



Perceptions of Age in Early Childhood Settings and their Communities:

How do young children view people aged 55 and over?

How do people aged 55 and over view young children?

Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
At the University of Northampton

2025

Claire Dugan-Clements

© Claire Dugan-Clements 2025

This thesis is copyright material and no quotation from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Acknowledgements

True to the adage "*it takes a village*," this work would not have been possible without the support, guidance, and encouragement of so many people, I would like to my supervisors Professor Jane Murray and Dr Alison Ward for their insightful guidance and patience throughout this process.

I would like to thank the participants, both adults and children who generously shared their time, stories, and insights.

A special thanks to the practitioners who gave up their time to help me with this research. Your contributions are immeasurable as you supported not only me but the children who participated ensuring their voices were heard.

To my husband and children, you have been my village in every sense of the word. Thank you for your love, understanding, and encouragement during the long hours of research, writing, and self-doubt.

Finally, thanks to my friends and colleagues, who have been my sounding board, and cheerleaders, from offering a kind word on challenging days to celebrating small victories along the way.

Abstract

Society is becoming increasingly segregated by age, with limited intergenerational contact. However, rising childcare costs and increased longevity mean many children are spending more time with grandparents. The aim of the present study was to understand children's aged 3-5 years old perception of adults aged 55 and adults' perceptions of children's aged 3-5 years old. Using a social constructivist framework supported by phenomenology, the study employed intrinsic multiple case studies to explore intergenerational perceptions. Data collection utilized an adaptation of PhotoVoice and interviews, where children aged 3-5 years old (n=34) and adults aged 55 plus (n=8) expressed their perceptions and experiences. An adaption of Braun and Clarke's (2017) Reflective Thematic Analysis was applied to identify patterns of meaning. Findings revealed the concept of an intergenerational "meeting place", highlighting shared understandings of play, the significance of treats, and the role of grandparents in children's lives which contribute to existing knowledge.

Keywords: children, adults, grandparent, relationships, meeting place

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One: Introduction 14

1.1 Introduction to the thesis and Chapter One.....	14
1.2 Rationale for the study.....	14
1.3 Definitions of key terms	17
1.4 Research Aim, Objectives and Questions	19
1.5 Research framework	19
1.6 Participants	20
1.7 The original contribution made by this study	22
1.8 Positionality	22
1.8.1 Positionality intergenerational.....	23
1.8.2 Reflection on Grandparents and role of older people in my life.....	25
1.9 Positionality and Covid-19	30
1.10 Structure of the thesis.....	31

Chapter Two: Literature Review 1

- Age as a Construction.....33

2.1 Introduction to Chapter Two	33
2.2 Labelling	33
2.3 How old is old?	36
2.4 Ageism.....	37
2.5 Government and political part	38
2.6 COVID-19	40
2.7 Newspapers	42
2.8 Television and Film.....	44
2.9 Development as a stereotype	50
2.10 Childhood	55
2.11 Time for change	57
2.12 Chapter Two Conclusion	59

Chapter Three: Literature Review 2 –

Old and Young 60

3.1 Introduction to Chapter Three	60
3.2 Grandparenthood	60
3.3 Alloparenting	62
3.4 What is grandparenting?	63
3.5 Typology of grandparenting	64
3.6 Role of grandparents	66
3.7 Role of grandparents providing childcare	68
3.8 Role of grandparents providing treats	70
3.8.1 Food as a treat	71
3.9 Benefits to grandchildren	73
3.9.1 Attachment	73
3.10 Culture and grandparents	76
3.11 Effects on grandparents.....	78
3.12 Grandparents internationally	80
3.13 Children’s Voice and Agency	81
3.13.1 What is meant by Voice?	82
3.13.2 Listening	82
3.13.3 Giving a Voice to Children	83
3.13.4 Are Voices Heard?	84
3.13.5 Authentic voice	85
3.13.6 Tokenism.....	85
3.13.7 Summary of Children’s Voice and Agency	86
3.14 Young Children’s lives in England	86
3.15 Shared Reading	87
3.16 Play.....	88
3.17 Outdoor play memories	92
3.18 Technology	93
3.18.1 Grandparents and technology	95
3.19 Chapter Three Conclusion	97

Chapter Four: Methodology 1 –

Rationale for Research design 98

4.1 Introduction to Chapter Four	98
4.2 Research Aim, Objectives and Questions	98
4.3 Epistemology	99
4.4 Ontology	101
4.5 Theoretical Framework	102
4.5.1 <i>Social constructionism</i>	103
4.5.2 <i>Phenomenology</i>	104
4.6 Selected Methodology.....	107
4.6.1 <i>Critique of multiple case study approach</i> ...	110
4.7 Data Collection Methods	110
4.7.1 <i>Interviews</i>	111
4.7.2 <i>Adaptation of PhotoVoice</i>	113
4.7.2i <i>Considerations for the Practitioner</i>	118
4.7.2ii <i>Conversation image</i>	120
4.8 Ethics.....	121
4.8.1 <i>Ethics of Care</i>	122
4.8.2 <i>Adults' Voluntary Informed Consent</i>	123
4.8.3 <i>Children's Voluntary Informed Assent</i>	124
4.8.3i <i>Gaining Children's Voluntary informed consent</i>	125
4.8.3ii <i>The Assent book</i>	127
4.9 Data Management	128
4.10 Trustworthiness, reliability and triangulation	129
4.11 Analysis Process	130
4.12 Chapter Four Conclusion	135

Chapter Five: Methodology 2 - Data

Collection.....136

5.1 Introduction to Chapter Five	136
5.2 Context	136

5.2.1 Study locations.....	136
5.3 Sampling	138
5.3.1 Participants	138
5.4 Phases of analysis	139
5.4.1 Phase One.....	139
5.4.2 Phase 2 Coding	139
5.4.3 Phase 3 Generating themes	141
5.4.4 Phase 4 Reviewing themes	141
5.4.5 Phase 5 Defining and naming themes	142
5.4.6 Phase 6 Reporting	143
5.5 Ethical considerations regarding data	
Analysis	143
5.6 Chapter Five Conclusion	143

Chapter Six: Presentation of findings.144

6.1 Introduction to Chapter Six.....	144
6.2 Themes from PhotoVoice conversations with children	144
6.2.1 Appearance	147
6.2.1i Gender stereotypes.....	148
6.2.1ii Signs of ageing.....	149
6.2.2 Role of grandparents	151
6.2.2i Careers	151
6.2.2ii Hobbies	151
6.2.2iii Childcare and support	152
6.2.2iv Love	153
6.2.3 Treats	155
6.2.3i Food	155
6.2.3ii Special rules	156
6.2.3iii Play	156
6.2.4 Culture	158
6.3 Summary of Findings from PhotoVoice Conversations with Children	159
6.4 Findings from Interviews with Adults aged 55+	159

6.4.1 Perceptions of childhood	162
6.4.2 Role of Grandparents	168
6.4.2i Providing Childcare	170
6.4.2ii Emotions	172
6.4.2iii Grandparents as educators	174
6.4.2iv Benefits to grandparents	176
6.4.3 Treats	177
6.4.3i Food as a treat	179
6.4.4 Play	180
6.4.4i Reminiscing Own Childhood	182
6.4.4ii Outdoor Play	182
6.4.5 Technology	187
6.4.6 Relationships	190
6.5 Chapter Six Conclusion	191

Chapter 7 Discussion.....192

7.1 Introduction to Chapter Seven	192
7.2 Reflection on findings presented in Chapter Six	192
7.3 Final Combined Themes	196
7.4 Combined Theme (CT) 1 Views of generations	199
7.4.1 Combined Sub-Theme (CS-T) Age	202
7.4.2 CS-T Illness	202
7.4.3 CS-T Happiness	203
7.4.4 CS-T Safety	205
7.5 CT2 Role of Grandparents	206
7.5.1 CS-T Support	207
7.5.2 CS-T Love and emotions	208
7.5.3 CS-T Working Grandparents' Careers	209
7.5.4 CS-T Providing childcare	210
7.5.5 CS-T Grandparents as educators	211
7.6 CT3 Treats	213
7.6.1 CS-T Benefits to grandparents	215
7.7 CT4 Play	216

7.7.1 CS-T Expressing enjoyment, doing physical Activities	216
7.8 CT5 Culture	219
7.9 CT6 Technology	220
7.10 CT7 Intergenerational relationships	222
7.11 Chapter Seven Conclusion	223

Chapter Eight: Conclusions, Recommendations and Limitations....224

8.1 Reflection and limitations of research process	224
8.1.1 Interviews and the artifact A55+	224
8.1.2 An adaptation of PhotoVoice with C3-5YO ..	225
8.2 Style of questioning	226
8.2.1 A55+ Style of questioning	226
8.2.2 C3-4YO Style of questioning	227
8.3 Sampling	228
8.3.1 C3-5YO Sampling	228
8.3.2 A55+ Sampling	229
8.4 Generalisability	230
8.5 Ethical Considerations	230
8.5.1 The ethical considerations for children	230
8.5.2 Ethics of care	232
8.6 Practitioners as research assistants and co-construction of knowledge	232
8.7 Analysing the data	233
8.8. Reminder of Aims and objectives	233
8.9 Summary of the findings	234
8.10 New knowledge	235
8.11 Recommendations	236
8.11.1 implications for practice	236
8.11.2 Implications for research	236
8.11.3 Recommendations for future research	237
8.11.4 Personal reflection on own learning.....	239
8.12 Chapter Eight conclusion	239

References	240
Appendices 1-18	334

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 2.1 Image from Labour Manifesto	39
Fig. 2.2 Image from Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs	46
Fig. 2.3 Image from Peppa Pig	49
Fig. 4.1 Illustrations from the Assent Book	128
Fig. 7.1 Diagram of the connection between themes	197

LIST OF TABLES

Table 5.1 Setting characteristics	137
Table 5.2 Summary: The Six phases of Braun and Clarke's RTA (2022)	142
Table 6.1 Number of C3-5YO from each setting	144
Table 6.2 Summary of the Themes from C3-5YO	145
Table 6.3 Characteristics of A55+	159
Table 6.4 Summary of the Themes from A55+	160
Table 7.1 Combination of A55+ Themes and Sub-themes	198

ACRONYMS

The following acronyms have been used throughout this thesis:

AoLD	Areas of Learning and Development
A55+	Adults aged 55 plus
BERA	British Educational Research Authority
C3-5YO	Children aged 3-5 years old
CT	Combined themes
CST	Combined Sub- themes
DBS	Disclosure and Barring Service
DfE	Department for Education
ECEC	Early Childhood Education and Care
ELG	Early Learning Goals
EYFS	Early Years Foundation Stage
GP	General Practitioner
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
JIE	Joint Involvement Episodes
NHS	National Health Service
ONS	Office for National Statistics
OFCOM	The Office of Communications
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
TA	Thematic Analysis
RTA	Reflexive Thematic Analysis
SEND	Special Educational Needs and Disabilities
SIDT	Social Identity Development Theory
UK	United Kingdom
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WHO	World Health Organization

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the thesis and Chapter One

This thesis reports on a study that focused on how children aged 3-5 years old (C3-5YO) view adults aged 55 plus (A55+), and how A55+ view C3-5YO within the East Midlands region of England. The study's parameters are presented, including, providing the rationale for the study defining key terms and a discussion of the contextual framework. Chapter One also deliberates this study's significance and affirms its contribution to the field of early years. Finally, positionality will be explored.

1.2 Rationale for the study

United For All (2018) suggests that Britain has one of the most segregated societies in the world, particularly in relation to young and old. Kingman (2016) suggests that there is a change in Western Society with a reduction in the opportunity to spend time with people of different age groups as intergenerational activities like going to church are in decline. Kingman (2016) further suggests schools are divided by age and although this is beneficial for learning children and young people do not have the opportunity to develop relationships with other ages groups. Furthermore, workplaces are similarly divided with people of a similar age working together. These separations can lead to stereotyping going unchallenged (Hagestad and Uhlenberg 2006).

According to Van Oudenhoven (2018) young and older people have at least one thing in common; they share vulnerability and are reliant on powerful people. Older people are often viewed as a burden on society (Herbertt, 2023). There is concern across Europe of the continuing high cost of providing health care and full-time care as well as the cost of pensions Jayawardhana, Jayathilaka, Nimnadi, *et al.*, (2023). This negative view reinforces stereotyping (Thornton, 2002).

The role older people may play in the lives of children as part of their intergenerational relationships is important. The creation of the first combined nursery and care home in England in 2017 suggests that

mixing ages together and doing activities involving older and younger people alongside each other may lead to better outcomes for both (Sheppard, 2017). It is thought the benefits may not be just for those people directly involved but also the wider community as it is expected to improve the quality of care services used by different generations (United For All, 2018).

This idea of a social pedagogy is commonplace in Europe and transcends generations. Social pedagogy takes the term education more generally and refers to education of all ages (Cameron, Moss and Petrie, 2021). Within the Nordic countries and in countries such as Germany and Japan social pedagogy originally started with children and their families going into areas such as residential institutes, youth work and older people allowing groups to do social activities together (Nivala, 2019).

For many children the most significant relationship with older adults is with their Grandparents (Furman and Buhrmester, 1985). For C3-5YO the most common person over the age of 55 that they will have regular contact with are their grandparents. Grandparents often provide informal care for their grandchildren (Sadrudin et al 2019) due to the high cost of care (Buchanan and Rotkirch 2018) with over 50% of grandparents providing care for their grandchildren (Di Gessa *et al.*, 2020) this increases the likelihood that C3-5YO will know their grandparents and spend time with them. The speculation that the number of people living over the age of 65 years old living in England and Wales will grow from 19% of the population in 2022 to 27% of the population in 2027 (Office of National Statistics, 2023) This significant growth suggests that the number of children with grandparents will only increase highlighting the importance of understanding the perspectives of each generation.

A thorough literature search has indicated that there is some research in examining the perspectives of C3-5YO concerning their views of older people. For example, Middlecamp and Gross 2002 compared the views of three to five year olds in kindergartens with and without

intergenerational curriculum to determine their perceptions of older people concluding both groups had similar views that they related more positively to younger people than older people. Flamion, Missotten, Jennotte Hody and Adam (2020) explored the perception of preschoolers and their parents in Belgium. The finding suggested that while parents were more likely to have stereotypical view, the preschoolers were more positive if they thought of their grandparent when asked about older people.

More commonly older children's opinions are investigated, for example and Seefeldt (1984) examined children aged from six years old view toward the elderly across Paraguay Australia and the United States and concluded that negative views were across the countries. Robinson, Zurcher and Callahan (2015)

focused on children aged eight to 12 years old and found that their view of older family member was more positive happy and healthy and Chonody and Teater (2016) explored stereotypes and ageist beliefs of 11–13-year-olds suggesting that this age group expressed both positive and negative attitudes to older people and spending time with older people were more inclined to have positive attitude to aging. There is also research regarding intergenerational learning. The Toy Project (2016) set out to look at old and young learning together but focuses on children aged 0-8 years, rather than the perspectives of A55+ or specifically the perceptions of C3-5YO. The Toy Project gathered data in seven European countries but not England (Cortellesi and Kernan, 2016).

Preschool children's views of people who are A55+ are important as children develop a visual representation of 'old people' and 'ageing' at an early stage in their development (Gilbert and Ricketts, 2008). Cotler, Holt, Larkin and Turner's (2014) study in Northern Ireland concluded that sharing time with older people developed children's empathy and encouraged children to identify with older people as individuals (Delaplane and Fair, 2016). Abrams, Swift and Drury

(2016) suggest that stereotypes thrive when young people do not interact with older adults and by bringing the groups together, we may reduce the likelihood of developing ageist attitudes.

There is also research on the the perceptions grandchildren of grandparents this was of older children. Guest Nkzad-Terhune and Rowies (2021) investigated college students and compared their perception of older people and grandparents concluding Grandparents seen having a more positively while the general view of aging was negative Masson (2016) and Mansson Floyd and Soliz (2017) studied adult grandchildren discussed their affection for their grandparents and Sciplino and Kinshott (2019) explore the perception of their relationship from grandparents from childhood to adulthood

The role of grandparents is explored for example Buchanan and Rotkirch, 2018; Kemp, 2004. Brehency, Stephens and Splisbury (2013) considers the expectations and negotiations of the role of the grandparent while iDuflos, Hussaina and Brussoni (2023) investigated the role grandparents have in promoting outdoor play adult grandchildren view each other have been considered. I found no literature exploring A55+ perspectives of C3-5YO.

The present study was an opportunity to explore A55+ and C3-5YO perspectives of each other offering a unique insight into how different generations perceive and relate to each other. This study is important for the field of Early Years. Firstly, there is still a gap in capturing children's voices, particularly that of younger children. There are only a few studies that considered the views of C3-5YO of older people or their grandparents. Thirdly, there were no studies identified at the time of writing, that compare the views of these intergenerational groups.

1.3 Definitions of key terms

The terms grandparent and aging have been used throughout this thesis, '**grandparent**' is the individual's parent of the parents of a

child in a multigenerational family which may be biological and/or non-biological kin relations (Cavrini, Di Gessa and Tomassini, 2018, p.225). it is considered a form of continued parenting (Hagestad, 2006; Albert and Timonem, 2012) The role grandparent is shaped by the culture historical time and social constructs (Coall, Hilbrand, Hertwig, 2014) Tarrent, 2011). Grandparents are perceived as supportive rather than primary carers in a European context, this support may involve informal care or financial assistance (Hagestad, 2006; Buchanan and Rotkirch, 2016).

Ageing, as a social construct, reflects cultural and societal norms (Hepworth, 2000). However, labels associated with ageing often carry negative connotations, such as frailty and disease, leading to the perception of old age as a devalued stage of life (Hazan, 1994; Oró-Piqueras, 2016).

Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) encompasses services for children from birth to age 8 years old covering prenatal care through to facilitating transition into primary schools (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO (2013) In England ECEC settings are required to adhere to the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) the statutory curriculum framework in England (Department for Education (DfE), 2023 include statutory guidance on development goals and safeguarding, which these settings must follow. The settings are also inspected by the Office for Standards in Education Children Services and skills (Ofsted) If these standards are not upheld Ofsted has the authority to close the setting. (DfE, 2023; Male, Palaiologou, and Ince, 2024). For the purpose of this study, the term **early years settings** will include nurseries and preschools which are ECEC and also Reception classes which also must follow the EYFS.

1.4 Research Aim, Objectives and Questions

The objectives were achieved by collecting and analysing data from three diverse early years settings and their communities and individuals from a charity run centre for older people.

1.5 Research framework

The design of this study was shaped by its theoretical framework of social constructivism, supported by phenomenology. Social Constructivism emphasizes the active role of individuals in interpreting and co-creating meaning within their social and cultural contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Crotty, 1998). Phenomenology supported the constructivist framework by emphasizing subjective experience and the co-construction of meaning, allowing the study to illuminate how individuals' lived realities intersected with broader social constructs (Frechette, Bitzas, Aubry, Kilpatrick, and Lavoie-Tremblay, 2020). This approach allowed the study to focus on understanding how individuals and groups make sense of their roles, relationships, and realities. This provided the foundation for exploring perceptions and lived experiences. The study employed intrinsic multiple case studies (Stake, 1995), which enabled an investigation of a specific phenomenon within its real world context (Yin, 2018). Alongside this, the study used an adaptation of PhotoVoice (Wang and Burris, 1997) as its primary methods of data collection.

An adaption of PhotoVoice was used to suit the specific needs of the study. Originally developed as a tool for empowering marginalized communities (Wang and Burris, 1997), PhotoVoice is the use of images with explanations provided by the participants, allowing participants to explore their own realities (Wang, 1999). Participants in this present study were invited to draw representations of their perspectives; A55+ perspective of C3-5YO and C3-5YO perspective of A55+. These images enabled participants to communicate their perspective and experiences.

A six-phased thematic analysis based on Braun and Clarke's (2019) Reflective Thematic Analysis approach (RTA) was used to analyse the data, identify patterns of meaning relating to the participants' lived experiences and perspectives (Clake and Braun, 2019, 2017).

1.6 Participants

The adult participants were chosen for several reasons: Participants were all aged 55 and above, ensuring that they met the key age demographic for the study. This age group was selected because it is the earliest age to retire (Gov.UK, 2016) and is the average age for a lone parent to become a grandparent, with married grandparents being older (Kanji, 2018). This age range would be more likely to correspond to the typical age of the grandparents C3-5YO would have.

The adult participants were recruited from two sites. The first were volunteers at a charity that focused on improving the lives of older individuals in the East Midlands. These volunteers had prior experience working with older adults and were already familiar with intergenerational activities, such as preschool children visiting the center and engaging with older people. Their familiarity with the context of intergenerational interaction allowed them to provide relevant and informed perspectives on the subject matter.

The eighth adult participant was a volunteer from a primary school, and their role in the educational setting provided additional context to the study. This participant had direct interaction with children and could offer a unique viewpoint on how children engage with older adults in a school-based setting. By including volunteers from a charitable organization and a school, the study was able to incorporate diverse experiences and settings.

The study focused on children aged 3 to 5 years, the primary criterion for selecting children was their relationship with a grandparent. This was crucial to the study, as the research sought to understand how

children who have grandparents perceive and interact with adults 55 plus.

This purposeful selection of the age group three to five years old was made as children's language development would enable them to participate in a conversation and to share their own experiences. England's *Statutory Early Years Foundation Stage Framework* (EYFS) (DfE, 2023), sets out curriculum requirements for children aged birth to five, including the C3-5YO.

One of the Areas of Learning and Development (AoLD) included is "Understanding the World." Part of this AoLD includes each child learning about their community, they know about similarities and differences between themselves and others, and among families, communities and traditions. (DfE, 2023).

Additionally, DfE (2022) states that practitioners should acknowledge significant events such as visits to grandparents. Intergenerational projects, including finding out what grandparents do, may therefore offer valuable opportunities for curricular provision. The EYFS (DfE, 2023) requires that:

Children discuss past and present events from their own lives and those of their family members, they understand other children may not always share the same preferences and are sensitive to the differences between themselves and others, and among families, communities and traditions (DfE, 2023).

This means that children should be familiar with discussing activities about their families. As one of the aims of the study was to use imagery drawn by the participants, this age range also meant that the children would, generally, also be able to create an image (DfE, 2023).

For the study, much consideration has been given to finding the most appropriate terminology for the groups involved. For the adult group, a review of the literature indicates that 'old' and 'elderly' are unsuitable

terms and will not be used within this research as Polizzi and Millikin (2002) state they are considered stereotypical terms. Other terms such as 'older adults' and 'seniors' were also deemed as negative stereotypes. The term 'retired' was also explored, but this is ambiguous: people may retire as early as 55 (Gov.UK, 2016), and the statutory retirement age in the United Kingdom is 67 years. However, one does not have to retire, so the term 'retired' does not represent this group.

The term '55 and over' was explored although it could be argued that this range is too broad and does not differentiate the needs and capabilities of adults age 55 years and older (Polizzi and Millikin, 2002). Although similar, 'Adults aged 55 plus' (A55+) was decided upon as it provides a neutral non-stereotypical way to describe the participants. The terminology aligned with the demographic classification making it appropriate for capturing the diverse experiences and perspectives of individuals in this age range. In keeping with the use of age-based terminology for adult group it was deemed appropriate to apply a similar approach to the children's group thus the term children aged three to five years old (C3-5YO) was chosen to represent this group.

1.7 The original contribution made by this study

This study makes an original contribution by exploring the perspectives A55+ and C3-5YO on the nature and constructions of their relationships. By addressing the research questions, this study provides new insights into how these two generations perceive each other and engage with each other, the key role grandparents play and the significance of their relationships. The existing literature either explores the role and effects of grandparenting on grandparents (e.g. Aldous,1995; Sadrudin *et al.*,2019; Buchanan and Rotkirch, 2018; DiGessa *et al.*, 2020) or how older children and adolescence view their grandparents (Mansson 2016; Barrett and Gunderson, 2021; Hoffman, 1980;).

This study makes a significant contribution to the literature on grandparenting, intergenerational bonding, and aspects of family life. It provides a deeper understanding of the significance of grandparent-grandchild relationships in contemporary society, moving beyond stereotypes.

A key contribution of this study lies in its methodological approach. The use of an adaption of PhotoVoice (Wang and Burris, 1997), using drawing rather than photographs minimised the ethical risks around privacy and consent for participants of all ages. Seitz and Orsini (2022) suggest that participants of PhotoVoice do not always have the permission from the subject of the photograph. It enables participation without the need for expensive equipment and knowledge of its usage. This adaption still allowed for participants to share their different experiences and their own realities (Wang 1999; Alaca, Rocca and Maggi, 2017).

1.8 Positionality

1.8.1 Positionality intergenerational

Positionality is the practice of a researcher considering their own position in within the study (Qin, 2016). "Positionality is a positive and integral element of qualitative work because without contextualising the researcher and research environment, often the meaning of any research output is lost." (Jafar, 2018, p.323).

Positionality... concerns ontological assumptions (an individual's beliefs about the nature of social reality and what is knowable about the world), epistemological assumptions (an individual's beliefs about the nature of knowledge) and assumptions about human nature and agency (individual's assumptions about the way we interact with our environment and relate to it) (Holmes, 2020, p.1-2).

The researcher has to reflect on their personal beliefs, and reflexivity can be characterised as comprising two interacting elements: prospective and retrospective (Edge, 2011). In this section a reflective stance will be examined, considering how experiences brought by the researcher can influence the selection of processes and the interpretation of results (Foote and Bartell, 2011, p.46).

The researchers' perspectives on the world and its origins shapes their ontological beliefs regarding the nature of social reality as well as their epistemological beliefs about the nature of knowledge (Sikes, 2004). This suggests I needed to understand my positionality and reflect on this in relation to the research. I needed to consider why I chose this area to study and the participants I did.

I am particularly interested in the changing roles of older people and how this may affect children's lives. I have a professional background as a senior lecturer in Early Childhood Studies and I am a programme leader for the Foundation Degree in Early Years. As well as this professional interest I qualified as a registered nurse working as a staff nurse in a coronary care unit and finally becoming a manager of a care home with dementia patients. This has developed my interest in the relationship children have with older people.

Coming from this background I was very aware of the separation between the elderly and children. During my time working in the care home children rarely came in apart from the annual Christmas Carol service. My own father-in-law developed Lewy Body dementia and went into a care home, I thought nothing of taking our own children to visit, they had always regularly visited their grandfather prior to the onset of his illness. Years later I spoke about this to a colleague when I was working as a senior lecturer at the university. As a practitioner, she felt that the children must have been frightened by this experience which in fact was not the case. This was the starting point for me to consider the role that older people play in the lives of children, and I wanted to find out what children thought about older people. This also

led me to consider how older people thought about young children and how their lives may overlap. I had noticed very positive changes in the behaviour of some of the care home residents when the children were present.

1.8.2 Reflection on Grandparents and role of older people in my life

According to Braun and Clarke (2022) researchers should acknowledge the experiences and perspectives that they bring to the research, rather than trying to overcome bias. Research is not carried out in a vacuum.

My earliest memory is as a three-year-old being lifted up to see a horse in a stable at my grandfather's funeral. This is the only memory I have relating to grandparents, as on the paternal side of the family my father's parents died many years before I was born, and my grandmother died when my mother was seven years old. I have no experience of other older people in my childhood as my father had no family and my mother's family live in Ireland and were rarely visited. It could be suggested that this absence provides me with a unique vantage point, free from personal biases that may sway the analysis. However, it also means that I lack first-hand insight into the grandparent-grandchild relationship from a child's perspective.

As a parent, I witnessed the profound impact of grandparents on my own children's lives through my mother, mother-in-law and fathers-in-law (I had two). They took on the role of grandparents and there were no other older family members. For my mother-in-law and her husband, the role came very naturally to them. My children have very fond memories of spending time with their grandparents who for them offered a relationship that differed from that of anyone else in the family. Lee *et al.*, (1990) suggests that though the close relationship based on trust and enjoyment leads to a closeness; more specifically, they speak with great fondness of their Nana who cooked with them,

painted pictures with them, and played with them for hours. My daughter, as an adult, told me how she would pretend not to be very well so she could spend a day at Nanas. There are beneficial effects for both the grandchildren (Ruiz and Silverstein, 2007) and their grandparents (DiGessa *et al.*, 2016; Malone, Beach and Hakoyama, 2015).

My mother found the role more difficult. Having a limited experience of childhood as her mother had died when she was seven. This meant that she never felt comfortable playing with or reading to her grandchildren and was uncomfortable interacting with them when they were younger. These experiences inform my understanding of the complexities inherent in grandparent-grandchild relationships and shape my interpretation of the findings.

Sultana (2007) contemplates the importance of paying attention to positionality and reflectivity when undertaking ethical research and to consider the power relationships and the production of knowledge. Within this research consideration must be given to the power differences between myself and the different groups of participants, how it can be overcome if possible and how it may affect data collection. My role as a senior lecturer may be seen as a power imbalance as I may be seen as an expert in the field of early years already knowing answers to the questions I am asking.

As a nurse I developed an understanding of the need to treat people with respect. To understand that their needs should be at the forefront of what I do. I learnt the importance of listening not to just what was being said but also to the 'unspoken words' and to interpret the silences. I have taken these skills and continued to develop them as a teacher and a senior lecturer. The framework on which I created this study is one of kindness to ensure all the participants feel heard and bring their authentic voices to this study.

It must also be understood that a different researcher, might interpret the same data in a very different way and that the same researcher,

on a different day or in a different frame of mind, might interpret the data differently (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000). Researchers will not all produce the same findings because 'we all speak from a particular place, out of a particular history, a particular experience, a particular culture, without being contained by that position' (Hall, 1992, p.258).

Additionally, my aspirations of becoming a grandparent myself underscore my personal investment in the topic. I eagerly anticipate the opportunity to form meaningful bonds with my future grandchildren, drawing upon the positive experiences of my children's relationship with their grandparents. I would like to have an active role in my grandchildren's lives, and I want to be able to take them to school, cook, paint and play with them. I would like to take them to all the places I took my own children but that is not within my control, it is a transition that will be controlled by my children. It is by embracing my own positionality and engaging in reflexivity, I strive to enrich the analysis.

Lund (2022) suggests that "reflexivity is the core of qualitative research and conceptualises the interaction between the researcher and the research" (p.129). It is self-evaluation of one's own positionality as a result of a continuous internal dialogue. This recognition may lead to the research process being affected (Bradbury-Jones, 2007; Stronach, Garratt, Pearce and Piper, 2007). The Researcher must turn the lens upon themselves and recognise their own place within the research and how this may affect people in this study, how questions are asked and how data is collected and interpreted (Bergen, 2015). "The inclusion of reflective accounts and the acknowledgement that educational research cannot be value-free should be included in all forms of research" (Greenbank, 2003, p.p.798-799). Although it is important to reflect there has to be a point at which one stops and allows some assumptions not to be questioned. Hamersley's argues.

If academic researchers were to be continually questioning all their assumptions about what is currently known – and especially if they were to seek to avoid relying upon any taken-for-granted assumptions – then they could never hope to develop a body of knowledge. This is because there is always scope for raising doubts. (2011, p.170).

The debate as to whether one is an insider or an outsider is critical in order to articulate a researcher's positionality (Qin, 2016). Merton (1972) is credited with contemplating the subject of insiders and outsiders in qualitative research, arguing that we are all both insiders and outsiders. Merton was criticized by Zinn (1979) for disregarding the social context within which research takes place, as this clearly indicated insiders and outsiders.

Researchers are said to have insider or semi-insider status by nature of their indigenous, native, or bicultural status. Being an outsider is often associated with being a stranger or foreigner. Each has its advantages and disadvantages (Hammersley, 1993, p.219).

An insider may be looked at by participants as being like themselves with similar experiences wrote from an insider's point of view (Qin, 2016). Simply put,

Insiders are the members of specified groups and collectives or occupants of specified social statuses: Outsiders are non-members (Merton, 1972, p.21).

Both points of view are equally valid how they 'see' and 'Understand' will differ. (Merriam, Johnson-Bailey et al., 2001, p.415). In this study I am both an insider and an outsider, I am a similar age to the A55+ participants and will have common life experiences, for example a childhood without technology. The practitioners may view me both as an insider because I have experience in early years setting and an outsider as I am not a practitioner but an academic.

Naples argued that insiderness and outsiderhood are “ever-shifting and permeable social locations,” ... “negotiated and renegotiated in particular, in everyday interactions,” that are “embedded in local processes that reposition...socially constructed distinctions” (1996:84). This suggests that relationships change between researchers and participants and that outsiders may become insiders through everyday interactions. For some parts of the research, common areas may bring an outsider in, therefore becoming an insider and this idea of insider or outsider is not permanent. “There is nothing fixed about the boundaries separating insiders from outsiders. As situations involving different values arise, different statuses are activated and the lines of separation shift” (Merton, 1972, p.28). In this instance by working with the practitioners and developing a relationship I may change from being an outsider to an insider.

Whether an insider or an outsider, researcher positionality may affect how they are viewed. Being an insider may help with gaining access to participants as they may see themselves as similar to me (De Tona, 2006). As a person in my fifties, I have experiences to share with the A55+ in order to develop a relationship. Secondly, they may affect the nature of relationships between the participants and the researcher, which, in turn, may impact the information that participants are willing to share. Finally, how their view of the world and the background of the researcher may affect the questions asked, and how the information gathered when interpreted through a different lens has shaped the findings of the study (Kacen and Chaitin, 2006). In my case I may be seen as an outsider as I will not be a member of the setting in which the practitioners work and the children attend. It could also be argued that a researcher having no experience brings a new lens (Bergen, 2015).

A strong positionality statement will describe the researcher’s lenses, this being their personal beliefs, both philosophical and perspective which influence their view of the research process, this would also

include their political beliefs and social-class (Savin-Baden and Howell Major, 2013, p.75).

My own positionalities that may influence this study are many. I am a Middle-aged, senior lecturer, discussing whether this makes me an insider or an outsider. Neither am I the age of the C3-5YO but have been a parent and experienced their views of their grandparents. This may influence how I interpreted the data from the C3-5YO. I am a similar age to the A55+ so I may be seen as an insider and my own views may influence how I interpret the data and the questions I ask. The age of the practitioners may affect how they see me and how they see older people, which could influence the questions they ask the C3-5YO. Age may be considered a power imbalance; the practitioners may not feel able to ask me questions about the research.

The imbalance of power in my role as lecturer may affect how I am viewed by both the A55+ and the practitioners, they may not be comfortable sharing their ideas if they see me as an expert and may feel that as a researcher, I am using them to obtain knowledge and presenting their ideas as well as the way I may analyse it. As Kusow argued, the "relationship between researcher and participant cannot be determined prior such that a researcher can be categorically designated either an insider or an outsider" (2003, p.597). I intend to ensure the practitioners feel valued and that their input into the study is recognized.

1.9 Positionality and COVID-19

I faced the challenges of COVID-19 as did other PhD students amidst the turmoil of the pandemic, those challenges have now been widely acknowledged, with disruptions to research projects and access to resources significantly impacting their academic pursuits (Teague, 2021). Like others I experienced changes to my data collection and had to pause and make changes which lead to modified and planned interviews having to be cancelled as a result of the restrictions and closures (Teague, 2021). Moreover, the evolving social landscape,

shaped by the pandemic and subsequent government responses, led to a re-evaluation of research designs and topics (Teague, 2021).

Education researchers, including PhD students, encountered notable obstacles in their research endeavours, particularly concerning the interruption of studies conducted within educational settings (DeMatthews *et al.*, 2020). School closures disrupted on-going education research, including mine, which I had to reevaluate with my supervisors (DeMatthews *et al.*, 2020).

Furthermore, as a lecturer at the university I transitioned to online teaching which was an additional challenge; stress and overwork came from curriculum planning, creating e-content, and devising new, more suitable assessment strategies often without adequate planning or preparation (Rashid and Yadav, 2020) making it difficult to balance the demands of work with the demands of a research study.

In light of these circumstances, it is imperative to recognize the precarious positionality myself and other PhD students were in during the pandemic. As a researcher I had to balance the complexities of academic inquiry amidst unprecedented disruptions and uncertainties. I found this very difficult to cope with and it affected my ability to write.

1.10 Structure of the thesis

Following this first chapter, Chapter Two presents the first literature review, *Age as a Construction*, focusing on the terminology for aging. It examines the significance of language choice. The chapter includes a content analysis of two newspapers, manifestos from political parties, and children's television programs. Additionally, it reviews literature on the development of stereotypes, the construction of childhood.

Chapter Three offers the second literature review, *Old and Young*, considering alloparenting from an evolutionary perspective. It

investigates the multifaceted roles of grandparents. The chapter also explores children's voices and aspects of their lives.

In Chapter Four, the underlying paradigm, ontology, and epistemology are discussed. The theoretical frameworks of social constructionism and interpretive phenomenology are explored and the chosen methodology of multiple case studies examined. The chapter evaluates the PhotoVoice method and interviewing techniques. It also explores the study's trustworthiness, reliability, triangulation, and the selection of reflexive thematic analysis.

Chapter Five details the data collection process, including sampling procedures. It discusses the rationale behind the chosen data analysis methods and reasons for discounting alternatives. The chapter describes the generation of themes from the collected data.

Chapter Six presents the findings in two parts. The first part showcases themes from the adapted PhotoVoice method, derived from conversations between practitioners and children about drawings of their grandparents. The second part presents themes emerging from interviews with A55+ participants regarding C3-5YO.

Chapter Seven reflects on the findings, introducing combined themes from both C3-5YO PhotoVoice conversations and A55+ interviews that emerged during a final reflective process. These combined themes provide a framework for the discussion.

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by summarising the findings and reflecting on the researcher's learning throughout the study. It discusses the application of the approach, methods, ethical issues, limitations, and their potential impact on the research findings. The chapter concludes with reflections on the study's contribution to knowledge and offers recommendations for future research and practice.

Chapter Two: Literature Review One – Age as a Construction

2.1 Introduction to Chapter Two

This thesis has two literature reviews. In this chapter the terminology to describe the A55+ is discussed. I examine why this is important, what effect the choice could have on the group and how this may influence the views of those reading the research. I discuss what may influence the terminology. For example, I briefly examine the language used in newspapers, political literature, and television. I have done this by completing a short analysis of content in two newspapers, The Daily Mail and The Guardian for a week between the 5th and 9th of February 2018. Manifestos from three political parties, Conservative, Labour and The Green Party, and two popular children's television programs, Peppa Pig and Jojo and Gran Gran were also analysed. Literature on development of a stereotype and the construction of childhood and the possibility of change is then reviewed.

2.2 Labelling

The use of a label affects how the members of the group view themselves as well as how the group is viewed within society. It is important to choose the right terms. Polizzi and Millikin (2002) suggest that using 'old' and 'elderly' may be stereotypical terminology which could reinforce negative views and as such should be avoided in research. It is important that the correct term must describe the group without relating to stereotypes.

The language used to describe any group is constructed by society. Gee (1999 p.7) suggests language "instantaneously reflects and constructs the situation or context", relationships identities, and activities constructing reality. This phenomenon was first defined by Berger and Luckmann (1966) who comprehensively examined a social

construction of reality. Different life stages are a socially constructed phenomenon (Phillipson, 1982). Powell and Wahidin (2008) suggest that certain aspects of age, and age-related behaviour, that older people conform to, come from the social constructionist approach. Coupland (2000) suggests there is a shared representation and a shared view of what it means to be old or older.

Language and thought are inseparable, and language allows us to provide meaning; we become the product of our own experiences and those of others in the world around us. This in turn has implications and influences how we treat other people (Burr, 2015). Hepworth (2000, p.10) states "because ageing is ultimately about human constructs of the meanings of life and time, these ideas inevitably exercise a significant influence over the ways in which we make sense of growing older". We create a 'shorthand' of what is meant by allowing labelling to occur. "Unfortunately, within our social construct of ageing it is often associated with words such as ugliness, frailty and disease. Old age is deemed a dangerous period between life and death" (Hazan, 1994, p.68). It is because of this negative language that this stage of life is being viewed as that with the least value. The growth of the ageing population has not led to an increased interest in and sensitivity toward older people (Oró-Piqueras, 2016).

Social identity formed through dichotomous discourse for example young and old, male and female (Pain, 2001). This by its very nature illustrates the dichotomy between these two group comparisons highlighting very obvious differences. Use of terms will therefore have an impact on those being described. We understand this shared construct, whether this is a negative or positive representation.

It is the names and phrases we use to refer to older people which positions them as a separate demographic group which can lead to misconceptions about the individual and can reinforce negative attitudes thus leading to 'self-fulfilling prophecy' as one takes on the characteristics of a stereotype (Fealy, McNamara, Treacy and Lyons, 2012). For older people experiencing negative stereotyping due to age

will have a negative effect on their physical well-being (Nelson 2005, Villar and Faba, 2012).

Using language that labels groups of people may be dehumanising. The labelled group may no longer be seen as part of society but as a separate and isolated group. In this case older people are outside the normal rules and moral values and become expendable nonentities (Haslam, 2006). Giving groups names such as 'the pensioners' and the 'over 70s' and referencing them as such, creates "differences in their denoted and connoted meanings and performs particular functions within texts. Positioning older people as a separate demographic category (denoted) but as a group outside of or different to the average citizen (connoted)" (Richardson, 2007). Thus, older people may be located outside mainstream society.

Being part of a stigmatised group and being labelled as such causes anxiety and depression leading to experiences of discrimination and prejudice (Lyons, Alba, Heywood Fileborn Minichiello, Barrett, Hinchliff, Malta and Dow, 2017). Within the health service, professionals are accused of using fear and belittlement relating to these characteristics, which can prevent acknowledging they possess them. Thornton (2002) suggests that labelling promotes ageist attitudes and that there are consequences, especially when misused by mass media, which can lead to negative stereotypes and further add to the self-fulfilment of prophecy. It is important that consideration must be given to the terminology used with this research.

Generations can be defined and labelled by the period they were born in, for example as "Baby Boomers" (Rudolph and Zacher, 2017; Urbain, Gonzalez, and Le Gall-Ely, 2013). During Covid-19 across social media the hashtag #boomerremover trended (Sparks, 2020). The term Baby Boomers refers to those born after the Second World War and after the subsequent period of austerity. As adults they seem to have had better job opportunities and with that came better pensions (Biggs *et al.*, 2008). However, this was not true for all baby

boomers, those born later were to experience recession. This later group did not have the advances that the earlier group appeared to have (Evandrou and Falkingham, 2000). It is considered that baby boomers benefited from a healthier and better start in life making retirement a more active phase of life. (Vilhelmson, Thulin, and Eldér, (2022).

During the pandemic there were more than 65,000 tweets, referring to those between the ages of 56 and 74 (Whalen, 2020). Jimenez-Sotomayor, Gomez-Moreno and Soto-Perez-de-Celis (2020) analysed over 4,000 of these tweets, concluding that although those related to both older adults and COVID-19 were not intended to be ageist, the negative model of ageing was being reinforced and those over 70 years of age were viewed as frail and have little to live for.

2.3 How old is old?

Age is, as Abrams, Russell, Vauclair and Swift (2011, p.8) said, "in the eye of the beholder." How one perceives age is often related to one's own age. The nearer one gets to what was once perceived as old age the further away that age becomes. Abrams and Swift (2012) consider the age at which we become old. It stated that for all of 2000 respondents in the United Kingdom old age began at 59. However, O'Donovan, O'Herlihy and Cunningham (2015) concluded 21-year-old radiologists considered 65 to be the beginning of old age. For those aged a little older, between 26 and 30 perceived it to start at 70. This suggests as people age their view of when old age occurs changes upward.

Swift, Drury, and Lamont (2016) reported that people in Greece saw 52 years old as the end of youth and the start of old age at 68, compared with the Norwegians who saw the end of youth ended at 34 and old age started at 62. It would appear that the culture in which one grows up will also affect when youth stops, and aging begins.

2.4 Ageism

Butler (1969) described ageism as a “deep seated uneasiness on the part of the young and middle aged; a personal revulsion to and distaste of growing old...” (Butler, 1969, p.243) suggesting a fear of ones’ own ageing. In the United States \$14 billion a year is spent on disguising the signs of ageing (Cray, 2011). This illustrates how ageing is not desirable, and the signs of ageing should be avoided. Ageism is rooted in the way people are categorised and the perceived threat they have of other age groups. This can be for many reasons; within the European Union the ratio of working individuals to those over 65 is expected to decrease from four working age people for every person over 65 to two working age people for every person over 65. This could lead to fear of the financial burden created by those over 65, if they’re not working, or, as a threat to the number of jobs available as the retirement age goes up (Abrams *et al.*, 2011).

The effect of negative age stereotypes is also physical and has a negative impact on recovery from illness, this includes diseases related to stress and increases the likelihood of early death (Nelson, 2016). Abrams, Russell, Vauclair and Swift (2015) further states that the terminology itself may lead to age discrimination. Whether this is due to benevolence or hostility the increase stress may cause ill health (Marques, Swift, Vauclair, Lima, Bratt and Abrams, 2015). Using the correct terminology is not only important to maintain the accuracy of the study but serves to combat stereotyping, which can affect people’s health.

Butler and Lewis (1980, p.17) stated that “Ageism allows the younger generation to see older people as different from themselves; thus, they subtly cease to identify with their elders as human beings”. This difference leads to patronizing and disrespectful behaviour towards older people (Lyons, Alba, Heywood, Fileborn, Minichiello, Barrett, Hinchliff, Malta and Dow, 2017). It is not just the younger generation

that has negative attitudes, older people may see themselves as 'too old' due to the ageist stereotypes. This can restrict people's horizons preventing them from doing certain activities or roles because they sense others are judging their activities in terms of their old age, and behaving like the stereotype (Abrams *et al.*, 2016). When people see themselves in an 'age group' it has also been suggested that this may affect their cognitive ability. Hess, Hinson and Statham (2004) imply that when negative age stereotypes were given, participants' memories were significantly lower than when younger or no primes are used. Nelson (2016) also noted mental health was expected to deteriorate. The power of stereotyping and its negative influence on the particular group cannot be underestimated. In contrast a positive outlook of one's own ageing and viewing retirement may have a positive effect on the outcome. Furthermore Cayton (2006) found that those who had a positive perception of living and of ageing lived on average seven and a half years longer, indicating that a positive approach to aging and an increase in socialisation leads to a longer life.

2.5 Government and political parties

The language used by political parties will reflect that of society and also create language for society that reflects its own stance. It is for this reason that the three political manifestoes were analysed for the language used to describe older people by the Conservative, Labour and The Green Party, in order to reflect the political landscape.

The Conservative (Conservative Party, 2017) and Labour (Labour Party, 2017) political parties are using the terms 'old' and 'elderly' and link this to vulnerability. The Labour Party manifesto, however, refers to both 'older adults' and 'pensioners' commenting on dignity of pensioners. Firstly, this suggests that older adults and pensioners are seen as separate groups and secondly, that within society pensioners are not treated with dignity. The Labour Party (2017) state that when they are in power it is their responsibility to promote dignity towards pensioners but in reality, this should be the promotion of dignity to all.

Vulnerability is also an important consideration; it is another stereotypical link to aging. The image used to illustrate “dignity for those who cannot work” is two grey-haired women knitting, not all those unable to work are grey haired and not all people knitting are women. The image could be construed as friendly. ‘Elderly’ is evaluated in an ambivalent and patronising way, that is, seen as warm, but not so competent, perpetuating the stereotype of the ‘doddering but dear’ (Cuddy *et al.*, 2005 p 276).



Figure 2.1 Image from Labour Manifesto (2017, p.57).

Within the Conservative Party manifesto (2017) reference is made to an ageing society whose needs must be managed against the needs of those of the younger population. The Labour Party manifesto also considers the importance of “giving the elderly the right to dignity” (2017, p.6). It also uses the terms older people and retired people, but they also make it clear that the old and those needing to receive elderly care could be a burden on the younger generations. Labour uses this terminology within this manifesto, which on one hand is showing respect to older people, but on the other suggests that they are needy and a liability. Thompson (1998) suggests older people are

concerned at being a burden, Shah (2007) states the elderly population has a significant risk of suicide when compared to any other age. Hanson (2016) proposes she and others would rather die than be a burden.

The Green Party's manifesto does not contain a specific section of policies for people A55+ who have retired. This can be viewed in a positive light that there is no need to divide groups based on age or in a negative light, that the party has no policies for those retiring and needing support in later life.

2.6 COVID-19

Ageism affects our views about our own ageing process (Swift *et al.*, 2019). This negative impact is noted in both the physical and mental health of individuals. Moreover, it can also determine whether older individuals receive treatment, the frequency and duration of such treatment as well as the suitability of it (Chang *et al.*, 2020). Petretto and Pili (2020) argue that there is increased ageism because of older people's increased vulnerability to infection, such as is seen with COVID-19, however the more active roles that older people have been seen to take during the outbreak reduces the risk of ageism. During the COVID-19 outbreak, globally, there have been 7,010,681 deaths (Worldometer, 2024). Worldwide the pandemic was portrayed as "the problem of older adults" promoting a separation of young from old (Zhou *et al.*, 2020). Across the UK, in 2020, 0.01% of deaths were people under the age of 15, 1% were aged 15-44 and about 75% were over the age of 75. The Office of National Statistics (ONS, 2020) suggesting this to be the case. The criterion of age is not sufficient to decide on a person's clinical life expectancy (Huchet and Georgantzi, 2020).

Multiple co-morbidities and greater numbers of hospitalisation increased the risk of contracting the infection during the COVID-19 pandemic, this was more likely for people over the age of 60 (Banerjee, 2020). There is an assumption that ageing and a decline in

health are mutually inclusive, however three-quarters of people over 65 were able to carry out work and other activities (Lowsky, 2014). The older population should not be seen as a homogenised group but a diverse group, similar in their chronological age only and connected loosely by biological age (United Nations DESA, 2017). These age-related ideas are based on harmful stereotypes reducing a diverse group to a single group (Swinford, Galucia and Morrow-Howell, 2020).

Within print media, older people are often depicted as more of a burden on society rather than a benefit (Bai, 2014; Martin, Williams and O'Neill, 2009).

The media also portray older people as socially isolated and therefore lonely (Harper, 2020). However, it is not all older people, Soulières and Charpentier (2022) suggest older People who live alone do not feel socially isolated, Luhmann and Hawkley (2016) asserts that young people can be more lonely than older adults due to transitioning into adulthood and developing their social identities.

According to the UN (2020) COVID-19 led to a further rise in both stigmatisation and discrimination of older people, which was already well established. We now seen a greater expression of inter-generational resentment in public discourse and on social media, ageism continues in the British press with opinion articles in both The Daily Telegraph and The Critic.

The Daily Telegraph with a circulation of 317,817 in print and a digital edition of 62,922 (Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2020) suggested COVID-19 could "prove mildly beneficial" to the UK economy by the deaths of large numbers of older people (Warner, 2020). Similarly, Young (2020) argued in The Critic that it was irresponsible for taxpayer's money to be used to save lives of elderly people for a year or two and loss of the elderly was "acceptable collateral damage".

Equally, in the United States, newspapers reported calls for older people to save the economy by giving up their lives (Beckett, 2020)

and in Israel, the former Minister of Health stated that a country should not be ruined for those whose remaining life expectancy is short (Magen, 2020) propelling the view that getting older is a burden to others (Martin, Williams and O'Neill 2009).

There was a notable increase in the frequency of contact between grandchildren and grandparents during the COVID-19 pandemic (McDarby, Brian and Carpenter, 2021). The enforced isolation and social distancing measures prompted many older grandchildren to reach out to their grandparents more frequently, leading to heightened concern and support. The pandemic highlighted the role grandparents took in providing childcare, particularly in contexts where formal care options were limited (Cantillon, Moore and Teasdale, 2021).

Grandparents often stepped in to fill the gaps in childcare support.

Disrupted childcare arrangements during the pandemic had significant implications for children's social, emotional, and cognitive development. Research suggests that prolonged disruptions to early education and care services have adverse effects on children's social and emotional well-being, particularly among those from disadvantaged backgrounds (Pascal *et al.*, 2020). Additionally, mask wearing, a ubiquitous preventive measure during the pandemic, was found to impair speech recognition among preschool children, potentially hindering language development and communication skills (Kwon and Yang, 2023).

2.7 Newspapers

The media and politics will influence how we consider the terms used to describe A55+. Swift, Abrams, Drury and Lamont (2016) analysed 1,500 articles in a range of newspapers, this revealed that the increased cost of pensions and care led to older adults being described as "consumers of infinite resources" and suggested the most commonly used words were "elderly" "ageing" and "older." Martin, Williams and O'Neill (2009) reported that in an 11-year period most of

the articles in the Economist that related to older people and ageing were ageist perpetuating the idea that this group were a demographic problem for younger people to support.

I analysed The Daily Mail and The Guardian's representation of different political stances over a period of a week, between the 3rd and 9th February 2018 to look for articles relating to older adults.

Only 21% of The Guardian readership, is aged over 65 years old. The Daily Mail has the largest percentage, making up almost half of their readers, at 46%. With regards to those aged under 35 The Daily Mail had the lowest percentage of readers at 15% compared to The Guardian's 29% (inter-media.co.uk, 2017). The language used in the newspapers may be related to the age of the readership and how the readers view their own age. During the specified period the terms 'elderly' and 'pensioners' were used in The Daily Mail; The Guardian however refers to 'older adults' with an opinion piece using the term 'pensioners'.

Even when older people had achieved something outstanding it was made light of. For example, a two-time world record-holding sprinter who raced in the 95-plus age category was viewed as exceptional, but their actions were marred by such comments as "there wouldn't be too many people in this category" and that "most 80-year-olds lead a chair-bound existence, exercise for only five or six minutes a day and are completely sedentary for a bum-numbing nine hours" (Harding, 2017).

The runner was compared to Usain Bolt. Treating older members of society in a similar way to those with disabilities and the characterisation of a 'supercrip' focusing on the medical model, in which a physical disability is only an issue for the individual rather than a societal one. Harwood (2008) alludes to this as counter stereotypical activities and uses terms like 'the grey warrior'. Using these representations as extraordinary achievements leads to the belief that

older people are acting outside their expected role and being given a label. This label is created by societal oppression (Wasserman, 2017). The discourses in newspapers leading to construction of an age group and stereotypical features is common in most cultures (Hugman, 1999).

2.8 Television and Film

While considering that old age is a social construct, further investigation as to what creates people's views and opinions is also needed. Therefore, television and film must be examined as a source that easily enables children to develop stereotypes. 94% of children watch television programmes via downloads on devices that have access to the internet (Ofcom, 2023) which means it will influence children's views and contribute to the social construction of their world which is why I have chosen to explore this area.

Children's television often provides them with a window to the world: Mayes and Valentine (1979) suggested that mass media such as television and films are children's most influential source of behaviour modelling. Television portrays many messages about the world to young children. Martin (2017) states that children aged between three and four are spending over four hours a day watching in front of the screen and under-fives are watching television for more than 14 hours a week (Ofcom, 2016). Much of their understanding will come from what they are viewing, moulding their opinions and perceptions of the world.

Gilbert and Ricketts (2008) argue that ageist attitudes amongst children are perpetuated by what they see in the media. How television characters are portrayed therefore is of importance to society. Television acts as a socialisation agent for some children. By watching television children observed the rules by which to behave and how to treat different groups of people (Robson and Anderson, 2006).

Children are liable to the socialising effects of television especially those shown on children's television and animated programs (Miller, 2003). This would suggest that any stereotypes the children will see on television would be treated with similar respect, or lack of it, as the television characters are given.

Bandura has demonstrated that children will imitate the behaviour of television characters just as they will imitate real life as if they were real life (Bandura, 1977) clearly suggesting the important role children's programs play in shaping the opinions of children.

According to Forbes magazine Disney is the 13th largest influential company in the world with a value of \$19 billion (Forbes.com, 2017). Disney characters and their films have been an ongoing motif in modern society (Zurcher, 2018). Over the last 50 years 85 Disney animated films have been made. Holcomb *et al.* (2005) suggest that Disney films are key influences of children's perceptions due to the constant presence and repetitive consumption. Bandura (1994) commented that the course of our daily lives gives us contact with a small sector of the physical and social environments. Seeing the same group of associates travelling the same routes. Television and film give us an opportunity to expand our horizons. Zurcher, Webb and Robinson (2018, p.287) suggest that 38% of older characters in children's cartoons are portrayed as negative as are 44% of the older Disney characters. It could be argued that this in turn could lead to children stereotyping older adults in a negative way at an early age.

The Disney Princess doll business was valued at \$300 million in 2015, making it extremely valuable (Suddath, 2015). A Disney princess is attractive, she has a clear complexion and good muscle tone, she has big eyes, a small nose and chin and prominent cheekbones which is complimented with lustrous hair (Gangestad and Scheyd, 2005). This description strongly portrays that being young and beautiful is valued, a perspective that may differ from many people's views of older adults. Myers (2002, p.428), maintains "Children learn the

stereotype quite early. Snow White and Cinderella are beautiful and kind. The witch and the stepsisters are ugly and wicked”.



Figure 2.2 Image from Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (Disney.wiki.,nd)

Peppa Pig is one of the most viewed programmes on television at present. The show is a television cartoon aimed at children aged three to five years old and generated US\$1.1 billion worth of retail sales according to the Daily Telegraph (Yeomens, 2017) with £160 million of Peppa Pig products sold. Peppa Pig is retailed throughout America as well as the United Kingdom and Australia with related merchandise in the USA topping 1.6 million. Programmes are shown in 180 countries worldwide and translated into forty languages, there is also a theme park in Hampshire UK and a touring theatre company.

The character Peppa Pig is three years of age; she has a younger brother George and lives with her parents 'Mummy Pig and Daddy Pig'. Her grandparents appear in some of the episodes. Grandpa Pig is grey-haired as is Grandma Pig. Grandma Pig is generous; however, Grandpa is viewed as a fusspot and worries about going out with Daddy Pig as he is the one who has the mishaps; this is portrayed as fine because

he enjoys repairing and mending things. Both Grandpa Pig and Grandma Pig are seen as sitters for the children when mummy and daddy want to do other things. In children's literature Danowski and Robinson (2012) state that grandparents often provide support and comfort to the main characters, the children.

Santos and Falcão (2017) of Spain, stated Grandpa Pig is described as a humorous pig that likes his garden, enjoys boating and riding on his train. He likes to play tricks on the children and enjoys playing games with them. Grandma Pig on the contrary likes to promote good manners in the children she is a cheerful caring housewife. The cartoon depicts a traditional functioning family similar to those in the Western World (Santos and Falcão, 2017).

Children's television influences children's behaviour. Greenway (2015) argues watching Peppa Pig has affected the behaviour of her children and she believes that it has been a major influence, suggesting that the character Peppa Pig, had led her child to participate in unpleasant dialogue after watching an episode called 'The Argument'. She goes on to describe Grandpa Pig as a 'know it all.' (p.1). Clearly this small pig's behaviour has been seen worthy of newspaper coverage illustrating the power of this cartoon.

There are many episodes that feature Grandpa Pig, often suggesting his hobbies and pastimes, they include: Peppa Pig and George's Garden, Peppa Pig Grandpa and Grandpa's attic, Grandpa Pig's Boat and Peppa and George, Peppa Pigs brother, go boating with Grandpa. All may be considered suitable and therefore stereotypical hobbies for a Grandad further promoting labels.

An episode of series 3 is about Grandpa Pig being given Mummy Pig's old computer and having difficulties using this modern piece of equipment. The episodes suggest that his interests and skills are that of a 'typical grandparent' for example grey haired and forgetful. Santos *et al.*, (2017) describes Peppa Pig as a series that captures the

everyday life of a small child. This would suggest that Peppa Pig and the portrayal of Grandpa and Grandma Pig is a stereotype of older people and of grandparents. Considering the large audience that views Peppa Pig this could very easily portray images that may be viewed as detrimental.

One episode of Peppa Pig has been banned from Australian television. The episode 'Mr Skinny Legs,' in which Peppa Pig explained that spiders were not harmful. Zhol (2017) reported that this episode of Peppa Pig had to be pulled from air in Australia as the message suggested that playing with spiders was not dangerous; whilst in the UK this is seen as a response to children not picking them up and being afraid, in Australia the implications would be seen as inappropriate as not all Australian spiders are 'very, very small' and those that are small, such as the Funnel Web spider, can 'hurt you'.

In 2013 Peppa Pig was accused of having a feminist line by commentator Piers Ackerman. This followed a blog in the Australian Daily Telegraph in which he was discussing the ABC News and Current affairs as promoting left-wing propaganda; this story was then reported in other newspapers including those in the United Kingdom. The Guardian and the Daily Mail both reported that Peppa Pig had been accused of being left-wing and that people had taken to Twitter to defend her. The Guardian headline of "Not only is Peppa Pig a feminist, she's probably a rabid socialist too" (McClintock, 2013). This all suggests that this children's television programme is seen as influential, not only as a generator of great income but also as a way of influencing young children's views of politics and feminism.

As well as influencing children Peppa Pig has also been accused of giving parents unrealistic expectations of General Practitioners (GP) as an episode showed the family phoning and talking to a GP and later receiving a visit. Bell (2017) stated that watching this popular cartoon may lead to services being inappropriately used and all those who responded by stating the article was tongue in cheek still felt that its

portrayal raised patient expectations. This again suggests that Peppa Pig is a powerful influence in our society through the perceptions of characters, particularly in this instance Grandpa Pig. Yläne (2015) suggests negative representations may foster “negative stereotypic attitudes and expectations about older people” whereas positive, more diverse representations “are regarded as desirable, especially for older media users, in supporting positive self-identity” (p.369).



Figure 2.3 Image from Peppa Pig (Candysite, nd).

In contrast is the animation “JoJo & Gran Gran,” created by Laura Henry-Allain MBE, this is another British made animated show and is centred on a Black family and the special relationship between a grandparent and their grandchild (Seeley, 2021, p,13). The character of Gran Gran is based on Henry-Allain's grandmother. The series premiered in 2020 on CBeebies in the UK and received more than 14 million views on BBC iPlayer (Jones, 2020). In 2021 the show received a nomination for Best Children’s Programme, for the episode “It’s Time to Go to the Hairdresser’s” (Royal Television Society (RTS) 2021). Each episode revolves around the adventures and explorations of the four-

and-a-half-year-old JoJo, often guided by her grandmother, Gran Gran. They engage in everyday activities such as cooking, visiting the farm, or simply going to the beach and through these experiences JoJo learns about the world, her family history, and her own identity. Holliday (2020, p.1) stated that “Gran Gran is neither frail nor dodderly, but refreshingly energetic and capable”, a different type of grandparent than the more stereotypical Grandma and Grandpa Pig.

2.9 Development of a stereotype

According to Sapin (2009, p.219)

a stereotype is the commonly held limited and standard idea or image of a group, or of individuals who are perceived to be a group.

Tajfel (1981) similarly suggests individuals make generalisations about other individuals (p.146), these generalisations are based on beliefs and features within a group and may include what is considered the 'norm' within that group (Gill, 2004). Other features and behaviours which are not within these generalisations are viewed as unacceptable (Tajfel, 1981). To be accepted in the group, members are expected to observe these norms to be accepted by other group members (Mulvey, Hitti and Killen, 2010). Age is used as a basis for stereotyping which has been described within this chapter and could be basis for being part of a group.

The cognitive process of categorizing people into groups based on common characteristics is widespread in society (Fiske, Lin and Neuberg, 1999; Gözüyeşil and Tanriseven, 2017; Chi, 2022; Tajfel, 1982; Sheepers and Ellemers, 2019; Champoux-Larsson, Ramström, Costa and Baus, 2022). Belonging to a group gives the individual a sense of security as well as self-worth and a purpose (Haslam *et al.*, 2009).

To explain how individuals form these groups Tajfel and Turner (1970) developed the 'social categorization theory', which is an aspect of social identity formation, with people categorising themselves and others by group attributes instead of individual traits (Turner, 1982; Turner and Reynolds, 2004). These Cognitive shortcuts simplify the complexity of the social world and help individuals process vast amounts of information efficiently with individuals understanding that they are part of a group. However, this cognitive process can lead to the formation of stereotypes and enhance their own social identity and self-esteem by emphasizing the positive qualities of their in-group giving an emotional attachment. The out-group, and under certain circumstances being categorized as out-group members results in negative consequences (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Turner, 1987).

Social identity theory explains how individuals gain a sense of self and group identity from their membership in social categories. Social identity is defined as

"part of an individual's self-concept which derives from ... knowledge of his membership of a group (or groups) together with the value and the emotional significance attached to the membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p.63).

Age for example can serve as a basis for social identity and individuals develop a sense of belonging and self-definition based on their age group.

Nesdale (2004, 2007) builds on the principles of the social identity approach (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986; Turner *et al.*, 1987) and modifies them to apply to children Nesdale (2004, 2007, 2011). Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT) suggests that children move from becoming aware of social groups in preschool, to a foundation of social group relations where children begin to engage in social interactions without understanding groups. In the second phase children develop

an awareness of social groups which occurs around the ages of two and three years old, they begin to categorize themselves and others into socially relevant groups such as gender and ethnicity. In the awareness phase, most children want to be with children like themselves and the final stage prejudice occurs around six or seven years old. Many never really develop out-group negativity, but they will prefer to be with their own group and like the other groups less, however, those who identify strongly and are exposed to out-group prejudice, are more likely to do so (Nesdale, 2011, 2017).

Children will behave in a way that will maintain them in the group, they are fearful of rejection which could potentially have a negative impact on them, especially on their emotional reactions and their behaviour. An adverse reaction to people not in the in group could occur in children when they start developing social knowledge, understanding that their views need to also comply with individuals and groups such as parents and teachers as well as group members suggesting influence from an ecological perspective (Nesdale, 2017; Bronfenbrenner, (1994). This would suggest that children will be influenced by other people's view of older people.

Bronfenbrenner (1994) highlights the importance of the context in which children grow up. In terms of gender this would be attitudes towards women at home and picture books, for example having pictures of women as firefighters. In terms of ageing as children are learning from the environment, preschoolers will have a similar attitude to older people as their parents. (Flamion, Missotten, Jennotte, Hody, Adam, 2022) study showed preschoolers made similar comments as each other about pictures of older people they were shown suggesting they had developed a shared view of an older person.

Children would identify more readily with other children (North and Fiske, 2012). Another way to explain stereotyping development in children is through Developmental Intergroup Theory Bigler and Liben

(2006). Similarly, Bandura's learning theory (Bandura, 1977) suggests individuals learn from those around them. Individuals, for example children, develop gender-related identities, behaviours and roles through observational learning and imitation of others in their social environment (Bandura, 1965). It suggests that children learn about gender through direct and indirect socialization experiences, primarily by observing and imitating the behaviours, attitudes and the expectations of significant others, such as parents, peers, and media representations. Individuals are more likely to adopt and continue gender-typed behaviours when they are reinforced or rewarded for conforming to societal gender expectations. Reinforcement can come in various forms, including praise, approval, or even punishment for deviating from gender norms. Individuals also learn about gender roles and behaviours; the consequences and rewards others receive for their gender-typed behaviour (Bandura 1965). It could therefore be argued that children develop their views of older people in an equivalent way.

Similarly, Lineweaver *et al.*, (2017) observed that there was a relationship between children's ageist stereotypes and their parents' views this occur from the age of 9 years, a furthermore the older the child, the stronger these child and parent common stereotypes become. Newsham, Schuster, Guest, Nikzad-Terhune and Rowles (2021) study of college students in the United States compared their perceptions of 'old people' compared to 'grandparents', the findings suggested that grandparents were seen in a more positive light than other older people, seeing older people with poor mentality and loss of physical traits relating to beauty and grandparents with positive emotional personality traits.

Age-related stereotypes in preschool children develop from multiple sources. These include parental views, media exposure and interaction with older people and their grandparents. In the Robinson, Zurcher and Callahan (2015) study children draw happy pictures of older family members whereas those visiting care homes had a more negative view (Seefeldt, 1987). Stereotypes about age groups are prevalent across

cultures and stages of development (Seefeldt, 1987; Holmes Bertram, Burr, Sears, Powers, Atkins, Holmes, *et al.*, 2018.; Robinson and Howatson-Jones, 2012; Flamion, Missotten, Jennott, Hody and Adam 2020).

How children perceive older people is affected by the type of relationship those children have with older people. Bousfield and Hutchinson (2010) suggest that children who spend time with older people have more favourable attitudes towards older men and women in general and are even less likely to have age stereotypes if they are working collaboratively. Moreover, Robinson and Anderson (2006) suggest that relationships between children and grandparents hold more of a positive attitude than between peers who do not have strong ties with grandparents, illustrating the importance of this relationship to diminish negative concepts of aging. In a drawing test, children generally depicted older people in a positive way. Older family members are depicted as happy, healthy and active (Robinson *et al.*, 2014).

Children's understanding and acquisition of gender stereotypes begins at a young age, often through exposure to gender-stereotypical behaviours in adults within their immediate environment including family. This may be through, for example, parent-child play, conversations and media influences conveyed in children's books. Children often receive positive feedback when they conform to gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes serve several functions in navigating one's social environment. Stereotypes can serve a descriptive function by providing beliefs and descriptions about certain social groups' features (Rikhusshuba and Huda, 2020; Skočajić *et al.*, 2019).

Children as young as three years old are able to identify characteristics that are associated with a specific gender including physical features, objects, and activities thereby enabling them to define to gender groups (Skočajić *et al.*, 2019; Weinraub, Clemens, Sockloff, Ethridge, Gracely and Myers, 1984). Similarly, three-years-old children relate colours with the male or female gender. Colours such as pink yellow and light purple being for girls and blue grey and brown being boy's

colours (Wong and Hines, 2015; Weisgram, Fulcher, and Dinella, 2014).

Children are particularly susceptible to stereotypes during early childhood (Halim, 2016) when they are still developing their sense of identity and social norms. These stereotypes remain and generally are not processed as children mature, therefore becoming passed on to the next generation (Suryandari, 2020).

2.10 Childhood

Prout and James (1990, p.8) argued childhood is shaped by social, cultural, and historical factors. Childhood was more than biological immaturity, which could not be described as a natural or a universal concept or a cultural component of many societies. However, neither can it be separated from other variables such as gender, class or ethnicity. There are a variety of childhoods rather than a single and universal phenomenon. There are however similarities, these include the need for physical care and emotional attachment (Prout and James, 1990, p.8).

Ariès (1962) suggests the idea of a distinct childhood emerged relatively late in Western Europe, influenced by social and economic factors. This historical perspective illuminates the fluidity of childhood constructions and their dependence on cultural and historical contexts. Sorin (2005) identifies several contrasting images of childhood. The Innocent Child is the idealized image which portrays children as pure and in need of adult protection (Branscombe *et al.*, 2000). This construction informs educational philosophies like Froebel's Kindergarten, which views children as seedlings to be nurtured (Aries, 1962).

Sorin (2005) also identified the image of Nuisance or Spoiled Brat child, this image emphasizes the disruptive or problematic aspects of childhood behaviour (Sorin, 2005; Jenks, 2005). The Future Adult, in which children are seen as apprentices or "adults-in-training" (Sorin,

2005; Woodrow, 1999). This developmentalist discourse constructs children as lacking the full agency and rights of adults (Woodhead, 2013). The most prominent image of the child is that of the innocent child often seen as the 'inherent condition of childhood' (Woodrow, 1999). However, this makes the child vulnerable and incompetent (James, 2016). Garlen describes this "innocence as a period of innocent ignorance as the ideal condition of early life" (2019, p.57) and goes on to suggest that in more recent times this has collapsed and it is less clear what is adulthood and childhood.

Bristow (2024) critiques contemporary discourse surrounding childhood, suggesting that claims of childhood being "at an end" or "in crisis" are prevalent. Childhood is constructed around the anxiety of and protection against any potential threat (Scott, Jackson, and Beckett-Milburn, 1998, p.8). This discourse again portrays children as vulnerable to external influences and pressures, thereby shaping societal perceptions of childhood and parenting practices. Cunningham (2006) emphasizes the modern-day preoccupation with child safety, suggesting that children are more closely monitored now than ever before due to perceived risks associated with adult interaction. Prout (2000) echoes this sentiment, noting a paradoxical tension between viewing children as autonomous individuals while also subjecting them to increased surveillance and regulation. Furthermore, Lee, Bristow, Faircloth and Macvarish (2024) discuss the rise of awareness regarding "stranger danger," whereby both parents and children are sensitized to potential threats posed by unfamiliar adults, this is despite the fact that statistically the risk from strangers is no higher than in the past (Cunningham 2009, p.244). This heightened vigilance contributes to a culture of parental concern for child safety and well-being. There is also an increase in the time one is considered a child. Cunningham (2009) also asserts that there has been a prolonging of childhood due to the increase in the school leaving age from 15 to 16 in 1972. It could be argued that it has been further increased as children are now in education or may start an apprenticeship, until the age of 18 as stated in The Education and Skills Act (2008).

2.11 Time for change

There has been a change to the segregation of the generations. The first combined nursery and care home in England, Apples and Honey has been opened, Nightingale Day Nursery and Preschool is located behind Nightingale House care home in London, It is thought the benefits may not be just for those people involved but also the wider community as it is expected to improve the quality of care for services used by different generations. United For All (2018) considers the many benefits of older people and young children and their families sharing a site and sharing costs. For the residents without this type of setting there is an increase loneliness, poor health and stereotyping between the generations.

Sheppard (2017) suggests that Nightingale House care home has transformed the lives of its residents, as they are able to spend time with children bringing people together. Breaking down barriers in this way is not a situation where the old people are caring for the children but sharing space and activities, the health benefits to the residents are considerable, however, as yet there is little work done to determine how it may be benefiting the children. Babcock, Malone Beach, and Salomon (2018) note that the decreased contact between the generations is because of the increase in age-segregated living communities and nursing homes, which are aimed at older adults. Increasing the access between generations may be beneficial.

Another way to increase the amount of time different generations spend time together is intergenerational learning. Holmes (2009, p.114) believes:

the development of an intergenerational program is a positive move toward the goal of promoting a community atmosphere in which both children and elders develop positive values and attitudes.

Intergenerational learning is a form of learning where individuals from different age groups, particularly young children and older adults, come together to share experiences, knowledge, and skills in a mutually beneficial way. Programs often involve activities such as storytelling, arts and crafts, cooking, gardening, and other collaborative projects (Kernan and Cortellesi, 2019).

Together Old and Young (TOY) is an approach to intergenerational learning. The TOY approach brings together young children aged eight and upwards with older people to learn from each other by sharing experiences and developing meaningful relationships. The TOY approach has inspired and guided intergenerational learning activities and initiatives in 12 countries across Europe. (Kernan and Cortellesi, 2019).

Koutsouris, Nash and Norwich (2023) created the Silver Stories programme, in which school-age children read to older people to address their literacy and emotional difficulties while enhancing wellbeing. The findings highlighted the positive impact of the programme, including improved reading skills, building relationships between generations for the children and fostering social connections.

Moreover, Schwartz and Simmons (2001) found that children living with an elderly relative are more likely to have a direct experience with some of the negative effects of ageing and stereotyping and as a result tended to have better quality interactions with elderly individuals. These increased interactions resulted in reduced anxiety about further encounters with older people and a more positive overall attitude.

The Centre for Ageing Better is an independent charitable foundation which is advocating for improved ageing experiences for everyone, by combating ageism and fostering an age-friendly movement, the efforts focus on promoting age-friendly employment and age-friendly homes. It has an image library, which has non-stereotypical images of older

people that are free to download to promote a more positive image of older people.

2.12 Chapter Two Conclusion

There is a danger that the difficult task of assigning a name and description to this group could have detrimental effects on the participants. If the language and terminology used is incorrect, insensitive or inaccurate it may only succeed in creating a negative stereotype, adversely affecting both people's physical and mental health. Through developing language, the social construction of age and ageing has to be considered. Newspapers, television news, political literature and social media will influence all adults. Children's books, films and cartoons will influence the child's views of older people, this could influence how children perceive older adults as they mature. When describing older people and their needs, more needs to be done to promote more positive perceptions of ageing (Cayton, 2006.). This will encourage us to value older people and the contribution they make and have made during their lives. Within this study, it remains important to ensure this happens. Media must be challenged (Abrams, 2017).

Chapter Three: Literature Review 2: Old and Young

3.1 Introduction to Chapter Three

In the second of the two literature reviews featured in the thesis, alloparenting, a concept rooted in evolutionary theory, is considered to further interpret the adaptive significance of grandparental involvement. The role of grandparenthood delves into the multifaceted dimensions of grandparents. The role grandparents play in childcare and the reason they are needed is investigated. The role of grandparents in providing treats, emotional support and cultural guidance is also reviewed. Finally, children's voice and different aspects of children's lives are explored including the *Statutory Early Years Foundation Stage Framework* (DfE, 2023) as most C3-5YO in England are enrolled in registered early childhood education where the EYFS is a requirement.

3.2 Grandparenthood

Tarrant (2010) stated that grandparenthood was a social cultural and historic construct that families have changed over the past two decades. For example, Townsend (1957) suggested that grandparents were lenient towards their grandchildren, this may have been because the perception of earlier grandparents were stricter. This reflects shared norms within the families and culture or ethnic backgrounds, uniquely defining grandparenting, Buchanan and Rotkirch (2018). In Western societies including the UK grandparent are seen as supportive if they do not undermine parents, contrasting with the more traditional role of authoritative grandparents. Therefore, grandparenthood should be considered a social construction (Berger and Luckmann, 1967).

Grandparenting is a worldwide phenomenon (Hayslip *et al.*, 2019), Statistically, 20% of the world's population are grandparents. More children will have grandparents and will have their grandparents for longer as life expectancy increases (Chamie, 2018). Grandparenting

has been described as a form of continued parenting and an opportunity for parents to support their adult children (Hagestad, 2006; Albert and Timonem, 2012). It is also seen as an opportunity to once again develop a loving relationship with children (Rotkirch and Buchanan, 2016). However, the experience of being a grandparent will be dependent on the relationship between adult children and the grandparents. The better relationship with adult children fosters stronger bonds with their grandchildren (Myers and Perrin, 1992). A more challenging relationship may result in a reduction in the amount of time and involvement grandparents have with their grandchildren (Lavers and Sonuga-Barke, 1997). There are other factors which may affect the grandparent's role including culture and proximity to the family, the closer families live the more frequent contacts grandparents and the opportunity to develop close bonds (Davey, Savla, Janke and Anderson, 2009).

The role of grandparent differs from that of parenting, grandparents see their role as that of the supporting their children and no longer having parenting responsibilities (Clarke and Roberts, 2004). In the UK and in other European countries, the concept of 'being there' for family members in need (e.g., childcare, financial assistance) is prevalent (Clarke and Roberts, 2004). 'Being there' can be seen as part of a broader family value system that emphasizes strong family bonds. Grandparents who describe themselves as 'being there for their grandchildren' position themselves as involved, invested and cherished (Mason, May and Clake, 2007). Conversely, other Western societies emphasize 'non-interference' in parenting decisions (Harper and Ruicheva, 2010).

Non-interference also structures grandparenting behaviour. The concepts of 'non-interference' and 'obligation' have been identified as key norms in grandparenting (Aldous, 1995). The former emphasizes grandparents' reluctance to interfere with established household rules and parenting decisions (Cherlin and Furstenberg, 1986). This includes avoiding unsolicited advice, respecting parenting choices, and not prying (Mason *et al.*, 2007). Grandparents may also use this norm to

prevent conflict (Kemp, 2004). This highlights the complexity particularly of the grandmother and new mother relationship, with grandmothers facing challenges in balancing potential benefits and risks of their interactions with the new family (Reid Schmied and Beale., 2010). It is also suggested that Mothers may seek additional verification before taking the grandmothers' advice (Reid *et al.*, 2010; Hauck and Irurita, 2003).

Differences in parenting opinions between mothers and grandmothers can strain relationships but may be easier to negotiate due to the strength of the bond (Zhang Fong Yoshikawa, 2019). Interestingly, supportive co-parenting behaviours by grandmothers can both facilitate secure attachments to mothers and potentially undermine parental authority (Golds Smith-Gillespie Nibley, 2022). Grandparents may struggle with balancing their desire to help with the need to respect parental autonomy (Breheny *et al.*, 2012). While providing support, grandparents often navigate the delicate balance between involvement and interference in their relationships with grandchildren (Harwood, 2004; Mason *et al.*, 2007; Kemp, 2004).

3.3 Alloparenting

The grandparents' role may be a part of alloparenting. Alloparenting is universal behaviour amongst humans (Sear and Mace, 2008) where breeding females are supported by non-breeding group members for better outcomes for babies, increasing the number of offspring surviving into adulthood by allowing mothers to wean their young earlier, helping to protect them. Maximising time, energy and resources (Emmott, page, 2019).

Lukas and Clutton-Brock (2012) suggest the evolution of cognitive development, and advancement in communications skills lead to shared care of young by breeding females and assistance by non-breeding grandmothers and other relatives such as siblings, cousins, aunties, uncles and even neighbours. It is suggested that this may lead to and include indirect care such as financial support and occurs

across cultures (Kaplan *et al.*, 2009; Kenkel *et al.*, 2017). This is evident in the grandparenting role. Hardy (2009) argued support as the reason for a long post-reproductive lifespan of grandmother to help care for their grandchildren (Emmott, Page, 2019; Hardy, 2009; Blaffer and Hrdy, 2009). Krasheninnikova, (2022, page 3000), described this as the grandmother hypostasis,

"The grandmother hypothesis is a theory explaining why longer post-reproductive life span has developed in human evolution and why infertility in old age can be an evolutionary benefit for females

Williams, (1957) suggests there must be an advantage to living beyond the years of fertility for other female by being able provide additional resources for female who are fertile, suggesting that having a grandparent offers universal benefits (Sear and Mace, 2008). As females with longer life spans, they could potentially provide more assistance leaving a greater number of descendants, increasing the life expectancy in future generations, reducing the risk of a later maturity (Hawkes, O'Connell, Blurton Jones, 1989).

3.4 What is grandparenting?

Becoming a grandparent usually happens during middle to later life, often at least five years before retirement (Leopold and Skopek, 2015). The average age of grandmothers of lone parents is 55 and of partnered mothers is 61 (Kanji, 2018). The Office of National Statistics (ONS, 2019) reported 50% of people aged 63 had a grandchild living outside their household. By the age of 64 this rises to 75% (Backhaus and Barslund, 2019). Transition to older age includes retirement and widowhood (Selleston and Hagestad, 2015). Role transitions change how society sees individuals. There may be a different set of expectations and a new and different perception of the individual (Hagestad and Neugarten, 1995.; Hagested and Lang, 1986). Adult transitions are usually controlled by an individual, however, unlike other transitions becoming a grandparent is not self-determined as it is

the result of their children's transition into parenthood, (Skopek, 2021) and as such is they have no control over when or if this transition occurs, this can have an effect on how people view themselves, often grandparents are reminded of their own mortality (Lomax, 2005; Hossain Elsberg and Shwalb, 2018). Becoming a grandparent can be ageing if it occurs early, although this is not the case for those who become grandparents at the expected time (Selleston and Hagestad, 2015; Bordone and Arpino, 2016; Spencer, 2016). Harwood (2002) suggested that in western countries grandparents are viewed as aged regardless of their actual age, leading to many experiencing ageism (Butler, 1968). They may still feel a burden and non-productive (Herbert, 2023). Grandparents are often seen as this older homogenous group despite the fact most grandparents are in their fifties when their first grandchild is born (Hossain Elsberg and Shwalb, 2018).

3.5 Typology of grandparenting

Neugarten and Weinstein (1964, p.202) created a typology with five grandparenting styles. The 'formal' grandparent does not take on the parenting role but provides special treats and indulgences for the grandchildren, this is what was considered a traditional role. A 'fun seeking' grandparent who interacts with their grandchildren by joining with them in play activities and both of them enjoying the experience like a playmate. A 'distant figure' who only sees the grandchildren occasionally. The 'surrogate parent', who in 1964 was predominantly the grandmother, not a grandfather. Many also took responsibility for the child while the mother went to work. Finally, the 'reservoir of family wisdom' who gives advice and passes on skills, this was based on age with the suggestion that older grandparents would be traditional and therefore formal and younger grandparents would be fun-seekers or distant.

Over 20 years later Cherlin and Furten (1985) used Neugarten and Weinstein's (1964) typology to develop their own typology suggesting three types. 'Companionate' which is similar to the 'fun seeker' and they enjoy spending time with their grandchildren doing activities. 'Remote' who are distant with minimal contact and finally 'companionate' who are involved in their grandchildren's lives establishing expectations. Cherlin and Furten (1985) used age and health to create these categories with remote grandparents generally tending to be over 64 years and companionate grandparents below 64.

Subsequently, Mueller, Wilhelm and Elder (2002) developed another five types of grandparent's grandchild typology. This represents varying levels of engagement and interaction with their adolescent grandchildren, highlighting the diversity in grandparenting styles and relationships based on the contact frequency, relationship quality, support dynamics, and geographic proximity. These are 'influential' grandparents which are described as highly engaged in activities, intimacy, helping, and instrumental support. The 'supportive' grandparents are, as the name suggests supportive. They are actively involved in various aspects of their grandchildren's lives except for discipline. 'Passive' grandparents do not participate in activities, intimacy or helping. 'Authority-oriented' grandparents exhibit a focus on discipline and authority in their interactions. Detached grandparents are the least engaged with minimal involvement in activities, intimacy, helping, and instrumental support.

Barrett and Gunderson (2021, p.730) suggest that these typologies were outdated, and they developed a typology for later stages of grandparent-adult grandchild relationships. The categories were derived from the variations in geographic distance and frequency of contact, highlighting the different patterns of interaction and proximity observed in grandparent-adult grandchild relationships (Barrett and Gunderson, 2021, p.730). Geographically Distant/Low Contact: physically distant from each other and have infrequent contact. Geographically Close/High Contact: are geographically close to each other and have frequent contact. Geographically Close/Low Contact:

are geographically close but have low levels of contact (Barrett and Gunderson (2021, p.730).

Within the four typologies there are similarities in which grandparents can be actively involved in their grandchildren's life and this is more likely to be the case when they live nearby, however this is not always the case.

3.6 Role of grandparents

The role of grandparent can be varied and may involve providing regular care for their grandchildren, without primary parenting responsibility (Huang, Zhao, Reynolds *et al.*, 2022; Sneed and Schulz, 2019; Shorey and Ng, 2020). There are grandparents who take on this role of primary carers when their own children cannot. This role may be taken on because of a belief that it is better than the child going into care (Peterson 2018; Shwalb and Hossain, 2017; Ashirifi, Harris and Trauth; 2021). There has been an increase each year in the number of grandparents who take on the role of special guardians in England's care system. Over half of the 200,000 children living with kinship carers in the U.K. are living with grandparents (Wijedasa, 2017). It is estimated that between 50% and 60% of women in prison were mothers and likely to be primary carers, often leading to grandparents taking on this role (Kane and Minson, 2022; HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, 2017, 2018; Minson, 2017). Taking on this role may lead to detrimental effects on the grandparents in terms of their financial situation and their health (Mervyn-Smith, 2018; Clark, Kelley, Clark Lane, 2022) This is not the area being explored in this research and the effects of raising children differ from those who are not primary carers, the outcomes for parents looking after their grandchildren as primary carers are often very stressful and incur health issues (McKay and Nadorff, 2021). If there is a breakdown in relationships between adult children and grandparents, for example because of divorce, substance abuse, family disputes, then children transfer into care (Avieli and Levy, 2023).

According to Kaganas and Piper (2020) there is no legal right for grandparents to have contact with their grandchildren, although grandparents can apply for a Contact Order. This does not necessarily mean contact will be upheld and even in cases where a grandparent has been found to be of value, their involvement may be overshadowed by other factors such as hostility between the child's parents and the grandparents involved. Under the Children Act 1989 the needs of the child should be considered, however, this is not always the case (Kaganas and Piper 2020). The lack of contact with grandchildren can lead to profound sorrow, worry about the grandchildren's well-being, a sense of loss and have adverse impacts on their relationships with peers, life satisfaction, and role fulfilment (Avieli and Levy, 2023).

More often grandparents offer a more informal support to their children by providing care for their grandchildren. This allows mothers to go back to work with grandparents being a key source of care (Sadrudin, *et al.*, 2019). In both the UK and other European countries, the continuing high costs of childcare has resulted in the number of grandparents providing childcare for their grandchildren increasing (Department for Education, 2019; Buchanan and Rotkirch, 2018; Department for Education, 2018) This is especially for younger children (Huang, Zhao and Reynolds *et al.*, 2021). Moreover Cantillon, Moore and Teasdale (2021) stated that prior to the COVID-19 pandemic more than a quarter of families relied upon grandparents to provide childcare whilst parents went to work. In England more than 50% of grandparents provide childcare for their grandchildren (Di Gessa *et al.*, 2020).

Grandparents in the UK are more likely to be in paid work compared to the rest of Europe with only Denmark and Sweden having a higher percentage of working grandparents (Eurostat 2019). The age for a State Pension in the U.K. was 66 years in October 2020. Following the 2023 State Pension age Review (2023) there will be a further increase to 67 years, this taking place between 2026-2028. Going up to 68 years by 2037/38 (Department for Work and Pensions, 2023).

However, there has been significant criticism at the increased raising of the state pension as there is no consideration for those who will have to work due to financial reasons (Lain and Phillipson, 2019). For some Grandparents, particularly grandmothers, this has meant making the choice between employment and caring for their grandchildren (Oppenheim and Rehill, 2020). This occurs as grandparents leave the workforce to take on caring roles before they are able to receive their pensions (Price, Glaser, Ginn, and Nicholls, 2015). Women receive 5% less than men in state pension and private pensions, the gap for women born in the early 1950s is around 45% (Cribb, Karjalainen and O'Brien, 2023). For women, living nearer their grandchild there is a greater reduction in their working hours (Rupert and Zanella, 2018) with some feeling obliged to be carers even if this leads to a financial and even physical impact on them (Eurostat 2019; Backhaus and Barslund, 2021).

The British Government has made some recognition for grandparents' involvement in providing childcare for children with the introduction of National Insurance credits which are available to people caring for children under the age of 12, particularly grandparents or other family members to allow parents to work. These credits enable grandparents below retirement age to 'fill in' the gaps in their national insurance record and increase the number of qualifying years to receive the full state pension (Gov UK, [n.d.]) however this is only a benefit if the grandparent has less than 30 years National insurance contributions. The need to support mothers back into work is not the only reason for grandparents to support their adult children and grandchildren, there are absences due to death of a parent or separation and divorce, it is often grandparents who care and support their grandchildren and mediate on behalf of their grandchildren (Powell, 2019).

3.7 Role of grandparents providing childcare

Some grandparents feel obligated to provide childcare, viewing it as a social expectation (Golds *et al.*, 2020). Sai, Motamed and Rougemont

(2013) highlight this arrangement, noting that grandparents often take on roles such as babysitting during weekends or evenings, or providing care while parents' work. For some adult children this provision was taken for granted (Ashwin, Tartakovskaya Ilyina and Lytkina, 2013). This support from grandparents is considered valuable within contemporary parenting culture (Harman, Cappellini and Webster, 2022). Without the support of grandparents many mothers would not be able to work.

In the UK, 72.5% of mothers with children aged two are working full or part time (ONS, 2022). At the time of writing the average cost of childcare has increased each year for the last 21 years, with the average cost of part time care for children aged two years old and under, being £7,212 per year (Coleman, Dali-Chaouch and Harding, 2020). The Median weekly pay for part time employees was £228 in April 2022 (ONS, 2022) an average of £11,856 per annum. This equates to an average of 60% of earnings being spent on childcare. The State of the Nation report by Merkulova, (2024), reported that for 26.15% of parents' childcare expenses consume more than 75% of their take-home pay.

It is possible for 85% of childcare costs to be claimed back by recipients of Universal Credit, this is limited to a maximum of £646 for one child or £1108 for two or more children each month. The Childcare Survey 2023 highlighted the continuing rise in Childcare costs, which have increased at a greater rate whilst families are experiencing a cost-of-living crisis. This also coincides with a decrease in the availability of childcare in England (Jarvie, Shorto, Kunwar Deer and Goddard, 2023). This shortfall and the fact that fees can only be claimed retrospectively may cause cashflow problems for many and is a further barrier to accessing formal childcare (Coleman, Shorto and Ben-Galim, 2022) making the role of grandparents as informal care providers attractive, if not an essential option for working parents. The majority do not receive any payment or ask for money to cover the cost. In fact, many grandparents spend an average of £400 a year on

activities for their grandchildren when they are caring for them (International Longevity Centre, 2017). Due to the large number and the significant amount of childcare provided by grandparents they have been described as 'the new army of proxy parents' (Buchanan and Rotkirch, 2018, p.41).

The change in family stature, with more lone parents, has also increased the need for grandparents to provide childcare (Buchanan, 2021). In the UK there were 2.9 million lone-parent families in 2022 with 84% headed by a lone mother which is 15% of all families. Grandparents taking on not only childcare but giving domestic support, helping their grandchildren with schoolwork and attending meetings (Tan, Buchanan, Flouri, Attar-Schwartz and Griggs, 2010). However, grandparents feel pressured to fulfil childcare requests, even when it's difficult (Brehany *et al.*, 2022). This highlights the social expectation of contemporary grandparents to be actively involved.

The decline in the overall number of childcare providers is also a factor in the need for grandparents to provide childcare, nurseries continue to close, with a fifty per cent increase in closures during the 2022-23 period compared to the previous year (National Day Nurseries Association, 2023). Further analysis of the data unveils a disproportionate impact on areas of deprivation, with 37% of nursery closures occurring in the 30% most deprived regions of England in 2022-23, and the most deprived wards in the country witnessing 16% of the total closures, underscoring the socio-economic disparities inherent in childcare provision.

3.8 Role of grandparents providing treats

The role of a grandparent is often seen to be indulging their grandchildren (Kivnick, 1983, Pankhurst, Mehta, Matwiejczyk, Moores, Prichard, Mortimer and Bell, 2019). Kenny (1990) further suggests the role of grandparents is seen to be generous which may be the reason gifts are expected especially for birthdays and special occasions.

However, if children enjoy their treats the happier grandparents are to give them (Kahana and Hahana, 1970). Mansson (2016) alluded to grandparents buying gifts as an act of love. As grandchildren transition into adulthood, the nature of the relationship evolves, with grandparents often providing financial support and guidance (Hoff, 2007; Sciplino and Kinshott, 2019). While the motivation for contact may shift from parental influence to the desire for support and connection from grandchildren themselves, the enduring bond between grandparents and grandchildren remains a vital source of emotional fulfilment and support across their lifespan.

Grandparent often find it difficult to set limits for their grandchildren, even though they understand that their grandchildren need to follow the rules. They understand their role should be to teach their grandchildren values about love, sharing and table manners (Durmus and Tunca, 2023).

3.8.1 Food as a treat

As grandparents are providing childcare for their grandchild part of this provision includes providing food and snacks, especially when they serve as primary caregivers or have frequent contact (Young, Dunanson and Burrows, 2018; Jongenelis, Morley, Pratt and Talatib, 2018). Because grandparents are making decisions about what children eat, like parents, they are “nutritional gatekeepers” for the children; “acting as agents through which children develop eating habits and preferences”, influencing their eating habits (Bell, Perry, Prichard, 2018).

Grandparents can contribute to healthy eating by offering nutritious meals and snacks (Eli, Howell, Fisher and Nowicka, 2016) and provide more healthy home cooked options (Pankhurst *et al.*, 2019). Hornell, Malek and Nowicka (2017) stated that grandparents may also follow the parents' food choices for their grandchildren compromising their own beliefs to support the parents. However, a study of U.S. grandparents found they often provide sugary or fried foods as treats

and as way of differentiation from the child's home environment (Criss, Horhota, Wiles, Norton, Hilaire and Blomquist, 2020). Jongenelis and Budden (2023) suggest these foods are high in sugar, fat, and salt, leading to concerns about unhealthy dietary patterns in grandchildren (Kavle *et al.*, 2015). This may contribute to shaping children's dietary behaviours, into adulthood (Jongenelis *et al.*, 2019).

As well as offering treats and meals during informal care, such as grandparents care, Lidgate and Lindenmeyer (2018) argued that increased food intake was perceived as a cause of obesity. Parents often express concerns about grandparents indulging their grandchildren with unhealthy foods, creating tension within the family (Hoare *et al.*, 2014; Roberts and Pettigrew, 2013). Lidgate and Lindenmeyer (2018) commented that grandparents were also influential in the choice to breastfeed and weaning. There was also concern that grandparents may provide out-of-date information particularly about breastfeeding. Farrow's (2014) in her UK study also highlighted grandparents were more likely to make use of food for emotional regulation, rather than modelling healthy eating.

Childhood obesity has increased in the UK. In 2020 to 2021, more than 1 in 4 children in Reception (aged 4-5 years) were living with overweight or obesity (the Office of Health Improvement and Disparities, 2022). There was an increase from 9.9% in 2019/20 to 14.4% (Lifestyles Team, NHS., 2021). The effect of childhood obesity continues into adulthood with risk of type 2 diabetes, heart disease and muscular issues (Jongenelis, Morley, Pratt, and Talati. 2020; Salama, 2023). The increase in sugary and fatty food may lead to obesity. Eli, *et al.*, (2014) stated although parents and grandparents are able to recognise obesity as a problem, they were unable to see it in their own children or grandchildren suggesting other reasons for their excess weight. Some parents and grandparents assume that obese children are healthier and well cared for (Purwaningtyas, Barik and Astuti, 2019).

Grandparents may also share traditional foods and recipes with their grandchildren, enabling them to pass on family custom and beliefs (Boni, 2015). However, these traditions may not always align with current nutritional recommendations, presenting another layer of complexity leading to confusion and inconsistency for children, potentially hindering the effectiveness of parental efforts to promote healthy eating habits (Kaplan *et al.*, 2017).

3.9 Benefits to grandchildren

There are benefits to grandchildren, where grandmothers are present; there is often a better survival rate in grandchildren (Buchanan and Rotkirch, 2018). Tanskanen and Danielsbacka (2017) suggest that in the UK grandparents have positive effects on not just on their grandchildren's survival, but increased height, appropriate weight, and protection from physical injury in the home. Kisner *et al.*, (2017, p.15) further argues that "Grandparents are helping to build the brains of young children". Suggesting that grandparents are providing additional support and resources for families.

3.9.1 Attachment

Bowlby (1958, 1973, 1980) defined attachment as an enduring, affectionate relationship between the child and caregiver, wherein the presence of a secure attachment yields feelings of protection, comfort, help, and security for the infant. This bond fosters behaviours aimed at maintaining contact with the caregiver. Ainsworth (1963) and Bowlby (1958) described the caregiver as a secure base from which the infant can explore the environment, returning to seek reassurance and comfort during times of stress. Bretherton (1992) further emphasized that the strength of this attachment hinges largely upon the caregiver's responsiveness to the infant's needs. According to Mercer (2011) attachment occurs from as early as 2 to 4 months old, with attachment bonds solidifying around 6 or 7 months of age. Bowlby

(1969, 1988) suggested that children can form attachments to more than one caregiver. This suggests that babies can develop an attachment to their grandparents, although Schaffer and Emerson (1964) propose that infants initially focus on one key caregiver, typically the mother, for attachment. Similarly, their findings suggest that infants can form secure bonds with multiple individuals which could include their grandparents. Part of the role of a grandparent is to hold and cuddle their grandchildren. Hayworth (1964) alludes to the importance of physical contact in attachment bonds, while Trevarthen (2018) expands on this idea by highlighting how physical touch enables attachment figures to attune to children's emotional and physical needs, thereby building a strong emotional connection.

Cassibba, Coppola, Sette, Curci and Costantini (2017) highlight the significant influence of grandmothers on the attachment patterns within the family lineage having both a grandmother and a mother with secure attachment representations may contribute to a more stable transmission of attachment patterns to the offspring. However, Smrtnik, Vitulić, Gosar and Prosen (2023) did not find a direct link between grandmothers' attachment characteristics and those of the female adult child. Main and Weston (1981) noted that children form distinct attachment relationships with caregivers, potentially mitigating the negative impacts of an insecure relationship through the presence of a secure one. Thus, grandmothers play a pivotal role in fostering attachment security in the children of adolescent mothers (Patterson, 1997). Although there is evidence that trans-generational transmission of attachment takes place (Van IJzendoorn, 1995) with larger effects found for secure attachment than insecure attachment (Verhage *et al.*, 2016) the mechanisms that facilitate this process are yet to be fully elucidated.

Bowlby (1969, 1982) hypothesized that attachment experiences are carried forward as people adapt to the affective impact of those experiences by forming internal working models of attachment relationships with other significant family members. However, there

are advantages for children in having attachments to a number of significant adults and especially to grandparents (Silverstein, 1991; Tizard, 1986). For grandparents, attachment to their grandchild has a direct effect on the satisfaction felt about their role, improving their well-being and leading to them being more likely to provide childcare (Condon, Luszcz, McKee. 2020).

Mansson (2016) describes the way unconditional love was expressed by both children and grandchildren. Floyd and Morman (1998) suggested there were three ways of expressing affection, verbal communication, such as saying 'I love you', with hugs and kisses, and by giving gifts. Mansson, Floyd and Soliz's (2017) study of young adult grandchildren from the North Eastern United States indicated 'that celebratory affection is the least influential type of grandparent affection' (p.94). This may be because generosity is expected or that giving gifts does not necessarily involve visits, however Mansson (2014) reported that grandchildren receiving cards and presents have experienced less stress, loneliness and depression, suggesting the significance of contact with grandparents. This is also demonstrated in the fact grandchildren show more resilience and ability to cope with difficulties when there is involvement with grandparents (Beam *et al.*, 2002; Lussier *et al.*, 2002; Ruiz and Silverstein, 2007). This is not just important for grandchildren, for grandparents acting as a caregiver it is a source of emotional gratification and gives a sense of belonging, attachment and of feeling useful in their family (Grinstead *et al.*, 2003). At a time when things seem uncertain, grandparents provide children with a sense of security and confirmation that some things stay the same following divorce (Neugebauer, 1989, p.156).

A grandchild can also develop better coping strategies, and closeness can lead to security and constancy during divorce and times of change (Neugebauer, 1989, Buchanan and Flouri, 2008). However, if divorce or other reasons lead to separation of grandchildren from their grandparents their negative implications for grandparents with feelings of a sense of grief and an increase in physical illness (Drew and Smith (2002).

Mansson (2016) highlights the profound impact of mutual affection and shared experiences on the well-being of both parties. Grandparents often express that the most rewarding aspect of being grandparents is the opportunity to share affection and engage in meaningful activities with their grandchildren. Mansson, Floyd, and Soliz (2017) believe that the influence of earlier positive relationships between grandparents and grandchildren on later relationships. The quality of the grandparent-grandchild relationship, characterized by emotional closeness, shared family identity, and perceived social support, significantly shapes the perceptions and experiences of adult grandchildren. The role of a grandparent is that of showing children how to have fun and impart their life experience including the importance of appreciating the moment (Kornhaber, 1996; Griggs *et al.*, 2010).

Grandchildren view the bond with their grandparents as important for their well-being (Dufflos, Giraudeau and Ferrand, 2020) and are critical for well-being across the grandchild's lifetime (Britto *et al.*, 2017; Pérez-Escamilla *et al.*, 2018) however, children spending more than 30 hours a week with their grandparents may not have positive outcomes as they may be isolated and it is often as sign of hardship for the family (Glazer, 2013).

Jamieson, Ribe, and Warner (2018) found that maternal grandmothers tend to be the most heavily involved grandparents, followed by maternal grandfathers, especially if they live nearby and are in good health. However, grandparent and grandchild ages also influence the frequency of contact and the quality of their relationship. Younger grandparents and younger grandchildren tend to have more frequent contact, leading to more positive intergenerational relationships (Sciplino and Smith, 2015; Davey *et al.*, 2009).

3.10 Culture and grandparents

Culture, as defined by Laland and Hoppitt (2003), encompasses group-typical behaviours shared by members of a community, transmitted

through social learning and interaction. Cultural practices are passed down within families with grandparents serving as significant cultural agents, who play a pivotal role in the transmission and preservation of cultural heritage across generations. Older generations pass down values and traditions to younger family members through stories, creating intergenerational links and reinforcing cultural identity. Moreover, storytelling serves as a powerful medium for preserving cultural memory and fostering social connections within families. (Lindley, 2012).

Part of grandparents' identity is to be passing on their language and stories to their grandchildren (Hossain Eisberg and Shwalb, 2018). Little, Share, Williams, and Kerrins (2018) noted that Polish immigrants in Ireland expressed a desire for their children to speak Polish, emphasizing the importance of maintaining their cultural identity. Lee (2002) noted that parents expect their children to learn their heritage language to connect to their culture ethnic identity and cultural values. By speaking their home or heritage language, which is defined as 'intergenerational transmission of language' (Baker 2011, p.49) families strengthen intergenerational bonds, benefiting children's thought and communication skills through multilingual exchanges (Kenner, Ruby and Jessel, 2007).

Often heritage languages are supported by parents to enable grandchildren to communicate with their grandparents (Little, 2020). According to Cunningham (2018), there is much debate on what to call these languages. Among the terms that have been used, heritage language suggests a degree of importance. However, it could also be a dying language that is no longer in use. Another term that may be used is 'home language' which suggests a language only spoken at home. Grandparents play a key role in passing on language and culture although some grandparents their home language was seen as a disadvantage to their grandchildren and often stopped using them, however this can cause difficulties as the family members cannot communicate (Braun, 2012).

By developing two languages, Bialystok (2009) suggests although the child may have a smaller vocabulary in both languages, that bilingual individuals may demonstrate better conflict resolution abilities and found a significant, but small, bilingual advantage in overall executive function although this advantage was small. While there may be some advantages of bilingualism on specific components of executive function in children, there was a small cognitive advantage. Gunnerud, Ten Braak, Reikerås, *et al.* (2020) suggest it is too small to make a difference and De Angelis (2019) suggests none could be claimed. Cummins (1996, 2006) suggested that bilingualism links to children's identity and this will therefore lead to an increase in self-esteem.

Grandparents' decisions to transmit traditional knowledge and values are often driven by a desire to leave a legacy for their descendants. Thompson, Cameron and Fuller-Thomson (2013) highlight the active role of first nations grandparents in promoting cultural well-being, ensuring the continuity of cultural practices and values in their grandchildren. In contemporary society, technology plays a significant role in facilitating cultural exchange between grandparents and grandchildren. Piper *et al.* (2023) explore how video chat platforms enable families to share unique experiences, stories, and memories across geographical distances. Grandmothers in particular, use video chat as a means to pass along family history and cultural knowledge to their grandchildren and parents (Piper, Malik, Badger, Washington, Valle, Strouse, Myer *et al.* (2023). Furthermore, grandparents provide valuable parenting advice rooted in cultural traditions and practices. Piper *et al.* (2023) note that grandparents often offer guidance from a place of caring, drawing on their experiences and cultural values to support younger generations in their parenting journey.

3.11 Effects on grandparents

The stereotype of grandparents as aged can lead to the segregation of grandparents from mainstream social life within Western society (Sampson, 2000; Hossain, Eisberg, Shwalb, 2018). However, the role of grandparent can have a significant impact on the self-identity of

grandparents (Kruk, 1994) with both men and women expressing a more positive attitude towards being grandparent than towards being a parent (Robertson, 1975). Many grandmothers preferred being a grandparent to being a parent, while some enjoyed both roles equally. This suggests that the role of grandparent has a positive effect on their well-being (Reitzes and Mutran, 2004; Mahne and Huxhold, 2015; Hossain, Eisberg and Shwalb, 2018). The role of grandparent, acting as a caregiver instils a feeling of belonging and usefulness within the family from the development of emotional close relationships (Drew and Smith, 2002; Grinstead *et al.*, 2003).

For grandparents, caring for their grandchildren is a source of emotional gratification and deeply satisfying as well as giving a sense of belonging, attachment and a feeling of usefulness in their family (Grinstead *et al.*, 2003; Shorey, Debby and Heyn, 2022). Similarly, Condon and Luszcz, (2020) concluded that there is a strong correlation between the attachment to the child and the role of satisfaction for the grandparent. Providing childcare for their grandchildren enhances grandparents' quality of life and well-being (Condon, Luszcz, and McKee, 2018.) Arpino and Bordone (2014), further argue that grandparents' cognitive functioning is improved when caring for their grandchildren. Another benefit to grandparents, as the Smith and Dalmer (2023) study suggests, is that grandparents providing childcare was an opportunity for them to reflect on their parenting and give their grandchildren the time and attention they felt was missing from their own children's childhood.

Not all grandparents, however, experience this positive outcome, Di Gessa Bordone and Arpino (2020) suggested some grandparents do not gain the benefits to their well-being. Brunello and Rocco (2016) suggest that increased hours of childcare responsibility can also increase the likelihood of depressive symptoms. Arpino and Bordone (2016) reason that this may be due to their own social activities being reduced. Caring for children is demanding for grandparents (von Humboldt, Monteiro and Leal, 2018).

Grandparents are less likely to be in full time employment (Hank, Cavrini, DiGessa and Tomassini, 2018). However, others may find having to balance the roles of grandparent with work tiring (Hamilton and Suthersan, 2021). Grünwald, Damman and Henkens (2022, p.13) stated that around one in five grandparents (20%) perceived looking after grandchildren as burdensome, and almost one in ten felt it was obligatory, for Grandparents in full-time career employment were more likely to experience higher levels of burden but lower levels of obligation than fully retired grandparents. While post-retirement paid work was also associated with higher levels of burden in grandparenting they conclude that these feelings can co-exist at the same time as feeling gratified.

3.12 Grandparents internationally

Culturally grandparenting roles vary across Europe include providing financial, emotional, and practical support (Herlofson and Hagestad 2012; Di-Gessa, Glaser, Zaninotto, 2022). Grandparents' roles as caregivers globally have increased (Sadruddin, Ponguta, Zonderman, et al.2019; Dunifonn, Near, Ziol-Guest (2018). In Asia, particularly in China, the sense of obligation between family members has led to grandparents providing support for their adult children continuing throughout their lifetimes (Lee, 2015) with over 50 per cent of people between the ages of 45 and 57 years providing care for their grandchildren (Feng and Zhang, 2018). In rural areas around one fifth of all Chinese children are cared for by their grandparents' full time as often the parents must travel to cities for better employment opportunities (Ban, Guo, Scherpbier, et al., 2017; Ingersoll-Dayton *et al.*, 2018; Tang, Li, Jang and Rauktis, 2022). Similarly, this happens in the Philippines, grandparents care full- time for their grandchildren while their parents work abroad (Asis, 2000). In Romania (BBC, 2016) it is estimated that 350,000 children are 'left behind' while their parents are working abroad. There is also a long tradition in sub-

Saharan Africa, of grandparents providing care for their grandchildren (Bentley and Mace, 2012).

Within Europe, Italy has the highest number of grandparents providing care (Bordone, Arpino, and Aassve, 2017). 20% of grandchildren were looked after almost daily by their grandparents (Zamberletti 2018). In the Netherlands there are policies that favour grandparental care, such as subsidized early retirement and paid leave (Brunello and Rocco, 2019).

3.13 Children's Voice and Agency

According to the General Comment No. 12 (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (2009) it is emphasized that children have the right to be heard. Children are capable of articulating their own perspectives and opinions of the world, sharing their views on matters that affect them (Laurence 2022). Recognising' children's rights to be heard is essential for their inclusion in a democratic society (Carol et al., 2017).

There is no agreement regarding the definition, or the vocabulary used for listening to children. The terms used; pupil voice, student voice, child voice and children's voice are interchangeable (Brooke and Murray, 2018). Fletcher (2014) describes student voice as allowing students to represent their own ideas, knowledge and experiences in education. Pupil voice has been described as an opportunity for children to give their views on school matters (Flutter, 2007). The children in this project are not school pupils or students and the subject does not relate to education, so in this instance, children's voice will be discussed. Brooke and Murray define children's voices as 'views of children that are actively heard and valued as substantive contributions to decisions affecting the children's lives' (2018, p.145) and it is the intention in this research to listen and value the children's views. Laurence (2019) states the importance of listening to the voice of younger children by valuing and listening to the perspectives of young children. They are empowered to have a sense of agency and

ownership over decisions that affect them, by actively taking part in research children can influence political and social systems that affect their lives potentially leading to change to meet their needs.

3.13.1 What is meant by Voice?

A voice in its simplest terms is 'sound produced by vertebrates by means of lungs, larynx, or syrinx especially sound produced by a human being (Merriam-Webster, 2020 p.n). However, a voice is more than this; it encompasses more than just the spoken word (Fielding 2004; Wall *et al.*, 2020). It should include body language, actions and behaviour, especially when considering communicating with children (Wall *et al.*, 2019). It is an expression of self and our way of conveying an essential part of that reflection expressing voice requires intentionally deciding how to present and communicate it. Having a voice means making a deliberate statement that reflects one's identity, promotes democratic values and initiating attachment meaning (Fielding, 2004).

3.13.2 Listening

With children's voice comes the importance of listening to children. Langsted (1994) refers to listening as part of our society; listening is essential in a two-way conversation, and it is necessary to support children's voice to be heard. Listening is more than just hearing words (Linstead, 1999) just as it is with the voice. The complex nature of hearing children's voices is an active process, not just listening to the uttering or words but suggests the listener must also observe movement, behaviour, senses and feelings (Clark, 2010; Pascal and Bertram, Moss, 2006; Wall *et al.*, Spyrou, 2011, 2015; Murray 2019).

Rinaldi (2021) takes this even further viewing listening as an emotion, which is then interpreted and communicated. Where and how children communicate may also contribute to what is being said. The silences

which children include in their speech, should also be interpreted not just as a lack of something to say but perhaps as a way of saying no or displaying what is being discussed. There must be an understanding of the social and cultural experience (Mazzei, Tangen, 2008; Spyrou, 2016). There needs to be an understanding of the child's context otherwise they may misinterpret the child's actions and words (Murray, 2019). Pascal and Bertram (2009, p.253) argued listening to children raises expectations and challenges assumptions as allowing children to express their interests and priorities provided unexpected insight into their capabilities. It is not that children do not have anything to say but that adults need more creative ways of listening to children (Thomson, 2008; Wall *et al.*, 2019).

3.13.3 Giving a Voice to Children

Bogdan and Biklen (1998, p.204) define "*giving voice*" as "*empowering people to be heard who might otherwise remain silent.*" Children have a right to express themselves there is an interest in finding out about children's experiences and perspectives (Tangen, 2008; Clark and Moss, 2011).

Children are able to communicate the views they have, and it is possible for them to relate this to how they feel, what their priorities are and what are their interests (MacNaughton, Hughes and Smith, 2007; Pascal and Bertram, 2009). Although James (1998) suggests children are a homogenous group, children have varying views. (Einarsdottir, 2007, 2011; Murray, 2019). Mazzei and Jackson (2009, p.3) suggest that having many voices does not give a child's authentic voice as it detracts from the views of a single child.

Power is often referred to when considering children's voices (Tangen 2008; Gabb, 2010). A power imbalance exists between adults and children (Wall *et al.*, 2019) with young children having the least power. Thomson (2011, p.21) argues that how decisions are made, who to

include and ultimately who gains advantage relates to who is given a voice and that it's children's voices that often struggle to be heard and listened to.

Although children can manipulate to disrupt the power dynamics (Wall *et al.*, 2019) children are unable to complain or participate when they are asked, there is often little commitment to their views, and they are not taken seriously. To gain children's trust, to hear children's voice, it is necessary to develop a rapport with children however, this is difficult as there is often little time during research for children to develop a relationship. By doing this it allows for identification of the complexities of what and how their opinions are voiced (Spyrou, 2011).

Adults, therefore, have a duty to make children active participants as their voice needs to be taken seriously in decision making (Dahlberg *et al.*, 2006). Children's voices are often seen as something to be found by researchers and conveyed accurately as a form of 'truth' (Lane *et al.*, 2019, p.699).

3.13.4 Are Voices Heard?

Children often have no voice, and although this is changing, children are often silent and ignored in their everyday lives and their views are often hidden and excluded from circulation (Nicholson *et al.*, 2015 p.1571; James 2007 p.261). Without a voice, children are marginalised with the youngest and poorest children least likely to be heard (Tisdall *et al.*, 2006; Wyness 2009; Jones and Welch, 2010). It is therefore crucial that children are fully listened to in all their languages, as Edwards *et al.*, (1998) described the hundred languages of children, as diverse in that the children communicate in ways they choose, and the adults have to become attuned to.

By not actively listening to children ultimately it could be interpreted as not valuing the child (Murray 2019). Spyrou (2016) refers to the

difficulty of gaining an authentic voice, however, there is a desire to listen and promote children's voice, which was previously missing from academic disciplines (James, 2007; Murray 2017).

3.13.5 Authentic voice

What is considered an authentic voice will be affected by the cultural events in which the individual has experience (Moen 2006). Children do not live in isolation, their views will be influenced by that of their parents, teachers, and other key adults (Warshak, 2003; Mannion, 2007; Lansdowne, 2010). The way in which the child's voice is sought can also mean that children are not listened to. Children's views and ideas are often interpreted by others, particularly those of younger children who are unable to speak well due to their developmental stage (Wall, 2017, Robinson, 2014). Often what children have said is altered by adults, although this is often well intentioned (Bucknall, 2014; Clark *et al.*, 2017). An adults' own agenda may also influence children's views (Mannion, 2007) diluting the authenticity of the child's voice.

The importance of creating a space for children to express themselves is, therefore, necessary to ensure they express authentic views (Lundy 2007; Lansdown, 2009). Lundy (2007) has described how children need space in which to be allowed to share their voice, an opinion space, a safe and inclusive space in which to express their views (Lister, 2022). This must be facilitated and children listened to and finally acted upon in order to create an authentic voice.

3.13.6 Tokenism

Children may be asked to participate in research where all may give their thoughts and ideas, even though it is not always acted upon. Lundy (2018 p.342) suggest Tokenism is the:

"experiences of children whose views have been sought by adults but not taken seriously"

Tokenism is those instances when a child appears to be given a voice how they communicate or the subject is this not of their choice and they may not even be given the opportunity to formulate their own thoughts and ideas (Hart, 1992, p.9).

One of the settings has expressed that following this research they will make a decision about visiting a care home, if it is permitted this would involve a change of policy in the setting. However, how this decision will be derived is unknown to me. It could be implied that the children's voice will not be listened to and that any change in the setting will be a decision made by management. Even if this is the case, it is also important as Lundy (2011) argues that the children are able to express themselves and give their view.

3.13.7 Summary of Children's Voice and Agency

Hart (1992) argues giving children a voice enables them to better participate and share their views in adult life as they will have had prior experience.

Even when voices are welcomed there is little practical guidance on how to include children's perspectives (Sargeant and Gillett-Swan, 2019, p.122). Children's voices should not be suppressed as they give us an opportunity to learn about their lives (Lancaster 2003, Nutbrown and Clough 2009), children can contribute their own unique viewpoints on situations in their early years setting (Nutbrown and Clough 2009).

3.14 Young Children's lives in England

Our experiences of being a child and childhood are unique (Lumsden and Doyle, 2018). For most children, over two in five (47%) under five years old are in formal care, equating to 4.6 million children, a figure

that is rising. The estimated take-up of 15 hours of childcare for three and four year olds is 94% and for eligible two year olds is 74%. For children under 5 years of age this is estimated to be over four in five eligible children (Gov.UK, 2024). The Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) framework shapes Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) in England, the EYFS promotes holistic development, school readiness, and ensuring the welfare of young children from birth to five years old (Department for Education, 2023).

The EYFS framework comprises:

three prime areas in Communication and Language, Physical Development, and Personal, Social, and Emotional Development (DfE, 2023).

There are also four specific areas of learning: Literacy, Mathematics (this includes counting to more than 20 and understanding 'more than' and 'less than' with reference to other numbers). Understanding the World, and Expressive Arts and Design (DfE, 2023). These components collectively contribute to children's holistic development, catering to their diverse needs and interests (DfE, 2023).

Furthermore, the EYFS principles underscore the uniqueness of each child, emphasizing the role of enabling environments and collaborative partnerships between practitioners, parents, and carers. Through a child-centred approach, the EYFS aims to nurture individuality, autonomy, and a lifelong love for learning (Murray, 2017).

3.15 Shared Reading

Literacy is a part of the EYFS as the early years are critical for establishing a positive association with reading (Levy *et al.*, 2014). Shared reading experiences, even with babies, are important to

encourage engagement and enjoyment with books from the birth of the baby (Wolf, 2008) although shared reading may be considered solely an educational activity. Hall, Levy, and Preece, (2018) reveal it is often embedded in daily family routines, particular bedtime stories. This reinforces the importance of reading and fosters a love of books (Hoyne and Egan, 2019). Shared reading extends beyond parents and may be a role for grandparents, (Hoyne and Egan, 2019). Shared reading exposes children to a wider range of vocabulary and more complex sentence structures than encountered in everyday speech (Cameron-Faulkner and Noble, 2013; Montag, Jones and Smith, 2015). This exposure plays a vital role in language acquisition, laying the foundation for future reading comprehension and written expression. A parent's own enjoyment of reading significantly impacts their child's literacy development (Egan *et al.*, 2022). Parents who find pleasure in reading are more likely to create a stimulating home literacy environment and engage in shared reading activities (Egan *et al.*, 2022).

3.16 Play

The World Health Organization (WHO) (2019) states that play is “being for its own sake” (without a specific goal), voluntary, enjoyed by participants and imaginative. It can be solitary or social, and with or without objects. Young children acquire and consolidate developmental skills through playful interactions with people”. (p.v). It is considered to be so important that it is a right of a child under Article 31 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) 1989. Vygotsky's (1978) play theory posits that play provides a crucial context for fostering creativity, problem-solving skills, and social interaction through exploration and experimentation. Play is central to the EYFS philosophy as the primary mode of learning for young children (DfE, 2023). Advocated as the 'dominant mode of education,' play serves as a catalyst for exploration, inquiry, and creativity,

fostering cognitive, social, and emotional development and underpins the early years curriculum (McInnes, 2019).

Whitebread, Basilio, Kuvalja, and Verma (2012) identifies five types of play: object play when children engage in play with objects they learn about cause and effect, problem-solving, and creativity. This type of play also encourages exploration, experimentation, and discovery, fostering a sense of curiosity and a deeper understanding of the physical world. Symbolic play involves using objects or actions to represent something else. This type of play is linked to the development of language and communication skills. Pretend play allows children to explore different roles, emotions, and social situations. By engaging in pretend scenarios, children develop empathy, social skills, and emotional regulation. Playing games with rules teaches children important social skills such as cooperation, following instructions, and fair play.

According to The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child there is concern for the decline in children's play, arguing "every child should be able to enjoy these rights regardless of where he or she lives, his or her cultural background or his or her parental status" (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 2013, p.4). One of the reasons for the reduction in play is related to where children play. Play has changed from taking place in the streets and public spaces and being unsupervised, to being controlled by parents and in houses or organized activities (Gill, 2011; Ferguson 2019, Casey and McKendrick, 2022).

One of the major benefits of outdoor play with grandparents is the promotion of physical activity. Physical activity is engaging in various physical activities such as running, jumping, climbing, and playing sports (Dobell, Pringle, Faghy and Roscoe, 2021). This helps children develop gross motor skills, strength, coordination and balance (Sutapa, Pratama, Rosly, Ali and Karakauki, 2021). The WHO guidelines (2019, p.15) state that:

physical activity in young children is largely expressed in the form of active play.

This type of play is usually outside. Outdoor play is an aspect of child development, that has a range of benefits including physical, language, cognitive, and emotional development (Barrett 1990, Richardson and Murray, 2016).

The WHO (2019, pviii) recommends:

children aged between 3 and 4 years old should do at least 180 minutes of physical activity a day of which an hour should be moderate-to-vigorous intensity

Physical activity could include outdoor play (National Health Service, 2022). However, the National Trust (2016) noted that children only spend on average, four hours a week playing outside, half the time that their parents did. This is similar to Clements' (2004) earlier research which indicated that 70% of mothers played outside whereas their own children spend less than half this time outdoors.

Play is an important aspect of the interactions between grandparents and their grandchildren (Dunifon, Near and Ziol-Guest, 2018; Dunifon, 2013). One of the ways to promote outdoor play and address this decline is through the involvement of grandparents. Duflos, Lane, and Brussoni's, (2024) study of Canadian grandparents suggested that engaging in outdoor play encouraged development of family bonding by aiming to spend time together, which supports positive emotions and helps grandparent support their grandchildren's needs. Play serves as an opportunity for grandparents and grandchildren to interact whilst promoting physical activity and meaningful interactions. Agate, Agate Liechty and Coahran (2018) highlighted the significance of play in the context of these relationships, this time is described as special time to promote communication between children and their grandparents and concluded that grandparents appreciated spending time playing with their grandchildren and it was a time to have fun and to bond.

Grandparents use this playtime to introduce their grandchildren to their hobbies and interests, so they both can enjoy them offering grandchildren opportunities to experience alternative learning experiences they would not have at school (Queniart and Charpentier, 2013).

It is parents and grandparents who find the most appropriate places often seeing outdoor play as something not in the home but a place often near home. This can be indoor play centres as well as an outdoor area (Parrish, Lavis, Potter, Ulijaszek, Nowicka and Eli, 2022). The outdoor environment gives children the freedom to climb trees, to move at speed and play alone (Little, Sandseter, and Wyver 2012). According to Fjortoft (2004), children who engage in outdoor play in natural environments also experience greater development in gross motor skills, motor fitness, and cardiovascular fitness compared to those who predominantly engage in indoor play. Natural environments also encourage risky play. Sandseter (2010) describes risky play as a thrilling and exciting form of physical play that could result in injury. Risk taking enables children to make mistakes and develop resilience (Sandseter, 2020). Further, Gray (2020) argued that without children participating in risky play they may not have the courage to deal with life's challenges. Taking part in activities such as den building encourages communication skills developing negotiations skills (Durrant 2021). Sando, Kleppe and Sandseter (2021) noted that like physical play, children who took part in risky play experienced the benefits of physical activity and with well-being. Dodd Nesbit and FitzGibbon state that adventurous play may benefit children's mood and longer-term mental health. However, parents worry about the safety of children taking risks, McFarland and Laird (2018) identified parents' nervousness at their children taking risks and the need to balance this with the benefits, wanting to protect the children but also wanting them to be independent.

Contact with nature is beneficial to cognitive functioning and self-control, the benefits are not just during childhoods but into adulthood

(Chawla, 2015). Children who play outdoors have an opportunity to interact with other species like plants and insects, although they may not have the knowledge to care for these creatures (Aslanian, Bjercknes and Andresen, 2023). This exposure over time to nature and development of knowledge could be beneficial in developing a positive view of nature as an adult. (Gill, 2011).

Outdoor play is likely to occur in the playground, Chen and Hamel (2023) observed that children preferred swings and play structures. This may be because young children prefer areas they go to often and they understand the use of the space in traditional playgrounds. Ernst (2017) described similar findings for preschool children but in this study, parents prefer the playground although parents who preferred a nature environment had children who preferred a nature environment also. Lou (2005) argued that unlike previous generations children were no longer able to roam around the areas they lived as their parents may have done, more of their free time is managed and consequently they are confined indoors. ‘..the bond is breaking between the young and the natural world’ (p.3).

3.17 Outdoor play memories

Outdoor play experiences occupy a privileged position in adult memories of childhood. Henniger's (1994) study found that participants predominantly recalled outdoor games. Henniger further attributed this link to the inherent risk-taking opportunities found in outdoor play, which likely intensify the emotional impact of the experience, making it more memorable. Sandberg's (2003) research showed that participants most frequently associated their favourite childhood memories with playing outdoors in natural settings. Harris (2017) points out when we look back at childhood it is through a positive lens. Brunelle *et al.*'s (2016) large-scale survey, encompassing participants from various countries, revealed a common thread: a focus on memories of playing in natural, unstructured landscapes

during childhood. This cross-cultural consistency underscores the universality of the power outdoor play holds in shaping enduring memories. Doliopoulou and Rizou (2012) highlight a potential decline in outdoor play due to factors like increased screen time and fewer outdoor play spaces. Harris (2017) cautions that nostalgia should not overshadow the needs of the current generation of children. It is important to view what children of this generation want while acknowledging the importance of outdoor play.

Ramey (2010) indicates that childhood memories can be a useful resource in supporting unstructured play. Nostalgia serves as a lens through which adults perceive and engage with children's play and use of space, and this influences their perceptions of play.

3.18 Technology

In the digital age, media exposure, technological advancements, and evolving family structures continue to shape children's experiences of childhood (Livingstone 2009). The majority of homes have access to the internet (Ofcom 2023). In the UK, Children have access to smartphones, tablets, and other mobile devices and from an early age possess their own mobile devices (Kabali and Irigoyen, 2015). Approximately half of children aged between 3 and 4 years old engage with apps or websites for communication purposes using platforms such as WhatsApp and Facetime (Ofcom, 2023). This emphasises the use of digital technology by C3-5YO and highlights the digital world they are part of.

It is unlikely children of this age will have any perception of online risks, and they may encounter such things as content that is unsuitable for the age or issues with pop ups and in-app purchases. (Chaudron, Plowman, Beutel, Černikova, Donoso, Navarette, 2015). Digital tools offer opportunities for learning and entertainment, they also present challenges for parents in managing screen time and ensuring age-appropriate content consumption (Peng, Kirkham, and Mareschal, 2018). Parental supervision plays a crucial role in shaping

children's digital experiences and ensuring their safety online. According to Konca (2022) two-thirds of parents actively supervise their child's online activities, with many opting for direct supervision by sitting beside their child, which means a third of parents are not, which could lead to children being exposed to the danger of inappropriate content. Additionally, 21% of parents emphasize the importance of communication with their child about online safety measures, reflecting a proactive approach to digital parenting. Parents' reliance on personal experiences as a guide for navigating their children's online interactions is often constrained by their own limited exposure to social media during childhood. Consequently, children may lack comprehensive understanding of the potential risks associated with online activities, necessitating proactive parental involvement and educational initiatives (O'Keeffe and Clarke-Pearson, 2011). Although as Dias Brito Ribbens *et al.*, (2016) argues parents now are likely to have had a childhood with technology available.

The reliance on digital communication platforms for social interaction raises questions about the adequacy of virtual interactions in meeting the developmental needs of preschoolers, particularly compared to face-to-face interactions (Pecino *et al.*, 2012). Beatty and Egan (2020) suggested that children who spend more than three hours on a daily basis on digital platforms did not have a positive non-verbal reasoning and the children scored lower than those who spent less time on devices. This would reduce the physical contact that supports attachment (Trevarthen, 2018). Parents use digital devices as a way of keeping their children calm, it is particularly seen as a way to keep the children entertained to provide parents with time for themselves or in calming children in places such as restaurants or shops (Topic and Merkas, 2023).

Concerns regarding social media's impact on children's well-being have been outlined by McDool, Powell, Roberts, and Taylor (2016). These concerns suggest that exposure to idealized images on social media platforms can induce anxiety and stress among young individuals, as

they strive to meet perceived standards for online validation (McDool *et al.*, 2016). Excessive social media engagement may displace time allocated for beneficial activities like physical exercise and face-to-face interactions, potentially leading to heightened levels of anxiety and distress (Moreno *et al.*, 2013; Wallsten, 2013). Social media use and life satisfaction among adolescents is related. While moderate to low usage levels exhibit negligible impacts on life satisfaction, heavier engagement is correlated with declining satisfaction scores over time (Orben, Dienlin, and Przybylski, 2019). Furthermore, gender-specific differences indicate that the adverse effects of heightened social media usage are more pronounced among girls, underscoring the need for targeted interventions and parental guidance (Twigg *et al.*, 2020). However, it is imperative to recognize that the adverse effects attributed to social media are often mediated by ancillary factors such as cyberbullying, inadequate sleep, and insufficient physical activity, underscoring the multifaceted nature of contemporary digital environments (Viner *et al.*, 2019).

3.18.1 Grandparents and technology

The COVID-19 pandemic has spurred on an increased Internet usage among older adults for maintaining social connections (Conroy *et al.*, 2020). Strouse *et al.*, (2021) and David and Nelson-Kakulla (2019), highlight the prevalence of video chat as a means for grandparents to engage with their young grandchildren. These calls, which often last around 20 minutes, primarily involve child-centred interactions and provide grandparents with the opportunity to actively participate in their grandchildren's lives, despite physical separation. Observed grandparents will adapt games and shared food experiences via screen to ensure that grandparents and grandchildren can engage in playful interactions. (Piper *et al.*, 2023). Piper *et al.*, (2023) emphasizes the significance of video chat in enabling cultural exchanges between generations, where grandparents can share stories, traditions, and

customs with their grandchildren, thereby preserving and enriching familial and cultural identities.

Furthermore, the use of video chat technology suggests that geographical distance calls diminish the distance between grandparents and their grandchildren fostering closeness (Spiteri Deguara Muscat *et al.*, 2023). This close relationship enables grandparents passing on of cultural inheritances, such as cultural traditions, and language to their grandchildren this is necessary for the construction of the grandchildren sense of identity (Schuler *et al.*, 2022).

However, the widespread adoption of video chat technology is not without its challenges. Zosh *et al.*, (2022) identify barriers to video chat interactions between grandparents and grandchildren, including technological limitations and the need for parental mediation, especially when young children are involved. Despite these challenges, grandparents' comfort with technology and their ability to navigate these barriers positively correlate with the frequency of video chat use (Zosh *et al.*, 2022). Moreover, McClure and Barr (2017) suggest that turning technological disruptions into playful interactions, such as digital peek-a-boo, can mitigate the impact of such barriers and enhance the quality of video chat experiences. As well as technical issues, Rosenberg (2023) found that although older people used mobile phones, they did not have the skills to use newer technology and had more difficulties than younger people were doing leading to lesser life satisfaction.

According to Livingston, Mascheroni, Dreier and Chaudren (2015) although parents often describe their grandchildren as experts in technology and use their younger family members to feel comfortable doing so (Fernandez-Ardevol 2017). Some grandparents play a significant role in shaping preschoolers' engagement with digital technologies, often serving as mediators and facilitators in navigating online space especially when they care for their grandchildren (Nimrod,

Ellis and Lemish., 2019). They actively engage children in exploring technology, selecting appropriate content, and fostering digital literacy skills, providing opportunities for themselves to interact with new technologies (Chaudron *et al.*, 2015).

3.19 Chapter Three Conclusion

Throughout this the chapter the role of the grandparent, the concept of grandparents and the typology of grandparenthood has been explored. There are many aspects to the role of grandparent, and the way in which grandparents have a shared involvement in the lives of children. These connections include giving treats, shared reading playing and the use of technology.

This chapter has also reviewed the literatures to highlight the importance of children having a voice. Children are often overlooked, and this discussion highlights the importance of this present study in enabling children to share their lived experiences, as they are the experts in their own lives.

Chapter Four: Methodology One - Rationale for Research design.

4.1 Introduction to Chapter Four

I believe that individuals' experiences and cultures influence how they perceive the world and those around them. They will create their own interpretation and meaning of what happens around them, it is from this social construction perspective that I will conduct my research. Grix (2004) suggests that in order to conduct accurate research and evaluate that of others takes a thorough understanding of the philosophical underpinnings that inform the research and is needed to inform the choice of research questions, methodology, methods and intentions.

This chapter will restate the aims and objectives and then consider the paradigm of the study, ontology and epistemology which underpins this study, it will also discuss the theoretical framework of social constructionism and interpretive phenomenology. The chosen methodology of multiple case studies will be examined. PhotoVoice will be evaluated as will the method of interviewing and the production of an artefact by the participants. The trustworthiness, reliability and triangulation of the proposed study will be explored. Finally, the choice of reflexive thematic analysis will be examined.

4.2 Research Aim, Objectives and Questions

The study aim was:

To explore perspectives of adults aged 55 plus and Children aged 3-5 years old on the nature and constructions of different generations.

The study objectives were:

1. To capture the views of children aged three to five years old (C3-5YO) about their grandparents.

2. To capture the views of adults aged over 55 years (A55+) concerning C3-5YO.
3. To identify how young children interact with A55+.
4. To identify how A55+ interact with young children.

The research questions were:

RQ1. What are the views of 30 C3-5YO about their grandparents?

RQ2. What are the views of A55+ concerning C3-5YO?

RQ3. Are there benefits or challenges for young children interacting with grandparents, and if so, what are they?

RQ4. Are there benefits or challenges of A55+ interacting with young children and if so, what are they?

4.3 Epistemology

Epistemology is about the understanding of knowledge. Blaikie (2000, p.8) describes epistemology as:

the possible ways of gaining knowledge of social reality, whatever it is understood to be. In short, claims about how what is assumed to exist can be known.

It is suggested by Crotty (1998 p.9) that there are three epistemological positions: objectivism, which suggests that knowledge exists regardless of whether people are aware of its existence or not, subjectivism, which is dependent on the individual interpretations and constructivism, in which there is no absolute truth and people develop their own meaning from interacting with others. Each of these were considered for the philosophical framework.

Through Constructivism I was able to explore the perspectives of different generations, their perceived social reality developed through specific social context and interactions, there is 'no meaning without mind' (Crotty, p.8). This resonates with my own beliefs. Social reality,

as explained through the eyes of different participants, would mean that different people may have different views and interpretations of the same events. This suggests that constructivism as defined by Crotty (1998) was therefore an appropriate epistemological position for this study.

There are two opposing approaches to research, qualitative and quantitative, with a combination of the two considered a third approach. Creswell (2003 p.18) states that quantitative researchers 'employ strategies of inquiry such as experimental and surveys and collect data on predetermined instruments that yield statistical data. The findings from quantitative research can be predictive, explanatory, and confirming. It involves the collection of data so that information can be quantified and subjected to statistical treatment in order to support or refute alternate knowledge claims. Schofield (2007) suggests the weakness with quantitative research is that it is a snapshot of a specific time. Quantitative approaches are associated with positivist paradigms (Naughton and Rofle, 2010).

Flick (2014, p.542) believes:

Qualitative researchers are interested in analysing subjective meaning or the social production of issues, events, or practices by collecting non-standardised data and analysing texts and images rather than numbers and statistics.

In this study I analysed the social constructed realities of the A55+ and C3-5YO. I considered how each group interprets their world and their interactions within it. In this study the data was from different generations which meant it was non-standardised and what was analysed could be described as having a subjective meaning.

Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p.2) suggest that:

Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter.

For this study I was seeking the perspectives of C3-5YO and A55+ have of each other so as to find their unique realities. It is their understanding of their own lives, which is of interest. This will not result in facts or figures suggesting qualitative research would be appropriate and no statistics will be considered. As Strauss and Corbin (1990, p.11) stated:

Quantitative research can refer to research about persons' lives, lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings as well as about organisational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena, and interactions between nations.

Qualitative research addresses the personal and social reality, namely the meanings through these can be understood (Pring, 2004). An interpretive, qualitative approach was identified as the appropriate epistemological positioning for this study.

4.4 Ontology

Blaikie (2000, p.8) has described ontology as:

claims and assumptions that are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other.

What we believe is an ontological assumption, whereby our beliefs create our reality. Crotty (1998) simply defines ontology as the study of being (p.10) he goes on further to suggest that ontology issues and epistemological issues merge together and that they should be considered together. Different beliefs about reality and truth would create a different ontology and a different epistemology. The chosen ontological position is:

the answer to the question: what is the nature of the social and political reality to be investigated? (Hay, 2002, p.63).

Two positions of ontology being discussed are objectivism and constructivism (Grix, 2004). The first, objectivism, maintains that there is meaning regardless of, and independent of, people whereas the second, constructivism, only exists when there is interaction between people; there can be variations. This study is conducted on the premise that people create their perceptions through their encounters with others, their own culture and media. This would be a constructivist view, but because this study will be disseminated publicly as a PhD thesis, it assumes a constructionist position (Papert, 1991).

4.5 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework provides a conceptual structure that guides the development of research and helps to organize and interpret data. It is a set of interconnected concepts, theories, or models that provide a lens through which researchers analyse and understand a specific phenomenon and structure their thinking and interpret the data in a meaningful way. It helps researchers situate their study within existing knowledge, theories, or conceptual frameworks to generate new insights or contribute to the understanding of a particular phenomenon (Creswell, 2014; Miles Huberman and Saldarna, 2014).

The **theoretical framework** for this study is social constructionism and phenomenology. Before these were selected, I considered and rejected a range of other paradigms.

Adopting a poststructuralist epistemology may have required me, as the researcher, to impose different meanings to the discourse constructed which was not my intention. I did not have long periods of time to spend in the field; neither was I seeking a description of people's cultures, so an ethnographic study was disregarded.

Ethnography entails prolonged, immersive participation and engagement by a researcher in a specific context offering an authentic portrayal of people's narratives (O'Reilly, 2012, Fetterman, 2010). Using a feminist epistemology suggests the world is patriarchal and the culture is therefore masculinising (Crotty, 1998). The focus of this type of research is women's exploitation and disempowerment. In the research being undertaken there are female and male participants whose views are being sought; gender is not being considered. Crotty (1998) goes on to suggest that in feminist epistemology women know differently from men. Using this to interpret the data would give rise to an understanding of the female perspective of C3-5YO and people A55+ and may consider the oppression of women through the implementation of policies and litigation from a male dominated government and policy makers. Although an interesting idea, it is not the subject of this research, so the epistemology was disregarded.

4.5.1 Social constructionism

The effect of our culture means a shared reality that it is socially constructed. Crotty (1998, p.42) defines constructionism as:

the view that all knowledge and therefore all meaningful reality as such is contingent upon human practices being constructed in and out of the interaction between human beings and their world and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context

It is the view of social constructionists that meanings are constructed through interacting with the world. If there is no interpretation, then there is no meaning: human beings bring meaning to the world. This social reality exists through meanings that a group of people attach to it. Social constructivists take concepts which are believed natural and instinctive and show that it is interaction between the members of the group that gives meaning. (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Ackerman

(2001) suggests Piaget's constructivism enables the interpretation of what children are interested in; their beliefs evolve and are based on their logic. This does not change with contact from others. However, Piaget's constructionism sees conversation and artefacts as a way of helping children construct knowledge: they interpret and develop their own ideas by sharing them with others. Knowledge builds on knowledge of others through shared experiences and communication. According to social constructivists, the process of learning builds on knowledge that already exists, an individual can interpret existing knowledge in new ways. It is a philosophical explanation about the nature of learning (Hyslop, Margison and Strobel (2008). Ratner (2006) describes social constructionism as subjective, allowing for the world to be known any way that people perceive it. For social constructionists, no one view is considered above another: the influence of others in the world in which children are living will influence their opinions of A55+ and vice versa. For this reason, social constructionism is one of the two paradigms selected for this study.

4.5.2 Phenomenology

Phenomenology is the second of the two paradigms selected for this study. Bassey (1999) proposes that phenomenology could be used as another term for interpretive paradigm as it is:

an interpretation of a phenomenon of the world to get shared meaning with others' (p.44). Van Manen (1990) describes a true phenomenon as 'a lived experience' with many possibilities (p.39).

This was focus for the present study, which was concerned with the individual stories that are the participants' perceptions from all their different viewpoints, coming together to construct a big picture. In this study individual views were coming together to create one big picture. Van Manen (1990) further describes phenomenology as concerned with

the wholeness which can inform the study. Moustakas (1994) states phenomenology looking at many sides and angles of the perception and this is the essence of experience. Smith (2008) advocates that consciousness has only to be viewed from one's own point of view. It is how one person sees the phenomenology regardless of how others may also experience the event or experience; it is their own truth. Lopez and Wills (2004) suggest that the meanings of experiences can be uncovered through narratives that develop from an interpretive phenomenological inquiry. The participants are regarded as experts in their own lives (Langsted, 1994, p.29) and it is this expertise that is required for this research.

The two are main branches of phenomenology; Husserl (empirical or transcendental) and the hermeneutic method of Heidegger (Creswell, 2007; McConnell-Henry, Chapman, and Francis, 2009). Husserl was the first to develop theories of phenomenology in 1891 and he had hoped it would reform philosophy by creating the phenomenological movement (1913). He argued that phenomenology does not deny the existence of the real world but seeks instead to 'clarify the sense of this world (which everyone accepts) as actually existing' (p.1). Husserl believed that phenomenology could provide a firm basis for all human knowledge, including scientific knowledge, and could establish philosophy as a rigorous science. Husserl proposed that the proper application of psychology was to explore the rich experiences inherent in the lived world of people (McConnell-Henry, Chapman and Francis, 2009; Moran, 2000). He believed that one could encounter absolute and universal truths and made no effort to explain these phenomena but instead to describe their essences (McConnell-Henry, *et al.*, 2009).

According to Creswell (2007, p.125) the aim of phenomenology is to describe the 'meaning of the lived experience' of several people who have encountered a common phenomenon. Ricci's (2016) belief was connected to consciousness developing what is known as descriptive phenomenology (Creswell, 1994). This involves the need to suspend one's own belief and reflect on any stereotypical attitudes or

assumptions the researcher may have so they are aware of their own attitudes when researching not a blank slate but free from one's natural attitude (Englander, 2016). So will not be used in this study. However, Heidegger (1927) believed it is impossible to deny our experiences related to the subject being studied, and that personal awareness is intrinsic to phenomenological research (Reiners, 2012). Heidegger (2002) further developed phenomenology according to his position that interpretation emerged from *being* in the world rather than *knowing* (Lopez and Willis, 2004). Heidegger created Heideggerian Hermeneutic Phenomenology.

Hermeneutics is derived from the Greek verb *hermeneusin* or *hermeneuein* and noun *hermeneia* and means to understand or to interpret; Heidegger thought that meaning could only come from interpretation and understanding, that that suggestion is meaningless without interpretation and that experience can only be understood overtime (McConnell-Henry, *et al.*, 2009). Heidegger (1962, p.24) proposed that the meaning of the experience is both valuable and full of information, and that such meaning is derived through inquiry and the questions within it that may provide answers. This study does not seek to interpret.

Phenomenology is often used for research that requires understanding of perception and feeling and is often used in nursing and education (Van Manen, 1990, p.181). Phenomenology is considered by some to be crucial for human science research because what is studied is 'essentially not replaceable' (Van Manen, 1990, p.7) and leads to 'critically oriented action' (p.154). Van Manen saw phenomenology as a shared experience that people will recognise. He believed it has no specific method but was an attitude or an approach to research, seeing it is adaptable. Van Manen (1990) states that we cannot come to any research without presuppositions, assumptions, and other considerations and that it is impossible to forget these when researching and they must be acknowledged before research can begin. I believe that one cannot remove ones owns presuppositions and assumptions as we do not even know they exist.

Phenomenology, with its focus on the subjective experience and perception of individuals, allows for an in-depth exploration of how individuals make sense of their world and the meanings they attribute to their experiences. On the other hand, social construction emphasizes the role of social interactions, institutions, and cultural norms in shaping individuals' perceptions and behaviours. Polizzi (2016) in his research of crime and criminality suggest that combining phenomenology and social constructivism, researchers can analyse how individuals' subjective experiences are influenced and constructed by the social environment in which they live. This integration helps in understanding how societal factors contribute to the construction of behaviour highlighting the complex interplay between individual perceptions and societal influences in the construction.

Harcourt and Sergeant (2012) suggest that phenomenology is not about interpreting but listening to what makes sense to the participants and is, therefore, a social construct. For these reasons, interpretive phenomenology was adopted as the second paradigm for this research.

4.6 Selected Methodology

This study focused on uncovering the perspectives of a range of participants, a suitable methodology needed to be identified. Although Yin (1989) takes an explicit positivist approach to case study research he believed case studies are the ideal method for answering how and why questions.

Historically, case studies have been criticised and not always well received (Lynch, 2005) but they provide in-depth information on one particular phenomenon: a case study gives a unique insight and is particularly good for looking at relationships (Vasconcelos, 2010). Denzin (1989) suggests there is a need for a 'thick description' as this produces detailed context that 'evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It establishes the significance of the experience' (1989 p.83) by

capturing detailed information and description. A case study may be either qualitative or quantitative (Yin, 2014); as previously stated this study is qualitative. The use of case study allows for the elicitation of unique views; this makes generalisation difficult but allows the uniqueness and universal to be discovered (Simons, 1996). Within this study generalisation will not be necessary, therefore making it suitable. Yin (2003) suggests a *case study is*

a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between a phenomenon and context are not clear and the researcher has little control over the phenomenon and context' (p.13).

In this study, the issue has two facets: the children's perceptions of the adults A55+ and the latter's views of young children. It will be the participants' views that will shape the data.

Stake (1995) suggests that case study findings are experiences which we have constructed. In case studies, the case is selected not because it represents other cases, but because it is unique and of genuine interest to the researchers (Crowe, Cresswell, Robertson, Huby, Avery and Sheikh, 2011). Yin (1994, p.13) states that a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context. Case study is a suitable methodology for this study as it produces descriptive accounts. However, it is very difficult to elicit credible generalisations from case study (Yin 2018). This study focuses on investigating the views the participants have of each other: a real-life phenomenon. More specifically an intrinsic multiple case study has been adopted.

Stake (1995) considers there to be three types of case study: intrinsic, instrumental, and multiple case studies. Intrinsic case studies consider a situation in depth and analyse it. The aim is to describe and document to allow the researcher to gain a deep understanding of a

single existing phenomenon (Creswell 2013, Brooks and Murray, 2018). Stake (1995) suggests that an intrinsic case study is typically undertaken to learn about a unique phenomenon, to better understand the case. The intention of this study is to understand participants' views about different age groups, not to understand cause and effect or create a theory, although as Stake (1995) indicates, generating a theory from a case study is a possibility.

Instrumental case studies relate to the development or refinement of a theory, and that helps an issue be better understood. The purpose of this study is not to determine or create theory, therefore it was not considered to be suitable for this study. In multiple case studies, multiple contexts are being studied giving a broader understanding (Vasconcelos, 2010).

A single case study is used where there are existing theories to be tested or there is an unusual circumstance, a common case or a longitudinal purpose. The focus of this study will be an issue rather than the setting (Bassegy, 1999) in this case, the perspectives each person has concerning different age groups. Stake states 'there are multiple perspectives or views of the case that need to be represented' (1995, p.108). Yin (1989) suggests that both single case studies and multiple case studies can be either holistic or embedded. The holistic development design is used when there are no sub-units and therefore the case study is looked at holistically. Where there can be case studies within case studies this would be embedded. Multiple case study is a collection of single cases which are used to study a phenomenon (Stake, 1995). Punch (2013) suggests that social phenomena can be understood better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningful contrasts in cases so using a multiple case studies design is helpful for developing a more rounded viewpoint. Yin (2018) suggests that multiple case studies enhance the chance of strengthening findings. Multiple case studies may include similar or may have contrasting situations, but each individual case

study must cover the same phenomenon. Yin (2008) believed multiple case studies were particularly good answering the 'how' and 'why' question. Within this study these will be the type of questions used and, in this study, three different groups of participants will be interviewed: young children, practitioners and people A55+, drawn from four locations (see section on participants below).

Stake (1995) suggests that case study is the opportunity to see what others have not seen and to reflect on the uniqueness of our lives (p.136) it is this uniqueness that is being sought for this study. Taking all these points into consideration, intrinsic multiple case studies have been chosen as the appropriate methodology for this study.

4.6.1 Critique of multiple case study approach

Stake (1995, p.7) suggests that case studies are a poor basis for generalisation, however, as this study is not looking for generalisation, but for an emphasis on uniqueness, multiple case studies are appropriate.

4.7 Data Collection Methods

I wanted to gain an insight into peoples' personal views and I needed the most suitable methods to collect this data from the participant groups. Approaches for collecting and analysing data within phenomenological research include, but are not limited to, in-depth semi structured interviews, focus groups, and artefact collection (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). For this study, interviews were used for data collection with A55+ and an adaptation of PhotoVoice was used to gather data from C3-5YO.

4.7.1 Interviews

The most common form of data collection for phenomenology is recorded in-depth interviews (Creswell, 2013). Stake (1995) considers that interviews are fundamental in gaining multiple realities: in this intrinsic multiple case study, throughout the interviews participants can describe their experiences and the interviewee is able to raise issues that he or she feels are important. Plunkett, Leipert and Ray (2013) suggest authenticity can be promoted as the researcher's analysis and interpretation of artwork and be clarified by the participants though given the participants the opportunity to express their modifications to the researcher's interpretations during the individual interviews, thereby promoting more accurate interpretation.

One-to-one interview was decided upon as it allows the individuals to give their personal views. Interviews enable participants to discuss their interpretation of their world and express situations from their point of view. For these reasons, interviews are a suitable method to collect data. The type of interview also needed to be considered. Yin (2018) suggests that case study interview is more like a guided conversation. In this way interviews give the participants perspectives and insights and suggest that it is important to put forth friendly nonthreatening open-ended questions, it is important to capture the interviewee's sense of reality meaning. This could be through a semi structured interview, such as that used by Rose and Jones (2007) where they interviewed service users and providers where the participants were able to answer questions, as well as develop a rapport to enable a more conversational interview. Enabling the participants to share their views in their own words was desirable for this research because I did not know the opinions of the participants before capturing the data. Had I used a more structured interview, with identical questions I may have had different results. Questions for each participant would have been identical, but I would not be able to follow up interesting points or change the questions to aid understanding. This may have reduced interview bias but would have denied the participants an opportunity to state what is of importance

to them. If the participant did not understand or misinterpreted a question, it cannot be restructured in a structured interview, which is rigid as the interviewer reads from a script and deviates from it as little as possible. A structured interview would have reduced the richness of the data and the potential to be able to adapt to the needs of the interviewee (Qu and Dumay, 2011). The use of structured interviews could lead to researcher bias as the questions could be designed to gain a particular response from the participants (Yin, 2018).

I also contemplated the use of a questionnaire which can be completed for large numbers of participants. Questionnaire data are affected by the individuals' understanding of the question but as they cannot be explained or rephrased there is no opportunity for answers of interest to be explored. The results are unlikely to reveal in-depth, rich views and experiences (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012) which is the desired outcome of this study. Use of a questionnaire would not have enabled the participants to point or comment on the same representation, such as a picture or photograph to see what others' views are (Lipponen, Rajala, and Paananen, 2016).

Observation was another possible method of gaining data. Observing how children and A55+ spend time together. However, this is time consuming and as the mere presence of the researcher could change the results (Baker 2006) it would not have given the participants' perspectives, rather my interpretation of what I saw.

By using the 'interview guided approach', although the topics and issues are known in advance, the order and wording of questions could change or be developed as the interview progressed. This would lead to a more natural interview but could lead to interviewer bias (Patton, 1980, p.206). The types of questions and the way they are being asked must be considered; the interviewer may have preconceived ideas and ask questions which will support their assumptions or even ask leading questions. Interviews produce data which is unique because participating individuals have their own understanding of an

event or an activity and their own unique world. The interviewer has to comprehend the significance of what is said (Pring, 2004). In this study, participants would be invited to talk about what is important to them alongside the use of a visual representation.

According to Qu and Dumay (2011) in-depth interviews are one of the major instruments used for data collection in qualitative research but they may present complex issues. Alderson and Morrow (2011) suggest that questions may be misunderstood and questions that may seem benign can still have the potential to cause emotional distress, feelings of embarrassment and have an impact on participants' self-esteem. It was important I considered how to word my questions and rephrased when needed. Loss of time, intrusion and mental discomfort can be caused which may be very serious for the person concerned and that the researcher may be unaware. I took my time and listened to the A55+. Although Alderson and Morrow are referring to children and young adults, this consideration needs to be given to all participants during their interviews. It is important to consider not only what is being said but also the body language needs to be interpreted so the interviews can be stopped if it is appropriate. Nagar-Ron and Motzafi-Haller (2011) suggest there can be a power imbalance between the interviewer and the interviewee as although the interviewee is in control of telling his or her story the interviewer chooses which parts are important and what is to be shared.

4.7.2 Adaptation of PhotoVoice

The adult and child participants will be asked to create a visual representation; the people A55+ using a drawing or painting and the children using either a drawing or painting. This will be similar to PhotoVoice. Wang and Burris (1997) used the term 'PhotoVoice' combining the word 'photo' with the initials 'VOICE' as standing for 'Voicing Our Individual and Collective Experience' (p.381).

PhotoVoice is a participatory visual research method, which helps individuals, especially those who may not have a voice, to describe their life experiences (Wang, 2006 Wang *et al.*, 2004). The study has enabled the participants to share their stories. PhotoVoice has been used in a variety of fields of research. In health, for example Lavelle *et al.*, (2018) considered rehabilitation for patients with spinal cord injury, while Oates, Phillips, Bateman, Baskin, Fouad and Scarinc (2018) considered the determinants of obesity, and Korn, Kane, Errazquin, Byrne and Hynes (2017) adopted PhotoVoice for research with people at risk of respiratory illnesses. PhotoVoice has also been used to address issues of social justice. Sethi (2018) uses PhotoVoice to consider racism and within early years Alaca, Rocca and Maggi (2017) to discuss children's understanding of their community. In this study, likewise, the study has enabled children to discuss their understanding of the role grandparents play in their lives. All this research has a similar basis: that of listening to the participants, which gives them a personal voice and allows them to express views unique to them. The research is being carried out with the participants rather than on the participants (Pearson and Ralph 2007). One of the core aims of PhotoVoice is also to elicit change, be this political or social. Within this study the aim is to create an understanding of the benefits and challenges of children spending time with A55+ and C3-5YO spend time with 55+ This has social and political implications as children's voices are not listened to and research about C3-5YO lives are usually seen through the understanding and views of adults (Christensen and James, 2008). PhotoVoice is an opportunity for marginalized voices to be heard (Plunkett, Leipert and Ray, 2012). The research will investigate how these two groups interact with each other.

PhotoVoice and the use of photographs with explanations provided by the participants allows the participants to explore their own realities (Wang, 1999). However, the use of photographs would present some practical and ethical challenges. Seitz and Orsini (2022) in their review of PhotoVoice studies suggested that ethical guidelines are inconsistently maintained. In particular, they noted that the inclusion

of gaining permission from the subject of the photograph was not always sought. For this present study, gaining such permission would be challenging and I would have had to consider where the photographs had come from. The British Educational Research Association (BERA) ethical guidelines (BERA, 2018) need to be met and as a researcher, I have a responsibility to enquire how participants are producing the photographs. Participants would need to be informed that they would need consent from individuals who are in the photographs and if the individuals are children, then parents' consent will be required (Murray and Nash, 2016). I am unsure whether this would impede the participants from being able to access photographs and as such had to consider whether photographs should be used.

Trying to explain to children they need permission to take photos not only from their friends but also from their friends' parents may be difficult. Neither could I say how the photographs may be used by others. Higonnet (1998) argues that no one can predictably control how images may be used. Another challenge in the use of photographs is the issue of power in relationships between adults and children. Children may not like the photographs that depict them and as the children in the studies are C3-5YO they can only assent, no consent can be secured from the children. Consent would need to be given by parents, and they may not know how the child would feel about the photographs at a later date (Einarsdottir, 2007; Murray and Nash 2016).

It is with these considerations in mind that I chose not to use photographs but to ask participants to produce artefacts. For younger children, drawing-based tasks are familiar (Wall and Higgins 2006). This may not be the case for the adult participants, the drawings were done as part of the interview process. Bringing an artifact may have prevented participation as they may be fears about them being artistic enough. This was overcome with an explanation of the intension of the pictures as a representation rather than a piece of art. It also acted as an ice breaker and to help develop a rapport.

The visual representations provided by participants would then be used as stimuli for unstructured interviews or 'conversation(s) with purpose' (Harcourt and Sargeant, 2012 p.51) and as a way of sharing about their lives, as Wang and Burris (1997) advocated that pictures alone would not enable the participants' own voices and stories to be shared. An advantage of this method is that it reduces the formality that a semi-structured or structured interview can generate. Using the proposed adaptation of PhotoVoice would ensure that participants are not seen as one member of an identical group of individuals who have different families and communities and therefore have completely different experiences. (Alaca, Rocca and Maggi, 2017). Ivey and Ivey (2003, p.84) suggest that drawing and enabling children to use their hands makes them feel more comfortable, also talking enables children to talk about their feelings and their lives. The adults A55+ were also asked about their artefact which was not to not be annotated but used to frame the first question, "Tell me about your picture?"

I considered and disregarded the use of photo-elicitation as a method. Photo elicitation uses photographs or images during semi structured interviews to encourage memories and discussion (Banks, 2007). One or two images are provided by the participant or the researcher for the participant to respond to (Glaw, Inder, Kable and Hazelton, 2017). Harper (2002) states that the image has to be understood by both the participant and the researcher with increased understanding following the interview. I did not want to influence the conversation by bringing my own photographs as this would be about my constructed reality creating the narrative for the participants, the images I chose may not have the same meaning and be understood by the participants. I wanted to hear the unique views of the participants and what they considered to be important to do this the participants would have to provide their own photographs. This would have led to the same ethical issues as discussed for PhotoVoice.

'Draw and Tell' is similar to 'draw, write and tell' which appear during the 1970's. Children choose either to draw or write around a given subject. Using art may help children construct their ideas and by

offering a choice of either drawing or writing increased the inclusive nature of the method (Angell, Alexander and Hunt, 2015). The interviews and the drawings are interpreted with the focus of the interview being the drawing. This method has been used in health and in education with children ranging in ages including preschool children (Driessnack 2006; Wiseman, Rossmann, Lee and Harris, 2019). Dondukov, (2020) stated that this 'draw and tell' enabled children to express their experiences and how they feel. For this research their drawings were the catalyst for the conversation style interview, small children may not have the drawing skills to fully share their ideas, using a drawing as the starting point of the conversation would lead to richer data.

As the COVID-19 Pandemic continued it was apparent that it was not safe for me to go into early year settings to gather data. The guidance for nurseries was to refrain from having additional people within the setting. Despite waiting six months for this to change there were two further lockdowns. I adapted my research methods to allow me to continue with this project. I asked Practitioners to become Research Assistants completing an adaptation of PhotoVoice and conversational style interviews with the children in three settings. The settings had suitable Early childhood practitioners who were familiar with research from studying or completing degree courses themselves. They worked with the children daily within the settings.

This meant the practitioners asked the children to complete an artefact and have a conversation with the children which they recorded, making annotations on the back of the object. I supported the practitioners with a meeting at a safe distance. There was also an advantage as during the conversation the practitioners were unaware of any preconceived ideas from previous data collected (Holloway and Todres, 2003; Nowell, Norris, White and Moules, 2017). Therefore, the practitioners did not draw on any preconceived Ideas.

4.7.2i Considerations for the Practitioner

For practitioners, completing research added to their workload at a time when they were already having to learn new procedures within the setting to cope with COVID-19. I had to make sure they did not feel that if they participated that they were doing all the work from which I, not they, would benefit. However, for those completing their own studies or interested in research being involved was a positive and beneficial experience, as they learnt how to carry out a research project. It would add to their personal development and development of a different type of questioning they could continue to use with the children. Gillies and Khan (2009) suggested young children were not asked open-ended questions.

I did not feel I would have been able to support the practitioner in the same way as I could if I were going into the setting to see them regularly. However, I was able to give them written information that they would be able to access at a time suitable for them and as many times as they wished explaining the research. (Appendix 3).

The children had developed a relationship with the practitioners within the setting (King and La Paro, 2015) and may have felt able to discuss whether or not they wished to participate in research more so than with me, this allowed the children to have more autonomy. The practitioner encouraged them to do so as they knew the children and therefore were able to alleviate any fears or apprehension enabling the child to participate. However, the practitioner may have felt that as the parents have already given permission this was enough for them to complete and participate, they may not listen to the wishes of the child, or the child may not believe they had a choice and that they are expected to do what the practitioner asks of them.

The practitioner's bias may have influenced which child they chose to participate, and I would have been unaware. However, because of

their knowledge of the children's circumstances for example they would know if the children had grandparents or if there were other reasons for not asking the children to participate without knowing the children in the setting I would have been reliant on their judgment.

The drawings produced by the children were annotated by the practitioner after the conversation. A copy of the picture would be used rather than the original (subject to the children's permission). However, I had to consider that reproducing images, through scanning or copying, may change or alter the original meaning intended by the producer of the image (Cox, Drew, Guillemin, Warr and Waycott, 2014). Weber and Mitchell (1996, p.303) suggest that like text, drawings can be 'read'. Although in this instance it would be read only with the interpretation that the children had given it in the transcripts. The children would then be given the opportunity to provide an explanation and a narrative; this would be recorded.

Mitchell (2006) states:

drawings are not a substitute for children's voices and the absence or muting or fragmentation of children's talking about their images means researchers need to be particularly cautious about over-interpreting their images (p.69).

Wall (2017) argues however, this openness can lead the child to feel overwhelmed as it gives the child control over how to respond reducing the manipulation of the researcher. I would be giving a more authentic voice. Cherney, Seiwert, Dickey and Flichtbeil (2006) believe children's drawings show the inner world of their families and their experiences.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) states that children have the right to express their perspectives freely on matters that concern them (UNICEF, 2009). Engaging children as co-researchers improves the value of the knowledge, changing the role

of the children from just gatherers to active participants. By interacting with children their perspective and interests can be discovered; they are the 'experts in their own lives' (Mayall, 2000; Clark and Moss, 2010; Langsted, 1994).

Visual methods, such as drawing and photo-elicitation, to which PhotoVoice is similar, had been found to be effective in capturing the child's voice (Eldén, 2013; Hunleth, 2011). Children should be participants in research (Brooks and Murray 2018) and not just subjects: their opinions should be heard. Children are often asked for their views and opinions on subjects that matter to their lives. The reality is often that children's voices are not listened to so that asking for their views is a hollow gesture (Singer 2014; Brooks and Murray 2018) or it is seen as an educational activity (Alderson, 2008) but not valued in its own right. Murray (2016) considers children to be able to articulate the views they have formed, though not necessarily in ways that adults recognise readily and that they are able to base their decisions concerning their views on evidence.

When asking young children about their views of the people A55+, it is important to consider how the data is analysed, whether it is the child's voice and how accurate it is, again there's a need for the children themselves to be involved in the research (Lundy, McEvoy and Bryne (2011). In PhotoVoice, the participants become researchers with a role in the design and composing the research questions (Murray and Nash 2016). However, Catalini and Minkla (2010) found that this requirement can lead to a lower level of participation. To gain this additional involvement of people A55+ and children sufficiently to engage them at this level would require more meetings to take place and this was not manageable due to COVID-19.

4.7.2ii Conversation image

Although the list of questions was written and shown to practitioners as a way of stimulating ideas of what could be talked about, they were

encouraged to chat with the children rather than just follow the list as this would encourage and develop the conversation. The conversation was to be Child led. The pictures that the children were drawing were a way of helping the conversation flow in a way similar to PhotoVoice, they were a focus for the conversation rather than just a way for the child to express their thoughts and feelings. With C3-5YO it is likely they may not have the ability to successfully convey them through drawings.

4.8 Ethics

Ethical approval for this study was approved by the University of Northampton Research Ethics Committee. (Appendix 1) Part of the process of applying for ethics approval is to reflect on the process beforehand. I believed that my study was beneficial in exploring A55+ and C3-5YO views of the nature and constructions of different generations. I had to consider what harm my participant could experience from participating in the study and how I would overcome this.

Do no harm is an important in-research principle (The British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2018)). Although participants were unlikely to be physically harmed, childhood memories may not be positive for everyone. Care was taken to ensure that the participants knew they could stop at any time they needed and withdraw from the study if they wished. Our responsibility is 'always to the people we study, not to our project or to a larger discipline'.

*The lives and stories that we hear and study are
given to us under a promise, that promise being that
we protect those who have shared them with us
(Denzin, 1989, p.83).*

González-López (2011) advocates for "mindful ethics" in research, emphasising introspection, examination of one's own conscious thoughts and feelings and respect for informants to genuinely avoid harm. Similarly, Stacey (1988) states the necessity for researchers to

maintain rigorous self-awareness to mitigate potential ethical pitfalls. I had reflected on my positionality and how this may affect the way I was perceived by the participants. Central to the ethics of care is the recognition of power differentials between researchers and participants, necessitating critical examination of how these dynamics impact the research process (Reich, 2021). I considered how to reduce this power imbalance, I as the researcher could be seen to have 'power' and the participants may feel pressurised into taking part. I thought about how I sat, what equipment I took in with me even how I dressed in order to look relaxed and not formal. I considered where to meet the participants so they would feel comfortable therefore I chose to go to the centre which they knew well.

4.8.1 Ethics of Care

Tronto (1993) delineates four phases of care: attentiveness, responsibility, competency, and responsiveness. Attentiveness involves recognizing the existence of care needs, while responsibility entails assuming responsibility for addressing these needs. Competency requires direct engagement and action, and responsiveness emphasizes the reciprocity inherent in caring relationships. I did this in the conversations by actively listening to the participants. I talked about my own children and my own experiences because I was asking them to tell and share the same type of personal information and felt this would build a rapport. Even if it was a short amount of time, I had to make people feel at ease and to make them feel that they are comfortable to share with me.

An ethic of care necessitates careful consideration of participants' well-being and agency. Researchers must evaluate the potential risks and benefits of participation, ensuring that informed consent procedures are comprehensive and respectful (Power, 2021). I asked the manager of the setting to identify suitable participants as she knew the volunteers to help reduce the risks of harm by participating in the research. A letter that explained the research and what I would do with

their information was given to interested participants. I also explained this at the beginning of the conversation (BERA, 2018). Researchers should be attentive to the unique needs and perspectives of participants, adapting their approach accordingly (Noddings, 2012). It is about protecting that person, in that space and time, putting their needs before the research. If the person wishes to share their information with me then I should listen. It is in my nature to care, to listen and be kind therefore as a researcher, I must respond to people in the moment; that is the ethics of care. During an interview with an A55+ it was necessary for me to stop being a researcher for a minute and just let this person speak and be heard regardless of the research project.

4.8.2 Adults' Voluntary Informed Consent

The C3-5YO Managers and headteacher of the children's settings and the charity centre for older people were asked for informed consent for the C3-5YO and A55+ to be able to participate. Managers and Practitioners are gatekeepers, they have a responsibility to protect the people within their organisations and stop them being coerced (McFadyen and Rankin 2016). Bryman (2008) noted that they act as intermediaries between researchers and participants, they have an important role and help make research successful (Lund, Panda and Dhal 2016). It was important for them to understand my research project and how I would protect those participants in their organisations.

Children are seen as vulnerable or powerless (Docket and Perry, 2011). Balen, Blythe, Calabretta, Fraser, Horrocks and Manby (2006, p.29) states that parents are 'gatekeepers' for children. Nutbrown (2010 p.10) went further and suggested that parents were not just gatekeepers but 'guardians' there to protect their children from harm and therefore it was important to ensure parents had information about the research. As well as this according to BERA (2018) it was essential that parents gave permission before the research started.

Letters containing information for the study and a consent form were sent to the setting (Appendix 4). A second letter was sent home to the parents which explained what is involved, where the data was to be stored and that they may withdraw their child at any time during the interview process for a period of time after. (Appendix 5) They were informed that the setting and the children would be anonymised and coded at the start of the data gathering. (BERA, 2018). All participants have the right to confidentiality and privacy (Dockett *et al.*, 2012). A similar letter containing a consent form was also sent to the A55+.

To keep children safe in every setting, a practitioner in that setting must take responsibility for safeguarding children with clear policies and procedures to adhere to EYFS requirements. Anyone working with children in England is also required to have a criminal records check from the Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) (DfE, 2017) so I knew that the practitioners knew and understood the importance of protecting the children and what they needed to do if they disclosed information during the conversation. It was made clear in the letters to parents that any safeguarding issue would be reported. I spoke to the practitioner about the information I required and emphasised the importance of giving the parents the information and gaining the parents' consent.

4.8.3 Children's Voluntary Informed Assent

MacNaughton and Hughes (2009) state that historically it has been sufficient to gain consent from parents in to enable children to be included in research and young children even if not verbally can clearly express their views but by rejecting a researcher's presence or questions. For example, they can move away from a person they do not wish to be near (Aubrey *et al.*, 2000), refusing to answer questions, change the topic of conversation or in extreme cases be physically aggressive if they feel unhappy in any given situation. Flewitt (2005) found that children as young as three years old were 'competent and confident' enough to give or withdraw consent.

Children should be informed about research that they are involved in and be given the options to decline or accept participation. Children's assent is dependent upon the distribution of information that is 'accessible and appropriate for specific children' (Dockett and Perry, 2011, p.234). Seeking children's views can empower children, but it is important that researchers clearly articulate what is requested in a way that children can understand, this can be through any form of communication, (Harcourt and Conroy, 2005).

4.8.3i Gaining Children's Voluntary Informed Assent

As I could not go into the settings for reasons previously discussed I had to consider another way of informing the children about the research and their right to withdraw and in this first instance contemplated asking the practitioners to use puppets or by the use of a specifically designed book.

Puppets have been used on occasions as to gain responses from children there are considered to be passive and active probes in research with the common purpose of eliciting responses from children. Puppets are an effective tool for introducing research and initiating conversations with children; they can "provide a stimulus for talk" and gain children's attention (Simon *et al.*, 2008, p.1245), as well as putting the children at ease as they are seen as peers. Often children find them easier to talk with than adults (Green, 2012). This was important in my project as part of gaining the children's trust initially.

There are three common interview techniques where puppets are used to actively engage with children through conversation: (i) the Alien Puppet Interview (API) (Krott and Nicoladis, 2005); (ii) the Puppet Interview (PI) (Cassidy, 1988; Verschueren, Buyck and Marcoen, 2001); and (iii) the Berkeley Puppet Interview (BPI) (Measelle *et al.*, 1998; Ablow *et al.*, 1999). I was considering using puppets to talk to the children, in the form of a puppet interview. The children may feel more comfortable telling puppets their thoughts and ideas than adults,

as adults may judge them if they present something incorrectly (Keogh and Naylor, 2009; Simon *et al.*, 2008).

The puppets that were available were generally of elderly white people with white hair and wearing glasses, the puppet's 'gender, race and physical appearance also influenced how the children conducted themselves during the interview.' (Epstein, Stevens, Mckeever, Baruchel, Jones, 2008 p.49). The puppets in this case may not be like the children, as they may have a different skin tone and using older characters may also have influenced the children's view of their grandparent and the children may have just copied what they saw.

Torr (2007) found that children actively drew on their own lived experiences to reflect on the meanings they encountered in books. 'These connections allow children to move beyond the frame provided by the text in order to recontextualise the meanings in personally significant ways' (Torr 2007, p.78).

I chose to use a book as a way of introducing myself and the subject to the children. This book was illustrated with pictures to explain who I am and what I would like them to do. (Appendix 7) Mayne *et al.* (2015)'s suggestions include illustrations rather than photographs to help children understand the research context. Illustrations help children to interact with the text and enable children to visualise the information (Fang, 1996). A storybook was developed which was appropriate to the age of the children and their cultural understanding.

The book explained to them that they were able to withdraw from the process if they wished to do so; it was designed to be suitable for C3-5YO years of age. It enabled the practitioner to read to the children in a way I would like the subject introduced and enabled my voice and more importantly the ethics required to be included. It explained to the children what the research was about, what they were going to do, where the data would be stored and what I was going to do with it. I hoped that this technique would also minimise the likelihood of practitioners coercing the children to take part in the project if they did not want to. Their perception of what they could 'say no to' may

depend on their culture and the context of the request (Mayne, Howitt and Renni, 2016). Hartcourt and Conroy (2011) express the importance of informing the children that their involvement is voluntary and they can withdraw at any time. This was made clear in the book.

Additionally, children who did not want to participate would be offered an alternative activity by preschool staff, they would be able to demonstrate their need non-verbally by moving to a different part of the room and participating in another activity. The practitioners would observe facial expressions, and deliberate signals (such as thumbs up or thumbs down) (Dockett, Einarsdóttir and Perry, 2012).

4.8.3ii The Assent book

The book characters were inspired by cartoon animal characters in the style of Peppa Pig and Bluey which are cartoons aimed at preschoolers and global success (Barb Audiences Ltd, 2023). According to Wang Chen, Li, and Zhang, (2021) most children are able to distinguish between fantasy and reality although Martarelli *et al.*, (2015) suggest that C3-5YO were poor at disguising the likelihood of meeting real people or fictional figures. They are familiar with these characters in merchandise books. The reason for this choice of drawn characters rather than photographs was that the settings were closed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this meant I could not go into the settings and take photographs of the children although this in itself may well have been construed as a safeguarding issue by some parents. Using drawn characters also ensured all the children who were participating would feel included. Being or not being used in a photo may have led to a perceived differential in some children. The choice of colours for the characters was specifically to avoid gender stereotyping (Beyazoglu, Komac and Fekonja, 2023) as was the diverse range of hairstyles and features. Once the practitioners had read the book the C3-5YO were asked by the practitioners if they wished to participate and have an

assent form to complete which they could tick 'Yes' or 'No' or draw on or could also answer yes or no or give a thumbs up and thumbs down sign to the practitioner (Appendix 6).



Fig. 4.1

Illustrations from the Assent Book by G. Dugan-Clements.

4.9 Data Management

Requirements outlined within BERA (2018) ethical guidelines regarding compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) Act 2018 were met. The practitioners recorded the conversations and stored the digital recorder and pictures in a suitable locked drawer or cupboard at the setting until I received them. Once all the recordings were stored on the computer the original recordings were to be deleted. This avoids loss of data on portable USB devices. The recordings were coded, and the data was then stored on the university shared area which is password protected. Participants were aware that any time before the research was coded the participant could withdraw their interview or parents could withdraw their children's interview.

4.10 Trustworthiness, reliability and triangulation.

Reliability is integral to attain validity. It is however considered to be a replication of the results (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In terms of quantitative validity, it is defined as 'the determination of whether a measurement instrument actually measures what it is purported to measure' (LoBiondo-Wood and Haber 1998, p.561). Hammersley (1992, p.69) suggests that relative to a qualitative perspective:

*account is valid or true if it represents accurately
those features of the phenomena that it is intended
to describe, explain or theorise.*

In this study the results may not be the same at a different time nor may it be representative. Both are used in research which Glesne and Peshkin (1992, p.6) describe as 'supported by the positivist or scientific paradigm leads us to regard the world as made up of observable, measurable facts.' This study is within qualitative paradigm and not appropriate to a phenomenological study.

Patton (2002) states that validity and reliability factors should be considered while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study. However, Bassey (1999) suggests that case study data cannot be validated and reliable as the settings have not been chosen for their typicality, which is why Lincoln and Guba (1995) suggest trustworthiness. Guba (1981) suggests there are four areas to consider in securing trustworthiness. (1) Truth value by interpreting from different sources (in this study 10 adults and 30 children). (2) Consistency, in this case, dependability, in that there may be no inconsistencies within the answers. (3) Applicability, to repeat the case studies the researcher needs to remove situational and chronological variations. (4) Neutrality, in that the researcher needs to be aware of any bias that they may bring to the research. Each area will be further explored within the research process.

Data triangulation enhances the trustworthiness of findings by using different informants (or participants) so data triangulation will be secured in this study because different informants will participate. Further triangulation will take place through cross-referencing to relevant literature (Creswell and Miller, 2000). The 'primary concern of this qualitative research purpose is the unique, idiosyncratic meanings and perspectives constructed by individuals, groups, or both who live/act in a particular context' (Cho and Trent, 2006, p.328) The member check is the 'most crucial technique for establishing credibility' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.314). Member checks may be used to ensure participants agree with the researcher's interpretation and are useful techniques for ensuring validity. They ensure that the members' reality is represented by the researcher. This becomes part of the data collection process (Cho and Trent, 2006, p.322).

Thomas (2017) suggests that feedback from participants is a way for them to collaborate with the researchers and to develop further data as well as changing any points made. However, this may not necessarily improve research. *McConnell-Henry et al.*, (2009) argues that in the case of phenomenology, going back to the participants may be detrimental and reduce the authenticity of the work as they may feel that the researcher is interested in particular points within the data and may emphasise these within the study. Participants had an opportunity to see the transcripts.

Wang and Burris (1997) argued that PhotoVoice could address social change; although understanding an issue, rather than changing it is the main purpose of this research, its readers' and participants' perceptions may change as a result of engaging with the research.

4.11 Analysis Process

A thematic analysis of the transcripts was adopted to identify themes and relevant quotes and then comparisons made between all the interview data. This type of analysis is commonly used in qualitative analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke, (2006, p.82)

suggest that “a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set.”

The themes can be identified and interpreted; a recurrent theme indicates that the participants share ideas and views (Denscombe, 2010).

A six phased thematic analysis based on Braun and Clarke’s (2019, 2023) Reflexive Thematic Analysis approach (RTA) was used to code and interpret conversations. Braun and Clarke describe reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) as ‘a theoretically flexible method’ for ‘developing, analysing and interpreting patterns across a qualitative dataset’ (Braun and Clarke, 2019 p.4).

Thematic Analysis (TA) was first introduced by Gerald Holton (1973), it is considered a simple method, which has been used for decades in qualitative research although it was not always identified. (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2012, 2013, 2017, 2019). Moreover, RTA involved the researcher being critically reflective throughout the process. This approach has a flexible clear structured guidance which has a clear foundation and value base (Braun and Clarke, 2022). Use of RTA provides more transparency and reliability as the steps taken can be evidenced. TA gives and enables for any issue to be potentially understood more widely (Marks and Yardley, 2004) it involves immersion in the data and reflecting on it, in this instance six phases were used to create the final analysis. These phases were not linear and varying lengths of time were spent by me working through each phase (Braun and Clarke, 2019).

Reflexivity involves drawing upon your experiences, pre-existing knowledge, and social position (such as ethnicity, gender, class, etc.) and ‘critically interrogating’ (Braun and Clarke, 2019 p.5).

I knew that my own knowledge and experience would influence the development of themes and with this approach I was able to acknowledge this could happen. Social constructionism asserts that knowledge and meaning are constructed so my own interactions would therefore impact on the analysis. Patterns of meaning (Braun and Clarke, 2017) were identified within the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2012, 2013 2017) these patterns are related to the participants' "lived experience, views and perspectives, and behaviour and practices" (Clarke and Braun, 2017, p.297).

Initially consideration was given to Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA is used to examine people's experiences and how they find themselves in-the-world. (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009, p.19); It is the difference in experiences that would be for analysis. (Smith, 2019). Smith (2010, p.10) stated that:

IPA is concerned with the detailed examination of personal lived experience, the meaning of experience to participants and how participants make sense of that experience.

Likewise, Braun and Clarke (2013) state IPA is a detailed analysis of each case with codes and themes developed for each rather than across all the cases, so the unique experiences are evidenced (Braun and Clarke, 2013). The aim of this study was to explore A55+ and C3-5YO views of the nature and constructions of different generations not to analysis different experiences. IPA involves a single and homogenous group of participants, being interviewed to study perspectives on a particular phenomenon of interest (Larkin, Shaw, and Flowers, 2019). Although the participants in each group of this study are similar, I do not believe the groups to be homogenous as they have different lived experiences and are of different ages (C3-5YO and A55+). I did not want to analyse the data individually but to bring together the themes. In terms of its theoretical position TA is phenomenological (Giorgi and Giorgi, 2003) and linked to the

interpretative tradition (Smith 2004) which this study does not. It is for this reason that IPA would have been unsuitable for this study.

According to Braun and Clarke (2017) RTA can be used for any amount of data, from a large or small number of participants as well as homogenous and heterogeneous samples. In this instance a multiple case study with 34 C3-5YO eight A55+ and three practitioners is a diverse group and therefore a suitable choice for the study. Reflexive Thematic Analysis (RTA) is an interpretive method positioned within a qualitative paradigm (Larkin, Shaw and Flowers, 2019) which makes it suitable for this study. Clarke and Braun (2017) argue RTA can be used with any epistemology, ontology and methodology making it suitable in this instance. (Holloway and Todres, 2003; Braun and Clarke, 2006; Lorelli, Nowell, Norris, White, Moules, 2017). In this thesis, Social Constructionism was used as the research theoretical perspective, as a constructionist epistemological position the participants and researcher constructed what is known. This knowing is subjective, and the researcher's own experience will influence that knowing (Finlay, 2021). RTA enables examination from a constructionist methodological position (Evans and Lewis, 2018). However, phenomenology was also used as the research theoretical perspective and RTA was suitable for this too.

Another reason for choosing RTA was the importance of subjectivity as a resource for analysis (Braun and Clarke 2019, 2021, p.8) which fitted with the theoretical framework of social constructivism. Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p.31) argue:

all research is interpretive, guided by the beliefs and understanding of the researcher's world

The researcher must understand their own perception (Braun and Clark, 2021; Fisher and Rennie, 1999). The focus of this research is identifying patterns of meaning and their implications and the effects of these which are socially embedded (Clarke and Braun, 2014). I do

not believe it was possible to remove bias or to be aware of all the bias one may have. When analysis of the data took place, I was aware that my experiences did influence how I interpreted it. I reflected on my own experiences, views, thoughts, beliefs and developing theories (Straks and Trinidad, 2007). RTA is about the individual's response to the data.

'the researcher's reflective and thoughtful
engagement with their data and their reflexive and
thoughtful engagement with the analytic process'
(Braun and Clarke 2019, p.594).

Braun and Clarke (2006) believe researchers using TA need to state the choices they have made and explain why they have made those decisions. Both inductive and deductive approaches can be used in RTA. Inductive, driven by the data and deductive, which uses theory to derive the results from the themes, that can be used to generate themes to find meaning. (Clarke and Braun, 2017, p.298).

A deductive approach involves having a conceptual framework, which can be as complex or simple as based on common sense or theory either graphically or in narrative form, thus ensuring the selection of what is important, the relationship leading to what will be collected and analysed (Miles, Huberman and Saldaña, 2014, p.37). I was unaware what data would produce and the literature available did not clearly reveal what would be considered important. The children led the conversation, I was unable to predict what they would say or what questions the practitioners would ask, therefore similar themes could not be predicted in advance of analysis, making this approach ineffective. Equally the Conversation styles of the A55+ interviews were unpredictable, so this was not used. In this instance I used an inductive approach to generate codes and themes, this ensures that the identified theme is linked to the data (Patton, 1990).

Inductive approaches are intended to aid an understanding of meaning in complex data through the development of summary themes or categories from the raw data (data reduction) (Thomas, 2003 p.3).

Themes are generally perceived as concise summaries, or overviews, of the most frequent responses participants provided concerning a specific topic across all the data (Braun and Clarke 2020, p.39). The analysis was conducted without using a pre-existing coding frame or any preconceived analytical notions and was driven by the data (Patton, 1990; Braun and Clarke, 2012).

4.12 Chapter Four Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined and justified the epistemology, ontology, paradigms, methodology and methods that will guide the study. Social constructionism and phenomenology are the selected paradigms for this interpretive study. Intrinsic multiple case study is the selected methodology, while an adaptation of PhotoVoice incorporating visual representations and interviews comprise the selected research instruments. The sampling strategy has also been set out and justified in this chapter. Ethical considerations have been alluded to in this chapter and the data analysis of RTA is discussed in the next chapter and the data collection process will be discussed in more detail.

Chapter Five: Methodology 2 - Data Collection

5.1 Introduction to Chapter Five

In this chapter the data collection, including the sampling procedures, will be explored. A discussion will explore the choice of data analysis and why other alternatives were discounted. The chapter also describes how the themes were generated.

5.2 Context

The study settings were located across the East Midlands of England. All participating children were enrolled in early childhood education settings that adhered to the EYFS (DfE 2023).

5.2.1 Study locations

Three settings were chosen to reflect a range of different types of settings in and around the East Midlands. There were 14 children from setting MK, 11 from setting QK, and nine from the third setting MH. The children were aged between 3 and 5 years old and had grandparents.

Setting MK.

This small primary school has a high proportion of pupils from a variety of ethnic heritage groups compared to most schools. Consequently, it has an above average number of pupils who speak English as an additional language. Additionally, the school has a higher-than-average number of students supported through the pupil premium, including those eligible for free school meals, children looked after by the local authority and other eligible groups (Setting Ofsted report 2014). This

was reflected in the conversations with the children, which tended to be shorter and included more closed questions.

Setting QK.

This is an early years nursery situated within a secondary academy for children aged from birth to four years and is located in a city. The children and teachers are from the local area.

Setting MH.

This operates from a village church hall; the pre-school opens during school term times. According to the UK Census (2011) the areas has a higher level of residents born in the UK than the national average and this was reflected in the setting.

Table 5.1 Setting Characteristics

Setting MK	Diverse, urban, but whose children had grandparents A55+. A private nursery.
Setting QK	Diverse urban, whose children had grandparents at Reception class. A primary school.
Setting MH	Homogeneous white, rural, whose children had grandparents. A private nurse.

I did not know the settings prior to the study. In addition to the pre-school settings, eight adults A55+ were approached, all the participants were over 55 years old (Table 6.2). Seven from a charitable organisation dedicated to improving the lives of older people in the United Kingdom by campaigning and at a national level and advocating and providing services. There are a number of local charities across the county (charity website, [n.d.]) The local branch meets the needs of older individuals residing within the East Midlands. These services include a day centre. (Charity website [n.d.]) I contacted the centre who sent out my invitation to the volunteers

asking if anyone over 55 years old would like to participate in the study. The volunteers at the centre were advocates for older people and had experience of working with older people prior to COVID-19. They were familiar with pre-school children visits to the centre and were aware of interactions of children and older people. The centre manager arranged for a room to be available for the meetings which was a spacious and private space for the interviews to take place. The eighth Participant was a volunteer at setting QK and worked with the children. The meeting took place in the empty school staffroom.

I approached a number of early years settings to participate in the study, but I did not get a response from the majority I had emailed. It is known to be difficult to recruit educational settings as there are few reasons to engage in research Van Maanen (1991). Shaw (2005) suggests that a lack of time, and lack of interest are the main reasons for not participating. From the original three setting that agreed to take part prior to lockdown two withdrew. This may have been related to the need for gate keepers to keep participants safe, it was a time of great stress for early years professionals.

5.3 Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to find suitable participants based on the particular characteristics required to enable a comparison to be made, to provide a focus on unique issues and to provide greater depth (Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, Wisdom, Duan and Hoagwood, 2015). Richardson (2019) established there is a need to consider when choosing children, the potential impact on those children not chosen to participate. I made the decision as the children were divided into small groups within the setting that any number of children who met the criteria of having a grandparent could participate in the research.

5.3.1 Participants

The 8 adults A55+ responded to a request from the manager of the charity run centre who selected people based on the age criteria and

her knowledge of the volunteers at the centre. She then arranged for those interested to receive the information pack. A date and time was negotiated to reduce the number of times I came to the centre to reduce the risk of spreading COVID-19.

The C3-5YO were selected children who fitted the criteria that the practitioners thought would be interested in completing the research. As they knew the families well, they were able to select children who would benefit from participating in such conversations and who would not find the subject distressing. An adaptation of PhotoVoice was used with both groups in this exercise.

5.4 Phases of Analysis

5.4.1 Phase One

Phase One involved creating transcripts of the recorded conversations (Appendix 11). I listened many times to the recordings before beginning the process of transcribing, I found this to be a difficult process. By listening and transcribing myself I became familiar with the data. I read the transcripts several times while listening to the recordings to check for any errors or misinterpretations. Although this was time consuming it did mean I knew all the interviews well (both the C3-5YO and A55+). This was particularly important as I did not take part in the children's conversations, therefore it was even more important to familiarise myself with the data (Braun and Clark, 2021). I began to make notes of anything that was of interest or ideas that came to mind, I then went through the transcripts line by line (Charzmaz, 2006). The theoretical frame was something I considered when considering the data.

5.4.2 Phase 2 Coding

Phase two coding involved dividing the data to capture meaning or a concept (Braun and Clark, (2021). This may be at a semantic or explicit level or at a latent level or interpretative level (Braun and

Clarke, p.84; Braun and Clark, 2021). At the surface level, semantic analysis involves detecting themes based on their literal meaning. There were two distinct sets, one comprising of C3-5YO and one of A55 +. My initial focus was on the C3-5YO group, where I examined the statements made by the children and identified any recurrent words or phrases. This straightforward method highlighted patterns present in the data, allowing me to organise them into content summaries for interpretation but operating at a latent level, certain patterns within the semantic content became apparent and were succinctly summarised. This approach aids in the initial interpretation of the data, facilitating the construction of a broader framework or meaning and associations. Organising them into content summaries for interpretation by applying them at a latent level which is a deeper underlying level of meaning or interpretation. (Javadi and Zarea-Demo, 2016).

Boyatzis (1998, p.1) suggested that a "good code" (p.1) is one that captures the qualitative richness of the phenomenon.

After carefully reading through the transcripts multiple times, codes were applied by selecting phrases or interesting sentences. The NVivo 12 coding feature allowed this data to be recorded (Appendix 13). Originally 19 codes were identified in the C3-5YO and 25 codes for the A55+.

The NVivo 12 software provides tools for researchers to create and analyse transcripts using inductive reasoning (Grey, 2018). This provides a more transparent process, suggesting a more credible result. The software enables extracts to be gathered together into codes or, as they are referred to in NVivo, nodes, allowing the data to be analysed. I do not think I was able to take full advantage of the many functions available in the programme.

5.4.3 Phase 3 Generating themes

Codes were explored using the NVivo 12 software and potential themes were created identifying clusters. Braun and Clarke (2021, p.5) suggest that themes are formed by clusters of codes that share a core idea, which are brought together, and these themes are created by the researcher. This was done visually with paper and pens (Appendix 17). The themes were intentionally created; these were labelled and given a definition with details of any exclusions and examples (Terry, Hayfield, Clarke and Braun, 2017). Looking at the codes I was able to identify similar ideas which I put together. This brings together a pattern of shared meaning which is necessary within a framework of social constructivism.

The set of codes identified across the data set was then analysed for patterns and the relationships between them. This process involved considering how different codes could be combined to form themes following Braun and Clarke's phases.

'It is considered best practise to refrain from quantifying data during analysis, as the essence of a theme is not necessarily tied to quantifiable measures, but rather to its significance in relation to the overall research.' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.82).

5.4.4 Phase 4 Reviewing themes

Once the themes were identified I reflected on the themes I had created. I went back to the beginning of the process and relooked at the codes considering whether I thought they were correctly labelled. (Appendix 17). During the process I questioned if I could rearrange the codes into other themes, going back to my initial thoughts and considering how and if they had changed.

Braun and Clarke (2022) suggest not using one-word themes however I have done this as I believe the word can sum up the data, 'Treats' for example. For me this was part of the social constructionism framework

words have and means that they are understood and interpreted correctly by the reader; in this instance a treat is given.

5.4.5 Phase 5 Defining and naming themes

Following the completion of the on-going review of codes and individual datasets I subsequently refined the themes. I reflected on combining the themes across both the data sets. I could see that there were similar themes and sub-themes and that there were similarities within the code.

Table 5.2 Summary: The Six phases of Braun and Clarke's RTA (2022)

Phase		
1	Generating initial codes.	Transcribed, familiarised with C3-5YO and A55+ coded.
2	Generating themes.	Both sets of data key words and concepts used to name themes.
3	Reviewing themes.	Revisited coding of C3-5YO and A55+ combined codes and themes.
4	Defining and Naming themes.	Noted similarity in themes in C3-5YO and A55+.
5	Defining and Naming themes.	Combining the themes from C3-5YO and A55+.
6	Writing up.	Final write up

Table 5.1 briefly summaries the actions taken for during each phase of the process ensuring there is rigour in the process.

5.4.6 Phase 6 Reporting

According to Braun and Clarke (2023) the final phase is the writing up and completion of the research project. This was done following meetings with supervisors and using previous written notes.

5.5 Ethical considerations regarding data analysis.

To maintain confidentiality and privacy of the C3-5YO and the A55+ all participants were coded to maintain anonymity. To meet the guidelines of BERA (2018) care was taken to ensure that the story told was not one that would harm the participants by being patronising (Braun and Clarke, 2022).

5.6 Chapter Five Conclusion

A theoretical framework of social constructionism and phenomenology has been discussed. A justification of the methodology, multiple case studies and the methods of interviewing, particularly the adaptation of PhotoVoice has been established. The trustworthiness, reliability and triangulation of the proposed study have been explored. Finally, the ethical approach and considerations have been established. In the next chapter the findings from both the C3-5YO and the A55+ are presented.

Chapter Six: Presentation of findings.

6.1 Introduction to Chapter Six

The purpose of this study was to explore perspectives of Age in Early Childhood Settings and their communities; how do young children view A55+? And how do adults' aged 55+ view children's young children? The Methodology used was a multiple case study to secure a unique insight (Vasconcelos 2010) and a 'thick description' (Densin, 1989, p.83).

This chapter presents the findings in two parts. In the first part, findings from the adapted PhotoVoice method are presented in themes. These themes emerged as part of the adapted PhotoVoice method, from conversations that practitioners had with children about the pictures they were drawing of their grandparents. These findings are in line with the study's first research objective: 'To capture the views of C3-5YO about their grandparents'.

In the second part of the chapter, findings from the adaptation of PhotoVoice interviews with A55+ about C3-5YO are presented according to themes that emerged from the data in line with second research objective to capture the views of A55+ concerning C3- 5YO.

6.2 Themes from PhotoVoice conversations with children

Table 6.1 illustrates the composition of the participants, 34 children from three settings and 3 Practitioners from each setting.

Table 6.1 Number of C3-5YO from each setting

	Setting 1	Setting 2	Setting 3	total
Number of children	12 children from QK	13 from setting MK	9 from setting MH	34

Number of Practitioners	1	1	1	3
-------------------------	---	---	---	---

Table 6.2 Summary of the Themes from C3-5YO

Theme	Codes	Description
Appearance	Stereotyping gender. Signs of ageing.	How children see their grandparents in terms of their physical appearance and their age.
Role of grandparents	Career. Childcare. Love.	The various roles grandparents have including the role of grandparents in society.
Culture	Language.	The children's heritage.
Treats	Food. Play. Special rules.	Ways grandparents give children treats.

Table 6.2 shows a brief description of each of the themes and sub-themes and the combined codes that were used to create them.

The interviews took place in the settings in which the C3-5YO were familiar and with practitioners they knew. The C3-5YO and practitioners had a conversation as the C3-5YO drew their pictures of their grandparents. The practitioners started the conversations with questions about their pictures or directly asking about their grandparents.

"Right then D. So, tell me who have you drawn a picture of?" (MK Practitioner) *"Grandpa, Grandad."* (MK Child 5)

"Grandpa and Grandad. So, what, what does Grandpa look like?" (MK Practitioner) *"Erm he looks like a fairy."* (MK Child 5)

"He looks like a fairy." (MK Practitioner)

"J Drawing a picture of Nanny Shoe. What do you do with Nanny Shoe?" (MH Practitioner)

"We play cards we play cards with her." (MH Child 1)

"You play cards with her is that over at her house?" (MH Practitioner)

As the conversations progressed the questions were in response to what the C3-5YO had said. The practitioner from the MK setting asked more leading questions, often needing just one-word answers and reworded the same question in an attempt to encourage the children to talk.

"Do you call him Grandad? Would you call him? Do you call him Pops, what's his name?" (MK Practitioner 1)

"Grandad." (MK Child 1)

"Grandad" (MK Practitioner 1)

The C3-5YO tended to answer with short sentences or one-word answers and limited sentences.

".... Looking? Does Grandad give you cuddles?" (MK Practitioner 1)

"Yeah." (MK Child 3)

"And cuddles and what do we say to Grandad we say I love..." (MK Practitioner 1)

"Love Grandad." (MK Child 3)

"Do you sleep at grandmas?" (MK Practitioner 1)

"Yeah." (MK Child 4)

The practitioners often repeated back what the C3-5YO had said to them.

"Don't touch the flowers." (MK child 5)

"Is that what he says? Don't touch the flowers." (MK Practitioner)

"You don't know, I wonder what colour hair your grandma has?" (QK Practitioner)

"Ginger" (QK Child 1)

"Ginger hair, so you'll have to draw ginger hair on your grandma." (QK Practitioner)

6.2.1 Appearance

This theme provides highlights into how C3-5YO describe the physical appearance of their grandparents. The majority of C3-5YO described their grandparents' appearance as they drew the picture of them. The children were familiar with a range of body parts which they identified as they created their pictures. For example, C3-5YO identified parts such as fingers arms and legs as they drew

"That's her fingers." (MH child 5)

"Arms." (MK Child 4)

They identified the colour of their hair, indicating a variety of colours; black, blond and red and more stereotypical grey and white of grandparents, alongside more imaginative choices of green and golden.

"What colour hair does Grandad Mick have?" MH Practitioner

"Brown." (MH Speaker1)

"Same as what I have." (MH Speaker 3)

"She has green hair." (QK Child 4)

Several C3-5YO drew their grandparents with long legs, which either they or the practitioners commented on. Some C3-5YO described their grandparents as 'big', revealing an understanding of body size and that adults are larger than children.

"Does she have long legs?" (MH Practitioner)

"Yeah." (MH child 2)

"Yeah, She has longer legs than you doesn't she?"
(MH Practitioner)

"What size is Grandma's body?" (QK Practitioner 1)

"Big." (QK Child 1)

6.2.1i Gender stereotypes

C3-5YO often described their grandparents in ways that reflect traditional gender stereotypes. Grandmothers had long hair and grandfathers' short hair or were bald

"Teema's hair is long." (MH Practitioner)

"He got short hair." (QK Child 11)

"He's bald." (QK Child 3)

When the C3-5YO described the clothing for their grandmothers the C3-5YO described dresses or a skirt and top which were pink, yellow

and rainbow coloured. One child also noted similarities between their clothing and their grandparents

"She wears pink." (QK Child 2)

"Oh, I can see you're drawing her long dress, that's beautiful, nice pink one." (QK Practitioner)

Two of the C3-5YO stated that grandma wore tops like them.

"She wears this top, ...like me." (QK Child 4)

One Child also gave her grandma pink lipstick.

"I think pink." (QK Child 11)

The Grandads were wearing blue and green colours and dressed in trousers. However, blue was considered on two occasions for grandmas and one grandad had pink trousers. Some of the C3-5YO discussed the grandparents wearing glasses as they drew.

"Blue and green blue for postman Grandad and green."
(QK Child 5)

"He looks like face and teeth and trousers ..." (MK Child 1)

6.2.1ii Signs of ageing

During the conversations, the C3-5YO suggested the ages they thought their grandparents would be. This was in response to the question from practitioners, particularly QK Practitioner, who asked the C3-5YO how old they thought their grandparents were. The C3-5YO

were unable to suggest a realistic age for their grandparents, however, they used numbers greater than their own age, demonstrating an age difference:

"What number do you think she could be? 'cause you're 3 aren't you? So what number do you think your grandma could be?" (QK Practitioner 3)

"20." (QK Child 2)

"Four or six." (QK Child 8)

One child described his mummy and grandma as being the same age. Another described their grandmother as a grown up. These responses highlighted their emerging understanding of age. Not all C3-5YO gave an age, with one stating:

"I don't know because she hasn't told me." (QK child 4)

Three C3-5YO spoke of their grandparents being in poor health or needing support from family, two of the children discussed their grandparents' serious illness. The child sounded sad and concerned during this part of the conversation and the practitioner was reassuring as she told the child he was getting better.

"Yeah, but now he's at the hospital." (MH Child 6)

Another explained his Grandad needed help.

"He says help me." (MK Child 1)

And a third stated: -

"Well, my nanny has, gonna, she gets super sick, and her hair is gonna fall off." (MK Child 14)

Child 14 sounded matter a fact in this exchange however she was very concerned about her nanny losing her hair.

6.2.2 Role of grandparents

This theme focuses on the multifaceted roles that grandparents have and delves into the children's perceptions of the different roles' grandparents have including various job roles, their hobbies and the provision of childcare and support for the family.

6.2.2i Careers

The C3-5YO demonstrated an awareness of a range of careers, identifying different careers their grandparents had such as selling in a shop or being in the police force. Some grandparents had transitioned to retirement.

"Postman Grandad He works with the postman"

(QK Child 5)

"Police" (MK Child 10)

"He solded in his shop" (MK Child 11)

"She's un tired" (QK Child 6)

6.2.2ii Hobbies

The study revealed the C3-5YO identified a broad spectrum of hobbies pursued by grandparents. Some of which could be seen as the traditional roles of grandparents, such as knitting and washing up but also of others that are less traditional such as golf and playing video games challenging age related assumptions. The accounts reflected their interpretation of adults' preferences like nannie and granddads do the washing up. One child pretended that her grandmother liked coffee even though she did not, as she thought this was what adults did.

"Playing video games... Plays fortnight." (MK Child 10)

"She likes knitting." (MH Child 1)

"He feeds the fishes... They grow the flowers." (MH Child 9)

"He does the washing up like nanny. They like that. The nannies and grandads do the washing up." (QK Child 12)

"Yeah, 'cause I'm 'tending she does like coffee." (QK child 3)

6.2.2iii Childcare and support

Grandparents involvement in childcare emerged as a prominent theme. Contributing to their upbringing by taking children to or from nursery. Most of the C3-5YO visited their grandparents' homes, some stated they had sleepovers at their grandparents' home.

"Have a sleepover." (MH Child 4)

"Do you remember who's picking you up from nursery today?" (QK Practitioner)

"Postman Grandad." (QK Child 5)

"I saw Grandad pick you up in the car." (MK Practitioner)

"You know when Nanny comes to pick you up who does she usually have with her?" (MH Practitioner)

"She takes to me nursery, my old nursery." (MH Child 9)

One set of grandparents had their adult children and grandchildren living with them.

"You're staying at Grandma and Grandad's house aren't you while you wait for the builders to finish at your house?" (QK Practitioner)

"Yeah." (QK Child 8)

6.2.2iv Love

One of the sub-themes that emerged from the data was love. The C3-5YO said they loved their grandparents describing their grandparents in affectionate terms. These expressions were consistently positive and highlighted physical affection. This was the focus of questions from MK practitioner she often framed the questions to sometimes shape the C3-5YO responses guiding their narrative towards love.

"Who do you love?" (MK Practitioner)

"What do we say to grandad?" (MK practitioner)

"You love grandad? What does Grandad say?" (MK Practitioner)

"To Grandad we say I love..." (MK Practitioner)

"Love Grandad." (MK Child 3)

"...What do we say to Grandma we say?" (MK Practitioner)

"Love you." (MK child 4)

"Uhm, I really loved. lots and lots." (MK Child 11)

"Because I love her so much." (MK child 8)

"I cuddling Grandpa." (MH Child 3)

A common thread woven through the interviews is the presence of smiley faces, with the children commonly drawing their grandparents smiling suggesting a happiness the C3-5YO felt towards their grandparents.

"Her mouth, is it a smiley face or a sad face? That's a smiley face your nanny looks very happy there." (QK Practitioner 1)

"Oh nanny Lynn's got a big smiley face on her picture." (MH Practitioner)

"That's a nice smile." (QK Child 7)

"Oh, he's got a big smile." (MH Practitioner)

Practitioner MK played a role in shaping the C3-5YO's response as seen in instances where children give a description of their grandparents' emotions in direct response to the practitioner's questions.

"Is grandad happy?" (MK Practitioner)

"No No, he's happy." (MK Child 5)

This was also the way children felt about their grandparents.

"Yes, yes, but what's the best? Grandpa is the best because?" (MK Practitioner)

"Because he makes me happy." (MK Child 5)

While the overall theme was a positive one, there were a few variations and grandparents were described as grumpy.

"Is he grumpy?" (MK Practitioner)

"Yes." (MK Child 10)

The findings suggest that children understood the relationship between family members although this was prompted by questions from practitioners.

"Does Nanny Shoe live with anybody?" (MH Practitioner 2)

"Who lives with your nanny Lynn?" (Practitioner 3)

"Because they are family too" (QK Child 10)

6.2.3 Treats

This theme underscores the practice of grandparents giving their grandchildren treats with the children stating that their grandparents give them everything, from food to presents of toys and clothes.

"He gives me treats." (QK Child 8)

"Helps get me candies and some toys and dresses."
(MK Child 9)

6.2.3i Food

Many of the children highlighted a variety of food treats given to them by their grandparents with food such as chocolate, sweets and ice cream being mentioned. The foods identified by the children tended to be sweet and high in fats. The treats highlight the type of relationship between grandparents and grandchildren.

"Like food" (MH Child 2)

"Like coins and chocolate eggs and everything like that." (MH child 2)

"Popcorn and ice cream and even chocolate. He eats peanuts. I love peanuts." (MH Child 6)

"Eat Crisps, eat crisps a bunch of crisps, I get crisps every day." (QK Child 3)

"Grandad always makes me pudding NO!! He sneaks me pudding. He sneaks me biscuits." (MH Child 6)

6.2.3ii Special rules

The children's narratives revealed grandparents have different boundaries to parents allowing children to participate in activities they may not do at home, with some allowing grandchildren to stay up late while others enforce stricter bedtime routines. Two of the children describe the special places they go with their grandparents. This illustrates the balancing role of grandparents as a caregiver and as the person who provides treats.

"Make me go bed." (MH Child 4)

"Don't Touch the flowers." (MK Child 4)

"Don't shout." (QK Child 3)

"To see Santa's sledge. They take me to ... they mini mischief yesterday." (MH Child 8)

"They take me shopping." (Child 9)

6.2.3iii Play

The majority of grandparents had provided a range of activities and toys to create an environment conducive with play. The children

identified a range of toys including cars, dinosaurs and activities such as painting which develop imaginative and cognitive play.

"Trains, trains and cars."

"Grandma has lots and lots of books." (MK Child 4)

"Yeah, they dinosaur toys." (MK Child)

"Not a real hoover, a toy." (Child QK 11)

"Well, she, lets me Paint, and sometimes she doesn't." (MK Child 14)

The children shared how their grandparents actively played with them, illustrating the opportunities for shared play. Grandparents read stories to them as well as taking the children to the park.

"I Love to play hide and seek with them." (MK Child 11)

"Because he had tickles for me." (QK Child 8)

"Yeah I got lots of stories in my bedroom." (MH Child 9)

"She's taking me to the park." (MH Child 3)

However, not all the grandparents have toys in their home, demonstrating the variable experience children have. The absence of toys sometimes resulted in less interactive experiences.

"No, it doesn't have any." (MH Child 3)

"They don't have a dressing up box." (QK Child 1)

"I sit on chair and I play on the phone and don't shout." (QK child 3)

"We don't play games." (QK Child 12)

6.2.4 Culture

Some children explained that their grandparents live far from them, and they travel to their grandparents. Four children explained that their grandparents living in other countries.

"Yeah she lives in Norfolk. It's far away." (MH Child 5)

"Yeah, yeah they really live far away." (Mk Child 10)

"In Ghana." (Child MK 6)

"He lives in Ghana." (Child MK7)

"Romanian." (Child MK 8)

"Indian." (Child MK 12)

All four of those children used mobile telephones to communicate with grandparents. Some through video calling, highlighting the role of technology. Grandparents that lived overseas sent presents to their grandchildren. Grandparents from other countries spoke to their grandchildren in their home languages.

"Do you see Grandad on the phone?" (MK Practitioner 1)

"Yes." (MK Child 7)

"On her phone like this." (MK Child 8)

"Romanian." (MK Child 9)

"In Hindi." (MK Child 12)

6.3 Summary of Findings from PhotoVoice Conversations with Children

The findings for the C3-5YO using an adaptation of PhotoVoice revealed that the children primarily used their grandparents' physical attributes as their perception of their grandparent. There an absents of absence of stereotyping however gender stereotyping was evident.

The C3-5YO acknowledged the various role grandparents had in their lives in they noted the involvement in taking them to play outdoors and the toys available for them. They described being given a range of treats. A few children have grandparents living overseas and they describe using technology to communicate. A few described speaking to the grandparents in their heritage language.

6.4 Findings from Interviews with Adults aged 55+ (A55+)

The findings of the adaption of PhotoVoice conversational interviews conducted with eight individuals A55+ (Table 6.4) are presented in this part of Chapter Six. These findings address directly the second research objective: 'To capture the views of Adults aged over 55 years (A55+) concerning C3-5YO'.

For the purpose of the findings, each of the volunteer adult participants are referred to as Participant (e.g. Participant 1) The analysis, guided by Braun and Clark's (2006, 2021) RTA thematic analysis approach, identified six distinct themes that emerged from the participants' narratives.

Table 6.3 Characteristics of A55+

P1	70s	Grandparent	Voluntary
P2	70s		Voluntary
P3	Late 70s		Voluntary

P4	70s	Grandparent	Voluntary
P5	60s	Grandparent	Voluntary
P6	60s	Grandparent	School
P7	50s	Expecting grandparent	Voluntary
P8	70	Expecting grandparent	

Table 6.3 shows that of the eight participants, seven are parents, six are grandparents or expecting grandchildren and one participant did not have children nor spend time with children.

The findings are structured into the six distinct themes (Table 6.5). The first theme, "Perceptions of Childhood" explores A55+ reminiscences of the participants childhood, reflections on their children's upbringing, and discussions about their grandchildren as well as their current perceptions of young children. The second theme, "Role of Grandparents," explores the grandparent role including the support provided to working parents by providing childcare and how grandparents support learning including reading. The importance of a safe environment was also analysed. The third theme, "intergenerational Relationships" is examined considering the importance of ensuring spaces for fostering intergenerational relationships. The fourth theme, "Treats" explores the ways grandparents indulge their grandchildren, including special food as treats. The fifth theme, "Play" describes the type of activities and highlights the importance of outdoor activities in the lives of young children. Participants discussed the significance of outdoor play in promoting physical health and well-being. The sixth and final theme focuses on the "Use of Technology" and its impact on young children's lives. Participants shared insights into their perspectives on technology, discussing both positive and negative aspects.

Table 6.4 Summary of the Themes from A55+

Theme	Codes	Description
Perceptions of childhood. (Sub-themes COVID-19, Happiness, Safety.)	Description of grandchildren. COVID-19. Happiness. Safety.	This theme considers how individuals reflect on their personal childhood experiences and across the generations. Childhood as a source of joy.
Role of grandparents. (sub-theme Providing childcare. Role of educator. Benefits to grandparents.)	Working parents. Childcare. Love/ emotions development/Reading. Geographical location. Grandparents. Special rules. Time. Benefits to grandparents	This theme explores the various roles grandparents have including that of educators. and the importance of spending time with their grandchildren.
Intergenerational relationships.	Intergenerational relationships.	
Treats. (sub-heading Food)	Treats Food	This theme consists of ways grandparents give children treats.
Play. (sub-heading outdoor play)	Play Outdoor play. Reminiscing own childhood. Reminiscing their children's childhood, their own	Examining the importance of play, and outdoor play across the generations.

	grandchildren's childhood.	
Use of technology.		Both the use and impact of technology on childhood.

6.4.1 Perceptions of childhood

In this theme A55+ participants' perceptions of childhood are explored. There was a range of different perceptions given by the participants. This included, how they perceived childhood has changed over time. Participants expressed that children were less happy. There was apprehension about the infantilization of young people but the premature maturation of children. Others voiced concerns about the potential dangers to children, while another was concerned by the implication of overprotection. Many highlighted their own childhood experiences and discussed how these influenced their parenting and grandparenting. They share their anxiety about modern parenting and safety.

Participant 8 described the effortless way children engage with each other and are not burdened by preconceived ideas or formalities.

"They just go and engage with each other without any preconceived ideas about or having to stand on ceremony and not talk to strangers". (Participant 8)

Whereas other participants conveyed the range of emotions they associate with C3-5YO. Some participants described the children's strong emotions, this was captured by Participant 5 who associated children with laughter and joy then a sudden change to sadness.

"Laughter and running in a chaotic way, dashing about huge smiles, and then absolute misery and

sorrow...Very strong emotions. I think joy. The excitement, the enthusiasm." (Participant 5)

This was in contrast with Participant 6 who viewed them as happy, drawing on their experience of their grandchildren, associating small children with smiling.

"I think, I like to think, I might sound a bit naive, but I generally think children at that age are generally quite happy in my experience. My grandchildren are quite happy, generally." (Participant 6)

As well as the participants discussing that they view children as being happy and joyful they also recount moments of their own joy, with Participant 1 emphasizing the intrinsic link between play and happiness.

"I could be the stupid grandma and play all the games and have my hair put into curlers and stupid makeup put on my face. And it didn't really matter. You know, I loved it. Absolutely loved it. (Participant 1)

However, Participant 2 was concerned children are not as happy as they were in past generations reflecting on their moods.

"I think kids are more grumpy. They're all right when they're out really enjoying themselves. But if they're not, or someone move their stuff, when You interrupt them. They don't seem to like it, you know, maybe it's my age now, you know but I think they are more grumpy now" (Participant 2)

As well as discussing the emotional responses, participants considered perceptions of childhood from a societal perspective, identifying societal norms and changes in expectations of childhood as having an impact. Participant 5 shared her concern that there has been a shift in

societal norms. Suggesting that there is an infantilisation of individuals, aged 16 and above with the extension of mandatory education and the restriction of housing benefits until the age of 24.

"I think societal attitudes to childhood have changed. And I think what we've done is we've infantilised 16 plus. So, they've got to stay on in educational training till they're 18. They can't get housing benefit till they're what, 24 25?" (Participant 5)

Additionally, other participants articulated their anxieties about the imposition of adult expectations on very young children who are experiencing premature exposure to expectations and treatments typically reserved for adults, as illustrated by Participant 4.

"They're so grown up now to where mine were. I've seen something on Facebook the other day, young children their standing at the door all dressed up with a bunch of flowers and chocolates with his little girlfriend." (Participant 4)

Further concerns about external factors such as COVID-19 Pandemic shaping children's experiences were expressed. Participant 4 was worried about the implications of the pandemic on the learning experiences of children, emphasising the potential long-term effects on their lives.

"And then all of a sudden, they're off school because it's been closed down because somebody's got this supposedly COVID stuff and that I think they're having to learn an awful lot of very early age of what's been happening. This last two years, which is gonna be a massive impact on their lives."
(Participant 4)

Alongside anxieties about societal shifts and pressure placed on children, participants expressed growing concern about safety

describing how their perceptions of danger have evolved across the generations. Participant 5 admitted to underestimating how becoming a grandparent would amplify her worry, changing her perception of childhood as a time to worry.

"I stupidly thought that when I had grandchildren, that there wouldn't be that worry. And then I don't know why nobody told me this, all of a sudden, the worry just gets even bigger. Because you worry about them, (grandchildren), and you worry about their parents. It doesn't stop."

Participant 5 continues by articulating a further sense of anxiety during the early stages but was hoping for this to change.

"I felt it more when she was very, very little, it sounds silly. She was a newborn. Yeah, obviously. But it was quite it was a very strong feeling of anxiety. You know, this this little person. So will it be different? I think it probably will. Probably because there isn't that onus. The responsibility that there is with your own children." (Participant 5)

Participant 7 further developed the reasons for anxiety expressing concern regarding how caring for babies may have changed since they cared for their own children.

"I'm a bit concerned that I won't know what to do. All the things I learnt when my babies were little I think might have changed I wanna be able to support my daughter as much as I can." (Participant 7)

As well as anxiety being expressed, there were more specific examples of concerns for children's safety and how this has changed over time. Within the narratives participants discussed the change that had taken place between their own childhoods, their children's and their grandchildren's, suggesting an increase in their perceptions of

heightened danger. They attributed this to the news coverage and increased traffic on the roads contributing to a suggestion of changing attitudes towards safety.

"I just think there's more to worry about now. I know it's not more dangerous now than it was then or even when we were children, but it feels it, I think you hear about it a lot more, you know it's on the news, so it makes you worry much more. I think there's so much more traffic on the road too. More cars and they seem to drive so fast. I used to walk to school from about age five. You wouldn't see that now not that mine walked to school on their own." (Participant 7)

However, not all participants agreed. Participant 1 was exasperated by what they viewed as overprotective attitudes and felt parents were overly fearful, calling for a return to playing in the street. This was also highlighted by Participant 4, who reminisced about a time when neighbours would watch each other's children.

"I think that parents are frighten but at the end of the day, you know. There's not that many paedophiles and murderers about the can cover every street in the land. You know for God's sake. Let your kids get some fresh air and go and play. Old fashioned play". (Participant 1)

"You know, kids go out and play with the children three or four houses down and we didn't have mobile phones. But we'd pop down and say that XXXX was with you, you know what I mean.?" (Participant 4)

"My own children, their age group, born in like 69 and 71, they still played out. They still had bikes and scooters." (Participant 1)

Participants noted how their own childhood experiences included being independent. Participant 6 described their experience of being outside and noted there was a general sense of safety because communities believed the children would be safe without the heightened concerns society has now.

"We were allowed to wander around and do stuff and we'd go to Woolwich ferry and things like that on our own. You know, when people didn't care about you, it wasn't that, just people thought it was safe and it was safe was I am still here." (Participant 6)

Similarly, Participant 8 recalled a time when children could play outdoors. They emphasized the current attitudes to health and safety had stopped children from playing games that were once common.

"You can't play conkers at school. You can't do all these, health and safety stuff. It's absolute rubbish, I mean Kids used to go out," (Participant 8)

The shift in outdoor play was not the only change where participants' expressed concern. Another issue discussed was the increase in bullying, particularly in the school environment. Participant 4 shared their worry about the impact bullying has had on their grandchildren, noting their experiences were not unusual.

"I do know there's an awful lot of bullying at school. I mean, my granddaughter's going through it. My grandson went through it. And and that affects, you know I must admit I don't know if it's in the younger ones, but I do know there's an awful lot of bullying at school. I mean, my granddaughter's going through it. My grandson went through it and that affects, you know. And why it's like I don't know. It's worse now than it ever was." (Participant 4)

Finally, participants discussed how individuals tend to replicate their

own experiences of childhood and would influence parenting and later caregiving to grandchildren. The idea of continuing family traditions was reflected by Participant 6 who acknowledged how experiences from one generation often influences parenting choices of the next and emphasises the impact of childhood experiences on later life.

" is a tendency for people, they tend to reproduce what they did. It's it's it's always been the way you hear people say and you know all this is what we used to do when we were small. It's like experiences, but she said to me, she says, well, it's what we did, wasn't it? I said, I suppose it is, really. We did used to go, you know I had three because my wife then was working at the weekend. So I had them at the weekends." Participant 6.

Similarly, Participant 7 spoke fondly about continuing the activities they once did with their children, especially outdoor activities like collecting shells and wanting to share these with their grandchildren.

"..... I like to go out gathering leaves and in floating sticks down the river. I can't wait to be able to take them to the beach and collect shells. That's what I used to do with my children myself take them to the beach and collect shells and make sandcastles such a lovely time." (Participant 7)

6.4.2 Role of Grandparents

The role of grandparents was demonstrated within this theme, this included supporting the parents, providing childcare to enable the parents to work and get time to themselves and also supporting the children's learning and development.

Most of the participants suggest that the role of grandparents was to

support the parents allowing parents to work and maintain time for themselves as illustrated by Participant 5.

"Support, support, support and then and then doing and then being able to spend time which parents don't necessarily have the same and then they've got the pressure to work, whereas I don't have that so it won't matter if we don't get anything done in a day or go anywhere, do anything because we have time."

(Participant 5)

Participant 1 further explained that support extends to offering advice to parents while acknowledging the parents' beliefs and parenting, even if that differs from their own, therefore needing a delicate balance.

"I think when I'm asked for advice and you may think something different to their parents, you know, it's if they ask you, what do you think Grandma? And then you have to think about it because you don't want to upset the applecart and upset, you know what the parents think or. They're a lot more laid back than we were with the way they bring children up."

(Participant 1)

This includes supporting the parents to choose without overstepping and recognising the parents' approach may differ from their own. For example, the type of feeding while balancing this with an awareness of the pressure which that could generate.

"anyway, I hope I can make her feel she's a good mum, she already is. She's told me she wants to breastfeed, but I suppose that's something though that depends on the baby, really. I'm not putting any pressure on her to do that I think it's really good for the baby so I'm hoping that if she does breastfeed that I'll be able to just be there really and you know

make her feel comfortable and confident feeding the baby when we go out and about,” (Participant 7)

6.4.2i Providing Childcare

The support grandparents provide also included providing practical support for parents to enable them to work. Participant 2 pointed out that parents may have to work, and grandparents can help. While it was also suggested that grandparents need to respect that their children may want to work.

“It's like its lifestyles. Now we have to have everything that they has to be everybody working and all that sort of thing.” (Participant 2)

“You respect the fact that their parents have got these jobs to do so if you're there to help, it's great.” (Participant 4)

Grandparents often provide more than just childcare; they provide a work-life balance. Participant 7 shared that she would be involved in providing childcare for her daughter first to enable her to have free time but then to enable her daughter to work as it was important to her. Similarly Participant 6 highlighted that support is driven by the needs of the parents and although it may not be into enable the parents to work it also allowed them to have free time at the weekends.

“I'm gonna look after the baby one day a week so that my daughter can have some time to herself and eventually go back to work....She loves her job and I think she'd miss working although you don't know do you?” (Participant 7)

“it's usually when we see a lot of them, mainly because it needs driven because their parents, both

the younger ones, both sets, their parents' work. So both works. So they haven't got quite often if they wanna do something at the weekend, we'll have them." (Participant 6)

The support grandparents offer extends beyond early childhood care. As they grow older, grandparents provide after-school care, which Participant 2 reflected, led to the child spending perhaps more time with grandparents than parents.

"I think they have got closer to them because maybe to spend maybe there's days after school when they come home from school, they probably got the grandparents, and the grandparents picked them up and all that sort of thing. So they have more maybe interaction with their grandparents than their parents." (Participant 2)

The changing nature of childcare provisions over time was discussed. With a few participants noting that there are more formal childcare option now, than there were in the past. However, some expressed concern about these provisions, particularly the age at which children are place in nursery care and the increased assessment of children.

"There's a lot of them put in the crèches and that sort of thing. And there wasn't that much of it... Anyway, I'm talking about now 30 years ago." (Participant 2)

"I think they go to nursery too young these days I'm glad I'll have the baby to begin with and they go to nursery when they are ready rather than when mum has to go back to work." (Participant 7)

"The obsession with, you know, they must be

assessed and nursery for all these objectives by people who, quite frankly, shouldn't be assessing them and observing them because they haven't been trained adequately in observation techniques and then when they've made these measurements, who's interpreting them?" (Participant 5)

6.4.2ii Emotions

Another role of grandparents that the participants identified was to show love and affection for their grandchildren, for both the grandchildren and their parents. Most describe the importance of love with one participant explaining the love they felt for their grandchildren was more protective than the love for her children.

"They need to be loved." (Participant 7)

"Different love that you have, it's hard to explain. I think there's certain types of love. There's a different love that you have for your grandchildren than what you have for your own children. And it's, if anything, I would say it's even more protective." (Participant 1)

The participants who were grandparents reminisced about memories of their grandchildren, which showed their affection and their joy expressing how they enjoyed moments like cuddling that they did not appreciate when they were parents.

"But that's the that's the memories of the three. You know, when they were toddlers, three totally different children, but an absolute joy." (Participant 1)

"All the cuddles and all that special time we get together, you don't appreciate that when they're young, you're too busy!" (Participant 7)

Participants also described how grandparents served as role models for emotional regulation and articulating their need to guide children to understand their emotions. And by ensuring the children know what is expected by creating simple rules for the children to follow.

"Modelling. Controlling emotions, modelling how to interact with other people. modelling how to deal with situations that you're not comfortable showing that you're it's OK not to be comfortable with something, but this is what you do." (Participant 5)

"It's Granny Lines rules. Be kind." (Participant 6)

Others contemplated how things had changed and are no longer seen, such as manners and behaviour, for example sitting at the table to eat dinner together and remembering to say 'please' and 'thank you'. There was a suggestion that expectations have changed over time with a shift to being a more casual approach.

"We weren't strict, but we always had dinner together at night. You know, as a family and manners, please and thank you. Not my grandchildren. But sometimes it goes by the wayside, you know, with other friends of my granddaughters that come and just go into the fridge and help themselves." (Participant 1)

However, Participant 2 felt that grandparents were less likely to follow the rules that the parents had set and when grandparents were present the grandchildren were less likely to be chastised. Although as Participant 6 went on to explain, that over time they had changed to understand younger children's behaviour so as to better understand their actions, and this was the reason for a change in expectations.

".....because they let them off what parents wouldn't let them off with. Yeah. Yeah, yeah. Oh, they do, oh they do. Yeah, yeah, I know that. I know. And I know that well, I only have one daughter. But that's uh, that was my, her grandmother would do too, you

*know that sort of thing, that sort of thing, yeah.....
And their parents couldn't chastise them in their
presence either. You'd be wasting your time, wouldn't
you? Yeah. You'd be wasting your time. Yeah."*
(Participant 2)

*"A long way, more tolerant. They just go, Txx said to
me the other day. He said they get away with murder
and I said they don't really. I just understand more. I
think. I think I just think you understand more, and
you understand actually they're doing things for a
reason or what they're doing or they're there's ways
of negating."* (Participant 6)

6.4.2iii Grandparents as educators

As well as supporting children's emotional development some participants suggested that grandparents supported other areas of development, such as social development through games.

*"I created this game for that, I was the man in the
petrol station, and she had three 2p coins, so she had
to go all the way around the dining room table in the
car and come and ask for petrol. And it got her sort
of coming out of her shell a bit more and being a bit
more sociable, you know."* (Participant 1)

Most of the participants expressed the importance of reading to children. Many highlighted the role grandparents play in nurturing their grandchildren's love of reading, with some noting that parents, due to time constraints, may not always have time to read to their children.

"Yes, and I, I can also read with them, yeah."
(Participant 3)

"They're maybe they're not reading a lot either, kids,

you know, reading: reading would be better. Now, do parents read to them now? I don't know. We used to read, but I don't know whether parents do, parents don't have time." (Participant 2)

"I don't think this has always been the case. I guess that not every parent would sit down and read books with their children, but I think now even fewer and fewer parents would sit down and read books with their children." (Participant 8)

The participants who were parents expressed their own children's enjoyment of reading when they were young. And a few others further commented on that their child's love of reading developed during these early years. Similarly Participant 7 explained that she read books with her children and that was why they enjoyed reading as an adult and she would continue to do this in with her grandchild.

"There was one book, two of them I really liked. It was that that was 'The biggest bed', it was, it just got bigger and bigger every time they had another child. You know, they used to love their books and like actually my eldest Pxxxx, she loved reading."
(Participant 4)

"My daughter would be the same. She'd reads a lot too. Now, that's come from that, you know."
(Participant 2)

"Well it's gonna be really lovely because I'm going to really enjoy reading stories. I used to read to my daughter when she was a baby and Jxxx. I think that's why they both loves books now especially Hxxxx and I'm also looking forward to when she's a bit bigger and running around." (Participant 7)

While another ruminates over pre-writing skills and while they thought it was important to develop pre-writing skills it should not be a just to encourage writing.

"Yes, yes, we want young children to be able to take pens and sticks and make things with them, but I don't want it to be because this is seen as the forerunner of writing," (Participant 5)

6.4.2iv Benefits to grandparents.

The role of grandparent emerged as mutually beneficial, however, a few participants expressed grandparents faced the challenge of balancing their own needs with the needs of their grandchildren. Participants reflected on how being involved with grandchildren made them feel young and physically active. Participant 1 explained she did with the help of a regular supplement for healthy joints. However, the responsibility of caring for children was expressed by Participant 2. Voicing his fear that grandparents are not always in a position to say no to their children and provide childcare if they do not wish to.

"I mean, it's keeping them young as well and keeping them young. I think it keeps them well, but they're very busy. Sometimes they don't get enough time for themselves." (Participant 2)

"Let's do the crab. Show them all how to do the crab, bending backwards and doing the crab and great fun. Just keep taking the glucosamine and play." (Participant 1)

"....or some parents, they end up looking after them, some grandparents end up looking after the children all the time. That was quite heavy a responsibility....or maybe it's they don't like to

refuse, but they, they do it, don't they?" (Participant 2)

Finally, one participant saw the time with their grandchildren as an opportunity to readdress their lack of parenting skills and to make up for what they felt they did not do with their own children. Offering a chance to do things differently.

"And you almost. I do wonder if a little bit, if it's you get the chance to do the bits you wish you'd done in some ways that you can actually go back and do things that you knew you didn't get right. I was a really young parent, with the first and you're learning on the job, I had a supportive family don't get me wrong. That was really helpful, but you're learning."
(Participant 6)

6.4.3 Treats

The theme of treats was identified, and it also highlighted that the act of spoiling grandchildren was acknowledged as part of the role of a grandparent. Some participants suggested that grandparents intentionally offer treats in secret to enhance their status and promote excitement. A few participants recognised that grandparents had a more lenient attitude towards their grandchildren allowing them to do what they wished. It was suggested by a few participants that grandparents do not think they are spoiling their grandchildren, but their adult children do.

"Oh, I'm not sure really, I've already started buying things I just love buying little things and they're not even here I suppose that's all grandparents do isn't it spoil their grandchildren think it's part of the job! I've

been talking to my friends that have grandchildren and they've said the same you just can't resist. They all think that's what grandparents are for, to get them things that their mums and dads wouldn't get them." (Participant 7)

"Makes it naughty and makes it exciting and interesting to the children, so 'don't tell your mum'. Don't tell and I know this goes on because you see it and they'll buy them a little treat, or they'll take them somewhere special, or they'll watch telly late if they're round their house. And so, they make a role for themselves. Providing excitement and spoiling and special treats which the children love, and I remember loving it in exactly the same way. And I'm sure that will go on forever It's the way it is."
(Participant 8)

"That's what they tell me. Yeah, that they, they spoil their grandchildren." (Participant 3)

"But my yeah, my I remember my mother-in-law used to spoil my daughter. Yeah, yeah, yeah. Whatever it whatever she wanted, she'll get it. She has, that was it." (Participant 2)

"He would get away with anything he could get away with murder." (Participant 1)

"no, I don't think I did spoil them. No, I don't my younger daughter, she might say something different!" (Participant 4)

Treats also included areas where children could play. Participant 6 was keen to explain it was important for children to have their own space and that was something they provided with the addition of allowing toys to be left out which would not be possible in the child's home. Another explained they would take them to soft play.

"Why should they be forced into our space But they've got a place where they can do things. So, they, they like coming, that was my, that's the best of it, because they like coming. They all they want to come, you know... he sort of inherited the train set. That was the girls' one.

So he got that to lay out and he can lay it out all over the floor. We don't care because we just don't, doesn't matter, you know. So whereas at home, you know he can't because people have got different priorities." (Participant 6)

There's the soft play at Colby on a Thursday morning. There's places I could take her so I love to do that."
(Participant 5)

6.4.3i Food as a treat

In the context of treats food played a significant role in the shared experiences of the participants, some suggested the grandparents provided sweets secretively to enhance their role. The foods identified were high fat and high sugar foods like chocolate, crisps and cookies or home baked goods.

"When you try and keep the kids away from sweets and you kind of keep them away from this and that and so the grandparents will make it naughty and make it exciting." (Participant 8)

Special food for them, it's usually bad food to be honest it's not. It's probably not. They, they get bits probably that they don't get at home. I'm definitely Bxxxx don't get it on a regular basis. The usual fare of chocolates and biscuits and cookie things and things like that. They get good stuff as well. I mean they get carrot battons and things like that. You know that, because I've got one of them. One of them is, just don't like that stuff, they have vegetables thank you and a bit of chocolate." (Participant 6)

"..you know, we bake and we'll only, you know, we'll bake a range of things and cook a range of things well." (Participant 5)

6.4.4 Play

The theme of play was created as a recurring aspect of childhood. All the participants talked about play. Participants discussed a range of different play activities, from interactive play such as singing and messy play activities to more structured environments designed for play. These included how the partner of one participant had created a play area specifically for young children to resemble an early year setting.

"Playing with them, reading to them, singing with

them. Play with the pots and the pans.... messy time. So, we used to do, we'd get all the craft kits together. You know you the ones yeah and just spend a day just doing all of those." (Participant 5)

"She turned the Conservatory into a, it becomes, it looks like a early years environment set up in a Conservatory. So, we've really got it all when they come, they like water and sand and stuff like that." (Participant 6)

Another participant described an example of their grandchild's imaginative play sharing how her grandson dressed up as Spiderman and had climbed the shelving in his room.

"He had the Spiderman suit when he was a toddler, with all the muscles built in. And the face mask. And we couldn't go out my daughter and I couldn't go out to the shops or anywhere without Spiderman on him. And we had like a Chrome unit, like a stacking unit in his bedroom with his toys on it and books and what have you So there's this quiet time we thought, wonder what he was doing up there, anyway he actually thought he was Spiderman and he was climbing. It was almost on the top shelf of this unit. That wasn't attached to the wall. We had visions of him coming and crushing his head. Oh my goodness. So, we just crept in and managed to guide him down. He was convinced that he was actually him, Spiderman." (Participant 1)

6.4.4i Reminiscing Own Childhood

Several participants engaged in recollections of their own childhood, sharing personal memories of play. Participant 4 recalled being around four or five years old and remembering that they would play outside as a clear memory. Another, participant 1, shared her memories of being responsible for other children during their younger years. Participant 6 shared that even toys are passed from one generation to the next.

"Suppose I was about 4, 4 or 5 and I can clearly you know remember where I was playing out and what sort of shoes I had on and you know how Mum was how our dad was." (Participant 4)

"Even when I was a kid in Liverpool, we all had our baby. We all had our own babies to look after in the big Silver Cross prams that we take for walks for the neighbours and what trouble was when I had the hood up, I couldn't see." (Participant 1)

"....different small world figures they play with, although it's quite funny because we got, we inherited a load of action figures from the mother-in-law that were the brother in laws and my son xxxxx . So, when he comes back and he's nearly 40, he's the one who played with them. So, he used to have this one, he said these are mine and said no, they're not yours." (Participant 6)

6.4.4ii Outdoor Play

Outdoor play was identified as a sub theme of play, with most of the participants reminiscing about their own experiences of outdoor play and how this was an intrinsic part of their own childhood. As an

example, Participant 8 shared how he had spent time outdoors with his own grandfather.

"I fell in love with being outside and so I could be outside, and we'd always been outside in London. I wasn't, we weren't restricted. Personally, the outdoors is really important. Yeah, because I've always been outdoor." (Participant 6)

"I used to go with my grandad, and we'd go up to the woods and we'd poke around, and he'd show me birds' nests and rabbit holes and little ponds with little bugs in them we'd catch sticklebacks in the stream with a net and put them in a jam jar." (Participant 8)

"Ohh I I love going and climbing trees." (Participant 3)

Most of the participants also discussed the role of outdoor play for their grandchildren. They described the different locations of outdoor play such as the beach garden and woodland, and a few described the activities they would do with their grandchildren including feeding animals, learning about places and building dens.

"They like the physicality of it." (Participant 6)

"And there's a garden so they have somewhere to play when they get bigger," (Participant 7)

"To the local farms, seaside and local park." (Participant 5)

"It's done like that, so it's perfect going to the farms to be with the animals and the feeding and the and the talking about it and the laughing about it, learning about them, go to the seaside, but particularly Dumfries and Galloway where there's nobody else and running in and the sea goes out a long way so you can walk a long way out. Playing with the dogs." (Participant 5)

"They come over and we'll usually go over to the woods.... Do stuff like that, build dens. We still do that. We do den building and living the early years dream." (Participant 6)

A few participants discussed risk-taking play. They described how this took place in the park, highlighting what they thought was risky like climbing high on the climbing frame and climbing trees and acknowledging the fear they felt when their children were climbing high up.

"My son liked running round full of energy and it was a great place to go in. He could play with his little friends and, and there he'd be on the climbing frame, climbing everything. I I'd never say not to, even though I used to think oh gosh you could fall off that I just had to let him climb on everything. I wanted him to feel he could do everything and my daughter too. But my heart would be in my mouth you know? Thinking please don't fall not wanting to watch but not able to stop in case he did need my help!"
(Participant 7)

Some of the participants acknowledged the importance of natural environments, discussing how they explored nature and what they would do with their grandchildren. Participants described activities like

gathering leaves floating sticks and observing insects to develop an appreciation of nature. Participant 6 shared how his grandson was fascinated with a jay feather.

"Just do the things in nature and I like going gathering leaves and in floating sticks down the river. I can't wait to be able to take them to the beach and collect shells. That's what I used to do with my children myself take them to the beach and collect shells and make sandcastles, such a lovely time."

(Participant 7)

All the rest of it, but spending time in the woodlands, you know, with the trees feeling the trees, looking out for, you know, insects. Always, and spending time just watching the insects and flowers and naming flowers. Fungi. But yes, being outside."

(Participant 5)

"He found a Jay feather. It's got really iridescent blue on it and he was just fascinated with it. He's like Mr. Eagle eye. He's sort of out of all the four of those ones, he's really, he's eyesight is incredible..... he likes to find things. So there's always something for them to do, but they do. They, we build dens and stuff. We do that and it's a bit cliché. They actually love it. They, they like it." (Participant 6)

Participants also discussed the impact nature had on children. A few participants expressed their concerns about the lack of contact with nature leading to a lack of knowledge and fear of insects. Participant 7 summed up the importance of nature in promoting children's physical and mental health. Participant 6 contemplated on how he is still taking part in outdoor activities. There was also fear that children did not spend time participating in outdoor play.

"They don't know anything about nature, or they've never seen a bird's nest or birds, eggs or little rabbits in a field or and the I suppose is that one of the other big things is insects and bugs. So many kids are absolutely terrified of flies and bugs and things that you see in the garden, they just they've got no exposure to it and they think they're all going to sting and they don't understand and no one teaches them the difference like they used to." (Participant 8)

"Oh yes, I think it's really important that children get lots of fresh air and they get to spend time you know in nature it so important. So good for mental health and I think children need to learn about that from an early age, so that they can grow up to know how to look after their minds. Also I think it's really important that, I think they get to run around. A lot of children now are obese. I think that comes from the fact that a lot of them at home in front of the screens all the time, so you know I want from an early age to get my grandchildren to run around and to burn off energy outside." (Participant 7).

"So yeah, but those some of that stuff we still do ourselves. So we just did a week wild swimming, basically swimming in cold water for a Week." (Participant 6)

"There was fear that children did not have the opportunity to play outside Kids used to go out, go out for a little bit. I gotta worry about teenagers now, but the little ones, I think you know. I don't think parents can let them go out." (Participant 4)

6.4.5 Technology

This theme examines the influence of technology, specifically the prolonged screen time that children devote to electronic devices. Participants expressed a collective unease regarding the increasing prevalence of technology in the lives of C3-5YO focusing on concerns about communication particularly how technology was replacing conversation and physical activity. The use of technology was not only seen as replacing social interactions, but of also becoming a form of pacification that parents use to entertain without actively participating.

"Yeah, it's taken a lot from them because they're dependent on these electronics and all that sort of stuff. And there's no natural conversation. And I'd say kids are more grumpy.... Yeah. I think that a lot of these devices are bought now to pacify them in the sort of keep them quiet way. I think, I I think that that would be, in my opinion, anyway, yeah. Might might be wrong, might be right, I don't know."

(Participant 2)

"I went down to London the other week and sat next to this lovely couple from Liverpool..... She's got her iPad. She's got a phone, right? She's got a whole lot and all the while she's playing. She's playing, playing, an absolutely adorable little thing. And I said, 'How old is she?', three ... on the phone playing games whereas if it had been maybe you with yours many years ago, we didn't have that. They'll be having conversations." (Participant 4)

"It worries me a little bit as they get older that you know, you go out and you see Mum's and they've just put the phones in front of the babies and I don't

wanna be doing that. I know there might be time when my daughter needs a break, and she needs that time out. You know it's not going to be much healthier for them to sit in front of a computer screen all the time I mean you see that don't you going to restaurants on the parents' phones. No conversation going on and how terrible is that? I want my grandchildren to be sociable." (Participant 7)

Participant 8 expressed concern that technology was replacing books as a source of information, leading to children knowing less about where milk and vegetables come from. However, this participant also acknowledged that this may relate to his age and that perhaps knowledge was gained in a different way. There was also concern about the prolonged screen time children experienced leading to a more sedentary lifestyle and contributing to obesity.

"I'd say fewer and fewer people have books, which is one thing they tend to look online for stuff.... BBC Online and through those sources of media, so I guess. Perhaps my age a bit showing through, and the new way is a different way, but I still think on the other hand. I hear children talking about they don't know where milk comes from. They don't know what vegetables are." (Participant 8)

"No, but it's like the whole you know, it's like Xbox. xxxx, my grandson, he was into his Xbox for a while, and he turned into a bit of an obsession. And you know, actually, you know. Can you have a social life? You need to play football or go down the rugby club or do something else. You know it's unhealthy. No, they're they're just obsessed with technology because they don't move. that's why kids are obese. They're

not moving. So if not in front of the Xbox screen, they're glued to a phone you know.” (Participant 4)

Only one participant expressed a positive view of technology. They highlighted the benefits of technology as a way of supporting emotional regulation and learning when used appropriately and in moderation.

“These kids are not ever gonna write. They're gonna use computers, for goodness' sake or voice activated software. It matters not a jot... For whatever the purpose of it is it appropriate? So if there's a child who isn't interacting with the children and is very, very distressed and 15 minutes on an iPad using a colouring, calms them down and makes them happy in a way that they might not be able to do, then that's a good thing. Hmm? But certainly, it shouldn't be used as a babysitting.” (Participant 5)

Another aspect of technology that concerned most participants was social media for both the children and parents, expressing the unrealistic images that are portrayed online and fear that children and parents would view this as reality.

“About my older grandchildren and I feel they've been so influenced by media and all the stuff on the computers and. Facebook and Instagram and so much knowledge about image and has been for a long time, which it's not a good thing to fill their brains with. I don't think it's about them as a person and you want to see a child grow and communicating with them, not being brainwashed by what they see and everybody else is doing. They want everything to be nice. I think you can get swept along with

everything you've got to contend with social media. We didn't have to worry about that! You know pictures of perfect parenting, perfect things all the time how do they cope with that? I tell my daughter that it's not real life, you know they perfect when the picture's taken and you don't know what happened after." (Participant 7)

"It might be not be and able to be kind or some people aren't very kind when they're using it. It is going to be part of their lives and into the way about it." (Participant 5)

One participant stated that technology devices were not needed when their grandchildren visited.

"...but when they come to us, we don't do it because there's no need." (Participant 6)

6.4.6 Intergenerational Relationships

The final theme explored the concept of intergenerational relationships. A few of the participants emphasized the importance of meaningful interactions between older individuals and young children. The narratives reflected a desire for interaction between the generation suggesting relationships help develop an of understanding of aging.

"I mean I I've got a friend who's got I think she's in a I think she's 8 years old with since she was about two or three. She's been an old soul. She has been with older people, if you like and had a lot of understanding by being with older people and her great grandfather just died." (Participant 4)

"One age group don't see enough of their elderly people and families and all that. No, no, it's it it's it's. It's sad, really. In a way. Sad because." (Participant

2)

"No, I think it's brilliant. And I think it's also good for the toddlers to come in you know, if they haven't got a grandma or great grandma themselves to see what Mummy's going to be like when she gets older. We put everything into little blocks, don't we? You know. Well, you're old now, so you're, you're forgotten. You just go to a daycare centre and we won't bother with you." (Participant 1)

6.5 Chapter Six Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the thematic analysis of both conversations with C3-5YO providing perceptions of A55+ and A55+ views of C3-5YO. The key themes are similar across both sets of finding the 'role of grandparents', including their role of providing childcare. The following chapter discusses the findings.

Chapter 7 Discussion

7.1 Introduction to Chapter Seven

Chapter Six presented the findings that emerged from each data collection method. Chapter Seven opens by reflecting on the findings before introducing combined themes from both the C3-5YO PhotoVoice conversations and the A55+ interviews that emerged as part of a final reflective process. These combined themes then create the framework for the discussion.

7.2 Reflection on findings presented in Chapter Six

Van Manen (2017a) suggests phenomenology “is an insight to into the enigma of life as we experience it” (P.779) he believed that “lived experience is just the name for ordinary life experience (p.811. It is through these unique and individual experiences that the interaction between grandparents and grandchildren is evident. Van Manen and Van Manen (2021) suggested that the lived experiences of individuals inherently involve interactions with others. These interactions shape how individuals perceive and make sense of their world, contributing to the richness of their experiences. Dahlberg, Moss and Pence (1999) reflect that:

“Young children are of and in the world; their lives
are constructed through interaction with many forces
and in relationship to many people and institutions”
(p.10)

This includes relationships with extended family such as their grandparents and it is through these interactions that children’s lives are shaped. These relationships correspond to Buber’s (1958) use of the *I-Thou* and *I-It* frameworks to provide a language for understanding the depth and quality of interpersonal connections. The distinction between *I-Thou* and *I-It* highlights relationships that are either reciprocal, intimate, and dialogic (*I-Thou*), or transactional and

objectifying (*I-It*), with the former emphasizing mutual recognition and genuine dialogue (Buber, 1958).

The findings in this study reflect *I Thou* as the relationship described in the anecdotes and memories of both the A55+ and C3-5YO suggest that grandparents and grandchildren are reciprocal and dialogic, their relationships are illustrated with shared experiences of play, storytelling, and giving of treats. For example, one grandparent shared a memory of finding a Jay feather with their grandchild during a walk in the woods. They described the child's excitement upon discovering the feather and the ensuing conversation. This moment highlights the co-construction of meaning and connection between them, as both the grandparent and the grandchild actively contributed to the shared experience. Grandparents and grandchildren share and create a meaningful dialogue. Buber proposes that:

"...meaning is to be found neither in one of the two partners nor in both together, but only in their dialogue itself, in this 'between' which they live together" (1965a, p.75).

This implies that meaning arises not from the individuals involved in the conversation or from their combined perspectives, but from the dynamic process of communication itself. The dialogue, the exchange of ideas, thoughts, and emotions, creates meaning in the shared space between participants. In other words, meaning is co-constructed rather than pre-existing or solely belonging to one participant.

The meanings individuals derive from their interactions are influenced by cultural, historical, and social factors, thus making social interaction. While Buber's framework is evident in the dialogues between grandparents and grandchildren described in the anecdotes and memories, there is also evidence of a synergy and mirroring of experiences between the C3-5YO and A55+ groups within the data. This resonates with Dahlberg and Lenz-Taguchi's concept of a

"meeting place" (1994, p.2). This "meeting place" is a conceptual space that extends beyond dialogue. This concept envisions a collaborative space where distinct traditions and perspectives converge to co-construct new understandings and practices. In the context of the grandparent and grandchildren interactions, this "meeting place" facilitates the blending of generational experiences, fostering mutual learning and enriched relationships.

A similar idea to the "meeting place" is that of joint involvement episodes (JIEs), which are:

a specified object, event or other environmental feature that is incorporated in the social interaction and thus becomes a focus for the partners' joint involvement (Schaffer, 1992, p.101).

The involvement with others enables the development of understanding as they are exposed to each other's thinking, fostering a shared understanding. Within this research, the children and the adults have expressed a synergy, which can be seen within the themes. Schaffer (1992) perceives JIEs as "an asymmetrical process in which the child leads and the adult follows" (p. 101), suggesting that JIEs "support children's development of competence" (p. 102). However, JIEs relies on shared interactions between an adult and a child, centred around a particular object, event, or activity. These interactions are characterized by mutual participation, with both the adult and the child contributing to the experience. In this study of children and grandparents reading together and playing games together which could be considered as mutual participation. However, the "meeting place" is a conceptual space that transcends physical interactions.

Dahlberg and Lenz Taguchi (1994, p.2) described a "meeting of places", as

a term to describe how Early Childhood Education and Care and Compulsory School Education come together to create a new understanding of education

and they describe it as a relationship between practitioners and the children. My research found both generations contribute to the co-construction of meaning, for example the shared meaning of treats and play, much like the relational processes found in early childhood education settings, where knowledge is not imposed but emerges through dialogue and engagement (Moss, 2012).

In this study I believe, the "meeting place" between grandparents and grandchildren extends Dahlberg and Lenz Taguchi's (1994) concept from the formal educational context into an informal setting. It is in this shared physical space, as well as in the conceptual "space," where the relationship between the generations is developed and enriched. As Moss (2012) notes, the "meeting place" in educational contexts is one where multiple stakeholders engage in collaborative meaning-making, and this can be extended to the family context, where both children and grandparents contribute equally to meaning making and understanding.

The interaction between grandparents and grandchildren demonstrates how meaning is co-constructed in a relational space, where both generations bring their distinct backgrounds, experiences, and cultural knowledge. Moss (2012) argued that in educational settings, children and teachers co-construct knowledge, with both perspectives holding equal value. Similarly, in this study, the shared understanding between grandparents and grandchildren, demonstrated through examples such as the giving of treats, illustrates how meaning-making occurs in a reciprocal, relational space.

Finally, the concept of the "meeting place" can be understood as a flexible space that evolves in response to the needs and interests of its participants. As Moss (2012) notes, the meeting place in educational

contexts is not a fixed entity but an adaptable, relational space that responds to the changing dynamics of the relationship. In the case of grandparents and grandchildren, this space is similarly flexible, shaped by the unique experiences and emotional connections each participant brings to the interaction.

Van Manen (2017) concluded that phenomenology aims for a deeper understanding of our everyday experiences as illustrated by the shared experiences of the participants in the study. The relationship between grandchildren and grandparents has been discussed beyond Buber's (1958) 'I thou' dialogue and extends Dahlberg and Lenz-Taguchi's (1994) "meeting place," to encompass a shared conceptual 'meeting space' in which grandparents and grandchildren meet.

7.3 Final Combined Themes

Figure 7.1 shows the connections across the original themes and sub-themes (codes) in the C3-5YO and A55+ data, illustrating the shared 'meeting place' (Dahlberg *et al.*, 2007, p.23) within this study's findings.

One combined theme 'Views of generations' brings together the original themes 'Appearance' in the C3-5YO conversations and 'Perceptions of childhood' in the A55+ interviews as both these original themes feature descriptions of the other generations. Other combined themes and combined sub-themes feature similar content as found in the original themes and sub-themes (codes). For example, 'Treat' was an original sub-theme (code) in the children's PhotoVoice conversations and an original theme in the A55+ interviews.

The final Combined Themes (CTs) are:

Views of generations.

Role of grandparents.

Treats.

Play.

Culture.

Technology.

Intergenerational relationships.

Fig 7.1 The connection between themes

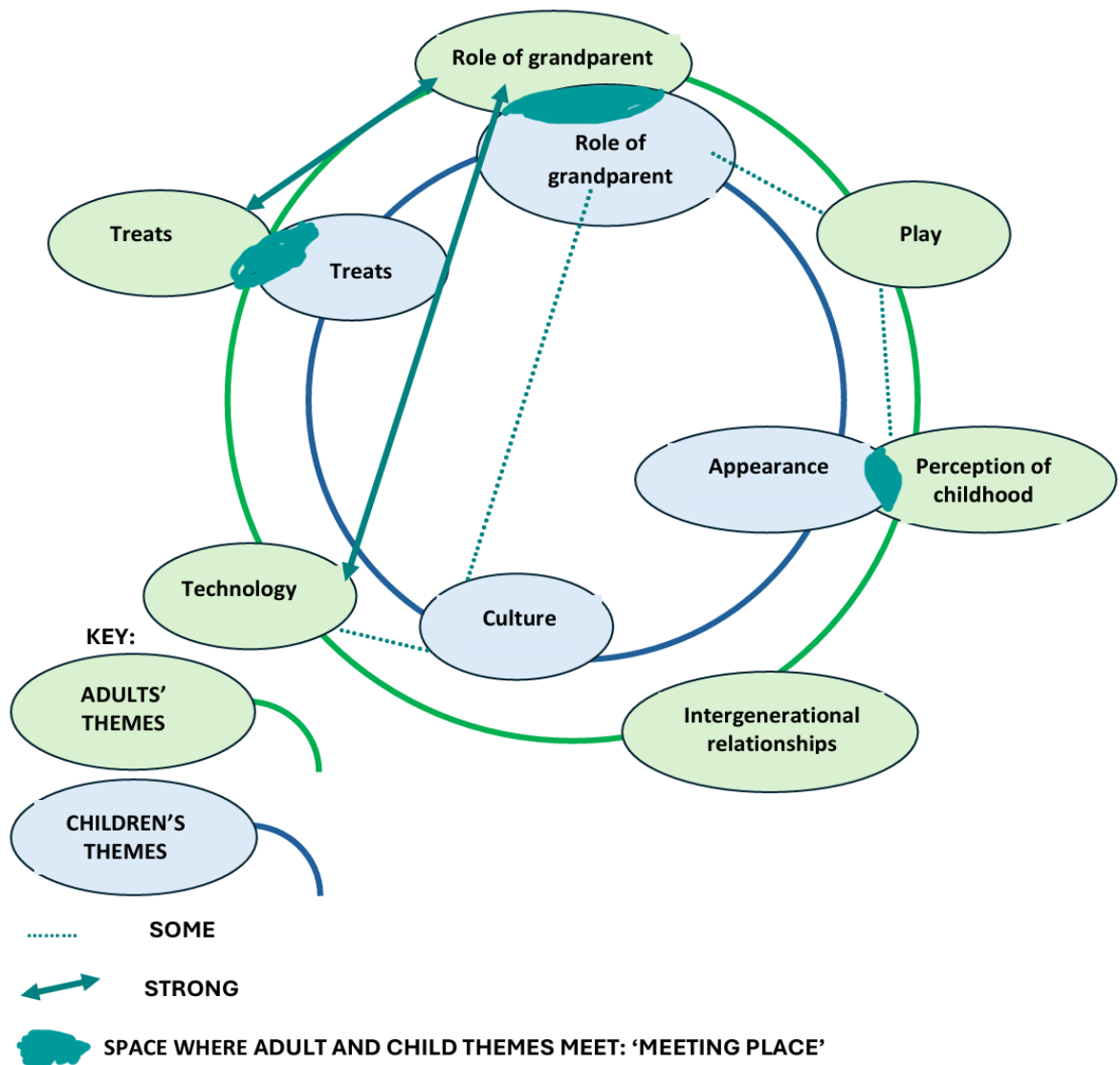


Fig 7.1 illustrates how the themes from A55+ and C3-5YO have been combined to create CTs using both the themes and sub-themes as created.

Table 7.1 Combination of A55+ and C3-5YO Themes and Sub-themes.

Combine theme	A55+ themes	C3-5YO
Views of generations. (Sub-themes: Signs of aging, Stereotyping gender, Hobbies, Careers, Happiness, Safety, COVID-19)	Perceptions of childhood. (Sub-themes: Happiness, Safety, COVID-19)	Appearance. Signs of ageing (Sub- themes: Stereotyping gender, Hobbies, Careers)
Role of grandparents. (Sub-themes: Love and emotion, Providing childcare, Role of educator)	Role of grandparents. (sub-themes: Providing childcare, Role of educator)	Role of grandparents. (sub-themes: Career, Childcare, Love)
Treats. (Sub-themes: Food, Special rules)	Treats. (sub-theme: Food)	Treats. (Sub-themes: Food, Play, Special rules)
Play. (Sub-theme: Physical activity, outdoor play)	Play. (sub-theme: Outdoor play)	
Culture.		Culture. (Sub-theme: Language)
Technology.	Use of technology.	
Intergenerational relationship.	Intergenerational Relationships.	

Table 7.1 shows the combine theme from the A55+ and C3-5YO themes. In turn, each combined theme (CT) and its sub-themes (CS-T) are discussed critically below.

7.4 Combined Theme (CT) 1. Views of generations

The first research question was, "What are the views of 30 C3-5YO about A55+?" and the second was "What are the views of 8 A55+ concerning C3-5YO?". This section focused on CT1 in which the views C3-5YO and A55+ have of the other's generation are discussed.

C3-5YO had a simpler view of their grandparents using their physical attributes to describe their grandparents' appearance, descriptions included what colour hair their grandparents have. The C3-5YO recounted a various array of hair colours. For example, Child MH speaker 1 said "Brown" when asked about his Grandad's hair colour, others described golden and green hair.

The words the children chose to describe their grandparents did not relate to the stereotypical older adult. Few of the children actually described their grandparents as having grey or white hair, which is a characteristic often associated with age (Roberts, Hearn, and Holman, 2003; Lichtenstein *et al.*, 2005; Ridgway 2015). Wrinkles were not mentioned by any of the children and only a few Children noticed that their grandparents wore eyeglasses, this differs from the Lichtenstein *et al.*, (2003) study of secondary school where students focused on physical properties of older people. Similarly in the Villar and Faba study (2012) children draw a white bun on the older women and the older men had grey hair. This would suggest that the children did not see their grandparents as different from themselves, Butler and Lewis (1980, p.17). MH child 3 when asked about their grandparents hair stated that it was the same as their own. This may suggest that the children see themselves as socially belonging with their grandparents, categorising their grandparents as 'like themselves' and therefore members of the same group. A group in which they value their 'membership' rather than seeing them as 'other' (Tajfel, 1978), (Turner, 1982; Turner & Reynolds, 2004). It could however be argued, as did Nesdale (2017), that children of this age are just developing these 'in group' and 'outgroup' prejudices and may not have yet

developed the social knowledge to view their grandparents as different. I would conclude that the children do not see their grandparents as old.

Child 3 pretended their grandma liked coffee even though this was not the case. This could suggest that she had learnt from observation what adults do and understood her grandma was an adult. Bandura's (1965) social learning states that children learn through observation, moreover, it is through observing people and witnessing their views and behaviours towards others that children develop stereotypes. It could therefore be argued that the children were unaware of an ageist stereotype because the nursery staff and parents do not view grandparents this way from those around them. It could be argued that children were unfamiliar with prescriptive stereotypes for older people. This also suggests that children may not be using cartoons such as Peppa Pig and children's books to develop a representation of older people which may lead to a more negative view (Ylänne 2015).

Another possible explanation could be grandparents are generally younger than they are portrayed in children's books or in Peppa Pig as many are under retirement age when they have their first grandchild (Santos and Falcão, 2017). Most grandparents are in their fifties when their first grandchild is born (Hossain Elsberg and Shwalb 2018) and perhaps removed from the 'doddering but dear' stereotype of older people (Cuddy *et al.*, 2005). It could be my own stereotyping of older people and grandparenting that has influenced this. The social construction of grandparents' is that of an old grey-haired person. This suggests that the children do not view their grandparents as an older homogenous group. It must also be considered that, as previous studies have shown, children who have positive relationships with their grandparents tend to have more favourable attitudes towards older individuals in general (Cayton, 2006). The children have their constructed idea of their grandparents through their physical attributes and that's what they value or how they identify. Using the view of their parents and practitioners to help them form their individual reality

(Crotty 1998). How children view their grandparents does not conform with the social construct of ageing, ugliness and frailty (Hazan 1994). The children's own lived experiences have illustrated how unique each child views their grandparents and what the term 'grandparent' means, suggesting what is true to them (Giorgi 1997).

Although the children did not use stereotypical language to discuss their grandparents' physical appearance of ageing, several children portrayed their grandparents using gender stereotypes. Grandmothers had long hair and grandfathers had short hair. the C3-5YO group were able to indicate the physical features that are considered typical for men and women, defining characteristics to gender groups (Skočajić *et al.*, 2019; Weinraub, *et al.*, 1984). When clothes were described by the children, not only were grandmothers wearing skirts and dresses, but the colours also chosen were pink and yellow and rainbow whereas the Grandads were wearing blue or green trousers and T-shirts. This was similar to Weisgram *et al.*, (2014) and Wong and Hines, (2015) findings regarding which colour related to gender. This prescriptive stereotype of gender would suggest that the C3-5YO understood and use gender stereotypes (Fiske & Stevens, 1993; Skočajić *et al.*, 2019).

The hobbies that were identified by C3-5YO may have fitted into the gender and ageist stereotypes; knitting for example could be seen as an older female activity as is gardening, encouraging stereotypical views. However, this was not consistent across the group with another grandad playing videogames. The hobbies that were identified suggest that the children see them, and this may enable grandparents to pass these skills to their grandchildren (Quénart and Charpentier, 2013).

The findings highlight the presence of gender stereotypes within children but not regarding ageist stereotypes. These findings emphasize the importance of children interacting with their grandparents and the development of more realistic images of grandparents in the media.

7.4.1 Combined Sub-Theme (CS-T) Age

In the children's conversations about their grandparents' ages, the children answered, "I think he's four or I think he's four or six." They chose ages that tended to be older than theirs. This implies that they knew that their grandparents were older, as it was a larger 'number' than their own. The ELG (DfE, 2023) states that the concept of numbers is based on more than and less than and the children have understood and focused on this as they've chosen numbers slightly higher than their own ages. Although this is an early learning goal it is expected at the end of the reception year, so children aged five years. Most four-year-olds may be dependent on birthday parties to understand the concept of age and the increasing age as the number goes up when they have a birthday party (Wooley and Rhoads 2019). The concept of age may also be identified in the description of the drawings. Many of the children were drawing long legs, again suggesting that they knew that their grandparents were older than them. Wooley and Rhoads (2019) suggest children understand that as living things grow, they get bigger.

7.4.2 CS-T Illness

A minority of C3-5YO alluded to their grandparents being unwell, this was not associated by the C3-5YO, or the practitioners as being related to age however Hazan, (1994) suggest ageing is associated with disease. Swift, Abrams, Drury and Lamont, (2016) proposed the cost of care contributed to the stereotyping of older people. This could lead to the C3-5YO growing up to develop more negative perceptions and ultimately fostering an 'outgroup' prejudice (Nesdale, 2017).

For these children it may be their first encounter with serious illness of a close family member. One A55+ described a child actively participating in her grandfather's care demonstrating empathy towards her grandfather, this exemplifies mutual respect and understanding

rather than expectation of young people to be disrespectful and avoid older people (Lyons *et al.*, 2017). However, this example could impact on the C3-5YO's own view of ageing, and they may see illness an inevitable in their view of ageing and this could increase the fear of ageing (Butler, 1969). These experiences illustrate how children develop their view of the world.

7.4.3 CS-T Happiness

Both the C3-5YO and A55+ participants expressed happiness and joy about each other. When drawing, the children highlighted their grandparents' smiley faces. This suggests that they see their grandparents as happy and are positive about their grandparents and their experiences with them. This is unlike Seefeldt *et al.*, (1977) study which found children tended to label old people as ugly, tired, and sick which was not evident in the data. Likewise, Falchikov (1990) observed that when asked to draw older people children draw faces without smiles. This does however, corroborate the ideas of Robinson Zurcher *et al.*, (2015), who suggested that children draw happy smiley faces of their grandparents. These findings would intermate that children do not view their grandparents as unhappy or old people, but as happy people separate from age.

Childhood was identified as a happy time for the A55+ who shared memories from their childhood, their view of their childhood was seen as positive, without any worries and evolving around play particularly outdoor play similar to Brunelle *et al.* (2016). As Harris (2017) states this could be the view through a positive lens and therefore not necessary the reality, rather a created reality. These findings suggest that the A55+ see their childhood as idyllic, indicating that they view childhood through a positive lens.

The unique experiences described by the A55+ emphasize the uniqueness of each individuals' childhood (Lumsdon and Doyle, 2018). This was illustrated by Participant 6 experience of loving being out. They gave examples of pursuits such as going on the Woolwich ferry

and being away from home. These experiences greatly contrasted with Participant 1 story of being a young child looking after a baby: This suggests what it was like to experience being a young child for them and that this experience differs for each individual. (Van manen, 2017a; 2017).

When asked about C3-5YO most of A55+ describe them as happy with strong emotions. Throughout the interviews, play was described within their own childhood, with their children and their grandchildren. This concept of childhood fits in with the western construct of childhood as joyful (James and Prout 1990). Moreover, this could be because as Aris, (1962) argued, more about the desires of the adult for a carefree childhood, which the A55+ group believed they had. However, the A55+ stated childhood seemed to be different now, less happy than it had been previously, again highlighting the social construction of childhood. Prout and James (1990) similarly advocated the view that the concept of childhood changes throughout history, it could therefore be suggested that this has occurred over the last three generations as the A55+ observe the change in childhood since they were children, then through their children's childhood and now through their grandchildren's childhood.

One participant explored when she explained her concern about the infantilisation of young people following the increase in school age to 18. This was similar to Cunningham (2006) who asserts that there has been a prolonging of childhood following the school-age rising to 16 in the 1970s. There is an increasing dependence on parents, making it unclear when childhood ends.

Children are seen as vulnerable and in need of protection. This is similar to Woodrew (1999), Garton (2019) and Sorin (2005) who all described the innocent child who is vulnerable. This highlights the social constructivism view of a created reality where childhood is a happy time, and children need protecting.

7.4.4 CS-T Safety

A55+ participants expressed worry about the safety of children now, feeling that society was not as safe as it had been when they were young and when their children were small. Within the findings there was a suggestion of sense of community, with parents looking after the children living locally (Participant 4). This again could be the effect of looking back and reminiscing. They were concerned about the increased traffic on the road and an increased risk of stranger danger, similar to Brussoni *et al.*, (2015) studies. This is also in line with Gill's work (2008).

Some of the A55+ described their own childhood especially spending time outside, for example Participant 6 said he was always outside. There was also concern about the lack of opportunities to play outside for C3-5YO, suggesting there was less opportunity to do so because parents were now frightened to let children play outside without adult supervision. This may be the effect of looking at one's own childhood nostalgically with a rosy retrospection (Harris 2017). The findings are in agreement with other studies, for example, Greave and Cole Hamilton (2012) and Clements (2004) who similarly state that children are less likely to play outside than their parents and when they do it is for supervised play, it showed that children were less likely to use public space as it their parents that make decision about where children play (Gill, 2011; Ferguson, 2019; Casey and McKendrick, 2022). This was a particular concern to the A55+ who were grandparents. A55+ Participant 7 explained that they felt this was due to the influence of the media and the increased availability of news. Similarly, Maydell, (2018) reported that the media influenced how parents felt about the safety of their children.

The safety of children also included fears following COVID-19. Two A55+ Participants were concerned by the impact COVID-19 had had on children. At the time it was seen to have a greater impact on older people (Zhou *et al.*, 2020). With the closure of schools, the A55+ suggested that children have experienced significant speech and language difficulties and were concerned about the long-term effect on

children's mental health, similarly Pascal *et al.*, (2020) suggested the wearing of masks which was also a concern of A55+. The research is positioned in time and place of post COVID-19 pandemic, creating another new reality associated with fear.

The A55+ were brought up in a different era to the C3-5YO therefore their values and the way they perceive safety might be different and unique to that time considering the past safer than it actually was, rather than the reality. There was no internet to provide worldwide news as there is now which may create a different perception of reality.

It is these individual's personal experiences that have led to the perceptions of the A55+. These experiences are unique to them; however, they are a shared experience that other people will recognise (Van Manen, 1990). It is my belief that these shared experiences lead to a social construction of childhood safety, in this instance, with most of the A55+ having similar views of safety.

The childhood experiences of the A55+ have shaped a view that children were freer in the past when they were children and that children are now overprotected. Berger and Luckmann (1967) consider that it is the members of a group who derive meaning, and in this instance, childhood was safer when the A55+ were young.

7.5 CT 2 Role of Grandparents

The objectives 3 and 4 are both answered within this theme, The role of the grandparent was created as a theme in both the children's conversations Theme 4 and Interviews with adults showing the 'shared meeting space' (Dahlberg *et al.*, 2007) identified in the data.

The purpose of this theme was to consider the multi-faceted role of grandparents. The role includes providing childcare, providing children with emotional support, and other areas of development (Albert, and Ferring, 2013.). Grandparents have many roles both as individuals and as grandparents which are demonstrated in this theme. Many of the A55+ who grandparents were expressed joy at this role and felt it was

better than parenting although one participant did express how she enjoyed both roles similar to Mahne and Huxhold, (2015) and Hossain, *et al.*, (2018). The anecdotal stories of their grandchildren were full of pride. This could explain the improved mental health that is experienced by grandparents as highlighted by Di Gessa (2022).

Participants 1 and 4 both had adult grandchildren who they still had regular visits from. This was extremely important to them. They both had had regular contact with their grandchildren when their grandchildren were younger. Mansson *et al.*, (2017) suggested that spending time with grandchildren as young children developed better relationships when they are adults. Tarrent (2011) states that grandparenthood is socially and culturally constructed, the study suggests the social construction of grandparenthood could be described as joyful.

7.5.1 CS-T Support

A55+ Participant 5 declared "Support, Support, Support" when asked about the role of grandparents. In this study, most participants felt it was part of the role of grandparents, to provide support for their families. This support, whether by providing regular childcare, informal care like sleepovers or visits is in line with the theory of alloparenting (Sear and Mace, 2008). This theory states that grandparents, particularly grandmothers, are there to help the next generation to survive by providing care and resources.

These findings further support the idea of Clarke and Roberts (2010) concept of 'being there', that of strengthening family bonds when grandparents want to be involved in their grandchildren's lives. However, this support is not without complication as some A55+ reflected on the importance of following the wishes and beliefs of parents as Participant 1 explained there need to be consideration what the parents' beliefs are to ensure accord is maintained and avoid unnecessary conflict or tension.

The A55+ suggest not giving advice unless if requested and attempting not to pry into their children's lives and parenting as it was not considered to be appropriate. These attitudes are similar to those expressed by Mason *et al.*, (2007) who stated that 'non-interfering' was structural in the grandparenting role. However, the finding did not suggest concerns about conflict between adult children and grandparents causing tension rather than not interfering was an expectation they had of themselves. They would not interfere because they were aware it would lead to reduced contact with their grandchildren (Kemp 2024). It could also be considered as part of the social construction of the modern grandparent.

The participants who were grandparents expressed their concerns and were anxious about their role in caring for their grandchildren, they felt they would not have the up-to-date information on childcare. For example, Participant 7 was concerned about supporting her daughter breastfeeding, this was similar to the findings of Lidgate and Lindenryer (2018) who had suggested that grandparents who gave advice about breastfeeding could be out of date. This highlighted the lack of information given to grandparents as grandparents provide informal care for their grandchildren, this would appear to be a missed opportunity by health professionals to promote breastfeeding and other up to date health advice.

7.5.2 CS-T Love and emotions

The reason for the provision of support could be love. It was clear from the A55+ personal stories that were told of grandparents, there was unconditional love between grandparents and grandchildren, similar to Mansson (2016) findings. This could be identified in Participant 8 who describes activities he did with his grandfather and Participant 2 describing his mother-in-law as a grandmother; there was affection in their voices. The children from Setting 2 were asked what they say to their grandparents and as with the findings of Floyd and Morman (1998) the children verbally expressed affection by saying "I love you", and saying they had 'hugs and cuddles' with their grandparents.

The A55+ emphasized the importance of cuddling their grandchildren too. Grandparents observe they now have time to appreciate this, which they did not have as parents. It could be suggested that this physical contact promotes attachment between the child and grandparent and that time together helps grandparents understand the needs of their grandchildren (Hayworth, 1964; Trevarthen, 2018). Furthermore, it could be argued that Grandparents felt an attachment to their grandchildren as they described how they wanted to protect them and provide for them (Bowlby 1958,1972). Condon *et al.*, (2020) highlighted grandparents were more satisfied with their role when they felt a bond with their grandchildren, all A55+ who were grandparents expressed joy in their role as suggested by Mansson (2016).

It was suggested by the A55+ that grandparents are role models for their grandchildren, this could be identified in the provision of simple rules such as "Be Kind." Participant 5 said by showing children how to deal with their emotions it helped them manage their own and that children would follow and understand. However, there was concern that times were changing and that C3-5YO did not have the manners of previous generations. The experiences the A55+ may have with children may create a reality for them of ill-mannered children although other A55+ expressed that they were more tolerant and more understanding of how children are now.

7.5.3 CS-T Working Grandparents' Careers

The C3-5YO identified that some of their grandparents engaged in a range of careers, however, this theme was not identified in the A55+ data. This may have been because they were not asked about their employment. It could also be argued that as they were volunteers, they were most likely to be people aged over 65 as this age group is most likely to formally volunteer (Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, 2023) which suggests that the A55+ group were more likely to have retired.

The C3-5YO identified a range of jobs from shop workers, police officer and postman, a couple of them stated their grandparents had retired, this aligns with the fact that most people will have a grandchild by the age of 64 (Kanji, 2018) and are more likely to be in paid work (ONS, 2019) This may also reflect Backhaus and Barslund (2019) suggestion that most grandparents are in their fifties when their first grandchild is born (Hossain *et al* 2018: Harwood (2002). This differs from the social construction of grandparents as the retired people that are seen as a burden on society (Hanson, 2016; Abrams, *et al.*; 2011) and suggests that grandparents cannot be referred to as one homogenous group.

The uniqueness of grandparents was also seen in the range of hobbies that were identified by the C3-5YO. There were no patterns to the hobbies identified, but it did show that grandparents do activities which they share with their grandchildren as suggested by Quéniart and Charpentier (2013) who stated that grandparents like to share their skill of gardening and hobbies with their grandchildren. Sharing these activities would take place when the grandparents and children spend time together.

7.5.4 CS-T Providing childcare

The A55+ group expressed a desire to support their adult children and respect that they may choose to go to work by providing childcare (Bordone *et al.*, 2017 Sadruddin, *et al.*, 2019), it was also suggested by the A55+ that this was a financial necessity. It may also reflect on the cost of childcare and lack of wrap around care, for which many grandparents fill the gap. (Buchanan and Rotkirch, 2018) and is illustrated in the findings as some of the grandparents pick up their grandchildren from children's settings. The support varied from providing regular childcare during the week to providing sleepovers at the weekend.

The 'shared meeting space (Dahlberg *et al.*, 1999) can again be identified in this theme as the C3-5YO also discussed how their grandparents look after them. Some of the A55+ picked them up from nursery or they spent time at the weekend with them. Di Gessa *et al.*, (2020) suggest that half of grandparents are looking after their grandchildren.

Furthermore, as one participant explained, it was not only regular childcare to accommodate work but also allow adult children to have time for themselves free from both work and parental responsibility. These times were often driven by need and it was grandparents that provided emergency support when parents had unforeseen difficulties. This illustrates the role of grandparents supporting their adult children and how this role enables more people to go to work. For grandparents this could mean having to balance their own careers with additional childcare needs (Eurostat 2019; Backhuus and Barslund 2021).

For some of the A55+ there was concern at the increase of childcare facilities although it was seen as an essential it was also seen as a change from previous generations and as a necessity for working parents. There were also concerns at the increased testing and assessment during their early years.

7.5.5 CS-T Grandparents as educators

Another finding of this study was the role grandparents had in promoting their grandchildren's development as an educator. Some of the A55+ create games to help them with their social development and encourage skills. Participant 1 describes creating a game to encourage her granddaughter to communicate more, "I created a game for that were I was man in the petrol station and she had to ask for petrol" sharing her lived experience through this anecdote.

Some of the C3-5YO shared how grandparents had read to them or they had special books for them at their grandparents' houses. These

findings are consistent with Hoyne and Egan, (2019) in that grandparents are involved with shared reading. This was noted in the children's conversation theme play. The A55+ theme of role of the grandparent also commented on engaging in book sharing activities illustrating again the 'shared meeting space'. (Dalhbergh *et al.*, 1999).

Participant 3 shared an anecdote about reading her children's their favourite book. Similarly Participant 7 shared how she had read to her *daughter when she was a baby*. This is also echoed by the C3-5YO, who shared their experiences of having books available (*MK Child 4*). These reflections align with Van Maman's view that every day experiences give an understanding to our everyday lives (Van Manen, 2017) and it is through these familiar moments, after the event when the phenomenon is reflected upon, that it can be understood (Van Manen, 2017). In this case, some of the A55+ go on to explain they think these shared moments encouraged a love of reading in their adult children.

The A55+ advocated for fostering the love of reading at an early age (Hoyne and Egan, 2019), suggesting there is a transmission of reading practice from parents to their children, similar to Egan *et al.* (2022) findings. This intergenerational engagement in reading could be considered not just an individual preference but socially constructed within familial contexts reinforcing the shared meaning and values associated with reading. Furthermore, the grandparents in the A55+ group shared books with their grandchildren which they had read with their children, giving the books a familial significance and becoming a part of the family's culture, again emphasizing the shared values.

The A55+ were concerned at the lack of physical books, attributing this to technology and the perceived impact of diminishing reading. They valued physical books; they did not appreciate that technology could be used as a way of reading and sharing stories. This a suggestion of the changing social construction of society in which technology is more prevalent in our daily lives and highlights the

changes and differences in the generations and changes within cultural norms.

7.6 CT3 Treats.

Children's PhotoVoice Conversations Theme 4 and Interviews with Adults.

Theme 4 is 'Treats'. The study found that giving children gifts and treats, especially food, is an important part of the role of grandparents. They could also be identified as JIEs (Schoffe, 1992). It is evident from both the A55+ group and the C3-5YO that gifts and food treats were given to grandchildren.

'Spoiling' children was seen as something that has always gone on as A55+ Participant 2 describes how his Mother-in-law spoilt his daughter. These views are similar to earlier findings from the 1950s when Peters (1955) described how grandparents "spoiling" their grandchildren was more common after the war. Therefore, this cannot be described as a new phenomenon. Unlike parents who may have a motive for giving sweets and presents rewarding their children's behaviour there does not seem to be the same motive for grandparents. Mansson (2016) describes this as an act of love and both groups asserted to this through their delight. Grandparents were keen to express their joy in giving treats to their grandchildren and grandchildren were excited about the treats they received. As Mansson and Soliz's (2017) study concluded, generosity and the giving of gifts is expected of grandparents, which is perhaps why Participant 4 concluded "I don't think I spoil them, but my daughter thinks I do." It could also explain why grandparents spend £400 a year on activities when caring for them (International Longevity Centre, 2017).

The participants shared their individual experiences of how grandchildren are given treats by their grandparents, for example, Participant 6 recounted how they had "*Special food*". Participant 8 disclosed how "*you make it exciting*", and MH Child 6 shared his

experience of "*Grandad "sneaks me pudding"*", highlighting the lived experience and the playfully breaking of parents' rules, creating a unique experience for grandchild and grandparent. The everyday experiences of giving treats emphasizes the mutual joy for both the children and grandparents and shows grandparents provide experiences that are distinct from the children's parents.

Grandparents are often seen as indulging their grandchildren (Kivnick, 1983); this is evident in the children explaining they have treats from their grandparents such as coins and chocolate eggs, popcorn, ice cream and chocolate. The foods highlighted by the children were full of fat and sugar, similar to the findings of Criss, *et al.*, (2021) and Jongenelis and Budden (2023). The result is that grandparents are not applying the dietary guideline for young children, as Roberts and Pettigrew (2013) suggested. It is difficult to interpret whether this is the only food given to the grandchildren, as Participant 6 stated he gave his grandchildren "*Bad food*" but then describes giving his grandchildren fruit and vegetables. The C35YO may only remember the treats they were given as they are special and often there is secrecy surrounding them as MH Child 6 alludes to "*he sneaks me biscuits*". This is consistent with Roberts and Pettigrew, (2013) who observed food gifts were associated with love and care, with grandchildren recognizing the value of these gifts as expressions of their grandparents' affection. Grandparents want to be remembered (Roberts and Pettigrew, 2013) it could also be because grandparents do not have primary responsibility for their grandchildren (Clarke and Roberts, 2004; Shorey and Ng, 2020; Sneed and Schulz, 2019). They feel they do not have to comply with the healthy guidelines as that is the role of a parent.

Some of the grandparents did have rules and most were consistent with parents' choices, for example going to bed on time. Others were expectations of the grandparents, for example not shouting. However, this was not consistent and a few C3-5YO's said they could stay up later at their grandparent's suggesting different boundaries were in

place. This may be due to the lack of primary responsibility they have for their grandchildren.

The findings of this study suggest that there is a social construction within the role of grandparents as the provider of support for adult children and treats for children while bypassing parental responsibilities and be the one to give time or treats that parents do not have time to do.

The descriptions of grandparents in the study do not fit into the older established typology of grandparents as the majority provide support and involvement with the children, which Neugarten and Weinstains (1964) describe these as separate; Formal grandparents provide gifts but are a distant, and fun-loving grandparents are the child's playmate (Cherlin and Furton, 1985). They are more aligned to Mueller, Wilhelm and Elderr's (2002) supportive grandparents in which they are involved in various aspects of their lives.

7.6.1 CS-T Benefits to grandparents

There was joy expressed though the conversation of A55+ who had or were expecting grandchildren suggesting that the role of grandparents is beneficial to their well-being (Reitzes and Mutran, 2004; Mahne and Huxhold, 2015; Hossain, Eisberg, and Shwalb, 2018). None of the participants expressed concerned at being stereotyped or used words associated with stereotyping (Sampson, 2000; Hossain, et al., 2018) and most had a positive attitude to the role (Kruk, 1994). Some expressed preferences for being a grandparent which were similar to the findings of Mahne and Huxhold (2015); Hossain, et al., (2018), however there was concern that this was an obligation to providing support and that this could be to their detriment, this is similar to the findings of Grünwald, Damman, and Henkens, (2022, p.13). This was not the majority view which was generally they enjoyed being grandparents or were excited to become grandparents.

For some it was an opportunity to readdress the parenting skills they felt they didn't have before. One Participant expressed how being a grandparent enabled him to spend time with his grandchildren and do the things he had not been able to do at the time his own children had been younger (Smith and Dalmer, 2023).

7.7 CT4 Play

7.7.1 CS-T Expressing enjoyment, doing physical activities.

A55+ and C3-5YO recounted there were toys at the grandparents' house and shared visits to the park and nature settings. This theme was in children's conversations as a sub-theme of Theme 4, treats, and Theme 5 of the interviews with adults, this again underscores the 'shared meeting space' (Dahlberg, et al., 1999) that has been identified. The memories described by A55+ focused on outdoor play. Many of the A55+ reminisced about playing in fields and woodlands, this finding is in agreement with Harris, (2017). However, not all the memories were in nature environments, some were of playing in the street with young children with neighbours watching out for the children, suggesting that play was safer; similar to the views of Gill (2011) and Ferguson (2019). These recollections highlight how the participants' lived experiences inform their understanding of play as a meaningful part of childhood. Additionally, they may draw on these memories in their present role as grandparents and in use them to form their views of play.

The construction of childhood may be influenced by these childhood experiences, and these are reinterpreted by A55+, their reminisces of play highlighted freedom, exploration and physical play. This suggests a construction of play as unstructured, adventurous and connected to nature. Their expectation of play for their children and grandchildren would be created from this template as to what should be in their lives. As Harris (2017) cautions, it is important to acknowledge the

importance of outdoor play but understanding that play may include technology which was not available when the A55+ were children.

Play is an important aspect of young children's lives, this is illustrated by child QK4 who stated "*Ohh. She's she works at our house. She plays with me and that's her work*" and Participant 6 had a special place for his grandchildren to play so toys could be left out and to create an early year's environment. Examples of physical play and imaginative play highlight some A55+ understood the benefits of play to children's holistic development. They gave some examples of the ways they had encouraged areas of development through play and different types of play they thought children should partake in (McInnes, 2019, Vygotsky, 1978, Whitebread, *et al.*, 2012).

The C3-5YO focused on specific activities and toys from their grandparents, for example trains, dinosaurs and books and the activities they did with their grandparents like reading stories and playing hide and seek. The A55+ narrative centred on traditional types of play, for example singing, reading, messy play and imaginative play, these may reflect their own experience of play as children. One Participant even explained how toys from the previous generation were played with by their grandchildren. There was no mention of technology play by the A55+, this could be because the A55+ do not see technology used for play although one C3-5YO did state his granddad played a video game.

The A55+ discussed the importance of outdoor play for the physical benefits it provides, similar to Dufflos, Lane and Brussoni (2024). They saw it as an opportunity to promote physical activity. The outdoors was also seen as an opportunity for getting fresh air, using energy and for children to take risks. Risky play such as playing high on the climbing frames and climbing trees were discussed by the A55+ as being part of childhood play, consistent with Little, Sandseter and Wyver, (2012). Participant 7 describes her fear of her child falling but that she allowed this as she thought it was important for them to risk -

take, McFarland and Laird, (2018) study similarly found parents' nervousness at children taking risks and the need to balance this with the benefits. This suggests that the A55+ group knew that risk play is an important part of outdoor play.

A range of different environments for outdoor play was identified, these included garden woodlands farms and beaches. This differed from the C3-5YO who only identified the park, this could be because as Chen and Hamel, (2023) observed children preferred traditional playground spaces as they understood the affordances, and so this was the choice the grandparents made. Ernst (2017) concluded that this was the environment that parents took their children to as they preferred the traditional playground, it could be argued that this is another reason why grandparents use this environment.

The A55+ discussions around nature revealed they considered nature to be a tool for positive mental health and a benefit to children's well-being, fostering a connection with the natural world; similar to Dodd Nesbit and FitzGibbon (2023). However, in their own reminiscences they did not explicitly discuss these benefits but focused on the fun and enjoyment of being outside, for example climbing trees and being with their grandparents in nature.

There was concern that children did not spend time in the natural environment and that this would lead to children being frightened of insects as they had no contact or familiarity with them; similar to Aslanian, Bjerknes and Andresen, (2023). The A55+, as Chawla (2015) suggests, believe that contacts with nature are not just good for children during childhood but throughout their lifespan. There was also concern that lack of spending time in nature would lead to children growing up with a lack of understanding and knowledge of the natural world. Gill (2011) established that children who spend time in nature would develop a positive view of nature as adults. Participants 5 and 6 gave examples of play activities they did with their children, for example playing in the woods and looking for insects and how they

would repeat these with their grandchildren, however they were also concerned that there was a lack of opportunity for children today. Doliopoulou and Rizou (2012) support this notion by highlighting the decline in outdoor play.

Our perspective of childhood is fundamentally shaped by our own personal experiences. We often find ourselves wanting to recreate or reinterpret these experiences for our grandchildren, effectively shaping their childhood through the lens of our own past. Highlighting that childhood is not a fixed state, but a concept constructed through experiences. (Prout and James, 1990).

7.8 CT5 Culture

The C3-5YO were aware that they were part of a family of which their grandparents were also a part (Laland and Hoppitt, 2003). There was nothing directly in the findings of A55+ that related to culture; however, it could be argued that shared activities, the provision of childcare and spending time together are influenced by culture. Some of the A55+ acknowledged that when asked they will give advice, Piper *et al.*, (2023) noted that grandparents advice will come from their experiences and cultural values.

A few of the C3-5YO had contact with grandparents living in their home countries. The children and their grandparents communicated regularly with these grandparents using mobile phones and video links similar to the findings of Armitage and Nellums, (2020). The grandparents communicated to them in their home or heritage language. It cannot be ascertained whether this was because it was the only language the grandparents spoke or if they were trying to encourage their grandchildren to speak their heritage language. Share *et al.*, (2018) would suggest that it maintains family bonds which was evident as the children were able to recall these interactions. Moreover, this could be interpreted as the way the families are maintaining their own culture which subconsciously improve the child's

sense of identity. Social constructionism posits that knowledge and meaning created through our interactions are embedded in our culture. These interactions with grandparents help children construct who they are and what their heritage is.

7.9 CT6 Technology

The theme of technology was created from the A55+ data, there was minimal mention of technology by the C3-5YO although a few highlighted the use of mobile phones to communicate with grandparents and one child was given a mobile phone to play with at his grandparents' house. For the A55+ the discourse around technology was one of fear. There was concern about the overuse of mobile phones and iPads which the A55+s felt put children at risk. There was even greater concern that three-year-olds had their own devices which they were able to use without help, this is consistent with the findings from Ofcom (2023) and Kabali and Irigoyen, (2015). It could be argued that the A55+ and C3-5YO have different views of technology. For the C3-5YO it is a part of their everyday life although as they are young and do not understand the dangers this would not have been a concern for them. Children's lives are now constructed around technology.

For the A55+ limited technological skills could lead to the apprehension expressed as their understanding of technology may be rooted in their own personal experiences. They may be fearful as they lack the skills necessary to protect themselves online as highlighted by Participant 2. These findings are similar to O'Keeffe and Clarke-Pearson, (2011) who stated that children may lack comprehensive understanding of the risks associated with online activities. The A55+ were brought up in a different era to the C3-5YO with simpler technology such as television and radio. A55+ frequently contrasted their own childhood or parenting experiences with those of C3-5YO now, for example Participant 4 describe seeing a three year old child

on the train playing with an ipad and a smart phone and how when her children were that age they'd be having a conversation with her. There is a fear of the loss of communication and a meaningful relationship with younger children. It could be suggested that it is these lived experiences of the participants would be part of the construction of their understanding of a technological world. This was demonstrated by Participant P2, who was happy to see children watching videos and stories with which he was familiar from the television rather than on technological devices.

However, the fear of technology is not without basis, the A55+ gave examples of how the use of technology had negatively impacted on children's lives identifying online bullying, inappropriate information and concern of too much time on social media as worrying issues, this is similar to Orben, Dienlin, and Przybylski, (2019) who suggests a correlation between the time spent on social media and reduced life satisfaction. There was also concern that technology is replacing books, although this was seen as inevitable and perhaps progress. The A55+ were concerned that technology served as a barrier to communication between the user and the people around them suggesting that excessive screen time could hinder children's development skills, similar to the finding of Pecino *et al.*, (2012). It could be concluded that the A55+ observations are not signs of lack of understanding and acceptance of technology but a reasoned fear.

The majority of A55+ were also concerned that parents were over reliant on technology as a form of babysitting or as a babysitter and that the mobile phone and iPad were handed to children at restaurants or when they needed to be calmed, this is similar to Topic and Merkas, (2023) who illustrated this was how mobile devices were being used by parents. The A55+ saw this as detrimental, believing only that it would lead to a lack of communication between children and the people around them. However, this was not the view of all the A55+, Participant 6 stated his grandchildren did not use mobile phones when

they were together as his grandchildren's parents did not allow them to have them. This also relates to the concept of 'do not interfere' (Cherlin and Furstenberg, 1986) as he maintains this desire.

Only one A55+ who, although in general disagreed with the use of computers for C3-5YO, suggested that they could see that when the world was becoming more technology-based and when appropriately used, it could be useful to help children with Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND).

Despite the negative views of the A55+, the C3-5YO did identify the use of mobile phones as a way they connected to their grandparents, describing the use of video chat technology to talk to their grandparents who were geographically far away (Zosh *et al.*, 2022). During these video chats their grandparents spoke in their home language. This suggests that technology is useful and used by grandparent and grandchild when it is necessary, for example when face to face visits are not available.

7.10 CT7 Intergenerational relationships

This was an original theme that was created in the A55+ data. Some of the A55+ reminisced about their experiences of nursery children coming into the centre during previous Christmases for concerts. They described the joy this had brought to the people who attended the centre although there was concern that too many children would be overwhelming for the older people. This resonates with the benefits of intergenerational learning where being together allows them to learn about each other although one participant did feel that not all older people would enjoy the experience (Kernan and Cortellesi, 2019).

One of the benefits of spending time with older people is that it develops empathy and an understanding of the ageing process between those involved (Schwartz and Simmons (2001). An example of this was given by Participant 4 who described the care her friend's

granddaughter gave to her grandfather and how she was not fearful but caring. As Bousfield and Hutchinson (2010) highlight, spending time with older people creates more positive views of older men and women in general, however this could also create a fear for one's own aging (Butler, 1968).

We created our own reality based on our experiences, for children to see older people in care homes could be the image they create of their own ageing, this image may not give children the opportunity to see ageing in a positive way, which as Cayton (2006) suggested could increase life expectancy. Natorp (cited in Vygotsky, 1979) says, "If there is no understanding of oneself, there is no basis for understanding others" (p.35). It is important therefore to have a positive image of oneself during all stages of life and understanding that one can be healthy and active in later life.

7.11 Chapter Seven Conclusion

This chapter has brought together the findings from Chapter 6 and the literature from Chapter 2 and 3. This chapter has highlighted the perception both the A55+ and the C3-5YO have of each other. The role grandparents have in the lives of their grandchildren is significant and their presence benefits the children. They provide childcare and play opportunities and provide treats. In turn the A55+ have joy and love from the children and an opportunity to be active outdoors. This creates positive memories and helps Grandparents maintain family culture. By spending time together there is an opportunity to create and share knowledge in the meeting space.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions, Recommendations and Limitations

This final chapter summarises the findings and is a reflection of what I, as a researcher, have learnt through the research, including the application of the approach, methods and any ethical issues or limitations and how they may affect the findings of this research. Finally, I reflected on the contribution to knowledge offered by this research and recommendations for future research and practice.

8.1 Reflection and limitations of research process

8.1.1 Interviews and the artifact A55+

The adaptation of PhotoVoice was a way to start a conversation with the participants. I believed that asking participants to create an image would break the ice and give the conversation a starting point of their choice and enable them to state what was important to them, therefore, empowering the participants. I asked them to "draw something that represents children C3-5YO to you" to start of the interview. I believe the participants were able to share their individual experience (Wang and Burris, 1997). I wanted the participant to relax and lead the conversation. There were varying degrees of success with this method the participants approached the picture differently, for example:

Participant 5 was adamant that she did not wish to draw a picture and asked.

"Do I have to? I really don't want to draw I just can't draw"

So, I did not pursue this.

Participant 7 Did draw her picture but felt embarrassed by her drawing.

"Oh, please don't show anyone my picture it's terrible, I'm really embarrassed I can't draw"

She did draw a picture, and I did reassure her that I would not be using it as she did not wish me to.

Participant 6 did draw a picture but felt restricted by his drawing skills, when asked about his picture he said.

"it comes from one's ability to draw. I can't draw".

Participant 4 held the pen in her hand as she spoke, and it wasn't until the end of the interview that she chose to draw her picture.

When considering an artifact, I had deliberated on the availability of materials being a barrier, so these were provided at the interview. I should have reflected on the potential barrier creating the image may have had on the participants, Rainford, (2020) suggests that participants may feel judged, and this would prevent them from participating. Although creating the image may not have been successful in all cases, the method was successful in that it broke the ice and that it relaxed both myself and the participants as it helped develop a rapport. The adaptation of PhotoVoice enabled participants to discuss their life experiences from their own starting point (Wang, 2006 Wang *et al.*, 2004) and the voices of people A55+ were heard. Although not all the participants were happy to draw a picture, the question did focus the interview. For those who did not wish to draw they did not have to, as this would not have supported the Ethics of Care (Reich, 2021) that I had chosen. It also established that they were in control, as they knew that what they had requested was acted upon.

8.1.2 An adaptation of PhotoVoice with C3-5YO

All the children appeared to enjoy drawing a picture of their grandparents. Van Auken, Frisvoll, and Stewart, (2010) suggest that a visual method with interviews makes abstract questions about difficult concepts more approachable and accessible with potential for

empowering children. The C3-5YO were, the support of practitioners, able to discuss their grandparents.

The practitioners had already established a rapport with the children. Goldman-Segall (2014, p.93) discusses 'establishing a rapport' between the child and the researcher, where children view the researcher as an adult, but acknowledge that their role is not to direct the conversation, but to share in the experience; thus, adults and children become collaborators or 'partners in learning'. Furthermore, I believe as Tay-Lim and Lim, (2013) stated, children enjoy drawing and talking to adults and during this time a co-construction of meaning-making is occurring. As the practitioners and children share an understanding, they are facilitating the children's sense making, suggesting that the child the practitioner and myself were all part of the construction of meaning. This process could have been enhanced by dedicating additional time to engaging with practitioners following the completion of the data analysis however, this was not feasible due to the practitioners work commitments and the limitations imposed by COVID-19.

Selts and Orsini, (2022) stated that one of the challenges of PhotoVoice is evaluating the impact of the of PhotoVoice for empowering the participants; the participants were heard which may lead them to feeling empowered.

8.2 Style of questioning

8.2.1 A55+ Style of questioning

I started the interview with the question "Tell me about your picture?" and adapted it to "Tell me what you think of when you think about C3-5YO?" This was my only prepared question, which was inspired by Charmz (2006 p.33) which allows the participant to frame their own experiences. Using a prompt the researcher is creating a starting point (Jimenez and Orozco, (2021). I had wanted as much of the control of the interview to be with the participants as possible and wanted the interview to be conversational and believed I achieved this. Oakley, (2005) states that it is important to avoid a controlling grasp during

the research. I had deliberately not planned any questions as I thought this would lead to bias with my views leading the conversation rather than being participant led. However, Braun and Clarke (2023) suggest planning is the most important aspect and there should be ranges of open and closed questions. I have reflected on whether this would have been more beneficial and still conclude that although I did not have a list of questions, I had thought about what might be included and my own thoughts of C3-5YO so would still have unconsciously added bias.

It seemed like an imbalance of power to expect to be told experiences, anecdotes and stories from the participants and not share some of my own. Leavy (2023, p.40) suggests a way of building a rapport and showing interest is to "share things about yourself" which are "truthfully representing yourself." I was conscious that I did this during the interviews and had to consider if this influenced the direction of the interview, however, it did improve the rapport during the interview.

Listening to the recordings I was aware of the moments when I had thought that I should probe further and ask a question. I chose not to take a pen and pad with me to make notes about what was said as I wanted to listen and allow the A55+ to lead the conversation. It might have been advantageous to include the note pad but if I was writing, I would not be actively listening to participants. I was so intent on making the experience relaxed that my role as a researcher may have been a secondary consideration. The development of questions and direction of the interview illustrates the co-construction of meaning-making that took place. Lavee and Itzchakov, (2023) discuss the importance of listening and maintain that listening is important to make sense of people's worlds.

8.2.2 C3-4YO Style of questioning

The practitioners were given a list of questions on the information sheet (Appendix 3), as examples of questions they may wish to use.

Due to the conversational style of questioning I had asked for; these questions were not used. This did lead to a more natural conversation and perhaps richer data as the children were able to lead the conversation. Leading questions were asked in the children's interviews. Patton (2015) suggest leading questions are a hint to an appropriate answer. Leading and presuppositional questions were asked particularly in one setting. This may have been because a number of children spoke English as an additional language. As Cairne-Lee, Lawley and Tosey, (2022) states, this is based on the interviewer's belief. As the practitioner was familiar with the families and knew the children well as part of her role, I felt this gave validity to the interview. I did also consider this when analysing the data, the findings were in keeping with the other settings, so I decided to include them. It is also evidence of the co-construction of meaning. It could be argued that without this support the children would not have been able to participate in the research and as Lawrence (2022) argues, it is good for children's well-being to be able to take part in research.

I had no way of knowing the practitioners' own viewpoints. To address this limitation the potential biases and preconceptions that the practitioners might have had I could have interviewed them to get their views of grandparents. This would have meant taking somebody out of ratio to come and talk to me. There were staffing issues and pressures from Covid-19 such that I didn't think it was appropriate. I made the conscious decision not to do that, however, if I were to repeat this study it is something I would do.

8.3 Sampling

8.3.1 C3-5YO Sampling

I had difficulty recruiting settings from the start. Many of the nurseries that I approached that initially expressed an interest were unable to participate at that time. Others I contacted by email did not reply.

One of the settings that did accept before the COVID-19 pandemic, I had arranged to visit in what became the first week of the lockdown, they chose not to continue with the study. When settings finally reopened the same setting withdrew because there were no longer the staff or the number of children available. I had purposefully selected them as they visited a local nursing home regularly. This may have changed the direction of the study as visits to nursing homes were also stopped at this time. I therefore changed the purposeful criteria removing visits to nursing homes from them all. This study was changed accordingly. This did not affect the range of settings used.

Following the pandemic, settings did not want extra unnecessary people in the nurseries, and many had staff shortages, this did reduce the contact I had with the settings and the practitioners. I decided to have one initial meeting before the practitioner interview the children and one on collection of the data. Since completing the thesis one setting has sadly closed.

To ensure all the children in a setting were able to participate in the research if they wished no exact number of participants was given. Richardson, (2019) stated that it could be unethical to not include those who wish to take part. This led to a slight variation in the number of participants from each setting.

8.3.2 A55+ Sampling

The A55+ participants were all white British and Irish. The group, although they were a purposeful sample meeting the criteria of being a volunteer and over 55 years old. The group did self-select, this, Cohen et al., (2011) suggests that those who volunteer to take part in the study may be interested in the subject and that generalisability or presentation of the data should be done with caution. In this instance it may explain why the A55+ had positive views on children and childhood as they were interested in the subject.

The second setting of volunteers was a school in a diverse area. Unfortunately, the settings experienced ongoing staff shortages as a result of persistent illness among team members. My contact at the school also had illnesses during this time and was unable to arrange meetings with other volunteers. After nine months of arranging and cancelling meetings, I made the decision to use the eight interviews I had. I have chosen to use the Ethics of Caring (Reich, 2021) which is to treat the people with respect and kindness and see them as individuals, they were the priority, not the research. In this instance I did not want to keep adding to the stress that was created by staff illnesses by continuing to ask for further meetings. This means that the study does not represent a diverse population.

8.4 Generalisability

Yin (2013) states that multi case studies could serve as an analytic generalisation in which the focus is developing theoretical explanations or concepts that have broader relevance beyond the specific cases studied, and increasing the size of the study may lose the depth of the responses. Braun and Clarke (2023) argue that generalisation is not the intension of qualitative research but rather transferability which enables the reader to decide if the analysis is suited to their context. While I believe that different participants will give different results, I do believe that in a similar demographic there would be similar broad themes.

8.5 Ethical Considerations

8.5.1 The ethical considerations for children

I sent an information sheet and consent forms which were completed and signed (BERA, 2018) and collected by the practitioners. It was really important to ensure I had the C3-5YO assent, and I was very concerned about this because I was not in the settings. I wanted to ensure that the children knew that they did not have to take part if

they did not want to. Creating a book enabled me to 'speak to them'. I had asked the practitioners to read the book to the children before carrying out the conversation. Listening back to the recordings, I know this has been done as I could hear reference to it. My name was used and the practitioners answer questions about the recordings.

"So this lady is called Claire and she wrote this book for us and it says hello, my name is Claire." (QK Practitioner)

"This Claire goes to a big school called University and she would like you to help her with her learning. Do you think you could do that?" (QK practitioner)

"Yeah, yeah." (QK Child 3)

"So this is the voice recorder so she can hear your words." (QK practitioner)

"Oh, can she hear us?" (QK child 3)

"She can't hear. Yeah darling, she'll hear us another day, this light means that it's recording all of our lovely words" (QK practitioner)

However, it was not clear if the children understood what I was going to do with their recording:

"Claire, yeah? She wants she wants you to draw a nice picture of you with your granny." (MH Practitioner)

"Why is why is Claire using them?" (MH child 5)

"She needs them for university" (MH Practitioner).

That the practitioners have rapport with the children was an advantage, as Lee, (2006) states, the development of a relationship with the children allows for better communication, to allow the sharing of good ideas and better understanding of what is being said. I would not have been able to develop a similar rapport with the children in a short period of time. An example of this was:

"K this is Max he's a dog and he has a gun." (Child MH4)

MH Practitioner replied:

"You've had enough haven't you! Go and play."

This interaction demonstrates the practitioners understanding of the children's needs and her ability to recognise when to conclude the interviews appropriately.

8.5.2 Ethics of care

Noddings (2012) states that the needs of the participant need to be considered during research. During one of the interviews one participants spoke of the death of her son, I listened to her and gave her the opportunity to be heard in that moment rather than continue with the interview. It would be unethical not to do so. After a while we continued when the participant was ready.

8.6 Practitioners as research assistants and co-construction of knowledge

I discussed with the Practitioners the importance of their knowledge of the children, through their roles in the setting. The practitioners have a rapport with the children that enabled the children to give their opinions (Spyrou, 2011).

The experience for the C3-5YO may have been more positive with the practitioners because of this, as they knew their children's interests and knew the families so were able to use this information in the interviews. Elfer, (2013) suggests that the key person will know the children and their family they are working with to develop a trusting relationship. They were able to discuss the research and ask the children if they wish to participate in a way in which they would fully understand, giving them informed choice.

Children who have communication issues may not have wished to communicate with someone they did not know, so they could be included. Berger, (2015) highlights the importance of the researcher and participants relationship to enable the participants to share their information. The practitioner used their knowledge and skills to ensure they were able to join in, giving me wider participation and inclusion. It could therefore be argued the data is richer. It could also be argued that the data was a co-creation between the practitioner, the children and myself. Parsons, (2021) stated co-construction involves the integration of practical knowledge from practitioners, families, and children with the addition of research knowledge, where all are equally valued to generate knowledge. Cupchik, (2001) argues that Constructivist research emphasizes the role of the researcher in co-constructing meaning with participants. In this study I believe this to be the case.

8.7 Analysing the data

Analysing the C3-5YO was more difficult because I had not conducted the interviews. I had no memories of body language to use when interpreting the data, I only had only voices and so I had to make assumptions. For example, whether they were excited and interested from the tones of their voice. I did ask the practitioners to make notes for me but perhaps this was not clear enough. If I was going to do this research again, I would ensure that these details were clear.

8.8. Reminder of Aims and Objectives

The study aim was:

To explore perspectives of adults aged 55 plus and Children aged 3-5 years old on the nature and constructions of different generations.

The study objectives were:

1. To capture the views of children aged three to five years old (C3-5YO) about their grandparents.
2. To capture the views of adults aged over 55 years (A55+) concerning C3-5YO.
3. To identify how young children interact with A55+.
4. To identify how A55+ interact with young children.

The research questions were:

RQ1. What are the views of 30 C3-5YO about their grandparents?

RQ2. What are the views of A55+ concerning C3-5YO?

RQ3. Are there benefits or challenges for young children interacting with grandparents, and if so, what are they?

RQ4. Are there benefits or challenges of A55+ interacting with young children and if so, what are they?

RQ3. Are there benefits or challenges for young children interacting with grandparents, and if so, what are they?

RQ4. Are there benefits or challenges of A55+ interacting with young children and if so, what are they?

8.9 Summary of the findings

The research questions have been answered and by doing so the aim and objectives of this study have been met. The findings revealed that both A55+ and C3-5YO depicted a notion of happiness about the other. The C3-5YO constructed their grandparents from their physical appearance drawing smiling faces. The A55+ perceive young children as needing protection reflecting Societal Constructs of childhood similar to the innocent child in need of protection (Branscombe *et al.*, 2000). However, the A55+ were concerned about the overprotection of children, influenced by the media and highlighting the tension between nurturing and shielding children from perceived risks. The C3-5YO demonstrated gender stereotypes in their perceptions of their grandparents but did not reflect ageist views (RQ1 and RQ2).

Grandparents emerge as 'being there' (Clarke and Roberts, 2004) for both their children and their grandchildren, balancing their own lives with the roles of providers of childcare support and affection providing benefits to both their children and their grandchildren. Treats were seen by both C3-5YO and A55+ as an important aspect of grandparenthood which brought joy to both, however the type of food treats may not be beneficial to the C3-5YO as it was high fat and sugar.

Play and particularly outdoor play was identified as a significant aspect of bonding, fostering of memories and strengthening family ties. Both the C3-5YO and A55+ benefited from outdoor play with grandparents also benefiting from the continued activities and a sense of well-being. Communicating also increased the development of family traditions and for those children who had a heritage language an opportunity to share this. It was Technology that facilitated this communication. However, the A55+ had concerns about the effects of technology on children's development focusing on the risks children faced when using it (RQ3 and RQ4). Finally, the A55+ felt it was important for C3-5YO to spend time with older people; however, they did not identify themselves in this category.

8.10 New knowledge

I have concluded that grandparenthood is socially constructed. Grandparents are expected to 'be there' providing support for their adult children and their grandchildren. Not interfering is also part of the construction as the A55+ stated this was part of the role of a grandparent. Providing love and particularly treats is part of this construction of grandparenthood suggested by both groups.

There is a 'meeting place' between Grandparents and grandchildren within the data that shows a shared creation of knowledge, shared experiences and themes show a 'common heritage of ideas and that knowledge is created and shared' (Gavin, 1995, p.27).

8.11 Recommendations

The recommendations presented in this research are directly derived from the study's findings. The practical implications in early years practice will be discussed, as well as the recommendations for further research.

8.11.1 Implications for practice

The findings reveal that grandparents often play a significant role in childcare, offering support in the care of their grandchildren. However, grandparents expressed concerns about the currency of their knowledge regarding modern childcare practices and breastfeeding (7.5.1). To address this, it is recommended that grandparents be included in parenting workshops or sessions that provide updated, tailored guidance on contemporary childcare methods and breastfeeding support. This would help grandparents feel more confident in their caregiving roles and better equipped to offer relevant advice to their adult children.

The research also reinforces the important role of grandparents as educators (7.5.5). Grandparents contribute to their grandchildren's learning through social development games and fostering a love of reading. It is recommended that early years practitioners actively involve grandparents in the educational process, particularly in initiatives such as literacy programmes within nurseries and schools. This involvement can further support grandparents' roles as key figures in their grandchildren's learning. Early Years settings could also provide guidance on managing technology use with young children to develop grandparents' confidence in its use (7.9).

8.11.2 Implications for research

Following the use of an adaption of PhotoVoice in this study, an exploration of the effectiveness of the PhotoVoice adaptation across

different contexts, and its broader impact on children's understanding of consent and ethics in research is necessary. Presenting this work at interdisciplinary conferences would facilitate dialogue between researchers, educators, and practitioners, developing shared understandings of the use of this adaptation of PhotoVoice and its practical application.

The findings from this research also have implications for conducting research with children through informed assent. The use of the assent book can serve as a tool to help children understand the assent process in a developmentally appropriate way. This ethical approach ensures participation is informed and that the child has a voice through the research. This could be achieved by encouraging the use of assent books across diverse contexts. Providing a replicable framework for engaging children in informed decision-making would enable other researchers to adopt this approach.

Both these suggestions would be through publications in academic journals. To further disseminate these findings, the research will be presented at conferences for example by the Association for the Professional Development of Early Years Educators (TACTYC) and the British Educational Research Association (BERA) and will be published in academic journals such as, *Contemporary issues in Early Years*, *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* and *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, to promote a deeper understanding of the role grandparents have in the lives of children. Furthermore, I have been invited to contribute a chapter to a forthcoming book on the role of grandparents in supporting infant mental health, providing an opportunity to extend the research's reach and impact within the field.

8.11.3 Recommendations for future research.

The research highlights the practice of grandparents offering treats, often in the form of high-fat, high-sugar foods such as chocolate, biscuits, and ice cream (7.6). Previous studies have provided

contradictory findings regarding the implications of such indulgences. For example Criss *et al* (2020) and Jongenelis and Budden (2023) suggest that grandparents may feel exempt from health guidelines when it comes to treats whereas Hornell *et al* (2017) suggest grandparents follow parents food choices. There is a need for further research to explore the impact of such treats, particularly for children aged 3-5 years. Further research on the role of treats have should also be explored. Masson (2016) has focused on the role of treats for older children, but there is limited research addressing this specific age group.

The findings of this research highlight the importance of Clarke and Roberts' (2010) concept of 'being there'. Grandparents expressed a desire to be involved in their grandchildren's lives yet emphasized the need to respect boundaries by following the wishes and beliefs of parents, refraining from giving unsolicited advice, and avoiding interference in parenting decisions. Future research should build on this understanding by exploring how grandparents and parents perceive 'being there,' and how cultural, geographic, and economic factors shape these perceptions. This could be through a phenomenological lens to gain rich meaningful data.

Further research should investigate how participants memories of their own childhood play experiences influence their current views on play particularly with their grandchildren. In this study the participants reminisced about play they experienced (7.7.1). Similar to the work of Harris (2017) in which she compared memories of children and compared them with adult memories. This study could use a narrative phenomenological approach, which would enable personal experiences and memories of childhood play to be gathered to understand how such memories shape play with grandchildren. Grandchildren could then describe the type of play they experience with their grandparent.

8.11.4 Personal reflection on own learning

As a person with grown-up children and in my 50s, as I progressed through this professional doctorate, I was able to identify with many of the responses from A55+ captured during the interviews. I consider this to be an advantage within the research. I have extended my knowledge of ageism and the role of grandparents in young children's lives. I have a better understanding of philosophical frameworks and methodologies which I will apply to my role as a lecturer.

During this process I have been diagnosed with dyslexia, I have found this to be a real barrier throughout the process, I felt like a fraud. I felt that I should not do a doctorate and that had a really negative effect. It stopped the writing process for me, so I then became very anxious about what I was writing. I would spend time procrastinating and I didn't want people to look at my work because there would be mistakes in it. As I finish this journey, I will actually be able to look back and see that I completed a significant piece of work. A doctorate does require vigorous research that is critical thinking which I believe is evident in this work and I should recognise my own resilience.

8.12 Chapter Eight conclusion

In conclusion the final chapter has encapsulated the key findings of the research offering a reflective analysis of the methodologies employed and the ethical considerations encountered when working with both C3-5YO and A55+ participants. The study addresses limitations such as recruitment challenges unlimited diversity within the A55+ group. A summary of the findings was provided highlighting the new knowledge generated by the study. Recommendations for practise and future research were also discussed

References

Ablow, J.C., Measelle, J.R., Kraemer, H.C., Harrington, R., Luby, J., Smider, N., Dierker, L., Clark, V., Dubicka, B., Heffelfinger, A.M.Y. and Essex, M.J. (1999) The MacArthur Three-City Outcome Study: Evaluating multi-informant measures of young children's symptomatology. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, **38**(12), pp.1580-1590.

Abrams, Dominic, and Hannah J. Swift. (2012) *Experiences and expressions of ageism*. Centre for Comparative Social Surveys. [online] Available from https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/sites/default/files/2023-06/ESS4_gb_toplevels_experiences_and_expressions_of_ageism.pdf

Abrams, D., and Houston, D.M. (2006) *Equality, diversity and prejudice in Britain: Results from the 2005 survey. Report for the Cabinet Office Equalities Review*. West Yorkshire: Department for Communities and Local Government. [online] Available from <https://kar.kent.ac.uk/4106/>

Abrams, D., Russell, P.S., Vauclair, M. and Swift, H.J. (2011) Ageism in Europe: Findings from the European social survey. [online] Available from <https://kar.kent.ac.uk/29733/>

Abrams, D., Swift, H.J. and Drury, L. (2016) Old and unemployable? How age-based stereotypes affect willingness to hire job candidates. *Journal of Social Issues*, **72**(1), pp.105-121

Ackermann, E. (2001) Piaget's constructivism, Papert's constructionism: What's the difference. *Future of learning group publication*, **5**(3), p.438.

Ackerman, P. (2013) Piers Akerman Needs to broaden his horizons. The Daily Telegraph. Available from:

<https://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/blogs/piers-akerman/tired-abc-needs-to-broaden-its-horizons/news-story/18df6c49bcfd27a9dfd575eeae85983b> [Accessed 19/12/2017].

Agate, J.R., Agate, S.T., Liechty, T. and Cochran, L.J. (2018) 'Roots and wings': an exploration of intergenerational play. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, **16**(4), pp.395-421.

Alaca, B., Rocca, C. and Maggi, S. (2017) Understanding communities through the eyes and voices of children. *Early Child Development and Care*. **187**(7), pp.1095-1113.

Alderson, P. (2008) *Young children's rights: Exploring beliefs*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Alderson, P. and Morrow, V. (2020) *The ethics of research with children and young people: A practical handbook*. New York Sage.

Aldous, J., (1995) New views of grandparents in intergenerational context. *Journal of family issues*, **16**(1), pp.104-122.

Allport, G. W. (1954) *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co. Antonucci.

Alvesson, M. and Sköldbberg, K., (2017) *Reflexive methodology: new vistas for qualitative research*. London SAGE Publications.

Angell, C., Alexander, J. and Hunt, J.A. (2015) 'Draw, write and tell': A literature review and methodological development on the 'draw and write' research method. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, **13**(1), pp.17-28.

Arber, S. and Timonen, V. (2015) Grandparenting. In Twigg J Martin W (ed) *Routledge handbook of cultural gerontology* (pp.234-242). Routledge international.

Aries, P. (2020) Centuries of childhood. In Beck, J. Jenks, .C Keddie, N, Young M *Toward a sociology of education* (pp.37-47). New York Routledge.

Armitage, R. and Nellums, L.B. (2020) COVID-19 and the consequences of isolating the elderly. *The Lancet Public Health*, **5**(5), p.e256

Arpino, B. and Bordone, V. (2014) Does grandparenting pay off? The effect of childcare on grandparents' cognitive functioning. *Journal of marriage and family*, **76**(2), pp.337-351.

Ashwin, S., Tartakovskaya, I., Ilyina, M. and Lytkina, T. (2013) Gendering reciprocity: solving a puzzle of nonreciprocation. *Gender & society*, **27**(3), pp.396-421.

Aslanian, T. K., Bjerknes, A. L., & Andresen, A. K. (2024) Children's holistic learning during self-initiated outdoor play in a Norwegian kindergarten, European *Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, **32**:3, 371-382,

Asis, M.M. (2000) Imagining the future of migration and families in Asia. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, **9**(3), pp.255-272.

Aspers, P. and Corte, U. (2019) What is qualitative in qualitative research. *Qualitative sociology*, **42**, pp.139-160.

Assembly, U.G. (1989) Convention on the Rights of the Child. *United Nations, Treaty Series*, **1577**(3), pp.1-23.

Attar-Schwartz, S., Tan, J.P., Buchanan, A., Flouri, E. and Griggs, J. (2009) Grandparenting tanand adolescent adjustment in two-parent biological, lone-parent, and step-families. *Journal of family psychology*, **23**(1), p.67.

- Aubrey, C., David, T., Godfrey, R. and Thompson, L. (2005) *Early childhood educational research: Issues in methodology and ethics*. London: Routledge.
- Avieli, H. and Levy, I. (2023) "I feel erased:" A qualitative analysis of grandparent experiences of parental alienation. *Family Relations*, **72**(3), pp.976-992.
- Backhaus, A. and Barslund, M. (2021) The effect of grandchildren on grandparental labour supply: Evidence from Europe. *European Economic Review*, **137**, p.103817.
- Bai, X., (2014). Images of ageing in society: A literature review. *Journal of Population Ageing*, **7**, pp.231-253. 46.
- Baker, C. (2011) *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. 5th ed. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, L. (2006) Observation: A complex research method. *Library trends*, **55**(1), pp.171-189. Available from: <https://muse.jhu.edu/> [accessed: 20/08/2018].
- Balen, R., Blyth, E., Calabretto, H., Fraser, C., Horrocks, C. and Manby, M. (2006) Involving Children in Health and Social Research: 'Human becomings' or 'active beings?' *Childhood*, **13**(1), pp.29-48.
- Ban, L., Guo, S., Scherpbier, R.W., Wang, X., Zhou, H. and Tata, L.J. (2017) Child feeding and stunting prevalence in left-behind children: a descriptive analysis of data from a central and western Chinese population. *International journal of public health*, **62**, pp.143-151.
- Bandura, A. (1965) Influence of models' reinforcement contingencies on the acquisition of imitative responses. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, **1**(6), p.589.
- Bandura, A. (2001) Social Cognitive Theory of Mass Communication. *Media psychology*. [Online] **3** (3), 265–299.

Bandura, A. (2009) Social cognitive theory of mass communication By Jennings Bryant, J, Olive, M. In *Media effects* .(3rd ed) New York: Routledge. (pp.110-140).

Bandura, A. and Walters, R.H. (1977) *Social learning theory* (Vol. 1). Prentice Hall: Englewood.

Bandura, A., & Walters, R.H. (1963). *Social learning and personality development*. Holt Rinehart and Winston: New York.

Banerjee, D. (2020) 'Age and ageism in COVID-19': Elderly mental health-care vulnerabilities and needs. *Asian journal of psychiatry*, **51**, p.102154.

BARB. (2023) *What People Watch: Children's viewing*. [online] Available from: <https://www.barb.co.uk/insight-parent/insight-what-people-watch/what-people-watch-childrens-viewing/> [Accessed 20/01/24].

Barfield, P.A. and Driessnack, M. (2018) Children with ADHD draw-and-tell about what makes their life really good. *Journal for specialists in paediatric nursing*, **23**(2), p.e12210.

Barnes, J. and Scoffham, S. (2017) The humanities in English primary schools: struggling to survive. *Education* **3-13**, **45**(3), pp.298-308.

Barnett, L.A. (1990) Developmental benefits of play for children. *Journal of leisure Research*, **22**(2), pp.138-153.

Barrett, A.E. and Gunderson, J. (2021) Grandparent–adult grandchild relationships: Development of a typology using latent class analysis. *The Gerontologist*, **61**(5), pp.724-734.

- Bassey, M. (1999) *Case study research in educational settings*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Beam, M.R., Gil-Rivas, V., Greenberger, E. and Chen, C. (2002) Adolescent problem behaviour and depressed mood: Risk and protection within and across social contexts. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, **31**, pp.343-357. Springer.
- Beckett, L. (2020) Older people would rather die than let Covid-19 harm US economy–Texas official. *The Guardian*, Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/24/older-people-would-rather-die-than-let-covid-19-lockdown-harm-us-economy-texas-official-dan-patrick?ref=hpver.com> [Accessed 09/09/2021].
- Bell, C. (2017) Does Peppa Pig encourage inappropriate use of primary care resources? *BMJ (Online)*. *BMJ* 2017;359:j5397. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.j5397> [Accessed 25/5/2022].
- Bell, L.K., Perry, R.A. and Prichard, I. (2018) Exploring grandparents' roles in young children's lifestyle behaviours and the prevention of childhood obesity: An Australian perspective. *Journal of nutrition education and behaviour*, **50**(5), pp.516-521.
- Bennett, N. (2010) *The Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS): A critical review*. London: Routledge.
- Bentley, G. R. & Mace, R. (2009) *Substitute parents biological and social perspective on alloparenting across human societies*. [Online]. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. (1966) The reality of everyday life. *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*, pp.33-42. Penguin Books.
- Berger, R. (2015) Now I see it, now I don't: Researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative research*, **15**(2), pp.219-234. Sage.

Bertram, A.G., Burr, B.K., Sears, K., Powers, M., Atkins, L., Holmes, T., Kambour, T. and Kuns, J.B. (2018) Generations learning together: Pilot study for a multigenerational program. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, **16**(3), pp.243-255.

Alaca, B., Rocca, C. and Maggi, S. (2017) Understanding communities through the eyes and voices of children. *Early child development and care*, **187**(7), pp.1095-1113.

Bigler, R.S. and Liben, L.S. (2006) A developmental intergroup theory of social stereotypes and prejudice. *Advances in child development and behaviour*, **34**, pp.39-89.

Blaffer Hardy, S. (2009) Mothers and others: the evolutionary origins of mutual understanding. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Blaikie, N. (2000) *Designing Social Research*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Boden, Z., Larkin, M. and Iyer, M. (2019) Picturing ourselves in the world: Drawings, interpretative phenomenological analysis and the relational mapping interview. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, **16**(2), pp.218-236.

Bodrožić Selak, M., Kotrla Topić, M. and Merkaš, M. (2023) Characteristics and parental viewpoints regarding digital device use in children aged 4 to 8 years. *Hrvatska revija za rehabilitacijska istraživanja*, **59**(1), pp.45-58.

Bogdan, R.C. and Biklen, S.K. (1998) Foundations of qualitative research in education. *Qualitative research in education: An introduction to theory and methods*, **1**, p.48.

Bol, T. and Kalmijn, M. (2016) Grandparents' resources and grandchildren's schooling: Does grandparental involvement moderate the grandparent effect? *Social science research*, **55**, pp.155-170.

Bordone, V. and Arpino, B. (2016) Do grandchildren influence how old you feel? *Journal of Aging and Health*, **28**(6), pp.1055-1072.

Bordone, V. and Arpino, B. (2016) Do grandchildren influence how old you feel? *Journal of Aging and Health*, **28**(6), pp.1055-1072.

Bowlby, J., 1958. *Can I leave my baby?* London: National Association for Mental Health.

Bowlby, J. (1969, 1982) *Attachment and Loss: Volume 1. Attachment*, New York, Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1973) *Attachment and Loss: Volume 2. Separation: Anxiety and Anger*, New York, Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1980). *Attachment and Loss. Vol. 3: Loss: Sadness and Depression*. New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1988) *A Secure Base: Parent-Child Attachment and Healthy Human Development*, New York, Basic Books.

Bousfield, C. and Hutchison, P. (2010). Contact, anxiety, and young people's attitudes and behavioural intentions towards the elderly. *Educational Gerontology*, **36**(6), pp.451-466.

Boyatzis, R.E. (1998) *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. London: Sage.

Bradbury-Jones, C. (2007) Enhancing rigour in qualitative health research: exploring subjectivity through Peshkin's I's. *Journal of advanced nursing*, **59**(3), pp.290-298.

Branscombe, N.A., Burcham, J.G., Castle, K. and Surbeck, E., 2013. Early childhood curriculum: A constructivist perspective. Routledge.

Branscombe, N.A. and Dorsey, A.G. (2000) Early childhood education: A constructivist perspective. Houghton Mifflin.

Bratterud, Å, E. B. H. Sandseter, and M. Seland. (2012) Barns trivsel og medvirkning i barnehagen. Barn, foreldre og ansattes perspektiver. Trondheim: Retrieved from Skriftserien til Barnevernets utviklingssenter Midt-Norge, Rapport 21/2012.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, **3**(2), pp.77-101.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2019) Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative research in sport, exercise and health*, **11**(4), pp.589-597.

Braun, A. (2012) Language maintenance in trilingual families—a focus on grandparents. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, **9**(4), pp.423-436.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). Thematic analysis. In H. Cooper, P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, & K. J. Sher (Eds.), *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol. 2. Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological* (pp. 57–71). American Psychological Association.

Breheny, M., Stephens, C. and Spilsbury, L. (2013) Involvement without interference: How grandparents negotiate intergenerational expectations in relationships with grandchildren. *Journal of Family Studies*, **19**(2), pp.174-184.

Bretherton, I. (1992) Attachment and bonding. In Hasselt B and Hersen M in *Handbook of social development: A lifespan perspective* (pp. 133-155). Boston, MA: Springer.

Bristow, J. (2024) Homophobia/misogyny: sexual fears, sexual definitions. In Sheherd S and Wallis M (eds) *Coming on Strong* (pp. 54-75). London: Routledge.

Britto, P.R., Lye, S.J., Proulx, K., Yousafzai, A.K., Matthews, S.G., Vaivada, T., Perez-Escamilla, R., Rao, N., Ip, P., Fernald, L.C. and

MacMillan, H. (2017) Nurturing care: promoting early childhood development. *The Lancet*, **389**(10064), pp.91-102.

British Educational Research Association [BERA] (2018) *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research*, fourth edition, London. Available from: https://www.bera.ac.uk/researchers-resources/publications/ethical-guidelines-for-educational-research-2018_ [Accessed 27/10/18].

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994) Ecological models of human development. *International encyclopaedia of education*, **3**(2), pp.37-43.

Brooks, E. and Murray, J. (2018) Ready, steady, learn: School readiness and children's voices in English early childhood settings. *Education 3-13*, **46**(2), pp.143-156.

Brostrom, A. (2017) Playful learning and the importance of play for young children. *International Journal of Early Childhood Education*, **25**(4), pp.343-359.

Brunello, G. and Rocco, L. (2016) Is Childcare Bad for the Mental Health of Grandparents? Evidence from Share. IZA Discussion Paper No. 10022, [online] Available at <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2803854> [Accessed from 20/2/23].

Brunello, G. and Rocco, L. (2019) Grandparents in the blues. The effect of childcare on grandparents' depression. *Review of Economics of the Household*, **17**, pp.587-613.

Brussoni, M., Gibbons, R., Gray, C., Ishikawa, T., Sandseter, E.B.H., Bienenstock, A., Chabot, G., Fuselli, P., Herrington, S., Janssen, I. and Pickett, W. (2015) What is the relationship between risky outdoor play and health in children? A systematic review. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, **12**(6), pp.6423-6454.

Bryman, A. (2008) *A Social Research Method*. 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buber, M. (1958) *I and Thou* (2nd ed., R. G. Smith, Trans.). T&T Clark Ltd.: Edinburgh. (Originally published in 1923).

Buchanan, A. (2021) To What Extent Can We Rely on Support from Our Brothers and Sisters at Different Stages in Our Life Span? In: Buchanan, A., Rotkirch, A. (eds) *Brothers and Sisters*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Buchanan, A. and Flouri, E., (2008) Involved grandparenting and child well-being. Full Research Report ESRC End of Award Report, RES-000-22-2283. No idea

Buchanan, A. and Rotkirch, A. (2018) Twenty-first century grandparents: Global perspectives on changing roles and consequences. *Contemporary Social Science*, **13**(2), pp.131-144.

Bucknall, S. (2014) Doing qualitative research with children and young people. *Understanding research with children and young people*, pp.69-84. London: Sage in association with The Open University.

Burr, V. (2015). *Social Constructionism* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.

Butler, R.N. (1969) Ageism: Another form of bigotry. *The gerontologist*, **9**(4_Part_1), pp.243-246.

Butler, R.N. and Lewis, M.I. (1973) *Aging & mental health: Positive psychosocial approaches*. C.V. Mosby.

Cameron-Faulkner, T. and Noble, C. (2013) A comparison of book text and child directed speech. *First Language*, **33**(3), pp.268-279.

Cammisa, M., Montrone, R. and Caroli, M. (2011) Development and results of a new methodology to perform focus group with preschool children on their beliefs and attitudes on physical activity. *International journal of pediatric obesity*, **6**(sup2), pp.22-27.

Candysite (nd), Image from Peppa Pig. Available from: www.candysite.info/peppa-pig/peppa-pig-grandpa/ [Accessed 24/06/18].

Cantillon, S., Moore, E. and Teasdale, N. (2021) COVID-19 and the pivotal role of grandparents: Childcare and income support in the UK and South Africa. *Feminist Economics*, **27**(1-2), pp.188-202.

Carney, G.M. (2010) Citizenship and structured dependency: the implications of policy design for senior political power. *Ageing & Society*, **30**(2), pp.229-251.

Carney, G.M. (2018) Toward a gender politics of aging. *Journal of women & aging*, **30**(3), pp.242-258.

Casey, T. and McKendrick, J.H. (2023) Playing through crisis: Lessons from COVID-19 on play as a fundamental right of the child. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, **27**(9-10), pp.1369-1388.

Cassibba, R., Coppola, G., Sette, G., Curci, A. and Costantini, A. (2017) The transmission of attachment across three generations: A study in adulthood. *Developmental psychology*, **53**(2), p.396.

Cassidy, C., Conrad, S.J. and de Figueiroa-Rego, M.J. (2020) Research with children: a philosophical, rights-based approach. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, **43**(1), pp.38-52.

Cassidy, J. (1988) Child-mother attachment and the self in six-year-olds. *Child development*, **59**(1), pp. 121-134.

Catalani, C., and Minkler, M. (2010) PhotoVoice: A review of the literature in health and public health. *Health Education & Behavior*, **37**(3), 424-451. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1090198109342084> [Accessed 05/06/21].

Cavrini K., Di Gessa G., Tomassini C.(2018) What do we know about grandparents? Insights from current quantitative data and identification of future data needs. *Eur J Ageing.*; **15**(3):225-235.

Cayton, H. (2006) The alienating language of health care. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, **99**(10), pp.484-484.

Chamie, J. (2018) Increasingly Indispensable Grandparents. Yale, Global Online. Available from: <https://archive-yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/increasingly-indispensable-grandparents> [Accessed 04/3/23].

Champoux-Larsson, M.F., Ramström, F., Costa, A. and Baus, C. (2022) Social categorization based on language and facial recognition. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, **41**(3), pp.331-349.

Chang, E.S., Kanno, S., Levy, S., Wang, S.Y., Lee, J.E. and Levy, B.R. (2020) Global reach of ageism on older persons' health: A systematic review. *PLOS ONE*, **15**(1), p.e0220857.

Chaudron, S, Plowman, L, Beutel, ME, Černikova, M, Donoso Navarette, V, Dreier, M, Fletcher-Watson, B, Heikkilä, A-S, Kontríková, V, Korkeamäki, R-L, Livingstone, S, Marsh, J, Mascheroni, G, Micheli, M, Milesi, D, Müller, KW, Myllylä-Nygård, T, Niska, M, Olkina, O, Ottovordemgentschenfelde, S, Ribbens, W, Richardson, J, Schaack, C, Shlyapnikov, V, Šmahel, D, Soldatova, G & Wölfling, K. (2015) *Young children (0-8) and digital technology - EU report.* , Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Available from: [Chaudron et al 2015 children 0-8 and digital technology europe report libre.pdf \(ed.ac.uk\)](#) [Accessed 04/02/2024].

Chawla, L. (2015) Benefits of nature contact for children. *Journal of planning literature*, **30**(4), pp.433-452.

- Chen, K. and Hamel, E.E. (2023) Toddler play preferences and the teacher's role in the outdoor play environment. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, **31**(3), pp.376-398.
- Chen, F. and Liu, G. (2012) The health implications of grandparents caring for grandchildren in China. *Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, **67**(1), pp.99-112.
- Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage.
- Cherlin, A., and Furstenberg, F. A. (1985) Styles and strategies of grandparenting. In V. L. Bengston, & J. F. Robertson (Eds.), *Grandparenthood*. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.
- Cherlin, A. and Furstenberg, F.F. (1986) Grandparents & family crisis. *Generations: Journal of the American Society on Aging*, **10**(4), pp.26-28.
- Cherney, I.D., Seiwert, C.S., Dickey, T.M. and Flichtbeil, J.D. (2006) Children's drawings: A mirror to their minds. *Educational psychology*, **26**(1), pp.127-142.
- Cho, J. and Trent, A. (2006) Validity in qualitative research revisited. *Qualitative research*, **6**(3), pp.319-340.
- Clairell, S. (1992) New ethnicities in "race", culture and difference. In Donald, J. and Rattansi, A., aditors, *Muslims in Western Europe*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press,
- Clark, A. (2007) A hundred ways of listening: Gathering children's perspectives of their early childhood environment. *YC Young Children*, **62**(3), p.76.
- Clarke, V. and Braun, V. (2013) *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. London: Sage.

- Clarke, V. and Braun, V. (2017) Thematic analysis. *The journal of positive psychology*, **12**(3), pp.297-298.
- Clark, A. & Moss, P. (2011) *Listening to young children: the mosaic approach*. 2nd ed. London: NBC National Children's Bureau.
- Clark, K.C., Kelley, S.J., Clark, P.C. and Lane, K. (2022) Needs of grandparents raising grandchildren: A qualitative study. *The Journal of School Nursing*, p.10598405221115700.
- Clark, J. and Richards, S. (2017) The cherished conceits of research with children: Does seeking the agentic voice of the child through participatory methods deliver what it promises? In Castro, I. E.; Swauger, M, Harger, B; Bass, L. E. (eds.) (2017) *Researching children and youth: methodological issues, strategies, and innovations*. United Kingdom: Emerald Publishing.
- Clarke, L. and Roberts, C. (2004) The meaning of grandparenthood and its contribution to the quality of life of older people. In Walker, A. & Hennessy, C. H. *Growing older: Quality of life in old age*, pp.188-208. (2004) *Growing older: quality of life in old age*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Clarke, L., & Roberts, R. (2004) Grandparents talking about grandparenting. *Ageing and Society*, **24**(3), pp.361-380.
- Clements, R. (2004) An investigation of the status of outdoor play. *Contemporary issues in early childhood*, **5**(1), pp.68-80.
- Cline, K.D. and Edwards, C.P. (2013) The instructional and emotional quality of parent-child book reading and early head start children's learning outcomes. *Early Education & Development*, **24**(8), pp.1214-1231.
- Clough, P. and Nutbrown, C. (2012) *A student's Guide to Methodology*. London: Sage.

Coall, D.A., Hilbrand, S. and Hertwig, R., (2014). Predictors of grandparental investment decisions in contemporary Europe: biological relatedness and beyond. *PloS one*, **9**(1), p.e84082.

Coleman, L., Dali-Chaouch, M. and Harding, C. (2020) Coram Family and Childcare's 20th annual Childcare Survey, [online] Available from <https://www.familyandchildcaretrust.org/childcare-survey-2020>. [Accessed 23/7/2023].

Coleman, L., Shorto, S and Ben-Galim, D. (2020) Childcare Survey (2022) [online] Available at Childcare Survey (2022) Accessed 24/8/23.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Morrison, K. (2011) Research methods in education. London: Routledge.

Condon, J., Luszcz, M. and McKee, I. (2018) The transition to grandparenthood: A prospective study of mental health implications. *Aging & Mental Health*, **22**(3), pp.336-343.

Condon, J., Luszcz, M. and McKee, I. (2020) First-time grandparents' role satisfaction and its determinants. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, **91**(3), pp.340-355.

Conroy, K.M., Krishnan, S., Mittelstaedt, S. and Patel, S.S. (2020) Technological advancements to address elderly loneliness: Practical considerations and community resilience implications for COVID-19 pandemic. *Working with Older People*, **24**(4), pp.257-264.

Cooper, H.E., Camic, P.M., Long, D.L., Panter, A.T., Rindskopf, D.E. and Sher, K.J. (2012) *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol 2: Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological* (pp.57-71). Washington American Psychological Association.

Conservative Party. (2017) *Forward, together: Our plan for a stronger Britain and a prosperous future*. Conservative Party.

<https://www.conservatives.com/manifesto> Conservative Party.
Available at <https://www.conservatives.com/manifesto> [Accessed 15/2/18].

Coupland, J. (2009) Discourse, identity and change in mid-to-late life: interdisciplinary perspectives on language and ageing. *Ageing & Society*, **29**(6), pp.849-861.

Cox, S., Drew, S., Guillemin, M., Howell, C., Warr, D. and Waycott, J. (2014) *Guidelines for ethical visual research methods* [online] Available from https://socialequity.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/1981392/Ethical-Visual-Research-Methods-WEB.pdf [Accessed 7/08/23]

Coyne, S.M., Linder, J.R., Rasmussen, E.E., Nelson, D.A. and Birkbeck, V. (2016) Pretty as a princess: Longitudinal effects of engagement with Disney princesses on gender stereotypes, body esteem, and prosocial behaviour in children. *Child development*, **87**(6), pp.1909-1925.

Cresswell, J. (2013) *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches*. London: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. and Creswell, J.D. (2017) *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. London: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. and Miller, D. L. (2000) 'Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry', *Theory Into Practice*, 39(3), pp. 124–130.

Creswell, J. W. and Miller, D. L. (2000) 'Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry', *Theory Into Practice*, 39(3), pp. 124–130.

Creswell, J.W. (2003) *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* London Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (1994). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2014) *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Fourth edition, international student edition. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Cribb, J., Karjalainen, H. and O'Brien, L. (2023) *The gender gap in pension saving* (No. R250). London: Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS).

Criss, S., Horhota, M., Wiles, K., Norton, J., Hilaire, K.J.S., Short, M.A. and Blomquist, K.K. (2020) Food cultures and aging: a qualitative study of grandparents' food perceptions and influence of food choice on younger generations. *Public health nutrition*, **23**(2), pp.221-230.

Crotty, M.J. (1998) *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. London: Sage

Crowe, S., Cresswell, K., Robertson, A., Huby, G., Avery, A. and Sheikh, A. (2011) The case study approach. *BMC medical research methodology*. **11**(1), p.100.

Cuddy, A. J. C., & Fiske, S. T. (2002). Doddering but dear: Process, content, and function in stereotyping of older persons. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Ageism: Stereotyping and prejudice against older persons* (pp. 3–26). The MIT Press.

Cuddy, A.J., Norton, M.I. and Fiske, S.T. (2005) This old stereotype: The pervasiveness and persistence of the elderly stereotype. *Journal of social issues*, **61**(2), pp.267-285.

Cunningham, H. (2012) *The invention of childhood*. London Random House.

Dahlberg, G. & Lenz Taguchi, H. (1994) Förskola och skola --- om två skilda traditioner och om visionen om en mötesplats [Preschool and

school --- two different traditions and the vision of a meeting place].
Stockholm: HLS Förlag.

Dahlberg, G., P. Moss and A. Pence (1999), *Beyond Quality in Early Childhood Education and Care: Postmodern Perspectives*, 1st ed., Falmer Press, London.

Dahlberg, G., Moss, P. and Pence, A. (2007) *Beyond quality in early childhood education and care: Languages of evaluation*. Cambridge: Routledge.

Dahlberg, G. & Moss, P. (2005) *Ethics and Politics in Early Childhood Education*. London: Routledge.

Danowski, J. and Robinson, T. (2012) The portrayal of older characters in popular children's picture books in the US: A content analysis from 2000 to 2010. *Journal of Children and Media*, **6**(3), pp.333-350.

Darling-McQuistan, K. (2017) Beyond representation: Exploring drawing as part of children's meaning-making. *International Journal of Art & Design Education*, **36**(3), pp.281-291.

Davey, A., Savla, J., Janke, M. and Anderson, S., 2009. Grandparent-grandchild relationships: From families in contexts to families as contexts. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, **69**(4), pp.311-325.

De Tona, C. (2006) "But What Is Interesting Is the Story of Why and How Migration Happened", *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 7(3), p.143.

DeMatthews, D., Knight, D., Reyes, P., Benedict, A. and Callahan, R. (2020) From the field: Education research during a pandemic. *Educational Researcher*, **49**(6), pp.398-402.

Denscombe, M. (2014) *Good Research Guide: For Small-Scale Social Research Projects*, McGraw-Hill Education, ProQuest E-book Central,

[online]Available from:

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/northampton/detail.action?docID=1910221> [Accessed 20/05/21].

Denscombe, M. (2017) *The good research guide: For small-scale social research projects*. Madsenhead: McGraw-Hill Education.

Denzin, N.K. (1989) *Interpretive biography* (Vol. 17). Champaign: Sage.

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (1994) *Handbook of qualitative research*. Sage. Publications.

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2005) *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2018). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (5th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Department for Education. (DfE), (2017) *Statutory framework for the Early Years Foundation Stage*. London: Department for Education Publications.

Department for Education (DfE), (2020). *Managing coronavirus (COVID-19) in education and childcare settings* [online] Available from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/coronavirus-covid-19-local-restrictions-in-education-and-childcare-settings> [Accessed 12/01/22].

Department for Education (DfE), (2022) *Personal experiences*. Available from: <https://help-for-early-years-providers.education.gov.uk/understanding-the-world/personal-experiences#what-the-eyfs-framework-says> [Accessed 23/01/23].

Department for Education (2023) *Early years foundation stage statutory framework for group and school-based providers*. Available from:

<https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/65aa5e42ed27ca001327b2c7/EYFS> [Accessed 24/03/24].

Department for Work and Pensions (DWP), (2023) *State Pension age Review 2023*, Available from:
<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/state-pension-age-review-2023-government-report/state-pension-age-review-2023>
[Accessed 10/6/2023].

Di Gessa, G., Glaser, K. and Tinker, A., 2016. The impact of caring for grandchildren on the health of grandparents in Europe: A life course approach. *Social Science & Medicine*, 152, pp.166-175.

Di Gessa, G., Bordone, V. and Arpino, B. (2020) Becoming a grandparent and its effect on well-being: The role of order of transitions, time, and gender. *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B*, **75**(10), pp.2250-2262.

Di Gessa, G., Glaser, K. and Zaninotto, P. (2022) Is grandparental childcare socio-economically patterned? Evidence from the English longitudinal study of ageing. *European Journal of Ageing*, 19(3), pp.763-774.

Dias, P., Brito, R., Ribbens, W., Daniela, L., Rubene, Z., Dreier, M., Gemo, M., Di Gioia, R. and Chaudron, S. (2016) The role of parents in the engagement of young children with digital technologies: Exploring tensions between rights of access and protection, from 'Gatekeepers' to 'Scaffolders'. *Global Studies of Childhood*, 6(4), pp.414-427.

Diekman, A.B. and Murnen, S.K. (2004) Learning to be little women and little men: The inequitable gender equality of nonsexist children's literature. *Sex roles*, 50, pp.373-385.

Disney.wiki (nd) image of Snow white and the witch. Available from:
http://disney.wikia.com/wiki/File:Snow_White_the_Witch_and_the_apple.jpg [Accessed 17/2/18].

Dobell, A., Pringle, A., Faghy, M.A. and Roscoe, C.M. (2021) Educators perspectives on the value of physical education, physical activity and fundamental movement skills for early years foundation stage children in England. *Children*, 8(5), p.338.

Dockett, S. and Perry, B., 2011. Researching with young children: Seeking assent. *Child Indicators Research*, 4, pp.231-247. [online] Available at <https://www.wgtn.ac.nz/education/pdf/ethics/Dockett-Perry-2011.pdf>.

Dockett, S., Einarsdottir, J. and Perry, B. (2011) Balancing methodologies and methods in researching with young children. Harcourt, D., Perry B, Waller, In *Researching young children's perspectives* (pp.68-81). Abington: Routledge.

Dodd, H.F., Nesbit, R.J. and FitzGibbon, L. (2023) Child's play: examining the association between time spent playing and child mental health. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, **54**(6), pp.1678-1686.

Doliopoulou, E. and Rizou, C. (2012) Greek kindergarten teachers' and parents' views about changes in play since their own childhood. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 20(1), pp.133-147.

Drew, L.M. and Smith, P.K., 2002. Implications for grandparents when they lose contact with their grandchildren: Divorce, family feud, and geographical separation. *Journal of Mental Health and Aging*, 8(2), pp.95-120.

Driessnack, M. (2006) Draw-and-tell conversations with children about fear. *Qualitative health research*, **16**(10), pp.1414-1435.

Duflos, M., Giraudeau, C. and Ferrand, C. (2022) What is emotional closeness between grandparents and their adolescent grandchildren? A systematic review. *Journal of Family Studies*, **28**(2), pp.762-784.

Duflos, M., Lane, J. and Brussoni, M. (2024) Motivations and challenges for grandparent–grandchild outdoor play in early childhood: Perception of Canadian grandparents. *Family Relations*, **73**(2), pp.1107-1120.

Dunbar, C., Rodriguez, D. and Parker, L. (2002) Race, subjectivity, and the interview process. In Gubrium J Holstein *Handbook of interview research: Context and method*, pp.279-298. Sage International

Dunifon, R.E., Near, C.E. and Ziol-Guest, K.M. (2018) Backup parents, playmates, friends: Grandparents' time with grandchildren. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, **80**(3), pp.752-767.

Dunifon, R. (2013) The influence of grandparents on the lives of children and adolescents. *Child Development Perspectives*, **7**(1), pp.55-60.

Dunlap, T. (2015, June) Preschool opens inside retirement home causing elderly residents to “come alive.” *People Magazine*. Available from: <http://www.people.com/article/preschool-inside-retirement-homebrings-elderly-a-complete-transformation> [Accessed 20/12/17].

Durmuş, E. and Tunca, A. (2023) Grandmothers who raise working parents' children: Influences on grandchildren, behaviour management styles, and educational needs. *Family Relations*, **72**(3), pp.993-1013.

Early Years Coalition, (2021) Birth to Five Matters. London: Early Education. Available from: <https://birthto5matters.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Birthto5Matters-download.pdf> [Accessed 25/04/2024].

Edge, J. (2011) *The reflexive teacher educator in TESOL: Roots and wings*. New York Routledge.

Egan, S. M., Moloney, M., Pope, J., Breatnach, D., & Hoyne, C. (2022). From stories at bedtime to a love of reading: Parental practices and

beliefs About reading with infants. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, 0(0). Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687984221123710> [Accessed 21/02/24]

Einarsdóttir, J., Dockett, S. and Perry, B. (2009) Making meaning: Children's perspectives expressed through drawings. *Early child development and care*, **179**(2), pp.217-232.

Einarsdóttir, J. (2007) Research with children: Methodological and ethical challenges. *European early childhood education research journal*, **15**(2), pp.197-211.

Einarsdóttir, J. (2011) Icelandic children's early education transition experiences. *Early Education & Development*, **22**(5), pp.737-756.

Eldén, S. (2013) Inviting the messy: Drawing methods and 'children's voices.' *Childhood*, **20**(1), pp.66-81.

Elfer, P., Goldschmied, E. and Selleck, D., 2012. *Key persons in the early years: Building relationships for quality provision in early years settings and primary schools*. London Routledge. London

Elfer, P. (2013) 'What Is the Key Person Approach?', in *Key Persons in the Nursery*. United States: Taylor & Francis Group.

Elfer, P. (2006), 'Exploring children's expressions of attachment in nursery', *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 14(2): pp.81-95 *Education Research Journal*, **14**(2): pp.81-95.

Eli, K., Hörnell, A., Malek, M.E. and Nowicka, P. (2017) Water, juice, or soda? Mothers and grandmothers of preschoolers discuss the acceptability and accessibility of beverages. *Appetite*, **112**, pp.133-142.

Eli, K., Howell, K., Fisher, P.A. and Nowicka, P. (2016) A question of balance: Explaining differences between parental and grandparental

perspectives on preschoolers' feeding and physical activity. *Social science & medicine*, **154**, pp.28-35.

Eli, K., Howell, K., Fisher, P.A. and Nowicka, P. (2014) "A little on the heavy side": a qualitative analysis of parents' and grandparents' perceptions of preschoolers' body weights. *BMJ open*, **4**(12), p.e006609. [online] Available from <https://bmjopen.bmj.com/content/4/12/e006609> [Accessed 23/07/23]

Englander, M. (2016) The phenomenological method in qualitative psychology and psychiatry. *International journal of qualitative studies on health and well-being*, **11**(1), p.30682. [online] Available from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4788767/> [24/09/2023].

Epstein, I., Stevens, B., McKeever, P., Baruchel, S. and Jones, H. (2008) Using puppetry to elicit children's talk for research. *Nursing inquiry*, **15**(1), pp.49-56.

Ehrle, G.M. and Day, H.D. (1994) Adjustment and family functioning of grandmothers rearing their grandchildren. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, **16**, pp.67-82. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02197603> [Accessed 21/01/23].

Evandrou, M. and Falkingham, J. (2000) Looking back to look forward: lessons from four birth cohorts for ageing in the 21st century. *Population trends*, **99**, pp.27-36.

Evans, M.D., Kelley, J., Sikora, J. and Treiman, D.J. (2010) Family scholarly culture and educational success: Books and schooling in 27 nations. *Research in social stratification and mobility*, **28**(2), pp.171-197.

Evans, MDR, Kelley, J, Sikora, J, et al. (2010) Family scholarly culture and educational success: books and schooling in 27 nations. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* **28**(2): pp.171–197. DOI: 10.1016/j.rssm.2009.12.002.

Evans, C. and Lewis, J. (2018) Analysing semi-structured interviews using thematic analysis: In Evans E., Lewis J (ed) Exploring voluntary civic participation among adults. Sage Publications.

Falchikov, N. (1990) Youthful ideas about old age: An analysis of children's drawings. *The international journal of aging and human development*, **31**(2), pp.79-99.

Farrow, C. (2014) A comparison between the feeding practices of parents and grandparents. *Eating behaviours*, **15**(3), pp.339-342.

Fealy, G., McNamara, M., Treacy, M.P. and Lyons, I. (2012) Constructing ageing and age identities: a case study of newspaper discourses. *Ageing & Society*, **32**(1), pp.85-102.

Feng, J. and Zhang, X. (2018) Retirement and grandchild care in urban China. *Feminist Economics*, **24**(2), pp.240-264.

Ferguson, A. (2019) Playing out: a grassroots street play revolution. *Cities & health*, **3**(1-2), pp.20-28.

Fernández-Ardévol, M. and Rosales, A. (2017) Older people, smartphones and WhatsApp. In Vincent, J. Haddon L Smartphone Cultures (pp.55-68). Routledge.

Fetterman, D.M. (2019) *Ethnography: Step-by-step*. London: Sage.

Finlay, L. (2012) Debating phenomenological methods. In *Hermeneutic phenomenology in education* (pp.15-37). Brill.com.

Fielding, S. (2004) Walk on the left!: Children's geographies and the primary school. In *Children's geographies* (pp.199-211). Cambridge: Routledge.

Fiske, S. T., Lin, M., & Neuberg, S.L. (1999). The continuum model: Ten years later. In S. Chaiken & Y. Trope (Eds.), *Dual-process theories in social psychology* (pp. 231–254). New York The Guilford Press.

Fiske, S.T. and Taylor, S.E. (2013) *Social Cognition: From Brains to Culture*. London: Sage.

Fiske, S. T., & Stevens, L. E. (1993). What's so special about sex? Gender stereotyping and discrimination. In S. Oskamp & M. Costanzo (Eds.), *Gender issues in contemporary society* (pp. 173–196). Sage.

Fjørtoft, I. (2004) Landscape as playscape: The effects of natural environments on children's play and motor development. *Children Youth and Environments*, **14**(2), pp.21-44.

Flamion, A., Missotten, P., Jennotte, L., Hody, N. and Adam, S. (2020) Old age-related stereotypes of preschool children. *Frontiers in Psychology*, **11**, p.807.

Flewitt, R. (2005) Conducting research with young children: Some ethical considerations. *Early child development and care*, **175**(6), pp.553-565.

Flick, U. (2022) An introduction to qualitative research. 7th ed London: Sage.

Floyd, K. and Morman, M.T. (1998) The measurement of affectionate communication. *Communication Quarterly*, **46**(2), pp.144-162.

Flutter, J. (2007) Teacher development and pupil voice. *The Curriculum Journal*, **18**(3), pp.343-354.

Foote, M.Q. and Gau Bartell, T. (2011) Pathways to equity in mathematics education: How life experiences impact researcher positionality. *Educational studies in mathematics*, **78**, pp.45-68.

Forbes magazine, (2016) The 2005 National Survey: Report for the Cabinet Office Equalities Review [Online] Available from: <http://www.forbes.com/companies/walt-disney/> [Accessed 12.12.17].

Frechette, J., Bitzas, V., Aubry, M., Kilpatrick, K., & Lavoie-Tremblay, M. (2020). Capturing Lived Experience: Methodological Considerations

for Interpretive Phenomenological Inquiry. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, **19**. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406920907254>

Frost, N., (2021) *Qualitative research methods in psychology: Combining core approaches* 2nd Edition Maidenhead, Berkshire Open University Press.

Furman, W. and Buhrmester, D. (1985) Children's perceptions of the personal relationships in their social networks. *Developmental psychology*, **21**(6), p.1016.

Gabb, J. (2010) Home truths: Ethical issues in family research. *Qualitative Research*, **10**(4), pp.461-478.

Gair, S. (2017) Missing grandchildren: Grandparents' lost contact and implications for social work. *Australian Social Work*, **70**(3), pp.263-275.

Gangestad, S.W. and Scheyd, G.J. (2005) The evolution of human physical attractiveness. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.*, **34**, pp.523-548.

Garlen, J.C. (2019) Interrogating innocence. "Childhood" as exclusionary social practice. *Childhood*, **26**(1), pp.54-67.

Gee, J.P. (1999) Critical issues: Reading and the new literacy studies: Reframing the national academy of sciences report on reading. *Journal of literacy research*, **31**(3), pp.355-374.

George, L.K. (1980) Role transitions in later life. Pacific Grove Brooks/Cole Pub. Co.

Gov.uk (2024) Universal Credit and childcare
<https://www.gov.uk/help-with-childcare-costs/universal-credit>. [25/03/24]

Harper, S. (2020) The COVID-19 Pandemic and Older Adults: Institutionalised Ageism or Pragmatic Policy? *Journal of population ageing*. [Online] **13** (4), 419-425.

Holton, G., (1973) *Thematic Origins of Scientific Thought: Kelp to Einstein*. Cambridge. MA Harvard University Press

Gilbert, C.N. and Ricketts, K.G. (2008) Children's attitudes toward older adults and aging: A synthesis of research. *Educational gerontology*, **34**(7), pp.570-586.

Gill, M.J. (2004) When information does not deter stereotyping: Prescriptive stereotyping can foster bias under conditions that deter descriptive stereotyping. *Journal of experimental social psychology*, **40**(5), pp.619-632.

Gill, T. (2008) Space-oriented Children's Policy: Creating Child-friendly Communities to Improve Children's Well-being 1. *Children & society*, **22**(2), pp.136-142.

Gill, T. (2011) *Children and nature: A quasi-systematic review of the empirical evidence*. London Sustainable Development Commission.

Gillies, R.M. and Khan, A., 2009. Promoting reasoned argumentation, problem-solving and learning during small-group work. *Cambridge journal of education*, **39**(1), pp.7-27.

Giorgi, A.P. and Giorgi, B.M. (2003) *The descriptive phenomenological psychological method*. London: Greater London Authority.

Glaw, X., Inder, K., Kable, A. and Hazelton, M. (2017) Visual methodologies in qualitative research: Autophotography and photo elicitation applied to mental health research. *International journal of qualitative methods*, **16**(1), p.1609406917748215.

Glaser, B. (2013). Staying open: The use of theoretical codes in GT. *Grounded Theory Review: An International Journal*, **12**(1).

Gleave, J. and Cole-Hamilton, I. (2012) *A literature review on the effects of a lack of play on children's lives*. England: Play England.

Giorgi A 2005 the phenomenological movement and research in human sciences *Nursing science quarterly* **18**(1) &5-82

Goldman-Segall, Ricki. (2014) *Points of Viewing Children's Thinking: A Digital Ethnographers' Journey*. New York: Psychology Press.

Golds, L., Gillespie-Smith, K., Nimbley, E. and MacBeth, A. (2022) What factors influence dyadic synchrony? A systematic review of the literature on predictors of mother–infant dyadic processes of shared behaviour and affect. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, **43**(5), pp.808-830.

González-López, G. (2011) Mindful ethics: Comments on informant-centered practices in sociological research. *Qualitative Sociology*, **34**, pp.447-461.

Goswami, U. (2005) Synthetic phonics and learning to read: A cross-language perspective. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, **21**(4), pp.273-282.

Gov.uk (2016) Check your State Pension age [online]. Available from: <https://www.gov.uk/state-pension-age> [Accessed 20/12/17].

Gray, D. (2018) *Doing research in the real world*. 4th ed. London: Sage.

Gray, P (2020) Risky play In *The Routledge Handbook of Designing Public Spaces for Young People*. Risky play: why children love and need it. In Loebach, J. Little, S. Cox, Eubanks, A. Owens, P. (ed) *The Routledge Handbook of Designing Public Spaces for Young People* (pp. 39-51). Routledge.

Green Party Great Britain (2017) *The Green Party for confident and Caring Britain. Party Manifesto 2017*. Available from: <https://www.greenparty.org.uk/assets/files/gp2017/greenguaranteepdf.pdf> [Accessed 15/2/18].

Green, C. (2012) Listening to children: Exploring intuitive strategies and interactive methods in a study of children's special places.

International Journal of Early Childhood, **44**, pp.269-285.

Greenaway N (2015) 'What's Peppa Pig REALLY teaching our children? One mother reveals why she's banning the bratty hog from her home.' MailOnline [online] Available from:

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2966958/What-s-Peppa-Pig-REALLY-teaching-children-One-mother-reveals-s-banning-bratty-hog-home.html> [Accessed 17/12/2017].

Greenbank, P. (2003) The role of values in educational research: The case for reflexivity. *British educational research journal*, **29**(6), pp.791-801.

Griggs, J., Tan, J.P., Buchanan, A., -z, S. and Flouri, E. (2010) 'They've always been there for me': Grandparental involvement and child well-being. *Children & Society*, **24**(3), pp.200-214.

Grinstead, L.N., Leder, S., Jensen, S. and Bond, L. (2003) Review of research on the health of caregiving grandparents. *Journal of advanced nursing*, **44**(3), pp.318-326.

Grix, J. (2018) The foundations of research. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Guba, E.G. (1981) Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *Ectj*, **29**(2), pp.75-91.

Gunnerud, H.L., Ten Braak, D., Reikerås, E.K.L., Donolato, E. and Melby-Lervåg, M. (2020) Is bilingualism related to a cognitive advantage in children? A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, **146**(12), p.1059.

Hagestad G. and Uhlenberg (2006) should we be concerned about age segregation? Some theoretical and empirical Explorations Research on Age 28 (**6**) pp 638-53

Hagestad, G.O. (2006) Transfers between grandparents and grandchildren: The i Großeltern und Enkelkindern–Warum es wichtig ist, eine Drei-Generationen-Perspektive einzunehmen. *Journal of Family Research*, **18**(3), pp.315-332.

Hagestad, G.O. and Lang, M.E., 1986. The transition to grandparenthood.U

Hagestad, G. O, and Uhlenberg, P. (2005) 'The Social Separation of Old and Young: A Root of Ageism', *Journal of Social Issues*, 61.2 (2005), 343–60explored issues. *Journal of Family Issues*, **7**(2), pp.115-130.

Hagestad G. and Uhlenberg (2006) should we be concerned about age segregation? Some theoretical and empirical Explorations Research on Age **28**(6) pp. 638-53

Hakoyama, M., Ko, H.J. and Beach, E.M. (2020) Predictors and Effects of Perceived Grandparenting Quality: Adult Grandchildren's Perspectives. *Journal of Behavioral & Social Sciences*, **7**(4).

Halim, M.L.D. (2016) Princesses and superheroes: Social-cognitive influences on early gender rigidity. *Child Development Perspectives*, **10**(3), pp.155-160.

Hall, M., Levy, R. and Preece, J. (2018) "No-one would sleep if we didn't have books!": Understanding shared reading as family practice and family display. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, **16**(4), pp.363-377. London: Sage.

Hall, N., Larson, J. and Marsh, J. eds. (2003) *Handbook of early childhood literacy*. London: Sage.

Hamilton, W. D. (1966). The Moulding of senescence by natural selection. *Journal of Theoretical Biology*, **12**, 12–45.

Hamilton, M. and Suthersan, B. (2021) Gendered moral rationalities in later life: grandparents balancing paid work and care of grandchildren in Australia. *Ageing & Society*, **41**(7), pp.1651-1672.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1995) *Ethnography, Principles in Practice*. London: Routledge.

Hammersley, M. (1993) On the teacher as researcher. *Educational action research*, **1**(3), pp.425-445.

Hammersley, M. and P. Atkinson. (1995) *Ethnography principles in practice*. 2nd ed London: Routledge

Hank, K., Cavrini, G., Di Gessa, G. and Tomassini, C. (2018) What do we know about grandparents? Insights from current quantitative data and identification of children. Maidenhead Open University Press McGraw-Hill Education (UK). Future data needs. *European Journal of Ageing*, **15**, pp.225-235.

Hanson M. (2016) I'd rather die than be a burden on my daughter – like many old people The Guardian (15/12/16) [online] Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/dec/15/old-people-dementia-death-social-care-costs> [Accessed 20/12/17].

Harcourt, D. and Sargeant, J. (2012) *Doing ethical research with children*. Maidenhead Open University Press McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

Harcourt, D., Perry, B. and Waller, T. eds. (2011) *Researching young children's perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Harcourt, D. (2011) An encounter with children: seeking meaning and understanding about childhood. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, **19**(3), pp.331-343.

- Harcourt*, D. and Conroy, H. (2005) Informed assent: Ethics and processes when researching with young children. *Early child development and care*, **175**(6), pp.567-577.
- Harding J. (2017) My beach ready body... aged 97! Retired dentist and two-time world record-holding sprinter reveals how ANYONE can improve their health well into old age MailOnline [online]. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/books/article-4185890/My-beach-ready-body-aged-97.html> [Assessed 17/12/2017].
- Harman, V., Cappellini, B. and Webster, M. (2022) Intensive grandmothering? Exploring the changing nature of grandmothering in the context of changes to parenting culture. *Sociology*, **56**(1), pp.38-54.
- Harper, D. (2002) Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual studies*, **17**(1), pp.13-26.
- Harper, S. and Ruicheva, I. (2010) Grandmothers as replacement parents and partners: The role of grandmotherhood in single parent families. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, **8**(3), pp.219-233.
- Harris, P. (2017). "Two: Nostalgia and play". In *Practice-Based Research in Children's Play*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.
- Harris, K., Ashirifi, G., Harris, C. and Trauth, J. (2021) Are grandparents raising grandchildren receiving the services they need? *Journal of Childhood, Education & Society*, **2**(2), pp.167-177.
- Hart, R.A., (2013) *Children's participation: The theory and practice of involving young citizens in community development and environmental care*. Routledge.
- Hauck, Y. and Irurita, V. (2003) Incompatible expectations: the dilemma of breastfeeding mothers. *Health care for women international*, **24**(1), pp.62-78.

- Hanod, J., (2004) Angie Williams Cardiff University. Handbook of Communication and Aging Research.
- Harwood J. (2001) Comparing Grandchildren's and Grandparents' Stake in Their Relationship. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*. **53**(3):195-210.
- Harwood, J. (2008) Age identity and communication. *The international encyclopaedia of communication*, **1**, pp.136-140.
- Haslam, N. (2006) Dehumanization: An integrative review. *Personality and social psychology review*, **10**(3), pp.252-264.
- Haslam, S.A., Jetten, J., Postmes, T. and Haslam, C. (2009) Social identity, health and well-being: An emerging agenda for applied psychology. *Applied Psychology-an International Review-Psychologie Appliquee-Revue Internationale*, **58**(1), pp.1-23.
- Hawkes, K. (1989) Hardworking hadza grandmothers. Comparative socioecology: The behavioural ecology of mammals and man.
- Hay, C. (2002) *Political analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Hayslip, B., Page, K.S., (2012) In Blieszner, R. and Bedford, V. (2012) in Grandparenthood: Grandchild and great-grandchild relationships. *Handbook of families and aging*, pp.183-212. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Hazan, H. (1994) *Old age: Constructions and deconstructions*. Cambridge University Press.
- Heidegger, M. (1962) *Being and time*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Heidegger, M. (1927) Sein und zeit. [Online] Available at: [http://klibredb.lib.kanagawa-ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10487/5055/7/02.pdf](http://klibredb.lib.kanagawa.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10487/5055/7/02.pdf) [Accessed 7/7/18].
- Heidegger, M. (2002) *Supplements: From the earliest essays to being and time and beyond*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

- Henniger, M.L. (1994) Planning for Outdoor Play. *Young children*, **49**(4), pp.10-15.
- Hepworth, M. (2000) *Stories of ageing*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Herbert, A. (2023) Why older rural women in Ireland want to work: it's not all about the money. *Ageing & Society*, **43**(8), pp.1810-1832.
- Herlofson, K. and Hagestad, G.O. (2012) Transformations in the role of grandparents across welfare states. In Arber, S. and Timonen, V. (eds.) *Contemporary grandparenting: Changing family relationships in global contexts*. pp.27-50). Policy Press.
- Hess, T.M., Hinson, J.T. and Statham, J.A. (2004) Explicit and implicit stereotype activation effects on memory: do age and awareness moderate the impact of priming? *Psychology and aging*, **19**(3), p.495.
- Hewstone, M., Rubin, M. and Willis, H. (2002) Intergroup bias. *Annual review of psychology*, **53**(1), pp.575-604.
- Higonnet, A. (1998) *Pictures of innocence: The history and crisis of ideal childhood*. London Thames and Hudson.
- HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, 2018. HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales Annual Report 2017–18 Available from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/hm-chief-inspector-of-prisons-annual-report-2017-to-2018> [Accessed 20/03/2020].
- Hoang, N.P.T. and Kirby, J.N. (2020) A meta-ethnography synthesis of joint care practices between parents and grandparents from Asian cultural backgrounds: Benefits and challenges. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, **29**, pp.605-619.
- Hoare, A., Virgo-Milton, M., Boak, R., Gold, L., Waters, E., Gussy, M., Calache, H., Smith, M. and de Silva, A.M. (2014) A qualitative study of

the factors that influence mothers when choosing drinks for their young children. *BMC research notes*, **7**, pp.1-9.

Hoffman, A. (2007) *Functional solidarity between grandparents and grandchildren in Germany. documento de trabajo, Working Paper 307*. Oxford: Oxford Institute of Ageing Working Papers.

Holliday, Grace (2020). "Wide Awake Club: Children's TV That Represents Britain's Diversity." *The Guardian (London)*, (2020). Available from: [Wide awake club: children's TV that represents Britain's diversity | Children's TV | The Guardian](#) [Accessed 16/08/21].

Holloway, I. and Todres, L. (2003) The status of method: flexibility, consistency and coherence. *Qualitative research*, **3**(3), pp.345-357.

Holmes, A.G.D. (2020) "Researcher Positionality-A Consideration of It's Influence and Place in Qualitative Research-A New Researcher Guide." *Shanlax International Journal of Education*, **8**, (4), pp. 1-10. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.34293/education.v8i4.3232> [Accessed 1/6/2024].

Hoffman 1980 Young adults relations with their grandparents An exploratory study the international journal of aging and human development 3):299-310.

Hossain, Z., Eisberg, G. and Shwalb, D.W. (2020) Grandparents' social identities in cultural context. In *The Role of Grandparents in the 21st Century* (pp.145-157). Routledge.

Howell, C., Cox, S., Drew, S., Guillemin, M., Warr, D. and Waycott, J. (2014) Exploring ethical frontiers of visual methods. *Research Ethics*, **10**(4), pp.208-213.

Hoyne, C. and Egan, S.M. (2019) Shared book reading in early childhood: A review of influential factors and developmental benefits. *An Leabhbh Og*, **12**(1), pp.77-92.

Hrady S.B. *Mothers and others*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA (2009)

Huang, C., Huang, L., Wang, Y., Li, X., Ren, L., Gu, X., Kang, L., Guo, L., Liu, M., Zhou, X. and Luo, J., 2021. RETRACTED: 6-month consequences of COVID-19 in patients discharged from hospital: a cohort study. *The Lancet*, 397(10270), pp.220-232.

Huang, Y., Zhao, Q., Reynolds, N. R., Tang, S., Yan, F., Wang, Y., & Sun, M. (2022) The Experience of Grandparenting Young Children. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, **65**(3), 305–319.

Huchet, E. and Georgantzi, N. (2020) Ageism in The Age of COVID-19. *Opinion for Each Other*. <https://eachother.org.uk/ageism-in-the-age-of-covid-19/> London: IMPRESS.

Harper, S., 2020. The COVID-19 pandemic and older adults: Institutionalised ageism or pragmatic policy?. *Journal of Population Ageing*, 13, pp.419-425.

Hugman, R. (1999) Embodying old age. In Teather E.K (Ed.), *Embodied Geographies: Spaces, Bodies and Rites of Passage* (pp.193-208). London Routledge

Hunleth, J. (2011) Beyond on or with: Questioning power dynamics and knowledge production in 'child-oriented' research methodology. *Childhood*, **18**(1), pp.81-93.

Huskinson, T., Hobden, S., Oliver, D., Keyes, J., Littlewood, M., Pye, J. and Tipping, S. (2016) *Childcare and early years survey of parents 2014 to 2015*. London, UK: Department for Education Publications

Husserl, E. and Gibson, W.R.B. (1983) *Ideas: general introduction to pure phenomenology*. New York: Collier Books.

- Hyslop-Margison, E.J. and Strobel, J. (2007) Constructivism and education: Misunderstandings and pedagogical implications. *The Teacher Educator*, **43**(1), pp.72-86.
- Jongenelis, M.I., Morley, B., Pratt, I.S. and Talati, Z. (2020) Diet quality in children: A function of grandparents' feeding practices? *Food Quality and Preference*, **83**, p.103899.Imprint.
- Ingersoll-Dayton, B., Punpuing, S., Tangchonlatip, K. and Yakas, L. (2018) Pathways to grandparents' provision of care in skipped-generation households in Thailand. *Ageing & Society*, **38**(7), pp.1429-1452.
- Inter-media. (2017) Retail Newsstand and distribution. Available from: <https://www.inter-media.co.uk/> [Accessed 20/12/17].
- International Longevity Centre, (2017). Grandparents Army Report. Available from: <https://ilcuk.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/The-Grandparent-Army.pdf/> [Accessed 28/05/2028].
- Jackson, A.Y. and Mazzei, L.A. (2009) Voice in qualitative inquiry. *Challenging conventional, interpretive, and critical conceptions in qualitative research*. London: Routledge.
- Jafar, A.J. (2018) What is positionality and should it be expressed in quantitative studies? *Emergency Medicine Journal*, **35**(5), pp.323-324.
- James, A. (2007) Giving voice to children's voices: Practices and problems, pitfalls and potentials. *American anthropologist*, **109**(2), pp.261-272.
- James, A. (2016) Responsibility, children and childhood. In Bridgeman J Lind C *Responsibility, law and the family* (pp.145-166). London Routledge.

James, A. (2017) *Constructing childhood: Theory, policy and social practice*.

James, A. and Prout, A. (eds) (1997) *Constructing and Deconstructing the Child: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*. London: Falmer Press, Bloomsbury Publishing.

James, A., and Prout, A. (1990). *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: New directions in the sociological study of childhood*. Oxford: Routledge.

James, A. and Prout, A. (2003) *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. 2nd Edition Oxford: Routledge.

James, A., Jenks, C. and Prout, A. (1998) *Theorising childhood*: Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jamieson, L., Ribe, E. and Warner, P. (2020) Outdated assumptions about maternal grandmothers? Gender and lineage in grandparent–grandchild relationships. In Buchanan, A., Rotkirch A. *The Role of Grandparents in the 21st Century* (pp.131-144). Abington: Routledge.

Jansson, M. (2015) Children's perspectives on playground use as basis for children's participation in local play space management. *Local Environment*, **20**(2), pp.165-179.

Jappens, M. and Van Bavel, J. (2012) Regional family norms and childcare by grandparents in Europe. *Demographic research*, **27**, pp.85-120.

Jarvie, M., Shorto, S., Deer, L.K. and Goddard, E. (2023) Childcare survey 2023. *Coram: London*. Available. Jarvie, M., Shorto, S., Deer, L.K. and Goddard, E. (2023) Childcare survey 2023. London: Coram: Available from: <https://www.familyandchildcaretrust.org/childcare-survey-2023-report-landing-page> [Accessed 13/12/24].

Javadi, M. and Zarea, K. (2016) Understanding thematic analysis and its pitfall. *Journal of client care*, **1**(1), pp.33-39.

Jaworski, B. and Sauer, W.J. (1985) COHORT VARIATION. *Advances in Consumer Research*, **12**(1).

Jenks, C. (2005) Childhood and transgression. In *Studies in modern childhood: Society, agency, culture* (pp.115-127). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Jimenez-Sotomayor, M.R., Gómez-Moreno, C., Aguilar-Velazco, J.C., Torres-Perez, A.C., Chavarri-Guerra, Y., Dale, W. and Soto-Perez-de-Celis, E. (2020) Cancer, aging and Twitter: a mixed methods evaluation of tweets about Geriatric Oncology (# gerionc) and Geriatric Haematology (# geriheme). *Journal of Geriatric Oncology*, **11**(6), pp.1038-1040.

Smith, J.A. (2004). Reflecting on the development of interpretative phenomenological analysis and its contribution to qualitative research in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, **1**(1), pp.

Jayawardhana, T., Jayathilaka, R., Nimnadi, T., Anuththara, S., Karadanaarachchi, R., Galappaththi, K. and Dharmasena, T. (2023) The cost of aging: Economic growth perspectives for Europe. *Plos one*, **18**(6)

Jongenelis, M.I., Talati, Z., Morley, B. and Pratt, I.S. (2019) The role of grandparents as providers of food to their grandchildren. *Appetite*, **134**, pp.78-85.

Jongenelis, M.I. and Budden, T. (2023) The Influence of Grandparents on Children's Dietary Health: A Narrative Review. *Current Nutrition Reports*, **12**(3), pp.395-406.

Jongenelis, M.I., Morley, B., Pratt, I.S. and Talati, Z. (2020) Diet quality in children: A function of grandparents' feeding practices? *Food Quality and Preference*, **83**, p.103899.

Josés, J. (2020) JoJo & Gran Gran is a new animated CBeebies TV series that explores the special bond between an almost five-year-old girl and her fun and wise grandmother. It also happens to be the first British animation that centres around a Black family. Available from: <https://melanmag.com/2020/03/17/jojo-gran-gran-cbeebies-tv-series/> [Accessed 31/05/24].

Eli, K., Hörnell, A., Malek, M.E. and Nowicka, P. (2017) Water, juice, or soda? Mothers and grandmothers of preschoolers discuss the acceptability and accessibility of beverages. *Appetite*, **112**, pp.133-142.

Kabali, H.K., Irigoyen, M.M., Nunez-Davis, R., Budacki, J.G., Mohanty, S.H., Leister, K.P. and Bonner Jr, R.L. (2015) Exposure and use of mobile media devices by young children. *Paediatrics*, **136**(6), pp.1044-1050.

Kacen, L. and Chaitin, J. (2006) 'The times they are a changing': Undertaking qualitative research in ambiguous, conflictual, and changing contexts. *The Qualitative Report*, **11**(2), pp.209-228.

Kahana, B. and Kahana, E. (1970) Grandparenthood from the perspective of the developing grandchild. *Developmental psychology*, **3**(1), p.98.

Kane, E. and Minson, S. (2023) Analysing the impact of being a sole or primary carer for dependent relatives on the sentencing of women in the Crown Court, England and Wales. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, **23**(3), pp.366-386.

Kaganas, F. and Piper, C. (2020) Grandparent contact: another presumption? *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, **42**(2), pp.176-203.

Kanji, S. (2018) Grandparent care: A key factor in mothers' labour force participation in the UK. *Journal of Social Policy*, **47**(3), pp.523-542.

Kaplan, H.S., Hooper, P.L. and Gurven, M. (2009) The evolutionary and ecological roots of human social organization. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, **364**(1533), pp.3289-3299.

Kavle, J.A., Mehanna, S., Saleh, G., Fouad, M.A., Ramzy, M., Hamed, D., Hassan, M., Khan, G. and Galloway, R. (2015) Exploring why junk foods are 'essential' foods and how culturally tailored recommendations improved feeding in Egyptian children. *Maternal & child nutrition*, **11**(3), pp.346-370.

Kemp, C.L. (2004) "Grand" expectations: The experiences of grandparents and adult grandchildren. *Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadiens de sociologie*, **29**(4), pp.499-525.

Kenner, C., Ruby, M., Jessel, J., Gregory, E. and Arju, T. (2007) Intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in East London. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, **5**(3), pp.219-243.

Kenny, M. E. (1990). College seniors' perceptions of parental attachments: The value and stability of family ties. *Journal of College Student Development*, **31**(1), 39-46.

Keogh, B. and Naylor, S. (2009) Puppets Count. *Mathematics Teaching*, **213**, pp.32-34.

Kernan, M. and Cortellesi, G. (2019). In Introduction to TOY Approach to intergenerational learning Kernan, M. and Cortellesi, G. (eds.) Intergenerational learning in practice: *Together old and young*. London: Routledge

King, E. and La Paro, K. (2015) Teachers' language in interactions: An exploratory examination of mental state talk in early childhood education classrooms. *Early education and development*, **26**(2), pp.245-263.

Kingman, D. (2016) Generations apart? The growth of age segregation in England and Wales. Intergenerational Foundation. Available from: <https://www.if.org.uk/research-posts/generations-apart-the-growth-of-age-segregation-in-england-and-wales/> [Accessed 31/05/24].

Kivnick, H.Q. (1983) Dimensions of grandparenthood meaning: Deductive conceptualization and empirical derivation. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, **44**(5), p.1056.

Kokkinakis, D. (2022) eHealth Literacy and Capability in the Context of the Pandemic Crisis. In: Falk Erhag, H., Lagerlöf Nilsson, U., Rydberg Sterner, T., Skoog, I. (eds) *A Multidisciplinary Approach to Capability in Age and Ageing. International Perspectives on Aging*, vol 31. Springer, Cham. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-78063-0_9 [Accessed 28/05/23].

Komulainen, S. (2007) The ambiguity of the child's 'voice' in social research. *Childhood*, **14**(1), pp.11-28.

Konca, A.S. (2022) Digital technology usage of young children: Screen time and families. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, **50**(7), pp.1097-1108.

Korn, B., Kane, M., Errazquin, E., Byrne, N. and Hynes, G. (2017) PhotoVoice – a reflection through the lens by people with respiratory illnesses. *European Respiratory Journal (ERS)*, (2017) **50**: p.614. Sheffield: ERS.

Kornhaber, A. (1995) *Contemporary grandparenting*. Sage Publications.

Krashennikova, A., (2022). Grandmother Hypothesis. In *Encyclopedia of Animal Cognition and Behavior* (pp. 3000-3003). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Krott, A. and Nicoladis, E. (2005) Large constituent families help children parse compounds. *Journal of Child Language*, **32**(1), pp.139-

158. European Respiratory Journal 2017 50: PA614; **DOI:** 10.1183/1393003.congress-2017.PA614.

Koutsouris, G., Nash, T., and Norwich, B. (2023) Conducting school-based research during Covid: evaluating the Silver Stories programme. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, **53**(3), 413–429.

Kruk, E. (1994) Grandparent visitation disputes: Multigenerational approaches to family mediation. *Mediation Quarterly*, **12**(1), pp.37-53.

Kusow, A.M. (2003) Beyond indigenous authenticity: Reflections on the insider/outsider debate in immigration research. *Symbolic Interaction*, **26**(4), pp.591-599.

Kwon, M. and Yang, W. (2023) Effects of face masks and acoustical environments on speech recognition by preschool children in an auralised classroom. *Applied acoustics*, **202**, p.109149. Available from: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0003682X22005230> [Accessed 28/5/24].

Kydd, A. and Fleming, A. (2015) Ageism and age discrimination in health care: Fact or fiction? A narrative review of the literature. *Maturitas*, **81**(4), pp.432-438.

I'Anson, J. (2013) Beyond the Child's Voice: towards an ethics for children's participation rights. *Global Studies of Childhood*, **3**(2), pp.104-114.

Labour Party, and Great Britain. (2017) *For the many not the few: the Labour Party Manifesto 2017*. Available from: <https://labour.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/labour-manifesto-2017.pdf> [Accessed 15/2/17].

Ladwein, R., Carton, A. and Sevin, É. (2009) Trans-generational equity: the transmission of consumption practices between mother and daughter. *Recherche et Applications en Marketing (English Edition)*, **24**(2), pp.1-25.

Lain, D., (2017) Employment of workers aged 65 and over: The importance of policy context. In Parry E, McCarthy, J.(ed) *The Palgrave handbook of age diversity and work*, pp.475-497

Lain, D, and Phillipson, C. (2019). Extended Work Lives and the Rediscovery of the 'Disadvantaged' Older Worker. *Generations* (San Francisco, Calif.). **43**. 71-7
[researchgate.net/publication/337102350_Extended_Work_Lives_and_the_Rediscovery_of_the_'Disadvantaged'_Older_Worker](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/337102350_Extended_Work_Lives_and_the_Rediscovery_of_the_'Disadvantaged'_Older_Worker) [Accessed 10/06/23].

Lain, D., Airey, L., Loretto, W. and Vickerstaff, S. (2019) Understanding older worker precarity: the intersecting domains of jobs, households and the welfare state. *Ageing & Society*, **39**(10), pp.2219-2241.

Laland, K.N. and Hoppitt, W. (2003) Do animals have culture?. *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews: Issues, News, and Reviews*, **12**(3), pp.150-159.

Lancaster, Y.P. and Broadbent, V. (2003) Listening to young children. Open University Press.

Lane, D., Blank, J. and Jones, P. (2019). Research with children: Context, power, and representation. *The Qualitative Report*, **24**(4), p.694.

Langsted, O. (1994) Looking at quality from the child's perspective. *Valuing quality in early childhood services: New approaches to defining quality*, pp.28-42. E-book: Sage.

Lansdown, G. (2009) The realisation of children's participation rights: Critical reflections. In *A handbook of children and young people's participation* (pp. 33-45). Routledge.

Larkin, M., Shaw, R. and Flowers, P. (2019) Multiperspectival designs and processes in interpretative phenomenological analysis research. *Qualitative research in psychology*, **16**(2), pp.182-198.

Larson, J., & Marsh, J. (Eds.). (2013). *The Sage Handbook of Early Childhood Literacy* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Lawrence, P. (2022). Hearing and Acting with the Voices of Children in Early Childhood. *Journal of the British Academy*, **8** (4), 77–90. Advance online publication.

LaVela, S.L., Balbale, S. and Hill, J.N. (2018) Experience and utility of using the participatory research method, PhotoVoice, in individuals with spinal cord injury. *Topics in spinal cord injury rehabilitation*, **24**(4), pp.295-305.

Lavee, E. and Itzchakov, G. (2023) Good listening: A key element in establishing quality in qualitative research. *Qualitative research*, **23**(3), pp.614-631.

Lavers, C.A. and Sonuga-Barke, E.J. (1997) Annotation: on the grandmothers' role in the adjustment and maladjustment of grandchildren. *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry, and allied disciplines*, **38**(7), pp.747-753.

Leavy, P. (2022) *Research design: Quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods, arts-based, and community-based participatory research approaches*. Guilford Publications.

Lee, M. and Emmett Gardner, J. (2015) A qualitative inquiry of Korean mothers' perceptions of grandparents' roles and support for families of children with severe disabilities. *International Journal of Developmental Disabilities*, **61**(4), pp.206-221.

Lee, S.Y. (2006) A journey to a close, secure, and synchronous relationship: Infant–caregiver relationship development in a childcare context. *Journal of early childhood research*, **s**(2), pp.133-151.

Lee, T.R., Mancini, J.A. and Maxwell, J.W. (1990) Sibling relationships in adulthood: Contact patterns and motivations. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp.431-440. National Council on Family Relations.

Leerkes, E.M. and Crockenberg, S.C. (2002) The development of maternal self-efficacy and its impact on maternal behaviour. *Infancy*, **3**(2), pp.227-247.

Lefkowitz, M.M. and Huesmann, L.R. (1980) Concomitants of television violence viewing in children. *Children and the faces of television: Teaching, violence, selling*, pp.163-181. Academic Press New York, NY.

Leopold, T. and Skopek, J. (2015) The demography of grandparenthood: An international profile. *Social Forces*, **94**(2), pp.801-832. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sov066> [Accessed 28/5/24].

Levy, B.R., Slade, M.D., May, J. and Caracciolo, E.A. (2006). Physical recovery after acute myocardial infarction: Positive age self-stereotypes as a resource. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, **62**(4), pp.285-301. Sage Journals.

Levy, B. R., Xu, R., Krasa, J., & Duncan, G. J. (2014). The effects of early literacy interventions on long-term academic achievement. *Reading Research Quarterly*, **49**(1), pp.74-90.

Lewis, A. (2010) Silence in the context of 'child voice'. *Children & society*, **24**(1), pp.14-23.

Li, X. and Liu, Y. (2019) Parent-grandparent coparenting relationship, maternal parenting self-efficacy, and young children's social competence in Chinese urban families. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, **28**, pp.1145-1153.

Li, Y., Wang, Y., Chen, X., Li, S. and Zhang, L. (2021) Do children know that fantastic events in television programs are not real? *Cognitive Development*, **58**, p.101020.

Lichtenstein, M.J., Pruski, L.A., Marshall, C.E., Blalock, C.L., Liu, Y. and Plaetke, R. (2005) Do middle school students really have fixed images of elders? *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, **60**(1), pp. S37-S47.

Lichtenstein, M.J., Pruski, L.A., Marshall, C.E., Blalock, C.L., Lee, S. and Plaetke, R. (2003) Sentence completion to assess children's views about aging. *The Gerontologist*, **43**(6), pp.839-848.

Lidgate, E.D., Li, B. and Lindenmeyer, A. (2018) A qualitative insight into informal childcare and childhood obesity in children aged 0–5 years in the UK. *BMC Public Health*, **18**, pp.1-13.

Lincoln, Y.S. and Guba, E.G. (1986) But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. *New directions for program evaluation*, **1986**(30), pp.73-84.

Lindley, S.E. (2012) Shades of lightweight: supporting cross-generational communication through home messaging. *Universal Access in the Information Society*, **11**, pp.31-43.

Lineweaver, T.T., Roy, A. and Horth, M. (2017) Children's stereotypes of older adults: Evaluating contributions of cognitive development and social learning. *Educational Gerontology*, **43**(6), pp.300-312.

Lipponen, L., Rajala, A., Hilppö, J. and Paananen, M. (2016) Exploring the foundations of visual methods used in research with children. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, **24**(6), pp.936-946.

Linstead, S. (2008) Exploring culture and collective identity with the radio ballads. *Exploring Identity: Concept and Methods*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.251-273.

Lister, R. (2022) Reframing childhood: an overview of the British Academy Childhood Policy Programme. *Education 3-13*, **50**(8), 1011–1017

Little, H., Sandseter, E.B.H. and Wyver, S. (2012) Early childhood teachers' beliefs about children's risky play in Australia and Norway. *Contemporary issues in early childhood*, **13**(4), pp.300-316.

Little, S. (2020) Whose heritage? What inheritance?: Conceptualising family language identities. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, **23**(2), pp.198-212.

Livingstone, S. (2009) *Children and the Internet*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Livingstone, S., Mascheroni, G., Dreier, M., Chaudron, S. and Lagae, K. (2015) How parents of young children manage digital devices at home: The role of income, education and parental style. London: EU Kids Online, LSE.

Livingstone, S. and Mascheroni, G., Ólafsson, & K., Haddon, L. (2014). Children's online risks and opportunities: Comparative findings from EU Kids Online and Net Children Go Mobile. EU Kids Online. Available from: [bb0ec8ddcaff96dcab29429838c6e65d3ccd.pdf](https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/bb0ec8ddcaff96dcab29429838c6e65d3ccd.pdf) ([semanticscholar.org](https://www.semanticscholar.org)) [Accessed 7/9/2019].

Livingstone, S., Mascheroni, G. and Stoilova, M. (2023) The outcomes of gaining digital skills for young people's lives and wellbeing: A systematic evidence review. *New media & society*, **25**(5), pp.1176-1202.

Lobiondo-Wood, G. and Haber, J. (1990) Nursing Research: Methods, critical appraisal and utilization, (pp.234-235). St. Louis, MO: Mosby.

Lomax, J.W. (2005) Psychological birth of the human grandfather, a sometimes complicated delivery. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, **162**(9), pp.1602-1603.

Lopez, K.A. and Willis, D.G. (2004) Descriptive versus interpretive phenomenology: Their contributions to nursing knowledge. *Qualitative health research*, **14**(5), pp.726-735.

Lowsky, D.J., Olshansky, S.J., Bhattacharya, J. and Goldman, D.P. (2014) Heterogeneity in healthy aging. *Journals of Gerontology Series A: Biomedical Sciences and Medical Sciences*, **69**(6), pp.640-649.

Luhmann, M. and Hawkley, L.C. (2016) Age differences in loneliness from late adolescence to oldest old age. *Developmental psychology*, **52**(6), p.943.

Lukas, D. and Clutton-Brock, T. (2012). Life histories and the evolution of cooperative breeding in mammals. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, **279**(1744), pp.4065-4070.

Lund, H.B.H. (2022) "Through the researcher's gaze". Field roles, positioning and epistemological reflexivity doing qualitative research in a kindergarten setting. *Inquiry as a bridge in teaching and teacher education*. Norway: Fagbokforlaget.

Lundy, L. (2018) In defence of tokenism? Implementing children's right to participate in collective decision-making. *Childhood*, **25**(3), pp.340-354.

Lundy, L. (2007) 'Voice' is not enough: conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. *British educational research journal*, **33**(6), pp.927-942.

Lundy, L., McEvoy, L. and Byrne, B. (2011) Working with young children as co-researchers: An approach informed by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. *Early education & development*, **22**(5), pp.714-736.

Lussier, G., Deater-Deckard, K., Dunn, J. and Davies, L. (2002) Support across two generations: children's closeness to grandparents following parental divorce and remarriage. *Journal of family psychology*, **16**(3), p.363.

- Lynch, S. (2005) The inequality of part-time workers in the UK retail industry. *International Journal of Employment Studies*, **13**(1), pp.27-52.
- Lyons, A., Alba, B., Heywood, W., Fileborn, B., Minichiello, V., Barrett, C., Hinchliff, S., Malta, S. and Dow, B. (2018) Experiences of ageism and the mental health of older adults. *Aging & mental health*, **22**(11), pp.1456-1464.
- MacNaughton, G. and Hughes, P. (2009) *Doing action research in early childhood studies*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- MacNaughton, G., Hughes, P. and Smith, K. (2007) Rethinking approaches to working with children who challenge: Action learning for emancipatory practice. *International Journal of Early Childhood*, **39**, pp.39-57.
- Mahne, K. and Huxhold, O. (2015) Grandparenthood and subjective well-being: Moderating effects of educational level. *Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, **70**(5), pp.782-792.
- Main, M. and Weston, D.R. (1981) The quality of the toddler's relationship to mother and to father: Related to conflict behaviour and the readiness to establish new relationships. *Child development*, pp.932-940.
- Makin, L (2006) Literacy 8–12 months: What are babies learning? *Early Years*, **26**(3), pp.267-277.
- Male, T., Palaiologou, I. and Ince, A., (2024). Leadership behaviours during crises: cases from early childhood education and care in England. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, [Online] **32** (5), 852–864.

Mannion, G. (2007) Going spatial, going relational: Why “listening to children” and children's participation needs reframing. *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education*, **28**(3), pp.405-420.

Mansson, D.H. (2014) Grandparents' expressed affection for their grandchildren: examining the grandparents' own psychological health. *Communication Research Reports*, **31**(4), pp.329-338.

Mansson, D.H. (2016) The joy of grandparenting: A qualitative analysis of grandparents. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, **14**(2), pp.135-145.

Mansson, D.H., Floyd, K. and Soliz, J. (2017) Affectionate communication is associated with emotional and relational resources in the grandparent-grandchild relationship. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, **15**(2), pp.85-103.

Marks, D.F. and Yardley, L. eds. (2004) *Research methods for clinical and health psychology*. Sage.

Marques, S., Swift, H.J., Vauclair, C.M., Lima, M.L., Bratt, C. and Abrams, D. (2015) 'Being old and ill' across different countries: Social status, age identification and older people's subjective health. *Psychology & health*, **30**(6), pp.699-714.

Martarelli, C.S., Mast, F.W., Läge, D. and Roebbers, C.M. (2015) The distinction between real and fictional worlds: Investigating individual differences in fantasy understanding. *Cognitive development*, **36**, pp.111-126.

Martin, R. (2017) Gender and emotion stereotypes in children's television. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, **61**(3), pp.499-517.

Martin, R., Williams, C. and O'Neill, D. (2009) Retrospective analysis of attitudes to ageing in the *Economist*: apocalyptic demography for opinion formers. *BMJ* 2009;339:b4914.

Mason, J., May, V. and Clarke, L. (2007) Ambivalence and the paradoxes of grandparenting. *The Sociological Review*, **55**(4), pp.687-706.

Mayall, B. (2008) Conversations with children: Working with generational issues. In *Research with children* (pp. 125-140). Routledge.

Maydell, E. (2018) 'It just seemed like your normal domestic violence': ethnic stereotypes in print media coverage of child abuse in New Zealand. *Media, Culture & Society*, **40**(5), pp.707-724.

Mayes, S.L. and Valentine, K.B. (1979) Sex role stereotyping in Saturday morning cartoon shows. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, **23**(1), pp.41-50.

Mayne, F., Howitt, C. and Rennie, L.J. (2018) A hierarchical model of children's research participation rights based on information, understanding, voice, and influence. *European early childhood education research journal*, **26**(5), pp.644-656.

Mazzei, L.A. (2007) Toward a problematic of silence in action research. *Educational Action Research*, **15**(4), pp.631-642.

McCarthy, J., Heraty, N. (2017). Ageist Attitudes. In: Parry, E., McCarthy, J. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Age Diversity and Work*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

McClintock, A. (2013) "Not only is Peppa Pig a feminist, she's probably a rabid socialist too." *The Guardian*, Available from, : <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/13/not-only-is-peppa-pig-a-feminist-shes-probably-a-communist-too> [Accessed 20/12/17].

McClure, E., & Barr, R. (2017). Building family relationships from a distance: Supporting connections with babies and toddlers using video and video chat. In R. Barr & D. N. Linebarger (Eds.), *Media exposure*

during infancy and early childhood: The effects of content and context on learning and development (pp. 227–248).

McConnell-Henry, T., Chapman, Y. and Francis, K. (2009) Husserl and Heidegger: Exploring the disparity. *International journal of nursing practice*, **15**(1), pp.7-15.

McDarby, M., Ju, C.H. and Carpenter, B.D. (2021) Frequency of contact and explanations for increased contact between grandchildren and their grandparents during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, **19**(2), pp.163-178.

McDool, E., Powell, P., Roberts, J. and Taylor, K. (2016) Social media use and children's wellbeing. IZA Discussion Paper No. 10412, Available from: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2886783> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2886783> [Accessed 23/03/24].

McFadyen, J. and Rankin, J. (2016) The role of gatekeepers in research: learning from reflexivity and reflection. *GSTF Journal of Nursing and Health Care (JNHC)*, **4**(1).

McFarland, L. and Laird, S.G. (2018) Parents' and early childhood educators' attitudes and practices in relation to children's outdoor risky play. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, **46**, pp.159-168.

McGuire, S.L. (1986) Promoting positive attitudes toward aging among children. *Journal of School Health*, **56**(8), pp.322-24.

McInnes, K. (2019) Playful learning in the early years—through the eyes of children. *Education 3-13*, **47**(7), pp.796-805.

McKay, I.T. and Nadorff, D.K. (2021) The impact of custodial grandparenting on cognitive performance in a longitudinal sample of grandparents raising grandchildren. *Journal of Family Issues*, **42**(10), pp.2242-2262.

Measelle, J.R., Ablow, J.C., Cowan, P.A. and Cowan, C.P. (1998) Assessing young children's views of their academic, social, and emotional lives: An evaluation of the self-perception scales of the Berkeley Puppet Interview. *Child development*, **69**(6), pp.1556-1576.

Measelle, J.R., John, O.P., Ablow, J.C., Cowan, P.A. and Cowan, C.P. (2005) Can children provide coherent, stable, and valid self-reports on the big five dimensions? A longitudinal study from ages 5 to 7. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, **89**(1), p.90.

Mehta, K.K. and Thang, L.L. 2012 Changing Social and Demographic Characteristics in Asia In Mehta, K.K. and Thang, L.L. eds. *Experiencing grandparenthood: an Asian perspective*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Mercer, J. (2011) Attachment theory and its vicissitudes: Toward an updated theory. *Theory & Psychology*, **21**(1), pp.25-45.

Merriam, S.B., Johnson-Bailey, J., Lee, M.Y., Kee, Y., Ntseane, G. and Muhamad, M. (2001) Power and positionality: Negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures. *International journal of lifelong education*, **20**(5), pp.405-416.

Merton, R.K. (1972) Insiders and outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge. *American journal of sociology*, **78**(1), pp.9-47.

Mervyn-Smith, O. (2018) Kinship care: State of the nation 2018. *Grandparents Plus*. London: Grandparents Plus.

Middlecamp, M. and Gross, D. (2002) Intergenerational Daycare and Preschoolers' Attitudes about Aging. *Educational Gerontology*, **28**(4), pp.271-288.

Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A.M. (1984) Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new *Qualitative data analysis: a sourcebook of new methods* Beverly Hills,. CA Sage.

- Miles, M.B., Huberman, A.M., Saldana, J. (2014) *Qualitative Data Analysis*. 3rd ed. London: Sage.
- Miller, K.E. (2003) Children's Behaviour Correlates with Television Viewing. *American Family Physician*, **67**(3).
- Minson, S. (2017) Briefing Paper: The Impact of Maternal Imprisonment upon a Child's Wellbeing and Their Relationship with Their Mother: Findings from 'Who Cares? Analysing the Place of Children in Maternal Sentencing Decisions in England and Wales',
- Minson, S (2017), University of Oxford. *Analysing the Place of Children in Maternal Sentencing Decisions in England and Wales'*, Minson, S.
- Minson, Shona, (2017) Briefing Paper: The Impact of Maternal Imprisonment upon a Child's Wellbeing and Their Relationship with Their Mother: Findings from 'Who Cares? Analysing the Place of Children in Maternal Sentencing Decisions in England and Wales', University of Oxford (November 8, 2017). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3067653> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3067653> [Accessed 21/06/2019].
- Mitchell, L.M. (2006) Child-cantered? Thinking critically about children's drawings as a visual research method. *Visual Anthropology Review*, **22**(1), pp.60-73.
- Montag, J.L., Jones, M.N. and Smith, L.B. (2015) The words children hear: Picture books and the statistics for language learning. *Psychological science*, **26**(9), pp.1489-1496.
- Moran, D. (2002) *Introduction to phenomenology*. London: Routledge.
- Moen, T. (2006) Reflections on the narrative research approach. *International journal of qualitative methods*, **5**(4), pp.56-69.
- Moreno, M.A., Goniou, N., Moreno, P.S. and Diekema, D. (2013) Ethics of social media research: Common concerns and practical

considerations. *Cyberpsychology, behaviour, and social networking*, **16**(9), pp.708-713.

Morrow-Howell, N., Galucia, N. and Swinford, E. (2020) Recovering from the COVID-19 pandemic: A focus on older adults. *Journal of aging & social* Morse, J.M. and Field, P.A. (1995) Qualitative research methods for health professionals. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Moss, P. (2012). Readiness, partnership, a meeting place? Some thoughts on the possible relationship between early childhood and compulsory school education. *FORUM*, **54** (3), 355-368.

Moss, P. (2014) Transforming the EYFS: Learning and development for all children aged 0 to 5. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Moss, P. (2017) Power and resistance in early childhood education: From dominant discourse to democratic experimentalism. *Journal of Pedagogy*, **8**(1), pp.11-32.

Moustakas, C. (1994) *Phenomenological research methods*. London: Sage publications.

Mueller, M.M., Wilhelm, B. and Elder Jr, G.H. (2002) Variations in grandparenting. *Research on aging*, **24**(3), pp.360-388.

Mulvey, K.L., Hitti, A. and Killen, M. (2010) The development of stereotyping and exclusion. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science*, **1**(4), pp.597-606.

Murphey, M., Myers, J.E. and Drennan, P.D. (1982) Attitudes of children toward older persons: What they are, what they can be. *The School Counsellor*, **29**(4), pp.281-288.

Murray, J. (2015) Can young children be researchers? In McLaughlin, H.(ed) *Involving children and young people in policy, practice and*

research In Involving Children and Young People in Policy, Practice and Research. Pp.48-63. London: National Children Bureau.

Murray, J. (2016) Young children are researchers: Children aged four to eight years engage in important research behaviour when they base decisions on evidence. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, **24**(5), pp.705-720.

Murray, J. (2017) Welcome in! How the academy can warrant recognition of young children as researchers. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, **25**(2), pp.224-242.

Murray, J. (2017) Young children are human beings. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, **25**(4), pp.339-342.

Murray, J. (2019) 'Hearing young children's voices'. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, **27**(1), pp.1-5.

Murray, L. and Nash, M. (2016) The Challenges of Participant Photography: A Critical Reflection on Methodology and Ethics in Two Cultural Contexts. *Qualitative Health Research*. **27**(6), pp.923-937.

Mutluer, C. (2023) The Effect of Using E-Portfolios On The Self-Regulation Skills Of Students: A Meta-Analysis Study. *Journal of Measurement and Evaluation in Education and Psychology*, **14**(Özel Sayı), pp.287-298.

Myers, J.E. and Perrin, N. (1993) Grandparents affected by parental divorce: A population at risk?. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, **72**(1), pp.62-66.

Myers, D.G., Spencer, S.J. and Jordan, C.H. (2002) *Social psychology* (pp.180-97). Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Nagar-Ron, S. and Motzafi-Haller, P. (2011) "My life? There is not much to tell": On voice, silence and agency in interviews with first-

generation Mizrahi Jewish women immigrants to Israel. *Qualitative Inquiry*, **17**(7), pp.653-663.

National Health Service, NHS, (2022) Physical activity guidelines for children (under 5 years) Available from: <https://www.nhs.uk/live-well/exercise/physical-activity-guidelines-children-under-five-years/#:~:text=This%20should%20be%20spread%20throughout,%20C%20hopping%20C%20running%20and%20jumping> [Accessed 12/04/24].

National Day Nurseries Association (NDNA) (2023) Deline in Childcare Provision Available from . <https://ndna.org.uk/underfundedchildcare> [Accessed 12/12/ 2023]

Office of National Statistics (ONS) (2023).

Nelson, T.D. (2005) Ageism: Prejudice against our feared future self. *Journal of social issues*, **61**(2), pp.207-221.

Nelson, T. D. (Ed.) (2004). *Ageism: Stereotyping and prejudice against older adults* (2nd ed) Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Nelson, T.D. (2016) Promoting healthy aging by confronting ageism. *American Psychologist*, **71**(4), p.276.

Nesdale, D. (2004) Nesdale, D. (2004). Social identity processes and children's ethnic prejudice. In M. Bennett & F. Sani (Eds.) *The development of the social self*. London: Psychology Press

Nesdale, D. (. 2007.). Children's perceptions of social groups. In J. A. Zebrowski (Ed.), *New research on social perception*. (pp. 1–46). Hauppauge, Nova Science Publishers, Incorporated.

Nesdale, D. (2011) Social groups and children´s intergroup prejudice: Just how influential are social group norms? *Anales de psicología*, vol. **27**, nº 3, 2011.

Nesdale, D. (2017) Children and social groups: A social identity approach. In Nesdale, D., Rutland A, Spears Brown C (ed) *The Wiley handbook of group processes in children and adolescents*, pp.1-22. Hoboken NJ: Wiley.

Neugarten, B.L. and Weinstein, K.K. (1964) The changing American grandparent. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, **26**(2), pp.199-204. Saint Paul MN: National Council on Family Relations (NCFR).

Neugebauer, R. (1989) Divorce, custody, and visitation: The child's point of view. *Journal of Divorce*, **12**(2-3), pp.153-168.

Newsham, T.M., Schuster, A.M., Guest, M.A., Nikzad-Terhune, K. and Rowles, G.D. (2021) College students' perceptions of "old people" compared to "grandparents". *Educational Gerontology*, **47**(2), pp.63-71.

Noddings, N. (1986) *Caring: A feminine approach to ethics and moral education*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Noddings, N. (2012) *Philosophy of Education*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Noddings, N. (2013) *Caring: A relational approach to ethics and moral education* (updated). Berkeley, CA, and Los Angeles: University of California Press (Original work published 1984).

North, M.S. and Fiske, S.T. (2012) An inconvenienced youth? Ageism and its potential intergenerational roots. *Psychological bulletin*, **138**(5), p.982.

Nowell, L.S., Norris, J.M., White, D.E. and Moules, N.J. (2017) Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International journal of qualitative methods*, **16**(1), p.1609406917733847.

Nutbrown, C. and Clough, P. (2009) Citizenship and inclusion in the early years: understanding and responding to children's perspectives on 'belonging'. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, **17**(3), pp.191-206.

Nutbrown, C. (2011) Naked by the pool? Blurring the image? Ethical issues in the portrayal of young children in arts-based educational research. *Qualitative inquiry*, **17**(1), pp.3-14.

Nutbrown, P., Clough, P., & Atherton, A. (2013) Understanding the early years. London: Sage Publications Lt.

Oakley, A. ed., 2005. *The Ann Oakley reader: Gender, women and social science*. Policy Press.

Oakley, A. (2016). Interviewing Women Again: Power, Time and the Gift. *Sociology*, **50**(1), 195–213.

O'Keeffe, G.S. and Clarke-Pearson, K. (2011) The impact of social media on children, adolescents, and families. *Paediatrics*, **127**(4), pp.800-804.

O'Donovan, A., O'Herlihy, A. and Cunningham, M. (2015) Knowledge and attitudes of radiation therapists and undergraduate students towards older people. *Radiography*, **21**(3), pp. e96-e102.

O'Reilly, K. (2012) *Ethnographic methods* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
Available from: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203864722> [Accessed 29/05/24].

Oates, G.R., Phillips, J.M., Bateman, L.B., Baskin, M.L., Fouad, M.N. and Scarinci, I.C. (2018) Determinants of obesity in two urban communities: Perceptions and community-driven solutions. *Ethnicity & disease*, **28**(1), p.33.

Ofcom (2016) Children and parents: Media use and attitudes report.
Available from: <https://www.ofcom.org.uk/research-and-data/media->

literacy-research/childrens/children-parents-nov16 [Accessed 20/12/18].

Office of National Statistics (2021) (ONS) (2022) Census 2021 Employee earnings in the UK: 2022. Available from: https://www.ons.gov.uk/census_3/01/23. [Accessed 26/05/24].

Office of National Statistics (ONS) Families and the labour market, UK Available from: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/articles/familiesandthelabourmarketengl and/2021>. online [Accessed 20/06/22].

Office of National Statistics (ONS) (2023) Profile of the older population living in England and Wales in 2021 and changes since 2011 Available from [Older people living in care homes in 2021 and changes since 2011 - Office for National Statistics](#) [Accessed 18/11/24].

Ollier-Malaterre, A., Rothbard, N. P., & Berg, J. M. (2019). Exploring digital culture capital: implications for social inclusion of older adults. *Work, Aging and Retirement*, **5**(4), pp.376–392.

Oppenheim, C. and Rehill, J. (2020) How are the lives of families with young children changing. *The Nuffield Foundation*. Retrieved (January 2023) from <https://www.nuffieldfoundation.org/publications/changing-lives-families-young-children>.

Orben, A., Dienlin, T. and Przybylski, A.K. (2019) Social media's enduring effect on adolescent life satisfaction. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, **116**(21), pp.10226-10228.

Oró-Piqueras, M. (2016) The loneliness of the ageing in two contemporary novels. *The Gerontologist*, **56**(2), pp.193-200.

Pain, R. (2001) Gender, race, age and fear in the city. *Urban studies*, **38**(5-6), pp.899-913.

Palaiologou, I. (2017) Assessing children's play: reality or illusion? The case of early years foundation stage in England. *Early Child Development and Care*, **187**(8), pp.1259-1272.

Palaiologou, I. (2014) 'Do we hear what children want to say?' Ethical praxis when choosing research tools with children under five. *Early Child Development and Care*, **184**(5), pp.689-705.

Pankhurst, M., Mehta, K., Matwiejczyk, L., Moores, C.J., Prichard, I., Mortimer, S. and Bell, L. (2019) Treats are a tool of the trade: an exploration of food treats among grandparents who provide informal childcare. *Public health nutrition*, **22**(14), pp.2643-2652.

Papert, S. and Harel, I. (1991) Situating constructionism. *constructionism*, **36**(2), pp.1-11.

Parrish, S., Lavis, A., Potter, C.M., Ulijaszek, S., Nowicka, P. and Eli, K. (2022) How active can preschoolers be at home? Parents' and grandparents' perceptions of children's day-to-day activity, with implications for physical activity policy. *Social Science & Medicine*, **292**, p.114557.

Parsons, S., Kovshoff, H., and Iivil, K. (2020) Digital stories for transition: co-constructing an evidence base in the early years with autistic children, families and practitioners. *Educational Review*, **74**(6), 1063–1081. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2020.1816909> [Accessed 30/05/24].

Pascal, C. and Bertram, T. (2009) Listening to young citizens: The struggle to make real a participatory paradigm in research with young children. *European early childhood education research journal*, **17**(2), pp.249-262.

Patterson, D.L. (1997) Adolescent mothering: Child-grandmother attachment. *Journal of Paediatric Nursing*, **12**(4), pp.228-237.

Patton, M. Q. (1980). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Patton, M.Q. (1990) *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. SAGE Publications, inc.

Pearson, S. and Ralph, S. (2007) The identity of SENCos: insights through images. *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*, **7**(1), pp.36-45.

Pearson, S. and Ralph, S. (2007) The identity of SENCos: insights through images. *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*, **7**(1), pp.36-45.

Perez-Escamilla, R., Bermudez, O., Buccini, G.S., Kumanyika, S., Lutter, C.K., Monsivais, P. and Victora, C. (2018) Nutrition disparities and the global burden of m Pilkauskas, N.V. and Martinson, M.L. (2014) Three-generation family households in early childhood: Comparisons between the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. *Demographic Research*, **30**, p.1639.

Peterson, T.L. (2018) Future care planning by older grandparents raising adolescent grandchildren. *Families in Society*, **99**(1), pp.67-77.

Petretto, D.R. and Pili, R. (2020) Ageing and COVID-19: What is the role for elderly people? *Geriatrics*, **5**(2), p.25.

Phillipson, C. (1982) *Capitalism and the construction of old age*. Critical texts in social work and the welfare state, London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd. Available from:
<http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=w9uwAAAAIAAJ>

Phillipson, C., Shepherd, S., Robinson, M. and Vickerstaff, S. (2019) Uncertain futures: Organisational influences on the transition from work to retirement. *Social Policy and Society*, **18**(3), pp.335-350.

Pipe, M.E., Salmon, K. and Priestley, G.K. (2002) Enhancing children's accounts: how useful are non-verbal techniques? *Children's testimony: A handbook of psychological research and forensic practice*, pp.161-174. Wiley.

Piper, D., Malik, S., Badger, A., Washington, C., Valle, B., Strouse, G.A., Myers, L.J., McClure, E., Troseth, G.L., Zosh, J.M. and Barr, R. (2023) Sharing culture in a tech world: Grandparent–grandchild cultural exchanges over video chat. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, **9**(3), pp.289–304.

Plunkett, R., Leipert, B.D. and Ray, S.L. (2013) Unspoken phenomena: Using the PhotoVoice method to enrich phenomenological inquiry. *Nursing Inquiry*, **20**(2), pp.156-164.

Polizzi, D., 2015. The Phenomenology of the Social Construction of Crime: Social Context and Structural Realities, and the Meaning of Being. In *A Philosophy of the Social Construction of Crime* (pp. 29-52). Policy Press.

Polizzi, K.G. and Millikin, R.J. (2002) Attitudes toward the elderly: Identifying problematic usage of ageist and overextended terminology in research instructions. *Educational Gerontology*, **28**(5), pp.367-377.

Powell, J. (2019) Narrative and Aging—the Social Construction of Grandparenting: A Foucauldian Analysis. *Open Journal of Geriatrics*, **2**(2), pp.12-22.

Powell, J.L. and Wahidin, A. (2008) Understanding old age and victimisation: A critical exploration. *International journal of sociology and social policy*, **28**(3/4), pp.90-99.

Price, D., Glaser, K., Ginn, J. and Nicholls, M. (2016) How important are state transfers for reducing poverty rates in later life? *Ageing & Society*, **36**(9), pp.1794-1825.

Pring, R. (2004) *Philosophy of education: aims, theory, common sense and research*. London: Continuum.

Prout, A. (2000) Children's participation: control and self-realisation in British late modernity. *Children & society*, **14**(4), pp.304-315. Wiley.

Punch, K.F. (2013) *Introduction to social research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. London: Sage.

Purwaningtyas, R.A., Lailatul Barik, A. and Astut, D. (2019) Obesity and stunting in childhood. Do grandparents play a role? A systematic review.[online] Available from:
<http://localhost:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/567> [Accessed 20/5/2024].

Qin, D. (2016) Positionality. Available from. [online]
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781118663219.wbgss619> [Accessed 12/09201]

Qu, S.Q. and Dumay, J. (2011) The qualitative research interview. *Qualitative research in accounting & management*, **8**(3), pp.238-264.

Quéniart, A. and Charpentier, M. (2013) Initiate, bequeath, and remember: older women's transmission role within the family. *Journal of Women & Aging*, **25**(1), pp.45-65.

Ramey, L. (2010) Rekindling Memories of Yesterday's Children: Making the Case for Nature-Based Unstructured Play for Today's Children. *Journal of Sustainability Education*.

Rashid, S. and Yadav, S.S. (2020) Impact of Covid-19 pandemic on higher education and research. *Indian Journal of Human Development*, **14**(2), pp.340-343.

Ratner, C. (2006) "Epistemological, Social, and Political Conundrums in Social Constructionism", *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum:*

Qualitative Social Research, **7**(1). Available from:
<https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-7.1.80> [Accessed 11/9/2022].

Reflections on ageing and what young children and older people have in common. <http://www.toyproject.net/2018/05/reflections-ageing-young-children-older-people-common/>

Reich, J.A. (2021) Power, positionality, and the ethic of care in qualitative research. *Qualitative Sociology*, **44**(4), pp.575-581. Springer. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-021-09500-4> [Accessed 5/2/2024].

Reid, J., Schmied, V. and Beale, B. (2010) 'I only give advice if I am asked': examining the grandmother's potential to influence infant feeding decisions and parenting practices of new mothers. *Women and Birth*, **23**(2), pp.74-80.

Rainford, J, (2020) Confidence and the effectiveness of creative methods in qualitative interviews with adults, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 23:1, 109-122,

Reiners, G.M. (2012) Understanding the differences between Husserl's (descriptive) and Heidegger's (interpretive) phenomenological research. *Journal of Nursing & Care*, **1**(5), pp.1-3.

Reitzes, D.C. and Mutran, E.J. (2004) Grandparenthood: Factors influencing frequency of grandparent–grandchildren contact and grandparent role satisfaction. *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, **59**(1), pp. S9-S16.

Ricci, G.R. (2016) Importing phenomenology: the early editorial life of Philosophy and Phenomenological Research. *History of European Ideas*, **42**(3), pp.399-411.

Richardson, J.E. (2017) *Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Richardson, T. (2019) 'Why haven't I got one of those?' A consideration regarding the need to protect non-participant children in early years research. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, **27**(1), pp.5-14.

Richardson, T. and Murray, J. (2019) Are young children's utterances affected by characteristics of their learning environments? A multiple case study. In *Research in Young Children's Literacy and Language Development* (pp.159-170). Routledge.

Ridgway, V. J. (2015) Visual perceptions of ageing: A multi method and longitudinal study exploring attitudes of undergraduate nurses towards older people (Doctoral dissertation). University of Chester, United Kingdom.

Rikhusshuba, N. and Huda, M. (2020) Parental influence on children's gender identity development in Laurie Frankel's "This is how it always is". *LiNGUA*, **15**(2), pp.215-216.

Rinaldi, C. (2021) *In Dialogue with Reggio Emilia: Listening, Researching and Learning* (2nd ed.). Routledge. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367854539> [Accessed 7/8/2020].

Roberts, S., Hearn, J. and Holman, C. (2003) Picture this: using drawing to explore student nurses' perceptions of older age. *Nursing older people*, **15**(5), p.8-14.

Roberts, M. and Pettigrew, S. (2013) Psychosocial influences on children's food consumption. *Psychology & Marketing*, **30**(2), pp.103-120.

Robinson, C. (2014) *Children, their voices and their experiences of school: what does the evidence tell us?* Cambridge: Cambridge Primary Review Trust.

Robertson, J.F. (1975) Interaction in three generation families, parents as mediators: Toward a theoretical perspective. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, **6**(2), pp.103-110.

Robinson, C. (2014) *Children, their voices and their experiences of school: what does the evidence tell us?* Cambridge: Cambridge Primary Review Trust.

Robinson, T. and Anderson, C. (2006) Older characters in children's animated television programs: A content analysis of their portrayal. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, **50**(2), pp.287-304.

Robinson, T., Callister, M., Magoffin, D. and Moore, J. (2007) The portrayal of older characters in Disney animated films. *Journal of aging studies*, **21**(3), pp.203-213.

Robinson, T., Zurcher, J. and Callahan, C. (2015) Youthful ideals of older adults: An analysis of children's drawings. *Educational Gerontology*, **41**(6), pp.440-450.

Robinson, S., and Howatson-Jones, L. (2012). Children's Views of Older People.

Robinson, S. and Howatson-Jones, L. (2014) 'Children's Views of Older People', *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, **28**(3), pp.293-312.

Rogers, M. and Boyd, W., 2020. Meddling with Mosaic: reflections and adaptations. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, **28**(5), pp.642-658

Rose, R. and Jones, K. (2007) The efficacy of a volunteer mentoring scheme in supporting young people at risk. *Emotional and behavioural difficulties*, **12**(1), pp.3-14.

- Rotkirch, A. and Buchanan, A. (2016) Conclusions: What have we learnt? *Grandfathers: Global Perspectives*, pp.285-309.
- Rousseau, J.-J. (1762). *Émile, or On Education*. London: Everyman's Library.
- Rudolph, C.W. and Zacher, H. (2017) Considering generations from a lifespan developmental perspective. *Work, Aging and Retirement*, **3**(2), pp.113-129.
- Ruiz, S.A. and Silverstein, M. (2007) Relationships with grandparents and the emotional well-being of late adolescent and young adult grandchildren. *Journal of Social Issues*, **63**(4), pp.793-808.
- Rupert, P. and Zanella, G. (2018) Grandchildren and their grandparents' labour supply. *Journal of Public Economics*, **159**, pp.89-103.
- Sabar, G. and Sabar Ben-Yehoshua, N. (2017) 'I'll sue you if you publish my wife's interview': ethical dilemmas in qualitative research based on life stories. *Qualitative Research*, **17**(4), pp.408-423.
- Sadrudin, A.F., Ponguta, L.A., Zonderman, A.L., Wiley, K.S., Grimshaw, A. and Panter-Brick, C. (2019) How do grandparents influence child health and development? A systematic review. *Social Science & Medicine*, **239**, p.112476.
- Salama, A. (2023) Childhood Obesity: A Public Health Crisis. *National Journal of Community Medicine*, **14**(07), pp.461-467. Available from: <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/apply-for-specified-adult-childcare-credits#when-to-apply> [Accessed 4/2/2022].
- Sandberg, A (2003) Play memories and place identity. *Early child development and care*, **173**(2-3), pp.207-221.

Sando, O.J., Kleppe, R. and Sandseter, E.B.H. (2021) Risky play and children's well-being, involvement and physical activity. *Child Indicators Research*, **14**(4), pp.1435-1451.

Sandseter, E.B.H., Kleppe, R. and Sando, O.J. (2021) The prevalence of risky play in young children's indoor and outdoor free play. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, **49**, pp.303-312.

Sandseter, E.B.H., Kleppe, R. and Ottesen, L.E. (2022) Risky play in children's emotion regulation, social functioning, and physical health: an evolutionary approach.

Sandseter, E. B.H., Kleppe, R. and Ottesen Kennair, L. E. (2023) 'Risky play in children's emotion regulation, social functioning, and physical health: an evolutionary approach', *International Journal of Play*, 12(1), pp. 127–139.

Sandseter, E. (2010) A Qualitative Study of Risky Play Among Preschool Children (Unpublished doctoral dissertation or master's thesis) Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.

Santos, R.M.R.D. and Falcão, D.V.D.S. (2017) Peppa Pig: um estudo sobre as relações familiares entre avós, pais e netos. *Pensando familias*, **21**(1), pp.63-79

Sargeant, J. and Gillett-Swan, J.K. (2019) Voice-inclusive practice (VIP): A charter for authentic student engagement. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, **27**(1), pp.122-139.

Savin-Baden, M., & Howell Major, C. (2013) Qualitative Research: The Essential Guide to Theory and Practice (1st ed.). Routledge. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003377986> [Accessed 4/7/2022].

Schaffer, H. R., & Emerson, P. E. (1964) The Development of Social Attachments in Infancy. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 29(3), pp.1-77.

Schuler, E., Schuler, F.D.M.G. and Dias, C.M.D.S.B. (2022) Transnational grandparenthood: a qualitative study on the relationship of grandparents and grandchildren in the migration context. *Interpersona: An International Journal on Personal Relationships*, **16**(2), pp.200-220.

Sciplino, C. and Kinshott, M. (2019) Adult grandchildren's perspectives on the grandparent-grandchild relationship from childhood to adulthood. *Educational Gerontology*, **45**(2), pp.134-145.

Sciplino, C. and Smith, P. (2015) September. Grandchildren-grandparents relationships in United Kingdom, Italy and Greece. In *Paper session presented at the 17th European Conference on Developmental Psychology, Braga, Portugal*.

Scott, S., Jackson, S. and Backett-Milburn, K. (1998) Swings and roundabouts: Risk anxiety and the everyday worlds of children. *Sociology*, **32**(4), pp.689-705.

Sear, R. and Mace, R. (2008) Who keeps children alive? A review of the effects of kin on child survival. *Evolution and human behaviour*, **29**(1), pp.1-18.

Seefeldt, C., (1984) Children's attitudes toward the elderly: A cross-cultural comparison. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, **19**(4), pp.319-328.

Seefeldt, C. (1987) The effects of preschoolers' visits to a nursing home. *The gerontologist*, **27**(2), pp.228-232.

Seefeldt, C., Jantz, R.K., Galper, A. and Serock, K. (1977) Using pictures to explore children's attitudes toward the elderly. *The Gerontologist*, **17**(6), pp.506-512.

- Seeley, C. (2021) How Can We Improve Representation in the Classroom? *Primary Science*, **169**, pp.13-15.
- Sethi, B. (2017) Unmasking racism (creative intervention). *Studies in Social Justice*, **11**(2), pp.333-337.
- Settersten, R.A., Hagestad, G.O., Diehl, M. and Wahl, H.W. (2015) Subjective aging and new complexities of the life course. *Annual review of gerontology and geriatrics*, **35**, pp.29-53.
- Seitz, C.M. and Orsini, M.M., 2022. Thirty years of implementing the PhotoVoice method: insights from a review of reviews. *Health promotion practice*, **23**(2), pp.281-288.
- Shah, A. (2007) The relationship between suicide rates and age: an analysis of multinational data from the World Health Organization. *International Psychogeriatrics*, **19**(6), pp.1141-1152.
- Share, M., Williams, C. and Kerrins, L. (2018) Displaying and performing: Polish transnational families in Ireland Skyping grandparents in Poland. *New Media & Society*, **20**(8), pp.3011-3028.
- Scheepers, D. and Ellemers, N. (2019) Status stress: Explaining defensiveness to the resolution of social inequality in members of dominant groups. *The social psychology of inequality*, pp.267-287. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28856-3_17 [Accessed 23/4/24].
- Sheppard, E. (2017) 'It's like being reborn': inside the care home opening its doors to toddlers. *The Guardian*, 6. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/social-care-network/2017/sep/06/care-home-toddlers-nursery> [Accessed 20/11/17].
- Schatz, E. and Seeley, J. (2015) Gender, ageing and care work in East and Southern Africa: A review. *Global public health*, **10**(10), pp.1185-1200.

Shin, J.Y., Rheu, M., Huh-Yoo, J. and Peng, W. (2021) Designing technologies to support parent-child relationships: a review of current findings and suggestions for future directions. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction*, **5**(CSCW2), pp.1-31.

Shorey, S. and Ng, E.D. (2022) A social-ecological model of grandparenting experiences: A systematic review. *The Gerontologist*, **62**(3), pp.e193-e205.

Shwalb, D.W. and Hossain, Z. (2017) Chapter Themes, Highlights, and Recommendations. In *Grandparents in Cultural Context* (pp.299-309). Routledge.

Sikes, P. (2004) Methodology, procedures and ethical concerns. *Doing educational research*, pp.15-33. London: Sage.

Silverstein, L.B. (1991) Transforming the debate about childcare and maternal employment. *American Psychologist*, **46**(10), pp.1025-1032.

Simon, S., Naylor, S., Keogh, B., Maloney, J. and Downing, B. (2008) Puppets promoting engagement and talk in science. *International Journal of Science Education*, **30**(9), pp.1229-1248.

Simons, H. (1996) The paradox of case study. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, **26**(2), pp.225-240.

Singer, A. (2014) Voices heard and unheard—A Scandinavian perspective. *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, **36**(4), pp.381-391.

Skočajić, M.M., Radosavljević, J.G., Okičić, M.G., Janković, I.O. and Žeželj, I.L. (2020) Boys just don't! Gender stereotyping and sanctioning of counter-stereotypical behaviour in preschoolers. *Sex Roles*, **82**, pp.163-172.

- Skopek, J. (2021) Grandparent status and multigenerational relationships. In *Research Handbook on the Sociology of the Family* (pp.278-299). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Smidt, S. (2013) *The developing child in the 21st century: A global perspective on child development* (2nd ed.), Routledge.
- Smith, J. and Dunworth, F., (2003) Qualitative methodology. *Handbook of developmental psychology*, pp.603-621.
- Smith, A.P., 2008. *The Dimensions of Experience: A Natural History of Consciousness*. Xlibris Corporation.
- Smith, D.W., 2006. Phenomenology. *Encyclopedia of Cognitive Science*. Wiley Online.
- Smith, E.S. and Dalmer, N.K. (2023) Understanding older adults' participation in outdoor adventure activities: a scoping review. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning*, pp.1-22.
- Smith, J.A., Flowers, P. and Larkin, M. (2009) Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research. In *Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research*. SAGE Publications.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* London, UK, University of Otago Press.
- Smith, J.A. (2018) "Yes, it is phenomenological": A reply to Max Van Manen's critique of interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Qualitative health research*, **28**(12), pp.1955-1958.
- Smrtnik Vitulić, H., Gosar, D. and Prosen, S. (2023) Attachment and family functioning across three generations. *Family process*, **62**(2), pp.775-794.

Sneed, R.S. and Schulz, R. (2019) Grandparent caregiving, race, and cognitive functioning in a population-based sample of older adults. *Journal of Aging and Health*, **31**(3), pp.415-438.

Snopkowski, K. and Sear, R. (2015) Grandparental help in Indonesia is directed preferentially towards needier descendants: A potential confounder when exploring grandparental influences on child health. *Social Science & Medicine*, **128**, pp.105-114.

Solomon, N.G. and French, J.A. eds. (1997) *Cooperative breeding in mammals*. Cambridge University Press.

Sorin, R., (2005) *Changing images of childhood: Reconceptualising early childhood practice*. Faculty of Education, University of Melbourne.

Soulières, M. and Charpentier, M. (2022) Are older people living alone socially isolated? A qualitative study of their experiences. *Journal of gerontological social work*, **65**(6), pp.664-677.

Sparks, H. (2020) Morbid 'boomer remover' coronavirus meme only makes millennials seem more awful. *New York Post*, 19. Available from: <https://nypost.com/2020/03/19/morbid-boomer-remover-coronavirus-meme-only-makes-millennials-seem-more-awful/> [Accessed 21/03/21].

Spencer, M. (2016) *Lived experiences of becoming and being a young maternal grandmother: An interpretative phenomenological analysis* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Northampton).

Spiteri, J., Deguara, J., Muscat, T., Bonello, C., Farrugia, R., Milton, J., Gatt, S. and Said, L. (2023) The impact of COVID-19 on children's learning: a rapid review. *Educational and Developmental Psychologist*, **40**(1), pp.5-17. Taylor & Francis.

Spyrou, S. (2011) The limits of children's voices: From authenticity to critical, reflexive representation. *Childhood*, **18**(2), pp.151-165.

Spyrou, S. (2016) Researching children's silences: Exploring the fullness of voice in childhood research. *Childhood*, **23**(1), pp.7-21. Sage.

Spyrou, S. (2016) Troubling children's voices in research. In *Reconceptualising agency and childhood* (pp.105-118). Routledge.

Spyrou, S. (2016) Researching children's silences: Exploring the fullness of voice in childhood research. *Childhood*, **23**(1), pp.7-21. Sage.

Spyrou, S. (2017) Time to decenter childhood? *Childhood*, **24**(4), pp.433-437.

Stacey, J. (1988) January. Can there be a feminist ethnography?. In *Women's studies international forum* **11**(1), pp.21-27. Pergamon.

Stake, R. (2000) Case studies. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds) *Handbook of qualitative research*. 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications.

Stake, R. E. (2008) Qualitative case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (3rd ed., pp.119-149). Sage.

Stake, R.E. (1995) *The art of case study research*. Sage.

Starks, H. and Brown Trinidad, S. (2007) Choose your method: A comparison of phenomenology, discourse analysis, and grounded theory. *Qualitative health research*, **17**(10), pp.1372-1380. Sage.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of qualitative research*. Sage publications.

Strike, K.A. (1990) Teaching ethics to teachers: What the curriculum should be about. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, **6**(1), pp.47-53. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Stronach, I., Garratt, D., Pearce, C. and Piper, H. (2007) Reflexivity, the picturing of selves, the forging of method. *Qualitative inquiry*, **13**(2), pp.179-203. Sage.

Strouse, G.A., McClure, E., Myers, L.J., Zosh, J.M., Troseth, G.L., Blanchfield, O., Roche, E., Malik, S. and Barr, R. (2021) Zooming through development: Using video chat to support family connections. *Human Behaviour and Emerging Technologies*, **3**(4), pp.552-571. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Suddath, C. (2015) The \$500 million battle over Disney's princesses. *Bloomberg Businessweek*, **17**. Available from: <https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2015-disney-princess-hasbro/> [Accessed 20/12/2017].

Sullivan, J., Moss-Racusin, C., Lopez, M. and Williams, K. (2018) Backlash against gender stereotype-violating preschool children, **13**(4), p.e0195503. San Francisco: PLOS ONE.

Sultana, F. (2007) Reflexivity, positionality and participatory ethics: Negotiating fieldwork dilemmas in international research. *ACME: An international journal for critical geographies*, **6**(3), pp.374-385

Suryandari, N. (2020) Role of stereotyping in intercultural communication. *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, **25**(1), pp.24-30.

Sutapa, P., Pratama, K.W., Rosly, M.M., Ali, S.K.S. and Karakauki, M. (2021) Improving motor skills in early childhood through goal-oriented play activity. *Children*, **8**(11), p.994.

Swift, H.J., Abrams, D., Drury, L., and Lamont, R.A. (2016) The perception of ageing and age discrimination. In P. Kumar, R. Jethwa, G. Roycroft, and R. Wilson (Eds.), *Growing older in the UK*. London: British Medical Association.

Swift, H. J., Abrams, D., Lamont, R. A., and Drury, L. (2017). The risks of ageism model: How ageism and negative attitudes toward age can be a barrier to active ageing. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, **11**(1), pp.195–231.

Tajfel, H.E. (1978) *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. Academic Press.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human Groups and Social Categories*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., (1982) Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual review of psychology*, **33**(1), pp.1-39.

Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. (1979). 'An integrative theory of intergroup conflict'. In: W. G. Austin and S. Worchel (Eds) *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, Monterey, California: Brooks/Cole

Tan, J.P., Buchanan, A., Flouri, E., Attar-Schwartz, S. and Griggs, J. (2010) Filling the parenting gap? Grandparent involvement with UK adolescents. *Journal of Family Issues*, **31**(7), pp.992-1015.

Tang, F., Li, K., Jang, H. and Rauktis, M.B. (2022) Depressive symptoms in the context of Chinese grandparents caring for grandchildren. *Aging & mental health*, **26**(6), pp.1120-1126

Tang, W., Wang, G., Hu, T., Dai, Q., Xu, J., Yang, Y. and Xu, J. (2018) Mental health and psychosocial problems among Chinese left-behind children: A cross-sectional comparative study. *Journal of affective disorders*, **241**, pp.133-141.

Tangen, R. (2008) Listening to children's voices in educational research: some theoretical and methodological problems. *European journal of special needs education*, **23**(2), pp.157-166.

Tarrant, (2010) Exploring the Influence of Intergenerational Relations on the Construction and Performance of Contemporary Grandfather

Identities .Available from

<https://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/id/eprint/133375/1/11003473.pdf>

[Accessed 12/11/23].

Tanskanen, A.O. and Danielsbacka, M. (2017) Association between grandparental co-residence and early childhood injury in the UK. *Child Indicators Research*, **10**, pp.825-837.

Tay-Lim, J. and Lim, S. (2013) Privileging younger children's voices in research: Use of drawings and a co-construction process. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, **12**(1), pp.65-83.

Teague, R. (2021, January 28) Staff or students? PhD students face worst of both worlds in lockdown. Times Higher Education. Available from: <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/blog/staff-or-students-phd-students-face-worst-both-worlds-lockdown> [Accessed 29/05/24].

Teater, B. and Chonody, J.M. (2017) Stereotypes and attitudes toward older people among children transitioning from middle childhood into adolescence: Time matters. *Gerontology & Geriatrics Education*, **38**(2), pp.204-218.

Terry, G., Hayfield, N., Clarke, V. and Braun, V. (2017) Thematic analysis. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology*, **2**(17-37), p.25.

Third, A., Livingstone, S. and Lansdown, G. (2019) Recognizing children's rights in relation to digital technologies: Challenges of voice and evidence, principle and practice. In *Research handbook on human rights and digital technology* (pp.376-410). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Thomas, D.R. (2017) Feedback from research participants: are member checks useful in qualitative research? *Qualitative research in psychology*, **14**(1), pp.23-41.

Thomas, D. R. (2003) A general inductive approach for qualitative data analysis. Auckland, NZ: School of Population Health. New Zealand: University of Auckland.

Thomas, N. (2007) Towards a theory of children's participation. *The International Journal of Children's Rights* **15**(2): pp.199–218.

Thompson, E.A. (2013) Identity by descent: variation in meiosis, across genomes, and in populations. *Genetics*, **194**(2), pp.301-326.

Thompson, N. (1998) Promoting Equality: Challenging Discrimination and Oppression in the Human Services. Macmillan Education UK. Available from: <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-0-230-21647-1> [Accessed 29/05/24].

Thornton, J.E. (2002) Myths of aging or ageist stereotypes. *Educational gerontology*, **28**(4), pp.301-312.

Thomson, P. ed. (2008) Doing visual research with children and young people.

Thomson, S. (2011) Mediations of Violence in Africa: Fashioning New Futures from Contested Pasts. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, **44**(1), p.156.

Newsham, T.M., Schuster, A.M., Guest, M.A., Nikzad-Terhune, K. and Rowles, G.D. (2021) College students' perceptions of "old people" compared to "grandparents". *Educational Gerontology*, **47**(2), pp.63-71.

Tipping, S. (2016) *Childcare and early years survey of parents 2014 to 2015*. DfE Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7f3204ed915d74e6228f76/SFR09-2016_Childcare_and_Early_Years_Parents_Survey_2014-15_report.pdf.pdf [Accessed 12/12/2017].

Tisdall, E. Kay, M. (2012) The challenge and challenging of childhood studies? Learning from disability studies and research with disabled children. *Children & society*, **26**(3), pp.181-191.

Tisdall, K. and Davis, J. eds. (2006) *Children, young people and social inclusion: participation for what?* Policy Press.

Tizard, B. (1986) *The care of young children: implications of recent research*. University of London, Institute of Education.

Young, T. (2020) *The Critic*, 17th March. Available from: <https://thecritic.co.uk/has-the-government-over-reacted-to-the-coronavirus-crisis/> [Accessed 15/06/2020].

Torr, J. (2007) The pleasure of recognition: Intertextuality in the talk of preschoolers during shared reading with mothers and teachers. *Early Years*, **27**(1), pp.77-91.

Townsend, P. (1955) The family life of old people: an investigation in East London. *The Sociological Review*, **3**(2), pp.175-195. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*

Trevarthen, C. (2018) Intimate contact from birth: How we know one another by touch, voice, and expression in movement. *Touch*, pp.1-15. Routledge.

Tronto, J. (1993). *Moral boundaries: A political argument for an ethic of care*. New York: Routledge.

Tsai, F.J., Motamed, S. and Rougemont, A. (2013) The protective effect of taking care of grandchildren on elders' mental health? Associations between changing patterns of intergenerational exchanges and the reduction of elders' loneliness and depression between 1993 and 2007 in Taiwan. *BMC public health*, **13**, pp.1-9.

Twigg, L., Duncan, C. and Weich, S. (2020) Is social media use associated with children's well-being? Results from the UK Household Longitudinal Study. *Journal of Adolescence*, **80**, pp.73-83.

U3A (2018) What do we do, accessed [online]. Available from: <https://www.u3a.org.uk/> [Accessed 18/03/18].

UK Census. (2011) Office for National Statistics [online]. Available from: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011census> [Accessed 26/11/2022].

United for All. (2017) *United - not divided*. [online]. Available from: <https://unitedforallages.com/> [Accessed 20/12/17].

United Nations Children's Fund UK (UNICEF) (1989), The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Available online from: https://downloads.unicef.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/UNCRC_PRESS200910web.pdf?_ga=2.78590034.795419542.1582474737-1972578648.1582474737 [Accessed 27/04/21].

UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), General comment No. 12 (2009): The right of the child to be heard, CRC/C/GC/12, 20 July 2009, Available from: <https://www.refworld.org/legal/general/crc/2009/en/7020> [Accessed 28/05/24].

UN Commission on Human Rights (46th sess.: 1990: Geneva), Convention on the Rights of the Child., E/CN.4/RES/1990/74, UN Commission on Human Rights, 7 March 1990, Available from: <https://www.refworld.org/legal/resolution/unchr/1990/en/47325> [Accessed 28/05/24].

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). British Educational Research Journal, **33**(6), pp.927-942. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30032800>. [Accessed 29/05/24].

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2017). World Population Ageing 2017 (ST/ESA/SER.A/408).

UNCRC, (1989) The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Unicef UK. Available from: https://downloads.unicef.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/unicef-convention-rights-child-uncrc.pdf?_ga=2.123746762.1370693363.1588103156-190427524.1588103156 [Accessed 26/02/2024].

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization(UNESCO) (2013) Education Sector Technical Notes Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) UNESCO Available from <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000222118> [Accessed 22/01/25].

Urbain, C., Gonzalez, C. and Gall-Ely, M.L. (2013) What does the future hold for giving? An approach using the social representations of Generation Y. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, **18**(3), pp.159-171.

Van Auken, Paul M., Svein J. Frisvoll, and Susan I. Stewart. (2010) "Visualising Community: Using Participant-Driven PhotoElicitation for Research and Application." *Local Environment* **15**(4): pp.373–388.

van IJzendoorn, M.H. (1995) Of the Way We Are: On Temperament, Attachment, and the Transmission Gap: A Rejoinder to Fox (1995). *Psychological Bulletin*, **117**(3), pp.411-415.

Van Maanen, J. (1979) *Qualitative methodology*. Administrative Science Quarterly, 24(4), 707–711. London: Sage.

Van Manen, M. (1990) *Researching Lived Experience* (London, Ontario, Althouse Press).

Van Manen M. (1997) *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*, 2nd ed. London, ON: Althouse Press.

Van Manen, M. (1998) Modalities of body experience in illness and health. *Qualitative Health Research*, **8**(1), pp 7-24.

Van Manen, M. (2007). Phenomenology of practice. *Phenomenology & Practice*, 1(1), 11-30.

Van Manen, M. (2016) *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*. 2nd ed. Abingdon: Routledge,

Van Manen, M. (2017). Phenomenology in its original sense. *Qualitative Health Research*, 27(6), 811-818.

Van Manen M (2017a). But Is It Phenomenology? *Qualitative Health Research.*; **27**(6):775-779.

Van Manen, M., and van Manen, M. (2021). Doing phenomenological research and writing. *Qualitative Health Research*, **31**(6), pp.1069–1082.

van Oudenhoven, N. and van Oudenhoven, R.J. (2018) *Navigating Childish Times: What roles for children and young people in a fragmented and polarized world?* Gompel & Svacina.

Vasconcelos T. (2010) *Doing Early Childhood Research*. 2nd ed. Berkshire. UK: Mc Graw-Hill Education.

Verhage, M.L., Schuengel, C., Madigan, S., Fearon, R.M., Oosterman, M., Cassibba, R., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M.J. and van IJzendoorn, M.H. (2016) Narrowing the transmission gap: A synthesis of three decades of research on intergenerational transmission of attachment. *Psychological bulletin*, **142**(4), p.337.

Verschueren, K., Buyck, P. and Marcoen, A. (2001) Self-representations and socioemotional competence in young children: A 3-year longitudinal study. *Developmental Psychology*, **37**(1), p.126.

Vilhelmson, B., Thulin, E. and Elldér, E. (2022) Is ageing becoming more active? Exploring cohort-wise changes in everyday time use among the older population in Sweden. *European Journal of Ageing*, **19**(3), pp.447-461.

Villar, F. and Fabà, J. (2012) Draw a young and an older person: schoolchildren's images of older people. *Educational Gerontology*, **38**(12), pp.827-840.

Viner, R.M., Gireesh, A., Stiglic, N., Hudson, L.D., Goddings, A.L., Ward, J.L. and Nicholls, D.E. (2019) Roles of cyberbullying, sleep, and physical activity in mediating the effects of social media use on mental health and wellbeing among young people in England: a secondary analysis of longitudinal data. *The Lancet Child & Adolescent Health*, **3**(10), pp.685-696.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1978) The role of play in development. *Early years education: Histories and traditions*, pp.199-211.

Wall, K. and Higgins, S. (2006) Facilitating metacognitive talk: A research and learning tool. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, **29**(1), pp.39-53.

Wall, K., Cassidy, C., Robinson, C., Hall, E., Beaton, M., Kanyal, M. and Mitra, D. (2019) Look who's talking: Factors for considering the facilitation of very young children's voices. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, **17**(4), pp.263-278. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476718X19875767> [Accessed 20/03/23].

Wall, K. (2017) Exploring the ethical issues related to visual methodology when including young children's voice in wider research samples. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, **21**(3), pp.316-331.

Waller, T. (2014) Voices in the park: Researching the participation of young children in outdoor play in early years settings. *Management in Education*, **28**(4), pp.161-166.

Wall, K., Cassidy, C., Robinson, C., Hall, E., Beaton, M., Kanyal, M. and Mitra, D. (2019) Look who's talking: Factors for considering the facilitation of very young children's voices. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, **17**(4), pp.263-278.

Wallsten, S. (2013) *What are we not doing when we're online* (No. w19549). Cambridge MA: National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER).

Walsham, G. (1995) Interpretive case studies in IS research: nature and method. *European Journal of information systems*, **4**(2), pp.74-81.

Wang, C. and Burris, M.A. (1994) Empowerment through photo novella: Portraits of participation. *Health education quarterly*, **21**(2), pp.171-186.

Wang, C. and Burris, M.A. (1997) PhotoVoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Health education & behavior*, **24**(3), pp.369-387.

Wang, C.C. and Redwood-Jones, Y.A. (2001) PhotoVoice ethics: Perspectives from Flint PhotoVoice. *Health education & behavior*, **28**(5), pp.560-572.

Wang, C., Burris, M.A. and Ping, X.Y. (1996) Chinese village women as visual anthropologists: A participatory approach to reaching policymakers. *Social science & medicine*, **42**(10), pp.1391-1400.

Wang, C.C., Morrel-Samuels, S., Hutchison, P.M., Bell, L. and Pestronk, R.M. (2004) Flint PhotoVoice: Community building among youths, adults, and policymakers. *American journal of public health*, **94**(6), pp.911-913.

Wang, C.C. (1999) PhotoVoice: A participatory action research strategy applied to women's health. *Journal of women's health*, **8**(2), pp.185-192.

Wang, C.C. (2006) Youth participation in PhotoVoice as a strategy for community change. *Journal of community practice*, **14**(1-2), pp.147-161.

Warner J. (2020). There is nothing irrational about the coronavirus panic – it will change the world as we know it. 27th February 2020, The Daily Telegraph. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/02/27/nothing-irrational-coronavirus-panic-will-change-world-know/> [Accessed 5/05/2022].

Warshak, R.A. (2003) Payoffs and pitfalls of listening to children. *Family relations*, **52**(4), pp.373-384.

Wasserman, D. (2017) Philosophical issues in the definition and social response to disability. In *Disability and Equality Law* (pp.19-52). Routledge.

Watkins, A. (2021) Reevaluating the grandmother hypothesis. *History and philosophy of the life sciences*, **43**(3), p.103.

Weber, S. and Mitchell, C. (1996) Drawing ourselves into teaching: Studying the images that shape and distort teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, **12**(3), pp.303-313.

Weinraub, M., Clemens, L.P., Sockloff, A., Ethridge, T., Gracely, E. and Myers, B. (1984) The development of sex role stereotypes in the third year: Relationships to gender labeling, gender identity, sex-types toy preference, and family characteristics. *Child development*, pp.1493-1503.

Weisgram, E.S., Fulcher, M. and Dinella, L.M. (2014) Pink gives girls permission: Exploring the roles of explicit gender labels and gender-

typed colors on preschool children's toy preferences. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, **35**(5), pp.401-409.

Whalen, A. (2020) What is "boomer remover" and why is it making people so angry. *Newsweek*, **3**, p.13. Available from: <https://www.newsweek.com/boomer-remover-meme-trends-virus-coronavirus-social-media-covid-19-baby-boomers-1492190> [Accessed 6/11/2020].

Wiseman, N., Rossmann, C., Lee, J. and Harris, N. (2019) "It's like you are in the jungle": Using the draw-and-tell method to explore preschool children's play preferences and factors that shape their active play. *Health Promotion Journal of Australia*, **30**, pp.85-94.

Wolf, M. (2008). *Proust and the Squid: The Story and Science of the Reading Brain*. Cambridge: Icon Books.

Wijedasa, D. (2017) *The prevalence and characteristics of children growing up with relatives in the UK-Briefing paper 4: Characteristics of children living with relatives in Northern Ireland*. Bristol: University of Bristol.

Williams, D. C. (1957). Pleiotropy, natural selection, and the evolution of senescence. *Evolution*, **11**, 398-411

Williams, E.K. (2011) *The sacred work of grandparents raising grandchildren*. Bloomington IN: Balboa Press.

Wong, W.I. and Hines, M. (2015) Preferences for pink and blue: The development of colour preferences as a distinct gender-typed behaviour in toddlers. *Archives of sexual behaviour*, **44**, pp.1243-1254.

Wood, E. (2019) Unbalanced and unbalancing acts in the Early Years Foundation Stage: a critical discourse analysis of policy-led evidence on teaching and play from the office for standards in education in England (Ofsted). *Education 3-13*, **47**(7), pp.784-795.

- Woodhead, M. (1996). *Childhood and Society*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke, Hampshire, [England]: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wyness, M. (2001). Children, childhood and political participation: Case studies of young people's councils. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 9(3), 193–212.
- Woodhead, M. (2013). Childhood: a developmental approach. In M. J. Kehily (Ed.), *Understanding childhood: a cross disciplinary approach* (pp.101-149). UK: The Open University.
- Woodrow, C. (1999) Revisiting images of the child in early childhood education: Reflections and considerations. *Australasian Journal of Early Childhood*, **24**(4), pp.7-12.
- Woolley, J.D. and Rhoads, A.M. (2019) Now I'm 3: Young children's concepts of age, aging, and birthdays. *Imagination, Cognition and Personality*, **38**(3), pp.268-289.
- World Health Organisation, WHA, (2019) *Guidelines on physical activity, sedentary behaviour, and sleep for children under 5 years of age*. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available from: <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789241550536> [Accessed 09/12/23].
- Worldometers (2020) COVID- Coronavirus Statistics : Available from: [COVID - Coronavirus Statistics - Worldometer](https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/) <https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/> [Accessed on 12/12/2020].
- Wyness, M. (2001) Children, childhood and political participation: Case studies of young people's councils. *Int'l J. Child. Rts.*, **9**, p.193.
- Wyness, M. (2009) Children representing children: Participation and the problem of diversity in UK youth councils. *Childhood*, **16**(4), pp.535-552.

- Wyness, M. G. (2012). *Childhood and society*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke, Hampshire, [England]; Palgrave Macmillan.
- Yeomen's, J., (2017) Peppa Pig breaks America with £160m sales boost for Entertainment One. The Telegraph. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2017/03/31/peppa-pig-breaks-america-160m-sales-boost-entertainment-one/> [Accessed 12/12/2017].
- Yin, R.K. (2018) *Case study research and applications* (Vol. 6). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yin, R. (1989). *Case study research: Design and methods*. London: Sage.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research design and methods* 3rd ed. *Applied social research methods series*, 5. London. Sage.
- Yin, R.K. (2011) *Qualitative research from start to finish*. The Guilford Press.
- Yin, R. (2014) *Case study research: Design and methods*. 5th ed. CA: Sage.
- Yin, R.K. (1994) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Applied Social Research Methods, Vol. 5). Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, CA. Rick Rantz Leading urban institutions of higher education in the new millennium *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*. **23**(8), p.2002.
- Ylänné, V. (2015) Representations of ageing in the media. In J. Twigg, and W. Martin (Eds.) *Routledge handbook of cultural gerontology* (pp.369–375). London: Routledge.
- Young, K.G., Duncanson, K. and Burrows, T. (2018) Influence of grandparents on the dietary intake of their 2–12-year-old

grandchildren: A systematic review. *Nutrition & dietetics*, **75**(3), pp.291-306.

Young, T. (2020) *The Critic*, 17th March. Available from: <https://thecritic.co.uk/has-the-government-over-reacted-to-the-coronavirus-crisis/> [Accessed 15/06/2020].

Zamani, Z. (2016) 'The woods is a more free space for children to be creative; their imagination kind of sparks out there': Exploring young children's cognitive play opportunities in natural, manufactured and mixed outdoor preschool zones. *Journal of adventure education and outdoor learning*, **16**(2), pp.172-189.

Zamberletti, J., Cavrini, G. and Tomassini, C. (2018) Grandparents providing childcare in Italy. *European journal of ageing*, **15**, pp.265-275.

Zhang, C., Fong, V.L., Yoshikawa, H., Way, N., Chen, X. and Lu, Z., 2019. The rise of maternal grandmother childcare in urban Chinese families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, **81**(5), pp.1174-1191.

Zhol, Z. (2017) Peppa Pig 'spiders can't hurt you' episode pulled off air in Australia – again. Available from: The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2017/sep/05/peppa-pig-spiders-cant-hurt-you-episode-pulled-off-air-in-australia-again> [Accessed 14/6/2019].

Zhou, Y., Yang, Q., Chi, J., Dong, B., Lv, W., Shen, L. and Wang, Y. (2020) Comorbidities and the risk of severe or fatal outcomes associated with coronavirus disease 2019: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *International Journal of Infectious Diseases*, **99**, pp.47-56.

Zinn, M.B. (1979) Field research in minority communities: Ethical, methodological and political observations by an insider. *Social problems*, **27**(2), pp.209-219.

Zosh, J.M., Strouse, G.A., Myers, L.J., Xu, C., Stuckelman, Z.D., McClure, E., Troseth, G.L. and Barr, R. (2022) Virtual grandparenting: Identifying barriers to supportive video chat between grandparents and grandchildren. *Human Behaviour and Emerging Technologies*, 2022.

Zurcher, J.D. and Robinson, T. (2018) From "Bibbid-Bobbidi-Boo" to Scrooge: An update and comparative analysis of the portrayal of older characters in recent Disney animated films. *Journal of Children and Media*, **12**(1), pp.1-15

Zurcher, J.D., Webb, S.M. and Robinson, T. (2018) The portrayal of families across generations in Disney animated films. *Social Sciences*, **7**(3), p.47.

List of Appendixes:

Appendix 1 Ethical Approval from University of Northampton	Page 335
Appendix 2 Amended Ethical Approval	Page 336
Appendix 3 Information sheet for the setting	Page 337
Appendix 4 Appendix 4 Letter to the setting	Page 339
Appendix 5 Letter for the parents	Page 341
Appendix 6 Children's Assent form	Page 343
Appendix 7 Children's Assent book	Page 344
Appendix 8 The marked-up manuscript	Page 344
Appendix 9 Photographs from the Assent Book	Page 345
Appendix 10 Letter to Volunteers setting	Page 347
Appendix 11 Transcript of MH Child 2	Page 349
Appendix 12 Transcript of QK Child 3	Page 351
Appendix 13 Table of Phrases from code food	Page 354
Appendix 14 Table of codes for MH	Page 357
Appendix 15 Table of codes for QK	Page 359
Appendix 16 Table of Codes from MK	Page 361
Appendix 17 Themes and Combined themes	Page 363
Appendix 18 Creating joint themes	Page 364

Appendix 1 Ethical approval from the University of Northampton

Dear Claire

Application ID: ETH1819-0168

Project title: Perceptions of Age in Early Childhood Settings and their Communities: How do young children view people aged 55 and over? How do people aged 55 and over view young children?

Lead researcher: Mrs Claire Dugan-Clements

Thank you for your recent application to the Research Ethics Committee. The application was considered on the 6th of November 2019. The decision is:

Approved

We are happy to confirm that your application can be approved with immediate effect. Congratulations on reaching this stage. We wish you all the best for your project.

Please update the Committee via Gateway if you need to make substantial changes or additions to the approved project.

Yours

John Horton



University of Northampton
University Drive
Northampton
NN1 5PH

Switchboard **01604 735500**
Study Enquiries **0300 303 2772**
Study Email **study@northampton.ac.uk**
Web **northampton.ac.uk**

A charity providing undergraduate and postgraduate degrees and diplomas
Vice Chancellor **Professor Nick Petford BSc PhD DSc FGS FRSA**

Appendix 2 Amended Ethical approval

**University of
Northampton**

Dear Claire

Application ID: ETH2122-0040

Project title: Perceptions of Age in Early Childhood Settings and their Communities: How do young children view people aged 55 and over? How do people aged 55 and over view young children?

Lead researcher: Mrs Claire Dugan-Clements

Thank you for your recent application to the Research Ethics Committee. The application was considered on the 08 Dec 2021 by Chair's action. The decision is:

Approved

The Chair of the Research Ethics Committee provided the following feedback:

Thank you for this amendment, which covers an updated consent process and risk assessment in line with UON guidance on Covid-19. Full supporting documentation is provided. The amendment can be approved immediately as a Chair's action.

Yours

Laura Pereira



University of Northampton
University Drive
Northampton
NN1 5PH

Switchboard **01604 735500**
Study Enquiries **0300 303 2772**
Study Email **study@northampton.ac.uk**
Web **northampton.ac.uk**

A charity providing undergraduate and postgraduate degrees and diplomas
Vice Chancellor **Professor Nick Petford BSc PhD DSc FGS FRSA**

Appendix 3 the information letter for the setting

Information leaflet



Guide for practitioners

Please ask parents to sign their consent forms

Please read the book to children whose parents have consented to them taking part. The book explains to the children that I would like to know what their grandparents are like.

When going through the story you may wish to discuss the different names that grandparents have. I know children have different names for their grandparents.

Please read the 'Yes or No' form to them. When asking them to sign please ask what special names do you have for your grandparents? Add this to the form. (Use the name they have chosen in place of 'grandparents' when asking them questions) add the child's name.

Ask them to tick the 'yes or no' box and 'sign' or draw a picture the form, they can do this how they like. to show if they wish to take part. If they do not want to do any part of the research at any point it is okay for them to say 'no'

Ask the children to create their picture

Once the children have created their pictures please name their pictures and when you begin to record state their name at the beginning of the recording so I can link together the picture and their conversations.

Use some of the following questions in your conversations.

Tell me about your picture?

Ask about parts of their picture

Tell me more about your grandparents?

Tell me what you like to do with your grandparents?

What do your grandparents look like?

How are you different from your grandparents?

How are you the same as you?

What work do your grandparents do?

What do their wear?

What do they like to do?

What do when you see your grandparents?

What games do you play?

What stories do they tell you?

.

Please write anything you think is important on the back of their picture: any comments, body language how they appear to you during the conversation.

Thank you so much for helping me

Appendix 4 Letter to the setting



The University of Northampton
University Drive
Northampton
NN1 5PH

Dear [REDACTED]

Thank you for agreeing to your setting taking part in my research about how young children perceive older people. I would be most grateful if **both you and the practitioners at your setting could gather your children's views by using pictures and through conversations with them**, as set out below. I know that your knowledge of the families will help ensure I do not cause upset to those who may have experienced loss or cannot see older relatives at this strange time.

Before doing this, could you and your practitioners please give the enclosed consent letters to parents, and ask them to sign prior to the research. The letters explain that the research is completely voluntary, and they may withdraw their children at any time before the data are analysed.

Please read the book to children whose parents have consented to them taking part. The book explains to the children that I would like to know what their grandparents are like. The book also describes that practitioners will use a digital recorder to record their conversations with them and ask them to tick 'yes or no' on their consent form to indicate whether they wish to take part.

Please ask the children to draw or paint a picture of their grandparents. I will provide a pack for the setting comprising of paper, paint and crayons or other materials you think would be suitable for creating the pictures. **Please let me know what you need by email.**

Please have a short discussion with each child about the picture of their grandparents, recording it on the digital recorder provided. I have enclosed a guidance sheet which includes questions which I would like included in the conversation.

There should be enough space to save 100 hours of conversation on the digital recorder but please email me if the recorder flashes Memory full and I will arrange to download the contents so you may continue. **I also ask you keep a note of anything the child says or reactions the children have that you feel would be relevant to the study** e.g. happy, excited, body language etc. Please could you place the digital recorder in a lockable draw or cupboard to comply with GDPR.

To provide and Collect the materials, I will come to the setting at a time we can agree by email. I will meet you outside the setting door and leave the box, I will wear a mask in line with your social distancing policy. The contents will be appropriately cleaned and boxed suitable for you to store for 72 hours quarantine. To pick up the pictures and recorder I will return to the setting at an agreed time after you contact me by email indicating it's ready. I will wait at a distance from the door, wearing a mask.

I will upload the pictures and recordings to a secure space to which only I have access. I will then analyse what the children have said and the pictures they have created for use in my PhD, from which I may publish in academic and professional publications. All staff and children will remain anonymous, as will the setting and none will be identifiable in any way. All data collected will be fully protected, remain confidential and anonymous and will comply with the Data Protection Act 2018, the University of Northampton ethical procedures and BERA (2018) educational research guidelines.

I will be pleased to share my research with you when it is completed. You may wish to use it to inform the settings practice of visiting older people in the future. Should you have any questions regarding this research project, please contact me at: Claire.dugan-clements@northampton.ac.uk
If you have any concerns about the conduct of the research, please contact Jane.Murray@northampton.ac.uk

Thank you for your support and please complete and return the slip below.

Yours faithfully

Appendix 5 Letter for the parents



The University of Northampton
University Drive
Northampton
NN1 5PH

Dear Parent,

My name is Claire Dugan-Clements and I am currently studying for a Ph.D. at the University of Northampton. During the pandemic, many children and older people have not been able to interact, I wish to find out how preschool children view people over the age of 55 and to help me do this, I would like to invite your child to describe their grandparents.

I will ask the nursery practitioners to read a book about the research to the children. The book clearly explains that I would like to know about their grandma or granddad by asking them to draw or paint a picture of them and then discuss their pictures with the nursery practitioner who will make a digital recording of their conversation.

Please talk to you your child about whether they would like to take part and if they do and you would like to give your consent you can do this by signing and returning the form below. Your child's participation is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw at any time before the information is analysed. This will be four weeks after your child has taken part. You child will also be asked by the practitioner if they would still like to participate.

If you consent to your child taking part, once I have collected the children's pictures and recordings, I will upload them to a secure space at the university to which only I have access. I will then analyse the feedback for use in my PhD, from which I may publish, this may include anonymised quotations from your child's discussion and your children's pictures. Your names and your children's as well as those of the practitioners will remain anonymous, as will the nursery setting, and none will be identifiable in any way. All data collected will be fully protected, remain confidential and anonymous and will comply with the Data Protection Act 2018, the University of Northampton ethical procedures and BERA (2018) educational research guidelines. If your child shares something with us that makes us believe that there is a safeguarding concern, we would have to

break confidentiality. We would always discuss this with you and the nursery first.

I will be pleased to share a summary of finding with you with you and your child when my research is completed. Should you have any questions regarding this research project, please contact me at:

Claire.dugan-clements@northampton.ac.uk

If you have any concerns about the conduct of the research, please contact Jane.Murray@northampton.ac.uk

I hope very much that you are happy for your child to take part in the research outlined above. Thank you for your support and please complete and return the slip below to the nursery practitioner.

Yours faithfully

Claire Dugan-Clements

Appendix 6 Children's Assent form



If you would like to help
me please write your name
or draw a picture and tick
the box

Yes or No Form

I would like you make a picture and tell Claire about my

by talking into a digital recorder with an adult in my
nursery. Claire can keep my picture and listen to what I
said.

Yes

☐

No

☐

Appendix 7 Assent Book

The Accent book



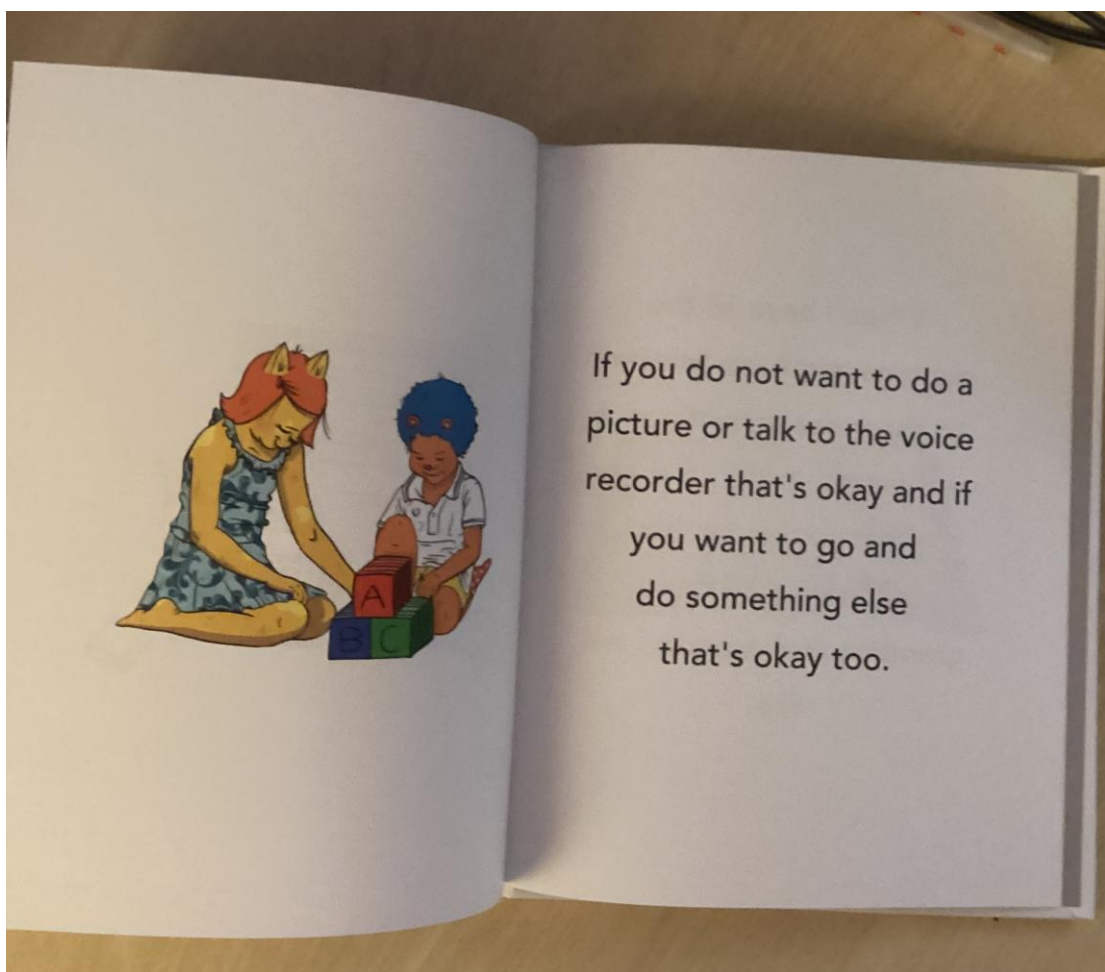
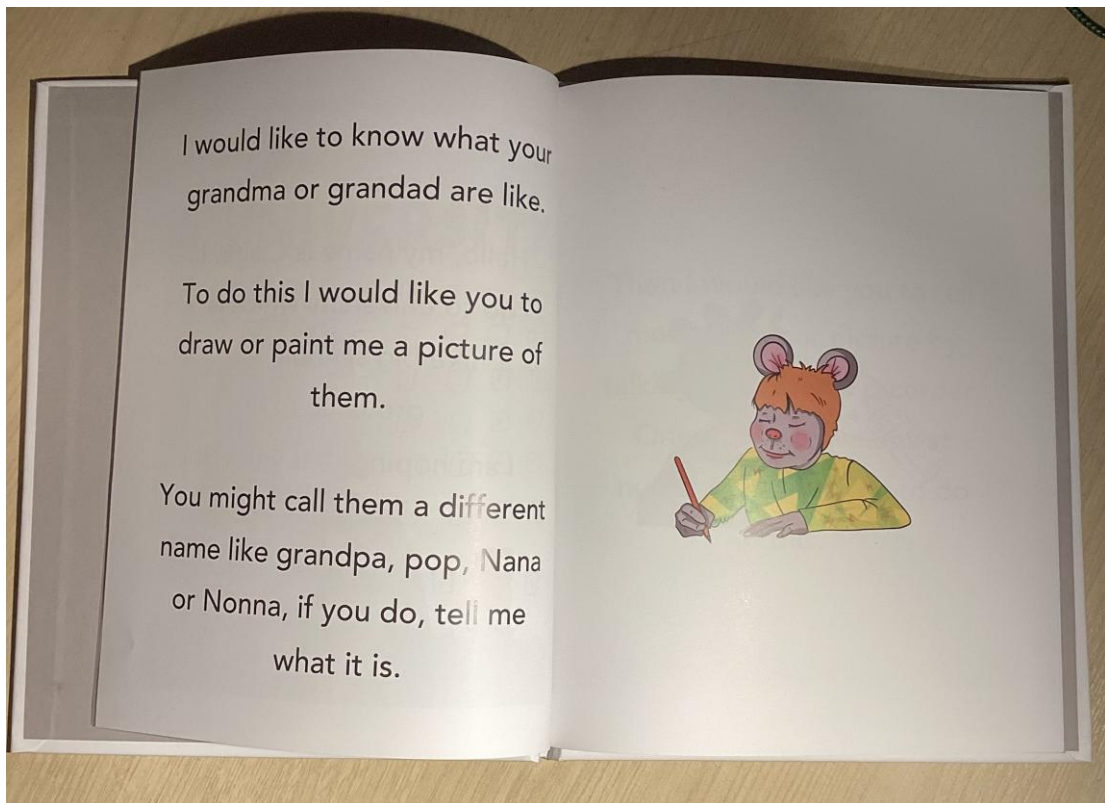
Appendix 8 The marked-up manuscript

The marked-up manuscript of the first page showing the layout



Hello, my name is Claire. I go to university which is like big school for grown-ups. I am hoping that you will help me.

Appendix 9 Photographs of pages from the Assent book





Then I would like you to tell
me about your picture by
talking into a voice recorder.

One of the grownups at
nursery will help you to do
this.

Appendix 10 Letter to Volunteers



University of Northampton
University Drive
Northampton
NN1 5PH

Dear,

Thank you for considering taking part in the research for my PhD. In recent months children have not been able to spend time with older family members. My PhD focuses on what children aged three to five years think of people over the age of 55 and to find out what people over the age of 55 think of children aged three to five years old. In order to do this, I would like to carry out individual conversations with volunteers at your organisation who are over the age of 55.

As part of our conversation I would like to ask the volunteers to create an image of what a three to five year old child means to them, **or** if they prefer they could create an image during our conversation, the details of which are included in the information sheet. **I would be grateful for your support in identifying potential volunteers with whom I could speak.** Your knowledge of the staff and volunteers will ensure I contact only those volunteers in your organisation who would be happy to participate.

Participation in the research is voluntary. Further information about the research ethics for the project is included overleaf. **If you would like your organisation to be involved, may I ask you to complete and return the consent form on the final page.** I will then ask each participant to give their voluntary informed consent they take part.

I will be pleased to share with you my research when it is completed. Should you have any questions regarding this research project, please contact me at: Claire.dugan-clements@northampton.ac.uk . If you have any concerns about the conduct of the research, please contact Jane.Murray@northampton.ac.uk . I hope very much that you would like your organisation to take part in this research. Thank you for your support and please complete and return the slip below.

Yours faithfully

Further Information

If you and the volunteers consent to take part, I will invite the volunteers:

- to create an image of what a preschool child means to them by drawing, collage, painting, or any other way they choose before the conversation,
- or create an image during the conversation for which I will provide paper and colouring pencils,
- join me for a 30 minute conversation which I will audio record so that I can write accurately what they have said.

After I have collected the volunteers' conversational data and pictures,

- I will upload the data to a secure password protected computer to which only I have access.
- I will then analyse the data for use in my PhD, from which I may publish.

In addition,

- Any names of staff, volunteers and children will remain anonymous, as will the organisation and no one will be identifiable in any way in the research report or publications from it, so confidentiality will be assured.
- The only exception to the point above would be if anything comes to light that is illegal and/or may be harmful. In such cases, researchers may be under statutory duty to disclose confidential information.
- All data collected will be fully protected, remain confidential and anonymous and will comply with the Data Protection Regulation, the University of Northampton ethical procedures and BERA (2018) educational research guidelines.
- Informed consent for taking part in the project is voluntary.
- You or any volunteer may withdraw consent up to two weeks after the conversations with them have taken place.

Appendix 11 Transcript of MH Child 2

MH Transcript chid 2

Practitioner 2

So Jxx, draw picture with your Teema and your grandpa

00:00:20 Practitioner MH

who's that one.

Child 2 Teema

Practitioner MH Teema? what does Tema look like

Child 2 Black hair

Practitioner MH Black hair she got long legs

Child 2 does she

Practitioner MH Does she have long legs

Child 2 Yeaah

Practitioner MH Yeaah She has longer legs. than you doesn't she?

Child 2 Is that her arm?

Practitioner MH Is that her arm you've drawn it yeah

Child 2 Fingers

Practitioner MH Her fingers don't forget them. What do you do with Tema?

Child 2 Colour and painting.

Practitioner MH Colour and painting. That's a nice smile

Child 2 play with the play dough

Practitioner MH She lets you play with playdough

Child 2 She lets me colour on everything

Practitioner 2 she doesn't let me colour everything surly ...

Child 2 ha.....

Practitioner MH Who else Who lives with Tema?

Child 2. Grandpa.

Practitioner MH Grandpa what do you do with Grandpa?

Child 2 erm He gives us everything

Practitioner MH He gives you everything like what?

Child 2 Like food

Practitioner MH He likes giving you food Like what What ?

Child 2 like coins and chocolate eggs and everything like that

Practitioner MH And everything like that, are you going to draw grandpa

Child 2 Teema

Practitioner MH And that's Teeima You have finished Teema

Child 2 eyes

Practitioner MH I do they have anyone else that live at their house.

Child 2 Teema likes s digging

Practitioner MH Shes got lovely teeth

Child 2 Yeah ... to (unclear)

Practitioner MH Does teema ever take you anywhere ?

Child 1 Yeah in the park To the park

(END))

Appendix 12 Transcript of QK Child 3

Transcript QK Child 3

Practitioner QK So this lady is called Claire and she wrote this book for us and it says hello, my name is Claire and you told me you know somebody called Claire didn't you? Who's that?

Child 3 Em Auntie Claire

Practitioner QK You've got an auntie, Claire? Well, there's two Claire.

Practitioner 1QK This Claire goes to a big school called University and she would like you to help her with her learning.

Do you think you could do that?

Child 3 Yeah, yeah.

Practitioner QK I was wondering xxxx if you could help Claire to draw a picture of your grandparents.

OK, thank you so much. What do you think you? Could draw for for your grandparents, maybe you call them your nanny or Granddad or grandma.

Child 3 Jill and Boo

Practitioner QK Jill and

Child 3 Jill and Boo. Yeah, that's their name.

Practitioner QK That's their names.

Practitioner QK Also you could draw Jill and Boo if you wanted to show Claire your grandparents, and you could tell me all about them, yeah?

Practitioner QK Jill and Boo... just writing down your lovely words who you Going to draw first for me.

Child 3 Gran Gran dad.

Practitioner QK OK, what does Gran dad look like?

Child 3 hes bald

Practitioner QK He's bald

Child 3 Yeah, I mean. He needs glasses. And I don't know how the to draw glasses

Practitioner 1QK I know that glasses sometimes have round frames that look like circles, so that might help you to draw them. Look at that, that's beautiful.

Child 3 And a line

Practitioner QK I just have like look at those and the the glasses go behind granddad's ears to balance them on his head don't they fall off So you've done one glass and now we need to do the other eye. Perfect and we have to balance it all. Granddad other ear. So it they don't fall off his head. So your

granddad doesn't have any hair and he wears glasses. What sort of clothes is Daddy going to wear? granddad going to wear?

Child 3 Green

Practitioner QK Oh, he's got a big smile Perfect what clothes is Granddad going to wear? The green color....What type of clothes? Green green yeah green dress or not?

Child 3 Dress not a dress. Oh, I have a idea.

Practitioner QK A green T shirt for Granddad. I see.What does your granddad need?

Child 3 Arms

Practitioner 1 So Granddad's wearing a green T shirt.

Child 3 I'm colouring it.

Practitioner QKI see. What do you do when You go to Grandads house, Franklin

Child 3 Eat Crisps, eat crisps a bunch of crisp I get crisps every day

Practitioner QK You get crisps when you're at his house. What else do you do when you visit Granddad?

Child 3 ERRRRR I sit on chair a I play on phone and don't shout

Practitioner 1 you sit on his chair play on your phone at grandads. But no shouting . Why don't you shout at Granddad?

Child 3 Huh ?

Practitioner QK Oh, because he's old? How old do you think your.

Child 3 Granddad might be. 37

Practitioner QK 37

Child 3 And my mom is too

Practitioner QK Gram grandads 37 and Mummy is 37.

Child 3 My grandad 32

Practitioner QK Granddad 32 OK. But you don't like shouting because he's a little bit older. That's kind, isn't it?

Child 3 Never though.

Practitioner QK Two arms for Granddad.

Practitioner QK 1 Hi honey. Does your granddad go to work Franklin?

Child 3 I'm hes un tired

Practitioner QK He's what?

Child 3 I don't think he go to work now.

Practitioner QK What did you say he was?

Child 3 I don't think he's un tired and.

Practitioner QK1 Untired, do you mean retired? Yeah, ah, that's lovely. That means when he doesn't work anymore because he's a little bit older.

Child 3 My naany don't work anymore. she then tired.

Practitioner QK Ah, she's untired too.

Child 3 Work a lidi

Practitioner 1She use to to work at Lidl, but now she's retired.

Child 3 Yeah, we use to see her at lidi

Practitioner QK It's like granddad.

You used to visit Nanny in Lidi. Before she retired.

Child 3 Yeah, when we when we go there and we saw her every day working and sometimes we saw. Uh, somebody else there.

Practitioner QK Ah, also you saw other members of staff working at Lidl because Nanny doesn't work there anymore. OK, so would you like to draw grandad's legs for me? Looking so lovely.

Child 3 She looks she looks like a ghost.

Practitioner QK Oh no.

Child 3 Anyway, she's not a ghost

Practitioner QK So that's grandads feet on grandads.

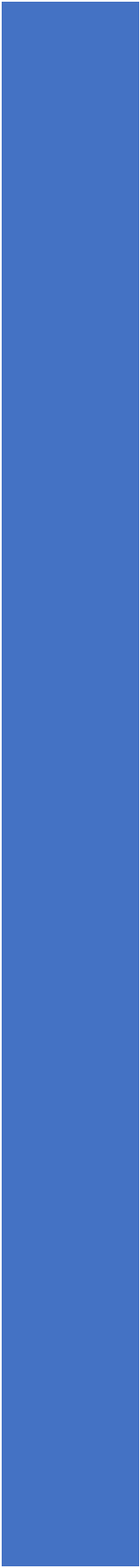
Child 3 And now with.

Practitioner QK and his toes of course. Otherwise, Granddad will wobble over.

Appendix 13 Table of Phrases from code food

Use of Nvivo 12 to produce lists of phrases identified a code 'food

Code	QK 7 references coded [	MKreferences	MH
Food	He gives you everything	coded	references
	like what?	She gets Candies	coded
	Like food	and	Eat Crisps,
	He likes giving you food	When he sends	eat crisps a
	Like what What ?	things , what do you	bunch of
	like coins and chocolate	like that he sends	crisp I get
	eggs and everything like	erm food	crisps
	that		every day
	Grandad always makes me	What food do you	Okay look
	pudding	like?Erm noodles	at that
	He makes you pudding	Noodles, does he	grandads
		make the best	postman's
		noodles?yeah	car Look at
	NO!! He sneaks me		that.where
	pudding.		does
	He always Sneaks me		Postman
	pudding		Grandad
	He sneaks me biscuits		drive his
			car?
	My grandad sneaks me		To the
	some he sneaks me		shop.
	popcorn		To the
			shops do.
	and ice cream and even		You go
	chocolate.		shopping
			with
	He eats peanut. I love		Postman,
	peanuts		Grandad?
			What do
			you buy



That's got biscuits inside of
there

from the
shops?

er
chocolate
spread

Chocolate
spread
from the
shops
that's
exciting

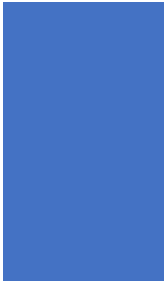
What
makes
your
grandad
feel special
to you? He
gives me
treats

He gives s
You gives
you a
treat, so
lucky
Grandad.

What
treats do
you have
together?

Custard
creams,

custard
cream



treats with
granddad
wow.

Appendix 14 Table of codes for MH

The tables shows the codes for each setting from each child's intrview for MH

MH

Action	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4	Child 5	Child 6
Appearance	Long legs little head glasses	Long legs Eyes teeth	Fav blue or pink		Fav green Purple m Wears glasses	Small legs need glass Fav orange
Age						
Body parts	Arms				Tummy arms	
Smile						
Ethics						
Food		Coins and chocolate eggs				Make pudding sneak pudding Biscuits
Ill health						In hospital
Love						Cuddling
Childcare						
Visit	x		x	Sleepover		
No games or toys at grandparents			No games on tv No games			
Outdoor play	park	park	park			park
Play in doors with grandparent	Cards	Lives with grandpa	play			Play toys
Relationships	Lives with grandad mini casities	Colour and paint playdough h Colour everything	Cousins			
Special places				Lots of treats		
Special rules						
Travel					Norfolk	
Work	Never been to her work	Digging			Knits scarf and toys	
Pick up from nursey			• Max the dog			

Child 6	Child 7	Child 8	Child 9	Child 10
Small legs needs glasses Fav orange		glasses	big	
Make pudding sneaks pudding Biscuits In hospital			Mash and gravey	
Cuddlein g				
		Sleepove rs		
park				
Playwith toys			Watch tv	Lots of toys
	Cousins grandad			
	Santas slegh	Softplay centre		
		Stay up late		
			works	
	Pick up from nuresy	Pick up	Takes to nursey	

Appendix 15 Table of codes for QK

The tables shows the codes for each setting from each child's interview for QK

QK

Code	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4	Child 5	Child 6	Child 7
Appearance	X bigyellow	Pink m little	Bald Glasses Green d	This top Blue Rainbow m	Blue green d	Blue m	
Age		20	37/32				
Body parts	longlegs	Ears Long legs		Bit big Long legs		eyes	
Smile	x			x	x		x
ethics							
Food			crisps		chocolate		
Ill health		Deliveries topic					
Love							
childcare							
Visit	x	x	x	x		x	
No games or toys at grandparents			Phone				
Outdoor play							
Play in doors with grandparent	X books			With dog toys		schools	
Relationships							
special places							
special rules			No shouting				
Travel <i>Culture</i>							
Work			Untired gp/gm coffee	Playing w me	Post man		
Pick up from nursery					x		

Child 7	Child 8	Child 9	Child 10	Child 11	Child 12	Child13
	Eyes Nose Glasses	Eyes Pink m	Pink lipstick	Blue d	Arms white	
	6/ 6		Don't know			
			Long legs	Long legs		
x	x		8		9/ 10	
	Treats custard creams					
		Family				
	X Staying		sleepover		Staying the weekend	
		gardenin g				
	Ticles me	Dr bookaws	Play stories	Play hoover	Tv Playing drawing	bricks
						spanish
					Washing up	
	Golf Doesn't	Gardeni ng fish				

Appendix 16 Table of codes for MK

The tables shows the codes for each setting from each child's interview for MK

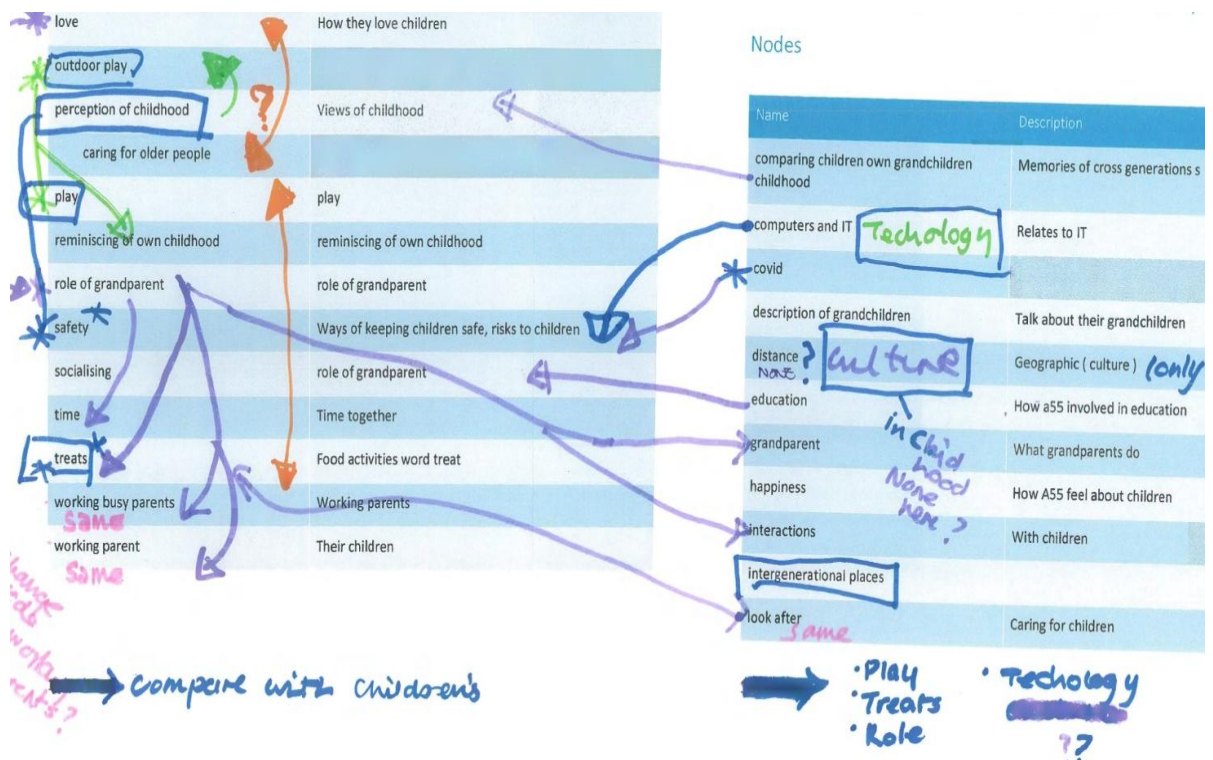
MK

Action	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4	Child 5	Child 6	Child 7
Appearance	Face teeth ros pink		legs	hair	Looka like a fairy		beautiful
smile							
age							
Body parts							
smile		yeah			happy		Happy
ethics							
Food							I eat pizza
Ill health	Help me						
Love			Cuddles	X Love you	Love you		
childcare							
visit				X sleepover			
No games or toys at grandparent s							
Outdoor play							
Play in doors with grandparent		Trains and cars	Play mummies	X Toys	Watch tv Football		
Relationship s							
special places							
special rules					Don't touch flowers		
Travel	<i>Culture</i>					gana	Ghana See on phone
Work							
Pick up from nurse							

Child 7	Child 8	Child 9	Child 10	Child 11	Child 12	Child13	Child 14
beautiful			x	x			
			grumpy				
Happy				I love them			
I eat pizza		candy					noodle
							Nana is super sick
	Love gm	Love gm Says love you in romanian		Hug	Love them		
				Hide and seek			Paint Dollshouse moterbike
							Stay up late
Ghana See on phone	Romania Buys toys dresses phone			Live far away	Indiahin diphone He sends things shop		
			Plays fortnight police	Stay home			
			Pick up in car				

Appendix 17 Themes and Combined themes

Themes and combined themes were created on paper linking codes with in C3-4Yo and A55+ and then comparing them.



Appendix 18 Creating Joint themes

Use of paper and pen to develop combination of themes

