

A Study of Parental Engagement Among Pakistani Families

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Abstract

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A Study of Parental Engagement among Pakistani Families

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This thesis reports a study of parental engagement in children's learning in three Pakistani heritage families in England. The aim of the study was to explore the perspectives and beliefs of Pakistani parents on how and why they engage with their children's school-related learning and beyond, and to investigate the perspectives of children on how their parents' engagement impacted on their behaviour as learners. The study aims to fill gaps in the existing research literature pertaining to examining parental engagement through the eyes of parents and students who face barriers to engagement. Contributions could be made in this area through studies focused on how parents engage with their children in the home. To achieve this, four questions were proposed: What are the forms of parental engagement in terms of children's school-related learning and beyond in a sample of Pakistani homes? Do parents have a clear view why they are engaging in such a way: if so, what is that view? To what extent do these forms of engagement appear to be shaped by distinctive cultural characteristics of Pakistani parents? How do their children view the impact of parental engagement on themselves as learners? These questions were investigated through an overarching ethnographic methodology to understand a small part of the cultural practices of this group. The data was collected through a combination of mixed qualitative methods: solicited diary interviews; photo voice interviews; video footage interviews; documents; field notes; and semi-structured interviews. The findings illuminated the issues of parental engagement and ethnicity, on which there is little literature, and made implications for policies and practices aimed at raising the achievement of this group. The data revealed how the parents engaged with their children in school-related issues; reading, writing and attending school functions. Moreover, the parents were engaged with aspects beyond school; such as, religion, culture, play and computers. The parents had a very broad understanding of education that encompassed not only school, but also activities outside the school environment. This is a very significant aspect, as the parents recognised that school does not teach everything. Data moreover revealed that the parents had different capacities of

engagement according to their own educational background and occupational stance. Those educated in Pakistan relied on the children's to help each other with school work, while some parents could provide more resources to their children consequently of their occupational stance. The parents wanted to preserve their culture and religion. They did this by teaching their children about their religion and culture; Quran, Arabic, Urdu and by sending them to the mosque. All this had a positive influence on their children's spiritual, cultural, personal, social and moral development. The children viewed parental engagement as a positive contributor to their lives. The main purpose of this engagement was to shape the children into good human beings. The children understood the importance of being self-confident, comfortable with who they are and motivated to succeed. Parental engagement made the children confident and wanting to strive for the best, while religious development made them understand the concept of right and wrong.

The study moreover contributes to knowledge in several ways;

1. the study highlights the diversity in the Pakistani population;
2. the study adds to the understanding of how working-class Pakistani parents can have broad understandings of education which extend far beyond school-based learning, and include developing the skills, attitudes and resources to lead a 'good' life;
3. the study demonstrates that religiosity is shown to be integral to Pakistani parents' engagement in their children's learning;
4. the study highlights that Pakistani parents are shown to take responsibility for their children's 'holistic' education, and are also shown to use siblings as 'educational resources' to support school-based learning when they are unable to do so;
5. the study reveals the relevance of Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theory to the Pakistani community;
6. the study also makes a contribution by presenting an insider account of parenting practices in Pakistani families.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter overview

This chapter presents an overview of the study. It begins by providing a brief introduction to the study, including the aims, research questions, and rationale, and the significance for the researcher, contributions to knowledge and an outline of the chapters.

The study

This research is an ethnographic study of an extended Pakistani family in England, containing three nested case studies of the sub-units of that family. I undertook the study as a member of this extended family. In the study, I collected data from the parents with regard to their parenting practices through semi-structured interviews, solicited diary interviews, photo voice interviews, video footage interviews and documents.

Aims

The aim of this study was to explore the perspectives and beliefs of Pakistani parents on how and why they engage with their children's school-related learning and beyond, and to investigate the perspectives of children on how their parents' engagement impacted on their behaviour as learners.

Research questions

The aim of this study was framed by the following questions:

1. What are the forms of parental engagement in terms of children's school-related learning and beyond in a sample of Pakistani homes?
2. Do parents have a clear view of why they are engaging in such a way: if so, what is that view?

3. To what extent do these forms of engagement appear to be shaped by distinctive cultural characteristics of Pakistani parents?
4. How do their children view the impact of parental engagement on themselves as learners?

Rationale for the study

Much of the literature on parental engagement or parental involvement states that there is no clear, concise, shared common meaning to what is meant by ‘parental engagement’ or ‘parental involvement’ (Carreón *et al.*, 2005, Fan and Chen, 2001, Barton *et al.*, 2004, Harris and Goodall, 2007). For this reason, these terms are often used interchangeably (Hollingworth *et al.*, 2009). But, the impact of parental engagement is apparent across all backgrounds, regardless of ethnicity. However, a major force shaping pupils’ achievement and adjustment is in the form of parental values and aspirations modelled in the home (Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003, Harris and Goodall, 2007, Hill and Tyson, 2009).

Researchers have moreover highlighted various factors that could have a negative or positive influence on parental engagement: for example, socio-economic status; parents’ educational attainment; family structure; ethnicity; and parental engagement. Studies (Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003, Harris and Goodall, 2007, Hill and Tyson, 2009) show that the more deprived the family, the less powerful parental engagement there is likely to be in helping children to do well in school. This will influence student achievement and adjustment, and is more associated with families in lower socio-economic status. Pupils who make progress are usually from higher social class families, because their parents are able to provide various resources to facilitate learning. For the purpose of this thesis, ‘social class’ refers to economic resources and material well-being. Findings reveal that mothers who have higher levels of education engage frequently with their children in the home environment through verbal and non-verbal activities (Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003, DCSF, 2006, Harris and Goodall, 2008, Strand, 2007, Sacker *et al.*, 2002, Suizzo and Stapleton, 2007, Sammons *et al.*, 2004).

Desforges’s and Abouchaar’s (2003) research identifies ethnicity as being connected to socio-economic status based upon multiple indices that measure deprivation. Members of certain minority groups are disproportionately likely to experience poverty (DCSF, 2006). Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups are affected by poverty and deprivation more than other ethnic groups (Barn, 2006, Sunder and Uddin, 2007, Coghlan *et al.*, 2009). These groups also

underperform academically compared with Chinese and Indian groups (DCSF, 2008, Cole, 2006, Strand, 2015). Thereby, the influence of ethnicity is more negative on Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups due to the effect of poverty or ethnicity compounded by poverty. This has an impact on parental engagement which, subsequently, impacts on student achievement (Harris and Goodall, 2008). Furthermore, the focus and concern of this study is an ethnic group; Pakistani. Pakistani's are one of the largest ethnic minority groups in England, however, nationally they continue to underperform nationally compared with other ethnic groups (Bhatti, 2011).

Contemporary studies conducted by Crozier (Crozier, 2003, Crozier, 2005, Crozier and Davies, 2006, Crozier and Davies, 2007, Crozier, 2009) of Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities in the North East of England, have explored the understanding of parents from Bangladeshi and Pakistani heritage of the British educational systems and of their children's educational experience. Further, these studies distinguish the parental role pertaining to their children's education, together with the children's perspectives on these issues and how the parents' traditions, cultures and values correspond to, or conflict with, the expectations of their children's schools; in particular, with regard to home-school relations. Nevertheless, further research is required to examine parental engagement through the eyes of parents and students who face barriers to engagement. How do perceptions of parental engagement impact on practice (Harris and Goodall, 2007, Government, 2009, Hollingworth et al., 2009)? Good contributions could be made to this area by observational studies (Phoenix, 2007) and studies focused on how parents engage with their children in the home (Goodall and Vorhaus, 2010). These could be used to model appropriate interventions for disadvantaged or ethnic minority families (Goodall and Vorhaus, 2010).

Significance for the researcher

This study is significant to my teaching roles; English as an Additional Language, Urdu and a form teacher with pastoral duties. These roles encompass an attachment to the aforementioned ethnic group, of which I am also a member. Over several years in this profession, I have seen students from various social backgrounds progress through the education system. Some have made good progression through their school life and achieved good results in their assessments. However, I have observed a very different pattern among

some students, who either fell short of fulfilling their educational potential because of the lack of skills required for success, or who underachieved as a result of their behaviour.

For some time, I have observed various colleagues talking and reiterating sentiments such as: ‘his/her parents are not bothered’, ‘he’ll end up like his dad; a taxi driver’, and ‘they have never come to parents’ evening’. Such statements provided the motivation to contemplate why parents engage with their children’s educational endeavours, what their aspirations are for their children, and the influence they have on their children’s education and attitude to learning?

Since enrolling on the Doctorate in Education, I have pursued, with great interest, my study of ethnic minority parental engagement. My first research paper (Shafiq, 2010) explored literature addressing specific issues relating to ethnic minorities; in particular, Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities in England. My second research paper (Shafiq, 2011a) focused on Pakistani parents who participated in a project, which was an initiative of two schools who worked together to break the barriers between school and parents. I learnt a lot from the teachers about how they were trying to familiarise parents who were not born in England with school-related issues. Moreover, I had the opportunity to interview parents about their experiences of different issues relating to how the school operates and how they try to involve themselves with the school. My third research paper (Shafiq, 2011b) assessed the feasibility of my research proposal through a pilot study which was to enhance the productivity of this study. The paper proposed research to study the perspectives, behaviours and beliefs of Pakistani parents on why and how they engage with their children’s educational learning, and to investigate their children’s perspectives, behaviours and beliefs on the issue of parental engagement, and student adjustment and achievement. The pilot study highlighted the potential difficulties I may face utilising an ethnographic approach and it moreover enhanced my understanding of the notion of immersion in others’ worlds, ways of minimising observer bias, determining the best course of action in establishing access and keeping good fieldwork relations. Now, for my final dissertation, I would like to further develop my in-depth understanding of the basic principles of why parents engage, how they engage and the reported influence of this engagement. I would also like to add the cultural and religious aspects of engagement and how parents cope with different educational institutions, which I believe vital to understanding a community.

Contribution to knowledge

This study contributes to knowledge in several ways:

1. the study highlights the diversity in the Pakistani population;
2. the study adds to the understanding of how working-class Pakistani parents can have broad understandings of education which extend far beyond school-based learning, and include developing the skills, attitudes and resources to lead a ‘good’ life;
3. the study demonstrates that religiosity is shown to be integral to Pakistani parents’ engagement in their children’s learning;
4. the study highlights that Pakistani parents are shown to take responsibility for their children’s ‘holistic’ education, and are also shown to use siblings as ‘educational resources’ to support school-based learning when they are unable to do so;
5. the study reveals the relevance of Yosso’s (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theory to the Pakistani community;
6. the study also makes a contribution by presenting an insider account of parenting practices in Pakistani families.

Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a context for the current study through the introduction of key issues relating to the underachievement of Pakistani children, the usefulness of an ethnographic methodology, and the significance of the study for the researcher. In Chapter Two, I explore the literature on parental engagement in general and, specifically, Pakistani parental engagement. I investigate the cultural and religious influence on Pakistani parental engagement, the intersection of variables of influence on Pakistani parental engagement, the barriers to parental engagement, the influence of parental engagement and the gaps in research. In Chapter Three, I describe the approach that was used in the study and the ethical challenges that were faced in the study. Moreover, I explain the design of the study, the sample, stages of data collection, methods of data collection, methodological considerations in researching parental engagement in the home context, data analysis, timetable, data storage, ethics and reflexivity, on being a family member researcher, and trustworthiness. In Chapter Four, I present the findings; elaborating on each of the cases, starting with the Shah

family, the Akram family and then the Aslam family. In Chapter Five, I compare the similarities and differences between the case studies. In Chapter Six, I discuss the findings pertaining to the research questions and explore my findings in the light of the literature reviewed in Chapter Two. I also identify the contribution to knowledge my study has made and I provide my reflections on the methodological challenges I came across in this study and how I overcame them. Moreover, I expand on the study's limitations and the potential for further research, while the implications for policy and the implications for schools are detailed.

Chapter Two: Literature review

Chapter overview

Chapter One presented an introduction to this study and its relevance. This chapter outlines how parental engagement is understood by ethnic minority parents; specifically, Pakistani parents. Moreover, the chapter demonstrates how religion and culture may influence parental engagement. Other processes of influence on parental engagement are addressed in this chapter; such as poverty, deprivation, socio-economic status and racism. The barriers to engagement faced by ethnic minority parents are discussed, as well as the positive influence of parental engagement on student adjustment and attainment.

Introduction

Education is a vital part of a child's life. Research on education assigns considerable value to those who are educated and, to some extent, they are described as having an advantage over those who are not; thereby providing the educated a greater chance of upward social mobility (Thapar-Bjorkert and Sanghera, 2010).

The learning process and the importance of education are transmitted in the home environment by the parents. The child sees, hears and feels its parents' presence and this is where learning begins. Children are exposed to knowledge and learning in the home through listening, speaking, reading, writing and various other activities parents might engage in within the home environment. This is a key means of reinforcing the academic acceleration expected by teachers in schools (Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003, Goodall and Montgomery, 2013). The way the child is brought up is connected to the child's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). DCSF (2008) has mentioned; "Parents, carers and families are the first educators of their children within the community and all are co-investors with schools in raising attainment" (p32).

The impact of parental engagement on student adjustment and achievement has been elucidated by various researchers (Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003, Goodall and Montgomery, 2013, Owen., 2008). Research has uncovered various processes that could influence parental engagement; for example, poverty, deprivation, socio-economic status and racism, all of which may result in underachievement (Rashid, 2005, Barn, 2006, Strand,

2007). These processes of influence are associated more with certain ethnic group than others (Coghlan *et al.*, 2009, Barn, 2006, Sunder and Uddin, 2007, Cole, 2006, DCSF, 2008). These groups, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, tend to underperform compared with Indian and Chinese ethnic groups (DCSF, 2008, Cole, 2006). Consequently, this literature review is about the parenting practices of Pakistani families and there are a number of things to say about this. There are distinctive cultural characteristics of the Pakistani group which may be relevant to how they view education and how they view children (Bhatti, 2002). There is an apparent distinction in parenting practices (Zaman, 2014). Irrespective of the former, this group (or members of this group) is disproportionately poor and we know that poverty and social class have an impact on parenting practices (Coghlan *et al.*, 2009, Craig, 2007); thereby suggesting that Pakistani families might have difficulty engaging with their children's schooling. That might suggest Pakistani children are at a disadvantage; nevertheless, it is significant to remember that not all Pakistani families are the same and that cultural, economic and individual differences exist between them. Finally, although Pakistani children on the whole seem to do badly in school, this is not the case for every child within this group (Rashid, 2005, Barn, 2006, Strand, 2007). There are many potential explanations for this and one of the things we know is that parental engagement is an significant determinant of how well children do in school (Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003). So, it is worth exploring the processes that are at work across this diverse population. What we know is that the Pakistani group is culturally distinctive and culture and religion have an influence on parental engagement (Zaman, 2014).

Parental engagement

Much of the literature on 'parental engagement' or 'parental involvement' points out that there is no clear, concise, shared common meaning to what is meant by 'parental engagement' or 'parental involvement' (Carreón *et al.*, 2005, Fan and Chen, 2001, Barton *et al.*, 2004, Harris and Goodall, 2007). For this reason, these terms are often used interchangeably (Hollingworth *et al.*, 2009). Hollingworth *et al* have used parental engagement and parental involvement interchangeably to explore the broad meaning on how parents engage with their children's learning. Moreover, Owen (2008) has defined 'parental engagement' as activities parents undertake to learn about learning and 'parental involvement' as activities that parents undertake pertaining to their child's school.

Conversely, Kim (2009), defined parental involvement as the parents' engagement in their children's lives to influence the children's overall actions. Huntsinger and Jose (2009) point out that some researchers have used Epstein's (1995) ecological framework to define parental involvement. This contains six types of involvement: 1) Parenting, 2) Communicating, 3) Volunteering, 4) Learning at home, 5) Decision making and, 6) Collaborating. Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) point out that parental involvement is a catch-all term for many different activities including 'at home' good parenting, helping with homework, talking to teachers, attending school functions and taking part in school governance. For this study, parental engagement will take the broad understanding as defined by Kim (2009) on how parents engage with their children's learning in the home; whether this is through formal learning (homework or school initiated), or informal learning. The latter may be initiated by the parents assisting the children: for example, teaching home languages (Urdu and Punjabi), religious texts, reading with or to their children, doing additional literacy and numeracy work, or through the provision of the tools of learning, including stationery, reading books, art equipment, cognitive games and information technology. Thus, the term 'parental involvement' will not be used in this study.

Structure of the literature review

Section one explores cultural and religious influence on Pakistani parental engagement. The intersections of variables of influence on Pakistani parental engagement are discussed in section two. Section three uncovers the barriers to engagement faced by (ethnic minority) Pakistani/Bangladeshi parents when engaging with schools. Section four explains the overall influence of Pakistani parental engagement on student achievement, and section five concludes by presenting the key points on Pakistani parental engagement and highlighting the research gaps. (Appendix 1 explains the methods used for the literature review)

While searching the literature, it became obvious that there is relatively little literature available on British Pakistani children in education and even less of that is concerned with parenting. Thus, to try and strengthen my literature review, I have used literature pertaining to other minority groups in this country. For instance, in some places I have combined Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups as they have similar characteristics and this is how statistics are collected. Where there seems to be particular relevance, I have used literature on minority groups in other countries; notably, the United States. However, in using this

literature, it is important to be aware that these groups are in very different situations so some caution has to be taken in generalising findings from one group to another.

Section one: Cultural and religious influence on Pakistani parental engagement

Before discussing parental engagement within the context of cultural and/or religious influence, it is significant to first define what we mean by the term ‘culture’. Culture, at its most simplest level is “made up of the concepts, beliefs and principles of action and organisation, meaning it is the shared cognitive codes and maps, norms of appropriate behaviour, assumptions about values and world view shared by a group or society” (Delgado-Gaitan et al., 1991 p. 17). Ethnographers further distinguish culture as either materialist or ideational in perspective. The materialist definition of culture is that it is; “the sum of a social group’s observable patterns of behaviour, customs, and way of life”, whereas the ideational definition of culture takes the cognitive approach and states that; “culture comprises the ideas, beliefs, and knowledge that characterise a particular group of people”; deliberately excluding behaviour from its definition (Fetterman, 2010 p.16). Nevertheless, a problematic feature of these definitions is that they tend to suggest a homogenous “way of life” or set of ideas and knowledge across entire cultural group, whereas in reality culture does not remain static, it is constantly shifting and evolving, transforming itself according to time and place (Bhatti, 2002, Delgado-Gaitan, 1990, Spencer-Oatey, 2012). Furthermore, on an individual level, members of groups will vary; “both in the extent of their identification with the group and in the degree to which their behaviour is based on the groups cultural norms. . . there will be moreover diversity within any cultural group” (Blackledge, 2000 p. 12), and there will be commonly shared focal points (Fetterman, 2010). Even though, these definitions do not fully describe or define the word culture, nevertheless, it is a starting point and a perspective from which an ethnographer can approach the group under study (Fetterman, 2010 p. 16).

For those who migrate to other countries, they may be faced with adverse cultural challenges and the prospect of becoming a cultural minority. Ethnic minorities who have migrated from their countries for various reasons tend to preserve their culture and religion without assimilating into the majority culture (Shah and Iqbal, 2011, Stewart *et al.*, 1999). Parents teach their children about their culture and religion at home and in other educational institutes; mosques, temples and home language centres. This process is challenged through

acculturation which takes place in educational institutions; schools, colleges, universities and workplaces (Bhatti, 2002).

To help the reader understand the cultural practices of the first generation Pakistani migrant parent, it would be useful to present a vignette of the religio-cultural practices in Pakistan.

Riffat (2014) states,

In Pakistan, Islam functions as a formal religion while moreover providing a cultural ethos that structures the self and its relationships with the immediate and extended family, as well as non-family members. Muslim values, thus, provide the core for many parenting norms that cut across social and economic classes even though the emphasis and role of religion vary in the lives of families. (p94)

Riffat (2014) highlights the religious phrases such as *inshallah* (if God wills), *mashallah* (as God wills), *Bismillah* (in the name of Allah), and *Alhamdulillah* (All praises are for Allah), are used in conversations in Pakistani families. Through childrearing, parents instil into their children religious teachings: life is transcendental, God has mastery over all things, morals from the Quran; self-sacrifice, tolerance, and patience in the face of adversity, are taught and emphasised. A great deal of effort is put on duty, obligation and respecting elders and fostering tolerance between brothers and sisters and is a very significant norm in families at an early age.

Riffat explains that the extended family structure affects the childrearing process as the Pakistani family structure usually constitutes three generations; grandparents, sons, their wives and children, and unmarried siblings. The father is the head of the extended family and main breadwinner. The son usually takes over the father's duties when he grows up and as for the house chores and looking after the children, this is the role of the mother and the daughters. This is parallel to the findings of Stewart et al (1999), who emphasise, "For the masses of Pakistan, a girl must learn to obey her mother and grow up to be like her mother, a boy like his father" (p752). This is further expanded on, "Pakistani culture differentiates gender roles much more strictly than does Western culture" (p767).

Riffat advocates that family honour and shame is emphasised as a child grows up and used as a code of discipline. The child's misbehaviour is questioned, "Is this how you were brought up?" Stewart et al (1999) further comment, "some parenting behaviours reflect issues that are of particular importance in Pakistani society: The individual's relationship to God, and family *Izzat* or honour" (p768). *Izzat* refers to the family's honour and social standing. The issue of

honour and Izzat in Pakistani families has had a great influence on how some parents engage with their children in England.

In the Pakistani Diaspora, it is common that girls should go to single sex schools to avoid inter-mixing with boys and avoiding inappropriate behaviour as noted by various researchers (Shah and Iqbal, 2011, Ijaz and Abbas, 2010). However, in contrast to this, Bhatti's (2002) ethnographic study on 'Asian children at home and at school' in the South of England, reveals that some Pakistani parents in her study allowed their daughters to go to the local coeducational school rather than a single sex girls school. The reason given by some of the parents was that the moral reputation of the single sex girls' school was no good because some Asian girls from the school had allegedly run off with boys. And in one case an Asian girl had an abortion. This, especially for an unmarried Asian girl, would bring her and the extended families izzat and honour under scrutiny and disgrace in the Asian community. Ijaz and Abbas (2010) explain the influence of Pakistani and Bangladeshi parents' engagement on their daughters' educational experiences, was revealed in 1980s through research within these two groups. Research uncovered that Bangladeshi and Pakistani parents valued education and wanted their daughters to succeed; however, they were afraid that their daughters would become '*Westernised*' and lose their religious-cultural background. Ijaz and Abbas (2010) acknowledged this, "They wanted their daughters to have the best of both worlds: receive Western education and yet maintain their conventional religio-cultural values" (p316). Ijaz and Abbas (2010) in their study of Pakistani parents from Mirpur residing in the West Midlands, differentiate the attitude of first generation migrant Pakistani parents and second generation British born Pakistani parents. Their study showed second generation British born Pakistani parents were equally worried about sending their sons and daughters to schools. While with their daughters' westernisation and distancing from religion was a worry, with the sons they worried that they might become morally corrupted and get involved in criminal activities. These parents disliked the double standards of their culture in treating young men differently from the young women. Their justification for the equality between sexes was not due to Western liberal discourse but the teachings of Islam. In order to inculcate the desired values and morals, Pakistani parents in Britain may send their children to supplementary schools in the evenings, to learn to read the Quran, study basic Islamic studies and Urdu, the national language of Pakistan (Bhatti, 2002).

Culture and religious influence are not alone, there are other processes shaping the Pakistani parents and their children; poverty, deprivation, socio-economic status and racism. These

factors intersect with ethnicity. Thereby, this has an impact on parental engagement which subsequently impacts on student adjustment and achievement (Harris and Goodall, 2008).

Section two: Intersection of variables of influence on Pakistani parental engagement

Poverty and deprivation

Studies reported in this section will show that parental engagement can be influenced by a number of variables. The influence of poverty and socio-economic status on parental engagement regarding their children's education is a very delicate issue for some parents. Coghlan *et al* (2009) state:

Child poverty affects certain ethnic groups in particular. In 2006/07, the majority of Pakistani and Bangladeshi and black non-Caribbean children and young people were living in poverty, compared with around a quarter of white children. (p3)

Ethnicity is strongly related to deprivation and poverty. Research has pointed out that poverty is most likely to be associated with minority ethnic groups (Craig, 2007). The DCSF (2006) has defined ethnic minorities as groups apart from those defined as White British (p7). There is moreover a strong link between parental engagement, social economic status (SES) and ethnicity (Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003). Although, Desforges's and Abouchaar's (2003) research identifies that ethnicity is connected with socio-economic status based upon multiple indices that measure deprivation, the members of minority groups are disproportionately likely to experience poverty. The DCSF (2006) state:

Minority ethnic pupils are more likely to experience deprivation than White British Pupils, especially Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black African and Black Caribbean pupils. For example, 70% of Bangladeshi pupils and almost 60% of Pakistani and Black African pupils live in the 20% most deprived postcode areas (as defined by the Index of Multiple Deprivation) compared to less than 20% of White British pupils. (p6)

Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups are affected by poverty and deprivation more than other ethnic groups (Coghlan *et al.*, 2009, Barn, 2006, Sunder and Uddin, 2007). Rashid *et al* (2005) have indicated that a high percentage of Pakistani and Bangladeshi families rely on social security benefits, self-employment and pensions. Similar to Rashid's findings are Strand's (2007) who has elaborated that the proportion of Pakistani and Bangladeshi households that come under social classes 1 and 2 (higher/lower managerial and professional occupations) is 15% Pakistan's and 7% Bangladeshi's compared to 41% White British and

37% for Black Caribbean households. As for those who have never worked or who are long time unemployed, 43% for Bangladeshi, 26% for Pakistani, 27% for Black African and 4% for White British households. Strand has moreover pointed out that many Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black African households do not have a wage earner so they are heavily dependent on means-tested benefits. Drawing upon Rashid and Strand, Barn (2006) takes the argument a step further and argues that low income, unemployment and poor housing were acknowledged in his findings as being the characteristics of Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi families. These socio-economic difficulties compelled such families to rely upon social housing. Socio-economic status mediates both parental engagement and pupil achievement (Harris and Goodall, 2007). Consequently, these groups; Bangladeshi and Pakistani underperform compared to Chinese and Indian groups (DCSF, 2008, Cole, 2006).

Poverty and deprivation are measured by a set of indicators to assess which household falls under the label of poverty and deprivation. DCSF (2006) report has elaborated that free school meals (FSM) are one of the indicators used to measure child deprivation. The report has clarified that children from certain ethnic backgrounds come under this category. The report moreover acknowledges a large percentage of Bangladeshi and Pakistani pupils are eligible for free school meals. The report further explains the percentage of Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils who are eligible for free school meals in primary school is less than secondary school. Contrary to this, the report highlights the percentage of Indian and Chinese pupils on free school meals, which is below the average of all pupils. Another indicator of poverty mentioned in the report is Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index (IDACI), which measures low income households in an area. This indicates that from the non-FSM groups, “ethnic groups are more likely to live in areas of high deprivation than others” (p17). In particular, non-FSM Bangladeshi and Pakistani pupils live in the most deprived areas in comparison to those who are non-FSM, White British, Mixed White & Asian and Chinese pupils. The report indicates that deprivation as measured by FSM and IDACI has a large impact upon attainment. An additional indicator which is explained in the DCSF (2006) report to FSM and IDACI, is ACORN (A Classification of Residential Neighbourhoods). ACORN is an indicator that describes people according to the neighbourhoods they live in and on the following categories: wealthy achievers, urban prosperity, comfortably off, moderate means and hard pressed. ACORN works on the assumption that people in one neighbourhood will be or will have a similar pattern of purchasing habits and attitudinal characteristics. The ACORN indicator identifies a high percentage of Pakistani and

Bangladeshi pupils under the category of hard pressed or moderate means; more than Chinese, White British and Indian pupils. All of the three indicators that measure deprivation have labelled the majority of Bangladeshi and Pakistani ethnic groups as highly deprived.

Poverty and deprivation indicators and student achievement

The use of deprivation indicators to investigate student achievement is apparent in some studies. Strand (2007) has demonstrated that the progress of pupils who are eligible for free school meals (FSM) is less than those who are not eligible for FSM. Besides the use of poverty and deprivation indicators, school and neighbourhood variables have also been used to investigate student achievement (Strand, 2007, Sacker *et al.*, 2002, Rashid, 2005). This has been elaborated by Rashid *et al* (2005) who argue that situating minority ethnic communities in geographical areas with multiple-deprivation and where the most underperforming schools are located has contributed to poor educational achievement. The groups that score poorly on all social indicators of exclusion and disadvantage are Pakistani and Bangladeshi. Sunder and Uddin's (2007) comparative analysis of Bangladeshi and Pakistani educational attainment in London has revealed that Pakistani and Bangladeshi's are two of the most disadvantaged ethnic groups, it would be expected then that their poverty reflects a negative impact on their results. The Bangladeshi students are showing better progress than the Pakistani students in London and on a national average. They are finding ways to succeed despite the disadvantages they are faced with, such as language barriers, material deprivation and racism. They are overcoming the negative impact of these processes on their achievements.

The impact of socio-economic status on parental engagement

Harris and Goodall (2008) state,

A major factor mediating parental engagement is socio-economic status, whether indexed by occupational class or parental (especially maternal) level of education. Study after study has demonstrated that socio-economic status (SES) mediates both parental engagement and pupil achievement. (p279)

The influence of socio-economic status on the way parents engage with their children, has been under study for quite a time now. This critique of parental engagement has led various researchers to produce different outcomes and solutions which have a direct knock on effect

on children's attainment and adjustment. Researchers have found that there is evidence that parental engagement is associated with social class, income and parents level of education (Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003). These variables can have a positive or negative impact on parental engagement; parents who will be earning more will have the material ability to provide more resources than those parents who are at the bottom level of the social class (Harris and Goodall, 2008) and consequently the more deprived the family, the less parental engagement there will be. This will impact on student achievement and adjustment and is more associated with families in lower social classes (Sacker *et al.*, 2002). This point has been exemplified by Blackledge (2000) who explains why low socio-economic children perform less well in reading tests in schools. He argues that they have fewer books available at home; do not read a lot and parents hardly read to them stories. Though, the pupils who owned more books read more and their parents read with them more often, resulting in good results in the reading tests. In Contrary Suizzo and Stapleton (2007) findings showed that mothers who had higher level of education frequently engaged with their children in the home environment through verbal, non-verbal, and outside home activities. Although, the level of income showed variations in verbal and outside activities, it had less of a bearing than maternal education. Their study moreover revealed that ethnicity is not the main factor in differentiating the frequencies in young children's home-based activities however maternal education was the main attributor.

Research has demonstrated that pupils from top social class families, whose mothers had some sort of educational qualifications and this is moreover relevant for pupils not entitled to FSM made more progress than expected (Strand, 2007). Similar was the case in Strand's (2007) research for those parents who provided private tuition or a home computer; who showed high educational aspirations; who were more engaged with school activities and occasionally quarrelled with their children. The children of these parents made more advancement than expected. Strand (2007) has investigated parents' attitudes and differences in behaviour on the topic of their children's schooling. The most engaged parents with their children's education are Black African parents, then White British parents, who are more engaged than Pakistani and Bangladeshi parents. Indian parents would highly consider paying for tuition or private classes to further enhance their children's subject knowledge, whereas White British parents most likely would not. The provision of a home computer in Indian households is most likely, while the least likely households to facilitate a home computer are Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean households.

A very significant question here is what is important for Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean children who come from low socio-economic backgrounds? For this, Cheng and Starks (2002) perceive parental aspirations in the home as being a very significant resource for those students who are from the low socio-economic backgrounds. This is really significant for ethnic minority pupils whose parents generally have high home educational aspirations for their children.

These inequalities have persisted due to another factor, racism in the educational system, which has had a negative impact on parental engagement in some ethnic groups.

Racism

Studies have uncovered that the prevalence of the 'one size fits all' approach may still be present in various educational establishments. Disadvantaged parents are further deprived by the assumption that all parents are the same, have the same needs, and their children are same as other children (Vincent and Marie, 2005, Crozier, 2001). This notion, especially for ethnic minority parents, makes the eradication of structural racism and its consequences irrelevant. Other studies have revealed how ethnic minorities are marginalised for not having the right cultural and linguistic resources of the indigenous majority (Blackledge, 2001, Blackledge, 2000). Blackledge's (2001) provides an example how Bangladeshi women were marginalised for not having the cultural and linguistic resources of the majority-culture school. Due to this they did not gain the appropriate information or support with their children's schooling even though the majority of Bangladeshi women were confident at teaching their children Bengali or facilitating it through other means. The Bangladeshi women possessed a linguistic and cultural resource, which was only valuable in the domains of home and community. Whereas the school excludes, consciously or unconsciously, Bangladeshi students and parents through the establishment of activities that require specific majority-culture based knowledge and behaviours. Blackledge (2000) notes that when asked if they tried to advise parents on how to support their children's learning, the response of one teacher was that it is a class issue, assuming that Bangladeshi parents do not possess the cultural resources to make an input to their children's learning. Consequently, Abbas (2002a) points out that South Asian Muslims' underperformance is due to various negative factors; patriarchy in the home and existing biases concerning Muslims (Pakistani and Bangladeshi) in school. Contrary to this, Abbas notes, are Indians (Hindus and Sikhs) who have double advantage; higher socio-economic

status, better schools and are viewed better by teachers generally, due to their religion and culture.

Crozier's (2009) study has given an insight into some school factors that could be regarded as obstacles' between parents and teachers. Her article, *South Asian Parents' Aspirations Versus Teachers' Expectations in the United Kingdom*, makes a very strong link between aspirations and expectations by using the preposition 'versus'. This provides a metaphorical meaning that these two do not relate with each other. This provides a broad understanding that parents' aspirations for their children do not correlate with the teachers' perceptions. Crozier focused her study on second generation South Asian Bangladeshi heritage families based in Shipton and Pakistani heritage students based in Ironoreton. She noted that the teachers' held stereotypical assumptions concerning the students, their parents and community, resulting in low expectations of Asian people, which had implications for their subsequent opportunities. The teachers' perspectives contradict the opinions of the parents and children who hold high ambitions. The lack of understanding of the cultural background of the families is evident from the study and there is prejudicial behaviour in the teachers not wanting to build a positive relation with parents and children. In another article, Crozier and Davies (2008) emphasise how Asian pupils are marginalised by expectations from teachers and educational institutions that they should become white; mix in, blend in, assimilate and not be different. In their research, they confirm how teachers blamed Asian and white, largely working class, students for racist harassment and exclusionary behaviours, however, the reality is that it is the structural and institutional racism of the school that keeps them there. This form of racism from teachers and institutions is a barrier between the positive engagement of teachers and ethnic minority parents. Some parents commented at the differential attitudes of the schools towards them because they were of a Pakistani heritage.

The government (DCSF, 2008) has tried to address some of these negative elements which concern the education system. Various documents and policies have covered issues linked to community cohesion. DCSF (2008) have argued that showing respect to pupils from different heritages is very important:

In schools which create an ethos of respect for Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Somali and Turkish heritages among others, pupils experience a greater sense of belonging and of being valued. In an atmosphere focused on emotional health and well-being, pupils are able to enjoy learning and achieve in an environment of mutual trust. This avoids social exclusion which can result from institutionalized racism, a lack of understanding or mis-information. (p15)

Sneddon (2008) provides an insight into how the learning of the home language and culture can have an impact on the confidence of the bilingual pupils and can enhance their literacy skills in English and the home language. Moreover, he suggests that parental engagement can have a positive impact on the child in this early stage of schooling. In his study he demonstrates how teachers valued the language and the cultural heritage of the child through the provision of dual language books, resulting in the parents staying engaged with the school activities in their home. In contrast, in Blackledge's (2000) study, the teachers did not show any constructive steps towards valuing the linguistic and cultural capital of the Bangladeshi children or parents, which led to the disengagement of the Bangladeshi parents from helping their children with their school reading books at home.

Conteh and Kawashima (2008) note:

. . . small-scale, qualitative research in England is beginning to show that ethnic minority parents have the potential to help their children's learning in many ways, both at home and at school, using the languages and skills they already possess. The experience and knowledge of the families could be used effectively and could provide considerable advantages for children's learning in school ... (p123)

It is obvious from the above that different processes are at work across the Pakistani population; poverty, deprivation, socio-economic status and racism, which influence parental engagement. Nevertheless, for some Pakistani parents there are more processes at work; language barriers and not understanding the education system. These moreover influence parental engagement. For these parents to effectively support their children at home, it is important that they engage themselves in improving their understanding of education and their familiarity with taught subjects.

Section three: Barriers to parental engagement

Research studies have demonstrated that certain barriers such as unfamiliarity with the British education system and not knowing the English language can restrict parents from fully engaging with their children's schooling. Many parents who come from Bangladesh and Pakistan have been brought up in a very different learning environment compared to the British education system. When these parents come to Britain, they are not familiar with what their child is learning in school and how the educational system works (Crozier and Davies, 2007). Rashid *et al* (2005) have associated unfamiliarity

with the education system a factor that dissuades parents from establishing links with the school. They have expressed that language barriers are one of the obstacles that holds back Pakistani and Bangladeshi parents from communicating with the school or teachers concerning any concerns. The work of Crozier and Davies (2007) highlights that some schools categorise those parents from ethnic minority groups who have little knowledge of the British education system as hard to reach, or they are considered as being difficult or unsympathetic, particularly in regards to Pakistani and Bangladeshi parents. In contrast, Harris and Goodall's (2008) study in that some ethnic minority groups parents whom the schools had down as hard to reach felt that the schools were hard to reach and there was a general feeling from parents that engaging with primary schools was easier than secondary; there was moreover a sense of intimidation from the size of the secondary or the physical size of the pupils to the extent some parents were frightened to engage with secondary schools and the difference of one main teacher in a primary school to a much more complex involvement of mixture of roles in a secondary school (form teacher, head of year, senior managers and so on). Their study has moreover indicated that the most mentioned causes for parents not being engaged in schooling is work commitments, lack of time and child care difficulties, nevertheless, in their study the schools did not categorise ethnic minority groups as difficult to engage with or unsympathetic as mentioned by Crozier and Davies (2007).

Comparable to the above, Kim (2009) carried out a literature review looking into the barriers that hinder minority parents from participating in their children's school in the United States. His review focused on the phase from preschool to middle school because of it being the major development period for the child. He used Bourdieu's theory (1973) that the school way of life is a reproduction of social culture and is impossible to change. He used the theory to understand the relationship between the school and minority parents. He challenged Bourdieu's theory (1973) pertaining to the changing culture of the school and the changing habitus of the teachers in promoting minority parental engagement in school. The following is an outline of some of the barriers mentioned in his study: minority parents feel that the teachers are not welcoming; narrow-mindedness of teachers and administrators towards minority parents; not valuing the minority on the basis their education and related values are different to the white middle class families and so viewed as lacking, assumptions of teachers that minority parents do not have time, interest or money, or speak English as an second language, wealthy White females are chosen to participate in activities because minority

parents have fewer resources and more stress, teachers do not welcome minority parental engagement, a lack of specific planning and coordination (major barrier) and outcome of parental programs not being reviewed.

If schools are faced with all these obstacles that are barriers to parental engagement, then the question is how do schools surmount these hurdles and make parental engagement conducive to learning. For this various opinions have been given; Harris *et al.* (2008) note, for interaction with parents to be effective, both time and commitment is required from parents and schools. This will only happen when parents understand the changes they make and schools show that all parents matter and Page *et al* (2007) provides four key factors for successfully engaging minority ethnic parents: the need to build a relation of trust with parents so they can express their concerns, to have a member of staff responsible on site for parental issues so they can relate to them, recruiting from the local community so parents can have the assumption that they are one of us; and to give opportunities for parents to sit down and talk to each other to see what they have in common. This will give parents confidence to discuss issues. Page *et al* (2007) further explains that in some schools, parent councils are formed to make engagement easy with parents via parents. Parents can express their feeling about their child's education. Page provides an example of Bruce Grove Primary School which is in one of the most diverse and deprived boroughs of London. It has a large population of Turkish, African Caribbean pupils and newcomers such as Somali and Kurdish students. To make effective engagement with parents it formed a parent council. Initially, the head teacher wanted the parent council to function like the student council in that for each meeting a parent representative attends from each form. Nevertheless, this was not the case because the varying socio- economic status (SES) of each parent (housing, employment and benefits). The school commenced to offer workshops on ESOL, literacy and numeracy for parents at key stage 1 and 2. These workshops ran all three terms. The parent council members expressed that these workshops enhanced parent's numeracy, literacy skills and awareness of what children were studying in school. This made their engagement in their children's education more productive. Parents felt more at ease in approaching primary schools than secondary schools. Moreover, they felt that in primary schools the gap between schools and parents were not as great, however as the children left and went onto secondary, the gap of parental engagement with schools increased (Page et al., 2007).

Harris and Goodall (2007) explain that the successful initiatives offered by schools and external agencies were those that related to family dynamics such as courses on parenting and

family issues. The parents found these courses useful because of the expert advice provided by professionals and they could talk to each other concerning family and learning related issues in a safe environment.

Here I would like to introduce a theoretical perspective, Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth Theory. Yosso writes within critical race theory (CRT) and thus is not alone in making these kinds of arguments (Ladson-Billings, 2005, Dixson and Rousseau, 2006). Yosso defines CRT in education as, "a theoretical and analytical framework that challenges the ways race and racism impact educational structures, practices, and discourses" (p74). Her Community Cultural Wealth Theory illuminates and enriches the field. Yosso states, "Centring the research lens on the experiences of People of Colour in critical historical context reveals accumulated assets and resources in the histories and lives of Communities of Colour" (p77). Yosso challenges the assumption that students of colour come to the classroom with cultural deficiencies. She stresses that schools do not recognise or acknowledge the cultural wealth the students bring with them to the classroom. Yosso challenges Bourdieusean cultural capital theory (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) in that the knowledge's of the upper and middle classes are considered valuable capital to a hierarchical society. The theoretical stance of Bourdieusean cultural capital that hierarchical society reproduces itself has been used to distinguish the academic and social outcomes of People of Colour, which are considerably lower than the outcomes of Whites. Yosso has introduced an alternative concept to Bourdieusean cultural capital theory, community cultural wealth which does not look at the upper and middle classes capital only as being valuable for a hierarchical society, however, it also considers the valuable assets and resources Communities of Colour accumulate. Yosso notes that the schooling process can be transformed by utilising the assets Communities of Colour bring with them from their homes and communities into the classroom.

CRT was first applied within scholarship in legal studies however now scholars have acknowledged it being a valuable tool in educational studies were 'the role of race, racism, and racialization in the educational experiences and outcomes for communities of colour' (Irizarry, 2012) (p293) need to be more effectively understood (Luna and Martinez Ph D, 2013, Milner, 2013, Ledesma and Calderón, 2015, Parker, 2015, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991).

Yosso (2005) describes, “. . . Communities of Colour nurture cultural wealth through at least six forms of capital such as aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant capital . . .” (p77). Aspiration capital according to Yosso, “is the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers” (P77). Yosso depicts navigational capital as, “. . . the ability to navigate through racially-hostile university campuses draw on the concept of academic invulnerability, or students’ ability to ‘sustain high levels of achievement, despite the presence of stressful events and conditions that place them at risk of doing poorly at school and, ultimately, dropping out of school” (p80). Yosso refers to, “resistant capital to those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behaviour that challenges inequality” (p80). Yosso acknowledges that, “linguistic capital includes the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style” (p78).

Yosso connects, “familial capital to those cultural knowledge’s nurtured among familia (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition” (79). Yosso explains that, “social capital can be understood as networks of people and community resources” (p79). Yosso explains that the schools rather, of utilising the community cultural wealth the students come to school with; they ignore the community cultural wealth assets of the students, which subsequently upsets the parents and their children and causes a conflict between both parties.

Irizarry (2012) in his study of Latino youth educational experiences, confirms Communities of Colour, experience marginalisation and poor quality of education. They experience discrimination through negative interactions with educators and academic tracking which has an influence on their secondary educational outcomes and their pursuit of higher education. This is explained further by Parker (2015) who states, “In education, racism and racial capitalism has been and continues to be embedded within the structures, discourses, and policies that guide the daily practices of schools and universities which seek to make race a commodity within current neo-liberal politics” (p199). One solution for the teachers to be effective in their teaching, is to teach in culturally relevant methods to students of colour (Ledesma and Calderón, 2015).

There is no doubt as mentioned above that different processes are at work across the Pakistani population such as poverty, deprivation, socio-economic status racism, language barriers and not understanding the education system, which influence parental engagement. Rashid’s (2005) findings moreover highlight that Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are facing

multiple inequalities, such as; deprivation, socio-economic status, branding in education and racism are multiple inequalities attached to ethnic minorities, which are evident in the underachievement of their children. From these inequalities social economic-status [SES], deprivation, poverty and racism to some degree are connected to ethnicity. So it is significant to understand the influence of parental engagement especially in the case of ethnic minorities.

Section four: The influence of parental engagement

There is considerable research evidence to show that parental engagement in children's learning has a highly positive effect on children's achievements. Various literatures have given an insight into the advantages of parental engagement. Desforges and Abouchar (2003) and Harris and Goodall (2007) have made it clear that, regardless of ethnicity, the impact of parental engagement is apparent across all backgrounds. The outcomes of parental engagement in the home has been elucidated in Sammons et al (2004) research. In their research they investigated the impact of pre-school on young children's cognitive attainments at entry to reception. Their findings articulated the significant benefits of parental engagement in home learning activities. In particular the impact of mothers with a college or university education on their children's cognitive development was twice as much than those mothers with no qualifications. Their research proves that various activities in the home such as teaching songs, nursery rhymes, reading to young children, playing with letters and numbers, drawing and painting can increase the children's subsequent cognitive and social behavioural development for the most vulnerable. Domina (2005) argues parents socialisation activities with their children such as homework help and checking and social control activities such as school volunteering, have a direct impact on the child's behavioural problems and less of an influence on their child's academic achievement. Somewhat in contrast Bogenschneider (1997), argues that pupils perform better in school when their parents are more engaged in their education, in spite of the parents' gender or educational level.

Taking the argument in a new direction is Mau (1997), whose study of the differences in parental influences on academic achievement of Asian immigrants, Asian Americans and White Americans, discovered a notion of negativity between the relationship of achievement and parental engagement among the Asian students. His study exposed that the more that

Asian parents were engaged (in school or home), the less their children achieved. Mau claims that personal effort in some Asian cultures is regarded as success, so parental engagement can sometimes have a negative effect by weakening the impact of self-effort. Parallel to this are the findings of Rashid *et al* (2005) in their study of raising achievement of Bangladeshi and Pakistani boys. They have found that in Pakistani and, especially, Bangladeshi communities, the responsibility of doing well rests on the child.

Harris and Goodall (2008) state:

Parents are the most significant influence on learning. Long after a child's early years give way to formal education, parents continue to play a key role in student success and achievement. The lives parents lead today means that it is more challenging to secure their engagement in learning, however it still remains the factor that can make a significant difference to a child's educational attainment and subsequent life chances. (p286)

Research from different parts of the world has made a contribution to the fact that parents can have a very crucial impact on the achievement and adjustment of the child (Hill and Tyson, 2009). Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) in their literature review have indicated that parental engagement in the home, concentrating on the child in the form of parent-child discussions can result in a positive impact on the child's behaviour and achievement even if the factors of influence are excluded (social class, family size). The engagement decreases as the child gets older, however the effect remains in general on the pupil's educational aspirations for a school leaver and not as much on achievement. The impact of parental engagement on pupil attainment works across all ethnic groups. Similar were the findings in Harris and Goodall's (2007) study. They elaborate that from the non-school factors of school achievement, (socio-economic background, parent's educational attainment, family structure, ethnicity and parental involvement) parental engagement is the most highly regarded factor connected to attainment. From this, parental standards and aspirations that are demonstrated in the home are highlighted as the crucial catalysts for student achievement and adjustment. The qualitative phase of their study, through case studies, found that, group of students expressed the direct effect of parental engagement in their home on their behaviour. The continuation of bad behaviour was the cause of no rules and boundaries set in the home outlining what is acceptable behaviour and what is not. Some students expressed that lack of parental support had an adverse effect on their behaviour and achievement; they believed if parents were more engaged, this would result in better behaviour and achievement. These sentiments were similar to those raised by parents in the case studies. As for the teachers, they clearly

acknowledged that parental engagement as supporting school values, rules and ethos concerning behaviour is conducive to learning.

Ross's (2009) research adds value to the scenario of parental engagement. He has looked into engagement and disengagement from education among 14-16 years old. He points out that parental aspiration are connected to young people's engagement in the longer term. His study moreover elucidates that if the parents of Pakistani, Indian and Black African young pupil were engaged in parent's evenings, young person's school life and had a positive link with school; it is less likely these pupils will become disengaged from school not education in year 10. Ross's study does not show the impact of parental engagement on attainment, it does, nevertheless, address the vital connection between student engagement and disengagement from education with parental aspirations.

Research on the strategies that promote achievement in US middle schools has been completed by Hill and Tyson (2009). Their research has verified that the strongest type of parental engagement pertaining to achievement is academic socialisation or parental aspirations. This also correlates with Desforges's and Abouchaar's (2003) study and Harris's and Goodall's (2007) study. Hill and Tyson (2009) point out that due to the specific literature enclosed in their research, it did not permit them to take into consideration ethnic and socio-economic differences in engagement and their relation to academic achievement. This is another reason that a lot of research is flawed consequently of the failure to take account of many influences on achievement (Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003). A more advance study was completed by Spera *et al* (2009). They addressed in one study the effects of ethnicity, parental education, children's academic performance, and parental perceptions of school climate on the educational aspirations parents hold for their children. Their study showed that all the parents had high aspirations for their children regardless of ethnicity. Spera *et al* have highlighted albeit ethnicity was related to parental aspirations significantly, when the parents own level of educational attainment and their children's academic performance was considered this relationship disappeared. One of the weak predictors of parental aspirations for their children was parental perceptions of school climate.

Section five: Conclusions and gaps in research

An early ethnographic study of Anwar (1979) described Pakistani communities' experiences of migration from Pakistan to England. Contemporary studies by Crozier (Crozier, 2003, Crozier, 2005, Crozier and Davies, 2006, Crozier and Davies, 2007, Crozier, 2009) of Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities in the North East of England, have explored the understanding that parents from Bangladeshi and Pakistani heritage have of the British education system and of their children's educational experience. These studies moreover discern parents' role pertaining to their children's education, together with the children's perspectives on these issues and how the parents' traditions, cultures and values correspond to, or conflict with, the expectations of their children's schools, particularly pertaining to home-school relations. Besides, some researchers such as Rashid *et al* (2005) have expressed that underachievement of Pakistani and Bangladeshi children is evident due to the processes at work across the Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations, such as; multiple indices of deprivation, socio-economic status, branding in education and racism are multiple inequalities attached to ethnic minorities. From these processes we can see how Pakistani children on average do worse academically than some other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, Desforges and Abouchar (2003) and Harris and Goodall (2007) have made it clear that regardless of ethnicity the impact of parental engagement is apparent across all ethnic backgrounds however the most influential engagement is in the form of parental aspirations modelled in the home, which is moreover elaborated by Hill and Tyson (2009). Ross (2009) highlights that parental aspirations will keep the child engaged in education in the long-term. Parental engagement is one of the key factors that can make a positive effect on the pupils' attainment. Research has revealed that there is a correlation between parental engagement and academic achievement. Even though the findings prove that this correlation is moderate, the indication is that it is meaningful (Fan and Chen, 2001). The strongest link between parental engagement and student achievement is of parental standards and aspirations that are demonstrated in the home. These are highlighted as the crucial catalysts for student achievement and adjustment (Harris and Goodall, 2007, Desforges and Abouchar, 2003, Fan and Chen, 2001).

Nevertheless, further research is needed to examine parental engagement through the eyes of parents and students who face barriers to engagement. How do perceptions of parental engagement impact on practice and what type of engagement activities have the most impact on attainment (Harris and Goodall, 2007, Government, 2009, Hollingworth *et al.*, 2009)? Good contribution could be made to this area by observational studies (Phoenix, 2007). Much

more evidence is needed, particularly on how disadvantaged parents engage with their children in the homes (Goodall and Vorhaus, 2010). Although, we know a lot about attainment and the barriers faced by Pakistani children however there has been very little, if any, research into the inner life of Pakistani families; particularly ethnographic studies. What studies there are tend to present an outsiders perspective. Consequently, the aim of this ethnographic research was to explore the perspectives, and beliefs of Pakistani parents on how and why they engage with their children's school-related learning and beyond, and to investigate the perspectives of children on how their parents' engagement impacted on their behaviour as learners.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Chapter overview

The aim of this study was to explore the perspectives and beliefs of Pakistani parents on how and why they engage with their children's school-related learning and beyond, and to investigate the perspectives of children on how their parents' engagement impacted on their behaviour as learners. This aim was explored through the following questions:

1. What are the forms of parental engagement in terms of children's school-related learning and beyond in a sample of Pakistani homes?
2. Do parents have a clear view of why they are engaging in such a way: if so, what is that view?
3. To what extent do these forms of engagement appear to be shaped by distinctive cultural characteristics of Pakistani parents?
4. How do their children view the impact of parental engagement on themselves as learners?

This chapter details the methodology employed to investigate and answer these questions. It begins by outlining the overall methodological approach to and design of the study. Next, the process of selecting participants will be explained and the stages of data collection highlighted. This will be followed by a description of the methods of data collection, the methodological considerations in researching parental engagement in the home context, data storage and data analysis, alongside the ethical issues, reflexive role of the researcher and the trustworthiness of the study, moreover.

A qualitative approach

I chose to use a qualitative approach as I was researching the interaction of parents with their children in their home environment. Lincoln and Guba (1985) observe that qualitative methods lend themselves better to a naturalistic design, meaning normal human activities such as looking, listening and reading. This suggests that a researcher may be more inclined towards engaging in interviewing, observing and reading documents and records, noting non-verbal communication and unintentional behaviour. Lincoln and Guba define a naturalistic

design as a study set in its normal settings, and a naturalist who studies things in their normal setting.

Overall methodological approach of the study

The methodology adopted for this study is ethnographic in the sense that I was interested in exploring the culture of a specific ethnic group – Pakistani – within the wider population. I approached this by trying to engage in some depth with my sample family group. Robson (2002) states; “An ethnography provides a description and interpretation of the culture and social structure of a social group” (p186). Thus, ethnography is an approach to study the ethnos of a group of people, a way a group of people live: their behaviour, norms and their understandings, and thus, a very useful methodology for exploring cultural issues (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, Fetterman, 2010, O'Reilly, 2009, Creswell, 2007). Additionally, I had personal, experiential knowledge of the Pakistani culture, being of Pakistani descent myself and having been brought up in a Pakistani family.

Prior to this study, I undertook a pilot study to explore if my methodology, ethnography, addresses the questions I had prescribed for my research. The methodology allowed me to explore the behaviours and beliefs of the parents concerning parental engagement and how their children perceived the influence of parental engagement on their behaviour. It made me understand the notions of immersion in others worlds. Robson (2002) reiterates; “The focus of an ethnographic study is a group who share a culture. The task is to learn about that culture; effectively, to understand their world as they do” (p187).

Genzuk (2003) confirms:

Ethnography enhances and widens top down perspectives and enriches the inquiry processes both bottom-up insights and perspectives of powerful policy-makers “at the top, and generates new analytic insights by engaging in interactive, team exploration of often subtle arenas of human difference and similarity. (p2)

Ethnography enabled me to identify in my pilot study themes and personal experiences of how parents engaged with their children and other aspects of parental engagement. Since my interest lies in ‘the parenting practices of Pakistani families’, there is a powerful cultural dimension; thus, an ethnographic approach was useful for my study. Additionally, Descartes (2007) argues that ethnography is a methodology which has the potential to uncover family functioning and processing. Descartes states that ethnography locates the ethnographer as a

learner seeking to unearth reflexively, “how social action in one world makes sense from the point of view of another” (p23).

I used ethnographic methods to understand a small part of the cultural practices of this group. Descartes (2007) confirms that ethnography has been used as a sole methodology and that its methods can be integrated with other methods. The combination of methods produces a comprehensive, richly textured image of a phenomenon under study. The field work roughly took ten months from which I visited the participants once or twice a month to collect data. Nevertheless, I am cautious of calling my study a fully-fledged ethnographic study as my time scale for the field work was roughly ten months and furthermore, due to the ethical concerns of the ethics committee regarding observing participants in the homes, I was not able to fully immerse myself in the home culture of the participants for an extended period of time. Wolcott (2005) has stated two years as ideal for field work and Bryman (2004) explained that ethnographers usually immerse themselves in one setting for an extended period of time. Furthermore to this, the panel review committee advised me against using data collection methods such as observations and group discussions due to the ethical considerations relating to the age of the participating children.

I tried to capitalise on the strengths of an ethnographic study by producing in-depth comprehensive ethnographic accounts, and I took advantage of interviewing participants in their natural settings which brought forth the perspectives, beliefs and behaviours of the ethnographic samples. I tried to overcome any weaknesses by asking my supervisors for advice and following the procedures written in various research texts. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, Cohen *et al.*, 2007, Crang and Cook, 2007, Robson, 2002).

The *strengths* of an ethnographic study are that ethnographic studies can produce comprehensive descriptive data which allows the participant to observe behaviours which are better understood in the natural settings (Robson, 2002, Cohen *et al.*, 2007). The *weaknesses* of this type of study are that ethnographies are very time consuming and gaining access to data is a serious problem in ethnography, in regards to maintaining objectivity and strong foundation of trust with the participants (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Moreover, there is difficulty in addressing the issue of generalisation (Cohen *et al.*, 2007).

Design of the study

A research design details the structure of the study showing how each element of the study; sample, methods, findings and analysis of the findings work together to address the research questions (Robson, 2002, Yin, 2008, Fetterman, 2010). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) a naturalistic design is different to a traditional notion of a design as it is not based on the specification of a statistical design with variables of controls and conditions. Due to the evolving state of naturalistic inquiry, most of the requirement specified in a design statement cannot be met. However there are elements which the naturalist should consider at the early stages of the research:

. . . specification of a focus; determining the degree of fit between the focus as stated and inquiry paradigms that can be brought to bear on it, determining the fit between the selected inquiry paradigm and the substantive theory that will be employed; determining where and from who the data will be collected; determining the nature and scope of successive project phases; determining instrumentation, determining data analysis procedures; planning logistics and planning for trustworthiness. (p248)

The design of this study is a case study of an extended family however within it there are nested case studies of the sub units of that family. All the participants have been given pseudonyms. I split the case studies in to three; the first generation immigrant parents are family one, and second generation parents are referred to as families two and three.

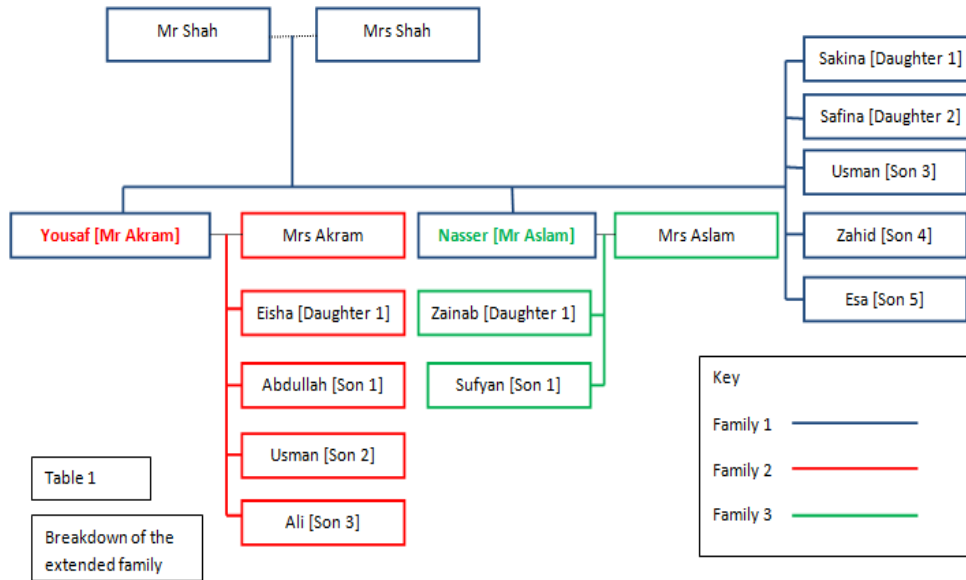
The first case study features family one, named as the Shah family; the elders of this extended family. This consists of Mr and Mrs Shah, two sons and one daughter, who are married and have their own homes. Of the remaining children; two sons go to university, one daughter is in college and one son is still at school. All of the adult offspring were interviewed as part of case study one.

The second case study focuses on family two, the Akram family, which consists of Mr and Mrs Akram, one daughter and three sons. Of these, only Mr and Mrs Akram will be interviewed as the children are under 16 years old.

The third case study focuses on the Aslam family. This consists of Mr and Mrs Aslam, one daughter and a son. Only Mr and Mrs Aslam will be interviewed as their children are under 16 years of age.

I will further elaborate on these case studies in Chapter Four. The following is a diagram of the structure of the extended family:

Table 1 Breakdown of the Extended Family



My field work commenced in August 2012 and was completed in May 2013. During this time, I did not stay with the families, however I made occasional visits. Each visit would last about 5-7 hours. I have summarised the research activities and their duration in table 2 below. This will be further explained in the stages of data collection section. The full timetable can be viewed in Appendix Seven.

Table 2 Research Activities and Length of Time

Phase	Research Activity	Participants	Length of Time with each family
1	semi-structured interviews with parents	6	5-7 hours
2	solicited diary discussion	6	5-7 hours
3	photo voice discussion	6	5-7 hours
	video footage discussion	6	5-7 hours
4	semi-structured interviews with adult children	4	5-7 hours
5	analysing the data and verifying from participants	researcher	August 2012-May 2013
6	writing up stage and verification from participants if needed	researcher	June 2013-September 2015

Weaknesses and strengths

All designs have some weaknesses and strengths. The weaknesses in case studies is that they do not address the issue of generalisation, they lack rigour and they take too long (Yin, 2008). Nevertheless, the strengths; case study results are more easily understood by a wider audience; they speak for themselves; they are strong on reality (Cohen *et al.*, 2007) and replication from the findings from multiple cases can lead to generalisation (Yin, 2008, Robson, 2002).

I have tried to overcome the weaknesses. Firstly, I have tried to address the issue of lack of rigour by establishing the trustworthiness of the findings, and for this I have attempted to follow the procedures mentioned in various books for carrying out a case study research (Yin, 2008, Cohen *et al.*, 2007, Robson, 2002). To establish the trustworthiness of the findings I used different data collection methods to triangulate my findings. I member checked my findings with the participants to see if they matched their original statements. This will be expanded on in the trustworthiness section.

I had limited case studies, as the sample was one extended family, so I could not generalise my findings. Nevertheless the goal of a case study is to generalise the findings into theories in the same way that scientists generalise experimental results into theories (Yin, 2003, Neale *et al.*, 2006). For example, I used the three families I studied to construct a theory about how these families parent and what is distinctively ‘Pakistani’ about these families. I have identified some common themes in these families and will show how the themes are inter-related and explain their behaviour. The explanation of these families behaviour can be generalised to form the basis of my theory and may then make it transferable to the Pakistani population. This will be expanded upon in the trustworthiness section.

Finally, case studies can be too long. To avoid this, I have tried to write the case study in a digestible manner. I have capitalised on the strengths by writing the case study in a style that can be understood by a wide audience; the case study provided me with down to earth, thick information which was strong on authenticity, in contrast to surveys, which are thin in reality and do not provide as much information. I also used the case study to expand and generalise theories.

Why a case study design?

In deciding the appropriate design for my study I wanted to explore the forms of parental engagement (in terms of children's school-related learning) in the home, look at the reasons why parents engage in a particular way, and to see if there was any influence of culture and religion on parental engagement. Thus, this was an exploratory study aimed at understanding complex familial processes and so demanded an exploratory approach, such as a case study, and a survey or experimental design would not have been appropriate (Yin, 2008).

Sample

My first attempt at constructing a sample was based upon my being an insider, because I was from the same cultural background and understood their home language and culture. Not being a direct member or a relation of the families provided me the perspective of an outsider. Of the families I approached, three were teachers in my workplace and the others were parents of the students in my form. Initially, they showed a lot of interest; nevertheless, when I talked them through the methods of research they became hesitant and felt it was too invasive (Gill, 2005). This resulted in my decision to leave the original sample and seek participants who would be more comfortable expressing their feelings and thoughts in front of me, due to the pre-existence of trust.

My wife suggested conducting this research with her family, as they were members of the Pakistani culture. In a way, this made me an insider and provided me the opportunity to capture inner feelings and perceptions more comfortably. O'Reilly (2009) states, "Insiders believe they blend in more, gain more rapport" (p114). The second sample consisted of an extended family, of Pakistani origin, which resides in a small rural, formally industrial, town in the North West of England. The main subjects of this research was the extended Shah family, the patriarch and the families of his two eldest sons, referred to as families one, two and three (as demonstrated in Table 1 in the previous section).

Another consideration in the selection of this sample was that past research has focused on what are taken to be typical Pakistani families, that is families from the Mirpur area of Pakistan, who have maintained their Pakistani culture by living in the middle of dominant Pakistani areas in England, such as Bradford, Oldham, and Birmingham. Typically these are portrayed as being low skilled working class families, with low aspirations for education and

careers. Various authors (Anwar, 1979, Khan, 1979, Shaw, 1988, Werbner, 1990) have described the Pakistani communities as '*encapsulated*' communities within Britain (Bhatti, 2002). A large amount of research has focused on urban areas where minority ethnic populations are concentrated heavily, which has left a major gap into researching Pakistani families that live outside the big concentrations of Pakistani populations (Page et al., 2007). The family I have selected has moved to a rural location, however others may have moved to other towns and cities. They come from the Punjab area of Pakistan and initially worked in the cotton industry of the North West, but held high aspirations for the education and careers of their children. The Pakistanis here live in a rural setting within a majority white population; however, they have managed to engender a sense of religiosity, perhaps as a consequence of being away from the distractions of larger urban centres. Thus, this sample was a distinctive sample of families living in a small town in the north of England.

Despite these apparent differences, there are still a number of commonalities across the Pakistani population in England, in that they have broadly maintained a strong sense of their culture, language, Muslim heritage, values, beliefs and a common migrant experience however have over a number of generations developed higher aspirations, better education, religiosity and social status. There were implications of doing case studies of sub-units within the same extended family. The difficulty was in identifying the common features of Pakistani culture as opposed to family culture. For this I used the literature to identify the common features of Pakistani culture and my own Pakistani heritage background. As demonstrated in the literature review, cultures tend to have certain features that are common to all participants; however, they are very diverse and dynamic. This family participates in a Pakistani culture, which can be diverse and one aspect of its diversity that is overlooked is that people from different backgrounds within Pakistan differ from each other culturally in significant ways, such as dialects, staple diet and attire. However, the sample group is in some senses a modern British Pakistani family, they share Urdu as a common language, and they adhere broadly to an Islamic lifestyle and live as large extended family.

Access

In this research, my wife played the role of the '*key participant*' to aid in gaining access and avoid the risk of complete failure where boundaries are marked clearly and are not easily

penetrated (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Nevertheless, I was aware that this approach raised significant ethical issues which will be discussed below.

Stages of data collection

I carried out my fieldwork over six stages. The first stage was to get a broad picture of each family and enable them to understand what the purpose of the research was and the methods of the study. I requested the parents to write their parental engagement activities in a diary for a week, to give me an insight to their parental practices. In the second stage, I wanted the parents to further expand on what they believed to be significant parental engagement activities. For this I introduced Photo Voice. The third stage was to move from static pictures to movement so at this stage video footage was recorded by the parents of what they believed were significant parental engagement activities. The fourth stage was to find out the influences of parental engagement on their children, so semi-structured interviews were carried out with the children. The fifth stage was to analyse the data pertaining to my research questions. The sixth stage was to write up my findings and to elaborate the contribution my study has made to knowledge.

Stage one

In my first visit, I conducted semi-structured interviews with a total of six parents. I gathered general data about them, to build a picture of the families, their homes and the types of parental engagement activities they were engaged in in-terms of their children's school learning at home. I explained the study in detail and I kept the data gathering activity informal (see Appendix 2: A topic guide for the semi-structured interviews with the parents). Nevertheless, I gained permission to record the discussions using an audio device so the information could be kept secure and I could construct a database for each family. I would transcribe the recordings after each session and pass the transcripts back to the families for verification. This enabled the interviewees to verify and validate the authenticity and accuracy of the transcript. The risk of this is that the interviewee may attempt to edit, amend or append their original statements.

I requested the parents (husband and wife) to keep separate diaries, or in one diary, note separately (for a week) their parental engagement activities to help their children learn. This enabled me to develop a picture of normal events. I provided the parents with a list of activities (Appendix 3: A specimen list of parental engagement activities to which participants can add to) and a diary, consisting of 2 A4 sheets (Appendix 4: Demonstrates an example of A4 sheet of paper given to the parents to note their parental engagement activities).

Stage two

My second visit occurred after a month. I utilised this time to discuss informally with the parents: what form of parental engagement they had noted in the diaries; why they believed their engagement was significant (is it due to Pakistani cultural characteristics); and how will their engagement influence their children. At this stage, I introduced the parents to photo voice and explained how they can use photos to describe what type of parental engagement they believed was significant. I requested the parents to select from their diaries at least 6-7 parental engagement activities and take photos to reflect the activities.

They all owned cameras or phones with built-in digital cameras, which they could use confidently. I allowed the families 2/3 weeks to take the pictures.

Stage three

After all the photos had been produced, I visited each family separately. I discussed the photos with the parents. I used the images to stimulate dialogue and discussion with the parents (Appendix 5: A specimen of questions to elicit information in the photo voice/video footage interviews). I encouraged the parents to reflect on the story behind the images. I participated in the conversations, observed the parents and reflected on how and why they engaged in a particular way. I recorded these sessions using an audio recorder and saved them in the relevant database.

After this, I requested the families to make some video footage of the parental engagement activities they believed that were very significant. I allowed the families two weeks or more if needed. After the families produced their footage I recommended that they save it on a hard drive and keep it safe. At a later stage I went through the video footage with each family

(Appendix 5: A specimen of questions to elicit information in the photo voice/video footage interviews). Here, I wanted to understand what is happening and why. Again, I recorded these sessions using an audio recorder. After the sessions I analysed the data using the criteria noted in the data analysis section below.

In juxtaposition with Wolfendale (1999), Reason (1994), Reason and Rowan (1997) and Hammersly (1990), some scholars as a solution to the difficulties in home based ethnography, have incorporated in their research ‘*space-time oriented*’ methodologies (Silverstone *et al.*, 1991, Silverstone *et al.*, 1994). The crucial benefit of these methods is that the researcher does not physically need to be present in the home (Jorgenson and Sullivan, 2009). This was crucial to my study as I could not carry out observations due to ethical constraints.

Silverstone et al (1991) used time-use diaries, household maps, network maps, photograph albums and interviews to reflexively interpret the occurrences of different peculiarities in time and space of each household in their research. Silverstone et al (1994) have elaborated on the effectiveness of these methods in uncovering the value of media technology in family life. In conjunction to this, Jorgenson and Sullivan (2009) used participatory photo interviewing as a method to recognise how children view household technology. The authors express the related benefits of this method; the photos are taken by the participant so the physical presence of the researcher is not required and how the method contributes to the revealing of, “. . . personal significance and meanings imputed to technological artefacts” (p16) in the home. In my research, on ethical grounds, I could not carry out observations due to the children being of a vulnerable age, so this prompted me to use methods that did not require my presence, such as solicited diaries, video footages and photo voice.

Researchers trying to understand how their participants go about their daily lives have graduated towards the use of methods that are more participant centred or more portable; recorded by the participants and ultimate control of what to disclose belongs to the participants. Human Geographers (Morrison, 2012, Bijloux and Myers, 2006, Hemming, 2008) and family researchers (Gabb, 2009, Gabb, 2010, Descartes, 2007, Mason, 2006) who encounter in their research the positioning of domestic environments, people, their relationships, interactions resulting emotions (Bijloux and Myers, 2006) have adapted in their research participatory methods [solicited diary/photo voice/video footage] in conjunction with interpretive methods (participant observations/semi-structured interviews). Morrison (2012) in her research of 14 women in a heterosexual relationship used multiple methods; semi-structured interviews, solicited diaries, self-directed photography, follow up interviews

and questionnaires; to capture the diversity of heterosexual love and domestic experience in everyday life. Bijloux and Myers (2006) state that the combination of such methods exposes the researcher and participant to information that is not really thought of in daily life events. They further elaborate, “These methods emphasise and validate knowledge accrued through embodied and emotional perception, performance and practice and can help to deconstruct and understand the dialectic between sensuous experience and place” (p59).

Conversely, Hemming (2008) confirms the benefits of combining participatory and interpretive approaches (participant observations/semi-structured interviews) in children’s geographies. He reiterates that when using these methods in his research with primary children, focusing on children’s perceptions and experiences of health and exercise in their everyday spaces in the primary school, there was a fluctuation in power between the researcher and the participant children when the methods and their associated power intersected. This resulted in the children participating at different stages and so co-production of the data in diverse ways. He justifies the potential value of mixing methods in enhancing the validity of the data through triangulation. In my research I was able to enhance the trustworthiness of my study by the use of mixed methods which provided robustness to my research by the triangulation of different methods. Family researcher, Gabb (2009), explains that when using the qualitative mixed method approach:

. . . multidimensional material on *where*, *when* and *how* family relationships are experienced and *why* interactions take on particular forms, values and understandings. The integration of these data produces a dynamic account of families' sensual, emotional and embodied interactions – extending understanding of how parents, parents and children, and siblings ordinarily relate to one another. (p39)

Stage four

I carried out semi-structured interviews with the grown-up off-spring of family one to explore what they believed about the influence of parental engagement (Appendix 6: A specimen of the semi-structured interview Schedule with the grown up off spring of family one). This involved four children who were all studying at university at the time. I used the images produced by their parents in the above mentioned stages as stimuli to elicit information. I understood that the power imbalance between adults and children is one of the biggest ethical challenges for researchers working with children. To minimise this, I established a respectful relationship, based upon informed consent and asked questions and looked at brief responses

from the children (Roberts-Holmes, 2005). I focused my research by addressing questions pertaining to the study (O'Reilly, 2009). I looked into how each member describes parental engagement: do they just see it as moral support; providing facilities/participating in learning activities and so forth?

Furthermore, throughout the study, I looked at many forms of documents that parents identified as tools of engagement with their children: books, newspapers, magazines or non-written documents; films, televisions programmes, pictures and drawings (Robson, 2002). Here, I wanted to understand how and why parents used these tools.

Stage five

In analysing my data I followed the six phases highlighted by Braunn and Clark (2006). They exemplify six phases for carrying out a thematic analysis:

1. Familiarising yourself with your data,
2. Generating initial codes,
3. Searching for themes,
4. Reviewing themes,
5. Defining and naming themes,
6. Producing the report.

These will be explained in detail in the data analysis section below.

Stage six

I wrote up my findings and set a time to discuss them, orally, with the families for verification of what I have written and disseminate my findings to the wider community; school, council and so forth.

Methods of data collection

Semi-structured interviews

The reason for choosing semi-structured interviews is that it offered me sufficient flexibility to address the same area of data collection with different respondents (Noor, 2008). This

method was tested in my pilot study. This allowed the research participants to have more space to explain what is significant to them (Roberts-Holmes, 2005). For this I prepared an interview schedule for the parents (Appendix 2: A topic guide for the semi-structured interviews with the parents) and an interview schedule for the adult offspring (Appendix 6: A specimen of the semi-structured interview schedule with the grown up off spring of family one), which contained probes and prompts (Genzuk, 2003, Robson, 2002). The interviews were approximately 15-45 minutes in length or less if the participant wished. As stated by O'Reilly (2009) there is no definitive answer to how long an interview should be. It should not be too short that full details are not explored, nor should it be too long that both participant and interviewer get tired (O'Reilly, 2009). Each participant received information prior to the interview (see Appendices 8 and 9 for information sheets) and a suitable time was agreed and participants were made aware that participation is voluntary. I asked the parents questions based on four themes; biographical information, parental engagement activities in the home, reasons for engaging in such away and the influence of the parental engagement activities.

All these themes were relevant to my research questions. Firstly, I wanted to know the background information of the parents; schooling, qualifications, employment and how many children. This was to create a profile of each parent and to compare and contrast between the parents' level of study, qualifications and employment. I moreover used this information to see if their children especially in family one overtook them in their educational endeavours or fell short. Secondly, I probed into what kind of activities the parents engaged with their children. Here I wanted to explore how parents engage with their children in the home-do they focus their engagement on school activities or do they take a broader approach including culture and religion, and what learning tools do they utilise. Thirdly, I wanted to understand the reasons why parents engaged in such a way - was it due to religious or cultural influence or school informed. Fourthly, I wanted to understand from the parents what kind of influence will their engagement have on their children. This was to probe into how parents view the impact of their engagement-do they relate this to better performance in school, general behaviour or any other influences. The semi-structured interviews with the adult offspring were moreover based around the same themes as this would allow me to triangulate my data with the parents' interviews. However I used photos that were produced by their parents for eliciting information from the offspring. All interviews: semi-structured interviews, solicited diary interviews, photo voice interview and video footage interviews were recorded digitally

with the consent of all participants and labelled with the name of the interviewee. This allowed me to have a permanent record and concentrate on the interview questions without the worry of taking notes (Robson, 2002). It moreover aided a thorough reflective analysis with the transcription of the key emerging patterns (Roberts-Holmes, 2005). Robson (2002) suggests that, in the event of inaccuracy or incompleteness of the data, there is a threat to provide a valid description of what you have seen or heard. Thus, wherever feasible, I used audio or video-recording to provide a more accurate interpretation of my interview (Yin, 2008). The use of a digital audio recording device was advantageous in enabling the generation of multiple copies of typescripts and aiding the analysis of the data (Robson, 2002, Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

Solicited diaries

Ethically it was not suitable for me to observe the parents in their homes engaging with their children. For one thing, the children were at a vulnerable age and the parents would feel uncomfortable having an outsider observing them, which would influence their engagement and behaviour with their children. For this reason, I used participatory methods to gather data. One of these methods was the use of solicited diaries. I used solicited diaries as my presence was not necessary and so the parents could record their parental engagement activities without any discomfort. This moreover provided the parents power to express how they engage with their children. Solicited diaries can provide longitudinal perspectives and empower participants (Morrison, 2012, Gabb, 2009, Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, Bijloux and Myers, 2006). The information collected through solicited diaries can be cross examined or triangulated with the other methods (Silverstone *et al.*, 1991). Nevertheless, there are limitations (Kenten, 2010); time commitment, willingness from the participants and appropriate literacy skills to complete the diary entry. I took advantage of the benefits and overcame the weaknesses by negotiating with the co-researchers (participants) at each stage.

The diaries were tailored to elicit specific information relating to the research questions. Each parent was given a guide on related engagement activities as an example for the parents to reflect on (Appendix 3: A specimen list of parental engagement activities to which participants can add to). In this example, I noted all the parental engagement activities that came from the first stage of the research so they would have a guide to look at; they would not need to consult me however, they had my mobile number in any case. I designed the

diaries to be simple and easy to complete. I provided the parents two A4 sheets of paper. One was a spare sheet. The diaries included a full week: date of week, days of the week, activities and any related influences on children's behaviour (Appendix 4: Demonstrates an example of A4 sheets of paper given to the parents to note their parental engagement activities). I left some space for the parents to jot down briefly the parental engagement activity and its influence. I was interested in both the parental engagement activity and its associated influence as this could help to triangulate with other data and with the children's interviews. Moreover the expectations of the research questions were to investigate how, why parents engage with their children and how parents perceive the influence of their engagement. I did not want this exercise to be a burden and daunting but the aim was that parents were happy and cooperative.

Photo voice

The second participatory method I used was photo voice. Photo voice is a method developed by Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris (1997) and is different to other photo elicitation methods as one of the requirements is that the images used in the interview must be participant generated (Given *et al.*, 2011). By using this method, I was able to empower the participants to engage more deeply in the research process as they were in control of the images used in the study and my presence was not required. Wang (1997) explains that through photo voice, people can *identify*, *represent* and *enhance* their community (Wong and Hughes, 2006). Given et al (2011) state that the interview data can be further enhanced as the images will aid in the recalling of past experiences and assist in illustrating the participants' perspective to the wider community, not just by hearing, however by seeing the world as they see it. Koltz et al (2010) remark, "The main premise of photo-voice is that the individuals being studied are the experts of their own truth concerning their life experiences, subsequently using photos to record their reality" (p392). Given et al (2011) alert researchers to the primary limitations of photo voice; the high costs in time and funding. Participants and researchers may be required to spend a great deal of their time. This could be in taking the photos and reproducing them. There are also costs of having the right equipment; cameras and cost of producing the photos. I looked into these limitations and identified a way of overcoming them. All the participants had smartphones equipped with cameras with which they were already comfortable, that took good quality digital photos and could be easily viewed on the host device and shared electronically with me; hence, eliminating the cost

factor. I told the participants to recall the parental engagement activities' recorded in their diaries and to choose seven to six for photo voice which they believed represented their experience best. For elicitation, I constructed some questions (Appendix 5: A specimen of questions to elicit information in the photo voice interviews). The focus of the questions I constructed was the photos and the parents' explanations, detailing the objects in the photos, and I was interested in how parents explain their parental engagement activities with their children through photo voice. I was moreover interested in the similarities and differences in-between the parents in each family and in-between families as I could use this data for the cross section analysis chapter.

Video footage

The third participatory method I used was video footage. This provided additional data of the social context in the natural setting while parents were engaged with their children's learning, and it was useful in understanding how participants viewed their world (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Besides, the video footage can be seen in stop action and frequently which could add new layers of meaning and make apparent visual and verbal patterns of communication (Fetterman, 2010). O'Reilly (2009) states, "the development of a field of visual ethnography has raised awareness of the role of visibility for cultural [re] production, analysis, and representation" (p221). Nevertheless, O'Reilly (2009) stresses that this form of visual representation is expensive and consuming. For this reason, I requested the participants to use their smartphones again to capture video footage of the parental engagement activities they believed were important. I set a time with the participants to go through the video footage together at a later stage (Appendix 5: A specimen of questions to elicit information in the video footage interviews). My aim was to identify and understand the form of parental engagement that was videoed, the reason for parents engaging in such a way, if there were any cultural attachments and the envisaged impact on children's behaviour. I tried to keep these sessions between 30-45m, however at times the sessions did run over.

Documents

Robson (2002) defines documents as any written medium, including everything from books and magazines to notices, but can also include non-written mediums, such as films, drawings and photographs too.

I took advantage of looking at the texts the parents used for engagement. They used different sources; school reading books, school worksheets, certificates of achievement, television programmes, and language based text, Urdu and Arabic for religious purposes to be able to recite the Quran. Yin (2008) explains, “. . . the most significant use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources” (p103). This was useful in the triangulation of the methods which will be explained in the data analysis section. I was able to look at the documents repeatedly without any costs; reading texts from school and other cultural and religious texts. From these different sources I was able to examine closely my research questions, how the sources were used by the parents for cultural, religious, school or other purposes. I was moreover able to ascertain through interviews with the parents the associated impact of these engagements. Moreover by looking at the text, I could see that the parents had a broad understanding of parental engagement as it was not just affiliated with school however beyond including religious and cultural purposes. I managed to overcome the limitations; access problems and biased selectivity (Cohen *et al.*, 2007, Yin, 2003, Lincoln and Guba, 1985), through the building of a trust relationship, I had no access problems and by questioning my procedures in my approach I overcame biased selectivity.

Field notes

Besides the above mentioned data collection methods, I also kept a diary to make brief notes of anything that was significant and related to my research questions. If on the spot recording notes interfered with my interviews, I made the notes as soon as it was feasible. Fetterman (2010) notes, “Field notes are the brick and mortar of ethnographic edifice” (p116). This aided in producing a descriptive account of the events (Cohen *et al.*, 2007, Robson, 2002).

Methodological considerations in researching parental engagement in the home context

In researching my participants in their homes, I was very cautious in exploring the difficulties that I might have and how I could minimise them. The difficulties in researching an ethically demanding context, such as the home which does not open itself for outside intruders, has been documented in various sources (Gabb, 2010, Jorgenson and Sullivan, 2009, Sheehy, 2005, Wolfendale, 1999, Hammersley, 1990). Gabb (2010) indicates that establishing a trust relationship in researching families is a paramount factor. He states, “participants are simultaneously revealing identity publicly to the outside world and just as significantly

privately among family members” (p468). Jorgenson and Sullivan (2009) picture the home as a private setting which does not readily open itself to outsiders and is bound by rules and regulations set by adults. Wolfendale (1999) cites the power imbalance between the researcher-participant relationship when researching parental engagement, wherein the researcher has more privilege over the research context and purpose than the participant. This could lead to the exploitation of the participant. Hammersley (1990) argues that even though the researcher and participants are social equals, the imbalance of power distorts the knowledge that is produced, as the findings are frequently irrelevant to the people being studied and, as in traditional research, appeal to the problems defined by social science disciplines. Reason and Rowan (1997) confirm this, stating that when knowledge and power are dominated by the researchers and their political masters, the research becomes, “another agent of authoritarian social control” (p34).

These complications made me look for alternatives through which I could defuse or minimise the risk factors of researching how parents engage with their children in the home milieu. As I read continuously, I came across certain directions and suggestions mentioned by scholars that could play down the risk factors (Reason and Rowan, 1997, Hammersley, 1990, Wolfendale, 1999). Wolfendale (1999) acknowledges that much research in the domain of parents and home-school has not been on the principles of partnership with parents and is thus, problematic. A solution given by Wolfendale which will minimise constraints is that parent-participants become partners in the research enterprise, resulting in them becoming co-researchers in the research endeavour. Nevertheless, the author points out the need to have a written ‘Code of Conduct’ for co-operative research as this will be, “a visible manifestation of good intent on all sides” (p126). In correspondence to this, Reason (1994) identifies the link connecting co-researchers and co-subjects based on reciprocal initiative and control. Complementing the benefits, Reason and Rowan (1997) agree that co-researchers who are co-subjects in the research process can check over each other and enhance the validity of the data. However, Hammersley (1990) advocates, participatory research as a remedy to minimise the aforementioned constraints. In this, the role of the researcher is as a facilitator, as the research is done both ‘by’ and ‘for’ the participants. This informed my study in that I included participatory methods in my research: solicited diaries, video footages and photo voice.

Here, I would like to conclude, that I had already formed a trust relationship with my participants in the pilot study which I had carried out previously. However, prior to writing

the proposal for this study, I met all the parents once again to discuss my research and to formulate a mutual understanding of the above mentioned constraints. In this discussion, the parents made it clear that they would like to participate in the study as co-researchers and would like to contribute to the collection of the data and in some-way the analysing of the data. We moreover talked about how the data should be collected - this was quite interesting as the parents suggested a combination of mixed qualitative methods: diaries, photo voice, video footage, discussions, participant observations, documents and semi-structured interviews. The parents were happy with these methods, nevertheless, for me, as a novice researcher, I had to return back to the library in search of how qualitative mixed methods are applied, in general, and in particular to family research.

The parents participated in the semi-structured interviews, they moreover participated as co-researchers in that they noted their parental engagement activities in a diary for the solicited diary interviews, they took photos of their parental engagement activities for the photo voice interviews, and they produced video footages of their parental engagement activities for the video footage interviews. Besides this, they participated in the analysis stage as they verified the interview transcriptions and read through the case studies relevant to each family. For the parents who had difficulty in reading the transcriptions and findings, I went through it with them in brief; I went through with family one father in Urdu and my wife went through the transcriptions and findings with family one mother, and family two mother, in Urdu. I will highlight in the data analysis section where else the parents helped.

Data Analysis

In analysing the data I looked for patterns pertaining to how parents engaged and what kind of activities they were engaged in. Fetterman (2010) states, "Ethnographers look for patterns of thought and behaviour. Patterns are a form of ethnographic reliability" (97). By reading literature on parental engagement, my ideas on what kind of patterns to look for were informed (Basit, 2013, Shafiq, 2011b, Shafiq, 2011a, Crozier, 2009, Harris and Goodall, 2008, Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003, Bhatti, 2002). As we saw in Chapter Two, the principal issues raised were culture and religious influence on parental engagement, intersection of variables of influence on parental engagement, barriers to parental engagement and the influence of parental engagement on student adjustment and achievement. I thus used

these to sensitise when looking at data. I looked at what kind of resources parents provided, and the differences and similarities between each family in how parents engaged with their children, what parents believed the purpose of engagement is and if there is any engagement shaped by distinctive cultural characteristics of Pakistani families: parents teaching Urdu/Quran, watching TV for educational purposes and a commitment towards intervening with school (see Appendix 3: A specimen list of parental engagement activities to which parents can add). I arranged the data according to the themes reflected by the data (O'Reilly, 2009, Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, Genzuk, 2003). The analysis was not based on a linear process; nevertheless, it followed an iterative phase of collected data (O'Reilly, 2009, Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This commenced prior to the fieldwork phase; from the identification and formulation of research problems to the writing-up stage (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

In the step by step analysis of my data I broadly followed the six phases highlighted by Braunn and Clark (2006). They exemplify six phases for carrying out a thematic analysis and stress, "It is significant to recognise that qualitative analysis guidelines are exactly that – they are not rules, and, following the basic precepts, will need to be applied flexibly to fit the research questions and data" (p16). The six phases are...

1. Familiarising yourself with your data,
2. Generating initial codes,
3. Searching for themes,
4. Reviewing themes,
5. Defining and naming themes,
6. Producing the report.

1. Familiarising yourself with your data

In the first instance I listened carefully to the digital recordings of each interview; semi-structured interviews, solicited diary interviews, photo voice interviews, video footage interviews and read the field notes and any documentary evidence gathered. This enabled familiarisation with the data and identification of any emerging themes, that is, forms of engagement, reasons for engagement, cultural and language associations and influence of parental engagement on student adjustment. These themes are aligned with the research questions and the broad aims of the research.

I then transcribed all the interview recordings. At the time of transcribing, I noted any initial ideas that developed from the transcription keeping in mind the research questions. This activity of transcribing interviews was very time consuming, frustrating and tedious, however as reported by Braunn and Clark (2006), transcribing is a good way to familiarise yourself with the data. There were difficulties in transcribing especially at times when I did not comprehend the sentence. This led to rewinding several times and playing again and again the recording until the sentence was correctly transcribed. This took a lot of time in that on occasions I had to pause in my work due to the lateness of the hour or loss of effectiveness. Moreover, all the interviews carried out with Mr and Mrs Shah and Mrs Akram were in Urdu so this made the task even more complicated for me and tiring as I had to translate the Urdu into English trying not to change the meaning. This was difficult as each of the Urdu words did not translate exactly into English.

After each interview was transcribed or translated into English, including solicited diary interviews, photo voice interviews, video footage interviews, semi-structured interviews; it was then returned to the study participants to carry out a member check and as for the participants whose interviews were translated into English; I went through the translation with Mr Shah making sure it correlates to the Urdu excerpts and my wife went through the translations of Mrs Shah's and Mrs Akram's interviews. If there were any suggestions, changes were made accordingly. Delgado-Gaitan (1990) states a useful technique to confront the issue of subjectivity is to analyse the data with the participants by reviewing as much of the data as possible.

2. Generating initial codes

I generated initial codes around the research questions: forms of parental engagement, reasons why parents engage in a particular way, distinctive cultural characteristics of Pakistani parents and the influence of parental engagement on children. In generating the codes I was not sure if it was better to print the transcribed data and to generate the codes by highlighting on the printed sheet or if it was better to do this on the computer. In printing the transcribed data there will be a need of printing further copies if the coding and editing does not go correctly and in using the computer the benefits were more as I thought it will aid in saving and editing the document easily and I could save several copies on different code

names. So, I decided to use my personal computer. Like this, I managed to organise my data into meaningful groups. I highlighted my data on the computer to indicate potential patterns. I worked systematically through the data providing equal attention to each data and identifying repeated patterns. I moreover extracted and matched the relevant data extracts which demonstrated that code.

3. Searching for themes

At this stage, I had coded and collated my data providing me a long list of different codes across the data and across all the cases. Then I commenced to analyse the codes and I looked at potential themes that could be derived from the codes. This was a hard task and confusing as I had so much data transcribed and highlighted codes which looked like a jigsaw puzzle. To make the task of looking for themes simple, I created a broad thematic map of the candidate themes. This was to help me visualise the themes and to see how coherent they are with the data. When I looked across all the data and across all the cases, five broad themes were present (see figure 1, below). I was able to link the themes to parental engagement. My first link, as demonstrated in the figure below, is parental engagement with parental expectations and hopes. This was to give the basis for what are the expectations and hopes of these parents. Then this is linked with parental engagement activities to show how they are trying to fulfil their expectations and hopes through parental engagement activities. However when analysing the data, I acknowledged that activities were broader than I had anticipated - it was not just about school, parents had a broad understanding of education. This led me to make links; one with school-related engagement, and another link with parental engagement beyond school. I collated all the data that was coded relating to these themes.

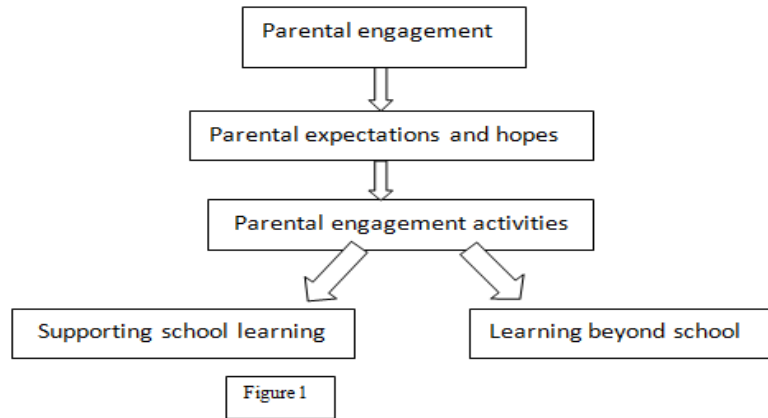


Figure 1 Linking Parental Engagement

4. *Reviewing themes*

At this stage I read through my data again to review the themes and to see if there were any sub-themes pertaining to what I had captured in phase three. Here I carried out two levels of reviewing and refining my themes as dictated by Braunn and Clark (2006). In level one 1, I read through all the collated extracts for each candidate making sure the candidate themes form a coherent pattern. This was a very time consuming process as I had to go through each candidates quotation making sure it is in accordance to the set theme. If, there was a consistent coherent pattern, I moved on to next level. In level two, I read through all my data to see if the themes are coherent through the whole data set and across all cases. This took a lot of my time and at times I grew fatigued and had to save my work and carry on some other day. The themes were coherent, nevertheless, I realised there were additional sub themes that I missed out in the first coding stages. This was due to concentrating on the main themes pertaining to my research questions. So here I added sub-themes to the main themes already mapped on the thematic map (see figure 2, below). One thing I noticed after reading my data quite few times is the way the children described the style of parenting - they tried to say it was relaxed however with rules and regulations. For this I made two themes in connection to parental engagement; authoritative parenting and balance of rules and warmth. I added subthemes to school-related engagement and engagement beyond school.

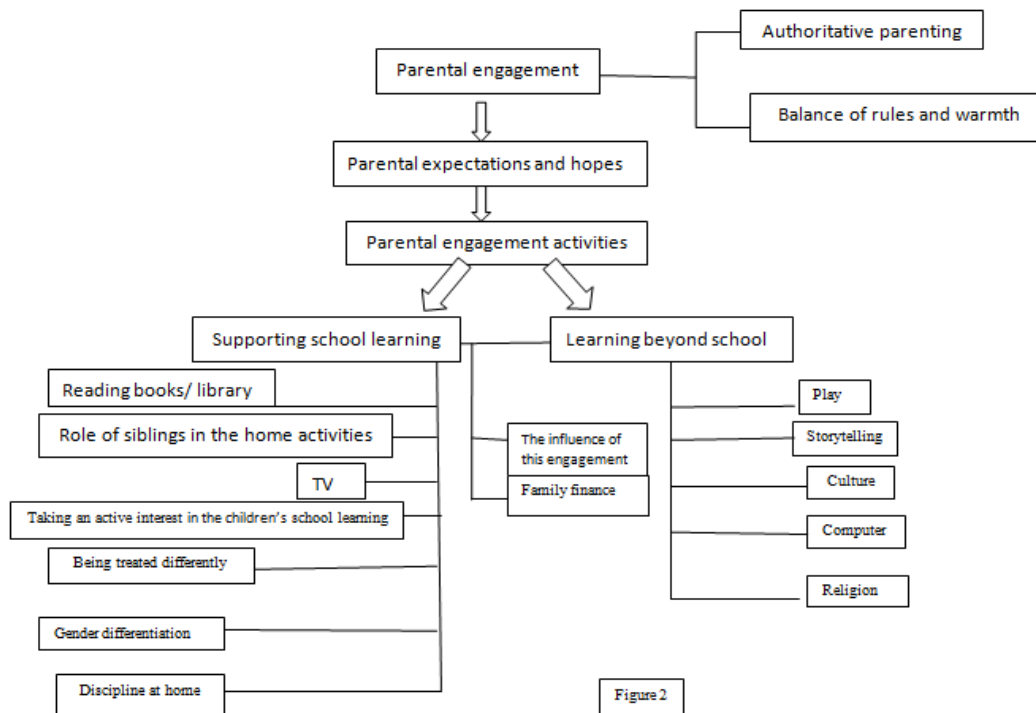


Figure 2 Linking Parental Engagement Extended

5. Defining and naming themes

In defining and naming the themes, I looked into what each theme is about and what quotation can be extracted for it. I extracted the relevant quotations for each theme across the data and across all the cases.

6. Producing the report

I wrote up the three case studies in this phase and in doing so, I looked into how the themes, mentioned above in figure two, manifested themselves in each case. For this, I went back to my collated data extracts for each theme and organised them into coherent accounts for each case study. After this I added a narrative to give it meaning and to portray what was interesting about them and why. I did not just add narrative randomly; I first looked at how each theme extract is related to my research questions and how it addresses the questions. At the end of this stage, I had constructed three family case studies pertaining to the themes, sub-themes with data extracts accompanied by a narrative.

The case studies described how each of the families engaged with their children. The first case study was more in depth and broader as it contained the data from the children's

interviews. These children were over the age of 16 so there were no ethical issues in regards to their vulnerability as minors, however in case studies 2 and 3 the children were under age so interviews were not carried out with them. After completing the case studies, each case study was returned to the participants for a member check and editing. This was to ensure the trustworthiness of the case studies.

Comparative analysis across the case studies

At this stage, I compared the way the themes, mentioned in figure two above, manifested themselves differently in each case. For this, I followed the integration approach of multiple data sets generated by several methods, demonstrated by Moran-Ellis *et al.* (2006) and referred to as *following a thread*, “we picked an analytic question or theme in one dataset and followed it across the others (the thread) to create a constellation of findings which can be used to generate a multi-faceted picture of the Phenomenon” (p54). This allowed me to triangulate, identify patterns and to compare and contrast perspectives and experiences while seeking internal explanations. For example, I was able to explore how each family helped their children with school-related work; The Shah family heavily relied on the elder siblings helping the young ones as they were not fluent in English. In the Akram family, Mr Akram helped the elder children while Mrs Akram, who was born in Pakistan, usually helped the younger ones. If she found anything difficult she would tell the elder siblings to help the younger ones or ask Mr Akram to help. As for the Aslam family, Mr and Mrs Aslam were both engaged as they were both fluent in English. Pattern matching is the most desirable technique according to Yin (2008), when comparing case studies. If the pattern coincides, the results can help a case study to strengthen its internal validity.

Timetable

The practicalities of the data collection timetable were discussed with the families and their expressions were taken into consideration. All the families were happy with the timetable (Appendix 7: Data collection timetable). I spent 10 months in the field, during which I would visit the participants once every month. On my visits to the participants, I would stay with them for about 5-7 hours or less, depending on how busy my participants' were. I collected the data in the following order: semi-structured interviews, solicited diary interviews, photo

voice interviews and video footage interviews with parents. Beside these I kept field notes in a diary and noted the documents parents were using in their engagement with their children.

Data storage

I saved the audio recordings of interviews and discussions onto a Word document, coded with the participants' code. I left the photos and videos with the participants due to sensitivities and ethical constraints around images of young children, and I requested they save them on their computers just in case there is a need to return to it. My intention was to keep an audit trail so the issue of reliability can be tackled as all the fieldwork will be safe and accessible.

Ethics and reflexivity

As my research was based on parental engagement activities that occur largely in the home environment, there were ethical issues that I needed to address. I provided participants with full information about the research (Appendix 8/9: Participant information sheet) and explained that it is voluntary to participate (Harden *et al.*, 2010). I explained that all participants are free to withdraw from the research at any time (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) and that participating in one part of the research does not obligate them to participate in other areas. This was evidenced by having the participants reconfirm their consent for each activity. As an insider, there were some practical advantages; based on-site, knowledge of their religious beliefs, existing rapport with the children and parents. In general, I already had a great deal of information which would take an outsider a long time to acquire (Robson, 2002). Nevertheless, I understood that my position may result in some feeling pressure to participate and that if they decline this will be viewed with negativity by other members of the family. I used my wife as a mediator here to reinforce that there is no obligation to participate. I understood the religious norms of the family, that female members cannot be observed or interviewed by a male without the presence of her husband or any other family members. Here, I abided by the religious norms of the family and only interviewed or observed when there was another family member present.

I took into consideration that culturally it is not a common practice for male members to observe or interview female members, or vice-versa. I accepted that this could be a major problem in this research if any of the female members refuse, or do not feel comfortable with being interviewed. To mitigate this likelihood, I asked my wife to enquire if the participants were willing to cooperate. If female participants felt uncomfortable with my presence, my wife, as an interviewer proceeded with the interviews alone. My wife carried out the semi-structured interviews, solicited diary interviews, photo voice interviews and video footage interviews with Mrs Akram and Mrs Aslam. My wife has had research methods training from The Open University. We prepared for this by having a formal session in which we discussed the methods to be used. However, I accepted that some females may answer certain questions differently in the presence of their husbands. I addressed this by designing my questions to minimise or eliminate conflict. I was also concerned about the ethical dilemma of interviewing/observing children, which was moreover reinforced by the research ethics committee, and consequently I decided not to pursue this line of investigation.

I acknowledged that this research involved an extended family with a patriarch who had significant authority and influence over the rest. This had the potential of one participant ending my fieldwork. To avoid this, I shared my questions and studies design with the head of the family and answered his concerns. This allowed me to avoid being overly observational in my understanding of events, however I ensured that I retain the role of researcher and not be dissuaded from any line of enquiry due to ‘over-rapport’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Furthermore, I was circumspect on how I asked questions. I went through my fieldwork procedures daily with my wife. I showed her the interview questions and asked for her opinion if she thought there were any intrusive elements that need changing to something more suitable.

On being a family member researcher

At the start of the research endeavour, I positioned myself as an insider who had knowledge and understanding of the participants’ backgrounds and other religious and cultural norms. This, I believed, was crucial for my research and as a novice ethnographer. My initial feelings were that gaining access would be easy and the whole research process would not be as difficult. My being a family member puts me in a strong position in the sense that I will have

more privileges' than an outsider or a stranger. My anxiety and nervousness to accomplish my studies was understood by all the participants. This family link provided me a level of attachment and confidence that they will be supportive. Also, being older than some of my participants granted me further privilege as respecting elders is a cultural norm among Pakistanis. Moreover, as a relative I had a pre-existing rapport and as well as experience through the pilot study I conducted before this study. In contemplating all these factors, I had a strong position to carry out my ethnographic research.

However, this was not the case! My position as a researcher made me an outsider as this involved collecting data from the participants. The participants' viewed me as a different individual who came for his research purposes; an individual who comes with his laptop, recorder and question schedules. On occasions, I would go just for a family visit and leave my laptop and research accessories at home, and then I was viewed as an insider family member. It is very uncommon that such research takes place in Pakistani families and by a family member. Even though the participants were fully aware of my research through the pilot study, the whole research process; semi-structured interviews, photo voice, video footage and a member check, created a distance between me and my participants. In some cases, especially when collecting data from female members, further barriers were created and a position differentiation - a stranger sensitivity, even after other solutions as mentioned above were implemented - my wife as an interviewer. This distance provided me a chance to question my subjectivity and objectivity.

A very significant issue for me was how the families could benefit from my study and understand the benefits of parental engagement. For this, I had discussions with each of the families before and after collecting the data. I related to them what the literature says about underachievement of ethnic minorities and what the literature states about the influence of parental engagement. The families were very positive about this and accepted that parents can make a huge difference to their children's learning. The parents were very keen to point out how they were engaged with their children already as demonstrated in Chapter Four. The parents were also very keen to take on new ideas and methods to increase their engagement with their children and to make it productive. I made sure that the parents benefitted by their participation by discussions and dialogues with them at the time of my visits. My wife had separate discussions with the female members narrating to them similar information. One of the key benefits mentioned was that the study provided the parents the opportunity to reflect on and develop their parenting skills.

Trustworthiness

Robson (2002) states two central concepts in establishing trustworthiness; validity, “whether the findings are really about what they appear to be about and generalizability, if the findings are more generally applicable outside the specifics of the situation studied; and in connection to these two, reliability, if the study was repeated would the same result be obtained” (p93). These concepts of trustworthiness were established in traditional fixed designs collecting quantitative data, as for their applicability in flexible designs with qualitative data is debatable. Cohen (2007) suggests the terms validity and reliability can be applied to qualitative and quantitative studies, nevertheless the way validity and reliability are addressed varies in both approaches. Yin (2003) reiterates the use of four tests to establish the quality of any empirical social research; construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability. Conversely, Lincoln and Guba (1985) have constructed a criterion to establish the trustworthiness of a qualitative study, based upon four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Even though, they have used different terms to the positivist paradigm, nevertheless each term corresponds to the criteria employed by the positivist investigator:

- a) Credibility (in preference to internal validity);
- b) Transferability (in preference to external validity/generalisability);
- c) Dependability (in preference to reliability);
- d) Confirmability (in preference to objectivity). (Shenton, 2004)

I have used these criteria to establish trustworthiness of my study as opposed to the positivists’ criteria of reliability and validity. Reliability and validity are more associated with quantitative research and its robustness. In qualitative research, the aim is to understand the phenomena according to the participants’ perspectives and not as much concerned with the validity or the generalisation of the findings (Trochim, 2000). Quantitative researchers maintain that qualitative research lacks robustness however in qualitative research, robustness comes from the quality of the research and its trustworthiness which is enhanced by the criteria; credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, which seek to add robustness to qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, Miles and Huberman, 1994).

a) Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) report that credibility is the substitute word for the conventionalists' term internal validity. They further elaborate that there are five major techniques which if implemented, would make the findings of the study credible: activities increasing the probability that credible findings will be produced (prolonged engagement, persistent observations, and triangulation), peer debriefing, negative case analysis, referential adequacy and member checking. Now I will explain which ones I adopted in my study to make my findings and interpretations credible and trustworthy.

Prolonged engagement

My field work lasted 10 months. In these ten months I visited each parent once a month for data collection and the collection of documents that the parents used with their children. Each visit lasted a couple of hours. I used different data collection methods which prolonged my engagement with their parents.

Triangulation

Triangulation is one of the methods used to evaluate the outcomes of this study.

Triangulation is a significant strategy to make the findings credible. Steps can be taken to validate the findings by triangulating the findings from one method against another (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, Shenton, 2004). The methods used were interviews with parents, solicited diaries, photo voice and semi-structured interviews with children. The outcome of each one of the methods was triangulated with all the other methods outcomes.

Hence triangulation took place at various levels resulting on a final outcome based on various perspectives. Fetterman (Fetterman, 2010) explains, "It is at the heart of ethnographic validity, testing one source of information against another to strip away alternative explanations" (p94). This is further expanded on by Hammersly and Atkinson (2007), "it may be possible to assess the validity of inferences between indicators and concepts by examining data relating to the same concept from participant observation, interviewing, and/or documents" (p184).

Referential adequacy

To reduce the incorrect understanding of the participants, I used the phrases and words that were said by the participants. I did not add anything extra on my behalf. When analysing the data for themes, themes were moreover extracted from the exact wordings of the participants without any additions from me reducing the influence of subjective or biased inferences.

Member checking

I have employed this method at various stages of data collection. This has moreover been highlighted in the stages section. After transcribing interview data from each data collection method, I returned my transcriptions' to the participants to check and see if anything needed adding or editing. On occasions some participants added or edited information which I acted upon accordingly. Yin (2003) explains that after a case study draft has been reviewed by the subjects of the study, and due to that any corrections are made, this will, "enhance the accuracy of the case study, hence increasing the construct validity of the study" (p183). Member checking from the participants, whom the data was collected from, is the most crucial technique for establishing credibility according to Lincoln and Guba (1985). Robson (2002) acknowledges that member checks can be valuable means of guarding against researcher bias and respondent bias.

b) Transferability

Transferability is the substitute word used for external validity or generalisation by positivist investigators. The positivist concern usually lies in demonstrating the applicability of their results on a wider population. Nevertheless, this is impossible in qualitative research as it is based usually on findings from particular small number of environments and individuals (Shenton, 2004). This is why naturalists can not specify the external validity of an enquiry according to Lincoln and Guba (1985). Lincoln and Guba suggest that the researcher provides a thick description of the study to interested individuals who then can see how applicable the results of the study are to the wider population. O'Reilly (2009) elaborates, "ethnography is depicted as exploring the messy nature of the social world in depth and in all its complexity rather than seeking broad generalisations or predictable patterns" (p82).

In this study, I have tried to provide a composite description of the study by fully detailing the procedures and the findings. I designed my interview schedules in such a manner that I could elicit from the participant their experiences of parental engagement comprehensively. This provided me a thorough understanding of their experiences. Nevertheless, since my findings are based on a thematic analysis, due to which, a lot of detail has been taken out of the data, therefore I cannot claim that I have produced a thick description as Hammersly and Atkins (2007) indicate, “. . . aim at producing thick descriptions whose general value is to be judged by readers when they use those descriptions to understand new situations in which they are interested in or involved” (p234). I have used the three Pakistani families I studied to construct a theory about how they parent and what is distinctively Pakistani about them. I have identified some common themes in these families. I will show how all the themes I have identified are inter-related and how they explain these families behaviour. I think if my theory is applied to lots of other Pakistani families, similar things will be found in their cases. I am not saying they are identical, however, but similar things. Yin (2003) clarifies the issue that case studies do not allow generalisation, he states, a case study is similar to an experiment in that it does not represent a sample. Nevertheless the goal of a case study is to generalise the findings into theories similar to how scientists generalise experimental results into theories (Yin, 2003, Neale *et al.*, 2006). My theory is grounded in the data very firmly and besides I have done a thorough review of the literature which gives me confidence that what I am saying is right. Furthermore, as a British Pakistani myself, I am in a position to recognise whether what I see in one family is the same as I have seen in my own family and in the other Pakistani families I come in contact with. Nevertheless, it is a theory like any theory, which needs to be tested by new empirical evidence.

c) Dependability

The term dependability is used in preference to reliability. In assessing the issues of dependability, I have carried out the procedures mentioned pertaining to credibility; prolong engagement, triangulation, *referential adequacy and member check*. Besides this, I have made a database for all my activities. I have kept an audit trail of all the procedures that I have carried out in this study and all collected data has been saved on a hard drive. I have fully explained each stage of the study. Yin (2003) narrates the main focus of reliability is, “if a later investigator followed the same procedures as described by an earlier investigator and conducted the same case all over again, the later investigator should arrive at the same

findings and conclusions” (p45). Yin suggests that the prerequisite for another investigator to repeat an earlier case study is that the first investigator should document all the procedures, this can be in the form of a case study protocol or development of a case study database. Robson (2002) confirms that one way of tackling the issue of reliability is through keeping an audit trail of the study – a full record of all the activities carried out in the field work. It is also possible to address the issue of reliability using the techniques outlined in confirmability according to Lincoln and Guba (1985).

d) Confirmability

Confirmability is a comparable concern to objectivity in the sights of the qualitative researcher (Shenton, 2004). Steps must be taken to reduce the researcher’s biases and preferences instead of the experiences and ideas of the informants. This was one of the hardest challenges for me as I was from the same ethnic group and a family member. I understood that ethnographers may study the social groups they belong to (Peshkin, 1988); nevertheless, I was moreover mindful that the personal experience an ethnographer brings to the field is usually criticised because it could influence the analysis of the data, as stated by some ethnographers (O’Reilly, 2009, Delgado-Gaitan, 1990). To mitigate the risk of personal influence on the data, I analysed the data in six phases, as highlighted by Braunn and Clark (2006), and to establish the trustworthiness of my study, I employed the criterion stated by Lincoln and Guba (1985). Considering this anthropological axiom, I confronted those issues that could impact the data: my background (Urdu/Punjabi speaking Pakistani), a member of the families in this study and having my wife as an interviewer in order to overcome any cultural barriers of interacting with other females in the family. Due to all these factors, I had to triangulate extensively in the collection of the data through semi-structured interviews, solicited diary interviews, photo voice interviews, video footage interviews and my field notes. Peshkin (1988) alerts researchers to seek out their subjectivity while their research is actively in progress. He states that by doing this the researcher can see if his subjectivity is shaping the research inquiry and its outcomes. Moreover, I was aware of the possible repercussions of internal family politics and the level of influence the head of the household had over the extended family, as it could affect my future relationships (Robson, 2002). Fetterman (2010) elaborates that patterns are a form of ethnographic reliability, so I compared information sources looking for patterns of thought and behaviour.

Moreover, to protect my study from my subjective or biased influences I kept sufficient accounts of the research such as an audit trail - a database of all the activities or through triangulation as mentioned in one of the above sections (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). I kept field notes to help me address my own potential bias and through these procedures I was able to reflect and ponder making sure my own beliefs and interpretation were not imposed over the participants' beliefs and understandings.

Chapter summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the methodological approach of this research study. It has also detailed the case study design of the research and given an explanation of how participants were to be recruited. This chapter moreover provided an overview of the six stages of data collection, the methods of data collection; interviews, solicited diaries, photo voice, video footage and field notes, the consideration taken in researching parental engagement in the home context, data analysis, timetable of the study, data storage, ethics and reflexivity and the trustworthiness of the study.

Chapter Four: Family case studies

Chapter overview

The previous chapter outlined the methodology, methods of data collection and the ethical issues concerning my study. This chapter presents the case studies for each family. I begin with the Shah family, followed by the Akram family and then the Aslam family. Each case study details the pen portraits for each family and how they have engaged with their children's learning. The section headings and sub-headings will be the same in Akram and Aslam case study. Nevertheless, the Shah family will have more headings as the data in the Shah family is richer, as I was able to interview the adult children as well as Mr and Mrs Shah. This was not possible in the Akram and Aslam families as the children were minors. I have used the same headings and sub-headings to better compare and contrast between the families in Chapter Five.

Family one: The Shah Family

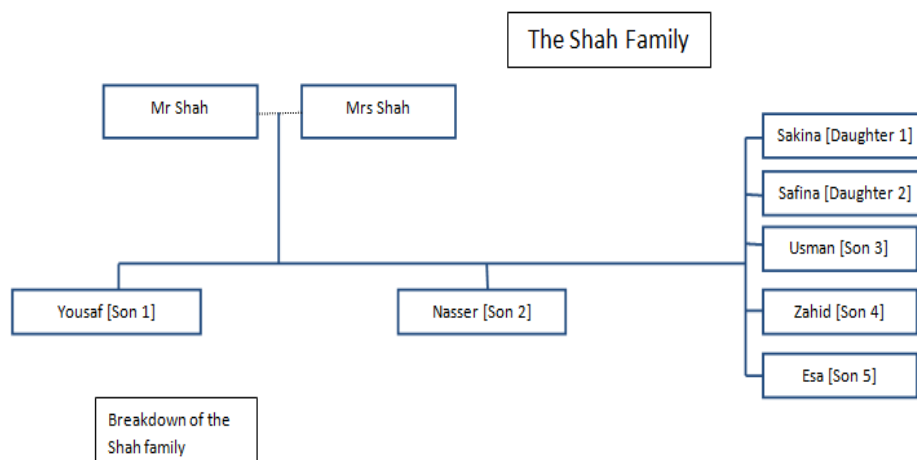


Figure 3 The Shah Family

Pen Portraits of the Shah family

The Shah family comprises nine people: father, mother and seven children: two daughters and five sons. I present a pen portrait of each member below, beginning with the father:

Mr Shah [age, 61]

Mr Shah was born and educated in Pakistan; the eldest of six children. He completed middle school in his local village, which was the highest level of education available. Anyone who wanted to study further had the option to enrol at a secondary school in the nearby town. After completing his middle school education, Mr Shah did not study further; rather, he travelled to England at the age of 14 ½. Finding work at age of 14 ½ was difficult for Mr Shah; nevertheless his first employment commenced at a shoe factory and then he moved on to work in a textiles mill for over 20 years in a small town in the North West of England. At the time of interviewing, Mr Shah was working as a caretaker in an independent school. Mr Shah returned to Pakistan to marry a cousin living in the same village.

Mrs Shah [54]

Mrs Shah was born and educated in Pakistan; the eldest of six children. She completed her middle school studies in the local village too. She did not study further as there was no girls' school in the village or in the vicinity. Mrs Shah married at the age of 18 and had her first child in Pakistan before migrating to England. Mrs Shah attended some English lessons when she first arrived from Pakistan; however, she did not continue to gain certificates.

Yousaf [37]

Yousaf (son) is the eldest child in the Shah family and the only child to be born in Pakistan. I will expand on his profile in case study two.

Nasser [34]

Nasser (son) is their second child. I will expand on his profile in case study three.

Sakina [32]

Sakina (daughter) attended the local primary school. She moreover took Islamic classes after school for two hours (5-7), which were taught by her father. After completing her primary education, she went to an independent faith-based boarding school in West Yorkshire. Here, she completed her GCSEs and Islamic scholarship course at the age of 16. She was the school's head girl and was offered a job there after graduating. She worked at the school for

two years before her marriage. After marriage, she completed her Degree in Early Years and is currently working as a Deputy Head in a primary school.

Usman [27]

Usman (son) attended the same primary school as his siblings and moreover took Islamic classes after school for two hours (5-7) at the local mosque. After completing his primary education, he went to an independent faith-based boarding school in the North West of England. He did not board however came home at the end of the school day. Here, he completed his GCSEs and Islamic scholarship course. He completed his A-levels and memorised the Quran. After completing his studies at the boarding school, he went to university and achieved a First-class BA Honours degree in English Literature. Subsequently, he was offered a scholarship by his University to complete his Master's degree in English Literature. At present, Usman is working as an English teacher.

Zahid [24]

Zahid (son) had a similar education to his siblings and attended the same schools. Having similar interests to his brother (Usman), Zahid, enrolled at the same university on the same course; BA Honours degree in English Literature. He received a first class degree and like his sibling, Usman, and was offered a scholarship to complete his Master's degree in Creative Writing. At present, he is working as a community engagement worker in the Third Sector.

Safina [19]

Safina's (daughter) upbringing was different from her siblings as she was adopted by her maternal aunt in South-East England who had no children of her own. She attended one of the local primary schools. For her secondary education she moved back to the North West and stayed with her biological parents while studying at an independent, single sex, faith-based school. After completing her A-levels, she returned to her maternal aunt. At present, she is in her final year at university, studying Psychology and Counselling.

Esa [13]

Esa (son) is the youngest in the Shah family. He attended the local primary school and took Islamic lessons at the mosque after school. He is currently studying at the same boarding school as his elder brothers.

Parental engagement

In the above section I provided a brief profile of members of the Shah family. In this section, I will elaborate on how the Shah family engaged with their children's learning.

Authoritative parenting

Balance of rules and warmth

Maintaining a balance between authoritarian style of parenting and permissive style of parenting is what the children spoke about in the interviews. They believed this was a good style of parenting as the children will become familiar with the boundaries set and will know the circumstances for breaking these limitations. Here, I define these parenting styles as mentioned by Baumrind (1991). According to Baumrind (1991) there are three main parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian and permissive. 1] Authoritative parents are both demanding and responsive. They are supportive rather than punitive. They monitor their children and set clear rules and regulations and give explanations and rationale for their decisions. 2] Authoritarian parents are demanding and directive, however not responsive. They expect children to obey their orders without any explanation. They are very strict and intolerant to inappropriate behaviour. 3] Permissive parents are very lenient and responsive. These parents allow self-regulation and avoid confrontation.

I think there were certain aspects in which they knew it was time to be strict if we tried to over push the boundaries then they would be strict. Otherwise, when it came to playing, what books we read, they were very liberal - cartoons, films. There were certain things they were strict - now you have to sleep, otherwise you will not be able to wake up in the morning. [Yousaf: interview]

They had a good balance. They were not really strict or too liberal. It let us grow at a pace and make progress at a pace. At the same time we have that discipline within our family that we behaved in a good and positive way. I think in parenting you have to be authoritarian in order to be have that discipline and

some form and structure within family and school life. At the same time being liberal enough for your children to grow and make progress. [Sakina: interview]

As conveyed in the excerpts, the parents were strict when it came to breaking rules, sleeping time and maintaining discipline. There was kind-heartedness towards play, reading books and watching television. Another way the parents achieved a balance was by one of them adopting a more authoritarian and the other a more liberal approach. The adopted sibling provided her perspectives:

I think normally Asian families have an authoritarian approach and the parents take over and tell the children what to do and do not really talk to the children about... I had mum who was strict and dad who was not. Mum was using authoritarian method and dad was doing the liberal methods like discussing things with me and trying to get my way around, so it was not really liberal it was more of me taking over the authoritarian method when it came to dad. [Safina: interview]

The adopted sister came across a different approach by both parents while her siblings as mentioned above saw a balanced parenting style from both parents. Her mother's approach was strict and dad's approach was very lenient. She had to abide by her mother's style and she could influence her dad. When parents parenting styles are contrary to each other, then one may ask, what are the benefits?

. . . it was a good balance because I had one parent who kept me in line and I know that my mum was doing her best by supporting me. If she had not then I would have been out partying rather than studying. [Safina: interview]

I explored her answer by asking her sibling a follow-up question, concerning whether having parents who are strict or having parents who are lenient is good for a child?

I think both ways (liberal/ authoritarian) of bringing someone up will result in some form of behavioural issues later on in life. With the liberal approach just would not know when their crossing the boundary and they would not be able to figure out when they have gone too far. And the other side, if they have been under authoritarian establishment growing up then what would happen is once they have got rid of that ...they will try to do all the things they were not allowed to do when their parents were there. So they will go to the opposite to what their parents were trying to get them to do. [Zahid: interview]

Although the Shahs do not conform to the authoritative style of parenting per se, nevertheless, they do possess some characteristics of such parenting. I position them leaning more towards authoritative style of parenting. They balanced their parental engagement style

so their children could prosper and progress in their academic achievements, as one of the son notes, “They would not force anything upon me. There was always guidance there” [Zahid: interview].

Parental engagement activities

In the Shah family both parents were engaged with their children’s learning. The learning activities would vary; encouragement, going to the library, reading/writing English, culture/religion related education-Urdu, Punjabi, Arabic, Quran and going to the mosque, watching TV and so forth. Out of all these engagement activities, a very noticeable factor was that both parents were playing some sort of part in the development of their children. The children were very keen to highlight how their parents were engaged.

Weekly, I would go to the library with my mum. My mother would sit with me and make sure I read the books. I think we both learned when I was reading. When I was reading it did not feel like I was being taught anything, rather that I was sitting with someone and studying something. I think that helped a lot for my own confidence as well. [Zahid: interview]

... Father played a major role in storytelling. He would tell us every day religious, sometimes cultural stories to do with back home. They all usually had some moral on how to behave and good behaviour. Basically things that would help us in life. [Sakina: interview]

These excerpts are explaining the engagement of both parents; the first generation parents. In the first excerpt the mother is not fully literate in English; nevertheless, the mother would still sit and listen to her child read. The child understands his mother hardly understands by acknowledging, “I think we both learned when I was reading”. This procedure was still beneficial in building confidence in the child to read out aloud. The second excerpt details the father’s role and what he was good at. The telling of religious and cultural stories that are significant to life related issues and so are lessons for the children’s upbringing. Mr Shah and Mrs Shah wanted their children to progress and become something.

Parental expectations and hopes

Mr and Mrs Shah had high expectations and hopes.

[I tell them] The best thing a human has is knowledge. Even if you are not going to use it you should still attain... It will come in your use in your lifetime sometime or it might be useful for someone else... There's nothing better in the world besides knowledge. [Mr Shah: semi-structured interview]

They are doing an MA now... I do not want them to waste their time on games. They should research as much as they can. They work part-time... I encourage them to split their time up for work and their studies. [Mrs Shah: solicited diary interview]

I wrote in my field notes (11/2012) concerning how anxious and ambitious Mr Shah and Mrs Shah were to fulfil their expectations. When their sons were studying in the Islamic college their father, Mr Shah was working there as a caretaker, so every day in the morning and afternoon after class he would transport them to and back from school. Every day Mr Shah and Zahid would be up on time and ready to go, however, Usman would stay asleep. His father and mother would continuously wake him up and tell him to hurry up. Nevertheless, Usman would take his time and he would make everyone late. This persisted for several years. His parents did not give up so he could have his way and stay asleep to avoid going to school.

How children respond to parental expectations and hopes varies from child to child. One of the adult children clearly distinguished how his parents were a catalyst for his achievement.

. . . they (parents) were always encouraging me to perform well in my education and they had high hopes and expectations for my future... because they knew me and my capabilities and they would kind of push me towards the upper excellence of my performance. They helped me a lot in reaching my full potential within education. [Usman: interview]

I asked him further why his parents were so engaged in his education, he elaborated:

. . . my parents they had a very different upbringing. They were brought up in rural Pakistan. Their choices for education and the education available to them was very limited so coming to England and having to work as hard as they had to work just to stay above the poverty line, that made them aware of the importance of education and the need to engage with their children in matters of education and to encourage their children and to make sure there are enough options available for their children to partake in education. [Usman: interview]

The child in this quotation reflects on his parent's upbringing and how that has influenced them to engage more with their children's education. Another sibling identified the high ambitions her mother (adoptive mother) had concerning her results. The focus was to try your best to get the best results, "My mum was expecting me to get A* and 100%. It doesn't matter what I did, it was why you didn't do better." [Safina: interview]

I asked what the reason was for her mother making her study so hard, to which she replied, “My mum, the reason why she pushed me so much was because she wanted me to be the best; she wanted me to do as well as I could.” [Safina: interview]

One of the siblings linked getting good outcomes in school and university with an attractive job and living in comfort. These expectations were transmitted by his parents who wanted their children to think of upward mobility and so for this good school results were essential leading to a good degree at university level. The result of this would be good job prospects and an increase in accumulated assets and resources which will aid in a comfortable lifestyle.

. . . my parents always wanted me to do well in school. Obviously every one’s parents always do. However they did not just want me to do well in school ... they wanted me to get decent results in school and university and get a decent job and live comfortably. At the same time they did not want me to be focused and driven by this idea of living my life in the moment and they wanted me to have more than that. [Zahid: interview]

There seems to be a strong aspirational drive from the parents for their children to achieve a kind of lifestyle that they themselves were unable to achieve. For this, they try to nurture their children that they have enough options available for them later on in life.

They (parents) wanted me to do well in everything that I did and they understood that doing well in everything that I do involves being able to find my own way as well as them helping to get to where I want to get to. They always made sure that I had my options available for me... engaged with me in different ways so I understood different ways of learning and thinking just that I have that choice later on in life do whatever it was I wanted to do. [Zahid: interview]

Parental engagement in terms to school, college and university learning

Parents in the Shah family were born and educated in Pakistan, and so relied more on the children to help each other with school-related issues.

The role of siblings in home activities

As the children grew, they looked towards each other for help; with university work or material help and money. Mrs Shah reiterated to question on whether the children help each other, “Yes children help each other; if anyone of them needs money; or when they complete their (university) work, they check each other’s and point out anything that can improve their work”. [Mrs Shah: video footage interview]

The father explained why he told the elder siblings to help the young ones,

“... because my sons’ English is better than mine and they are more educated than me. This is why I tell them to help their young brother. If there’s anything according to my level, I will help him, nevertheless, anything above my level, and then his brothers help him”. [Mr Shah: photo voice interview]

In this section, Mr Shah is very clear about his academic ability to help his children with homework. He transfers this responsibility to his children on the basis of not having good English acquisition.

In a very supportive family the siblings play a significant role in helping each other with house chores or school-related work. This is a significant part of life which can have a good influence. All the siblings showed a very positive response to how they helped each other.

Yes, we helped each other. Again I think that is consequently of the way our parents engaged with us. It was kind of a mutually learning with the siblings my age range and the elder ones would help us. [Zahid: interview]

Early on I think my elder sister and elder brothers they were a big influence early on. I would see them reading books or writing ... I would want to try to copy and emulate them. So I think seeing my brothers read novels books, poetry and then I became interested as well... later on when it came to university level then I think my younger brother helped me a lot more in fact that after we wrote essays we would proofread each other’s work and make sure grammar, punctuation and everything was there. If we read anything to do with each other’s research topics we would exchange the information with each other. We encouraged each other as well, as it is hard doing research at post graduate level. [Usman: interview]

In the above two passages a brief account is given by the participants on how they helped each other. The first passage clearly identifies and positions the parents at the forefront of this support mechanism as it elaborates the process; learning from each other who were the same age range and overlooked by the elder siblings. The second excerpt is very significant as it details and further explains a very united bond between two brothers. Firstly, the brother, younger in age, signifies the influence his elder siblings had on him. This was through observing his elder siblings reading and writing and this was a catalyst for his mind to be set on these activities and to build an interest. Secondly, at an academic level, aiding each other in proof reading assignments and sharing appropriate information with each other that was linked to their studies. Thirdly, being a source of encouragement and hope at difficult times such as doing research at post graduate level.

It can be hard at times for a child who lives away from her siblings. However, this physical barrier to communication can be overcome in various ways. The adopted sibling went back to her adopted parents after finishing her studies. The distance did not stop the other siblings from communicating and helping her when it was needed.

I think it was nice growing up with siblings. They helped a lot because they attended an Islamic school. So they knew what was on the course, I knew I could always turn to them if I needed help. Even now at university, I no longer live in the same house as them because I am back with my adopted family, I still keep in contact with them. They are still there whenever I need them to check my university work. They never say no! [Safina: interview]

The adopted sister was given all the support she needed when she resided with her siblings. Her move back home to her adopted parents was not an obstacle to engaging with her siblings who lived far away not in the same town however the cooperation between her and her siblings prevailed as whenever she needed help with university work, they were there for moral and practical support.

TV

Watching TV together is common in some households as it is in this household. When I asked the father about the benefits of watching TV, the father connected TV with the fact that his children, three out of seven, have a degree in English, and so by watching TV they pick up new words:

(Watching TV) my kids have got degrees in the English Language. They learn new words from this, how they are used, what they are used for and plus what the meaning of the story is. The kids who watch just for entertainment, they do not learn anything, however waste their time. Those children who watch TV so they can learn the words the actor is using and what is the background of making the story and the message, for these kids it is beneficial. [Mr Shah: photo voice interview]

The mother explains her point of view on how their children and they as parents feel comfortable and relaxed as they watch TV together and discuss any issues that arise. Nevertheless, they have a worry that is always a concern for them- the future of their children. She explains:

The video in which we are all sitting down and the TV is on. The children are watching football and are relaxed. When they sit down with us they feel more relaxed. We are moreover relaxed when sitting with our children. As a family we

discuss any issues that have arisen in the family or in the world. If our children have any problems we try to sort them out. Our kids are now grown up; we are worried about their futures. We want their future to be good and their life partners, wives, to be good, educated and they are successful in their lives. [Mrs Shah: video footage interview]

The children; young and older ones watch television and feel free to discuss with their parents any pertaining issues in a relaxed and calm environment. According to the mother, this engagement with her children, hopefully will build confidence in her children and make it easy for them as they discuss their problems together and look for solutions together. She indicates:

These things build confidence in them. When you sit together, you be relaxed, you discuss your problems with each other and look for solutions. The children and their parents, especially get peace like this when discussing the future of their children. [Mrs Shah: video footage interview]

Television can be used for entertainment and other outcomes. Here it is suggested as being a good aid for language acquisition. This could be through watching different type of programmes and listening and learning new words and how they are used in a sentence. This could aid them in their school subjects.

They (parents) would sit with us when we watched TV... they would always make sure I had sometime in the day to engage with-the outside world as well. ...lot of English I learned in my formative years was picked up from the television... When they put programmes on I would take words from what they had been saying and use them for the next 2-3 days. So I was quite fluent in speaking English at 5/6 years. [Zahid: interview]

Again parents are mentioned, *'they (parents)'* monitoring their children as they watched television. However the child is anxious to explain the proficiency he made in English in his primary years was due to watching television and learning new words. The same child and his brother gained an honours degree in English. Maybe this was influenced by their formative period. The parents limited the time in front of the TV for their children and monitored the programmes the children watched.

We had timing for TV programmes which was after we had completed our homework, half an hour after school-before mosque and an hour after mosque. It would be monitored what kind of programmes we watch. We were allowed to watch children programmes only. [Sakina: interview]

The parents made sure school work was given preference and completed before allowing their children to watch television.

Reading/Library

A very common activity among the children was of reading. They all were taken to the library to get books for reading. This engagement was facilitated by the mother, as the father was at work. The parents tried to engage with their children all the time, even if they did not understand English or the British school system. These parents were always consistent, persistent and buoyant towards developing a learning environment for their children and trying to make a learning culture a genuine habit not just pertaining to school.

My mum used to listen to me read when I used to come home. She would take us to the library... she made me join a book club in the library. [Sakina: interview]

My parents were very keen for me to read and I was very keen to read as well. What tended to happen is that I will go the library with my mother and we would pick up books from the library. Sometimes three to four books every week. Normally I would get non-fiction books. Basically I would read around what I had been studying in primary school and vice-versa. [Zahid: interview]

One of the parental engagement activities mentioned in these quotations is going to the library to get books to read. This engagement was facilitated by the mother who would moreover listen to her children read. Even though the mother was not proficient in English, she would still make sure her children read their books and sometimes sit with them and listen. This encouragement and enforcement by the mother was to support her children's reading of English and comprehension. The first quotation reveals how significant the mother thought reading was as she made her daughter join a reading club to improve her reading skills. The second quotation expands on the type of books this particular child would get from the library; non-fiction, and the quotations moreover provides attachment to the child's school as he would try to read or study what he had done in school.

Taking an active interest in children's schooling

Establishing a link with the school for parents is vital. They will be up-dated with their child's progress in school. They might come across other parents at the school who live in their vicinity who may share the same culture and they can relate to each other for self-assurance, as talking to teachers can be difficult for some parents due to language barriers. Some schools do have translators on parents' evenings to accommodate this barrier.

At primary school level engaging with the teachers was mostly done through parents' evenings or after school... (language) perhaps on my mother's side... I think her confidence in speaking English originally was not as great as my fathers. My father worked outside in the environment of the mills and factories so was more confident in speaking English. My mother tried her best to communicate with the teachers to help us with our education. [Usman: interview]

Parents' evening used to be a nightmare, because I knew the teachers would tell my parents everything and, literally, I knew mum would try her best to get as much feedback as she could. Because her English was not perfect, she was not able to always ask the questions she wanted to ask. It was more about what the teacher actually told her. There was not actually any (language) support provided for her. It was just mum nodded her head and pretended she understood what they said. [Safina: interview]

Both comments demonstrate how significant parent evenings were for these parents. There is also an indication that these parents were not fully competent in communicating in English. The quotations are providing the assumption towards the mothers being less competent in English than the fathers. This is given clarity in comment one by the explanation that the fathers occupation provided him a chance to converse with different people and so was more confident. There are implications here that the wives usually looked after the children and the house chores so did not get the chance to meet and converse in English with different people. Clearly, some children are happy for their parents to attend parents' evenings and others do not want their parents to attend at all. In comment two, the adopted sister provides her emotions about parents' evenings as being difficult for her and worried about teachers providing any negative impressions of her to her mum. This is quite strange that the adopted mother is more worried about her adopted daughter in comparison to the biological mother concerning the other siblings. However all parents are not homogenous; they will express things in different ways. Interestingly, the adopted mother did not have the English language fluency to ask whatever she wanted however, as related in comment three, it was more like the teacher narrating and the mother listening and nodding her head conveying that she understood. Moreover, it appears that the schools did not have any bilingual language support for such parents as highlighted in comment three.

Being treated differently

Another thread coming from my data was the mono-cultural approach of the school and devaluing of the children's own culture and faith:

Majority of the Asian community went to that school making roughly 10% of the school. It was generally more White than Asian. I think at that time culture was always left at the door of the school and we were always told to speak English and Christianity was promoted among us a lot more. So we were not allowed to practice freely. There were no facilities for prayer so we just generally read our prayers at home and went to mosque after that. Really we did not practise Islam there. We were not allowed to wear hijab there. [Sakina: interview]

In this primary phase of education, the promotion of a Christian ethos over other religions and the lack of effort in engaging with the religious minorities is discernible. There seems to be a mismatch or a discontinuity between the home culture and the school.

All the adult children had or were still studying at university at the time of interview. I was interested to see how they would frame themselves when asked how they confronted, tackled stereotyped perspectives and peculiar demoralising behaviour at university. My intent was not geared towards a certain incident or event, however, a general outlook of feelings and emotions that result from such atypical behaviour and, what strategies are used to cope and manage such estrangement. One of the siblings, who had completed his undergraduate degree and was now pursuing his postgraduate studies at one of the leading universities in the North West of England, provided a pointed response:

A lecture is not so bad to walk into. There is a certain amount of anonymity afforded, as the attention of most is locked onto the lecturer. Seminars are a different story. The purpose of a seminar is to have discussion and group interaction, nevertheless being a minority both ethnically and religiously, you are automatically pushed out from the group. It is not a physical thing. They merely ignore your opinions; distance themselves from you in terms of refusing to engage with you. Make you feel 'other' which is always disappointing. You were born here, grew up here, and were schooled here. You speak and think in the same language, yet acceptance always remains just beyond the edge of reach. [Usman: interview]

A clear distinction is made here between a lecture and a seminar based on the level of interaction required with peers. Usman is very clear in his point that being a minority, ethnically and religiously different to the rest, automatically the attitude towards him and the perceptions of otherness is creating distance between him and the dominant other. Despite clear similarities in place of birth, education and language; being a Muslim student meant being treated as an outsider.

I always counter this by attempting to excel in my subject beyond my peers. If you know more about the topic, if you have read more widely, done more research, spent longer studying, then you can circumvent the class and engage

directly with the tutor, force others to value and respect your knowledge and opinions. My parents taught me from an early age to strive to be the best possible human being I could be, and if the others should resent me for that - I suppose it is better than being despised and regarded as inferior. [Usman: interview]

The response to being alienated was to outperform his peers in the subject matter and forge a direct link with the tutor, in order to gain recognition and even respect from his peers. Here again, parents' early engagement was a source of encouragement and reminder to keep trying as hard as possible in your studies. The working class parents' aspirations for their children here are similar to middle class parents' aspirations for their children in that they view education as route to upward social mobility. A similar pattern followed for one of the female siblings who had gone back to study after a long time. She was the only Asian in her tutorial classes and was summarily ignored in the discussions, isolated and made to feel as an outsider. The same was experienced by some of her friends, which made them turn away from their studies. However, this segregation did not deter her from her learning, as she states:

Nevertheless this was not the case with me. I believe my confidence, resilience, drive to succeed, instilled in me through my parents upbringing, helped alongside being sent to boarding school. I believe having to deal with stereotyping and racism from a young age (with my parents support to deal with adversity) made me more resilient when faced with adversity, hurdles or simply animosity ... I tend to work harder if I receive a knock. I simply brush myself off and work harder ... I excelled in my studies and ensured I had done the prep work for tutorials. This added depth to group discussions. Consequently the tutor commenced using my examples, asking for my opinion and using my work as an example. My class began to look beyond my exterior and respect my opinions and include me in discussions and ask for help with their work. My sense of humour and openness in discussing my culture and beliefs helped them to understand that we are not so different. My parents have taught us that feelings of animosity and racism and stereotypes are usually due to ignorance and fear of the unknown. Thus, I was able to deal with and understand the cause of such experiences. [Sakina: interview]

Another issue that takes great importance in my data furthermore to poverty, language problems, and one size fits all is attached to largely secondary education and related to gender issues.

Gender differentiation after primary school

Mr Shah stated:

The reason is we have kept a family system (baradari system) alive. Family system because there's security in this; your relations last a long time, when your relation live close and last a long time, you have less problems. Your family will share your problems and help you... like this life comes easy... it is like work, they tell you to do teamwork. Teamwork and family are similar; help each other, like this how close you stay in a family, you help each other; there is less stress, no problems. So anything that can break the family system (mixed gender schooling) in the future, we try to avoid. That is why we have adapted this way (single gender schooling). [photo voice interview]

This is further explained by Mrs Shah:

... going to state school would lead to more disputes in the family system, and so it is (single gender schooling) easier because teenagers have their own thinking. They do not understand. They want their own room for thinking. So it is easier for them (teenagers) that the girls go to girls schools and boys to boys. So they can make their mind up and understand the difference. [photo voice interview]

I asked Mr and Mrs Shah, if it was their duty to teach their grandchildren Pakistani culture or Urdu language. This was to see how they respond to what has been mentioned by their children above. Mr Shah responded:

All parents have a responsibility. In our family system, when grandparents see that their children have less time, they give a hand so they can have a rest. They get the benefit of staying in the family system that their grandparents moreover give them some support. [photo voice interview]

One thing very vital mentioned in this passage is the benefit arising from staying in a family unit. Mr Shah who is the main head of the extended family is very anxious to say that one of the benefits of staying in a family is the support that can be provided at the time of need from different family associates. All the children went to an independent, single-sex, Islamic boarding school. They all had their own opinions about the schools and their education.

This is when things slightly changed. I went to an Islamic boarding school for boys in Bury. It was kind of split 50/50 in terms of secular and religious education. We studied up to GCSE level in seven subjects and at the same time I was studying Islamic law-jurisprudence, Arabic, Urdu and other elements of our faith; the prophet's traditions, translation of the Quran etc. I studied my A levels as well, while I was at the college. [Zahid: interview]

The positive influence of the schools was that there were not so many mismatches to home life so adherence to it was easy. The same religious and cultural sentiments present at home were to be found at school. Sakina expands on the multiculturalism of the school which caters for varied ethnicities and believes she has not lost out.

Secondary school, as relation to home, being an Islamic school, that was pretty easy to switch as it was culturally and religiously accepted. There was not that much mismatch and there was a mix of cultures so I cannot say I missed out on mixing with different cultures. We had students from different backgrounds in the boarding school. [Sakina: interview]

The children pointed out the difference between the primary and the secondary school they attended pertaining to their home life:

So with studying in an Islamic school it was a same mix of things I will be studying things round my faith at the same timing coming home. As I progressed, I commenced teaching in the local mosque. The environment was kind of similar to school and I think everything fitted in together a lot better in the Islamic school if I was to be honest than it did when I was in the primary school . . . The secondary school moral structure was very similar to my own moral structure at home. [Zahid: interview]

I went there (Islamic boarding school) at the age of 11 and finished at the age of 15. It was a bit far. The distance had its negatives and positives. Negatives in the sense I did not get much time to spend with my siblings - the boys as they were in the boys' boarding school. [Sakina: interview]

Studying in a girls' Muslim school where the students are from the same culture and religion seems to have created a 'supportive environment' for the children to connect with each other and communicate. Nevertheless, it stands to reason that living in a secular society, one will need to converse or discuss/work with male counterparts, it would understandably be challenging for someone who has not mixed with the other gender besides school or her own family.

Because I had been in a secondary girls school and a girls sixth form college; all girls environment so when I got to university it was just a smack in the face. It was hard to get back into inter-mixing and stuff. I found it awkward for the first couple of weeks but I started to get used to it. However I still do have feelings that there's a wall between me and the rest of the students. When there are only boy students then I do tend to build a wall up around myself and start acting more serious than I do with female students. [Safina: interview]

In the above excerpt the difficulty in conversing with male counterparts in a coeducational institute is reported from Safina who before this attended an all-girls secondary school and a girls six form college, here, the pattern of teaching is narrated. As for university life, it was not as hard as anticipated to adapt to. The adaptability and compliance to university life was made easy consequently of the parallels between teaching methodologies at the university and school and so the lecturers were amazed at the fact that students coming from normal

comprehensive schools/colleges were taking longer time to settle down than those coming from an independent Islamic College.

... I think consequently of my background in the Islamic school, I was able to adapt very easy to university life because the lecturing system and the system of seminars and sitting together with the students and discussing matters, I had been through that process from secondary school onwards basically from my Islamic education so it was easy to adapt. . . . I think at university level all my professors were impressed with just how well I adapted, unlike other students like secular public schools and colleges, that I was able to take up the study personally. Take in all the theory and the lecturing and everything else and I was able to adopt very well. [Usman: interview]

To study and excel in university in the Pakistani culture is a paramount indicator for upward social mobility as reported in chapter two and my own experience confirms. Studying at the Islamic boarding school not only provided them a certain sense of independence from their parents, however moreover the emphasis of independent study at the Islamic schools has contributed to a smoother transition to the standards and rigours of a university education.

Furthermore, the parents' active interest keeps them tuned to what is happening in these institutes and as time passes they moreover navigate and embrace the community around them. Some parents are keen to make a link with the community they live in as they believe this is an essential part of life.

The link of discipline at home to the wider community: school and beyond

In my study, the children were made to understand the need to behave in an ordinary manner and to respect each other and colleagues at school and work.

I was always taught to behave the best I could. There were never any expectations of me to become some kind of eugenic being and that I did not do anything wrong because that kind of person does not exist in this day and age . . . if I did anything wrong I was expected to be honest . . . [Zahid: interview]

Behaviour at home obviously respectful to each other; be kind to younger siblings - help them out, behave generally in a respectful way. Religion was very significant. We were told to pray five times a day. [Sakina: interview]

In these passages there is clear message, which the children are portraying; behave appropriately with everyone and to respect others. This will reinforce the rules set in school and may be improve the child's behaviour.

I think children everywhere are a bit unruly. They like to mess around. They like to play. The children, they would mix with me and I would mix with them, however, I would always make sure I did not do anything which would go against what my parent's expectations of me, or what the teachers began to expect of me. So I would not do anything like stealing, vandalising... if something like that came up I would move away from my friends and say I am not taking part in that. [Usman: interview]

My friends in school, Asian and White, for the most part they were okay. However, what I tended to notice was that a lot of them had some behavioural issues... I would say they were silly. ... Kick a girl in the playground... both Asian and white. It was something they told me to do as well. I would refuse to do. When I was in year 5 we actually went through six different teachers and it was because all the teachers got fed up and left consequently of the behaviour of the kids in class. There were only a handful of Asian kids in my class in year 5, the majority were white kids. [Zahid: interview]

Here the children point out the effect of good behaviour on them in the secondary Islamic school, known as a Darul Uloom (Place of Knowledge).

I think, in Darul Uloom, the children were behaved better than even I was. I had to step my game up to match their level of behaviour and their manners towards the teachers and other students. I was impressed by their behaviour and I think I took some of them up as role models for myself to kind of work towards to match their behaviour. [Usman: interview]

The mention of the influence of good behaviour is the main theme of this quote. The participant took other colleagues good conduct towards teachers and fellow students as a template to follow. The school can moreover promote good behaviour values and etiquettes.

. . . the way I was taught to behave in the secondary school and at home was kind of similar ... like morality, differentiating right from wrong and how we were expected to behave. So, aside from just teaching us about secular education and Islamic education, there was moreover strong influence of how to behave as good human being so things like cleaning your table after you have eaten; always leave the door open for your elders, how you greet someone, say thank you etc. The school helped quiet a lot to get myself and my classmates and peers on to the right track ... [Zahid: interview]

The message given by parents at home and at school by teachers may be similar and so more effective on the child as each place is reinforcing the same rules as this passage is indicating the nature and the strong emphasis put on being a good human was besides all the secular and Islamic education.

Parental engagement beyond school, college and university learning

Religion

Religion plays a great part in the upbringing of some children who have religious parents. The ultimate goal was to learn from the Quran how to live a life free from felony against anyone else.

In this (Quran) there is religion and worldly life. It contains all the rules of life... Quran has taught us how we can live a clean and happy life; not to hurt anyone... [Mrs Shah: Solicited diary interview]

Mr Shah's response was similar to Mrs Shah.

These parents would like to see their children learn and abide by religious norms and especially be able to read and understand the Quran. Here again the father is very active.

When I was attending the mosque then my father there would moreover teach me. My Quran studies, I began them with my father when I was around 6 years old and he took charge of them until the age of 10. [Usman: interview]

(Quran) my father taught me to read the Quran and he taught many of the kids within our community. I learned lots of parts of the Quran by heart. [Sakina: interview]

The father had the linguistic capital to engage with his children effectively here, nevertheless as mentioned before, this was not the case when school-related homework was above the father's English language proficiency. He engaged the other siblings to accomplish homework tasks as they had their English language linguistic abilities. The mother moreover played her part.

... it was mixture of home and the mosque... later on in my secondary school as well. It was different to my other siblings because I commenced to learn from my mother first... I actually managed to learn (by heart) an entire chapter of the Quran ...she would not just teach me however learn alongside me. I enjoyed that style of learning more. [Zahid: interview]

This parental engagement was not just in the primary phases however it overarched later on secondary phases of life. It was not merely reading the Quran however memorising it as well. Besides referring to the main sources of Islam, they also made references to religious scholars, and occasionally reading books and sayings of religious scholars, to motivate and encourage their children to adhere to the teachings of their religion at a time where

Islamophobia prevails in the media, which at times can be discouraging and detrimental. According to the head of the extended family there are various benefits in following religious scholars: stay on the straight path, understanding what is right and wrong, heart remains peaceful, less mental problems and spiritual power to make judgements. Mr Shah had taken a photo of an Islamic book, which he believed contained significant information for his children to relate to. The father states:

In this (Islamic) book there are the roots of religious scholars: where they came from, who they studied with, what work they did, what was their thinking... Your learn history from this book... [Mr Shah: photo voice interview]

After listening to the father, I was interested in knowing what kind of impact this will have on his children. Again, as mentioned above, the acknowledgement of what is right and wrong is highlighted as being very crucial and staying on the right path; adhering to the principles of Islam.

By following the thinking of these religious people, you will stay on the straight path. You understand what is right and wrong... [religion] go for prayer] they might feel it difficult consequently of the society. Nevertheless, it will have an impact on their personal life... heart remains peaceful, you have less mental problems. You have more power to make judgements... [Mr Shah: photo voice interview]

The importance of looking towards and reading about religious people for motivation and encouragement is mentioned by the main head of the extended family. He moreover acknowledges the difficulties in adhering to religious principles may be for some due to the pressure of the society. Nevertheless, this is a method to calm the heart, decrease mental problems and so hopefully religiosity will give more strength to make judgements.

I noticed that whenever, I would go for interviews, Mr Shah was always reading; either the Quran or other religious books. My impression of Mr Shah was that he seemed to be a very religious person. I heard Mr Shah a couple of times telling his children, its prayer time, go for prayer to the mosque. Even though Mr Shah wanted his children to be religious and devoted, I hardly see his children read the Quran or religious books. However on several times I saw them playing on the PlayStation and in their rooms, they had cupboards full of fiction books. I moreover heard from Mr and Mrs Shah saying about their children that they spend a lot of time playing on the PlayStation. [Researchers field notes: 1/2013]

Culture

Associated to this, home language or mother tongue/first language is usually spoken at home with parents. Parents want their children to pursue further the study of their mother tongue as

this will aid them when they go to visit Pakistan. They will not have to rely on others to communicate for them however they will be able to converse with their relations. The children in this study are multilingual as they can speak Urdu/Punjabi and Arabic. They believed this was an advantage for them as through Punjabi they converse with their parents; Urdu is the national language of Pakistan and Arabic is the language of the Quran and other Islamic books.

Moreover I was encouraged early on to try to expand my languages; my capability of speaking, reading and writing Urdu; my capability in speaking, reading and writing Arabic and moreover just speaking Punjabi, which is my language-which we speak at home. My mother used to teach me Urdu at home. [Usman: interview]

Punjabi I learnt phonetically just listening to people talk and I picked it up. In that sense it is probably why I am not as eloquent in speaking Punjabi, as I am in speaking in English. Because I have only picked up the words I need to communicate with my parents. With Urdu it is kind of mix learning in the home and outside. In local mosque where I commenced learning Urdu it was my father that was teaching me Urdu. [Zahid: interview]

In these excerpts the adult children are highlighting the fact that they commenced to learn languages at a very early age and they were encouraged to expand their linguistic capabilities. In Arabic and Urdu they learned all the four communication skills; however, in Punjabi they learned it by listening to their parents and others so were good at speaking and listening. This did not negate the fact that the children were living in England, being educated in England, and so their whole education system, which they were or are moving through, is in English. As siblings, they conversed among themselves in English. It is evident that two languages were being used, simultaneously by the children; Punjabi with parents and English among themselves, “We spoke in Punjabi with our parents and English in-between ourselves”. [Sakina: interview]

Storytelling

Here the children are showing that the father is engaged and is a key figure in their educational pursuits:

My father’s great at that, telling us stories from his childhood, stories of his predecessors and his ancestors and stories about the prophets in Islam or Islamic figures and how we can take lessons from them and even the news. He sometimes takes a story from the news and tells us how it can affect us and how we can

improve ourselves just observing these events and these matters. [Usman: interview]

... Father played a major role in storytelling. He would tell us every day religious, sometimes cultural stories to do with back home. They all usually had some moral on how to behave and good behaviour. Basically thinks that would help us in life. [Sakina: interview]

The father engaged in telling three types of stories: cultural stories about Pakistan and family related, stories connected to religion or stories from the news. All the stories had some sort of lessons for the children; what is right and wrong behaviour and to learn from Islamic figures and from stories on the news. Here the father is providing his children time and providing them what he sees as useful lessons from his own experience. Both the parents want their children to progress in their life and not face obstacles that may prevent them from progressing.

Play

Mr Shah's opinion about playing games was that, "anything that you put pressure on your brain and think, it extends your brain and your brain will get used to it" [semi-structured interview]. His sons would play on the PlayStation for hours.

Mr Shah and Mrs Shah did not narrate that much about play even though they believed play is very significant for children. Nevertheless, there was always friction between them and their children as they would spend hours playing on the PlayStation. This would upset Mr and Mrs Shah as they wanted their children to concentrate more on their studies. Mr Shah would play with his grandchildren when they came over. [Researchers field notes: 9/2012]

Computer

Mr Shah believed that relying too much on a computer and overlooking handwriting skills can have consequences. According to Mr Shah, it is better to give priority to both; computer and handwriting as this will be handy when no computers are available.

. . . computer is the future, however handwriting is moreover significant. If there's no computer and you need to give a message, you can write with your hands. Everything has its own skill... [Mr Shah: photo voice interview]

The children reflect back and remember the old computer they had and what they did with it.

I think from a young age I remember my elder brothers having an Amstrad which is a very old computer now... I would practise on that when I was young try to practice typing... [Usman: interview]

My father had bought us a computer, Amstrad. He encouraged us to learn how to use the computer and thought that would help us with our literacy and computer skills. Within the (Government) Asian community we were the first family to have a computer. [Sakina: interview]

Family finance

In those days buying a computer was a very expensive undertaking. For someone working in the factory and getting a very low wage, to buy even a second hand computer was difficult. However keeping children occupied all the time was given precedence.

Growing up in one of the northern towns in them days there was not much money around. My father always made sure we had something to do in our free time so it was not all studying or learning about our faith etc. It was [play with computer] something we could do in our spare time to sit down and basically to have fun... that is a significant part of growing up as well. [Zahid: interview]

For the children to play and enjoy themselves the father had bought a new computer so the children could use their spare time appropriately and moreover give them an hint that life is not all about studying. However for the father catering for such a big family had its difficulties; living space, food, learning facilities and other necessities of life.

During my childhood there were five of us in a two bedroom house. The house was crowded to the extent that my dad would sleep downstairs on the floor. However we did not notice (this) as all the Asian Pakistani families within our area were living in a similar condition. [Sakina: interview]

The notion of acceptance is given in this excerpt of raw data by contrasting to other families (Asian Pakistani families) who were moreover living in a similar way; a small house with a big family. Here one might understand there's nothing wrong with this. The second excerpt is explaining the poverty level of the family. As the father was working long hours and still the payment was not as good to be able to afford a larger house. Here, I would like to add that the family had other financial commitments such as sending money back home (Pakistan) to support their parents, siblings and other issues (making/fixing the family house in Pakistan/buying land). The finances of all this came from the father's wages.

The influence of parental engagement activities on children's behaviour

The children in this study have had a positive experience of parental engagement. This has nurtured them academically and religiously as they have been successful in their academic studies and in their religious domain.

It is made me confident in myself and it is made me comfortable with who I am and with society... and to know what I have to aim for in life and how to take the better and harder things of life equally. And it is really helped me as far as my education and work goes, the way I engage with others. I think my parents have had a big influence in all these aspects of life. Especially the religious side because I am aware that there are other parents out there who would not put as much focus on the religious studies or of teaching their children about these things they would just leave it to the local mosque or local Church or someone else. [Usman: interview]

I asked the children how their parents' engagement influenced them in their lives. They all provided very positive replies. As conveyed by this passage, their parents provided them a social, moral, cultural and a spiritual maturity. Cultural and spiritual development is being echoed in all the excerpts. In the Pakistani culture, parents usually teach their children to respect and honour others, regardless of their background and this is given even more emphasis when a minor communicates with an elder. To consolidate their approach, as mentioned before, parents refer to religious texts. Here, the parents have culturally and spiritually nurtured their children to embrace the community around them with respect and dignity and attached with this is the moral and social aspect on how to relate and socialise with others. All this, has given their children self-assurance, the aspirations to achieve, impetus to work in the community and most of all to be a good citizen. When I interviewed the children, they were all above 20 years of age and three of them were still living with their parents.

Family two: The Akram Family

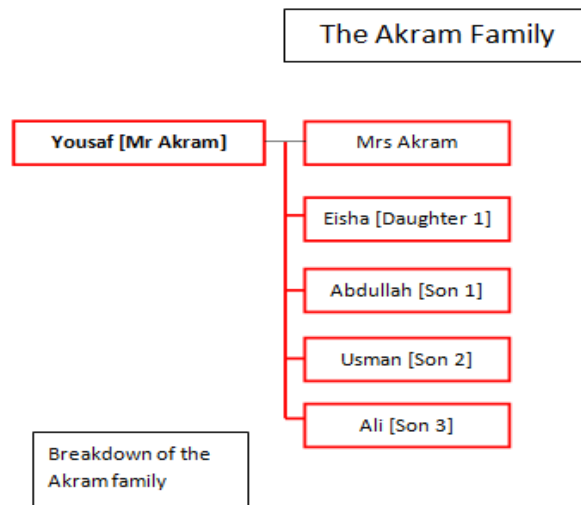


Figure 4 The Akram Family

Pen portraits of the Akram Family

The Akram family consists of six people: father, mother and four children; one daughter and three sons. I present a pen portrait of each member below starting with the father first.

Mr Akram

Mr Akram was born in Pakistan and was the eldest out of seven children. He came to England with his mother as a toddler. He attended the local primary school and then went on to an independent faith-based boarding school in the North West of England. He completed his GCSE's at the boarding school and achieved a higher studies certificate in Islam at the boarding school. He moreover memorised the Quran by heart. At the time of the study, Mr Akram was working part-time as an English teacher and part-time as an Imam. Mr Akram had two part-time jobs, which were not sufficient to cover the household needs as his pay was not that good. Majority of the work he did was voluntary. The school that he taught in was where he had studied his secondary education and Islamic studies. The school could not afford to pay him a full salary so a lot of the work Mr Akram carried out was voluntary to support the school. The Mosque where he was a part time Imam was his local mosque. The mosque was running on community donations, which just about covered the bills. The

Akrams were highly dependent on the benefits they were receiving from the council for their children.

Mrs Akram

Mrs Akram was born in Pakistan and educated there. After completing her secondary education, she studied further and completed college up to A Levels. Mrs Akram married at the age of 25 and came to England to stay with her husband. She has four children: one daughter and three sons. Mrs Akram attended lessons in literacy and numeracy, achieving level three in both. Mrs Akram was a very talented seamstress and would sew Asian suits for anyone who requested. This would give her some earnings, which she spent on her children's needs. The Akram's needed extra money as Mr Akram's work was largely voluntary.

Eisha

Eisha is the eldest child in the Akram family. She attended the local primary school and attended Quran lessons at the local mosque after school. After completing her primary education, Eisha went to an independent faith-based boarding school in West Yorkshire, where she boarded and came home in the holidays. At the time of interviewing her parents she was in year 8.

Abdullah

Abdullah attended the same primary school as his sister and similarly attended the mosque after school for Quran lessons. He has a keen passion for football and plays for the local football club and attends training on a regular basis. At the time of interviewing his parents, he was in year 7 at an independent faith-based boarding school in the North West of England. He was not residing in the boarding, but commuting daily.

Usman

Usman was in year one at the same primary school as his siblings at the time of interviewing his parents and was being taught Quran lessons at home by his parents.

Ali

Ali is the youngest in the Akram family. He was in his early days at the nursery at the time of interviewing his parents.

Parental engagement

In the above section I provided a brief account of each of the family members, now I expand on how the parents engaged with their children's learning.

Parental engagement activities

In the Akram family, both father and mother engaged with their children's learning. The learning activities would vary; encouragement, going to the library, reading/writing English, culture/religion related education-Urdu, Punjabi, Arabic, Quran and going to the mosque, watching TV and so forth. Out of all these engagement activities, a very noticeable factor was that both parents were playing some sort of part in the development of their children.

Parental expectations and hopes

Both of the parents want their children to understand the importance of education and to understand that a path to succeed in society is to be educated. Mr Akram spoke about his ambitions for his children:

I have long term aspirations for them; I want both of them to have at least degree level education. However at the same time I want them to have Islamic education too. ... Basically all learning for children is to make life easy for them. So they are better prepared to face reality when they stand on their own feet. I want them to be good examples of what a human being should be. I want them to be educated and confident in the way they deal with society at large. [semi-structured interview]

I wrote in my field notes:

Mrs Akram was educated in an army school as her father was an army officer. Her school had all the modern facilities and highly educated teachers. The

teaching in army schools in Pakistan is very tough and disciplined. It became apparent from others that Mrs Akram was very disciplined in the house and punctual in her daily routines. She wanted her children to be well organised and disciplined. This may be the result of her early schooling. Her husband, Mr Akram was known to be laid back and would sleep for long hours. On several occasions when I asked about the whereabouts of Mr Akram I was told he is sleeping. Mr Akram was not as punctual or disciplined as his wife. I was told; he actually commenced a degree in Physics and then after a short period discontinued without any valid reason. [Researchers field notes: 3/2013]

Parental engagement in terms of school learning

Active support: Teaching

Mr and Mrs Akram were engaged in helping their children with their homework.

I help them with their homework and teaching home language. I help them with their school and mosque work. [Mrs Akram: semi-structured interview]

Writing/reading

The parents explained how they helped their children with their homework.

... sometimes it could involve helping them with their reading; telling them how they should look for words in the dictionary. Find out what they mean and see if they can use them in sentences ... [Mr Akram: semi-structured interview]

... after teaching them home reader, I ask them questions on what I went through with them ... [Mrs Akram: solicited diary interview]

The parents generally wanted to help their children complete their homework. Mrs Akram elaborates:

... I help them with their homework because they do not possess good writing skills or reading skills or good spelling. So I help them so their writing, reading, speaking and listening skills improve... [solicited diary interview]

The mother who is educated and had the capability to help, understands that her children's writing, reading and spelling skills need to be developed, so she tries to support them to improve their skills. She is very keen to state the benefits of going through work with her children at home.

The children moreover recall when they learn something in school that they already had been through (with me) at home, 'mum I know this because I learned

it at home', and they feel really happy. This increases their knowledge as they understand it much better... then I realise the benefits in teaching at home... [Mrs Akram: solicited diary interview]

The parents, in this study, show a high level of engagement and both; husband and wife are equally engaged.

... we help them do their homework. I generally help the elder ones and my wife helps the younger ones she is good with young children. [Mr Akram: photo voice interview]

Mrs Akram explains that her child likes to watch TV and do his homework at the same time. He practices his spellings whilst exercising. It could be that the child was not interested in his homework so he would start playing-up by running and watching TV. The mother, rather than assuming that the child does not want to do his homework, emphasised that he likes to do his homework whilst also engaging in a second activity.

I chose (video footage) the one with Usman because he likes someone to sit with him and help him... he likes to watch TV and do his homework. I listen to his spellings when he is running, I have realised he likes that. [Mrs Akram: video footage interview]

However, how is this going to influence her child? She explains:

I have seen it has had a lot of influence on Usman, more than before, since we have commenced to help him. They have a new rule in school now that his school writes a report with targets every week. He is exceeding his targets. They have targets for learning, achievement, spelling and punctuation. I have seen he is doing very well and is happy and interested to learn more. His behaviour is good as well. When they receive a reward for achievement in school or praise from their teachers in front of everyone, they feel very proud of themselves. [Mrs Akram: video footage interview]

The parents were engaged in improving their children's reading skills. The parents understand the need and the importance of their children being able to read and grasp what they are reading. For this they had different initiatives: general reading, reading a school book, going through the phonetics with their children and audios. Moreover, the parents indicated the influence that their engagement might have on the social upward mobility of their children. Mr Akram who helped his son with his school reading book, said:

. . . school reading book, he reads a book every day... what we usually do is we read it through with him. First time I helped him by explaining what is going on, the pictures and everything. The second time, I let him talk it through and explain

to me. If he is struggling with any words, I will just give a little hand. [Mr Akram: video footage interview]

When asked about the influence of his engagement, he replied,

... it provides him the confidence to read because he knows he is in an environment where he does not have to worry about making mistake, we are there to support him, make sure he can read. He enjoys it... [Mr Akram: video footage interview]

I asked him, how this will aid, help and support his son in school, he explained,

Yes, it will help him with his reading and hopefully improve his English, and give him the confidence to do more sophisticated reading. [Mr Akram: video footage interview]

The role of siblings in home activities

Mrs Akram highlighted that the elder siblings provided support to each other with homework and when she has difficulty in understanding; the siblings moreover try to remove this obstacle by helping each other.

The big ones help each other... with homework or anything I do not (mother) understand-maths, English ... [Mrs Akram: video footage interview]

TV programmes

The parents held the view that watching appropriate TV programmes can improve literacy skills.

(Watching TV together) I explain to them what different advertisements are about... [Mr Akram: solicited diary interview]

Taking an interest in children's schooling

In some cases, the parents shared their responsibilities when attending parents' evenings or any social events. The parents explained:

I am a parent governor at the school. I always make a point to go on parents' evenings to speak to the teachers and to look at the work the children have done. [Mr Akram: photo voice interview]

Yes we go to parent evenings. Parents evenings are special occasions... we can ask how our child is doing in class... how is his behaviour... is he/she making

progress... what level should he/she be on... how should we work with our children at home so they can learn... [Mrs Akram: photo voice interview]

The parents understood the importance of attending parents' evenings and that it is a session that can bring to light the behaviour and achievement of one's child in school. Nevertheless, Mrs Akram was anxious about not being able to fully communicate with their teachers due to language difficulties, "I do have English problems when I communicate with the teachers as I cannot fully express myself about my children's learning".

I asked a question on how the school assist parents, who do not understand English, the reply,

The school has bilingual teaching assistants who always stay behind to give a hand. [Mr Akram: photo voice interview]

Yes there are some teachers who can speak our language and are helpful... [Mrs Akram: photo voice interview]

The parents moreover provided some examples on how their children were being helped in school. Firstly, by pupils from the same ethnicity,

There's a lot of help for the kids as for the parents who speak Urdu/Punjabi at home, most of their kids do not speak English when they go school, they speak their own language between themselves. [Mrs Akram: photo voice interview]

Secondly, provision provided by the school:

For homework they have a special time for the children to make them understand. This is very beneficial. [Mrs Akram: photo voice interview]

However, simultaneously, the parents are also critical of the school's attitude to Muslim children:

Mostly I have seen that there is in schools some sort of arrangement for Muslim children, nevertheless, it looks like some sort of arrangement from the outside however inside it is not anything. It is more of an act-that there is some arrangement for Asian children, especially Muslim. For an example in the primary school they have teachers responsible for religious education, however they do nothing. It is just a label-this teacher is responsible for Islamic education. She will just tell them what a mosque is, and in year six, the children all know what a mosque is, the teachers do not want to teach them beyond that. The kids should know a lot about their religion in year six, however, the teachers do not teach them. At Eid time they do not have anything special; they only do special stuff on Christmas. [Mrs Akram: video footage interview]

I wanted to explore if Mr and Mrs Akram were happy with their children's progress in school. I asked how their child, Usman, was doing in school and how positive the school reports were, Mr Akram, explains:

Yes, he is doing quite well. We are supporting him and we have realised its having a major impact on him. He is gaining the confidence. Yes, all the reports have been positive - they all say the same, he is above average. [Mr Akram: video footage interview]

The parents were helping Usman a lot with his reading. They would sit with him every day and listen to him read and explain the story to him.

Gender differentiation after primary school

Upon completion of primary school, Mr Akram had sent his daughter and eldest son to single-sex boarding schools. Mr Akram provided his view:

The school (boarding boys' school) he is going to now is much more focused towards an Islamic ethos. He is actually learning about his culture as well as his beliefs at the same time of studying secular subjects. State schools and other private schools do not provide that facility. Ideally if there was a state run school along an Islamic ethos, it will make life easy because there's a shortage of such schools. We are finding ourselves sending our children to boarding schools. Obviously boys tend to concentrate more when there are only boys about. When the other sex is there, they seem to concentrate less on their studies. [video footage interview]

Mr Akram points out the lack of state schools, which have an Islamic ethos in the vicinity and so, to make his children understand their religion and culture, he would send them to a single-sex Muslim school.

Parental engagement beyond school learning

Religion

The parents were very determined to embed in their children an Islamic ethos when it came to manners, respect, and what constitutes a good human being, to understand what is right and wrong. They wanted their children to be role models and never to hurt anyone regardless of his ethnicity, religion or gender. They inspired their children by referring to the Quran and highlighting there is a wrong path and a right path.

... it is (the Quran) like a moral code and I want them to understand what is the right way of living life and what is the wrong way of living life. [Mr Akram: semi-structured interview interview]

The impact of this kind of engagement is further elucidated by Mr Akram, “It’ll help them to realise what’s right and wrong and to understand the decisions they make moreover have an impact on people around them”. [photo voice interview]

The parents grew up in houses where the primary languages spoken were other than English. Punjabi, Urdu and in particular, Arabic were given great importance consequently of it being the language of the Holy book Quran and other Islamic texts. Mrs Akram was resolute in teaching Arabic and Urdu to her children at home, to reinforce what her children would learn in the mosque, “If they just read at mosque it will be difficult for them”. [photo voice interview]

She further explains:

Urdu and Arabic I start at home even though they have lessons in the mosque... Whatever they learn in mosque, they first learn it at home (with me), this makes it easy for them to learn and remember... as it is repeated several times... [solicited diary interview]

The same parent said something similar when talking about helping her children with their school work. She has the same routine with what her children learn in the mosque; she tries teaching her children in advance before they are taught in the mosque so her children hear the same thing repeated and can easily digest it. This parent is proficient in Urdu and Arabic as she studied these languages in Pakistan at an advance level. Generally speaking, both parents were eager in helping their children with the recitation of the Quran and making them understand that it contains moral codes of life.

Mr Akram highlighted the importance of praying in congregation at the mosque. This was more for the boys, nevertheless, on occasions the girls also took part.

... chance for him to mix with the wider community, with the elders, occasionally someone of the girls attend mosque. It is to understand how the society works and the community around him; who is in the community and keeping them links. [Mr Akram: solicited diary interview]

Mr Akram provided his own personal perspectives concerning how his parents played a significant role in his upbringing. He completed his secondary education at an Islamic boarding school as did his siblings and found it very beneficial. He states:

My education followed a similar pattern (Muslim boarding school). I have found that it is been very beneficial in how I deal with members of my community, whether they are from Asian background or white British background. I am much more comfortable in dealing with them and in terms of education, I have an education both secular and religious, this helps me in my daily life. [video footage interview]

Play

Mr Akram considered play a very significant phase of childhood.

Sometimes I take them for football so they learn about teamwork, they learn about discipline, they learn about being healthy, respect and general fitness . . . [solicited diary interview]

IT and games play quiet a significant role because in the 21st century everything is to do with the computers. [solicited diary interview]

Mrs Akram explained:

Children learn a lot from toys . . . whatever be's happening in the family, outside and in school, children reflect that through play. Or they show their anger, emotions and feelings through play. I believe this is very significant. [photo voice interview]

Mr Akram was very keen for his child to participate in one of the local football clubs, though he conceded that it is difficult and rare for an Asian to progress in the football profession, even if one excels at the sport. He had written in his diary his son's timetabled training sessions. He wanted his son to have good navigation skills when working with different people of diverse backgrounds and learn about respect and general fitness.

Telling stories

Mr Akram likes to tell stories to his children at bedtime.

Before they go to sleep I have quite a few story books for them... sometimes I get them to read depending on their mood. I help them if they do not understand a word or put a word together, I help them with that. [Mr Akram: semi-structured interview interview]

Culture

The parents believed it was crucial for their children to learn about their religion, Islam. All the parents were involved in this aspect in some way or another.

On a daily basis I take them to the mosque where I sit with them and help them with their culture learning in terms of language and religion. They study the Urdu and Arabic language which will help them prepare for life. In a sense they can interact with people from a different background. Especially Middle-East and South-East Asia, where our roots are ... [Mr Akram: semi-structured interview]

Having parents born in a foreign country which has its own culture, language and religion, may equip their children or children in the extended family with language skills, cultural and religious knowledge. In this study, the link of culture was associated more with the grandparents.

. . . nevertheless, with the wider family specially the elders interactions. They do go to their grandparents' house every day for an hour or half and talk to them in the Punjabi language so there's a cultural link there. Also. obviously food, although they do like their fish and chips... our food is largely from our cultural background; we do have chapatti's and curries and so forth. [Mr Akram: solicited diary interview]

Family three: The Aslam Family

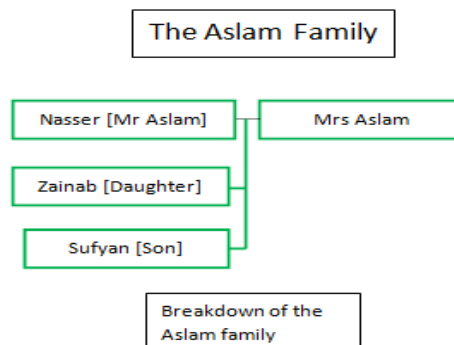


Figure 5 The Aslam Family

Pen portraits of the Aslam Family

The Aslam family consists of four people: father, mother and two children; a daughter and son. I present a pen portrait of each member below starting with the father first.

Mr Aslam

Mr Aslam went to the local primary school and for his secondary education he attended an independent faith based boarding school in the North West of England. After completing his studies at the boarding school and achieving a higher studies certificate in Islam, he went to university and completed a BA Honours degree in English Studies with Media Studies and

Creative Writing. He commenced work at a regional Council of Mosques and then moved on to an inter-faith charity. While working full-time he completed an MA in Community Leadership. Currently, he is working as a chief officer for an education charity.

Through my interactions with the families, I came across some extra characteristics of Mr Aslam. . .

In the extended family, the parents, Mr and Mrs Shah always acknowledged that Mr Aslam is very punctual and an organised individual who if begins anything will complete it. Mr Aslam was the first one in the family to go to university and actually complete his undergraduate and postgraduate degree. At the beginning when Mr Aslam expressed that he wanted to go to university to study, his father (Mr Shah) was not happy and disagreed. His father was scared of the influence university studies would have on him. This could have been due to the negative experience some of the local parents related about their children who had gone to university and had ended up in bad company and bad habits. He did not want him to leave his religious and cultural background. His father took guidance from his spiritual leader, who told Mr Shah to let him go and study as it will be beneficial for him. He was moreover the first one in the family to find a good job with excellent pay. [Researchers field notes: 1/2013]

Besides the above, there was also disappointment,

Mr Aslam's situation, a few times I saw signs of dismay and sorrow and heard unhappy comments addressed at Mr Aslam from his parents, Mr and Mrs Shah, as they did not like the way Mr Aslam would spend his money and not save up to pay off his mortgage. [Researchers field notes: 2/2013]

Mrs Aslam

Mrs Aslam completed her primary education in England and then moved to Pakistan where she stayed and attended a secondary girl's school there. She finished her secondary education and came back to England and completed a HND in Health and Social Care. At present, she works as a housewife. She got married at the age of 20 and has two children; one son and one daughter.

Zainab

Zainab is the eldest child who attends the local primary school and the local mosque after school. She is in year three at present. To keep herself healthy she attends Muay Thai lessons once a week.

Sufyan

Sufyan is in year one in the same primary school as his sibling. He is a very shy boy and likes to dress up as super heroes; Batman and Spiderman. He has a keen interest in playing computer games. To stay healthy he attends Muay Thai lessons once a week with his sibling.

Parental engagement

After a brief introduction to each of the family members, I explore how the parents engaged with their children's learning.

Parental engagement activities

In the Aslam family, both father and mother engaged with their children's learning. The learning activities would vary; encouragement, going to the library, reading/writing English, culture/religion related education-Urdu, Punjabi, Arabic, Quran and going to the mosque, watching TV and so forth. Out of all these engagement activities, a very noticeable factor was that both parents were playing some sort of part in the development of their children.

Parental expectations and hopes

Mr and Mrs Aslam were both involved in encouraging their children to learn, "... reinforcing the importance of education . . . that their parents are interested in what they did in school".

[Mr Aslam: solicited diary interview]

Mrs Aslam expressed:

I want them (children) to be the best person they can be. I want to do the best on my part, make sure I have educated them as well as I could. Insha Allah [If Allah wills] in the future have the best future they can... [solicited diary interview]

Parental engagement pertaining to school learning

Active support: Teaching

The parents were keen to indicate how they shared their responsibilities. Mr Aslam explains concerning Zainab:

Usually my wife and I help with the homework. We do different things with them. We listen to her home-reader homework. We point out if she makes any mistakes. [semi-structured interview]

I help her with her maths homework or if she has any spellings to do, we take turns to do that with her. We give her plenty of pens, colours, crayons in order to draw, colour and write. She often makes stories up and illustrates them herself. [semi-structured interview]

I wanted to understand from the parents what kind of influence this engagement will have on their children.

. . . help them with support what their learning in school and reinforce the lessons... generally make it easy for them to progress in their academic life. [Mr Aslam: photo voice interview]

To build the children's imagination and creativity, the parents took their children to the zoo. This was to reinforce what the children were doing in their homework and to give the children something to talk about in school with confidence.

. . . because we were talking about animals last homework, panthers and leopards. They kind of got interested in looking at animals ... [Mr Aslam: photo voice interview]

. . . this was something we did on Sufyan's birthday. We took both of them to the zoo. Both of them have a love for wildlife; they like to watch wildlife programmes. They like watching *Deadly 60* and I thought to myself I can show them pictures on the internet and they can read about it in books ... however, really it is only a poor substitute for seeing the animals for real, although ideally you like to see them in the natural environment however that is difficult to do. So I took them to the zoo let them watch the animals not just look at them see how they behave; asking them questions, what is the animal doing now? Why is it doing that? For instance the video we are looking at . . . the young giraffe running up and down . . . [Mr Aslam: video footage interview]

. . . one of the things that prompted me to take them is because this year in school they are looking at endangered species. So much so, that their classes have been given endangered species names. Zainab's class is called 'the snow leopards' which is an endangered big cat from Pakistan, India and the Himalaya regions.

Sufyan's class are looking at the Black Panther which is a leopard ... sadly they did not have those two animals in the zoo. [Mr Aslam: video footage interview]

The parents provided their own reasons on what kind of impact taking their children to the zoo will have on their children. The mother explains:

It provides them a chance to express who they are; how they feel about things. At the same time by going out to the zoo they get a bit of knowledge about different things. Sufyan likes animals so it provides them a wider range. It does improve their behaviour when you do things they like to. As a family, we kind of engage with the children. Doing things as a family I think makes them achieve better at school as well. They get a chance however at the same time they are having fun. [Mrs Aslam: video footage interview]

Mr Aslam highlighted that his children will be socially confident to talk about the animals in school as they have seen the animals and this will increase their knowledge about the animals.

Buying resources was given priority by the Aslams, as they had the means to use other useful resources. They had bought a DVD book and a poster.

To help him get to grip with phonetics quicker we have bought a DVD that uses the alphabet in a phonetic way... poster we have put up in his bedroom, he is constantly looking at and trying to work out how the letters sound. So he is using audio visual methods to help him to learn what he is doing in school as well. My wife met his teacher and asked how can we best help him? She pointed out that phonetics is good in helping them understand what the word sounds like however they seem to struggle to identify the letter when we say 'a' aey rather, of 'a'. They struggle to understand that. [Mr Aslam: photo voice interview]

They used an audio visual method to improve their child's pronunciation of the words and to accelerate his reading skills. Moreover, they had a bookcase full of books for the children to choose and read at their convenience. These parents showed an active interest in their children's learning by asking his teacher on what would be the best way to help their young son. The father was asked if the school had made any remarks concerning his daughter's attainment in school. He replied,

What they (teachers) have said is that her spelling is not good however her word recognition is good. The trouble they find is to get her to sit down and focus long enough. [Mr Aslam: photo voice interview]

Besides reading, writing, parents moreover provided attention to Art as in the case of colouring which is something all kids like and is introduced to them in the early stages of

their learning. It keeps the kids happy, motivated and attracted to the colours and what they are trying to colour.

He has got a book called superheroes he likes to colour in and he is flicking through the pages showing me some of the work he is done. He is particular proud of his colouring the Hulk, Spiderman and he is looking there to see what he already has not coloured in... He always picks scenes that for him are more evocative than just a generic drawing. [Mr Aslam: video footage interview]

The parent suggests that the child can learn different things by colouring in pictures:

Obviously it can help him out in Art. One of the skills they do in Art is trying to colour keeping it within the lines. Moreover, an appreciation of how different colours contrast with each other. And it will teach him how to hold the pen properly as well. So the more he uses the pen, the more confident he is with his writing, drawing and everything else. So more of the creative elements of the curriculum. [Mr Aslam: video footage interview]

The role of kin in home activities

Eisha's [niece] a big influence on Zainab (daughter) ... She looks up at her as a role model. Especially now Eisha goes to Jamia, a girl's boarding school so she only sees her every four weeks. So for Zainab when Eisha comes home it is like a holiday... she will get dressed up... take all her pictures and writing she has done and show Eisha. Then Eisha will come and show her how to do other things, get her to explore other ways of using her drawing skills. [Mr Aslam: video footage interview]

The father details how his son and daughter interact with each other.

Sufyan attentively listens to Zainab when she is reading. When she is doing her homework he likes to watch and see what she is doing. Building maybe his own kind of interest in it... sometimes when Sufyan's trying to do his reading, Zainab will sit with him and read to him or help him understand what is happening in the story. Or she will try to coach him practicing his handwriting. So they do interact a lot. I like to watch them doing it rather than butting in. Children learn better from other children. [Mr Asalm: video footage interview]

TV programmes

Both parents held the view that watching appropriate TV programmes can improve literacy skills.

... television they usually watch children's TV, and anything that is appropriate to their age group. [Mr Aslam: semi-structured interview]

Sufyan particularly likes watching DVDs. They have got few DVDs with morals with the stories... [Mrs Aslam: solicited diary interview]

Taking an interest in children's schooling

Mrs Aslam largely attended parents' evening and any other event and the husband who was a school governor participated in governor meetings.

My wife goes for all the parents' evenings and all the social events and I am a school governor so I attend the governor meetings. [Mr Aslam: photo voice interview]

Any sort of parents' evenings, I make sure I go. I think it is very significant as the teacher will let me know what they (children) are weak at. [Mrs Aslam: photo voice interview]

Gender differentiation after primary school

Mr Aslam took the same view of the importance of single sex education as Mr Shah. For him, sending his daughter to a single sex school was a way of helping her to maintain Muslim values and protecting her from the pernicious influences of Western society:

(Zainab to a boarding school) I am not sure yet, I think . . . she probably will go to a single sex, a girls' school, whether it is a boarding school; a Muslim high school. The reason being I have worked in schools; seen what the environment's like; how young Muslim students especially, now spend a great deal of time socialising not studying. They are very easily distracted by each other and spend a lot of time forming what, as a Muslim, I would consider as improper relationships with each other. It is gone to the point where its boyfriend, girlfriend. All acceptable in wider society, however, as a Muslim I feel it is a real big norm now. In order to help her and protect her from those kinds of associations, I will rather send her to a place that teaches them this is what Islam says, as well as providing them with good schooling. I believe she will progress more in a single-sex school. [Mr Aslam: video footage interview]

Parental engagement beyond school learning

Religion

The most significant thing to me as a Muslim... is our religion. It is a major part of our day to day life. They have educational books and CDs at home, so we can help them with that. We can sit down with them and read the Quran together. Zainab goes to mosque every day and so shall Sufyan. [Mrs Aslam: solicited diary interview]

To these families, religion is crucial part of life and learning about it is moreover very significant. From this stems the importance they show to the Holy book, Quran. This is not given that much attention in mainstream school. Mr Aslam explains,

School only prepares us to a certain extent you know. It has not been designed to teach us everything. School is to make sure we have a basic education and it is up to the individual to learn about other things in life. [Mr Aslam: photo voice interview]

Even though the parents had a keen interest in religion and understood its importance, I noted in my field notes:

In the Aslams' house, there was more fiction reading books than religious books. This was due to Mr Aslam's hobby of reading fiction books and moreover writing short articles and books. Mr Aslam had moreover written some religious books, however, he was more interested in fiction writing. He moreover related to me that his father had paid for him to do a short writing course through distance learning which he completed successfully. [researcher's field notes: 3/2013]

The father's understanding of education, as understood in the mainstream, is different and broader covering all aspects of life. It covers social, moral and religious sentiments as well. He justifies this by explaining that the learning of Arabic/Urdu at home or mosque can be beneficial for the child's cognitive ability. This will aid school learning and enhance social skills.

I believe that learning as much languages helps the person to develop his intelligence and IQ. ...When they go to a secondary school they will be asked to learn a modern European language. And if they already have a grasp of number of languages to start off with, it will make it easy for them to learn new languages and to switch between languages. [Mr Aslam: photo voice interview]

In these families, the idea of reinforcing the importance of learning and instilling cultural and spiritual moral values began at an early age, and their attitudes at the time of this study seem to be a continuation of this kind of parental engagement. Mr Aslam indicated that beyond school there are other things of importance which, the school usually overlooks. These elements could have a positive impact on the child's attitude on how he socialises with others and on his achievements in school.

(Arabic and Islam) this again something not provided in schools, schools might cover Islam in RE... only cover very basic elements of it. What we try to create is respect for faith and a clear understanding of their own faith. People who are comfortable in their own faith are usually comfortable in finding out the

perspectives of other faith people and coming to an understanding on how they think and understand things. [Mr Aslam: photo voice interview]

Mr Aslam points out that school convey to their students a very constricted and limited understanding of religion. The parent uses 'We', to show that as an extended family, we want our children to have a clear understanding of their religion, Islam and to show tolerance to other religious domains. Mr Aslam further elaborates that teaching the children what is good and bad for a Muslim will hopefully embed in them tolerance and respect for other religions and school teachers.

We constantly tell them, a good Muslim does not do this and to do this is bad... because we are providing somethings they cannot pickup themselves from playing, providing them a set of moral values; a way of being a good human. When I say to them this is what a good Muslim does, you substitute that and say this is what a good Christian does... they will be respectful towards the teachers. [Mr Aslam: photo voice interview]

Mrs Aslam grew up and studied in England. She notes that, "British school system does cater for Muslim children a lot more today than before. Before it was based on Christianity and other religions were not a part however now they try to teach a variety of religions". [video footage interview]

She talks about the mismatch in the mainstream school at her time and at present. Schools in her opinion are becoming more open to Muslims now as then before.

Play

At 0-5 years of age, play is moreover mentioned to be significant besides reading Arabic, English text books, writing and colouring. From my data I came across different forms of play; playing with toys, playing with each other and playing games on the computer. "Play is the first method of learning. Learning for a child after birth is through play; play with their fingers, feet - they discover the world around them through play". [Mr Aslam: photo voice interview]

The parent describes the first steer of learning for a child is through play. This enables the child to comprehend the environment and learn as the child grows. All the parents consider play to be a vital part of their children's development and character building. Mr Aslam uses play to be a vehicle for his son to help build self-confidence.

Sufyan spends a lot of his time with his sister ... his sister has an influence on him so he needs a stronger male role model. Moreover I think playing with your children first of all is good for you ... Creates a happy memory for them ... when I play with him we do not use toys we use something active. I know he is quite a gentle person; gets pushed around a lot by his cousins. I want him to learn to stick up for himself - be more confident about himself so I play with him; I allow him to fight with me and overact when he lands a punch and pushed me away so that he thinks he is been successful. [video footage interview]

Furthermore, building tolerance is done not only through religious teachings however through sport activities as well. Mr Aslam showed a pair of sparring gloves to signify the importance of exercise. He introduced his daughter to martial arts and enrolled her at one of the local Muay Thai clubs. He wanted her to become more active, lose weight, think positively about exercise and learn self-defence. This is further elaborated by showing a video footage of a Muay Thai training session. Mr Aslam explains:

In the video footage Zainab's being drilled by one of the instructors. She is learning Muay Thai. The reason why I feel it is significant... Firstly, we live in a dangerous world. Moreover, for a girl to know self-defence is a good thing anyway. Secondly, I want her to realise how significant being healthy is and how significant exercise is. So she builds up a habit of staying fit and the martial arts is an interesting way of doing that. The other benefit I think she will gain from that is self-discipline. Because with all martial arts one of the core values is to teach self-discipline; control your emotions, your temper so she does not lash out whenever she gets angry and basically building up a habit of self-discipline that it will permeate through whatever she does whether it is at school, mosque, and whether she is at home interacting with her family or friends. [video footage interview]

I asked what other influence learning martial arts will have, especially in school or on her education. He stated:

They say having a healthy body leads to a healthier mind so the more focused she becomes to martial arts the more focused she will become on her school work as well. All around of it is beneficial for her. [Mr Aslam: video footage interview]

IT

The parents allowed their children to use their mobile phones and laptop for play and educational purposes.

They use my phone, they use the laptop occasionally... sometimes is just playing, sometimes educational. [Mrs Aslam: solicited diary interview]

Storytelling

The Aslams, moreover, engaged in reading bedtime stories to their children.

Sometimes we read them a bedtime story. Once I commenced to tell them stories of different prophets, however, again I think it was bit early for them so they commenced losing interest. So we try to tell them ...teach them lessons through stories. ...tell them stories of the prophet Muhammad (Peace Be upon Him) so it has some context to what they are doing rather than just telling them stories. [Mr Aslam: semi-structured interview]

Culture/religion

The parents believed it was crucial for their children to learn about their religion, Islam. All the parents were involved in this aspect in some way or another.

. . . the older one goes to the mosque and the younger one has not commenced yet. We try to get them to learn prayers before bedtime. My wife demonstrates to them how to perform the ablution and how to read their prayers. Because she (daughter) spends so much time in learning already we try not to put too much pressure on her to spend time beyond what she is already doing to learn. [Mr Aslam: semi-structured interview interview]

Having family links to a foreign country has been noted by the parents to help equip their children with language skills, cultural and religious knowledge. In this study, the link of culture for the Aslam family was associated more with the grandparents, as attested by Mr Aslam here:

Both of us, my wife and I use English as our first language, we probably not that confident speaking Punjabi or Urdu at home as we would like to be. Consequently, neither of my children speak Punjabi that well. It is only when they go to their grandparents they try to speak it. [solicited diary interview]

.... they (grandparents) give them the extra aspect of Pakistani culture - culture means food/clothing/festivals/even mentality how you think about your local community/how you observe different parts of your life/... Our attitude to life is you earn your money, you spend it on leisure, food, save some money ... and you do your prayers and that is it. For them it is more integrated work – the fact you need resources to live. For them the main thing is the family life and the Islamic aspects of life and the culture aspects. Those are the things they add that we might not add as much to our children. [photo voice interview]

Chapter summary

This chapter has presented three family case studies which detailed how parents in each case study were engaged with their children's learning in the home environment. Case study one moreover provided the accounts of the grownup off-spring of family one on how parental engagement influenced their behaviour. The main themes; parental engagement, parental expectations and hopes and parental engagement activities, and the sub-themes that were identified during analysis pertaining to school-related parental engagement and beyond school-related parental engagement have been reported for each case study in this chapter. The next chapter looks into the commonalities and differences in each of the family case studies pertaining to the themes that have been reported in this chapter.

Chapter Five: Cross-sectional analysis

Chapter overview

While the previous chapter presented the case studies for each family, this chapter examines the commonalities and differences in each of the families.

Education

The educational background of each family is diverse, which influenced their engagement with their children's learning. The parents who were born and educated in Pakistan, Mr and Mrs Shah and Mrs Akram, were just as keen to engage with their children's learning however they did not know how the British education system operated and their command of the English language was academically weak; thus, they could not engage fully with their children's learning. Conversely, those parents who were born in England and/or were educated in England, Mr Akram and Mr and Mrs Aslam, had a better understanding of the British education system and were academically literate in English; thus, they found it easy to engage with their children's learning.

The starting point between these families was dissimilar. They all have achieved different levels of education and so differed in their occupation and employability.

Employment

In terms of occupation, the parents in my study can be grouped into three categories:

1. Unskilled or semi-skilled labour, Mr Shah, who worked in factories
2. Career work – Mr Akram and Mr Aslam; Mr Akram worked as a part-time teacher and part-time Imam and Mr Aslam worked as a chief officer for an education centre.
3. Home makers - all the wives took care of the home chores, additionally, Mrs Akram, worked as a seamstress from home.

The parents' level of education reflected their job prospects in each family, especially for the husbands and as for the wives, they preferred to stay at home to raise their children and take care of the home errands. As for Mrs Akram, she would take care of the domestic chores and work as a seamstress from home.

The type of employment moreover influenced their lifestyles. The reader may recall from the case studies, the Shah family lived in an overcrowded house, where Mr Shah had to sleep downstairs on the floor. The reader may moreover recall how the Akrams made ends meet by Mrs Akram sewing cloths for the locals in the area due to Mr Akram's voluntary employment and the Akrams were moreover dependent on the benefits they were receiving. Contrary to this, reported in the case study of the Aslams, is how Mr Aslam's employment influenced his engagement with his children as he was able to take them on trips and buy more educational resources for them due to his financial capacity. This was besides the fact Mr Aslam had a mortgage to pay moreover.

The educational and occupational backgrounds of the families provided a drive in the way the parent's expectations and hopes were formed.

Parental expectations and hopes

All the parents had high expectations and hopes for their children's futures. All the parents wanted their children to understand the significance of education. The parents wanted their children to be educated in the secular subjects and moreover to have a good understanding of their own religion. The parents' educational, occupational background and parental expectations and hopes influenced the way they engaged with their children's learning. One thing that I observed and was noticeable through data collection was that all the parents were equally committed to the educational learning of their children; nevertheless, they had different capacities and methods for supporting their children.

Parental engagement in terms to school, college and university learning

In terms of school, college and university related learning parental engagement can be divided up into five categories:

1. Parents who were not competent in English
2. Parents who were competent in English.
3. TV programmes
4. Taking an interest in children's schooling
5. Gender differentiation after primary school

Parents who were not competent in English

All the families encouraged the kin to help each other with school-related work; nevertheless, they did this in slightly different ways. This seemed to depend on their educational background. Mr and Mrs Shah relied heavily on the siblings and as for Mrs Akram when she found it difficult supporting her children with homework, then the elder siblings would help the young ones. As mentioned in the case studies, Mrs Akram similar to Mr and Mrs Shah was born in Pakistan, however, was educated more than Mr and Mrs Shah, so was better able to support her children in some aspects of their school work. Alternatively, Mr Aslam who was literate in English would observe his children without disturbing them as he believes children learn better from each other. For an example in the case studies, he reported he would observe his daughter being advised by his niece on how to be more creative in her drawings and his son would watch his sister read her reading book and on other occasions, his daughter, Zainab would sit with him and read to him or help him understand what is happening in the story or she will try to coach him practicing his handwriting.

Parents who were competent in English

Reading, writing and homework

Both mothers and fathers were engaged with their children's learning, whether it was reading, writing or homework. Their engagement was according to their ability and how it was organised between the husband and wife. In the Shah family, Mr Shah was usually working long hours so the reading tasks were undertaken by Mrs Shah who would sit with her children and listen to them read even though she was not fully literate in English. However, in the Akram household, Mr Akram would help the elder children, as he was more literate in English than his wife, who was born and educated in Pakistan, who helped the young ones. As reported in the case studies, Mr Akram emphasised how to use the dictionary to check up new words and his method of reading through the section of the story first and then to listen to his children was not same as Mr and Mrs Aslam's method, who would highlight the mistakes when listening to their children's reading book. They moreover had invested in various resources to improve their children's reading. The Aslam family engaged more with their children, this could be due to them being more educated. They moreover had more

resources and took their children on trips. This might be because they were economically better off than the other families.

TV programmes

All the parents shared the view that watching TV is not just a source of passive entertainment, but also a means of education in that it can improve literacy skills. The parents provided different opinions on how they used the TV as an educational resource. This depended on the occupational and educational background of the parents. From the case studies the reader may recall, Mr Akram reported how he would explain to his children what the advertisements were about because he had the ability to explain this in English. Mrs Aslam had some DVDs featuring morality tales as they had the financial capacity to buy DVD's. Mr Shah who did not have the fluency in English or financial capacity to buy educational resources, provided an example of how his children benefitted from watching TV; they learn new words; how they are used, what they are used for and plus what the meaning of the story is and so forth. Conversely, in the case studies, the social aspect was referred to by Mrs Shah who added her view that as a family when the children watch TV, they talk and discuss other aspects of life: family issues or worldly matters, future prospects and any worries the children have. According to Mrs Shah this will give confidence to the children to discuss their worries and look for solutions together. Nevertheless, Mr Shah emphasised that the children who watch TV only for entertainment waste their time.

The parents moreover had rules for watching TV. The reader will recall the Akrams were relaxed about the children's watching and did not clarify or indicate if they had any set rules for watching TV. This was not the case with the Aslams. Mr Aslam made it clear that his children were only allowed to watch children's TV or other age appropriate content, however did not specify a time. In the case of Mr and Mrs Shah, the reader may recall, their children acknowledged that they were only allowed to watch children's TV and only after completing homework or half an hour after school and mosque.

Taking an interest in children's schooling

All the parents attended parents' evenings. All the parents equally understood the importance of going to parents' evenings and being able to know their children's weaknesses and strengths. Even though the parents understood the importance of parents' evenings, there was

distinction among them in terms of them communicating with the teachers. This was due to their competency in English. Mr Shah, Mrs Shah and Mrs Akram were determined to see their sons/daughters achievements and that their limited English acquisition did not deter them from attending parents' evenings. The reader may recall from the case studies, Mr and Mrs Aslam were different to the other families as they both would not attend parents' evenings. Mr Aslam who was a governor would go to the governor meetings only and Mrs Aslam would attend any other events at the school. It is apparent from the case studies that they were both more literate and could negotiate in-between each other if there was a need for both of them to attend parents' evenings. It is moreover evident that only the husbands; Mr Akram and Mr Aslam were governors and none of the wives were in this position. This could be due to language barriers or the male figure played a leading role in the families.

Gender differentiation after primary school

All three extended families provided different reasons for sending their sons and daughters to single sex Muslim schools. However, they all viewed single-sex Muslims schools better at keeping their sons and daughters away from un-Islamic influences and preserving their religion and culture. Mr Shah, in the case studies, believed that an easy way of keeping the family unit together is to send them to single-sex Muslim schools. My assumption in regards to what Mr Shah meant by keeping the family together is that they would be able to reinforce the family values and culture, rather than keeping the family physically together. In the Akram family, Mr Akram pointed out, in the case studies, the lack of state schools that have an Islamic ethos in the vicinity. In family three, Mr Aslam highlighted, in the case studies, the distraction in state schools where social relationships between boys and girls are easily formed (girlfriend/boyfriend) and thereby lead to relationships and practices unacceptable in Islam. They all seem to agree with the idea that teenage boys and girls can concentrate better in a single sex environment.

Parental engagement beyond school, college and university learning

In the participating families, not everything was directed towards what might help the children in school. The parents understood that there were other things beside school that were significant as well and that school is not there to teach you everything. They all believed in the importance of religion, storytelling, play and cultural learning as a holistic approach to

preparing their children for life, and engaged in various methods of doing this however often to a similar outcome. Contrasts in approaches used were often due to the availability of time, ability and resources. Starting with religion, all the parents from my case studies provided a great deal of importance to their religion. They tried to embed in their children this sense that a key aspect of life is religious tolerance. They all reflected and pondered on the importance of learning about their religion and on the lessons given in the Quran. They all had the capacity to effectively engage with their children in religious matters and though they utilised different approaches to supporting them, it was to achieve the same goal, making it easier for their children to grasp how to read Arabic, with the view of learning to read the Qur'an. For example, Mrs Akram spent a little time before supplementary school lessons to help her children revise what they had already done, whereas Mr Aslam provided his children with additional materials to make learning more fun, due to his better financial status however lack of time.

All the parents spent time reading with and telling stories to their children however their purposes were different. For example Both Mr Shah and Mr Aslam would tell their children stories which contained moral and cultural lessons for their children, whereas Mr Akram concentrated more on improving his children's reading skills. All the families moreover believed that play was significant and they provided different reasons according to the recreation activity. Mr Akram believed it would give them a sense and understanding on how to mix with other people of different ethnicity; improve his social skills, learn about team work, learn discipline and stay healthy. Mr Aslam believed that a healthier body would lead to a healthier mind and the children will be more focused on their studies in school and create happy memories.

All the families wanted their children to preserve their Pakistani heritage, and as before, each family had its own approach to how they could achieve this. This includes conversing in Punjabi, as practiced by Mr and Mrs Shah and Mrs Akram, and learning to speak, read and write Urdu, which is the official language in Pakistan. Nevertheless, in the Aslam family English was the main language, nevertheless there was an expectation that the children would pick up Punjabi through interaction with their grandparents. They moreover picked up other aspects of the Pakistani culture from their grandparents; food, clothing, festivals and general aspects of life.

The process of living a simple life is a very dominant pattern in these families and that this can supposedly be achieved through as stated '*all learning*'. This 'all learning' process for these families is not just about learning in school and so everything is not directed to what will help them in school, nevertheless, what the children do after school is also vital in their development. This development should prepare the children with all the skills needed to survive and thrive in society, provide them with a set of moral values to cling to and drive them to be good humans. This demonstrates that parents impart to their children different forms of assets; aspirational, familial, linguistic, navigational, cultural, and social. These assets are succeeded by the value, importance and meaning parents hold for education, and thereby they hold high hopes and aspirations for their children.

Chapter summary

All the parents were keen to see their children progress academically and were engaged with their children's learning according to their capacity, which was based on their own levels of education, fluency in languages and access to physical resources. Parents born in Pakistan found it difficult to fully engage with their children's academic progress because they struggle with the English language and their level of education did not permit them to secure better paid jobs. Parents born in England and educated in England had more capacity to engage; language competencies and awareness of the British education system. This influenced their job prospects and their ability to economically provide more learning resources for their children. Interestingly, all the parents viewed religion as a very significant part of life. For this they used different initiatives to embed religious teachings in their children; teaching the Quran at home and in mosque, providing them with resources and telling stories with Islamic morals. Perhaps this also influenced the parents' decisions on what type of school to send their children after primary education. The parents believed single-sex schooling would aid their children to concentrate more and stay away from intermingling in ways which are unacceptable in Islam. The Shahs believed that single sex schools will help in keeping the family unit together and preserving cultural values. Cultural aspects of life were significant such as language and other Pakistani traditions; clothing, foods and so forth. Overall the parents had a very broad understanding of education combining school and beyond school parental engagement activities.

Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusion

Chapter overview

In Chapter Five, a cross case analysis of the families was presented. Now, in this chapter, I will be covering the findings pertaining to the questions and aims that were set at the start of this dissertation. The wider implications will be explored and the potential areas for further study will be highlighted. The contribution to knowledge will be explained and my reflections on the research process will be detailed.

The research aims, questions and the findings

This study commenced with the widely reported issue that Pakistani children do badly in the English education system, and a concern about the extent to which, there might be distinctive parenting practices that are relevant to this since we know that parental engagement is significant for educational outcomes. To unpack this issue, I set myself a series of objectives and research questions. The aim of this study was to explore the perspectives and beliefs of Pakistani parents on how and why they engage with their children's school-related learning and beyond, and to investigate the perspectives of children on how their parents' engagement impacted on their behaviour as learners. The aim of this study was framed by the following questions:

1. What are the forms of parental engagement in terms of children's school-related learning and beyond in a sample of Pakistani homes?
2. Do parents have a clear view of why they are engaging in such a way: if so, what is that view?
3. To what extent do these forms of engagement appear to be shaped by distinctive cultural characteristics of Pakistani parents?
4. How do their children view the impact of parental engagement on themselves as learners?

The main findings from these questions are as follows:

1. *What are the forms of parental engagement in terms of children's school-related learning and beyond in a sample of Pakistani homes?*

The parents were engaged with their children's learning in different forms. The case studies demonstrated how enthusiastic all the parents were to see their children learn and progress. Parental expectations and hopes were high. All the parents contributed to their children's school-related learning: reading, writing, watching television for educational purposes, attending school functions and siblings helping each other. As explained in case study of family one, the siblings played a major role in supporting each other with school-related learning. Family three took their children out on trips and had more educational resources due to their economic wellbeing. Besides school-related learning, the parents were engaged in learning beyond school: religion, culture, storytelling, play and computer.

2. *Do parents have a clear view of why they are engaging in such a way: if so, what is that view?*

The parents were engaged in an authoritative way. They all wanted their children to be good human beings and understand the difference between right and wrong, as this was inspired by religious text. Simultaneously, they wanted their children to be highly educated. Through their engagement with their children, they wanted to make their children confident and make life easy for them. Building confidence and increasing knowledge was further developed by family three who had taken their children out on a trip to the zoo to reinforce school learning. This was also the case when watching television; it was not just for enjoyment, but also had an educational aspect of improving literacy skills. The parents had a very broad understanding of education, which includes school but also broader learning beyond school such as developing the skills, attitudes and resources to lead a 'good' life, was very significant, as the parents related that school is not there to teach you everything. This may entail that the view of the parents, in my study, of education is a somewhat distinctive view; it is distinctive in the purposes of education and not simply understood in terms of purpose of English schools and there is a sense of trying to preserve their culture and religion that goes beyond the English schooling system's approach to culture and religion. A distinguishing characteristic of the parents who were educated in Pakistan up to middle school (family one), who were not fully confident in helping their children with school work, so they would ask the siblings to help each other, was their push and drive for their children to utilise all the facilities available. This was more apparent than the rest of the extended family members as a

consequence of the limited opportunities available for them in Pakistan. Nevertheless, these parents, like the other parents in this study, taught their children Urdu and Quran as they were comfortable with that.

3. To what extent do these forms of engagement appear to be shaped by distinctive cultural characteristics of Pakistani parents?

The parents wanted to preserve their culture and religion. Religion played a crucial part in their lives. The teaching of religion commenced at a very early stage of their children's life. This led to some of these families illustrating a sense of being hard-working, dutiful, well-behaved, self-respecting and respectful of one's school and employers. So these are factors that contributed to their children to do well. In line with this, the parents taught their children the Quran themselves, as well as sending their children to the mosque. Storytelling was used to reinforce religious sentiments and relate cultural stories about Pakistan passed down by the elder generation. Another aspect linked to culture was the learning of Urdu/Punjabi language. Oral communication between the children and parents was usually in Punjabi however in Urdu all four skills: reading, writing, listening and speaking were advocated. At home Pakistani culture prevailed and was visible through clothes, food, religious posters and close family ties. The extended family was regarded as a family unit and supporting, helping each other was encouraged. To preserve family values, single sex schools were promoted and regarded as beneficial later on in life. Grandparents were associated with being the advocates of Pakistani culture.

4. How do their children view the impact of parental engagement on themselves as learners?

I was only able to interview the elder children in family one due to the ethical complexities of a family member interviewing children in the same family. I managed to interview four siblings; two sisters (one adopted) and two brothers. They all provided their own perspectives concerning the influence of parental engagement on themselves. I did not give any definitions for parental engagement as I believed this may alter or tamper with the outcomes. I left it for the participants to describe and interpret parental engagement and its influence and persuasion.

The children viewed parental engagement as a positive contributor to their lives. The main purpose of this engagement was to shape the children into good human beings. The children understood this to mean firstly, to be confident in themselves, secondly, to be comfortable with who they are and be motivated to succeed. Parental engagement made the children confident and wanting to strive for the best, while religious development made them understand the notion of right and wrong.

The children's comments described the influence of parental engagement as providing them personal, social, cultural and spiritual development. On the personal and moral side, the children stated:

It has made me confident in myself and ... to know what I have to aim for in life and how to take the better and harder things of life equally.

It has influenced every part of my life-just the way I think in general... teaching me about school; teaching about morality, has kind of influenced every part of my life.

. . . made me work harder and do my best; want to achieve to the best of my ability.

This provides a very affirmative voice to these children on how their parents have strived to build in them confidence, aspirations to achieve to the best of their ability and morality. Their testimonials on the social aspects; "it has made me comfortable with who I am and with society"; "has kind of influenced every part of my life to the point of I got a job working in inter-faith community work"; and "want to work for the community and made me a good citizen" - reveals that the parents have socially equipped their children to work in the community. On the spiritual and cultural attributes, statements such as, "my parents took it beyond that and they helped me see my options as far as religion goes and how I can engage and understand my religion and not just claim to be of a particular religion however to understand why we have chosen that religion and what benefits there are of choosing this religion", and; ". . . secondary Islamic school drove me closer to my religion" shows how the parents took into consideration spiritual and cultural upbringing through the understanding of religion.

Discussion

The setting I chose for my study was a small rural town in the Northwest of England. The total number of Pakistani families living there is relatively small compared with other urban towns where such studies have taken place. The extended families I studied were two working-class families and one middle-class family. Working class usually refers to unemployed and manual workers due to low levels of earning, lower skills levels and usually poorer contractual and working conditions as opposed to middle class which refers to low managerial and professional groups based on higher levels of skills, pay and conditions (Archer and Francis, 2006). It is possible that the perspectives, behaviours and beliefs of Pakistani parents in this small town, on why and how they engage with their children's educational learning and their children's perspectives on the issue of parental engagement, are similar to other parents living in other rural or urban areas in England (Shafiq, 2011b). The findings of my study resonate with other studies (Crozier, 2005, Anwar, 1979, Bhatti, 2002, Shaw, 1988), for example, Bhatti (2002) expresses the guilt felt by parents who have migrated from Pakistan, in not passing on successfully their cultural values to their children. She cites parents, largely mothers, who would sit down with their children to teach them Urdu and other religious aspects. She relates the expectations for a mother was to take care of house chores, and the father as the breadwinner. Also, parallel to my findings, is Crozier's (2005) research on the exposure of the high hopes and aspirations of Pakistani parents (Hirst, 1998) for their children to succeed in their career ambitions and the significant role the extended family plays in the children's education.

Underperformance of Pakistani children in the education system

My study commenced with the concern that Pakistani children as a group underperform in the education system. The previous section elaborated on my findings pertaining to the research questions. Now I discuss my findings in light of the literature that reports how badly Pakistani children perform in the education system. There are plenty of reports on the underperformance of Pakistani children in the education system (Bhatti, 2011, Rashid, 2005, DCSF, 2008, Cole, 2006, Government, 2009, Crozier, 2009, Strand, 2007, Strand, 2015), however, my findings show children who have achieved a level of excellence in Higher Education. One thing that I can say is that most of the reports on the underperformance of Pakistani children are based on statistical averages (Strand, 2007, Richardson and Wood,

2004, Strand, 2015). Consequently, this could be misleading if we are not careful as they may disguise the variations there are at individual level. My ethnographic study highlights to some degree the variation at an individual level. My study shows that there are Pakistani children who have in fact done very well. The evidence presented here suggests that there are different attitudes to education in Pakistani families, even within an extended family there are different attitudes. So one thing that can be gathered from this study is that the Pakistani community is a diverse one and it should not be assumed to be a generic group that does badly in education. When Pakistan families migrate to Britain, they all experience a series of barriers in terms of education. This includes parents who are supporting their children to do well in school. Some of those barriers are to do with language and not understanding the British education system. There are possibly barriers created by the school system, which are not easy places to contact, and also, examples of racism and isolation. The third finding across all the case studies is that Pakistani community generally view education, cultural and religious development in a different way. The families in my study that are heavily committed to education were likely to be heavily committed to cultural and religious development. Thus, when all these things are looked at together they can explain what the characteristics of these families are and therefore parallels may be drawn on what the characteristics of the Pakistani population are as a whole. The case studies emphasise the diversity of the population, and that not all children are doing badly in school. It possibly explains why children from seemingly similar backgrounds have in part such different educational outcomes.

Barriers relating to parental engagement with children's education

This study demonstrates that parents who come from Pakistan will have barriers relating to engaging with their children's education, including language, culture, institutional stereotyping and a lack of familiarity with the English education system. In order to overcome cultural barriers, these parents pass on their aspirations and hopes for a better economic future, as they were deprived of these aspirations when growing up themselves. In essence, they are achieving their own ambitions through their children (Bhatti, 2002). This provides the children with the impetus to challenge the stereotypical perspectives concerning Pakistani children, in regards to their culture, religion and aptitude. In order to overcome the language barrier and lack of familiarity with the educational system, these parents will heavily rely on the elder siblings to help their younger siblings with school-related learning at

home (Crozier and Davies, 2006). However, maybe some parents feel overwhelmed by the scale of these barriers and thus, become disengaged from the schools.

Parental aspirations and hopes

Looking at parental practices and engagement across the entire sample of families in my study, they all want their children to do well. Nevertheless, this is nothing new as most parents want their children to do well in education (Strand and Winston, 2008, Strand, 2007). Parallel to my findings is Crozier's (2005) and Hirst's (1998) research on the exposure of the high hopes and aspirations of Pakistani parents for their children to succeed in their career ambitions and the significant role the extended family plays in the children's education. This also resonates with Yosso's (2005) concept of Familial Capital. The parents in my study demonstrated their aspirations by actively engaging in the home with their children's learning. This maybe one of the factors that influenced their children to work hard and achieve good results. As my data reflects that the young children are doing well in school and the elder ones have completed their degrees and are working or engaged in further studying. This coincides with other researchers who believe that there is a strong affiliation between parental engagement and student achievement especially engagement at home (Harris and Goodall, 2007, Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003, Fan and Chen, 2001). In the case, of gender based parental engagement, both parents in each family were equally engaged with their children's learning. However, the husbands were more involved in sports activities than their wives. Suizzo and Stapleton (2007), Sammons and Domin's in Bogenschneider (1997) have pointed out children perform better in school when their parents are more engaged regardless of parents gender and educational level.

Do parents care?

The issue is not that Pakistani parents in general do not care, rather it is to what extent they are able to turn their concern for their children's education into supportive action. This is difficult for some Pakistani parents who encounter barriers in terms of language and understanding how the British education system works. As my study demonstrates, there were differences in the way parents from my sample were engaged; family one utilised the siblings actively to help each other with school-related work as they were not competent in the English language, similarly, the mother in family two struggled to help her elder children

and family three had more resources to facilitate the needs of their children, due to the husband's occupation. Moreover in family three, the father, who is educated up to a master's level, was more engaged than the rest of the parents in various ways: school work and leisure activities. These findings are consistent with the literature reviewed in Chapter Two, which indicates that numerous variables can influence the child's development: socio-economic status (SES); parent's educational attainment, family structure, ethnicity and parental engagement (Desforges and Abouchar, 2003, DCSF, 2006, Harris and Goodall, 2008). Moreover, Rashid *et al* (2005) in their study of raising achievement of Bangladeshi and Pakistani boys acknowledge that language barriers and unfamiliarity of the education system are obstacles, which hold back Pakistani and Bangladeshi parents from fully engaging with their children's educational needs. This supports my findings which were illustrated in the case studies, the parents in family one and the mother in family two, were born in Pakistan and so were not fluent in English. The parents in my study, even after facing various obstacles, did not give up and implications of that were their children did well in school or are doing well in school.

A broad understanding of education

What is a distinctive feature of my participants is that they hold a very broad understanding of education, which encompasses school and beyond school related learning and the parents believe it is their duty to give their children this understanding as schools work towards a specific curriculum, which does not cover other aspects which are significant. Even though the parents are engaged in a broad spectrum of their children's learning, nevertheless, their understanding rotates around their religious and cultural beliefs. It is a view of education that is different to the view of education in the state education system. These parents have a much broader view of education than might be expected in a typical state school and it is not just concerned with passing exams (Lujan and DiCarlo, 2006, Seldon, 2011). They view education as developing someone as a person: personal, cultural, social and spiritual development. On the personal development, the parents as indicated in the case studies provided confidence to the children by telling them what to aim for in life and not to give up when faced with hardship, however to take better and harder things of life equally. Moreover, their parents encouraged them to strive to the best of their abilities, to attain high grades and seek out better future prospects, and equipped them with the skills needed to work in the community and to become good citizens. On the spiritual and cultural development, parents

taught their children about their religion and culture. They emphasised the importance of respecting each other and other communities and in the teachings of Islam. For this, as demonstrated in the case studies, the parents referred to religious texts, raising the role of education to being central to life. This understanding that education is the focal point of life may encourage the children to work harder and achieve to the best of their ability.

The parental of view of education at school and at home

There are implications here on the concept of Pakistani children as a group tending to do badly, which may result in a cultural conflict (language, religion, culture) between the school's view of education and the view of education these children are getting at home. This is evident in some of responses received from my case studies (Sakina and Usman), where there was an apparent sense of exclusion and isolation. This may result in the underperformance of the children, as the school system does not take into consideration what cultural resources the children bring to school, which could lead to children and parents becoming disengaged from and disinterested in the school system. At the time of writing my findings, there were significant issues concerning Islamisation and radicalisation of schools in predominantly Muslim areas of Birmingham (Clarke, 2014, Committee *et al.*, 2015). There is a community with a positive view of education that differs from the state view of what education should be. The crux of the issue seemed to be that there was a conflict in the understanding of what schools are for and one community trying to leverage control of the system. There was a distinct lack of trust between the community and the state. One way around this is to use the community cultural wealth as a resource (Clarke, 2014). This is further illuminated by Abbas (2002b) who argues that its evident in recent periods that South Asian females (Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Indians) are outperforming South Asian males similar to the trend white females are outperforming white males. Abbas (2002a) provides some reasons for the underperformance of South Asian Muslim children; cultural practices that differ from those assumed by the state system within the home coupled with disengagement with school and the actions of teachers and school policies. In my study, religion and culture played a crucial part in participants' lives without any adverse effects, as noted by the parents and expressed by the children. Rather, it provided the children a sense of belonging and impetus to strive harder in their studies and be successful. Perhaps for some children though, the perceived ambivalence or the antagonism of teachers, or the supposed

presence of adverse cultural activities in the home, may account for their underperformance and disengagement from school.

Keeping the family together as a family unit

Another issue which was significant to the parents was keeping the family together as a family unit. Moreover, the families wanted to preserve their religion and their culture which were overlooked by the state education system. For this, the children who had come to the end of their primary education, their parents entered them into independent, single-sex, secondary Islamic boarding schools. Mr Shah, the head of the extended family, believed that sending his children to independent, single-sex, secondary Islamic boarding schools would keep the family unit together later on in life and would be a good network through which, his children could gain help and support by liaising with each other. The Shah children provided their perspectives on going to independent, single-sex, secondary Islamic boarding schools as a good experience where they could relate to their own culture and religion and bond with peers from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Other parents in my study provided similar perspectives, as stated in the case studies, nevertheless, their opinion was more towards Islamic conservatism in that they wanted their children to learn about Islam and stay away from mix gender socialisation. Ijaz and Abbas (2010) highlight in their findings that; “there has been a move towards Islamisation among both generations; the first generations through a form of cultural traditionalism and the second generations through Islamic conservatism” (p313). They note that the Pakistani parents in their study did not want their children to attend mixed secondary schools as this was against their religious and cultural beliefs, particularly when puberty sets in. Contrary to my findings, Ijaz and Abbas relate that, “(Pakistani) Parents allowed sons unlimited freedom while curtailing the activities of their daughters” (p319). In my findings, the parents are concerned about their daughters’ educational endeavours as they are about their sons’ and the limits of freedom given are same to their daughters as their sons. This, moreover, challenges the stereotypical view that Pakistani parents do not want their daughters to be educated and be successful in their career accomplishments (Crozier, 2009).

Income

Arguably, only families with reasonable income and commitment can afford to send their children to independent, single-sex, secondary Islamic boarding schools. This might be another reason why many Pakistani children do relatively badly as they tend to be concentrated in state schools, which are seen to be safe because they are overwhelmingly Muslim, however, they are not formally Muslim schools and maybe serve poorer populations. Regarding this, it was mentioned in Chapter Two that school and neighbourhood variables have been used to investigate student achievement (Strand, 2007, Sacker *et al.*, 2002, Rashid, 2005). Rashid *et al* (2005) acknowledge that situating minority ethnic communities in geographical areas with multiple-deprivation and where the most underperforming schools are located has contributed to poor educational achievement.

Yosso's Community Cultural Wealth Theory

Here I would like to look at a theoretical perspective on my findings. In Chapter Two, I introduced Yosso's Community Cultural Wealth Theory (Yosso, 2005), now I look at its applicability on my findings here as it illuminates my findings and enriches the field. As explained in Chapter Two, Communities of Colour nurture cultural wealth through at least six forms of capital such as aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant capital.

Yosso (2005) acknowledges that, "Linguistic capital includes the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style" (p78). In my study all the children grew up in homes where the primary languages spoken were other than English; Punjabi, Urdu and in particularly, Arabic was given great emphasis consequently of it being the language of the Holy book Quran and other Islamic texts. All the children picked up Punjabi by listening and conversing with their parents. The parents taught the children Urdu and Arabic at home first, then later, the children went on to complete a GCSE in these languages and even A-levels. So these children came to school with multiple languages and communication skills which were embedded by their parents and unfortunately overlooked by schools.

Yosso (2005) states, "Familial capital to those cultural knowledges nurtured among familia (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition" (p79). Parents

imparted familial capital through different means or through other members of the family and extended family, for example, by creating an environment that modelled significant cultural values. Through this the child's awareness on emotional and moral levels would become enlightened. A significant aspect of familial capital in my study was the way siblings helped each other to overcome barriers. Similarly, the father would tell his children cultural/religious stories and the family would sit together to watch TV and discuss issues. Yosso explains that, "Social capital can be understood as networks of people and community resources" (p79). The parents prompted their children to attend the mosque for prayers and moreover to meet and greet people. The parents sought this so their children would get to know the community and be able to socially communicate with each other. The father in family one suggested that prayer will influence his children's personal life-their hearts remain peaceful, less mental problems and more strength to make judgements. He would tell his children stories of pious Muslim people as he believed this will help his children to stay on the right path. To these parents, prayer and religious belief do not just add value for the individual, but also makes the individual into a community asset and grants access to a community network.

Consistent with the research reviewed in Chapter Two (Crozier, 2001, Vincent and Marie, 2005, Crozier, 2009), the children provided some examples of being treated differently in the educational institutions they attended. This was about their religious beliefs and cultural differences. Even though my topic is not racism *per se*, nevertheless, I would like to add to the literature the way the children dealt with stereotypical assumptions held by teachers and peers in a dominant white atmosphere. Sakina in case study one, provided an example of her primary education where they were not allowed to wear the headscarf, speak their language, pray in school and Christian values were dominantly taught to the children. At university, she was avoided in the discussions, no one would sit beside her and she was made to feel as an outsider. Her brother, Usman, as also discussed in the case studies, narrated a similar account of university life. Here, the children were motivated and inspired by the parents not to give up their studies, however, it is possible some Pakistani children will not prove as resilient or have similar support from their parents and will either underperform or leave their studies. Yosso (2005) describes this as Navigational Capital, that is, the ability to navigate through hostile institutions that were not created with Communities of Color in mind. The parents in my study instilled different assets in their children; aspirational, navigational, and resistant, to combat negative perspectives and assumptions. This upward mobility thrust would eventually break the link between the parents' current occupational status and the future academic

attainment of the child. The children described their ordeal of overcoming stereotypical assumptions in a predominantly white institution through navigational assets, acquired through parental guidance on how these stereotypical thoughts are due to ignorance and the fear of the unknown, making them more resilient and strive harder when facing adversity rather than giving up. The children were proud of their cultural and religious heritage, the stereotypical perspectives did not deter them from maintaining their identity; moreover, these stereotypical perspectives and parental engagement built inside them resistant assets which made them try harder and excel in their studies.

These parents had a very distinctive way of parenting their children and this theory seems to help explain how we can see this as a community cultural wealth but also how the education system tries to overlook it or undervalue it, which subsequently upsets the parents and causes a conflict between both parties. This could moreover be one of the reasons why Pakistani children as a group underperform.

On these grounds, I believe that my study has contributed to knowledge in a number of ways, as detailed in the following section.

Contribution to knowledge

This study contributes to knowledge in several ways: 1] the study highlights the diversity in the Pakistani population; 2] the study adds to the understanding of how working-class Pakistani parents can have broad understandings of education which extend far beyond school-based learning, and include developing the skills, attitudes and resources to lead a 'good' life; 3] the study demonstrates that religiosity is shown to be integral to Pakistani parents' engagement in their children's learning; 4] the study highlights that Pakistani parents are shown to take responsibility for their children's 'holistic' education, and are also shown to use siblings as 'educational resources' to support school-based learning when they are unable to do so; 5] the study reveals the relevance of Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theory to the Pakistani community; 6] the study also makes a contribution by presenting an insider account of parenting practices in Pakistani families.

1] The study highlights the diversity in the Pakistani population

The statistics publicised that Pakistani children underperform as a group compared to Chinese and Indian groups (DCSF, 2008, Cole, 2006, Strand, 2015), nevertheless, this covers a lot of variation in fact some Pakistani children do very well and I have an example of this in my study. This study offers an explanation of a previously over-looked characteristic of the Pakistani population, that it is much more diverse than the statistics suggest. My study calls into question the literature which claims to expose the lack of Asian fathers' engagement in their children's education (Rizvi, 2015). My study challenges the existing literature by providing a voice to the Asian parents through ethnographic methods. The fact that both parents; husband and wife are engaged, demonstrates that not all Pakistani families are homogenous or are alike. In my study both parents; father and mother are highly committed to their children's education and they want their children to succeed. The subset of the Pakistani population in my study have a very high level of parental engagement and, in my case study, this seems to have produced some high outcomes for their children. When we look at this form of engagement, it takes a broader view of education than typically expected in the English school system, in that it includes personal, religious and social development as well as educational attainment.

2] This study adds to the understanding of how working-class Pakistani parents can have broad understandings of education which extend far beyond school-based learning, and includes developing the skills, attitudes and resources to lead a 'good' life

The families in this study contained distinctive patterns of engagement; parents teaching Urdu/Quran, watching TV for educational purposes and a commitment towards intervening with school. Also, there did not seem to be much of a struggle, as the parents seemed clear on what they were doing and the children seemed to appreciate it. This could be that parents were helping them in areas they are confident with (Urdu/Quran) and regard as important and less of a school-related issue. DCSF (2008) express that when parents who take an active interest in their children's schooling, their children make good progress. However, literature in general does not highlight the importance of language and religion in terms of progression through the English education system. In the case of these families, language and religious knowledge are highly important culturally. This could be a point where there is tension

between parents' understanding of engagement and the actual demands of schools. Bhatti (2002) states:

In families where religious education forms the cornerstone of education in a child's formative years, parents feel morally and spiritually obliged to perform their duties for their children. [p57]

My study adds to the literature cited in chapter 2, which describes the Pakistani communities (Crozier, 2003, Crozier, 2005, Crozier and Davies, 2006, Crozier and Davies, 2007, Crozier, 2009, Rashid, 2005). My study shows that Pakistani parents have a broad understanding of education and their broad understanding of education encompasses school related learning (homework, reading, attending school functions and so forth) and beyond school related learning: religion, culture, storytelling, play and computer. The parents, as demonstrated in the findings and discussion sections, wanted their children to develop on a personal, social, cultural and spiritual level and lead a good life. The parents believed by developing their children in this manner, they would make them more confident, work harder, be able to work in the community, respect others from different communities and become good humans. What some may find surprising is that one of the main drivers of this engagement is religiosity.

3] Religiosity is shown to be integral to Pakistani parents' engagement in their children's learning

Consistent with the literature in chapter 2 (Zaman, 2014, Shah and Iqbal, 2011, Ijaz and Abbas, 2010), religion played a crucial role in the lives of the parents and it gave them a direction that it is their full responsibility to cater for their children so they wanted their children to also understand the importance and the value of religion. However, this study makes a contribution to knowledge here by showing how parents used religious text to develop their children's understanding of what is right and wrong, of working hard, dutiful, well-behaved, self-respecting and respectful of one's school and employers. This study also highlights that the ultimate goal of parents engaging in such a way that their children become good human beings, achieved through a holistic view of learning and education.

4] Pakistani parents are shown to take responsibility for their children's 'holistic' education, and are also shown to use siblings as 'educational resources' to support school-based learning when they are unable to do so

The parents as mentioned in the case studies are equally engaged in school related learning and learning beyond school. My study adds to the literature which has been referred to in chapter two (Bhatti, 2002, Zaman, 2014, Crozier, 2009), in that my study shows that the parents have a holistic view of education and the parents are shown to take responsibility for their children's holistic education. My study makes a contribution to knowledge by showing how the parents wanted to develop their children's minds. My study demonstrates that through religious development, parents wanted to provide their children with a set of moral values to cling to and drive them to be good humans; through the learning of Urdu, Punjabi and Arabic languages, the parents wanted to instil in their children social skills - how to interact with others. Through team work exercises, such as football training, parents wanted to develop their children's social skills, respect for others and general fitness. This shows that parents impart to their children different forms of assets; aspirational, familial, linguistic, navigational, cultural, and social.

My study also adds to the literature (Crozier and Davies, 2006) that has explored the engagement of the Pakistani extended family in supporting the children's education. My study explains that where the parents lacked confidence, they made use of siblings as 'educational resources' to support school-based learning when parents were unable to do so. My study also shows how elder siblings helped young siblings with school related work and how the elder siblings helped each other with university assignments. Also my study's contribution here is it shows how an adopted sibling described how her familial capital; siblings gave her support in education matters even though her residence was a couple hundred miles away.

5] The relevance of Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theory to the Pakistani community

This study establishes the relevance of Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theory to the Pakistani community. I have illustrated through case studies how Yosso's definition of

aspirational, linguistic, social, resistant, familial and navigational capital transfers to a different ethnic community in a different part of the world. This is shown in the findings and discussion sections how parents were engaged in school related learning according to their capacities and by utilising familial capital. The children gave examples of navigational capital, as defined by Yosso (2005), of how they navigated through hostile institutes, which were created without communities of colour in mind. The children also demonstrated how their parents built inside them resistant capital so they could resist stereo-typical views because of their colour, ethnicity and religion. The study also shows how the parents motivated their children to improve their linguistic capital by learning different languages. It is evident in the case studies and discussion sections that the children had communication experiences in more than one language; English, Urdu, Punjabi and Arabic. Parents encouraged their children to attend community gathering places, such as the mosque or participate in a team, such as a football, to increase their social awareness and build their social capital. I had this opportunity to explore in depth these families and to explore the applicability of Yosso's Community Cultural Wealth theory because of my insider role.

6] The study also provides an insider account of parenting practices in Pakistani families

Another contribution to knowledge offered by my study is that my literature search did not reveal any other study which presents an insider account of parenting practices in Pakistani families. Studies in families of this kind are rare because they are difficult to do because of the ethical issues and family dilemmas; and studies done by a member of the extended family that provides a privileged access are even rarer. I had the opportunity to look inside families and to operate as an insider and this has offered up an insight that would otherwise be impossible to achieve, that of challenging the stereotypical perspectives of Pakistani children as underachievers by exploring Pakistani families parenting practices to explain both achievement and under-achievement of different groups of children in the Pakistani community. I used insider methods; solicited diaries, photo voice, and video footage so the participants can fully engage in the study and record what they believe as significant parental engagement activities. These methods empowered them as they were in control of the processes; recording and describing the recordings. It has made a broader contribution to understanding the relationship between culture and parenting practices as they relate to education. More specifically, it has contributed to my understanding and reflection of what research is all about.

Reflections

Like I have mentioned in the previous section, studies of this kind are difficult and rare in families. To accomplish my study, I faced various methodological challenges; intra-family politics, trying to prove and justify my study to the family and largely the head of the extended family, difficulties in interviewing female members for a male, keeping to my lines of inquiry and avoiding family politics and tensions and getting a member check of the transcribed data. Besides, I was only a novice researcher and these ethnographic dilemmas were just new to me and obviously there were dangers in carrying out this study as it could have had an impact on my marriage or family relations and so forth. There were limitations as any family member could have refused to participate or the head of the extended family could have refused the whole study. So for me to get to this stage that I have managed to write up my findings is in itself a success as every step I took I had to be cautious and mindful of the dangers and implications of that on my study.

Nonetheless, the experience of this study has been invaluable in the feasibility of conducting ethnographic work. I was able to establish a rapport with the participants which would be advantageous for future research. I found that the participants began to trust my integrity and open up to me in the course of the study as they became familiar with the objectives of the study. For me, the exposure to families in their homes taught me more about the research environment. I was very cautious in my lines of enquiry; therefore, I made appropriate modifications. From talking to the husbands, I was able to understand the ethics and religiosity of the families. In return, I adjusted my interviews to ensure the female members were more comfortable participating, and I showed my wife the interview schedule to ensure the questions were suitable. In this extended family, the father (family one) was the main head and had considerable influence on the rest. I took advantage of this, and explained my research to him. This was to clear any ambiguities that may arise through misunderstandings. I anticipated at the beginning that the father (family one) would raise concerns, and this was indeed the case. Nevertheless, these were addressed and diffused by my wife.

In terms of the adaptation of the interview schedules, I asked the participants for feedback. There was no concern about the questions and the only suggestion made was that the female participants' would feel more comfortable if they were interviewed by my wife and so this

was adapted. Overall, I believe the interview schedules helped me to stay focused, and I managed to triangulate my findings through the different methods of data collection I used. Moreover, I translated into Urdu some of the questions for parents who had difficulty understanding English.

The study was strengthened due to quasi-participatory nature of the study in that the participants were engaged in the study as co-researchers. They participated in collecting the data for the solicited diary interviews, photo voice interviews and video footage interviews. The participatory methods provided a voice and power to the parents to report what they believed was significant pertaining to parental engagement activities through recording it in their diaries, then engaging more deeply in the research by taking photos of it and provided additional data of the social context in the natural setting while parents were engaged with their children's learning by taking video footages. The parents moreover contributed to the verification of the transcribed interview data and in reading through the case studies relevant to each family. There were implications of handing over the control to the parents in that they could have changed some of the data, nevertheless, to establish the trustworthiness of the study several methods were applied as mentioned in the trustworthiness section. For example, methods were triangulated with each other making sure the findings are trustworthy. These methods moreover provided the parents power and a voice to report parental engagement activities which they would not have reported in other less participatory methods. The reason for that is the parents were not observed or they were not collecting data in the presence of a researcher-meaning the parents could record their parental engagement activities without any discomfort.

Nevertheless, I believe that this study has made me more aware of the notion of immersion in others' worlds, ways of minimising observer bias, determining the best course of action in establishing access and keeping good fieldwork relations. I believe these were crucial in the feasibility of my ethnographic study. Moreover, this study provided a voice to Pakistani parents to narrate why and how they engage with their children's school-related learning, and it provided a voice to their children to describe how their parents' engagement impacted on their behaviour. This was an significant direction of this study and if it has been successful in providing a voice to working class Pakistani parents and their children as their voices are not often heard, then it has gone a long way to do so (Bhatti, 2002). There were limitations to the study which could be explored in further research.

Limitations

This study has a certain number of limitations. 1) The findings of the study cannot be generalised as the participants were from one extended family and there was a limited number of participants. 2) Though my research was limited to the practices of a single, extended family, they illustrated a distinctively Pakistani cultural diaspora (language, religion, culture, food); nevertheless, I cannot be absolutely certain that these practices are different from the parenting practices of other ethnic groups that share the same religion, e.g. a Lebanese family or a Saudi family? Is their religion a significant factor in their behaviour or their working class status or even their immigrant background? 3) The study was carried out in a rural setting without exploring the different attitudes of parents who live in urban and rural England. 4) I did not compare my sample of Pakistani families to families from other ethnic groups as I was interested in how Pakistani parenting practices impact on their children's achievement. 5) The sample was based on families whose children were doing well in their educational learning.

Further research

Inevitably the study takes a small sample and the study was with one extended family - you would expect them sharing some broad experiences attitudes and experiences. Clearly further studies of this kind need to be carried out however using samples of families with very different backgrounds whose children were less successful.

The study took place in a rural area and the majority of the other studies looking at ethnic minorities in general and Pakistani parental engagement in specific have been in more urban settings. There is a need to have more studies of this kind focusing on rural areas or, at least, on families who do not live in large urban concentrations and looking at the differences between Pakistan parents who are living in urban and rural areas.

There is still a lack of studies that use observational methods for researching Pakistani parents and their children. This is another area for further research.

More work needs to be done to build Pakistani parents trust and interest as this is a key for further research using observational methods and other research methods. Building trust might release the ethical issues that are sometimes an obstacle for research in this domain.

Researchers could encourage the Pakistani participants to become co-researchers; this may give the parents more interest and focus to alleviate the ethical issues. The use of Insider research perspectives could offer a more nuanced insight into cultural aspects of ethnic community lifestyles and attitudes.

Fewer generalisations should be made from generic studies as there is clearly a lot more diversity in the makeup of Pakistani communities. There is, moreover, a bias towards carrying out research in highly urbanised areas of ethnic communities and very little on those communities living in less urbanised and more rural locations in England.

Policy Implications

This study has been primarily concerned with understanding Pakistani families' practices rather than with evaluation of school policy and national policy, however it inevitably has implications for these. In the case studies, it was evident that the parents born and educated in Pakistan were not fully able to engage with their children's learning due to language barriers and unfamiliarity with the British education system. Perhaps schools can make parental engagement for such parents more positive by taking into consideration the parent's educational and religious backgrounds. Schools could provide information or induction programmes on education in England covering the significant aspects of the national curriculum, and on literacy and numeracy skills. Another consideration is how the children dealt with stereo-typical assumptions held by teachers and peers in dominant white educational institutes due to religious and cultural differences. Crozier (2009) has expressed that institutional racism still seems to be factoring in how ethnic community pupils and their parents are treated and this is impacting on the pupils self-esteem and on their educational outcomes. Perhaps schools can give more credence to the impact of cultural and religious learning of their pupils, as this could improve parental engagement, as well as academic attainment. Nevertheless, changes can only be made as stated by Bhatti (2002), "if there is commitment at government and at local institutional level to train teachers to be more aware

of the needs of all children and not just white children” (p243). Teachers can be made aware of all these issues mentioned in this section through PGCE (Post Graduate Certificate of Education) courses and in-service training courses (Bhatti, 2002). Furthermore, the Department for Education can issue guidelines on best practice for schools on parental engagement with families who have newly emigrated to England and Wales, or speak a language other than English as their first language, covering inductions and ongoing support and employ more ethnic communities in teaching and school life.

The parents in this study wanted their children to be good citizens who respect others regardless of faith, ethnicity and gender. Their view of education is broader and different to the view of education in the state education system, nevertheless, as reported by the children in case studies, parental engagement influenced their personal, social, cultural and spiritual development. This engagement equipped them to work in the community and to become good citizens. Maybe there are other parents who hold similar perspectives of education. It would be helpful for government policies to acknowledge this broad view of education and make other professionals working in educational establishments familiar with this, especially consequently of the current moral panic about ‘radicalisation’ and the focus on ‘British values’ in schools and others educational establishments.

Radicalisation in some schools in Birmingham and the focus on British values has come to the attention of a lot of individuals working in the education department and the general public because of the Trojan Horse Affair reports (Clarke, 2014, Committee *et al.*, 2015). Too often peaceful Islamic beliefs and teachings are conflated with radicalisation and Islamist inspired political violence due to the misinterpretation of Islamic teachings by individuals and the actions of a small minority. This has prompted the British government to take on procedures such as constant surveillance of Muslim individuals and de-radicalisation initiatives. This has made a lot of peaceful Muslims feel that they are under constant scrutiny and surveillance even though they totally reject any form of radicalisation (Githens-Mazer *et al.*, 2010). Muslims have been further indicted with radicalisation through the ‘Trojan Horse Affair’ even though reports into the ‘Trojan Horse Affair’, “found no evidence of terrorism, radicalisation or violent extremism in the schools of concern in Birmingham” (p12). What the reports do highlight is the different understanding of what schools are for between some hierarchical Muslim individuals in some Birmingham schools and the state (Clarke, 2014). Sadly, what is missing in the recommendation of these reports (Clarke, 2014, Committee *et al.*, 2015) is to make teachers and other professionals in education aware that lot of Muslim

parents have a broad understanding of education, which does not encourage radicalisation as demonstrated in this study.

Maybe government policies can use good examples as demonstrated in my study and other similar ethnographic studies rather, of alienating the whole Muslim population due to a minority who hold extreme perspectives based on their own understanding of Islam and not authentic resources. Perhaps a way forward for schools and policy makers would be to employ Yosso's Community Cultural Wealth Theory (Yosso, 2005). This may transform the schooling process by utilising the assets Communities of Colour bring with them from their homes and communities into the classroom. It may moreover reduce the issues mentioned in the Trojan Horse Affair reports (Clarke, 2014, Committee *et al.*, 2015).

As a researcher, my study has given me a clear view on the importance of parental engagement in children's learning, as this is the key for educational adjustment and attainment, as well as the children's future career paths and contribution and engagement within society. While the Pakistani community is on its third and fourth generation in Britain, there is still a practice of finding a spouse from Pakistan, with a view to maintaining a link with their Pakistani roots and inculcating their own children with their cultural heritage. Furthermore, there are new communities emerging from Eastern Europe and refugees from the Middle-East who are facing the same barriers as experienced by the South Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities decades ago. Thus, I feel, this research is still as relevant today as it was when I commenced this journey six years ago. I fervently hope that my findings will offer an insight on how to better engage these parents and communities. I hope that I have given a voice to the Pakistani communities, particularly the evolving communities that exist outside of the urban centres.

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Appendix one: Explains how the literature was reviewed

Literature has been located through search engines and the facilities provided by the John Ryland's Library. The main library search engine 'Library Search', which provides access to e-journals, e-books, databases and is more comprehensive than Google Search, was utilised. Google Search and Endnote (online search) have been used as a backup and were moreover very beneficial.

To make the search relevant as possible to the study, key words or whole questions have been searched: parental engagement, parental involvement, Pakistani parental engagement, ethnic minority parental involvement, ethnic minority parental involvement/engagement in school, influence of ethnic minority parental involvement/engagement in school, What are the forms of Pakistani parental engagement (in terms of children's school-related learning) in the home?, Do Pakistani parents have a clear view why they are engaging in such a way, if they do, what is that view? And to what extent do the forms of parental engagement appear to be shaped by distinctive cultural characteristics of Pakistani parents?

The literature identified in the search was excluded to only include information produced or collected between 2000 and 2014 to ensure the information is relevant and up to date, however at times references are made to earlier studies. Though every attempt was made to narrow the search criteria to the study matter, the number of results were vast and the literature overwhelmingly of American origin. This complicated the process of choosing appropriate literature by creating the need to substantiate whether the literature is British or American. It was evident that there was more American literature on ethnic minority parental engagement than British. Due to this fact, I have included American literature to broaden the scope. There are implications for this as the education system is different in America, nevertheless, there is no dispute on the influence of parental engagement on student achievement and adjustment as this was my main criteria for considering American literature. The majority of the articles that were applicable to the study were available online, free to access through the University's Library Search engine. The process of saving and referencing these articles was aided by the use of Endnote software.

Appendix two: A topic guide for the semi-structured interviews with the parents

1. Short biographical information:

- Mother/Father :
- Age:
- Ethnicity:
- Where they live/lived [born / Pakistan /England live with parents]
- Schooling: [in England/Pakistan]
- Qualifications: [level of study]
- Employment: [in employment at present/ work/ kind of work]
- Children/school secondary/primary: [How many children? In secondary/primary school]

2. Parental engagement activities in the home

- Home work
- Teaching home languages
- Reading with or to their children
- Doing additional literacy and numeracy work
- Reading books
- Art equipment
- Cognitive games
- Information technology
- Discussions
- Telling stories
- Teaching about culture/religion

3. Reasons for engaging in such away

- ✓ Cultural factors shaping your behaviour
- ✓ Parental aspirations
- ✓ Religious sentiments

4. The influence of this engagement

- ❖ Better attainment in school
- ❖ Improve behaviour in school
- ❖ Improve reading/writing/speaking skills
- ❖ To improve the child's character in general
- ❖ Think about future profession/plans
- ❖ To understand life

Appendix three: A specimen list of parental engagement activities to which participants can add

reading	games	teaching Urdu/Punjabi	cooking
writing	TV	reading/teaching Quran	cleanliness
speaking/talking /discussions	computer	cultural/religious teaching	routines
listening	internet	homework	aunt/uncle teaching/helping nephew/niece
colouring	PlayStation	extended family involvement	
provide books	sport	sibling helping/teaching sibling	

Appendix four: An example of A4 sheet of paper given to the parents to note their parental engagement activities

<u>Date:</u>	<u>Parental engagement activities</u>	<u>Influences</u>
<u>Monday</u>		
<u>Tuesday</u>		
<u>Wednesday</u>		
<u>Thursday</u>		
<u>Friday</u>		
<u>Saturday</u>		
<u>Sunday</u>		

Appendix five: A specimen of questions to elicit information in the photo voice/video footage interviews

1. Please tell me what is happening in this picture/video footage?
2. Please tell me about the people/object in the picture/video footage. Why did you focus on them?
3. Please tell me about the parental engagement activity in this picture/footage. What influence do you believe this will have on your child?
4. How are your [husband/wife] photos/video footages similar to and different from your husband/wife?

Appendix six: A specimen of the semi-structured interview Schedule with the grown up off spring of family one

Thank you for being willing to take part in an interview. First of all, I would like to assure you that you will remain completely anonymous and no records of the interview will be kept with your name on them.

1. Short biographical information:

- Age:
- Where they live/lived [born / Pakistan /England live with parents]
- Schooling: [in England/Pakistan]
- Qualifications: [level of study]
- Employment: [in employment at present/ work/ kind of work]

Probe- Is there anything more you would like to tell me about your biography?

1. What can you tell me about these photos?
2. Describe how your parents engaged in your learning.
[Provision: books, TV, games, computer, tuition, talked to you, storytelling]
3. Describe the influence of this engagement on yourself. [made you read more, work harder]

Why do you think your parents engaged in such away?

Appendix seven: Data collection timetable

<u>Start and finish dates</u>	<u>Activities</u>
August- September 2012	Letters to participants / Negotiating sample and access Start field notes Begin interviews with the parents of family one, two and three. Write up interview notes and pass back to parents for authentication
	Literature review – Ongoing Create database for each family and start analysing looking for patterns give diary to parents to jot <i>general</i> parental engagement activities for seven days
October- November 2012	Interviews with parents from family one, two and three. [diary to be used for elicitation]--- Record interviews Analyse data/write up findings and present to parents for verification Take field notes Start composing thematic headings Introduction to photo voice, parents instructed to take photos of parental engagement activities which they believe are <i>significant</i>
December-January 2013	Interviews with parents from family one, two and three. [photos to be used for elicitation] Record interviews Collect documents Analyse data/write up findings/verify finding from participants Take field notes Try to compare families looking for <i>emic</i> categories [indigenous cultural categories/concept indicators] Start composing thematic headings Parents are instructed to take video footage of parental engagement activities which they believe are <i>significant</i>

February-March 2013	<p>Discussions with family one, two and three. [video footage to be viewed and discussed]</p> <p>Record interviews</p> <p>Take field notes</p> <p>Collect documents</p> <p>Analyse data/write up findings/ verify finding from participants</p> <p>Try to compare with family one/two looking for <i>emic</i> categories/indigenous cultural categories/concept indicators</p> <p>Start composing thematic headings</p>
April-May 2013	<p>Semi-structured interviews with children from family one, two and three</p> <p>Record interviews</p> <p>Take field notes</p> <p>Collect documents</p> <p>Analyse data/write up findings/ verify from participants</p> <p>Try to compare family 1/2/3 looking for <i>emic</i> categories/indigenous cultural categories/concept indicators</p> <p>Triangulate</p> <p>Try to move from description to explanation and theory generation</p> <p>Look at/compose thematic headings see if they match descriptive data</p> <p>Start triangulation of data</p> <p>Try to move from description to explanation and theory generation</p>
June-July 2013	<p>Start writing up draft and if needed interview more participants</p> <p>Generate chapters/headings</p>

August -2013-September - 2015	<p>Carry on writing draft and if needed interview/observe more participants or same participants</p> <p>Start writing sub-headings</p> <p>Organise references</p>
	<p>Complete literature review</p> <p>Complete the remaining chapters</p> <p>Leave time for redrafting work</p> <p>verify findings from the participants</p>

Appendix eight: Participant Information Sheet for parents

You are being invited to take part in a study as part of a student project. The project is for the Doctorate in Education [EdD] research dissertation. Before you decide it is significant for you to understand why the study is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

Who will conduct the study?

Name of researcher: Faisal Shafiq

University: University of Manchester, School of Education, Ellen Wilkinson Building, Oxford Road, Manchester, M139PL, UK

Title of the study

A Study of Parental Engagement Among Pakistani Families

What is the aim of the study?

The aim of this study is to explore the perspectives, behaviours and beliefs of Pakistani parents residing in a rural area; on why and how they engage with their children's school-related learning, and to investigate their children's perspectives, behaviours and beliefs on the issue of parental engagement, and the ways in which parental engagement affects student adjustment and achievement.

Research questions

The aim of this study, as outlined above, will be achieved through answering the following questions:

1. What are the forms of parental engagement (in terms of children's school-related learning) in a sample of Pakistani homes?
2. Do parents have a clear view of why they are engaging in such a way: if so, what is that view?
3. To what extent do these forms of engagement appear to be shaped by distinctive cultural characteristics of Pakistani parents?
4. How do their children view the impact of parental engagement on themselves as learners?

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because the research involves Pakistani parents and children.

What would I be asked to do if I took part?

The participants will be asked to take photos/video footages of parental engagement activities and attend discussion sessions. The discussions will be about 30-60 minutes long. In the

discussions the participants will be asked various questions concerning their background, how they engage with their children and why they engage in such away. Participation is voluntary and all participants will be asked to sign a consent form. If the participant attends the discussions and finds any of the questions embarrassing, then the participant can decline to answer the question or withdraw from the study at any time.

What happens to the data collected?

The discussions will be audio recorded and kept in a secure place which is only accessible to the researcher. All names will be removed to make sure everything is confidential. The data will be kept for a year and then destroyed by shredding.

The photos and video footages will remain with the parents.

Where will the study be conducted?

The study will be conducted at the houses of the participants. All participants will have the chance to negotiate an appropriate time according to them.

Will the outcomes of the study be published?

The outcomes will be published as a doctorate dissertation at the University of Manchester. All participants will receive a brief feedback of the outcomes through post or email.

Contact for further information

Email: faisalshafiqno1@hotmail.com

What if something goes wrong?

If a participant wants to make a formal complaint about the conduct of the study they should contact the Head of the Research Office, Christie Building, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL

**A Study of Parental Engagement among Pakistani Families
CONSENT FORM**

If you are happy to participate please complete and sign the consent form below

	Tick box
I confirm that I have read the attached information sheet on the above study and have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions and had these answered satisfactorily.	
I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without providing a reason.	
I am happy to participate in informal interviews, photo voice, taking video footages, a group discussion and being observed.	
I agree to my photos/video footages being used for elicitation purposes when my son/daughter takes part in this research.	
I understand that the interviews/discussions will be audio recorded	
I accept that the photos and video footages will stay in my custody and I agree and accept that the researcher may on times need to have an additional look at the photos/video footages	
I agree to the use of anonymous quotes	
I agree that any data collected may be passed to other researchers	
I agree that any data collected may be published in anonymous form in academic books or journals.	
I agree to take part in the above project	
Name of participant	Date
Name of person taking consent	Date
	Signature

Appendix nine: Participant Information Sheet for the grown up off spring of family one

You are being invited to take part in a study as part of a student project. The project is for the Doctorate in Education [EdD] research dissertation. Before you decide it is significant for you to understand why the study is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

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Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because the research involves Pakistani parents and children.

What would I be asked to do if I took part?

The participants will be asked to take part in a semi-structured interview. The interview will be about 45-50 minutes long. He/she will be asked questions pertaining to school-related learning that took place in the home when they were young; reading, writing, drawing, homework; how their parents were involved in these activities and how they view the impact of parental engagement on themselves as learners. Participation is voluntary and all participants will be asked to sign a consent form. If the participant attends the discussions and finds any of the questions embarrassing, then the participant can decline to answer the question or withdraw from the study at any time.

What happens to the data collected?

The discussions will be audio recorded and kept in a secure place which is only accessible to the researcher. All names will be removed to make sure everything is confidential. The data will be kept for a year and then destroyed by shredding.

Where will the study be conducted?

The study will be conducted at the houses of the participants. All participants will have the chance to negotiate an appropriate time according to them.

Will the outcomes of the study be published?

The outcomes will be published as a doctorate dissertation at the University of Manchester. All participants will receive a brief feedback of the outcomes through post or email.

Contact for further information

Email: faisalshafiqno1@hotmail.com

What if something goes wrong?

If a participant wants to make a formal complaint about the conduct of the study they should contact the Head of the Research Office, Christie Building, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL

**A Study of Parental Engagement Among Pakistani Families
CONSENT FORM**

If you are happy to participate, please complete and sign the consent form below.

		Tick box
I confirm that I have read the attached information sheet on the above study and have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions and had these answered satisfactorily.		
I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without providing a reason.		
I am happy to participate in a semi-structured interview		
I understand that the interview will be audio recorded.		
I agree to the use of anonymous quotes		
I agree that any data collected may be passed to other researchers		
I agree that any data collected may be published in anonymous form in academic books or journals		
I agree to take part in the above project		
Name of participant	Date	Signature
Name of person taking consent	Date	Signature