, Mohammed is choosing a predominantly English language identity with small amounts of the Dutch and Arabic languages included as part of his biliterate identity. In regards to mediating where he comes from, Mohammed chooses to tell people that he comes from Holland and Qatar. He has a strong sense of where he belongs culturally and that his home is in Qatar. He understands that Dutch and Qatari cultures are important to him because of family. During his interview, Mohammed was very proud to be Dutch and his favourite colour was orange since it is the national colour of Holland. His mother confirmed this and described how he recently told an older Dutch boy that he was from Amsterdam even though he does not have a home in Holland. When his mother asked him why he said he was from Amsterdam, Mohammed replied, “Because I’ve been there many times and [...] when we go to the Netherlands, we go to (the airport in) Amsterdam.” He has a very strong sense of identity being both Dutch and Qatari with ties to those cultures.

Momo stated that she enjoys both Japanese and English with a strong preference for Japanese because it is easy for her to speak and write. Arabic seemed to have little influence on her identity, even though she performed well at school. When negotiating power struggles between her and adults, Momo used resistance as a way of regaining
control. In regards to mediating where she comes from, Momo chooses to tell people that she comes from Malaysia because she was born there. When I asked her where home was for her she responded that Japan was her home. She did not mention Qatar as being her home even though she lived in Qatar for most of the year. She has a secure sense of her identity and it is associated directly with Japan and speaking Japanese. Therefore, Momo is choosing both English and Japanese languages as part of her biliterate identity with a preference towards Japanese.

When negotiating power struggles over language use between her and adults, Rose chose to answer with made up answers in her interview as a way of regaining control. For example, when asked about the languages she likes listening to and other languages that are her best besides Urdu, she responded both times with, “Spanish” even though this is not a language she speaks at home or at school. During her interview, Rose stated a strong preference for speaking Urdu, however, she preferred reading and writing in English. Rose’s parents confirmed that Urdu was her strongest spoken language but that English was her strongest language overall for reading and writing. This may be explained because she had not yet begun learning to read and write Urdu at home. In her interview, Rose stated that she could not speak Arabic. In regards to mediating where she comes from, Rose chooses to tell people that she comes from Pakistan. When I asked her where home was for her she also responded, “Pakistan.” She did not mention Qatar as being her home even though she has lived here for the past five years. She has complete understanding that Pakistan is important to her culturally. Additionally, Rose expressed how being Muslim and reading the Qur’an was also an important part of her identity. This reflects her family’s strong religious beliefs as well. Therefore, Rose is choosing both Urdu and English languages as part of her biliterate identity using her own agency to favour Urdu.
Finally, Thomas stated that he prefers speaking Spanish and English because his friends speak these languages; however, he sometimes speaks Arabic. When negotiating power struggles over language use between him and adults, Thomas used ‘choice of language’ as a way of regaining control. For instance, at school, Thomas refuses to speak Spanish even though some of the teacher assistants speak Spanish. Another example of this comes from Thomas’s father. In his interview, he discussed how Thomas chooses to answer in English when his father speaks Arabic to him. Additionally, Thomas questions his father whenever he tries to speak Arabic with him and asks, “Daddy, why are you speaking Arabic with me? Speak English.” I believe the pressure of high academic performance at the international school influenced his decisions. At school, Thomas wanted to be seen as being an English speaker at school, even though he understands some Arabic, although not to the high standard of reading and writing the school context requires. Thomas went on to state that he preferred speaking Spanish because it is easier for him. Furthermore, Thomas stated he preferred to read and write in English. One explanation for this is that he has not yet learned to read and write in Spanish at home due to his young age and he is just beginning to learn to read and write Arabic at school. In regards to mediating where he comes from, Thomas chooses to tell people that he comes from Spain. He has a sense of where he belongs culturally and that his home is in Qatar. Thomas was hesitant about his Arabic language abilities during his interview and this suggests that Arabic is not as strong an influence on his identity. He understands that the Spanish culture is important to him because of his maternal extended family. Additionally, he understands that learning both English and Arabic is important to him because his friends at school and extended family speak these languages. These findings reveal how Thomas is using language as a tool to negotiate his identity. Therefore, Thomas is choosing Spanish, English and
Arabic languages as part of his biliterate identity with a preference towards Spanish in contexts involving speaking to his mother and English in school and at home with his father and the nannies.

All of these findings reveal how each participant is using language as a mediation tool to negotiate his or her identity and enact agency in powerful relationships. Hornberger (2003) argues that the values placed on particular languages are not permanent, but are socially and culturally constructed. Each of my participants are enacting agency to form their identity and social contexts by choosing a particular language or literacy over another. Additionally, each instance of resistance is a chance to identify an area of inner conflict for the emerging biliterate and help them gain self-confidence in their biliterate abilities. Since Hymes (1996) discovered how identity is positioned between language use and culture, the study of language preferences and resistance of using certain languages becomes important when understanding the identities and inner feelings of young multilingual participants.

Insecurity

All of the participants in my study, including some of the parents, had some language insecurity issues which directly affected their multilingual identities. There were 144 coded instances of language insecurity in my research. With his extended family here in Qatar, Mohammed’s dad describes how Mohammed lacks confidence speaking Arabic:
"In Arabic yes definitely, it is confidence. He doesn’t feel confident and that’s why he doesn’t like it. But I know he wants to speak it and many times he […] wants me to speak Arabic to him, especially after we go with his cousins […] here in Qatar, my brother’s kids. […] He feels a little bit left out because they all speak Arabic. And sometimes, […] if he makes a mistake they might laugh at him, so he is a little bit sensitive.

In addition, all of the participants reiterated Kenner’s (2004) findings that code-switching occurred to maximise understanding between interlocutors. Alexander’s parents also described how Alexander understands both languages well, but he preferred to use English most of the time because he is insecure about his Slovak vocabulary. Additionally, Mohammed’s mother stated:

“He will start speaking in Dutch to me but sometimes his vocabulary is not sufficient; […] maybe he knows the words in Dutch if I say it to him, but he cannot recall it to say to me. When spoken to, he understands; […] it’s always easier to understand than speak a language. So he might speak a Dutch sentence with some English words because […] the first thing that springs in mind is the English word. And especially when it is things to do with school, because everything in school is in English, […] then it’s easier for him to say the English word.”

Both of Mohammed’s parents discussed how he also code-switches because his Dutch and Arabic vocabularies are weak and Mohammed prefers to use English, similar to the comments of Alexander’s parents. Additionally, Thomas’s dad discussed how Thomas preferred to use English with him rather than Arabic because his Arabic vocabulary was weak and he felt insecure. Momo’s parents both stated that she code switches prolifically during conversations, usually because she is insecure about how to say it in English, and reverts to Japanese to explore more possibilities and then switches back to English.
Momo had some additional language insecurity issues which directly affected her multilingual identity. For example, during her interview she stated that she found both English and Arabic "kind of difficult" to speak. Furthermore, Arabic was not mentioned in her interview other than completing homework. However, she was very confident in her Japanese and English reading and writing abilities and expressed at how easy they were for her. These reveal that learning Arabic is not as strong of an influence on her identity as English and Japanese. These examples all reveal how Momo is using language as a tool to negotiate her identity.

In contrast to the insecurity examples, all of the girl participants expressed confidence in certain language abilities that were reflected in their biliterate identities. For example, Akari said, "I like listening to English more because I understand it the most." Akari’s pride was also seen when she discussed how she sometimes knows Japanese constructs that her mother doesn’t know she knows. Additionally, Momo was very confident in her Japanese and English reading and writing abilities and expressed at how easy they were for her. Moreover, Rose expressed confidence in her Urdu language abilities, for example when she said, "I like to speak Urdu [...] because [...] my brother speaks Urdu, my mum speaks Urdu, my dad speaks Urdu, but my sister doesn’t, so I teach her every day." This confidence reflects the motivation these girls have for literacy activities. It also reveals how the families are supportive of their developing confidence in literacy activities.

As shown above, all of the children expressed having insecurities when speaking, reading and writing in at least one of their languages. As discussed previously, literacy relies heavily on spoken language and young biliterates need to feel confident when
speaking if they are going to feel successful when becoming biliterate. I feel that these instances of language insecurity are ways in which these young biliterates are expressing some difficulty with acquiring more than one language and are seeking reassurance and security. These young children experience profound emotion when adults ask them to take risks with regards to literacy; they understand that learning to read is a requirement and not a choice (Boldt, 2006, p. 273). Similarly, Drury (2007) observed how her young emerging biliterates were willing to take risks whilst playing with other children in safe contexts in the nursery where they were unobservable by adults. In this way, Drury’s (2007) participants demonstrated agency by minimising their risk-taking in response to adults’ expectations. However, Drury (2007) notes how young children’s interactions with adults in the nursery play an important role in the future of their success in the education system. The participants’ parents were all sensitive to their children’s feelings of language insecurity and helped them to gain confidence through listening to their worries and giving encouragement and reassurance when needed. Again, this reflects Gregory’s (2001) notion of synergy and how learning happens within and between people.

Enthusiasm and Interest in Literacy

Acknowledging similarities and differences between languages was another similarity between Kenner’s (2004) research and my own. Mohammed and Thomas enthusiastically discussed the similarities between their mother tongues and English with me during their interviews, as discussed above. When discussing differences, Akari acknowledged the different Japanese scripts and was able to differentiate them. For example, about her writing, she stated, “I did it in the first kind of alphabet. The first kind of alphabet is called Hiragana. And then the next one is Katakana, then
Kanji.” In addition, she was able to discriminate when writing was in Italian. Another example of enthusiasm and interest in language knowledge, comes from Alexander when he was describing the different sections of a DVD cover that were in Slovak and not English: “This part ‘Star Wars’ is not but that part is in Slovak. It says, ‘Klonové Vojny, at those Clone Wars’.”

The participants’ parents also described the similarities between the different written scripts. For example, Mohammed’s mother stated in regards to writing in Dutch:

“We have the same letters, not like Arabic. In Arabic, they have different scripts. So, he knows already how to write the (Dutch) letters. Because in English the letters are the same, so that is something he doesn’t need to learn, but the spelling of course is different.”

Rose’s parents also stated similarities between Urdu and Arabic. Her father stated, “It’s the same alphabet and the scripting is also the same, except Urdu has got a little more than what we have in (Arabic). [...] 7 more characters.”

Additionally, some of the parents described how the children initially had difficulties with directionality when learning to write in their different languages. For example, Mohammed’s mother stated, “When he started to learn to write, he (would) write English from right to left, or Arabic from left to right.” Momo’s mother also stated, “Because when she studied Arabic, Arabic (is written) from right to left, so she start(ed) writing English right to left.” However, all the parents stated that their children did not mix their languages now when writing. Code-switching while writing appears to happen at an earlier age than the participants studied here, but more research may need to be conducted in this area.
These findings around enthusiasm and interest in children’s knowledge and uses of language are aligned with Kenner’s (2004) findings that six-year-olds are capable of understanding different writing systems. In fact, Alexander, Rose, and Thomas were all 5 years old at the time of the research and may suggest Kenner’s findings may extend to five-year-old children. However, these three participants are only a small sample and more research may need to be conducted with five-year-olds in this area. Additionally, these findings reiterate Kenner’s findings that handling different writing systems stimulates language awareness. Considering that some of my participants spend very little time learning their mother tongues compared to the amount of time spent learning English and Arabic at school, it is incredible that these participants are beginning to understand the principles of Dutch, Spanish, Japanese and Slovak writing from such an early age. This suggests that language and writing awareness develops very quickly if young children are exposed to other scripts.

As part of mediating their different language worlds and showing their language knowledge, my participants borrowed grammar structures from one language to another similar to other biliteracy research conducted (Hornberger, 2003). I identified and described this type of grammatical ‘borrowing’ as a specific translanguaging skill, or cross-language skill, which is evident when young children are still trying to understand the structure of their different languages. This type of ‘playing’ with language was coded in 28 instances and specific examples are included in the individual vignettes. Finally, both Akari and Rose’s parents described that the children are able to produce grammatical structures that have not been taught to them in their mother tongues.
Hornberger (2003) draws from Heath's (1983) study when she states how children “learn to read and write through a heavy reliance on spoken language” (p. 16). This notion also holds true for multilingual learners (Hornberger, 2003). It is clear from these examples that my participants are making use of all their linguistic knowledge when they are code-switching, acknowledging similarities and differences between their languages and borrowing grammar of one language and inserting it into another. Hornberger (2003, p. 14) explains that within the ethnography of communication framework, communicative competence is the knowledge and ability of an individual to use language appropriately, whether spoken or written, in the language events in which they find themselves in any particular community. Hornberger (2003, p. 15) goes on to explain that for the biliterate individual, their communicative range depends on the reception-production continua, the oral language-written language continua and the L1-L2 transfer continua. Hornberger (2003, p. 17) argues that speaking, listening, reading and writing for the biliterate individual are all interrelated because they rely on comprehension, of both input and output. By making connections orally, my participants are progressing along the reception-production continuum. Additionally, improvement in any area of comprehension in one language transfers to other languages. For example, Hornberger (1998) reported that when Quechua-speaking children were taught in their first language as the medium of instruction, not only did their oral participation improve, but their reading and writing performance increased as well. Additionally, Hornberger acknowledges that code-switching, including loans and grammaticality, symbolises “highly competent, context-specific language use” (p. 14). Above are all excellent examples of how my participants are progressing through the oral-literate continuum and producing communicative competence in various social contexts around their knowledge and uses of languages.
Summary

In this chapter, I presented the results of my analyses, focusing on the three key themes used in the vignettes and discussing them through the lens of the remaining three key themes discovered. As examples in this chapter suggest, the home literacy practices of multilingual children and the texts types they are most interested in differ from family to family as well as from culture to culture. In addition, school related literacy practices contribute to the participants' exertions of agency and contribute to their multilingual insecurities. Recognising the important role that media, technology and popular culture texts and artifacts play in the lives of 21st century children may mean rethinking literacy curriculum in schools around the world. Finally, recognising and supporting the knowledge and uses of language multilingual children have in and around language use, both at home and school, will help them form positive biliterate identities. In the final chapter, I take up these issues. I also draw together the research questions and the findings, the limits of the research as well as future research implications.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis provides an account of the home literacy practices of six multilingual participants aged five to seven attending an international primary school in Qatar. By generating detailed accounts of their home literacy practices during the course of one week, the study aimed to add to similar research completed in the field in order to better understand the wider implications for literacy learning. Using an ethnographic case study design and grounded theory for analysis, I investigated the following research questions:

1. What are the home literacy practices of multilingual children aged 5-7 years old in an international Qatar primary school?
2. What types of literacy texts are they most interested in?
3. How are home literacy practices playing a part in their multilingual development, if at all?
4. How is agency playing a part in the construction of their multilingual identity, if at all?
5. Are there any noticeable patterns across these studies in regards to their home literacy practices?

All of the questions were considered primarily in chapters Five and Six. In this chapter, I briefly review the key findings from the research questions. Then, I share the limitations of the research. Finally, I envision implications for policy and research to be conducted in this area.
Summary of Findings from the Research Questions

One of the findings in my research was that when doing research in the home, the influence of the school context needed to be accounted for. This occurred mainly due to the high academic requirements of the international school curriculum and the influence of school related literacy practices in the home. I believe the contexts of school and home were important influences on the individual language development of the participants. Hornberger (2003) described three continua where biliteracy occurs, one of which is individual development. According to Hornberger, these three continua - biliterate contexts, individual development and content/media elements - are all interrelated. Hornberger explains how any development within one continuum depends and draws on the entire continuum. Hornberger (2003) states that the context in which language learning occurs has a significant impact on the transfer between languages, i.e. if one language is more powerful on the playground than another, parental support for the school and the languages, and the status of the languages in the wider community. My research builds on this notion of the importance of contexts and is evidenced through each of the key themes discovered in the research: choice and control; insecurity; enthusiasm and interest in literacy; school related literacy practices; children’s knowledge and uses of language; and media, technology and popular culture.

For example, school related literacy practices were readily discussed and recorded for each of the participants. Doing English and Arabic homework in the form of reading books, completing worksheets, workbooks, as well as working on tasks from the school’s wiki page were documented as the major school related literacy practices recorded. This is evidence of how the school context needed to be considered when doing research in the home. Furthermore, the three first grade participants stated that
learning their mother tongue language that was not part of the school curriculum was also a priority as a home literacy practice. These school related literacy practices also included activities such as using language workbooks, worksheets or attending a community school each week. However, all the participants had little choice and control, or agency, over these types of activity. This led to them developing insecurities around completing these literacy activities and had a negative impact on their own perception of how they were performing at school with regards to literacy.

The influence of the school seemed to be constraining their multilingual individual development due to the pressure of high academic performance in both English and Arabic. A more positive influence on their multilingual development seemed to be the school related literacy practices that were their own choice and related to their personal interests. These practices included reading books and free writing and drawing. The participants were enthusiastic about and interested in these literacy practices and spent a lot of their time discussing them.

Additionally, school related literacy practices were usually found in collaboration with other family members at this young age: parents, siblings, nannies or cousins. Collaboration in literacy activities in my findings was an important influence on the individual language development of my participants because they were often syncretic by nature. These results are similar to recent research findings of the important role that parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and domestic workers can play in the literacy development of young children (Gregory, Long, & Volk, 2004; Gregory and Williams 2000; Kenner, 2004; Mui and Anderson, 2008). My participants all had mediators other than their parents, such as siblings, cousins, friends or domestic workers, who helped them co-create contexts in which literacy was used and learned. This collaboration also lessened the insecurities each participant had around completing
the school related literacy practices, thus creating positive multilingual experiences and aiding their multilingual development. This reiterates Street’s (2003) findings that literacy is a social practice that begins from everyday life and differs from culture to culture.

More evidence of the influence of the school context in the home occurred in children’s knowledge and uses of language. The children were using ‘choice of language’ and ‘resistance’ when negotiating power struggles between themselves and adults at home. I believe they were more confident speaking one language over another due to their sense of biliterate identity. Some participants preferred speaking English rather than their mother tongues at home due to the amount of time they spent at school and verbalised this sentiment during their interviews. Others preferred speaking their mother tongues at home due to their sense of which culture they preferred being identified with, such as Momo, Rose and Thomas. However, most of the participants were better at reading and writing in English rather than in their mother tongues due to the amount of time they have spent in the international school context where English was the medium of instruction. The exception to this was Momo, who was becoming equally biliterate in both English and Japanese, due to the amount of time spent at home learning Japanese as well as her previous Japanese school experiences from a young age in both Japan and Singapore.

Their insecurities around their knowledge and uses of language at home and at school were mainly around the language where their spoken vocabulary was weaker. That is why I believe each of the participants felt more secure speaking certain languages in one space, such as home, than in another space, such as school. I feel that these
instances of language insecurity are ways in which these young biliterates are expressing some difficulty with acquiring more than one language and are seeking reassurance and security. The participants’ parents were all sensitive to their children’s feelings of language insecurity and helped them to gain confidence through listening to their worries and giving encouragement and reassurance when needed. The support and encouragement by the parents was positively adding to each participant’s multilingual development in the home. Again, this reflects Gregory’s (2001) notion of synergy and how learning happens within and between people.

Furthermore, each participants’ knowledge of their different writing systems had positive effects on their multilingual development. The participants were proud and enthusiastic when explaining their similarities and differences to me. Their ability to tell me the similarities and differences between their languages, to code-switch confidently between interlocutors, and to borrow grammar structures from one language to another is all evidence that these young participants have confidence in their language abilities and are becoming biliterate. While issues of insecurity were found relating to becoming biliterate, I conclude that this is because of the influence of the school in the home with high academic expectations as well as a natural occurrence since becoming biliterate happens on a continuum where contexts, individual development and content/media elements are so dependent on each other.

The use of media, technology and popular culture created positive experiences and numerous literacy learning opportunities for these young biliterates regardless of the influence of the school in the home, i.e. playing games from the school’s wiki page. The children had complete choice and control and chose to use these texts in line with
their own interests in order to affirm their identities. Their choices were gendered and included television interests and specific cultural interests. The participants were completely confident using these texts and no insecurities around these texts were found. In addition, the children were interested and enthusiastic about using media, technology and popular culture texts and spent a large portion of their interviews talking to me about them using gestures and becoming animated when explaining them to me. The availability of technology and media due to living in a wealthy country, such as Qatar, was shown in my study to extend to their family vehicles and also some of the families were using recently developed technology, such as the iPad™. Additionally, my participants were participating in distributed social networks and developing new kinds of communicative practices with extended family members through the use of Skype™. Moreover, technology, media and popular culture texts enabled my participants to start developing participatory literacy practices, in line with other research (Ito, et al., 2010; Jenkins, 2009; Wohlwend, 2010). My research aligns with other research that indicates that popular culture plays an important role in children’s home literacy practices and its omission from school curricula may need to be reconsidered (Dyson, 2008; Marsh, 2003; Marsh and Millard, 2000). In the next section, I discuss the limitations of my research.

Limits of the Research

One of the major limitations of my research is the time I spent with the participants in their homes and it is why I do not call this body of research a full ethnography, but, instead, it draws on an ethnographic perspective. Due to time and scheduling restraints and efforts to not to impose on the participants and their families, I was only able to visit each participant on one occasion at their homes, even though I had a relationship with them during the school day. Additionally, for some of the fathers, it was the first
time I was meeting them and therefore, I did not have time to build up that particular relationship over a significant period of time, as Agar (2008) suggests is needed for ethnography. Additionally, the case study design is most useful when conducted over a lengthy period of time, which was also not done here. In order to overcome this limitation, I used multiple data collection methods so my interpretations do not rely strictly on the participant interviews. In addition, I used my participants as co-researchers in order to portray their perspectives of their understanding on the world around them, in line with an ethnographic perspective approach. Additionally, I used a combination of modes to gain insight into their multilingual worlds.

Another limitation of my research was related to how I used purposive sampling to choose my participants. Purposive sampling was used in order to ensure the likelihood my participants would participate in the research and that the participants would fall within the boundaries outlined in my case study requiring the acquisition of three or more languages. However, using non-random purposive sampling severely limits the representativeness and generalisability of my research (Mackey and Gass, 2005). Therefore, I have carefully linked my results to other similar studies and have been careful not to link my findings to the general population.

Additionally, there is a danger in ethnographic research methods that Delamont (2002) describes where the researcher 'values the views, perspectives, opinions, prejudices and beliefs' of the participants and 'takes them seriously' while understanding that participants 'may lie or be deluded or misinformed themselves' (p. 7). This was evidenced when Rose's first round of photographs were staged. There is a danger in any research that when participants are used as co-researchers, they may fabricate data or respond with an answer they think the researcher wants to hear. This includes the
notion that in my research, the literacy journal data is not truly reflective of one week in my participants' lives, as the parents filled out the journal themselves. The participants' parents may have inflated the amount of literacy taking place during the week or conversely, forgotten to write down a literacy activity. Also, the participants' choices of photographs may have been influenced by others. However, ethnographers must take whatever data is presented as true unless participants admit otherwise and use triangulation of data as a way to support any interpretations and findings in the research as discussed below (Agar, 2008; Lankshear and Knobel, 2004).

Finally, ethnography and ethnographic approaches to research have been widely disputed due to the subjectivity of interpretation and the fact that research accounts are only a representation of reality (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). However, by stating my positionality in the research and using grounded theory as a basis for my analysis, I allowed the data to speak for itself rather than impose my own biases upon the interpretation. Additionally, to ensure the validity of my research, I employed the use of participant checks and asked colleagues and professors to be my critical friend and question my assumptions and interpretations of the data. Furthermore, a colleague helped me ensure that my interpretations of the data were reliable. She coded one interview after I gave her my categories with an inter-rater reliability above 80% after a discussion of our differences. Finally, I ensured the trustworthiness of my study through sufficiency and rationality. Lankshear and Knobel (2004) relate sufficiency to the amount of data collected and the quality of evidence to support the interpretation. I feel that an adequate amount of data was collected and that in Chapter Six, I support my interpretation of the findings with quality evidence, mainly coming from the participants themselves. Finally, the interpretations of my study prove to be defensible
due to the sound explanations of the findings in the data and drawing conclusions based on evidence from all aspects of the data.

Implications for Policy and Research

While curriculum and pedagogy were not the main concerns of my study, my focus on the home literacy practices of young multilingual children does have important implications for curriculum, especially in international schools or in schools where there is an increase of second language learners due to globalisation. Throughout this thesis, I have drawn on the works of researchers and theorists including Street (1984; 2003), the New London Group (1996), and Barton (2007) in an effort to understanding better the vital role young children’s home literacies play in the development of their biliterate identities, since literacy is a social practice. The notions of mediation and agency have been seen as powerful tools for my participants for negotiating their competing and interconnected identities. In this section, I briefly explore what significance this might have for language and literacy teaching and learning in a globalised world.

Earlier, I suggested that there is a possibility that the range of literacies being utilised at home by multilingual learners are often invisible or ignored by powerful social institutions, such as schools, and often result in teachers viewing these children as at-risk or inadequate (Anning, 2003; Barton, 2007; Drury, 2007). In this study, the participants were engaged in a wide variety of literacy activities at home, including spending a large amount of time developing languages that were not catered for at school. Some of the activities involved replicating schooled literacy practices, such as reading books and completing homework. However, the participants were most enthusiastic about their out-of-school literacy practices which afforded these young
children many literacy opportunities, such as free drawing as well as using media, technology and popular culture. Additionally, the participants were more confident and revealed no insecurities while using these texts. Since the influence of the school in the home was prominent in my study, I suggest that we need more influence of the home in schools. By conducting more research and gaining insight to the motivational draw these types of texts are having for young children while affording literacy opportunities in multiple languages, schools may start including these types of texts into the literacy curriculum rather than viewing them as forbidden. In addition, recognising that their involvement with media, technology and popular culture is helping them to develop participatory literacy practices that are needed for 21st century learners to be successful is important. This should require adults, such as parents, teachers and educators, to create spaces where interests and expertise can be shared equally between children and adults. In order to create such spaces, I suggest that educators have media, technology and popular culture texts readily available for reading and writing in the classroom. Using comics, virtual worlds, and other popular culture texts, such as Ben 10™ books or Barbie™ books in the classroom, would encourage reading while allowing the children to share their interests and enthusiasm. These items could also be dual language texts or mother tongue texts that the children bring from home in order to decrease their insecurity in the school space around having a different language to others and increase their confidence in their language abilities. In addition, while teaching writing, teachers should allow children to incorporate their favourite characters and remix ideas from stories, virtual worlds, programmes and movies that they know in order to create a new text. Moreover, using virtual worlds as a multimodal writing prompt, e.g. the Myst™ series or Epic Citadel™, can engage children with multiple senses and enrich their descriptions within their writing. This
will increase their enthusiasm and interest in writing; thus, increasing their vocabulary and enhancing their writing skills.

Recognising the amount of time young multilingual children are spending at home on a variety of literacy activities in collaboration with parents, siblings, extended family and others, such as domestic workers, may reduce the need for social institutions to feel under pressure to give homework. My participants spent a minimum of five hours per week engaged in literacy activities at home with their family members. This involved learning different social practices and negotiating different identities within their home context, all while improving their biliteracy development. Recognising that multilingual children are constantly negotiating their identities through language use and culture, incorporating a more ‘ideological’ model of literacy which is more culturally sensitive and addresses power relations within different social situations would be beneficial (Street, 1984). One example from my study reveals that learning Japanese outside of school requires a lot of extra time and dedication to learning to read and write different Japanese characters and scripts, which may require schools to reduce homework for these children in English in order to help them fully develop their mother tongue.

In addition, more research needs to be conducted with five-year-olds on their understanding of different writing systems as an extension of Kenner’s (2004) study. My study indicates that my five-year-old participants were aware of similarities and differences between their languages as well as their writing systems. One important factor to consider with the five-year-old participants in my study is that they all started our school at the age of three and this may have played a role in their understanding of different writing systems. Conducting more research with multilingual five-year-olds
in different cultural contexts would be beneficial to determine if they can understand
different writing systems from such a young age.

Furthermore, conducting research with biliterate participants requires researchers to
join together the fields of literacy and bilingualism in order to understand the complex
issues surrounding their identities. Realising that becoming biliterate has just as much
of an impact on cognitive development as their social and emotional development and
that joining these two fields of expertise is beneficial for understanding the whole
participant’s development process is important for researchers.

My thesis on the home literacy practices of six multilingual students in Qatar adds to
the vast body of research conducted in both areas of literacy and bilingualism. One
contribution of my work is the context of the research in a middle-to-upper-middle
class setting in Qatar. Qatar is one of the richest countries in the world and the
resources for the parents to buy new technologies as soon as they are released, such as
iPads™, is a definite advantage for all the parents of living and working in Qatar.
Another distinctive quality of my study is the participants attend an international school
where the medium of instruction is English and the majority of the students are
becoming biliterate in at least two languages. Very little literacy research has been
conducted to date in international primary schools. Finally, there is the unique finding
in my study that suggests five-year-olds may understand their different writing systems
and this is an extension of Kenner’s (2004) research.

In conclusion, the home literacy practices described in this study represented six young
children’s attempts to negotiate their biliterate identities and mediate their social
worlds. Even though this study focused on the home context, evidence of the influence
of the school context was prevalent throughout the thematic analysis. The participants’ insecurities were directly related to their lack of agency with regards to their home literacy practices. As a way of regaining power, the participants used choice and control of languages spoken with adults. Media, technology and popular culture was found to provide numerous literacy opportunities for these young biliterates. Additionally, since the participants had complete agency over these types of texts, their enthusiasm and interest was widely documented, with no insecurities found. All of these literacy practices were helping the students form their biliterate identities with numerous positive experiences found as well as some constraining ones. Negotiating biliterate identities is complicated and at the same time, individual development is fragile. In order to help young biliterates form positive identities and have enthusiasm for literacy, parents and educators must supply young biliterates with positive language and literacy experiences, develop sensitivity to each child’s perception of his/her individual development and encourage the interests of young biliterates with regards to media, technology and popular culture texts.
REFERENCES


Appendix A: Literacy Journal

The aim of this journal is to investigate your child’s literacy activities at home and to see how his/her multilingual abilities play a part in his/her literacy development, if at all, at this age. I have given an example of the kind of log you may wish to keep, although of course you could provide more/less detail than the example given. Thank you for taking the time to fill in this journal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Literacy Activity</th>
<th>Type of Text (i.e. book, magazine, written, cards, screen)</th>
<th>Language of Text</th>
<th>Duration of Activity</th>
<th>Brief Description of Your Child’s Activities (Including details of interactions with other people around the texts)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17th March</td>
<td>Reading a comic</td>
<td>Comic</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>20 mins</td>
<td>Sally brought her ‘Disney Princess’ comic to me (mum) and asked me to read it with her. We sat down together and I read a few stories to her, asking her questions and talking to her about the stories, all in English. She was very engaged. She then ‘read’ a story to me by re-telling it and pointing to the words as she retold the story.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

© Date

Type

of Text

Language

of Activity

Brief Description of
Your Child’s Activities
Appendix B: Directions for Taking Pictures

You can take pictures of anything with words or writing. For example:

- writing
- books
- newspapers
- screens
- cards for games
- magazines
- drawing
Appendix C: Parent Interview Questions (Semi-structured)

Preamble: Hi __________. As you know, I am currently doing a research study on your son/daughter, __________, to find out how his/her multilingual abilities are playing a part in his/her literacy development. First of all, I just want to thank you again for taking your own personal time to help me with this research and for taking part in this audio interview. Now I would like to ask you both some questions about __________ and his/her literacy development.

1. What is __________’s date of birth?

2. Where was he/she born?

3. Which country are you both from?

4. How long have you lived here in Qatar?

5. Have you ever lived anywhere else? If so, how long?

6. It is clear that you both believe being multilingual or biliterate is important. Why?

7. What language or languages does each of you speak with him/her at home?

8. Do any other family members speak any other languages with him/her?

9. Are there any other languages that he/she can understand or speak?

10. Is he/she reading and writing in any of these languages?

11. What language or languages would you consider to be his/her strongest? Why?

12. How would you describe his/her multilingual abilities?

13. Can you describe some of the everyday literacy practices that you yourselves are involved with around the home? (i.e. newspaper/ magazine/ book reading, list making, etc.)
14. Can you describe some of the everyday literacy practices that _____ does around the home?

15. How do you use the different languages in these everyday literacy practices?

16. Are there times when you code switch between languages when, for example, when discussing books with _____?

17. Are there times when _____ code switches between any of his/her languages?

18. Can you give me some examples of times where _____ has been reading or writing in his/her three languages?

19. In your opinion as his/her mother and father, how do you think his/her multilingual abilities are playing a part in his/her literacy development?

20. Is there anything else you would like to share with me about _____ and his/her multilingual literacy development?

21. Any additional thoughts?

Again, thank you so much for taking part in this interview. I will let you see my results as soon as I have them. Thank you again for your time.
Appendix D: Participant Interview Questions (Semi-structured)

Preamble: Hi ______. I want to ask you some questions about your home literacy activities, your languages and the pictures you helped me take for our research. First, let me ask you, is it ok if I video you? Great!

1. What languages do you know how to speak?

2. Which languages do you speak in your home?

3. Which languages do you like the best? Why?

4. When you do reading and writing at home with mum, which languages do you use?

5. When you do reading and writing at home with dad, which languages do you use?

6. When people outside your family ask you where you come from, what do you say?

7. Where is ‘home’ for you?

8. Which languages do you like listening to? Why?

9. Which languages do you like speaking? Why?

10. What about when you are reading and writing? Why?

11. Which language or languages do you think are your best? Why?

12. What kinds of literacy things do you like to do here at home? Remember, literacy is those things like reading, writing, drawing, playing card games, etc.

13. Which languages do you use to do those things?

14. Do you have a writing journal here at home? (If so) Can I see it?
15. I see that you do drawing and writing for fun here at home sometimes. Can you show me some of the things you write and draw?

16. Do you ever do any writing in other languages? Can you show me?

17. Let's look at the photos you took when you were helping me do the research on the things you do at home with reading and writing. Which one is your favourite? Can you show me and tell me about it?

18. What is this picture? (etc.)

19. Do you ever go to any websites? (If so) Which ones? What languages are the websites in?

20. And this one... (etc.)

21. Which pictures do you think is most interesting for our research together on how you use your languages at home for literacy? Why?

22. Is there anything else you would like to share with me about your languages and your reading and writing here at home?

Thank you, __________, for your time to talk to me about all your wonderful literacy activities. You are wonderful at sharing your ideas. Thank you very much. I think you can press stop now on the recorder.
Appendix E: Home Tour Notes Example

Thomas’s Home Tour Notes

- Lives in a huge, 3-story villa in an exclusive area of Doha.
- Thomas’s room (from his interview): His room is next to his mum’s room. There is a child’s painting over his dresser and a huge Spiderman poster over his bed. In fact, all of his bed sheets and duvet are Spiderman. He has a Spiderman computer that is for playing Maths games. He also has a Spanish Mickey Mouse game. He has a standalone PC with a printer, a digital camera and a handheld game console. He also has a Spiderman doll and pencil case. He has a play musical guitar. He has a big fluffy cow pillow on his desk chair that spins. He has lots of Spiderman stickers on his wardrobe door. He has lots and lots of teddy bears. On his bookshelf, he has lots of English and Spanish books with a few Arabic books. He has lots of games: alphabet, maths and it looks like he has a Spiderman computer game. He has at least 4 watches, the game ‘Risk’ and a stuffed ‘Nemo’ toy fish. He also has lots of art books, paints and pens for drawing in the bookshelf. On his desk were some books from home and school including a Qur’an, some animal books and a book about stars.
- We started the tour on the 2nd floor coming out of Thomas’s room.
- Parents bedroom: has a huge 4 poster bed with lots of pillows and looks like a silk type of fabric. There is a chaise lounge in the room as well. Colours are gold, yellows and champagne.
- To the left of their bedroom is a family room with a bar area to the left. The bar has a gold grape design on the front. This sitting area has a large Persian-like carpet on the floor. There is a large flat screen TV hanging on the wall with a speaker system hanging on the wall below it. There is a big, gold carved glass coffee table in the middle surrounded by a French-style claw couch. Next to the TV, it looks like there is a DVD and a games console on the wooden table. There are two tall glass vases on each side of the TV. There is a gold table with the telephone between the sitting room and the bar with two French-style claw chairs on either side. Also, behind the couches is a big gold bookshelf with family pictures and lots of books.
- Off the family room is a guest room and a bathroom. The guest room has a big double bed in it. There are lots of clothes in this room. It looks like it is used as an extra wardrobe.
- In the middle, behind the living room is the winding stone or marble staircase with a wrought iron and gold handrail. There is a carpet going up the middle of the stair case.
- On the opposite side of the house to the parent and guest room is a huge balcony.
- There is also another guest room here with two large double beds inside.
- There is also the dad’s office. Inside is another big Persian style carpet on the floor with a brown leather sofa. There are also two chairs with brown velvet and feather cushions. There is also a massage table in the middle of the room. There is a small ensuite bathroom attached to the office.
- Upstairs, the third floor is small and mainly used as a storage space for extra toys and clothes. There is also a rooftop terrace.
• There is a big, gold candelabra hanging from the top floor all the way down to the ground floor.

• Downstairs on the ground floor contains the kitchen, the formal living room, the formal dining room, a couple of bathrooms and a small family room.

• The kitchen has a big aquarium in the corner. There is a big curved couch around a round glass table. There were three Filipino nannies sitting there eating lunch after having cooked and served us lunch. The kitchen is big and open plan with three large workable countertops, one of which sticks out into the middle. The countertops are in the shape of a backwards capital E. Along the wall to the left are the appliances that seem to blend into that space so they are not noticeable.

• The large formal dining space seats 10 people quite comfortably. The chairs are red velvet.

• The large formal living room is to the right of this and it is all open plan design. Again, it is very elegantly decorated with lots of red and gold accents and furniture.

• There is another informal TV room near the kitchen. There is a six seat table, a two seat couch with two sofa chairs to match on either side with a round marble coffee table in the middle. Additionally, there is another flat screen TV on the wall.

• There is a pool and terrace off the formal living/dining area.

• Outside the kitchen area is a large stone built-in grill with a garden area.

• All over the house are gold accents, ornate wood furniture and carved mouldings. There are also lots of flower vases of all different shapes and sizes.
Appendix F: Example of Transcribed Interview with Gestures Included

Mohammed Video

Q  Hi Mohammed, I'm going to ask you some questions about your home literacy practices, activities, your languages, and the pictures you helped me take for our research. So let me first ask you, is it OK if I video you?

M  OK. (Looking at the camera and standing up.)

Q  Yeah? OK, good, great. What languages do you know how to speak?

M  English, Arabic and Holland. (Looking down and counting on his fingers as he is talking.)

Q  Dutch?

M  Dutch, yeah. (Looking at the camera.)

Q  OK. And which languages do you speak in your home?

M  (Looking at his mum who was across the table.) Most Arabic and Holland.

Q  OK. And do you speak English at home?

M  A little.

Q  A little, OK. And which languages do you like best?

M  Holland. (Looking at smiling at mum.)

Q  Dutch?

M  Yeah. (Looking at smiling at mum.)

Q  You mainly like Dutch. Why?

M  It's much easier to...like it's you hear easier and you can speak better and you learn easier. (Starts to sit, glances at mum, uses his hands to talk and looks at me.)

Time 1:00

Q  OK, and so you like that better than English?

M  Yeah.

Q  OK. And you like it better than Arabic? Yeah. (Mohammed shakes his head yes and then smiles and looks at mum.) OK. And when you do reading and writing at home with mum which languages do you use? (He glances at mum.) You might use more than one.

M  Erm (Looking at mum and mouthing something to her.) .....I do all three of them. (Using his hands, looking at me and then glances at mum at the end.)

Q  You do all three?
M Yeah.

Q With mum?

M Yeah.

Q OK. (Mohammed is trying to say something to his mum without me knowing at this point and smiling.) And when you do reading and writing at home with dad which languages do you use?

M Just Arabic. (Smiling and glancing at mum.)

Time 1:35

Q Just Arabic, OK. And when people outside your family ask you where you come from what do you say?

M Holland and Qatar and (looking down).....that’s all.

Q OK. And where is home for you? If somebody said “where is your home” what would you say?

M Near TV Roundabout. (Looks around and then looks at me.)

Q Near TV Roundabout, OK, Qatar, good. And which languages do you like listening to?

M (He is glancing towards mum.) Erm.....English.

Q You like listening to English? (I encourage him to sit.)

M Yeah. (He is looking directly at the camera.)

Q OK, why?

M Because like.....(looking around.) you can (glancing at mum)....also (looking up).....it’s hard to explain. (get’s a puzzled look on his face but still smiling.)

Q I know. Can you try? Why do you like listening to English?

M (He glances at mum and then looks down.) Maybe (looks at me) I think (looks down and to the right).....that it's very.....it’s like you have.....I like the words with silence even, so I like also the words like...go, see, a.....words like see.....and it says “s” like different words going magical. (looks at me and then shrugs his shoulders like ‘I don’t know’.)

Time 3:00

Q OK. So you mean like when you see like new words, like “see” and then it becomes “sees”....

M And “s” actually, it sounds like “s”. (Looking at me.)

Q OK. So you like the “s” sound in English?

M Yeah.

Q OK. And which languages do you like speaking?
M  (Looks at his mum.)  Netherlands.

Q  Dutch, yeah OK.

M  Dutch, yeah.  (Mum gets up and goes away here—later she told me she thought that by her being there she was influencing Mohammed’s answers.)

Time 3:42

Q  OK, why? Why do you like speaking Dutch?

M  Because....don’t know.....like people like to speak and they use it at home and most times, so because it is nice language. (Looks at the camera.)

Q  OK. And what about when you’re reading and writing, which language do you like to use?

M  English.

Q  English, why?

Time 3:59

M  (Looks at the camera.)  Because like it’s easier to write. (Looks me and down.)  In Holland it’s like same but also I like it, easier also and it’s like the same letters.

Q  And so you can use the same skills from English and Dutch. So you like reading and writing Dutch and English?

M  Yeah. (Looks at the camera.)

Q  OK. And which language, or languages, do you think are your best? What’s your best language?

M  Erm... (Looks down, scratches his eye and looks to the right.)  Nederland. Holland. (Not looking at the camera at all here.  Looking away.)

Q  Dutch. OK, why? Why do you think that’s your best?

M  Because like it’s easy. It’s like....it’s like English, you think and there’s no magic “e” so you think it is like “e”, “i” and “s”..... (Looking at the camera.)

Q  So the rules in English are harder. So you like reading and writing in Dutch?

Time 5:00

M  Yeah. (Looking directly at me and smiling.)

Q  OK. What kind of literacy things do you do here at home? What kinds of things do you do with reading and writing, or even looking, speaking and listening?

M  Erm... (Looks to the right and then looks at me.)  I listen to like some games (looks towards the computer room), what they’re saying.

Q  What games, where?
M: On the (looks and starts to gesture to the computer room)....like on the computer.

Q: Oh, what games do you like to play on the computer?

M: Facebook and Miniclip and Dragon Games.

Q: Oooh Dragon Games, cool. So do you know what the website is for that? Is that Miniclip?

M: Yeah.

Q: OK. And how do you play the Dragon Games?

M: (Starts to use his hands now to demonstrate how to play the game.) Dragon Games, that's like there are some like 4 rows and like there's like one car, one baseball, and fight? loads, and then there's five of those so....and there are like games, every single day it change. So you go and check on these words, these words, they first you.....you go on them with your mouse and you don't click them, it will show you the picture and then if you like it you click it. (Looking directly at me while he is talking at the end.)

Time 6:23

Q: OK, cool. And do you play games on Facebook?

M: Yeah.

Q: What games do you play?

M: Restaurant City, er..... (Looks up.) I just...

Q: What about Petville, or Zooville? No?

M: I just play Restaurant City, I'm more.....

Q: And do you talk to your friends on Facebook?

M: Yeah.

Q: Are there friends from your class and friends from Holland on Facebook?

M: Just Holland and my friend....friends.

Q: OK. And do you do any like reading and writing here at home, or drawing?

M: Mmm, drawing yes (Looks at the camera.) And writing, yeah. (Looking around.) Reading, sometimes.

Q: OK, do you ever play any card games like Pokemon or.....

M: Yeah, yeah. (Nods head enthusiastically.)

Q: What kind of card games do you play? Or games? I saw you had a Star Wars game I think, and Monopoly?

M: Yeah Monopoly, I do that one. (Looks at me and smiles.) And also.....also Catchers (Raises eyebrows when he looks at me. Looks around while he is thinking) and
there’s another kind of Catchers it’s different than the.... *(he stands up and demonstrates with his body)* the first Catchers you do touch him, but in this one you have to say like “I think that my brother is a catcher” and I have to say....when you go on base *(demonstrating by touching the table)* you have to say “my brother, 1-2-3” and then you go on base.

Time 7:54

Q OK.

M So if he sees me, he goes like “Mohammed 1-2-3” just like that. *(Still standing and using his body to say 'just like that')* Say his name and then say......

Time 8:16

Q And which languages do you play your games, like on Facebook or.....

M English. *(Looks at me.)*

Q And what about with your brothers?

M My brothers, when I talk to them, Arabic on the Facebook. *(Looking down and scratching his leg.)*

Q So you use Facebook in Arabic?

M Yeah, and English.

Q And English. OK. And do you have a writing journal here at home where you do writing?

M I just write on the paper. *(Looks at the camera.)*

Q OK, and do you have any that I can see? No?

M I have papers by my computer. *(Looks around and points in the direction with his hand.)*

Q OK. Are they in English or Arabic or.....

M Just white papers.

Q Oh, but do you have any with drawing on them?

M I draw, I finish and I put them back in my room.

Q OK, and do you ever write on your drawings?

M A little.

Q Which language?

M Sometimes Netherlands or English or Arabic. *(Using his hands to count out the languages.)*

Q Do you ever use more than one language on one piece of paper?

M Yeah. *(Looks down and has big eyes and a pouty lip when he says this.)*
Q: Do you have one that you can show me?

Time 9:31

M: Er...I think I put them all in my room. (Looks to the right and not looking at me at all.)

Q: Do you want to go and get one?

M: I think...no. Maybe I finish......

Q: Threw it away?

M: Maybe my mum or nanny threw them away. (Using his hands and gesturing 'what')

Time 9:49

M: (Playing with his clothes.)

Q: OK. OK, and do you ever do any writing in other languages?

M: Yeah. (Looks down)

Q: Like what?

M: In Arabic and Holland. (Counting on his hands again.)

Q: OK, is there anything you can show me, or no?

M: Nothing special. (Looks to the right and then at me. Smiles at the camera.)

Time 10:09

Q: OK. So I want to look at the photos that you took. I’m sorry that they’re in black and white, I had colour ones but I lost them and then my printer wouldn’t print in colour again, so sorry they’re in black and white, they’re not in colour. Let’s look at the photos you took when you were doing your research. You took one of a newspaper. You took some books (Mohammed turns the photo around)...oh it’s the wrong way.....OK. And then you took one of your papers.

M: (He bends in towards the photos so he can look at them.) Newspapers.

Q: Is this in your room?

M: Yeah.

Q: Oh I see you’ve got hangman.....

M: Hangman.

Q: And what’s that game?

M: (We both bend down to get a closer look.) Er.....

Q: Luxor?

M: I’ll see if I.....
Q Dominoes? And do you have books in Arabic and English and Dutch?

M Yeah. *(Looks at me and nods his head.)*

Q All three?

M As I’ve finished the works I put them there. *(Using his fingers to point at the picture.)*

Q OK, and I saw this drawing, what is that?

Time 11:02

M This is like a drawing of like a police car. It’s a Lexus and it’s like going.....it’s like in this stopped and jumped on it and it’s in the sky. *(Using his fingers to gesture the motions.)*

Q Cool. And then this, you’ve more books and DVDs, where are those? Because here’s the TV.

M *(Mohammed crinkles his forehead and picks up the photo. Looks around toward the living room.)* I don’t know where it is.

Q Here’s the TV, is that in your room?

M Yeah that’s in my.....that’s the computer room. *(He turns his head towards the computer room and goes back to the other picture.)* Oh yeah it’s like this, this is games.

Q OK, is it.....games for what? Sony or.....

M Computers.

Q For a computer. What kind of games?

M Well *(smiles and shakes his head once)....it’s lots.*

Q A lot of games.

M Yeah. *(Laughs.)*

Q Again I saw a computer.

Time 12:02

M Yeah.

Q So you use a computer. You told me some websites....do you ever go to any websites like Moshi Town or Tropic....Club Tropica? Do you ever go to any of those websites?

M Well yeah. *(Nods his head once and looks down.)*

Q Yeah? Which ones?

M Pop Tropica.

Q Pop Tropica?
M It's a good one. *(Smiles and looks at me.)*

Q Yeah, you like that game?

M Yeah.

Q Do you play that a lot?

M Er....sometimes.

Q Sometimes. And then I saw another computer, is that you on Facebook?

M That's my brother's.

Q Your brother's, and this is yours?

M That is my father's.

Q Cool.

M This is my mother's and this is mine. *(Touches neck.)*

Q Cool. And so which one is your favourite picture of all the ones you took, which one do you like best?

M This one. *(Picks this one out quite quickly.)*

Q Why?

M Because like....it's like a beautiful picture.

Q OK good, of the.....Lexus police car.

M Yeah.

Q Cool, so that's your favourite one. So now, do you ever....OK so we talked about some of the websites that you go to, Facebook, Pop Tropica.....

M That's all my *(looks at me)*.....that's all that I have. *(moving around a lot now on the chair – he looks as if he's getting tired.)*

Q That's all you have?

M Mmm.

Q OK. And you do Facebook. What do you do Pop Tropica in, what language?

Time 13:15

M *(Pauses and looks down to the right.)* I think all the people use English.

Q OK, and do you ever go to Club Penguin?

M Club Penguin, yeah. *(Looks down and nods his head yes and makes his eyebrows raise.)*

Q So you use Club Penguin?

M Yeah. *(Looks directly at me.)*
Q  And what language do you use Club Penguin?
M  English.
Q  English, cool. And what kind of Avatar do you have, what does your penguin
   look like?
M  Erm....orange. (He is smiling.)
Q  Is he orange? Why orange?
M  That's actually my favourite colour. (Looks at me and smiles really big.)
Q  Why is it your favourite colour?
M  It is like light and you can see, you see it's like light, so light. (Using hands
to gesture, looking at me and moving his head.)
Q  Oh you like it, you think it's beautiful.
M  Yeah.
Q  OK, and which pictures do you think is most interesting for our research
together, which ones do you think for how you use your languages at home for
literacy. Which ones do you think are the most interesting for our research?
M  Most interesting (Looking around at all the photos) - this one.
Q  OK, why this one?
M  Like you can see Arabic, English and that's it. (Using his fingers to gesture
again.)
Q  And what about Dutch?
M  Dutch, I see no.
Q  No. OK, what about this one? Is this.....
M  Also I like that one.
Q  OK. So this one. And this is your favourite picture?
M  Yeah.

Time 14:34
Q  OK. And is there anything else you want to tell me about your languages and
   how you use them with reading and writing here at home?
M  Er....no. (Looking down and shaking his head.)
Q  No, OK. Well thank you Mohammed for taking your time to talk to me. Can
   you show me where your computer is and your things? (Mohammed goes into the
   room quite quickly while I grab the camera.)
M  We have it in here.
Q  OK, so this is your room?
M Yeah.
Q Cool. And this is your computer?
M Yeah.
Q Oh so these are
M This is my brother’s and this is my game.
Q OK cool. Oh do you play Sim City? (Picture of the Sim City 4 case on the desk.)
M Yeah.
Q Cool. What’s this game?
M This one’s Sim City. (His computer had this game on and it was on pause.)
Q Sim City? OK cool. Very good. So you like to play Sim City?
M Yeah.
Q Is it hard or easy?
M Easy. (He starts playing it.)
Q Easy, OK cool. And anything else? Do you have any like...is this your bookshelf?
M Yeah.
Q So these are all your books. Oh I see you’ve got.....do you have some English books and Dutch books?
M They’re all mixed up. (He gets up and comes over to the bookshelf.)
Q They’re all mixed up, that’s good.
M My nanny put them all mixed up. (He is pointing to a line of books on the shelf.)
Q And do you have Arabic books too?
M Arabic? I’m not sure. (He starts looking on the shelf.)
Q I see lots of Dutch. OK good. So you play Sim City. Oh look you’ve got Who Is It? I love that game. Do you ever play that in Dutch?
M In Dutch yeah I use it.
Q And what about English, do you use it in English?
M Erm...no.
Q Just Dutch?
M Yeah.
Q Cool. And you’ve got Monopoly....oh this Luxor game, I saw that.
M I got it by a cold country.
Q Oh yeah.
M I was living in my hotel and then he gave us it.
Q And do you like any cartoons that you watch on TV?
M TV, yeah.
Q What kind of cartoons do you like?
M Erm....Zorro.
Q Zorro, OK.
M And......Disney Channel.
Q What do you like on the Disney Channel? What's your favourite?
M Zak and Cody.
Q Zak and Cody, OK.
M And Zak and Cody on their ship.
Q OK, cool. I like your robot.
M Yeah, it's actually turned around. *(He goes over and turns it around.)*
Q Oh is it a transformer?
M No it's not a transformer.
Q OK, cool, cute. Cool, well thank you Mohammed. Maybe we'll come back out here and will you turn off the camera?

End of file
Appendix G: Ethics Approval Application

University of Sheffield School of Education

RESEARCH ETHICS APPLICATION FORM

Complete this form if you are planning to carry out research in the School of Education which will not involve the NHS but which will involve people participating in research either directly (e.g. interviews, questionnaires) and/or indirectly (e.g. people permitting access to data).

Documents to enclose with this form, where appropriate:

This form should be accompanied, where appropriate, by an Information Sheet/Covering Letter/Written Script which informs the prospective participants about the proposed research, and/or by a Consent Form.

Guidance on how to complete this form is at:
http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/content/1/c6/07/21/24/appguide.doc

Once you have completed this research ethics application form in full, and other documents where appropriate email it to the:

Either

Ethics Administrator if you are a member of staff.

Or

Secretary for your programme/course if you are a student.

NOTE

- Staff and Post Graduate Research (EdDI/PhD) requires 3 reviewers
- Undergraduate and Taught Post Graduate requires 1 reviewer – low risk
- Undergraduate and Taught Post Graduate requires 2 reviewers – high risk

I am a member of staff and consider this research to be (according to University definitions)

: low risk □

high risk □

I am a student and consider this research to be (according to University definitions):

high risk ✔

*Note: For the purposes of Ethical Review the University Research Ethics Committee considers all research with ‘vulnerable people’ to be ‘high risk’ (eg children under 18 years of age).
| I confirm that in my judgment, due to the project's nature, the use of a method to inform prospective participants about the project (eg 'Information Sheet'/'Covering Letter'/'Pre-Written Script'): |
|---|---|
| Is relevant | Is not relevant |
| Yes |  |
| (if relevant then this should be enclosed) |  |

| I confirm that in my judgment, due to the project's nature, the use of a 'Consent Form': |
|---|---|
| Is relevant | Is not relevant |
| Yes |  |
| (if relevant then this should be enclosed) |  |

| Is this a "generic "en bloc" application (ie does it cover more than one project that is sufficiently similar) |
|---|---|
| Yes | No |
| Yes |  |
I am a member of staff

I am a PhD/EdD student  

I am a Master’s student

I am an Undergraduate student

I am a PGCE student

The submission of this ethics application has been agreed by my supervisor

I have enclosed a signed copy of Part B
PART A
A1. Title of Research Project

Home Literacy and Agency: An Ethnographic Approach to Studying the Home Literacy Practices of Six Multiliterate Children in Qatar

A2. Applicant (normally the Principal Investigator, in the case of staff-led research projects, or the student in the case of supervised research projects):

Title: Miss First Name/Initials: Misti Last Name: Savage
Post: Department: EdD Language and Literacy
Email: edp07mas@sheffield.ac.uk Telephone: +974 6431 886

A2.1. Is this a student project? Yes

If yes, please provide the Supervisor’s contact details:

Dr. Jackie A. Marsh j.a.marsh@sheffield.ac.uk

A2.2. Other key investigators/co-applicants (within/outside University), where applicable:

Please list all (add more rows if necessary)

A3. Proposed Project Duration:

Start date: January 2010 End date: June 2010

A4. Mark ‘X’ in one or more of the following boxes if your research:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>Involves children or young people aged under 18 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involves only identifiable personal data with no direct contact with participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Involves only anonymised or aggregated data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involves prisoners or others in custodial care (e.g. young offenders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involves adults with mental incapacity or mental illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Has the primary aim of being educational (e.g. student research, a project necessary for a postgraduate degree or diploma, MA, PhD or EdD)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A5. Briefly summarise the project's aims, objectives and methodology?

(this must be in language comprehensible to a lay person)

This research aims to study the home literacy practices and the personal agency of six multiliterate children aged between 5-7 years old. The methodology used will be an ethnographic approach using the participants as co-researchers. The findings aim to inform future research studies.

A6. What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm / distress to participants?

The potential for physical or psychological harm is minimal. The only ethical consideration is the time needed for interviews of the participants in their family home. I aim to conduct the interviews at a time convenient for each of the participating families.

A7. Does your research raise any issues of personal safety for you or other researchers involved in the project and, if yes, explain how these issues will be managed?

(Especially if taking place outside working hours or off University premises.)

The only possible issue of personal safety is for me since the interviews will be conducted outside of working hours in the participants' homes. However, to counteract this issue, I have chosen participants whom my colleagues have recommended because they would be willing to participate, thus implying there is no personal danger to me.

A8. How will the potential participants in the project be (i) identified, (ii) approached and (iii) recruited?

i) I have identified students (aged 5-7) with 3 languages or more at the international school where I work and have asked colleagues to recommend families they think would be willing to participate in my research, especially considering the Muslim culture of Qatar where everything is based around relationships.

ii) I will personally approach the parents and participants at school to talk to them about my research. If they seem willing, I will set up a meeting in their homes to go over the information sheet and consent forms.

iii) The participants will be recruited based on their spoken languages in their home and school environments as well as taking in the recommendations of my colleagues since they know the families better than I.
A9. Will informed consent be obtained from the participants?

- Yes [X]
- No [ ]

If informed consent is not to be obtained please explain why. Further guidance is at http://www.shef.ac.uk/content/1/c6/07/21/15/Ethics_Consent.doc

Only under exceptional circumstances are studies without informed consent permitted. Students should consult their tutors.

A.9.1 How do you plan to obtain informed consent? (i.e. the proposed process?):

The process will be talking to the participants about the research and giving them the information sheet to read at their leisure. If they would like the information sheet translated, I will find someone willing to help me with this. Finally, I will get all the participants, including their families, to sign the written consent form after discussing each item.

A.10 How will you ensure appropriate protection and well-being of participants?

Their parents will be present during all the interviews to ensure the safety and well-being of the participants.

A.11 What measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data, where appropriate?

I will protect the participants by changing their names so they are completely anonymous. In addition, only my tutor and I will have access to their data, including any audio/video recordings.

A.12 Will financial/in kind payments (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? (Indicate how much and on what basis this has been decided.)

- Yes [ ]
- No [X]

208
A.13 Will the research involve the production of recorded or photographic media such as audio and/or video recordings or photographs?

Yes [x]

No

A.13.1 This question is only applicable if you are planning to produce recorded or visual media:

How will you ensure that there is a clear agreement with participants as to how these recorded media or photographs may be stored, used and (if appropriate) destroyed?

I will personally be storing this information and no one else will know where it is kept. Only I and my tutor will have access to this information. I would like to use the data gathered in this research for future projects if necessary and have included this on the consent form.
PART B - THE SIGNED DECLARATION

Title of Research Project: Home Literacy and Agency: An Ethnographic Approach to Studying the Home Literacy Practices of Six Multiliterate Children in Qatar

Name of Applicant: Misti Savage

I confirm my responsibility to deliver the research project in accordance with the University of Sheffield’s policies and procedures, which include the University’s ‘Financial Regulations’, ‘Good research Practice Standards’ and the ‘Ethics Policy for Research Involving Human Participants, Data and Tissue’ (Ethics Policy) and, where externally funded, with the terms and conditions of the research funder.

In signing this research ethics application I am confirming that:

1. The above-named project will abide by the University’s Ethics Policy for Research Involving Human Participants, Data and Tissue':
   http://www.shef.ac.uk/content/1/c6/07/21/15/Tissue.doc

2. The above-named project will abide by the University’s ‘Good Research Practice Standards':
   www.shef.ac.uk/content/1/c6/03/25/82/collatedGRP.pdf

3. The research ethics application form for the above-named project is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

4. There is no potential material interest that may, or may appear to, impair the independence and objectivity of researchers conducting this project.

5. Subject to the research being approved, I undertake to adhere to the project protocol without unagreed deviation and to comply with any conditions set out in the letter from the University ethics reviewers notifying me of this.

6. I undertake to inform the ethics reviewers of significant changes to the protocol (by contacting my supervisor or the Ethics Administrator as appropriate)

7. I am aware of my responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data, including the need to register when necessary with the appropriate Data Protection Officer (within the University the Data Protection Officer is based in CICS).

8. I understand that the project, including research records and data, may be subject to inspection for audit purposes, if required in future.

9. I understand that personal data about me as a researcher in this form will be held by those involved in the ethics review procedure (eg the Ethics Administrator and/or ethics reviewers/supervisors) and that this will be managed according to Data Protection Act principles.
10. If this is an application for a 'generic'/'en block' project all the individual projects that fit under the generic project are compatible with this application.

11. I will inform the Chair of Ethics Review Panel if prospective participants make a complaint about the above-named project.

Name of the Principal Investigator (or the name of the Supervisor if this is a student project):

Dr. Jackie A. Marsh

If this is a student project insert the student’s name here:

Misti Savage

Signature of Principal Investigator (or the Supervisor):

Signature of student:

Date: November 17, 2009

Email the completed application form and provide a signed, hard copy of 'Part B' to the course/programme secretary

For staff projects contact the Ethics Secretary, Colleen Woodward

Email: c.woodward@sheffield.ac.uk for details of how to submit
Dear Misti

Re: Home Literacy and Agency: An Ethnographic Approach to Studying the Home Literacy Practices of Six Multiliterate Children in Qatar

Thank you for your application for ethical review for the above project. The reviewers have now considered this and have agreed that your application be approved with the following optional amendments.

(Please see below reviewers' comments)

7. Approved with the following suggested, optional amendments (i.e. it is left to the discretion of the applicant whether or not to accept the amendments and, if accepted, the ethics reviewers do not need to see the amendments):
There needs to be some clarification on the following:

In the application form you state: 'I would like to use the data gathered in this research for future projects if necessary and have included this on the consent form'

Yet in the parental information form you state: ‘The audio and/or video recordings of you and your child’s interviews made during this research will be used only for analysis. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings’

If the data is to be used after this project the parents should be clearly informed in both the information sheet and the consent form (the latter is already done)

This is subject to receipt of a signed hard copy of Part B (Declaration) of the School of Education Research Ethics application form which is available at http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/education/ethics. This hard copy is then held on file. This ensures that we comply with university requirements about signatures.

Yours sincerely

Mrs Jacquie Gillott

Programme Secretary
Appendix I: Parent Information Sheet

Dear Parent,  

You and your child are being invited to take part in my dissertation research project. Before you make your decision, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information sheet carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Feel free to ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish yourself and your child to take part. Thank you for reading this.

The Research Project Title: Home Literacy and Agency: An Ethnographic Approach to Studying the Home Literacy Practices of Six Multiliterate Children in Qatar

This project is a 1-2 week research study with six children designed to look into each child’s home literacy events and practices. The aim is to discover if and how his/her multilingual abilities plays a part of his/her literacy development between the ages of 5-7.

I have chosen you and your child because I am aware that your child has different languages spoken at home. In addition, your child is learning English and Arabic by living in Qatar and attending the international school. Another key factor for choosing you and your child is based on the recommendation of my colleagues. I need to have close parental contact with you in order to gain the trust needed to do this research study, including interviewing you and your child in your home.

It is up to you to decide whether or not you and your child can take part. If you do decide that your child can take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. You can still withdraw your child at any time. You do not have to give a reason. I will also be asking your child to give me their verbal and written permission with you as a witness since they are between the ages of 5-7 years old.

If you and your child decide to take part, there will be two stages of participation:
Stage 1:

1. You keep a record of your child’s literacy events that happen at home in a literacy journal that I have made for you over the course of 1 week. A literacy event can include reading books, looking at screens, writing, talking about a magazine, playing with Pokémon cards, etc. This can be something you do together or your child alone.

2. I would ask your child to take pictures with a digital camera of anything he/she considers to be literacy in order to involve him/her as a co-researcher. I will give him/her an information sheet with pictures to help him/her decide what kind of pictures to take.

3. I would ask you to review the pictures taken with your child at the end of the week in case there are any sensitive pictures that should not be shown to me.

Stage 2:

1. I would like to interview you using a semi-structured format about your child’s literacy development. I would like to audio record this interview for analysis later.

2. I would also like to interview your child about his/her literacy also using a semi-structured format, using the literacy photographs your child has taken. I would also like to video record this interview for analysis later.

Stage 1 should last for a week in the chosen month for your child between January and June. I can come to your house at your convenience to conduct the interviews during your specified month.

All the information that I collect about you and your child during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You and your child will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications.

The audio and/or video recordings of you and your child’s interviews made during this research will be used only for analysis and future research into the same topic. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

I do not foresee any risks or dangers in taking part in this small-scale study. Whilst there are no immediate benefits for you and your child participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will lead to some insights on how young children’s different literacies develop in multilingual settings. This could lead to more investigative and wider research later.
Should you have any complaints about the way I have handled the research, please feel free to contact my university supervisor, Dr. Jackie A Marsh, directly at j.a.marsh@sheffield.ac.uk. At any time, if you should feel that your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction by Dr. Marsh, then you may contact Sheffield University’s ‘Registrar and Secretary’.

The results of this project will be handed in to my supervisor by August 31, 2011. I will be happy to share my research with you and your child as well as have you both contribute to my research findings.

This research has been ethically reviewed by Sheffield University’s School of Education by a predetermined Ethics Review Panel. It has been approved by the Ethics Review Panel.

Thank you so much for taking the time to read through all of this information and considering being a part of my dissertation research project. If you and your child do decide to take part, thanks to you both in advance for taking the time out of your busy personal lives to participate. I really do appreciate it!

Sincerely,

Misti Savage
Appendix J: Participant Consent Form

Title of Project: Home Literacy and Agency: An Ethnographic Approach to Studying the Home Literacy Practices of Six Multiliterate Children in Qatar

Name of Researcher: Misti Savage

Participant Identification Number for this project: 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Please Initial box</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information letter dated February 23, 2010 for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I understand that my child’s participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw him/her at any time without giving any reason.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I understand that my child’s responses will be anonymised before analysis. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to his/her anonymised responses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I understand that my child’s audio/video recordings will only be used for analysis and no other use will be made of them without my written permission and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I agree for my child, (insert name here), to take part in the above research project.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Participant</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Signature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(or legal representative)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Legal Representative</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Signature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lead Researcher</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Signature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Copies:
Once all parties have signed this, the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy for the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project’s main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.
Appendix K: Parent Consent Form

Title of Project: Home Literacy and Agency: An Ethnographic Approach to Studying the Home Literacy Practices of Six Multiliterate Children in Qatar

Name of Researcher: Misti Savage

Participant Identification Number for this project: 2

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information letter dated February 23, 2010 for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

3. I understand that my responses will be anonymised before analysis. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses.

4. I understand that my audio/video recordings will only be used for analysis and no other use will be made of them without my written permission and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

5. I agree for to take part in the above research project.

6. I agree to allow the research data to be used in future research.

Name of Parent Participant Date Signature

Lead Researcher Date Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant.

Copies: Once all parties have signed this, the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy for the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project’s main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.
## Appendix L: Initial Category Report

### Node Structure

**Home Literacy and Agency**

07/06/2011 15:55:57

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<td>Screens</td>
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<td>Games, puzzles, cards and magazines</td>
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<td>Homework</td>
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<td>Sharing of biliterate abilities</td>
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Disinterest in photos
Time in Qatar
Place of participant's birth
Parents place of birth
Previous country or countries lived
Disappointment with country
Visiting country of parent birth
People, country and identity association

Node Structure

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<td>Language and Identity</td>
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<td>Pride in language abilities</td>
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<td>Dissatisfaction with teaching of a language</td>
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<td>Lack of community interaction</td>
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Node Structure Report

07/06/2011 15:55:57
## Appendix M: Grouped Category Report

### Node Structure

#### Home Literacy and Agency

24/07/2011 22:33

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<td>Nodes\Text Types\Environmental Print</td>
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| Nodes\Themes and Categories\Choice and Control\Choice of Identity | | No | None |
| Nodes\Themes and Categories\Choice and Control\Choice of language | | No | None |
| Nodes\Themes and Categories\Choice and Control\Choice of language with Family members | | No | None |
| Nodes\Themes and Categories\Choice and Control\Control of friendships | | No | None |
| Nodes\Themes and Categories\Choice and Control\Extra language chosen not at home or school | | No | None |
| Nodes\Themes and Categories\Choice and Control\Home Choice | | No | None |
| Nodes\Themes and Categories\Choice and Control\Language control | | No | None |
| Nodes\Themes and Categories\Choice and Control\Resistance | | Yes | None |
| Nodes\Themes and Categories\Choice and Control\Resistance\Interview Question Avoidance | | No | None |
| Nodes\Themes and Categories\Choice and Control\Resistance\Language control | | No | None |
| Nodes\Themes and Categories\Choice and Control\Resistance\Literacy | | No | None |</p>
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Nodes|Themes and Categories|Language|Maintenance of Mother
Nodes|Themes and Categories|Language|Other language influences in
Nodes|Themes and Categories|Language|Pride in language abilities
Nodes|Themes and Categories|Language|Slang phrases
Nodes|Themes and Categories|Language|Spoken languages at home

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| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Literacy Practices|Chosen home literacy
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Literacy Practices|Collaboration in
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Literacy Practices|Confidence in literacy
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Literacy Practices|Home Literacy Practices
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Literacy Practices|Literacy Mode associated with a specific country
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Literacy Practices|Religious Literacy
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Literacy Practices|Replicating an Everyday
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Literacy Practices|Replicating School
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Literacy Practices|Scared feelings from literacy participation
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Literacy Practices|Sharing of biliterate
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Literacy Practices|Time spent in literacy
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Media, Technology and Popular Culture
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Media, Technology and Popular Culture
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Communication and technology
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Multilingualism
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Multilingualism|Multilingual ability
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|Multilingualism|Reasons for participant
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|New Literacy Studies Issues
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|New Literacy Studies Issues|Digital Divide
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|New Literacy Studies Issues|Globalisation
| Nodes|Themes and Categories|New Literacy Studies Issues|Globalisation|Business opportunities

Page 2 of 3

24/07/2011 22:33
| Nodes/Themes and Categories/Research Issues | Yes | None |
| Nodes/Themes and Categories/Research Issues/Influenced answers | No | None |
| Nodes/Themes and Categories/Research Issues/Staged Photos | No | None |
## Appendix N: Node Summary Report for Themes and Categories

### Node Summary

**Home Literacy and Agency**

01/09/2011 14:57

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**Classification**

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Reports\Node Summary Report

Page 2 of 18

01/09/2011 14:57
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Classification:
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Classification:
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Reports\Node Summary Report
Page 14 of 18
01/09/2011 14:57

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Appendix O: Node Summary for Text Types

Node Summary

Home Literacy and Agency

13/06/2011 18:50:34

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