

Caregiving Dilemmas:
Ideology and Social Interaction
in Tanzanian Family Life

Sofia Johnson Frankenberg



Linköping University
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

Linköping Studies in Arts and Science No. 552

Linköping Studies in Behavioural Science No. 162

Linköpings Universitet, Institutionen för Beteendevetenskap och lärande

Linköping 2012

Linköping Studies in Arts and Science • No. 552

Linköping Studies in Behavioural Science No. 162

Within the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Linköping University, research and doctoral training is carried out within broad problem areas. Research is organized in interdisciplinary research environments, doctoral studies mainly in research institutes. Together they publish the series Linköping Studies in Arts and Science. This thesis comes from the Division of Psychology at the Department of Behavioural Sciences and Learning.

Distributed by:
Department of Behavioural Sciences and Learning
Linköping University
SE- 581 83 Linköping

Sofia Johnson Frankenberg
Caregiving Dilemmas:
Ideology and Social Interaction in Tanzanian Family Life

Edition 1:1
ISBN 978-91-7519-908-5
ISSN 0282-9800
ISSN 1654-2029

©Sofia Johnson Frankenberg

Department of Behavioural Sciences and Learning 2012
Printed by: LiU-Tryck, Linköping 2012

PREFACE

This study is the end point of an explorative journey of early childhood relationships in contemporary Tanzania. The starting point is more difficult to determine. Officially one could say that it was when I was accepted as a PhD student at the Department of Behavioural Sciences and Learning within a project focusing parent-child interaction in a treatment setting in Sweden. Or, when I decided to change the topic of my research and focus on early childhood relationships in Tanzania instead. But one could also argue that it started long before that and that a sequence of experiences may have influenced my understanding of this topic. In fact, the interest was there already when I at the age of two years, with excitement rushed over to the nearest pram to look at the little baby laying there. The practice I got as a sibling caregiver taking care of my two younger siblings may also be of relevance. How about when I at the age of six to eight years, in the mid 70's went to the Laboratory School of Chicago in the United States, getting my first practical experiences of moving from one local context of childhood to another? And how about the ideological influences from my mother's studies of Tomas Gordon's Parent Effectiveness Training¹ during the same period? What influence did it have that I went to Paris to work as an au pair, experiencing the differences between Swedish and French caregiving ideology and practice? And how about my university studies in psychology at the University of Gothenburg in 1990- 1995, where I got acquainted with various theories, scientific understandings and intellectual ideology related to childhood, taught at that time? My first job as a psychologist in a suburb of Stockholm, involved guidance to parents regarding the care of children 0-6 years, and certainly challenged my understandings of early childhood relationships in theory and practice. Perhaps even more influential was my practical experiences of being a mother to three children and being involved in their childhoods in the different contexts of Sweden, Cambodia and Tanzania where we have been living as a family.

However, where it all started is not the point, instead it is the fact that the conditions of children's relationships around the globe are socially constructed and grounded in local practice and ideology. As I approached the contexts in which children live their lives in Tanzania, I brought with me my own history. Having left Tanzania, after living there for four years, I bring with me experiences which have changed my understandings of the conditions of both local and global childhoods, shedding a somewhat different light on my previous experiences as well as the ones to come.

¹ Dr. Thomas Gordon was a student and colleague of Carl Roger and introduced one of the first structured parenting program. With the concept of active listening Gordon argued for the importance of parents communication skills for the development of healthy family relationships.

It has been an exciting journey and I am indebted to many people with whom I have interacted along the way. First, I would like to thank the children and the families in Tanzania who so generously have let me and my research team into their homes. This study would certainly not have been possible without your hospitality. Ninashkuru! Secondly I would like to thank my two supervisors Professor Rolf Holmqvist and Birgitta Rubenson. Thank you Rolf, for being there so faithfully, keeping me on track and never losing hope! Thank you Birgitta, for believing in me, inspiring me and guiding me into the international world of childhood studies!

I want to thank the people who worked with and supported me in Tanzania. Thank you Professor Akunda Mbise, my local supervisor at the University of Dar es Salaam and expert in Early Childhood Development in Tanzania, for generously sharing your knowledge about Tanzanian childhoods. A Sante Sana! Thank you, Foridas Bakuza at the Tanzania Early Childhood Network (TECDEN) and Severine Kessy at the University of Dar es Salaam. Of tremendous value has been the support from my research assistant, driver and translator Emmanuel Mambarera. Your guidance has been invaluable Emmanuel! I also want to thank Deborah Crowe, country director at Save the Children UK for encouraging me to go to Lindi and for inspiring discussions related to research and children in Tanzania. I also highly valued sharing experiences of doing research in Tanzania with Abela Mpobela and Linda Helgesson.

Since the beginning of this project, the Division of Clinical and Social Psychology at the Department of Behavioural Sciences and Learning has been my base. Thanks to all of you there, who have been parts of my PhD journey. Despite my long periods of absence, I have always felt welcome and I would in particular like to thank Lars Back, Erika Viklund, Karin Zetterqvist, Börje Lech, Chato Rasoual, Anna Malmqvist and Clara Möller for interesting discussions and encouragement. Once back in Stockholm after four years in Tanzania, I was generously welcomed to the Department of Children and Youth Studies (BUV) which has become my second base. Thank you, Professor Karin Aronsson for letting me in. Thank you also for opening the door to language socialization research at my 50 per cent seminar and for your theoretically fine-tuned comments at my 90 per cent seminar. Thank you, Camilla Rindstedt for providing your expertise in Language Socialization and video analysis at a time when I needed it the most and for the inspiring discussions that have followed. Thank you, Anna Franzén for thoughtful readings at the final stages of this thesis and for sharing the struggles of academic positioning. And thanks, to all associates at BUV for inspiring discussions in seminars, the lunchroom and the corridors.

What would I have been without my family? Thank you, Mamma and Pappa for all your support and for trusting my capacity ever since my early childhood years. Thanks Pontus for your brotherly guidance and Emma for sisterly encouragement and inspiration.

Anders, I am grateful for sharing the give and take of everyday life with you! Thank you for carrying some of my luggage and supporting me over the uphill slopes during this PhD journey. I will always be grateful for your love.

Dear Valle, Vera and Konrad, thank you for being part of my life and for reminding me about that it is all the small events that make up everyday life, which really count. I dedicate this book to you.

CONTENTS

Preface	3
CAREGIVING DILEMMAS.....	9
INTRODUCTION.....	10
Guidance and Control.....	11
Rights and Responsibilities	13
Caregiving Responsibilities in Sub Saharan Africa	14
Sibling Caregivers	15
Corporal Punishment and Abuse.....	16
Tradition and Modernity	18
AIM	19
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	20
Ideology and Local Theories of Meaning	20
Ideological Dilemmas	21
Caregiving Dilemmas.....	22
The Practice of Caregiving.....	25
Mutual Structuring and Bridging of Meaning.....	27
Language Socialization	27
Studies of Hierarchy in Situated Learning and Socialization	29
METHOD	32
Research Team	32
Data Collection.....	33
Focus Group Discussions	33
Video Recording Family Interaction.....	34
Ethical and Methodological Considerations	34
Ethical and Methodological Considerations in Focus Group Research.....	35
Ethical and Methodological Considerations in Video Research in the Home	37
Analysis of Focus Group Data	40
Analysis of Video-Recorded Data.....	42
Generalization and the Question of Context	44
Focus Group Participants	51
The Families.....	52
SUMMARY OF STUDIES.....	55
Part 1	55
Study I: ‘In Earlier Days Everyone Could Discipline the Children, Now They Have Rights’	55
Study II: The Care of Corporal Punishment.....	56
Part 2	58
Study III: Being and Becoming a Responsible Caregiver.....	58
Study IV: Sibling Negotiations and the Construction of Literacy Events	59
DISCUSSION	64
Symmetries and Asymmetries of Power	64
Caregiving Dilemmas.....	65
Child Rights and the Academic Discipline of Childhood Studies	68
REFERENCES:.....	71

THE STUDIES

STUDY I

'In Earlier Days Everyone Could Discipline Children, Now They Have Rights': Notions of Responsibility in Focus Group Discussions about Care Giving in Urban Tanzania

STUDY II

The Care of Corporal Punishment: Conceptions of Early Childhood Discipline Strategies among Parents and Grandparents in a Poor and Urban Area of Tanzania

STUDY III

Being and Becoming a Responsible Caregiver: Negotiating Guidance and Control in Family Interaction in Tanzania

STUDY IV

Sibling Negotiations and the Construction of Literacy Events in an Urban Area of Tanzania

CAREGIVING DILEMMAS

INTRODUCTION

I moved to Tanzania in 2006 with an interest in researching young children's relationships in terms of social interaction and caregivers' ideologies on how to raise children. This topic has been of interest within the field of anthropology and comparative psychology, represented by scholars such as Mead (1928), Ainsworth (1967), Whiting and Whiting (1975), Harkness and Super (1977, 1983, 1996), LeVine et al. (1994) Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) and Rogoff (2003) (see also LeVine 2007 and Montgomery 2009). The focus of attention has been influenced by time bound theoretical understandings of human development and childhood such as psychoanalysis, attachment theory, social-cultural theory and socio-linguistics (LeVine 2007). Since the 1970s a more child-centred perspective of child research has gained ground, partly as an effect of sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists conceptualizing childhood politically (Montgomery 2009). This corresponds to the political work of lobbying for child rights, based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). It is today widely recognized that '...childhood must be understood as a culturally constructed, social phenomenon which changes over time and place...' (Montgomery 2009: 43). Such changes are related to multiple factors involving political, economic, socio-demographic and psycho-social factors.

At the beginning of this research project, I was invited by UNICEF Tanzania to participate in a workshop on the development of the National Strategy for Early Childhood Development (NSECD). Participants in the workshop were representatives of the government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Tanzania Early Childhood Network, some organizations representing 'best practice', such as the Zanzibar Madrassa School, the Monduli Pastoralist Development Initiative and various stakeholders working for the wellbeing of young children. During the workshop many participants advocated for a holistic approach to early childhood education and care, in line with the CRC. The existence of this workshop illustrates how there is currently a call for change for children, partly inspired by the CRC. The Tanzanian government and the United Nations, as well as NGOs and other international and bilateral organizations working in Tanzania, use the CRC to argue for the importance of improving the situation for children². The CRC and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (here called the African Charter) (Organization of African Unity 1990) are binding legal instruments, identifying the child as vested with certain rights. Being a regional document, the African Charter is intended to place the child rights discourse within the African context (Chirwa

² One example is the development of a Children's Rights curriculum for professionals (MS Training Centre for Development 2009) suggesting that professional early childhood personnel are important actors for the realization of children's rights in early childhood.

2002). Having ratified the CRC and the African Charter, the Tanzanian government has agreed to work towards the implementation of child rights. The new Children's Act in Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania 2009)³ is in this context a landmark, and an example of how these instruments have contributed to the legal strengthening of child rights in Tanzania. However, the realization of child rights needs to be understood as a 'work-in-progress' (Twum-Danso 2008). Dialogue is required with local communities, caregivers and professionals regarding the interpretation and implementation of child rights in order for the ideas to be integrated and adapted to local theories and ideologies related to children (Twum-Danso 2008). Such dialogues may be informed by research on local theories, ideologies and practices related to children's and families' lives.

The CRC states that the child is a rights bearer, vested with inalienable rights as an autonomous person. The state has the responsibility to respect, protect and fulfil the rights of the child (Art. 2 CRC). It is however the caregivers who have the primary responsibility for providing the child with a loving and caring environment in order for the child to grow and mature. 'Guidance and direction is further to be provided in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child' (Art. 5 CRC)⁴. The CRC and the African Charter may be understood in terms of child rights discourses. A discourse is in this context understood in terms of how the language of child rights is used and how it is given meaning (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates 2001). Article 2 and 5 illustrates how the ideology of the CRC includes both individualistic aspects in terms of children as rights holders and relational aspects in terms of the role of the family and local community to provide guidance and direction.

GUIDANCE AND CONTROL

The interpretation of the CRC in early childhood has been a subject of debate and in order to clarify how to interpret the convention, the Committee on the Rights of the Child has adopted the General Comment (GC) no. 7 on early childhood development (UNHCHR 2005). As I studied the comment, interacted with professionals working to improve the lives of children in Tanzania and gradually became acquainted with Tanzanian society I kept coming back to the formulation:

³ Approved by parliament and assented by the President of Tanzania, Hon. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, on 20 November 2009 (United Republic of Tanzania 2009).

⁴ *'States Parties shall respect the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents or, where applicable, the members of the extended family or community as provided for by local custom, legal guardians or other persons legally responsible for the child, to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate direction and guidance in the exercise by the child of the rights recognized in the present Convention.* (Art. 5 CRC)

Parents (and others) should be encouraged to offer 'direction and guidance' in a child-centred way, through dialogue and example, in ways that enhance young children's capacities to exercise their rights... (UNHCHR 2005: IV 17).

The question is: How can 'guidance and direction' and 'child-centred way' be interpreted and made meaningful in the context of Tanzania? To what extent is it possible to translate the discourse of guidance and direction to the local realities of young children and their caregivers in Tanzania? And to what extent is it in line with local ideologies of caregiving⁵ and child-adult relationships?

Guidance and direction of young children are part of the socialization practices of their caregivers in day-to-day interaction. The concept of socialization involves processes leading to the development of 'ways of being in the world' (Kulick and Schieffelin 2004), where the individual acquires knowledge and understanding of how to behave and act in socially acceptable ways. Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) provide the following definition:

Socialization, broadly defined, is the process through which a child or other novice acquires the knowledge, orientations, and practices that enable him or her to participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community (p. 339).

Children, as novices, learn how to act in socially acceptable ways by participating in community activities (Lave and Wenger 1991, Rogoff 2003). This takes place through the interplay between the children's and caregivers' actions in relation to local orders of everyday interactions. Such interactions are profoundly related to culturally specific notions of what it means to be a child and how to become a competent community member (Duranti, Ochs and Schieffelin 2012). Socialization thus involves childrearing ideologies related to local constructions of childhood; situated historically, socially and economically.

Guidance and direction relates closely to questions of autonomy and interdependence as well as adult-child cooperation and control and who has authority over whom (Rogoff 2003).

It is worth noting in this context that neither the CRC, nor the GC no. 7 mention the issue of discipline and control when describing caregiving responsibilities. This can be compared with the wording used in the African Charter, where the issue of domestic discipline and correction of a child is explicitly mentioned:

⁵ Throughout this thesis I will be using the concepts of caregiving and caregiver. With caregiving I refer to activities of care, guidance, instruction, control and discipline. With caregiver I refer to mothers, fathers, grandparents, siblings and other members of the extended family who position themselves as taking some kind of caregiving responsibility.

Parental responsibilities'...to ensure that domestic discipline is administered with humanity and in a manner consistent with the inherent dignity of the child (Organization of African Unity 1990: Art. 20).

The fact that discipline and correction are mentioned in the African Charter but not in the CRC or GC no. 7 illustrates a difference in the emphasis of guidance or control in these documents.

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The CRC has been criticized for representing a moralist discourse about childhood based on a European philosophical tradition of humanism and on Western liberal ideology. As such, it highlights the autonomous individual while disregarding the interdependence of human beings as well as local conditions and customs (Cockburn 2005, Kjørholt 2004, Mayall 2000, Nsameng 2008, Rubenson 2005, Twun Danso 2009). Studying obstacles to the realization of the CRC in Ghana, Twun Danso (2009) has described how adult-child relationships in Ghana are based on 'the three Rs'; *respect* for the elders, *responsibility* to participate in household work and *reciprocity* between children and adults. The three Rs are important cultural values guiding the dynamics of parent-child relationships in Ghana. The official discourse on child participation and the child's responsibilities outlined in the African Charter (Organization of African Unity 1990)⁶ corresponds to 'the three Rs' as it states that children are expected to contribute to the family household by assisting their parents. The African Charter further specifies the authoritarian hierarchy of respecting parents and elders:

The responsibility of the child is: 'to work for the cohesion of the family, to respect his parents, superiors and elders at all times and to assist them in case of need' (Art. 31:a).

This example further illustrates a difference between the CRC and the African Charter. While both the CRC and the African Charter emphasize the state's responsibilities to respect, protect and fulfil the rights of the child, the African Charter places more emphasis on the responsibility of both parent and child.

Socialization involves processes of learning regarding what it means to be a morally responsible member of the family and society. Children are not born responsible; on the contrary responsibility is a capacity which develops gradually as a result of children's everyday experiences. A prerequisite for responsibility, according to Ochs and Izquierdo (2009), is social awareness, social responsiveness and self-reliance. That is, in order for an individual to find meaning in acting responsibly he or she needs to be able to take the perspective of the other. The development of morality has further been located in embodied activities and it has been

⁶ Adopted in 1990 and entered into force 29 November 1999.

suggested that children's routine work at home enables the development of both social and moral responsibility (Ochs and Izquierdo 2009, Rydström 2003).

CAREGIVING RESPONSIBILITIES IN SUB SAHARAN AFRICA

Childrearing practices in East Africa have been described as governed by powerful family and community structures involving the extended family. Caregiving functions in these contexts are often shared between the mother and others; including the father, kin, friends, neighbours and older siblings. Such family and community structures have been well documented in East Africa by anthropologists and socio-culturally oriented psychologists (Rogoff 2003, see also for example Hollos 2002, Le Vine et al. 1994, Super and Harness 1997, and Whiting and Edwards 1988). LeVine et al. (1994) stress the wide variety of patterns of child care in the vast continent of Africa. Such variations are related to a number of socio-demographic factors. One factor is the proximity of kin, extended family and neighbours in living arrangements where some people live in close proximity, sharing facilities with other households, while others live with separate facilities and distant from each other. Such differences have direct effects on the possibilities of sharing caregiving responsibilities and the conditions for children's participation in everyday activities.

In Tanzania 24.6 per cent of fathers are deceased or absent from the lives of children, leaving mothers and extended families with the whole responsibility for the children (Richter and Morrell 2008). There are further reports of high frequencies of divorce in many regions of Tanzania as well as in Kenya, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, with 15–18 per cent of couples divorcing within four years after their first marriage (Therborn 2006). It has been found in a sample from South Africa that the poorer a household, the greater the likelihood that there will be no father (Richter and Morrell 2008). The tradition of polygamy is also a factor which affects caregiving responsibilities for children (LeVine 1994). In addition, the differences between patrilineal family systems, where children live with the father's kin as opposed to matrilineal systems, where there is a choice of living with either the mother's or the father's kin, has an impact on caregiving responsibilities (LeVine 1994). Finally, 'the practice of kinship fostering in which children are sent to live with their parents' kin, often at a distance for a long period of time' (LeVine 1994: 35) also has an impact on the responsibility for children and how the daily care is organized. Nevertheless, two factors stand out in African patterns of child care; the workload of mothers and the availability of other women and children to assist and share caregiving responsibilities with the mother (LeVine et al. 1994).

SIBLING CAREGIVERS

The widespread importance of siblings' caregiving responsibilities has been documented in a number of societies around the world (see, for example, LeVine 1994, de Léon 1998, Mead 1928, Ochs 1988, Rindstedt 2001, Weisner and Gallimore 1977, Whiting and Edwards 1988, Whiting and Whiting, 1975). In such communities the care of infants and toddlers is often carried out by children aged five to ten years (Rogoff 2003). The reasons behind such responsibilities have been described in terms of alleviating the mother's burdens, socializing children (primarily girls) into their future role as parents, and as a fall back alternative in the case of death of adult caregivers. It has also been argued that sibling socialization may be a way of reinforcing social hierarchies and positioning children as socially inferior (Montgomery 2009, Ochs 1988). In addition, children play an important role in the process of child development in the African context (Nsamenang 2008). In Kenya, for example, Mweru (2005) studied the importance of older siblings as cultural transmitters to younger siblings and noted that older siblings educate younger children. As children grow, their teaching skills advance and older children are better teachers than younger ones. Mweru further found that sibling interaction also included negative actions towards the younger siblings. Younger children expressed more negative actions in their teaching than older siblings.

Most children in Tanzania participate in household chores. One study showed that 90 per cent of girls and 82 per cent of boys were involved in household maintenance, management and shopping, as well as the care of household members (REPOA, NBS and UNICEF 2009). Children's participation in household work is considered by adults in these communities to be part of normal socialization as well as a contribution to the household economy (REPOA, NBS and UNICEF 2009).

From the perspective of socialization, sibling caregiving responsibilities provide situated contexts for gender socialization, and in most parts of the world this responsibility is primarily taken by girls (Montgomery 2009). Drawing on observational data from northern Tanzania, Hollos (2002) claims that there is little division of labour in terms of gender at a young age. By the age of eight or nine, however, gender divisions are observable with girls being recruited for washing clothes, cooking and taking responsibilities for younger siblings while boys are given responsibilities for heavier duties such as fetching water. Hollos (2002) further observed that the workload for girls increased while for boys it had decreased by the age of adolescence. However, both boys and girls continued to have work responsibilities, and by the age of twelve to fourteen they were considered 'equal to adults in power and skill in most work' (p. 176). In terms of caregiving responsibilities both adolescent boys and girls were involved with younger children. For example,

girls may have cooking, feeding and cleaning responsibilities for their younger siblings, while boys may organize the smaller children's work (Hollos 2002).

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AND ABUSE

In recent years, the issue of violence as well as corporal punishment as a method for guidance and control of children has come up on the international agenda. The World Study on Violence (Pinheiro 2006) which included a child participatory approach to the study of violence showed that the use of corporal punishment of children is widespread in many parts of the world⁷. As a follow up of that study, a national survey on violence against children in Tanzania was undertaken in 2009. A household survey included interviewing children and young adults aged 13–24 years, with a specific focus on sexual abuse, physical abuse and emotional abuse having taken place before the age of 18 (UNICEF 2011). The findings confirm that violence against children is a serious problem in Tanzania. Among both females and males nearly three-quarters had experienced physical violence and approximately one-quarter had experienced emotional violence by an adult. The perpetrators of violence against children were in most cases mothers, fathers, other family members and teachers. The survey also illustrates the acceptance of domestic abuse in Tanzania, as three in five females and one in two males aged between 13 and 24 years regard it as 'appropriate for a husband to beat his wife under certain circumstances if she either; goes out without telling him, neglects the children, argues with him, refuses to have sex with him, or burns the food' (p. 4). The levels of violence against children below the age of 13 years have not been investigated. There is also a lack of national data explicitly addressing the acceptance and use of corporal punishment as a discipline strategy in childrearing. However, international and regional studies indicate that younger children are also subject to violence and that corporal punishment is widely accepted (Pinheiro 2006).

Korbin (1981) has differentiated between three types of practices relating to discipline and abuse of children:

- 1) Discipline and abuse which is approved and deemed necessary by the community
- 2) 'Maltreatment of children carried out against cultural norms'
- 3) 'Social or structural abuse, where children as a group are targeted or when they suffer distinctive consequences as a result of poverty, ill-health, or social neglect.' (p. 174)

⁷ A study from Kenya examining the childhood experiences of young women revealed that 99 per cent had been subject to violence as children. In Uganda the figure was 94 per cent (Stavropoulos 2006). Another study carried out in Uganda in 2005 showed that almost all children (98.3 per cent) experienced violence at home or in school (Naker 2005)

In line with Korbin's distinction, Montgomery (2009) has pointed out that the use of disciplinary methods such as corporal punishment reflects different views of children. The function of physical punishment as part of socialization has been related to various local theories and ideologies of socialization, such as to teach children respect or knowledge about social hierarchies and their subordinate place in the social order, to teach children self-control and the ability to bear pain, and to show children that life can be harsh (Montgomery 2009). Definitions of corporal punishment, abuse and violence can be seen as locally constructed and, as such, they relate to the local ideology of child care. A study among the Masaai in Kenya, for example, found that caregivers and teachers generally regard inflicting pain as the most effective discipline strategy and necessary in order to raise children properly. The reasons for the use of corporal punishment are that it plays a fundamental role in learning, that there is a symbolic connection between pain and adulthood, and that it embodies the hierarchical relationship between the adult and the child (Archambault 2009).

Montgomery (2009) has pointed out that scholars in anthropology have had a tendency to judge the use of discipline and punishment in the light of their own culture. As a result, physical discipline has generally been regarded as a normal and necessary part of child rearing.

Montgomery (2009) highlights how the CRC and child rights discourses have had an important impact on the local theories and ideology of punishment of children which means that analysing 'child punishment and discipline in a contemporary context means doing so through this lens of children's rights and modern understanding of child abuse' (p. 159).

The preparation of the Child Act, with regard to corporal punishment, was a field of debate in Tanzania. NGOs and international organizations argued for a total ban on physical punishment. The final version of the Child Act prohibits 'torture or other cruel, inhuman punishment or degrading treatment including any cultural practice that dehumanizes or is injurious to the physical and mental well-being of a child' (United Republic of Tanzania 2009, section 13) and regulates the manner of administering discipline on children. It further states that

No correction of a child is justifiable which is unreasonable in kind or in degree according to the age, physical and mental condition of the child and no correction is justifiable if the child is by reason of tender age or otherwise incapable of understanding the purpose of the correction (section 13:2).

Consequently, current Tanzanian law does not explicitly prohibit corporal punishment as a means of discipline and leaves the final interpretation of corporal punishment to the courts.

As a result of the international focus on physical violence against children, NGOs are now planning the implementation of programmes on both the national and the community level in Tanzania, aiming at decreasing the level of violence against children. Such interventions include the aim to ‘shift opinion towards new beliefs that can reduce violence in families with young children’ (Bernard van Leer Foundation 2011:6).

TRADITION AND MODERNITY

The comparison between the CRC and the African Charter illustrated a potential tension between individual rights and the stability of the social order in relation to caregiving responsibilities in the form of guidance and control. Ochs and Schieffelin caution against a generalized polarization of such positions, when comparing different societies.

As emphasized by Mead, predictability and plasticity coexist as polar societal necessities, thereby provoking an inherent tension in socialization encounters. It is tempting to stereotype ‘traditional’ communities as pulling novices in the direction of continuity, while postindustrial societies are pushing novices to break glass ceilings. Yet, these trajectories are desired endpoints in all communities, given that novelty and creativity are part of the human condition (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012: 4-5).

The reasoning here challenges stereotypical polarizations of the concepts of predictability and plasticity, traditional communities and post-industrial societies, as well as continuity versus the idea of ‘breaking glass ceilings’. Rather than stressing the polarities of socialization the focus should be on the ‘inherent tension’, between polarities, in order to explore how such processes are negotiated in different contexts.

In countries in sub Saharan Africa, such as Tanzania, the care of young children has often been described as the responsibility of the extended family. However, today, Tanzania is undergoing rapid social change related to urbanization, economic growth and globalization which threatens to undermine traditional childrearing practices and the ability of families to support their children (Evans, Matola and Nyeko 2008, see also Aitken, Lund and Kjørholt 2008). The workshop organized by UNICEF, as well as the initiative to change the beliefs related to violence against children described above, illustrates how international organizations contribute to changing the conditions of childhood in countries in the *majority world*⁸, such as Tanzania, which are dependent on donor support. Along with such initiatives comes the production of international discourses

⁸ The concept of the *majority world* refers to the world’s poorer countries, which represent 83 per cent of the world’s population. In contrast, the richer *minority world* represents 17 per cent of the world’s population while having access to the vast majority of the world’s economic resources (Aldersen and Morrow 2011).

of child rights which are normative and ideologically coloured. In practice such ideologies may be in contradiction to traditional and hegemonic ideologies of childcare, grounded in local practices, religion and history. The overarching question is, however, what happens when contradicting ideologies meet in everyday practice?

AIM

The overall aim of this study is to explore care for children with a focus on guidance and control in day-to-day family life in Tanzania. More specifically, the aim is to investigate how the conditions for children's participation are shaped within local ideology and situated practice. The four papers address practices of caring for children in Tanzania from four different perspectives; the consequences of changing social organization on caregiving responsibilities (Study I), corporal punishment as discipline strategy (Study II), the socialization of sibling caregivers into the positions of caregivers to younger children (Study III), and siblings' roles in literacy socialization (Study IV). The thesis is theoretically and methodologically divided into two parts. The first part explores local theories and ideologies based on data from focus group discussions (Studies I and II) and the second part explores social interaction in day-to-day family interaction based on video-recorded data (Studies III and IV).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This thesis has as its focus caregiving in Tanzania, both in terms of ideology and practice. The theoretical inspiration is a combination of socio-cultural theory, language socialization theory and discursive psychology. These perspectives are used to explore, on the one hand, caregiving in situated practice and, on the other hand, local theories and ideologies. Underlying the combination of theories is the presumption that caregiving practices take place in historically situated interactions by members' participation in local communities and may be studied with a focus on discourse and meaning making. In the following, local theories and ideologies of caregiving will be discussed, followed by caregiving practices in terms of participation in social interaction.

IDEOLOGY AND LOCAL THEORIES OF MEANING

Quinn (2005) describes a general turn that took place in the middle of the twentieth century within cultural anthropology and comparative psychology, towards studying local theories of meaning. Such folk-theories deal with caregivers' own views of caregiving; including the ideas, thoughts, fantasies, goals and principles caregivers have regarding the situation of young children and how they should be taken care of. Local theories are 'historically situated and may change over time in response to shifting political and social climates, socioeconomic conditions and other factors' (Paugh 2012: 152).

The concept of local theories may be related to the concept of lived ideology as it has been conceptualized by Billig et al. (1988) within the tradition of discursive psychology. 'An ideology comprises the ways of thinking and behaving within a given society which make the ways of that society seem "natural" or unquestionable to its members' (Billig 1997: 217). As such, ideology relates to the social context of thinking and arguing and how it is constructed historically. Billig (1997) further argues that common sense thinking in itself is fundamentally dilemmatic.

It is the nature of common sense that it contains contrary themes- for example there are maxims praising both caution and risk-taking, or praising both firmness and mercy. If ideologies did not contain contrary themes they would not provide the resources for common sense thinking, for thinking involves dialogic discussion, or the counter position of contrary themes, which can both appear in their way to be reasonable. (p. 218)

Billig et al. (1988) oppose the idea of ideology as integrated systems of thinking as well as ideology being restricted to distinct and separate political or philosophical constructions. Instead they make a distinction between two different aspects of ideology; lived ideology and intellectual

ideology (Billig et al., 1988). Lived ideology is defined as society's ways of life, including 'what passes for common sense within a society' (p.27). For example, the practice of childrearing is imbued with ideology in the form of common-sense notions of values and suitable ways of living and behaving in a community. Such ideology relates to fundamental values of identity and social interaction and is central for the transmission of morality from one generation to the next. Intellectual ideology, on the other hand, represents 'a system of political, religious or philosophical thinking ... and [is] a product of intellectuals or professional thinkers' (Billig et al. 1988: 27). As systems of political and philosophical thinking, the CRC and the African Charter may also be interpreted as forms of intellectual ideology. Embodying international and regional human rights law respectively, they are both legally binding treaties and 'normative, political instruments aimed at changing attitudes and behaviours in society towards children' (Rubenson 2005: 7).

Lived and intellectual ideologies should not be viewed as separate systems of thinking, but should rather be understood in terms of communicating vessels where ingredients from either side may influence the other. Studies of caregivers' local theories of childrearing have illustrated how lived ideology influences caregivers' expectations of how their children should behave (Paugh 2012). The advantage of distinguishing between lived and theoretical ideology is that it makes it possible to understand how local theories may be influenced by theoretical ideology and to relate them to more fundamental ideological dichotomies and ideological dilemmas.

IDEOLOGICAL DILEMMAS

Ideology is often multi-layered, complex and contradictory, as it is situated historically and affected by social change and may therefore produce dilemmas for individuals related to their own local values, morals and beliefs and those of the surrounding society (Billig et al. 1988, Towns and Adams 2009). Such dilemmas may arise when different intellectual ideologies collide, if for example opposing values are at stake when specific political decisions are to be made. Ideological dilemmas may also arise for individuals who subscribe to a certain political or religious ideology and find that their lived ideology stands in contradiction to the dominant intellectual theory. Ideological dilemmas may further arise as a consequence of inconsistencies within a specific intellectual ideology. Finally, ideological dilemmas may arise within lived ideology for a single individual or a group in situations where socially shared images appear to conflict. In such situations, opposing values may create choices for individuals that are not always the best solution.

CAREGIVING DILEMMAS

The CRC and the African Charter may be seen as containing potential ideological dilemmas within the documents themselves, as well as in relation to lived ideology. For example, dilemmas may arise in how society members such as parents, children and professionals working with children interpret and use the child rights discourse and how well this fits or contradicts local understandings related to what it means to be a child. The legal restrictions of corporal punishment in the Tanzanian Children's Act, discussed previously, is an example of how opposing theoretical ideologies related to caregiving resulted in strong debates between different proponents during the drafting of the Act⁹. Furthermore, local ideologies of childcare may be in contradiction to national legal frameworks. For example, Mweru (2010) has shown that teachers in Kenya continued to use corporal punishment in schools ten years after a total ban on corporal punishment was introduced. The reason for this, as stated by teachers, was 'the belief that it was the most effective way to discipline children and that parents had authorized its use' (p.248). This illustrates a gap between intellectual ideology as represented by Kenyan law and international child rights discourse and lived ideology represented by caregivers' and the teachers' views on corporal punishment and violence against children.

Caregivers' responsibilities for guidance and control may further be related to the debate regarding an ethics of rights versus an *ethics of care* (Cockburn 2005). The concept ethics of care was introduced by feminist scholars with the aim of presenting an alternative feminist ethics. Feminist ethics criticize the idea of individual rights, advocated by Enlightenment theorists and characterizing contemporary liberal theory, as it assumes citizenship in terms of isolated individuals with fixed identities (Cockburn 2005). An ethics of rights further highlights individual rights, based on a universal moral of the 'generalized other', which disregards the particularities of lived experience (Halldén 2007). An ethics of care, on the other hand, emphasizes relationships and responsibility rather than individual rights. It is further grounded in practice as opposed to being abstract and formal. Finally an ethics of care is described as a moral activity as opposed to a set of principles (Cockburn 2005). Cockburn (2005) argues that the advantage of the concept of an ethics of care is that it underlines the responsibility for maintaining relationships, respects the individuality of human beings and provides the conditions for the child's active agency. It has further been argued that citizenship is related to the competency of building relationships to others, based on mutuality and trust rather than on individual rights (Kjørholt 2004). As a consequence, it is argued that since children's identities as well as the spaces in which they live

⁹ The Committee on the Rights of the Child lobbied for a total ban on corporal punishment. However, this was not incorporated in the final version of the Child Act.

their lives are relational constructions, the point of departure should be relational, rather than based on individual rights. The fact that the question of an ethics of rights versus an ethics of care has been theorized in terms of polarized concepts suggests that these two concepts are independent and possibly exist isolated from one another. However, Benhabib (1994) argues that it is necessary to listen to the specific conditions of individuals' lived experiences and that if we do we will find moral dilemmas between the ethics of rights and the ethics of care. These caregiving dilemmas must be recognized and managed rather than hidden behind a hegemonic discourse represented by the ethics of rights.

In broad terms caregiving dilemmas can be related to the dependency relationship between the individual and society. The fact that society is made up of individuals and that every single individual is dependent on the social involvement of caregivers for their survival and development illustrates that it is in fact impossible to choose between *either* individual aspects of the human condition *or* relational aspects. Billig et al.'s (1988) argument that everyday thinking is in itself dilemmatic offers a critical perspective on such either/or dichotomies. There is simply no way to determine which side of the dichotomy has precedence. Instead the question is how dilemmas related to the individual in relation to society are handled in practice. Such dilemmas may relate to a tension between guidance and control, rights and responsibilities, and individuality and relationality. Billig et al. (1988) stress that the existence of fundamentally opposing themes of everyday thinking is not meant to imply that such themes are equally balanced, rather it is likely that one theme may be more dominant than its opposite in particular discourses. The issue at stake in this context is how this relationship is interpreted ideologically and how it affects processes of guidance and control. In contexts where individuality in terms of 'pushing the glass ceiling' (Ochs and Scheiffelin 2012: 4-5) is emphasized ideologically, underlying aspects of dependency, continuity and reproduction may create tension or dilemmas in everyday practice. In 'traditional' communities characterized by an ideology related to continuity, underlying aspects of creativity and novelty may similarly be the cause of dilemmas, for instance, in relation to the themes of guidance and control. As illustrated by the comparison between the CRC and the African Charter previously, we may in some contexts find the agency of the child being advocated, while in other contexts the necessity of controlling the child may be in focus. However, in both cases the contradictory ideologies will be more or less visible and they will potentially affect everyday practice. Forsberg (2009), for example, has argued that child-centred parenthood, common in Sweden today, is related to caregiving dilemmas in terms of how much the parents should accommodate to the needs of the child and how much the child should adjust to the parents' resolutions. Ochs and Izquierdo (2009) report, from a study of socialization in

children's routine work at home in the US, what they call a dependency dilemma in the values and practices of fostering independence on one hand, and developing responsibility on the other. In her study of language socialization of Kaluli children in Papua New Guinea, Schieffelin describes how 'Kaluli are often caught in a dilemma: They want to do what is sociable or expected in relationships, and they want to have or do something for themselves.' (2005: 242). This illustrates how the assertion of autonomy and the expression of interdependence go hand in hand as 'dialogic forms' in everyday life and how it may create dilemmas for individual members of society. An example provided by Rogoff (2003) written by a PhD student of hers, may further illustrate the concept of caregiving dilemmas:

Even today I have to decide whether to do something the 'Mexican way' (as influenced by my family) or whether I should do it in the 'American way' (as influenced by my 'American' friends and by U.S. formal educational training). An example deals with child-rearing issues, such as whether our son should sleep in the same bed with us or in his own room. I compromised by having him sleep in the same room with us but in his bassinet from birth to 5 months and now he sleeps in his own room in a crib... Mom is totally against [having the baby sleep apart from us] and, like the Mayan parents, feels that it is inappropriate and neglectful. She tells me that the baby needs physical warmth from the parents to develop normally and that all 10 of her children slept in the bed with her and my father (not all at once of course) until about 2 or 3 years of age... I tell my mom that I am doing things the 'American way': I am not exactly sure what the 'Mexican American way' is, I just do what works for me. (Personal communication, October 1999). (p. 331)

The example illustrates how the writer of this personal communication is struggling with a childrearing dilemma related to her own socialization into the American culture and as a consequence also her son. Should she be American or Mexican? Should she take care of her son in the American way or the Mexican way? There is no clear choice. Instead she struggles to find a compromise, expressed by the way she organizes her son's sleeping habits as well as her creation of the 'Mexican American way'. The choice is not either/or, it is both. Childrearing dilemmas are not simply a question of choice; of choosing either/or, for, as Billig et al. (1988) underline, the underlying polarities are related to each other.

As the studies that compose this thesis will illustrate, such dilemmas may arise from contradictions between intellectual ideology and lived ideology, or from contradictions *within* either lived or intellectual ideology. Such dilemmas may be traced at both a group level or at an individual level.

How caregiving practices are described in intellectual and lived ideology is of course related to how they are organized in practice, as discussed earlier. However, there is no absolute relationship between what people say and what they do: ‘...much of the cultural knowledge that underlines everyday interaction is tacit, i.e., part of practical consciousness but not discursive consciousness... and hence not ordinarily reflected upon or spoken about’ (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002: 343). The second part of this thesis focuses on how caregiving practices are carried out in practice, i.e., how caregiving is done.

THE PRACTICE OF CAREGIVING

From the first day of life the infant is involved with caregivers and the surrounding environment, making social interaction a fundamental aspect of being human and becoming a competent member of the community. Psycho-socially oriented scholars studying individuals in cultural context have grappled with how to conceptualize the interface between the individual and the community. Garrett and López describe how the concept of community (as well as that of culture, language and society) has been problematic to define, deriving

...in part from on-going debates in anthropology, sociology, and related disciplines over certain antinomies – structure/agency, structure/history, subjectivity/objectivity, synchrony/diachrony – that prominent social theorists such as Bourdieu and Giddens have identified as the stumbling blocks of the social sciences and have sought to transcend. Partly in response to these theoretical developments...there has been increased attention to dialectical tensions between the individual and the group, and to the situated, dynamic nature of the relationship. There has likewise been greater acknowledgement of heterogeneity and increased attention to the multiple cross-cutting divisions and tensions (if not conflicts) that inhere in any group or community. (2002: 347).

The concept of ideological dilemmas discussed above exemplifies how the dialectical tension between polarized ideologies may be conceptualized and explored. Another example is Vygotskian sociocultural historical theory, which has inspired many scholars’ attempts at integrating individual development in social, cultural and historical contexts (Rogoff 2003). An influential model describing communities in terms of social and interactive engagement, introduced by Lave and Wenger, is that of ‘communities of practice’ (Lave and Wenger 1991, Wenger 1998). From this perspective, communities can be regarded as a loose set of practices, local theories, norms, ideologies and traditions, which are constantly being negotiated between the members of society. From this perspective, socialization is a constant process, which is active throughout life as opposed to taking place exclusively during childhood. This view opens up inductive explorations of how adults and children of various ages interact over the generations in

the creation of social relationships (Aronsson and Čekaite 2009, Ochs 1988). Such explorations require theory, which may take the differences between children and adults in terms of both biological development and cultural positioning into consideration, while simultaneously highlighting the developmental process involving both adults and children. This may be obtained by focusing on ‘participation’ in social interaction. The concept of participation was introduced by Lave (Lave 1988/1997), Lave and Wenger (1991) and Rogoff (2003). Lave and Wenger argue that learning is an intrinsic part of all human activity (1991) and potentially involved in all social interaction. Lave further argues that ‘...participation in everyday life may be thought of as a process of changing understanding in practice, that is, as learning’ (Lave 1993: 5-6). Participation is further based on situated negotiations and renegotiations of meaning between more or less experienced community members (Lave and Wenger 1991). Rogoff (2003) has further suggested a model of ‘guided participation’, explaining human development as ‘a process of changing participation in dynamic cultural communities’ (p.63). From this perspective, development takes place through participation in shared sociocultural activities. This means that ‘children play actively central roles, along with their elders and other companions, in learning and extending the ways of their communities’ (Rogoff 2003: 285). This perspective thus has the potential to bridge the dichotomy between agency and structure as well as between child and adult, and highlights the relational constructedness of social order. Instead of being regarded as fixed categories, children (as novices), adults (as more experienced) and communities are all regarded as being in a state of developmental change.

This perspective thus leads to an understanding of the child’s ‘evolving capacities’, as stated in the CRC, in terms of participation in communities of practice. This development through time and space takes place through the interactional display to a child of expected ways of thinking, feeling and acting by more experienced members. Such episodes are in themselves socio-cultural environments in which children, as active agents and through personal participation, gain performance competence (de Léon 2012). Guidance and control are part of situated caregiving practices, where caregivers and children participate in processes of changing participation in everyday life, with the potential of the gradual development of the child’s capacities to participate more independently within communities of practice.

MUTUAL STRUCTURING AND BRIDGING OF MEANING

A basic condition of human beings is that we are limited by our own perspective. It is simply not possible to step into another person's mind¹⁰. Instead we apply a wide range of communicative strategies in order to bridge different perspectives in interpersonal communication (Rogoff 2003). A prerequisite which follows from the concept of guided participation is that the individual has access to activities in which shared endeavours may take place. A key component of such shared endeavours is that of mutual involvement, requiring communication and coordination between participants (Rogoff 2003). In constructing situations of guided participation, participants draw on two basic processes of communication, which according to Rogoff (2003) appear to be universal. The first process involves the *mutual bridging of meaning* by using 'culturally available tools such as words and gestures and referencing each other's actions and reactions' (Rogoff 2003: 285). The second basic process of communication involved in guided participation is that of *mutual structuring*. Rogoff et al. (2006) have highlighted the importance of the structuring of children's involvement in community activities for child development, learning and socialization, and they describe how such organization 'ranges in grain size from the broad organization of their daily routines to the organization of specific activities and moment by moment interactions' (p. 493). Such activities may vary widely between different communities related, to factors such as the organization of caregiving responsibilities, access to formal schooling and informal learning as well as ideology related to what it means to be a child.

LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION

The basic processes of mutual structuring and bridging of meaning corresponds to the perspective of language socialization models. At the beginning of the 1980s Ochs and Schefflin made a considerable contribution to the study of socialization, as well as to the study of language and culture, by focusing on how children and novices are socialized to use language and socialized through the use of language (Ochs and Scheffelin 1984, 1986). Until then language had been more or less absent from in the anthropological literature on child socialization, while culture had been lacking in studies of language acquisition (Kulick and Scheffelin 2004). As language is the 'primary symbolic medium through which cultural knowledge is communicated and instantiated, negotiated and contested, reproduced and transformed', socialization should be studied with a focus on language (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002: 339). The concept of language is in this context understood in its widest sense as including 'speech, writing, gesture,

¹⁰ Unless you are able to step into the head of John Malkovich (see the film *Being John Malkovich* (directed by Spike Jonze, 1999)).

images, music and other signs' (Ochs and Scheffelin 2012: 10)¹¹. With reference to both Duranti (1997) and Rogoff (1990), de Léon (1998) argues that it is necessary to expand the notion of language also to include non-verbal communication. As Duranti says, 'to make sense of what people do as members of particular groups – and *to be* members of such groups – means to understand not only what one person says to another, but how speaking and non-speaking participants coordinate their actions, including verbal acts, to constitute themselves and each other in particular spatio-temporally fluid but bounded units' (1997: 382).

This perspective is in line with the work of Goodwin and Goodwin (2006) who, building on the work of Goffman, have developed the concept of *participation* as an analytical tool. In this context, participation refers to the micro-analysis of interactive work of hearers and speakers in social interaction rather than to more general memberships in specific communities or activities. At this fine-grained micro level, processes of mutual structuring may be conceptualized in terms of encounters or so-called *situated activity systems*. A situated activity system is defined as the interactive performance 'of a single joint activity, a somewhat closed, self-compensating, self-determining circuit of independent actions' (Goffman 1961: 96). In such situations people interact face-to-face in the physical presence of one another (1961). The mutual structuring of such activities may be understood as *participant frameworks* (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004). The concept of participation, as it is used by Goodwin and Goodwin, builds on Goffman's concept of *footing* (2001[1981]), which describes speaker's 'and hearer's alignment, set, stance, posture or projected self in social interaction' (p. 95). Goffman's early theorizing¹² has been criticized for taking a somewhat structuralist perspective, describing speaker and hearer as static categories, inhabiting separate worlds marked by asymmetries, and omitting non-verbal communication (Aronsson 1998, Goodwin and Goodwin 2004). The advantage of the analytical concept of participation is that it highlights the reflexive relationship between talk and the participation frameworks within which talk is situated (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004: 230), as well as how the active agency of embodied actors is organized during the course of action. Central to the work of Goodwin and Goodwin is the influence of conversation analysis (CA). A basic assumption in CA is that interpersonal interaction is fundamentally organized by individuals' efforts to make their experiences meaningful and understandable. Social interaction thus requires that individual participants show each other how they understand what is going on. Through the detailed

¹¹ This is also in line with a Vygotskian perspective that understands language as a tool for learning (Vygotsky 1978).

¹² Aronsson argues that, in his later works in the 1980s, Goffman 'moved away from traditional role theory concepts into a type of theorizing that is closer to conversation analysis and to the postmodern theorizing of discursive psychology in that he located power and control on a more local level and in relation to the unfolding of interaction' (Aronsson 1998).

scrutiny of talk in interaction, CA has revealed a number of fundamental features in how human interaction is structured and organized in terms of turn-taking. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) made observations illustrating the orderliness of ordinary talk, how people take turns and how in most cases, they talk one at a time. CA also describes how turns are allocated, how sequences are organized and how repairs are performed (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1997, Schegloff 1992, Schegloff 2007). Participant frameworks, in this context, are to be understood as constructed through the actors' embodied display of mutual orientation during temporally unfolding action. In this way actors together build the events that constitute their life worlds using both verbal and non-verbal resources (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004).

STUDIES OF HIERARCHY IN SITUATED LEARNING AND SOCIALIZATION

Studies of language socialization provide rich documentation for how socialization is a process of situated learning (Duranti, Ochs and Schieffelin 2012). Routine activities taking place in the home such as mealtimes, household work and play provide rich opportunities for such learning. The social interactions that unfold in everyday interactions are related to socio-historical developments involving sets of practices which are shaped by political, social and economic forces (Aronsson 2012, Baquedano-López 2000). Such practices are guided by values, norms and ideology which are hierarchically ordered.

Rogoff (2003) describes two contrasting patterns of organizing children's participation in terms of whether relationships are hierarchically organized or horizontally organized. In hierarchical relations one person attempts to control what the other person does. In contrast, in horizontal relationships there is mutual responsibility and respect for individual autonomy. While stressing the view of the child as an active agent in the process of socialization, and the existence of more or less hierarchical or symmetrical relationships, it is also important to acknowledge the asymmetries of power underlying all socializing relationships which involve expert-novice relationships, as a consequence of experience-based knowledge (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012)¹³. Howard (2012) goes even further and argues that hierarchies are present in all social relationships. A 'certain consensus on values, a certain hierarchy of ideas, things and people, is indispensable to social life' (2012: 341). This implies that as soon as values are adopted, hierarchy in social relationships is introduced. Children's social interaction thus involves socialization into hierarchical social relationships. Howard further argues that 'the practices of hierarchy are central to the production and/or contestation of social inequity in social fields and institutions such as

¹³ Foucault illustrated with the example of the Panopticon (Bentham 1791, Foucault 1979), how knowledge gives access to power as well as how power gives the access to knowledge.

peer groups, families, schools, workplaces, professions, and even nations and societies' (2012: 341).

Explorations of how processes of socialization unfold in everyday life have illustrated how acts of control are important features in the interactional negotiations of family life (Goodwin 2006b). Caregivers use different forms of directives to influence children to act in desirable manners. Directives have been defined as including 'offers, requests, orders, prohibitions and other verbal moves that solicit goods or attempt to effect change in the activities of others' (Ervin-Tripp et al. 1984: 118). It has also been illustrated how children may be socialized into hierarchical social relationships by discourses about language use with caregivers providing accounts for the display of respect. Such hierarchical relationships are often connected to categories of social differentiation such as gender and age/generation (Howard 2012). In addition, embodied interaction containing facial expressions, stance, affective alignment and other forms of non-verbal communication is equally important for the interpersonal organization of family life (Goodwin 2006b). Parents may further use different forms of mitigation 'including tone of voice, affective nicknames, pronoun choice, laughter, as well as non-vocal interactions such as kissing or massaging a child's shoulder' in order to soften degrees of coerciveness (Goodwin 2006b: 517). Čekaite (2010) has also described how parents apply a technique of shepherding the child by tactile steering of the child's body in order to make them follow a particular request or order.

How children become agents of their own socialization, without direct adult involvement, has also been studied as situated practice, with a focus on children's talk in interaction, illustrating the construction of hierarchies in social and moral order (De León 2007, Evaldsson 2007, Goodwin 2006, Goodwin and Kyratzis 2007). For example, it has been shown how children co-construct age and gender hierarchies, how they exclude or include others in pretend play, and how they use subversive forms of address and personal descriptions (Goodwin and Kyratzis 2007).

One of the papers in this thesis focuses on children being involved in literacy events (Heath 1982, 1983) that take place in day-to-day interaction in the home or neighbourhood. In such situations older siblings interacted with younger children, focusing together on writing or reading materials such as a notebook from school. These situations appeared spontaneously during trajectories of interaction including play, household work and moral teachings. Literacy socialization is in this context understood in terms of ideologically shaped interactions (Street 2001). Learning how to read and write is part of a wider process of becoming a member of a community that also includes other forms of socialization, such as learning how to take proper

care of oneself, how to behave in a socially acceptable way and how to take social responsibility (Ochs and Izquierdo 2009).

As noted above, the types of activities and routines children have access to vary across different contexts; between urban and rural settings, 'hi-tech' and less developed communities. How such social interactions are structured is related to local theories and ideology on childrearing and what it means to be a child (Paugh 2012: 151). In their 'three developmental stories', Ochs and Scheffelin (1984) compared the developmental trajectories of children growing up in the Samoan islands, Kaluli and North America. They describe varying communicative orientations towards the child, ranging from child centred to situation centred. In the more child-centred orientations, exemplified by the contemporary North American context, caregivers tend to adapt the surroundings to the child as opposed to more situation-centred orientations exemplified by the Samoan and Kaluli contexts, where the child is expected to accommodate to the surroundings. While scholars work to identify the regularities and cultural differences in socialization practices, they also recognize that social relationships are highly complex and dependent on the emergent particularities of moment-by-moment interaction (Howard 2012, Ochs 1988). For example, in her study of the Samoan society, Ochs showed how children experience great variability according to multiple hierarchies related to rank, gender and age (Howard 2012, Ochs1988).

METHOD

In order to explore guidance and control of young children in day-to-day family life in Tanzania, a qualitative study was undertaken. The study as a whole can be categorized as an inductive ethnography with a strong focus on grounding analysis in empirical data (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). The participants in this study have been studied in their natural settings with the aim of understanding meanings and actions as sociocultural constructions (Walsh 2004).

The data consist of approximately 30 hours of video-recorded interaction, participant observations and 25 individual interviews from twelve households. In addition, 33 focus group discussions were undertaken, as well as interviews with community leaders and administrators. The study involves two different locations, an urban area of Dar es Salaam and a rural area of south-eastern Tanzania. The findings in this thesis are primarily based on detailed analyses of the focus group data and the video-recorded data from the urban sample.

In the following section, the research team, sampling strategy, data collection and analyses are described, followed by a discussion on ethical and methodological considerations. Thereafter a description of the participants of the focus groups and the families is provided.

RESEARCH TEAM

The data were collected in collaboration with three Tanzanian research assistants and with support from a local supervisor based at the University of Dar es Salaam. During the whole process of the data collection, I collaborated with a male research assistant who gradually developed his researching skills from initially fulfilling the role of driver and translator, to facilitating focus group discussions together with me, video-recording social interaction, transcribing data and engaging in analysis. With his experience of growing up in a small town in Tanzania and living for a number of years in urban Dar es Salaam, he provided important insider knowledge, relevant in both urban and rural settings. As a result this research assistant functioned as primary gatekeeper (Walsh 2004) in the on-going negotiations of access to the field as well as an interpreter of the local context. In addition, an experienced male researcher from the University of Dar es Salaam together with a female research assistant participated in parts of the data collection. Together we conducted a pilot study which provided conditions for training the research team in the methods of data collection and to discuss ethical aspects of the data collection.

An initially important step in gaining access to the field was to learn Swahili in order to be able to bridge meanings between myself and the participants. This was a gradual on-going process, along

with a gradually increasing familiarity with the Tanzanian cultural context. All encounters, discussions and experiences form background knowledge which has been of importance for the undertaking of this study.

DATA COLLECTION

As one of the initial aims of this study was to capture processes of change related to urbanization, data were collected in two different locations; the urban district of Temeke and the rural district of Lindi, both located in the coastal region of Tanzania. As one of the poorest regions of Tanzania, Lindi represents an area with very limited economic opportunities, which means that people tend to move from the villages to urban areas such as Mtwara and Dar es Salaam in search for work. Dar es Salaam represents a typical urbanized melting pot attracting citizens from all over the country.

Tanzania has a well-developed organization of local government divided into districts, wards and *mtaas* (streets)/villages which was useful in the process of gaining access to the field and the participants. Negotiations for gaining entry took place with several layers of gatekeepers (Morrow 2009). After a general research permit was granted by the Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH)¹⁴ local research permits were granted by the regional commissioners in Dar es Salaam and Lindi. They provided information about areas in which data could be collected. Two different streets (*mtaas*) in the urban areas and two villages in the rural areas were selected for the data collection.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The aim of the first part of the study, presented in Studies I and II, was to explore caregivers' discourses regarding the situation of young children, how they should be cared for and caregivers' understandings of guidance and control of young children.

Through the assistance of the district council, the research team was put in contact with the local administrators of the village/street who were instructed to assist us. The administrators assisted in organizing focus group discussions regarding the situation and care of young children in the area. Convenience sampling was used. Participants living not too far away from the community office and who were available to spare one to two hours of their time participated in the discussions. Homogeneous focus groups were composed of mothers, fathers, grandmothers and grandfathers as well as older girls or women aged from 15 to 20. Discussions were undertaken separately with each group. The focus group discussions took place outside or in the community

¹⁴ A research permit for undertaking this research in Tanzania was granted by the Council of Science and Technology in Tanzania (COSTECH, no. 2007-375-NA-116). This permit was later extended for an additional year.

office. The discussions lasted for approximately one to one-and-a-half hours. These discussions focused on early childhood caregiving responsibility, ideals and realities of caregiving, guidance and control of children, and on how responsibilities are shared among caregivers. All focus groups were conducted in Kiswahili and recorded on a Mp3 player.

VIDEO RECORDING FAMILY INTERACTION

The second part of this project, presented in Studies III and IV, can be characterized as micro-ethnography (Ochs et al. 2006) and is based on video-recorded documentation of the moment-by-moment actualization of interaction in the homes of twelve children, their families and some neighbour children. With the assistance of the village and street administrators, three families in two different villages in Lindi and three families in two different wards in Temeke were selected for the collection of interview and video-recorded data. The families were selected from the group of participants who had participated in the focus group discussions. One child between the age of one and four was selected as the focal child in each household. The families were selected using purposeful sampling in order to get variation in terms of family composition and gender of the focal child. In both groups, children living with the mother and father were included, as well as children living with grandmother or mother together with grandmother or aunt. The sample included no child-headed households, nor those without women. None of the focal children were living with step parents.

A total of 25 individual interviews were undertaken in the twelve households, each concerning the caregivers' conceptions of the focal child, their role as caregivers and the sharing of caregiving responsibilities. The interviews were made in Kiswahili and recorded on an Mp3 player. Notes were also taken during the interviews. The individual interviews in this study have mainly been used to provide background information, and to validate findings from the focus groups and videos. No separate qualitative analysis was done on the interviews. In Lindi, a total of 15 hours and in Temeke a total of 18 hours of film was recorded. Filming took place on 51 occasions in total. The films vary in length from 15 to 60 minutes. All films were recorded during the day between 8.00 am and 4.00 pm. The films include episodes of ordinary everyday interaction such as mealtimes, household work, play and caregiving.

ETHICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This research project follows the ethical guidelines for social sciences developed by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet 2002). In order to respect participants' rights and to prevent harm, proper research ethics requires attention to how power asymmetries may be at stake in the communities where research is conducted. Such ethical considerations have attracted specific

attention when undertaking research in poor countries characterizing the majority world (Morrow 2009). Relational differences between the research team and the community participants as well as within the research team are at stake and may influence local negotiations of access to the field. Research involving children raise specific ethical considerations due to local constructions of childhood related to social and historical factors as well as children's dependency on adults (Alderson and Morrows 2011). In the following the ethical and methodological considerations related to data collection in the families will first be discussed followed by the focus group discussions.

ETHICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN FOCUS GROUP RESEARCH

The participants were initially informed about the project by the local administrator who 1-2 days in advance asked the caregivers who would be willing to participate to come to the local community office at the time for the discussion. All participants were informed about the aim of the research project, how the data would be handled and that the analysis would be presented in written reports and articles. The fact that participation was voluntary was stressed and an opportunity was provided before the discussions began for anyone who would not be willing to participate to leave. All participants signed an informed consent form as well as a sheet collecting background data regarding the household of the participants. Some participants did not know how to read and write. For this reason we read all information out loud and provided assistance in filling out the forms. Some participants provided their finger prints instead of written signatures.

The use of focus group discussions was chosen, as this has been suggested as an appropriate method for examining how knowledge and ideas operate within a given cultural context (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999). It is important to note, however, that local theories and ideologies of child rearing presented in focus groups do not always match the actual practice taking place in everyday interaction (Goodwin 2006a, Paugh 2012). In addition, focus group discussions, like interviews and conversations more generally, constitute a co-constructed and mutually shaped dialogue between active facilitators and participants (Matoesian and Coldren 2002), and as such they represent the production of co-constructed meaning. This means that there is no simple way to determine to what extent the statements produced in a focus group discussion correspond to the actual practice of family interaction.

Matoesian and Coldren (2002) have highlighted how differences in group membership between participants and moderators of focus groups 'may contextualize different frames for the production and interpretation of discourse' (p.484). The official frame for the focus group

discussions in this study was set by the facilitators, who asked for the participants' views on the situation of young children, guidance and control of children as well as caregiving responsibilities. The participants' statements are in this context understood in terms of negotiations of this frame and the possibilities of positioning themselves as morally accountable subjects, with knowledge on the topic.

The intention when undertaking the focus group discussions using open questions was to provide a space for the participants to contribute to the understanding of guidance and control in early childhood relationships. As Tanzania is a hierarchical and male dominated culture, it was expected that gender and age as well as education might create power asymmetries affecting the possibility for different participant categories to express themselves. In order to limit such tendencies, we recruited groups that were homogeneous in terms of age and gender rather than mixed groups, in order that participants of higher rank would not silence others. However, it was obviously not possible to eliminate completely the effect of gender and age. Analysis of the collected data shows that negotiations and power struggle at times are part of the constructed data. It is also evident that the membership categories of the different groups make a difference to the data constructed, illustrating gender and generational asymmetries. The analysis of the data illustrates that male participants generally provided richer and more elaborated information than the female participants.

Kitzinger and Barbour (1999) discuss the influence of the facilitator's 'persona or self-presentation' and argue that focus group discussions have the potential of both diluting 'the effect of the researcher's own persona because group participants are usually addressing each other as much (if not more) than the researcher' (p. 14). But it may also be that the researchers' position is highlighted, if the group identity of the participants is defined as being in opposition to the facilitator. Such processes need to be understood in the local context of relational negotiations. In one of the focus groups, for example, a father relates to how it is in Sweden as opposed to Tanzania. This father thus actively positioned me as different from the rest of the group. In another group, a mother addressed me as if I were a new neighbour in the area, as if we could potentially exchange services of caregiving responsibility with each other. As there were four of us researchers participating in the data collection our different personalities provided for different positioning, avoiding a strong bias related to the persona of a particular researcher.

Social interactions can be regarded as exchanges (Scheffelin 2005). When we met with the participants we wanted something: the views of the community on the situation of young children. There is no reason to believe that the Tanzanian participants came to the discussions

without expectations. Their aims were most likely not as specific as the researchers' and probably varied between the individual participants. Morrows(2009) has described how the undertaking of research in communities in the majority world may raise expectations among community members related to general problems in the communities as well as to difficulties of describing the difference between different types of research and intervention programs offering services. It was noticed in some of the groups that the participants did have explicit expectations. The activity was for example labelled 'community development' by one participant, indicating that there was an expectation that the discussions would result in improvements for their community. In one of the groups, frustration was ventilated regarding researchers coming to the area to collect data without it resulting in any improvements of the area. By the end of a couple of group discussions, the participants also made suggestions as to what the community needed from the government. In one case the participants contacted me after the discussion was terminated and asked for economic assistance for the construction of a health clinic. As a way of symbolically responding to potential expectations from the focus group discussions and following the local customary use of so-called transport or 'soda' money, each participant at the end of the discussion, was offered a soda and economic compensation for estimated income loss during the approximately one-hour long discussion.

ETHICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN VIDEO RESEARCH IN THE HOME

The research team was introduced to the primary caregiver in each household by the community administrator. The primary caregiver was initially informed about the project and asked if they would be willing to participate. The research team visited the family before the data collection started to explain about the project and made efforts to explain the purpose of the filming and the use of the data to both adults and children. The participants were informed that all data was to be handled anonymously. All participation was voluntary and the participants were informed that they could withdraw their participation at any time without repercussions. They were specifically told that the data collection would be interrupted if either children or adults showed any signs of discomfort or non-approval of the filming. An informed consent form was signed by the primary caregiver agreeing to the participation of the child in the research and caregivers were encouraged to let us know if they felt the child was uncomfortable in relation to the camera. The caregivers also signed informed consent forms for their own participation.

Children have restricted possibilities of protecting their own integrity in relation to the researcher and adults in general. Alderson (1995) has emphasized the importance of informed consent and that children should be consulted at all stages during research, allowing them the opportunity to change their minds and/or refuse their further involvement. However, in particular with the

youngest children it is difficult to determine the extent to which they are truly informed and agree to participate (Flewitt 2006, Heath, Hindmarsh and Luff 2010). For this reason, extra caution was undertaken to avoid filming situations where the children indicated that they were not comfortable being filmed. On some occasions the camera was switched off. As each family was visited several times, entry was renegotiated each time, and the participants were given the opportunity to withdraw their consent during the period of data collection.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) discuss the difference between *gaining entry* and *gaining access* to a particular field. Gaining entry does not necessarily mean that the researcher has access to all the interactions or information they want. 'Not all parts of the setting may be equally open to observation, and not all may be willing to talk' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 79). When entering the field, we had to negotiate access to interaction. The first step was the contact with the local government administrators who assisted in selecting the families and introduced us to them. Informing the participants about the project and what we wanted the participants to contribute was the next step in gaining entry. The camera was introduced after the participant observations and interviews had been undertaken, providing an opportunity for the participants to become familiar with the research team beforehand. As a way of introducing the filming and providing examples of the type of material to be collected, we showed video clips to the participants. The children in particular were interested in looking at the recorded material. Once the camera was turned on, the negotiation for access to interaction continued. At first, the participants' appeared a bit uncomfortable with the presence of the camera. As we encouraged caregivers and families to continue with their chores, they gradually seemed to relax. In some cases, the children appeared a bit hesitant at times. But as they realized that the camera operator was just going to stand there, they lost interest in the camera and continued to interact, with the camera operator just in the periphery of their attention.

The challenges of video recording in the home have been discussed in relation to the home as an intimate environment, posing practical difficulties of how to manage the video recording in relation to rules of the household (Duranti 1997). It has been argued that the distinction between public and private is never static and that this may present the researcher with ethical dilemmas (Aarsand and Forsberg 2010, Hammersley and Aktinson 1995). In hindsight, a number of adjustments were made with respect to what and where to film, which can be related to the dilemma of public and private. In the context of both Temeke and Lindi, the distinction between public and private is not clear cut (at least for an outsider). As houses are small, without access to water or cooking facilities and with limited or no electricity; a considerable amount of everyday

life takes place outside. Food is prepared and cooked, clothes are washed, meals are eaten, and children are bathed and looked after outside. The major parts of the collected films were filmed outside the participants' houses. They can be regarded as taking place in a semi-private space. The few occasions of filming inside the houses all took place in the living room.

As has been commented by Heath, Hindmarch and Luff (2010), video recordings in official spaces risk capturing by-passers who have not been informed by the research project. In our case, it happened occasionally that persons passed by who had not given informed consent. In these situations, the camera operator primarily avoided capturing this person in the film. If this was not possible and someone was captured they were informed afterwards and asked for consent verbally.

The use of video camera is today a common and recognized research tool. Ochs et al. describe how 'recordings are mined for what they reveal concerning a group's social practices; institutions; social relationships; systems of knowledge, understanding, and feeling; and repertoires of symbols and meanings' (2006:388). An advantage of video-recorded data in relation to, for example, interviews, is that they capture direct interaction, not distorted by participants' attempts to describe a sequence in words. Video recordings also make it possible to capture the detailed complexity of social interaction, which is not possible to capture by ordinary observations. However, like all data collection methods it has its pros and cons. Video-recorded data are also socially situated and do not exclude the researcher from participating in the construction of the data. The participants are to a varying degree affected by the gaze of the camera (as are interviews and focus groups by the form of questions). Therefore it is essential that measures are taken in order to minimize the effects this might have and this requires a number of techno-methodological choices related to the type of analysis that can be conducted (Ochs et al. 2006). In this study, one hand-held camera was used in order to be able to follow the focal child as he or she moved around. The household members were asked to act as usual and to continue with their everyday activities. They were also told that it was the selected child who would be the main focus of the film. The camera operator followed the child's movement, trying to keep the child in the picture as much as possible. The camera operator also tried to capture the angle where as much as possible of the participants' faces were visible. However, this had to be balanced with finding a spot to stand that was not too intrusive or disturbing for the activity at hand. The advantage with this strategy was that it came close to the naturally occurring interaction representative of day-to-day interaction. However, it had the disadvantage of producing films of somewhat varying quality in terms of analysis. We filmed for about one hour of each visit to a

family, and chose not to film for longer periods of time in order not to disturb the family's daily activities and routines too much.

Collecting video-recorded data can be regarded as a form of participant observation. As is common among ethnographers (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995), we moved between different positions of observer and participant, but mainly positioned ourselves as observers rather than participants. The camera operator took a passive position, primarily standing behind the camera following the interaction taking place between the caregivers and the younger children. There were situations when the camera operator commented on what was taking place. It also happened that the camera operator was addressed by the children and to varying degrees responded.

The video recordings show that in most cases the participants acted without taking notice of the camera and the impression is that the video clips represent everyday interaction fairly well. However, it is likely that the adults to some extent 'performed' for the researchers (Rasmussen 2009), making efforts to behave as close to the cultural norms of good parent-child interaction as possible and that they refrained from less accepted behaviours, which they may have engaged in when the caregiver was not being observed. This issue can be related to the *observer's paradox* (Labov 1972), which means that the observation of an event always changes that event, making it impossible to capture unbiased data unless the recording is done under disguise. However the advantage with video-recorded data is that such accommodations or adjustments to the interactional activity are also captured by the camera and can thus be a focus for analysis or omitted from analysis (Sjöblom 2011). It happens once in a while in the video-recorded data that the participants are aware of the camera and the filming taking place. For example, a caregiver at one moment, when the filming was being carried out by one of the research assistants and I was located outside, asks 'Where did the foreigner go?' and a reply comes from the one of the other caregivers who is outside.

ANALYSIS OF FOCUS GROUP DATA

The recordings from the focus group discussions were transcribed by the research assistant under close supervision. The transcripts were translated by a translator at the University of Dar es Salaam. Random checks were made in order to guarantee the quality of the translations, and translations which were unclear were double checked and the translations of these parts were negotiated with the research assistant. All focus group data were initially entered into the qualitative analysis program OPEN CODE.

Alvesson and Skjöldberg (2008) argue that data based on language use, such as interviews, focus group discussions as well as video recordings, may be interpreted on three different levels; a discursive level, a conceptual level and an action level. The discursive level focuses on language use in its own right, without drawing any conclusions as to how such discourses relate to subjective understandings or actual actions. The conceptual level represents an interpretation of language in terms of ideas, values and meaning. The action level represents an understanding of language as representing something outside of language in itself as well as detached from subjective values, ideas and meaning, e.g. the objective world (as far as it may be reached). The analysis of the focus group discussions focused on the two first aspects of the data. Study II focuses on the conceptual level, while Study I takes into consideration both the conceptual value of the content and the discursive level in terms of rhetorical strategies used by the participants. The analysis presented in Study II was inspired by the constructivist version of grounded theory suggested by Charmaz (2006). This approach recognizes the constructivist nature of data and the fact that data are constructed as a joint project between the researcher and the research participants. This aspect of the data was, however, not highlighted in the analysis and the statements from the participants were recognized from their conceptual value (Matoesian and Coldren 2002). The analysis presented in study II is based on the first thirteen focus group discussions conducted. The analysis was inspired by the grounded theory method including the following steps:

1. Initial coding; each line or statement in the transcribed interviews was given a code.
2. Focused coding; some codes which were on a more abstract level were transformed into categories. Some categories were developed into concepts, representing a higher level of abstraction. These were *to beat with care*, *to treat as an egg*, *the non-care of non-beating* and *to beat as a snake*.
3. Axial codings were undertaken to establish links between the concepts and subcategories with a focus on relational aspects. This process resulted in the additional concepts *to love*, *to ignore*, *to give freedom* and *to control*.
4. Finally a visual model was developed describing the relationships between the concepts.

As illustrated above, the grounded theory analysis takes its point of departure in the details of the data, breaking it down into small pieces. The analysis consists of rebuilding a picture representing the entire data set, providing a more abstract understanding of the messages provided by the participants.

The analysis of the findings in Study I started out in the same inductive fashion as above, but with the focus on caregiving responsibility. Initially the ten focus group discussions which contained the most rich or interesting content were selected for further analysis. As the analysis came to focus on dilemmas and the rhetorical strategies used by participants in the focus group discussions, the theoretical tool 'interpretative repertoires' was found useful (Potter and Wetherell 1987, Wetherell 1998). The concept of interpretive repertoire is closely related to that of discourse in that they both refer to distinctive ways of talking about objects and events in the world (Edley 2001). Interpretive repertoires, however, are 'viewed as much smaller and more fragmented, offering speakers a whole range of different rhetorical opportunities' (Edley 2001: 202). Interpretive repertoires have been defined as 'culturally familiar and habitual lines of argument comprised of recognizable themes...' (Wetherell 1998: 400). Interpretive repertoires involve both the message that the subject is trying to get across in an interaction and the methods used to make sense in a particular setting. Compared with the distinction made by Alvesson and Skjöldberg (2008) above, interpretive repertoires thus both focus on the conceptual level and the discursive level. The choice of the analytical concept of interpretative repertoire, as opposed to the term 'category' in constructivist grounded theory or 'discourse' in discourse studies, is motivated by the insistence on the reflexivity built into social interaction and the emergent and transformative properties of that interaction (Wetherell 1998). Interpretive repertoires can be understood as expressions of *ideology*, broadly defined as ways of understanding the world, which leads us to the other theoretical tool used in Study II, ideological dilemmas. The concept of ideological dilemmas, discussed in the previous chapter, has been used in combination with interpretative repertoires in the field of discourse psychology. Such analyses trace ideological dilemmas in contradictions in both individual and group discourses. In this thesis, ideological dilemmas are used as an analytical tool in Study I, in order to trace dilemmas on a group level, in the interactional data constructed in the focus group discussions. Edley (2001) points out that there are overlaps between the concept of interpretive repertoires and ideological dilemmas. Both are seen as resources used by people in order to share ideas as well as for self-reflection. Different ways of talking about the same object may 'develop together as opposing positions in an unfolding, historical, argumentative exchange' (p. 204).

In this thesis the concept of dilemmas is also used as an overall concept applied in the discussion of the findings presented in all four papers.

ANALYSIS OF VIDEO-RECORDED DATA

The ability to capturing everyday interaction with video provides immense possibilities for exploring and analysing social interaction. As long as the researcher has access to the situations

he or she wants to capture, a simple press of the 'on' button is required in order to capture the complexities of social life. The video recordings can then be viewed time and again, by the single researcher or together with colleagues, adjusting the speed and stopping whenever something of interest appears which requires detailed scrutiny. However, 'the rich record of complicated vocal and visual events moving through time provided by a video tape must be transformed into something that can silently inhabit the printed page' (Goodwin 1994: 607).

The process of transcription and translation of video recorded data involves analytical as well as practical considerations (Ochs 1979). The first step in this process was the selection of cases for detailed analysis. This was done by taking the point of departure in the data. The 30 hours of video recordings were viewed while keeping a content log, primarily describing the activities taking place and the participants involved. The selection was also made based on familiarity with the local context gained by participant observation, selecting cases that were considered representative of interaction taking place in the areas where data was collected. From a theoretical perspective, siblings play an important role in the guidance and control of younger siblings, which corresponds to impressions from participant observations. Specifically we were interested to explore the participant's agency in relation to acts of guidance and control. In both studies, the concept of participant frameworks (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004) was important for the selection by choosing situations where the participants' verbal and embodied actions could be described as focusing on a joint activity. This led to a focused selection of two sets of cases. The first set of cases concerns the sharing of food or drinks. Sharing a meal is a daily, recurring activity in family life, which is loaded with cultural meaning. Hence it is ideal for the study of day-to-day morality (Sterponi 2009). During mealtimes, physical needs and the practical handling of food, as well as norms and values, are negotiated, providing opportunities for the socialization of children. In all the selected cases the recordings included young children, older siblings and adults. The second set of cases focus on situations where participant frameworks involve interaction between school age children and their younger siblings engaged in what were defined as school preparatory activities or so called *literacy events*. Heath defines the concept of *literacy events* as 'occasions in which written language is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes and strategies' (Heath 1982: 50, Heath 1983, see also Street 1995, 2001). After the cases were selected, more detailed transcripts of the verbal interaction were made, inspired by the detailed conventions used in conversation analysis (Jefferson 2004). Conversation analysis has specified a specific proof procedure to be applied when analysing conversation, called 'participant perspective', meaning that all analysis must be grounded in or relevant from the perspective of the participant in the interactional turn in order to be valid. It is

further of importance to describe the ‘procedural consequentiality’ of the analysed action in order to analyse the effect it has on what follows in the conversation (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). When analysing the data this proof procedure was taken in consideration. The transcripts were further refined in combination with detailed analysis of the embodied action visible in the recordings. As the analysis progressed, frame grabs from the films were selected in order to illustrate the interaction taking place as closely as possible. As a final step, the frame grabs were transformed into sketches in order to protect the anonymity of the participants. In the final transcriptions, some parallel interactions, which were not of interest for the analysis were excluded. For example, on one occasion a by-passer caught the attention of the father, and he made a comment about that person.

The language spoken in the video recordings is Swahili, and a translation to English has been made. The translation of the video data was done by the primary researcher in close collaboration with the research assistant. Transcription and translation was a simultaneous process and an important part of the analysis. The translation was intimately linked to the analysis of the whole interaction, including non-verbal communication. The transcription of the video-recorded data is very time consuming and for that reason only the sections selected for analysis were transcribed in detail. It was considered of high importance that the Swahili version was also included in the transcripts as translations from one language to another may change the meaning of the interaction. The ambition in the translation of the data has been to stay as close as possible to the original wordings, without compromising the readers’ understanding. The translation of the data was part of the interpretive process, characteristic of the overall analysis.

GENERALIZATION AND THE QUESTION OF CONTEXT

Rogoff (2003) has argued that ‘the most difficult cultural processes to examine are the ones that are based on confident and unquestioned assumptions stemming from one’s own community practice’ (p. 368). During this project I have tried hard to be reflective about my own preconceptions, a process with radical effects. The effort to understand the context of Tanzania has truly challenged my identity as a psychologist. It has opened my eyes to how much of the psychological theory that has been and is coloured by the ideologies which govern Sweden, as part of the Western world. Numerous times I have also experienced challenges to my assumptions about how to carry out research and how to interact with gatekeepers in different positions arising from the organization of Tanzanian society, which is different from my previous experiences. However, although many of my assumptions have been challenged, others remain unnoticed and may be hidden as an unconscious part of this work.

My limited knowledge of Swahili as well as my foreign appearance and cultural background was a factor that influenced the access we are able to negotiate. The different perspectives within the research team were an asset, however. As a Swedish national, psychologist and researcher I represented an outside perspective. In particular the effects of power asymmetries between the researchers, as well as between researchers and participants, have at times been unavoidable due to cultural and ideological differences with regard to nationality, age, education, gender and economic conditions, and this may have contributed to the construction of the data. However, these differences have also contributed to interesting perspectives and throughout the study I have had on-going discussions with my research assistants, who provided more of an insider perspective to the field than I had access to on my own. However, in the end, there is no doubt that it is my interpretation of the data that has had the largest impact on the final results. As the primary researcher I have had the privilege of interpretation.

As is common in ethnographic research (Hammersely and Atkinson 1995), this project started out with a rather wide area of concern, focusing on early childhood relationships in urban and rural Tanzania. The advantage of selecting participants from two districts was that it made it possible to capture processes of social change from both the urban and rural perspective. The disadvantage was that moving across settings was undertaken at the expense of prolonged participant observations in each household.

The sampling strategy used has been described, illustrating how a variety of data were collected in both urban and rural areas. However, as the research developed the objectives of the study narrowed considerably. Consequently, not all aspects of the data have been explored in the studies, which are part of this thesis. However, the knowledge generated from collecting this data forms part of my background understanding of the context in relation to which the analyses are made. The analyses undertaken focus on different aspects of the data and do not attempt to draw general conclusions related to the whole data set. This means that the relationship between the contexts presented in the introductory chapter and the phenomena in focus in the different studies is rather loose (Larsson 2009). The narrowing down of the analytical focus has been motivated by analytical and methodological considerations (as well as publisher limitations). However this raises questions about generalization of the findings. Larsson (2009) has suggested that generalization in qualitative studies may be understood in terms of maximum variation and recognition of patterns. The principle of maximum variation was applied in the sampling for the focus group discussions as data were collected in both urban and rural areas with different participant categories. This potentially provided for a variety of views on the ideology of

caregiving responsibility as well as corporal punishment, which could make the findings applicable in other contexts, based on the argument of ‘enhancing generalization potential by maximum variation’(Larsson 2009:31). It is possible, however, that the community administrators’ selections of participants were not fully representative of the community. For example, as the discussions took place during the day time, parents and grandparents with employment were not able to participate. It may also be argued that the method of focus group discussions, as they were conducted, tends to generate general ideas which lie close to ideologically well-established norms about the subject matter, hiding less accepted views and as such working against the idea of maximum variation.

In the studies presented in the two papers based on video-recorded data, sampling of the families and focal children of the study was also undertaken in order to capture variation, within given boundaries. In addition, the examples presented in the papers were chosen in order to illustrate variations of the themes analysed.

Another way of understanding generalization is that research texts may contribute to the recognition of patterns (Larsson 2009), making the reader see something new or something which has been hidden from consciousness by established understandings available in scientific and practical discourse. The findings presented in the four studies can in this sense be understood as ‘patterns or configurations which can be recognized in the empirical world’ (Larsson 2009: 33). Whether the findings have this potential depends on how well meaningful patterns, which may be found in different contexts, have been captured and described. But it also depends on the reader’s ability to use these patterns in interpreting similar situations in other contexts. Following Larsson’s reasoning it is not necessarily the similarity in context that will determine if such interpretations are possible because ‘in many cases there is a rather loose relationship between the context and the phenomenon in focus’ (Larsson 2009: 35). In the two studies based on video-recorded data, the actual analyses are limited to the interaction taking place in the video recordings. In the case of sibling negotiations presented in Study IV, the context is set by the locally defined ideology of learning played out in the interaction. However, it is difficult to determine any absolute relationship between the actions taking place in the participant frameworks and the general context in which they take place.



Figure 1: Tanzania Map from the CIA fact book.

Lindi district

Lindi is part of the southern coastal region of Tanzania and one of the poorest regions in Tanzania (Kapunda 2008). According to the October 2002 census, the rural population of Lindi was 215,764, suggesting that Lindi is one of the least populated regions in the country. About 95 per cent of the population of the district depends on agriculture. Cash crops produced include cashew nuts, coconuts, groundnuts and sesame, and food crops include cassava, maize, rice and millet. Livestock in the district includes cattle, goats, sheep and pigs. Fishing is another activity, which plays an important role in supporting the economic livelihood of people living along the coast. Firewood and charcoal are the main sources of energy. The communication infrastructure is very poor and most of the district's feeder roads are impassable during the rainy season. The road between Dar es Salaam and Mtwara in the south-eastern part of Tanzania, for example, has been very bad and impassable during rainy seasons for many years. Construction of a highway between Dar es Salaam and Lindi continues and at the time of the data collection only 60 km of the route remained to be constructed. Once the whole distance is finished the traffic between Dar es Salaam and Mtwara is expected to increase.

Two villages in Lindi with somewhat different characters were selected for the study:

Village 1:

This village gives an impression of being harmonious and peacefully situated, with coconut palms and mango trees providing pleasant shade. The village leader confirms that this is a good village with no water problems, located on fertile land, and it is only 4 km to the tarmac road. Most

houses in the village are built of mud with grass roofs but quite a few are built from cement and have tin roofs. Toilets are pit latrines. The village has 350 households and 1250 inhabitants, 516 of whom are children. According to the village leader, there are four orphans living in the village. There is a primary school including a pre-school class with 45 children between the ages of 4 and 6 years and two teachers. The secondary school lies about 6 km from the village and the health clinic is 8 km away. The majority of the inhabitants are small-scale farmers, cultivating mainly cassava and maize and the largest cash crop is cashew nuts. The village has four wells, but no electricity. The village leader tells us that the village was established in 1974 during the Ujama reform and that it is growing. The government has decided to expand the village and is planning the area in order to offer new plots to new inhabitants. The village is supported by the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF), Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and Heifer International. In 2008 TASAF improved the road to the village, making it accessible during the rainy season, however, the quality of the construction was low and it is commonly recognized that it should not be used during the rainy season¹⁵.

As in all four villages, children are visible and seen moving around. Often a larger group of children gather under a couple of big mango trees after school to play, and the younger children join them, either participating in the games or just watching, sitting on the ground or lying down sleeping. Small children are also seen walking from one house to the other. According to the participants from this village, there are no major dangers concerning the children's safety and it is common for young children from two years of age to be left on their own with their siblings while their parents go to the fields to work during the day.

Village 2

This village is situated literally *on* the high way. In June 2008 the construction of the highway from Dar es Salaam to Lindi, which passes right through the village, was completed. Once in a while, large trucks and buses pass through the village at a high speed. The village has two sub-villages, one on either side of the main village. The village looks dry and stony and the village leader confirms that the villagers need to walk several kilometres to their fields where the soil is more fertile. Most houses in the village are made of mud with grass roof, but some are built out of cement with tin roofs. The toilets in the village are pit latrines. Water is available from a river close by. The village has 350 households and 1200 inhabitants. The village has a primary school, which is 10 minutes' walk away. The secondary school is 6 km away and the health clinic 8 km.

¹⁵ During one of our visits heavy rain fell while we were in the village and we got seriously stuck on our way back, requiring four hours work by ten strong men to dig us loose!

The majority of the inhabitants in the village are small-scale farmers and some of the men work as fishermen. The village has a huge warehouse built for the storage of cashew nuts. The warehouse used to be filled with cash crops for sale but the harvests have decreased and according to the village leader, the warehouse has not been filled for some years. The level of poverty in the village is high. The village leader is happy about the road and is expecting business opportunities to increase. The village is growing with people moving in to new plots.

In this village too children gather to play and the younger children also join in. As the highway passes right through the village some caregivers are concerned about their children's safety and state that it is important to keep an eye on the young children.¹⁶ Caregivers also state that it happens that they leave young children as young as two years together with siblings aged four to six years during the day, while the adults are away working in the fields and the older siblings are attending school. They describe how they prepare lunch for the children and how they must serve themselves. Adult caregivers are not satisfied with having to leave their children but do so out of necessity as the fields lie several kilometres away.

Participants in the focus group discussions in both villages in Lindi describe how it is common for fathers to leave their families as they find work elsewhere as casual labourers. Also women leave their children with their grandparents in the villages and migrate to the towns to find work. There are indications that migration in combination with HIV/Aids contributes to a fluidity of family relationships with divorces, remarriages and complicated step parent-step child relationships as a consequence. However, the extent of this phenomenon has not been studied. These migration patterns resemble those described by Hollos (2002) in the northern part of Tanzania.

Temeke district

Temeke is the largest of all districts in Dar es Salaam with an area of 786.5 km². According to UN Habitat (2009), 65 per cent of Dar es Salaam is defined as slum areas. The majority of residents in Temeke live in informal settlements, typically experiencing overcrowding and lack of adequate shelter (UNICEF 2009). The major economic activities in Temeke district are farming, industries, fishing and petty trading, and the majority of residents earn income through informal employment in these activities (UNICEF 2009). One in three people in Temeke lives below the poverty line. The majority of residents earn income through informal employment such as petty

¹⁶ A study from the districts of Lindi and Singida in Tanzania showed that over 50 per cent of children below five years are taken care of by their grandparents or siblings, while their mothers are away from home (Save the Children UK/Tanzania 2007).

trade and small-scale fishing. The district is characterized by a social mix of people from different part of the country. However the district is dominated by people from the coastal region and Dar es Salaam. Temeke residents are below average in both economic and educational terms when compared with other districts of Dar es Salaam. There are also high incidences of crime and domestic violence (UNICEF 2009).

Street 1 (Mtaa 1)

The settlement in this street covers a small area of squatter houses. The street borders a big market where a range of different merchandise is sold, from cereals to cloth. According to the chairman, the street has around 3000 households with more than 7866¹⁷ inhabitants, originating from different parts of Tanzania. The rapid, uncontrolled, densification of housing and population has resulted in a shortage of social services. Unmanaged population increase has also created a hazardous environment for human occupation in terms of poor sanitation.

Uncontrolled housing densification also causes blockage of storm water drains during the rainy season, which creates difficulties for those using the street paths. The street has no government nursery school but there are three private nursery schools. The majority of children do not attend nursery school. The street has no government dispensary, but it has one private hospital and one private dispensary. The chairman admitted that these institutions provide good services but they are considered to be expensive by the people of this area. Due to high costs charged in the private dispensaries and hospitals, most of the people in the street depend on the government facilities located within the ward and other areas of Dar es Slaam.

Street 2 (Mtaa 2)

The street is inhabited by people employed in low paid jobs or working with petty business. According to the community administrator (*mtendaji*), the population of the street is approaching 6400. A lack of open spaces or public land, inhibits movement and creates an unhealthy environment of children to play in. The community administrator also admitted that there is a serious problem of poor sanitation. It was reported that not all households in the street are connected to communal water, but those with no connection fetch water from those that have a water supply. In this street there is neither a government hospital nor a dispensary. However, there are two private dispensaries. According to the community administrator, the quality of services in these dispensaries depends on ability to pay for them. Many people in this street also depend on government hospitals and dispensaries located in other parts of Dar es Salaam. The

¹⁷ Figure was based on 2002 census.

street has no government nursery school, but there are a few private nursery schools. It also has one primary school and one secondary school.

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

Two separate sets of focus group discussions were undertaken. First, thirteen discussions were undertaken in Temeke with mothers, fathers, grandmothers and grandfathers. The total number of participants was 80. Among these, 25 per cent were from the coastal region, 19 per cent were from Dar es Slaam, 41 per cent were from other parts of the country and 19 per cent were from unknown places of origin. The analysis of this data is presented in Study II.

Thereafter, an additional 20 focus group discussions were undertaken, 5 in the two different streets in Temeke and 5 in the two different villages in Lindi Rural. The total number of participants of these 20 groups was 158 with between five and ten participants per group. Of all respondents, 56 per cent came from Temeke while 44 per cent came from Lindi rural. The reason for the higher percentage in Temeke was that more participants turned up in some groups than had been planned. The age of the participants ranged from below 20 years to above 60 years; 51 per cent were below 40 years. Among these age groups, 24 per cent of the participants are 60 years and above, constituting the biggest single group among all respondents. The reason for the slightly higher number of elderly participants may be that they are more present in the villages and less busy. Some elderly women also attended the mothers group, because they were also mothers. Two-thirds (65 per cent) of the participants were married, 20 per cent were single and 12 per cent were widowed and 3 per cent stated that they were divorced.

No questions were asked about previous divorces or remarriages, and it is therefore not known how many of the 65 per cent had been divorced and had re-married, however, comments in the focus group data as well as in the individual interviews indicates a high level of remarriage in Lindi. Three-quarters (76 per cent) of the respondents in Temeke came from outside Dar es Salaam, while only 2 per cent in rural Lindi came from outside Lindi. This supports the assumption that there is a high cultural mix in the urban district of Temeke and a more homogeneous culture in Lindi.

The participants engaged in different income generating activities. Participants from rural Lindi were mainly engaged in agricultural activities with cashew nuts as a main cash crop. They also cultivated other food crops, like maize, millet, cassava and potato for sustenance. In addition to food crops, in one of the villages they also engaged in small-scale fishing, mainly intended for food, and petty businesses. In Temeke, petty business was the most common income generating activity among the participants and just a few of the participants were employed. In both districts,

some of the older people who could not work were receiving support from different people, including children, relatives and neighbours. The majority of respondents in both Lindi and Temeke said that they had major difficulties in providing for basic needs of their children such as food, medicine and clothes.

THE FAMILIES

The following table provides background information about the focal children and their families.

Child	Sex	Age*	Description of household	Discipline
1	boy	2	Lives with mother and father. Father provides economic income to the family as a mechanic. Mother is pregnant with her second child during the data collection. Grandmother often visits. Extended family lives next door including an aunt and her children. This family appears to have the best economic standard in the sample. One sign of this is that there are toys in the house. This boy has a cupboard full of toys that he plays with together with his friends. The family has a TV.	The mother usually talks to him to make him behave but sometime beats him.
2	girl	4	Lives with her mother and sister, who is 10 years old. In the household there is also a large number of extended family members including five children. The mother is not married, but the two children have the same father. He does not provide anything for the children. Mother earns a living by braiding hair and selling soup.	Both mother and aunt say they use words to discipline her but also beat her from time to time.
3	boy	3	Lives with mother, younger sister and relatives in a very poor house. The mother is an orphan, as her parents died from AIDS. The father of the children does not provide assistance. Grandmother earns living for the household selling local brew.	Mother says she is often beating him because he is mischievous
4	girl	4	Lives with her mother, aunt and two siblings 12 and 6 years old. The father is absent and he never provided support for the children. Mother and aunt earn an income selling fish at the market. The siblings go to school and she plays with neighbouring children when the siblings are not around.	Both mother and aunt mostly talk to her but sometimes beat her, especially when she goes far away from the house or eats at other people's houses.
5	girl	3	Lives with grandmother. Mother married to new man in a different town. The aunt and neighbours also care for her. The father does not provide any support	Grandmother and aunt say they often beat her, but mostly talk to her.

			services for the child. Household has a TV.	
6	girl	2	Lives with mother, father, aunt and older brother. Father works occasionally with carpeting. Sometimes the father does not come back home. The mother goes to the father's work when he has been absent for more than three days. The mother claims that he stays with other women. They are not married but plan to get married. The household has a TV.	The mother says that she is telling her to stop and sometimes beats her.
7	girl	3	Lives with the grandmother's sister in a village 10 km from the mother's village. She is the fourth child of her mother who has been married twice. Mother has two children with her first husband and two with her second. Her father has recently taken a second wife. When we met her the first time, she was living with her grandmother, but after some months she was moved to the grandmother's sister. The grandmother's sister was once married and had two children who are now grown up. She divorced because her husband took a second wife. Both grandmother's sister and mother are farmers.	Grandmothers' sister says she doesn't beat her, only talks to her. Her mother says she beats her if she misbehaves
8	girl	2	She lives with her mother and father who got married in 1984. She has an older brother, studying in another village. They have many relatives close by as the grandfather was the first inhabitant of the village established during the Ujamaa reform. When the mother or father is not available the grandmother or grandfather look after the girl. She was very much longed for when she was born. Both parents are farmers and active Muslims as teachers in the Madrassa school. The father took a second wife in 2003.	Mother says the girl never makes mistakes and never needs to be corporally disciplined.
9	girl	2	Lives with her mother and father who are farmers. She is the youngest of nine children. Two children died from malaria. The parents describe major difficulties providing for the basic needs of their children and say that one of the older siblings could not continue secondary school because they could not afford to pay the costs. The household has one cow donated by Heifer International, providing the children with milk. Neither parent has been married before.	Mother beats her children when they misbehave.

10	girl	2	Lives with mother, aunt and little sister. The mother is a farmer. She also supports the grandmother. The mother has had three husbands and given birth to five children. The second husband is taking care of one child. Two children died from epilepsy. The father of Halima and her little sister died a year ago from malaria.	Mother beats her if she misbehaves and says that Halima is always fighting.
11	boy	4	Lives with his mother, little sister, grandfather and grandmother. His father lives in the same village. The mother supports the family as a farmer. Grandparents too old to work. His mother has three children with different fathers. The first man lives in Mtwara taking responsibility for his older brother and enabling him go to school.	When he misbehaves his mother beats him with a stick.
12	boy	5	Lives with mother older brother and father. Both mother and father were married previously. The father has a second wife and lives half of time with the boy's family and half of time with the other family. The parents are farmers and the father is also a fisherman.	The mother beats him sometimes when he does not listen. The father says it is not good to beat the child, that it disrespects their rights.

* at start of data collection

Table 1: Information on each child and household¹⁸

¹⁸ As is shown in the table, children living without fathers (60 per cent) are over-represented in the sample. It was not the aim to select a nationally representative sample and the sample is not in accordance with the national figures, where nearly three-quarters are reported to be living with both parents (DHS 2007-2008). According to national figures, the proportion of children living with both parents is slightly lower in Lindi and Dar es Salaam, though not as low as in the selected sample in this study. This indicates that the selected sample represents families that may be more vulnerable than the national average. This probably implies that the villages and streets (*mitaa*) selected were more vulnerable than the average.

SUMMARY OF STUDIES

The four papers included in this thesis may be divided into two parts. The first part (Study I+II) explores caregivers' local theories and ideology on guidance and control of children. The second part (Study III+ IV) explores social interaction in day-to-day family and peer interaction.

PART 1

STUDY I: 'IN EARLIER DAYS EVERYONE COULD DISCIPLINE THE CHILDREN, NOW THEY HAVE RIGHTS'

Although traditional ways of life still informs important family values in Africa, most families are affected by rapid social and economic change (Bigombe and Khadiagala 2003, Evans, Matola and Nyeko 2008, Swadener 2000). Socio-demographic change in terms of urbanization, globalization and the spread of international ideologies such as child's rights contribute to altering cultural values and learning environments (Greenfield 2009). Such changes also contribute to potentially conflicting images of childhood related to family organization, adult-child relationships as well as conflicts within the legal system (Hollos 2002, Rwezaura 1998, Twun Danso 2009). Childrearing is imbued with ideology and local theories of what it means to be a child. This study explores parents' and grandparents' discourses in focus group discussions on the organization of caregiving responsibility in urban Tanzania. The analysis identified two interpretive repertoires related to caregiving responsibility. Caregivers describe an ideal of *guidance and control as a community matter*, which reigned in the past when caregiving responsibility was shared between community members with common values and caregiving ideology. This organization of caregiving responsibilities is described as having been replaced by *guidance and control as a family matter* where each family cares for themselves.

M2: In the past the environment was peaceful, they used to live as if all were family members with a high level of trust in each other. If the child did a wrong thing, it was against the society, therefore it was the responsibility of the society to punish and discipline the child.

M1: In the past elderly people gathered together and reprimanded the child on what he/she had done wrong. But nowadays every family is independent and even if you find a neighbour's child stealing a phone and inform the parent about the event, the parent will tell you that, 'my child cannot steal', and 'stop following my child'.

M2: The neighbour will come with abusive language and tell you 'watch your family and leave mine alone'.

Caregivers describe how *guidance and control as a family matter* is related to difficulties in controlling the child, which is seen as related to urbanization. A lack of shared values creates difficulties for caregivers to collaborate with neighbours.

Children of today, even if you teach them discipline at home, they will learn other bad things outside the home. Children stay outside and there is a lot that the child learns there. What the parents teach children at home is little. The child learns a lot from outside.

Guidance and control as a family matter has also brought a dilemma related to parental authority and individual rights associated with the discourse on child rights creating problems regarding the socialization of children.

In old times, the child was under supervision of his parents. Until he got white hair he still would have to respect his mother and father. Children of today want their rights. They might come to a parent and do a bad thing to him (or bother him), because the traditions have changed. This is not like the old times.

Caregivers interpret child rights as children's right to freedom as opposed to accommodating to parental authority. This dilemma raises questions of how the responsibility for guidance and control of children is shared between the parents and family members, the community and the state and how much freedom the individual should have.

STUDY II: THE CARE OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

This study explores parents' and grandparents' discourses on corporal punishment as constructed in focus group discussions on guidance and control of children. The analysis of the data discovered four categories related to discipline strategies and corporal punishment:

- 1) *To beat with care*: Caregivers agree that corporal punishment is necessary in order to raise children properly. This strategy is based on a relationship of love and control of the child, where love is transmitted to the child through caregiving involvement, while control is acted out through instilling fear in the child through the use of threats or corporal punishment.
- 2) *To treat like an egg*: is based on a relationship where the caregiver provides a combination of love and freedom to the child, where love is transmitted through caregiving involvement while freedom is the result of caregivers not setting limits for the child.
- 3) *The non-care of non-beating*: is based on a relationship where the caregiver ignores the child, while also giving the child freedom. By ignoring the child the caregiver neglects the child, which results in the child getting too much freedom without the necessary limits to what is age-appropriate guidance and control of the child.

- 4) *As if beating a snake*: is based on a relationship where the caregiver controls the child by instilling fear into the child and ignoring the child by simply not caring. The strategy is locally defined as abuse.

As part of the analysis *the caregiving power discipline model* was constructed based on the analysis:

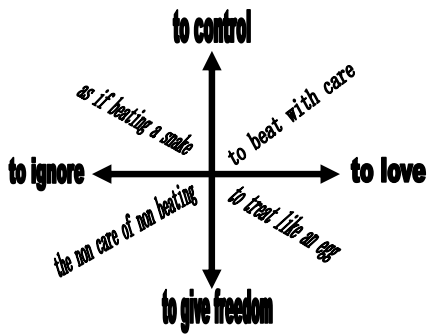


Figure 2: The caregiving power discipline model

Discipline is here understood in terms of control versus freedom in combination with emotional involvement in terms of love versus ignorance in relation to the child. The model illustrates various levels of power asymmetries in caregiver-child relationships, where the upper part of the model represents a high level of power asymmetry, while the lower part of the model represents symmetrical relations with high levels of freedom for the child. The use of violence in terms of corporal punishment or physical abuse is categorized as high power asymmetries. Caregivers regard corporal punishment as responsible caregiving and assert that there is a risk of not being able to guide and control the child in the right way if corporal punishment is not used. The findings also indicate that there is a locally defined distinction between corporal punishment, regarded as appropriate guidance and control and excessive corporal punishment, regarded as abuse. The findings further illustrate a gap between theoretical ideology as represented by, on the one hand, the CRC and the current discourse on non-violence and so-called positive discipline, and on the other hand lived ideology as represented by caregivers' arguments for the use of corporal punishment.

PART 2

STUDY III: BEING AND BECOMING A RESPONSIBLE CAREGIVER

– NEGOTIATING GUIDANCE AND CONTROL IN FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN TANZANIA

Understanding socialization in terms of a process which is active throughout life, as opposed to taking place exclusively during childhood opens up inductive explorations of how adults and children interact over the generations in the creation of social relationships (Aronsson and Čekaite 2009). This study explores how siblings in Tanzania actively engage in their own socialization as well as the socialization of younger children, through the negotiation and local design of caregiving practices and control between younger siblings (age 1–3), older siblings (age 3–13) and adults. Analyses of moment-to-moment embodied, multimodal sequences of interaction illustrate how caregiving responsibility is negotiated. The title of the paper refers to the questioning within the sociology of childhood (cf. among others James 2009, Qvortrup 1994) of the tendency to classify children as fundamentally different from adults; as *human becomings* as opposed to adults, who are seen as *human beings*. Instead both children and adults can be seen as moving through time in unfolding experiences of being and becoming.

Socialization addresses the intersection between what is socially and morally acceptable and the individual's agency. Acts of guidance and control may be understood as negotiations of actions; guiding towards the appropriate and controlling against the inappropriate. Being a caregiver in this context implies the capacity to undertake such negotiations within the locally constructed social order of how children should be guided and controlled. Becoming a caregiver implies a learning process involved in acquiring such skills in order to take and be accepted in the position of caregiver by both children and adults. The analysis presented in the study explores how the interplay between being and becoming is negotiated in situated caregiving practices. By demonstrating forms of involvement within evolving structures of talk and embodied action the analysis explores how participation frameworks (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004) are constructed through the actions of the participants. The analysis initially takes a participant's perspective by exploring how the participants relate to each other (Sacks 1992) during trajectories of interaction in terms of directives, alignment, and resistance as well as teasing and shepherding (Čekaite 2010). As a second step of the analysis, these actions are interpreted in terms of awareness, responsiveness and self-reliance (Ochs and Izquierdo 2009). The analysis identified three types of differently designed interaction. Sibling caregivers play a double role in the contexts of caregiving presented in this study; as *becoming caregivers* they receive direction and guidance from their parents, while as *being caregivers* to younger children

they actively provide guidance and direction. The findings illuminate the interactive process in which sibling caregivers are involved and how both older and younger siblings as well as adults contribute to the making of sibling caregiving relationships. The three examples illustrate three patterns of *being* and *becoming caregivers*. In the first one, the adult requests that the sibling takes the position of caretaker, which he does in collaboration with the adult, showing the capacity of social awareness, responsibility and self-reliance, to the satisfaction of the adult. In the second example, the mother requests that the two siblings assist her as caregivers. They struggle to fulfil the position of caregivers, providing an example of social awareness and responsibility. However, they are not quite self-reliant, incapable of fulfilling the responsibility required, and the mother is not satisfied with their performance. In the third example, the sibling actively positions himself as being a morally responsible caregiver, without the active request or support of the father, performing acts of caregiving awareness, responsibility as well as self-reliance.

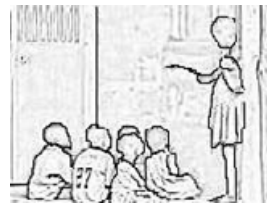
STUDY IV: SIBLING NEGOTIATIONS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF LITERACY EVENTS

Literacy socialization is part of a wider process of becoming a member of a community which also includes other forms of socialization, such as learning how to take proper care of oneself, how to behave in a socially acceptable way and how to take on social responsibility (Ochs and Izquierdo 2009). This article illustrates how siblings play an important role in literacy socialization, related to formal and informal traditions of learning. It takes a closer look at how social orders of learning may be negotiated in practice in day-to-day everyday life between siblings with a focus on language and embodied action. Video-recorded data from two different families living in an urban low-income area in Tanzania are presented to illustrate the findings. Analyses of naturally occurring literacy events, where children jointly focus on reading and writing letters, illustrate social constructions of learning and how it is possible to analyse family relationships based on age and generation. It shows how participation frameworks (Goffman 2001/[1981], Goodwin and Goodwin 2006) are negotiated in terms of symmetries and asymmetries between younger and older siblings with both older and younger siblings initiating these frameworks, older siblings using different directives to guide the younger child's focus of attention and younger children both following and resisting such strategies. Older siblings and toddlers move between, on the one hand, moments of more-symmetrical interaction characterized by occasioned knowledge exploration and taking the starting point in the younger child's initiative and, on the other hand, asymmetrical interaction typified by more didactic lessons in which the older sibling leads the interaction in a more or less authoritarian manner.

Example of asymmetrical interaction:

In this example, a participation framework is negotiated where Anna is positioned as the teacher and the younger children as pupils. The young children are instructed to sit down on the ground in two rows, one in front of the other. Anna positions herself as the teacher, holding a stick representing a pointer in her hand and modelling instructions to the children on how to sit, by pulling their arms or pushing them on the shoulder in order to make them sit properly. Once all the children are sitting correctly, Anna stands in front of the wall, pretending it is the black board, with a stick in her hand, pointing at the wall. She is shouting in a loud voice, and the children in front of her, in booming voices, repeat in unison.

1. Anna We start with the boys! Anzeni wavulana!



2. Boy A a! a!
 3. Boy B read! kusoma!

4. Children(in chorus) a! e! i! o! u! a! e! i! o! u!

((Anna repeatedly points at the pretend letters on the wall.))

ba! be! bi! bo! bu! ba! be! bi! bo! bu!

Figure 3: Playing school

In this type of interaction, there is no room for negotiation and the teacher uses authoritarian directives in order to create a hierarchical relationship.

Example of symmetrical interaction:

In this example, the older child Jo (13 years) positions himself as the younger child Rafik’s tutor, trying to catch his attention in order to create a participant framework in which learning can take place.

1. Jo Do you see? Unaona?



2. Jo Rafik! Do you see? Rafik! Unaona?

3. Jo Do you see three here? Unaona tatu hiyo?

4. Rafik



Figure 4: Do you see?

Jo asks for Rafik's attention three times, indicating that he considers Rafik's attention to be important and that he understands that it requires patience to get this attention. Jo's initiative is rewarded by Rafik's change of stance, moving around to look at the board, standing closer and taking the board. By letting Rafik take the board in his hand, Jo further indicates that he expects Rafik to be active in this situation of learning. A participant framework is constructed with both children aligned to each other with a joint focus. Compared with the previous example there is more room for the younger child's agency.

Symmetrical interaction provides room for negotiations between the participants. The following example illustrated a negotiation between an older and a younger child.

1.	Jo	Rafik, look	Rafik, ona	<i>Jo points to the board and gives the pen to Rafik</i>
		Hold this and write	Shika hapa, andika	

2.



Rafik, now sitting down, starts drawing. Jo, Rafik's mother, and the two other children are also looking at Rafik drawing.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|--|--|---|
| 3. | Jo | Look at that one, he, he

(2.0) | Mwone huyo, he, he | <i>laughs</i> |
| 4. | Younger cousin | Immu [nickname for Rafik], erase, IMMU ERASE! | Immu, futa!

IMMU FUTA! | |
| 5. | Rafik | Not yet! | Bado! | |
| 6. | Jo | Erase! | Futa! | |
| 7. | Rafik | Not yet (0.2) not yet here. | Bado (0.2)Bado Hapa. | |
| 8. | Younger cousin | The child he knows how to write that. | Mtoto anjua kuandika huyo. | |
| 9. | Jo | Write here.

Write like this

(3.0) | Andika hapa.

Andika hivi | <i>Holding Rafik's hand with the pencil</i> |
| 10. | Rafik | Hey let go! | Allo, acha! | |
| 11. | Jo | Now, why haven't you written here?

Here write A | Sasa, mbona, hapa ujaandika

Hapa andika A | <i>Rafik scribbles and looks at Jo.</i> |
| 12. | | ...say AAA | ...sema AAA | |

Figure 5: Erase!

The analysis presented in the article illustrates how older siblings and toddlers move between, on the one hand, moments of more symmetrical interaction characterized by occasioned knowledge exploration and taking the starting point in the younger child's initiative and, on the other hand, asymmetrical interaction characterized by more didactic lessons in which the older sibling leads the interaction in a more or less authoritarian manner. The analysis illustrates that educational discourses and practices, characteristic of formal learning, are not limited to school. In fact, traditions of formal schooling may be transmitted to younger children through informal teaching by more experienced children in the home environment, suggesting that the polarization between formal and informal learning is not as distinct as is often described. Instead norms and values belonging to the social order of formal school are enacted parallel to or intertwined with social orders of participatory learning with roots in everyday interaction in the home.

DISCUSSION

This study started out as an exploration of guidance and control in early childhood relationships in Tanzania inspired by the question of how to interpret General Comment no. 7 in the Tanzanian context. *Parents (and others) should be encouraged to offer 'direction and guidance' in a child-centred way, through dialogue and example, in ways that enhance young children's capacities to exercise their rights'* (UNHCHR 2005). This led to an inquiry into caregivers' lived ideology and practice; framed by using the concepts of ideology, caregiving dilemmas, participation and symmetries and asymmetries of power. Rogoff et al. (2006) have highlighted the importance of the organization of children's involvement in community activities for their development, learning and socialization and describe how such organization '...ranges in grain size from the broad organization of their daily routines to the organization of specific activities and moment by moment interactions' (p. 493). The foci of the four articles which are part of this study are directed towards different grain sizes of social organization; from the large-grained perspective of the organization of caregiving responsibilities explored in Study I, to a more fine-grained focus on the micro analysis of caregiving practices involving both verbal and embodied interaction, illustrated in Studies III and IV. The four papers have illustrated how guidance and control as part of caregiving fundamentally deals with both children's and caregivers' positioning in the community and can be described in terms of both ideology and practice, negotiated in day-to-day everyday interactions between novices and more experienced members of society.

SYMMETRIES AND ASYMMETRIES OF POWER

The relationship between different members of society can be assessed in terms of symmetries and asymmetries of power. The citation from the General Comment no. 7 above illustrates a position within intellectual ideology towards symmetrical relationships where children are respected as agents and co-constructors of the social order. The findings have illustrated how caregivers, when describing their caregiving responsibilities, ideologically value caregiving relationships which are asymmetrical rather than symmetrical. Tanzania is a rather hierarchical society based on generations, where older members of the community expect children to follow the norms and ideology of the social order. This is primarily illustrated in the work on caregivers' local theories and ideology presented in Studies I and II. Violence against children by adults, older siblings or peers represents a specific form of power asymmetry, characterizing childhood relationships in many parts of the world (Pinheiro 2006). Study II illustrates how caregivers find it necessary to use corporal punishment in order to make sure that children are socialized into becoming responsible members of society. The caregiving power discipline model can be

interpreted in terms of asymmetries of power where the preferred discipline strategy *beating with care* represents power asymmetry as opposed to *treating like an egg* and *the non-care of non-beating* represent more symmetrical relationships. Study I further illustrates how caregivers are struggling to maintain asymmetrical relationships with children in order to control them and preserve social order in times of social change. This struggle is interpreted in terms of an ideological dilemma between individual rights and authority.

Studies of social interaction have illustrated how social interaction may be organized in terms of symmetries and asymmetries. Children actively align with as well as transform and resist social and moral orders (Kyrtziz 2004). Studies III and IV provide a perspective of the child's evolving capacities which is grounded in the interactional display of competence, such as caregiving responsibility, morality and literacy. This perspective highlights the mutual constructedness of such interactions, transcending the duality between individual and community. These two articles have illustrated how the question of guidance and control go hand in hand in processes of socialization, displayed in situated negotiations of directive and response sequences where both adults and children actively contribute to the construction of social order.

The analysis of situated practices of guidance and control in literacy socialization, as well as the socialization of caregiving responsibilities, also shows how children actively participate in the socialization of younger children and how such interactions oscillate between symmetrical and asymmetrical interaction. Study III illustrates how children, through guided participation, are socialized into the position of caregivers to their younger siblings and other children and Study IV shows how the siblings play important roles in the construction of social order and local ideology concerning formal and informal learning. In these situations, children are positioned as agents in processes of guided participation. The more experienced older siblings tend to guide and direct the less experienced younger siblings. The findings also illustrate how young children actively participate in the construction of social order as they align with as well as resist directives from older siblings and adults.

CAREGIVING DILEMMAS

Although polarized constructions may be useful in highlighting the differences between different cultural settings, they may also be deceptive in simplifying the complexities of social order. This study has attempted to illustrate the usefulness of complementing such theoretical models with a focus on the intersection or mixture of opposing theoretical constructs. The four studies in this thesis address such issues from various perspectives. In the theoretical chapter, the concept of caregiving dilemmas was suggested as a framework to understand or highlight the findings. It was

found that a caregiving dilemma involving the individual and the community in terms of individual rights versus authority potentially underlies the caregiving practice of guidance and control.

The concept of caregiving dilemmas can be understood from different perspectives. The first perspective is the tendency among scholars to build theory based on binary or dichotomous concepts. The second perspective focuses on ideological dilemmas as played out in caregivers' discourse related to both lived and intellectual ideology. The third perspective is the complex relationship between the individual (as a more or less active agent) and (the stability or instability of) the community. The findings highlight the interrelatedness of dichotomous themes such as individual versus community, being and becoming, freedom versus control, adult versus child, as well as child-centred versus teacher-centred learning.

Study III addresses a debate within childhood studies as to whether the child should be regarded as being or becoming. This debate may be understood in terms of a dilemma within socialization theory. As the article argues, *being* and *becoming* are two aspects of the human condition, which are interdependent of one another rather than mutually exclusive. It is argued that the polarization of these two concepts hides the dilemmatic nature of human beings as socially constructed within particular social orders and as social agents capable of changing the social order. Taking its point of departure in how children become caregivers through a process of guided participation, this study illustrates how the emergent development of the social order means that, as human beings we are all a product of a combination of having been, being and becoming.

The findings in Study IV illustrate how the fundamental relationship between the individual and social order is negotiated in day-to-day everyday interaction and how opposing ideologies are played out side by side in everyday practices. The findings illustrate child-centred learning in the form of symmetrical interaction where the older sibling to a larger extent supports or follows the initiatives of the younger child. Teacher-centred learning, on the other hand, represents a more asymmetrical relationship where the younger child is expected to accommodate to the lead of the older child, who in this example is positioned as the teacher. The findings illustrate how 'the polarization between formal and informal learning is not as distinct as often described. Instead, norms and values belonging to the social order of formal schooling are enacted parallel to or intertwined with social orders of participatory learning with roots in everyday interaction in the home.' (Study IV, p.12). Caregiving dilemmas in this context deal with who is to define the order of social interaction: Is it the young child (novice) or the older child/sibling (more

knowledgeable)? This can be understood in terms of opposing ideologies where one or the other aspect may be more or less emphasized in different contexts.

The different discipline strategies adults use to make the child act according to socially acceptable orders in the local context may develop into caregiving dilemmas when there are conflicting ideologies in local practice, or if local ideology is not in line with official or intellectual ideology. The findings in Study II illustrate how caregivers draw a line between corporal punishment and abuse. Lighter forms of corporal punishment are accepted as necessary in order to discipline children whereas stronger forms of corporal punishment are regarded as abuse and thus not accepted as discipline methods. These local theories are in line with the Child Act in Tanzania, which does not prohibit lighter forms of physical punishment against children. It is also in line with the African Charter, which accepts domestic violence as long as it is performed with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the child (Art. 20). This illustrates how the CRC, as interpreted by the Committee on the Rights of the Child, and the African Charter have different interpretations with regard to protecting children from violence. The fact that the new Child Act in Tanzania does not include a total ban on corporal punishment thus illustrates an ideological difference between the CRC and the African Charter and national Tanzanian legislation.

Study I is set within a context of social change related to urbanization and the spread of Child Rights ideology. It illustrates how the caregiving dilemma of individual versus community can be traced in caregivers' discourses, raising the question of how the responsibility for the guidance and control of children is shared between the parents and family members, the community and the state, and how much freedom the individual should have. An ideological dilemma is traced in the caregivers' discourses regarding parental authority versus individual rights. One solution to the dilemma of the individual versus authority is a general call to the government to take responsibility to install common values for all community members to follow. Another solution to the dilemma is suggested in the view that the nuclear family should act according to rightful values. This can be understood as a tendency among the caregivers to prefer common values and parental authority at the expense of individual rights, a tendency that illustrates the local ideology of caregiving. However, the dilemma also illustrates that it is not possible to choose one side or the other, but that both parental authority and individual rights and agency are necessarily involved in processes of socialization.

CHILD RIGHTS AND THE ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE OF CHILDHOOD STUDIES

As reflected in the title of this thesis, the exploration of guidance and control may be understood by two distinctively different conceptualizations of participation, on the one hand in terms of ideology and on the other hand of social interaction. From a theoretical perspective, this relates to the distinction between practical consciousness and discursive consciousness; indicating that there is no self-evident relationship between what people say and what they do. From a methodological perspective, it relates to the different types of data collected, as the focus group data gave access to local ideology on caregiving whereas the video-recorded data made possible the micro analysis of participation in social interaction.

From another perspective these different distinctions of the concept of participation may be related to the discourse of child rights. Kjørholt has argued that the term participation represents a nodal point in the discourse, meaning that it can be filled with a variety of different meanings and that 'different discourses fight to cover it with meaning' (2004: 228). However, in situations where a particular discourse gains a hegemonic position, alternative forms of meaning are often hidden. This line of thinking is similar to the concept of ideological dilemmas, which also highlights how ideology may silence certain aspects of human experience while highlighting others (Billig et al. 1988). Within the discourse of child rights, 'child participation' has become a 'buzz word', located within an ideological and political framework and used as a tool for enhancing child rights. This discourse has had a tendency to highlight the autonomy and independence of the child at the expense of relations and dependence (Cockburn 2005, Kjørholt 2004). Kjørholt has argued that 'the movement for empowering children that is anchored in universal discourses on children's rights seems to lack concepts and approaches that take the child's dependence on the cultural and political context into account' (2004: 243)

However, within ethnographically grounded anthropological and cultural psychology, e.g., a particular academic discourse, potentially (but not necessarily) less coloured by Western ideology, the concept of participation has also been suggested as an analytical concept, focusing the evolving structures of interactive work between participants in everyday interaction (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004, Rogoff 2003). Based on micro analysis of everyday interaction, the focus on participation has uncovered new insights into the conditions for participation in situated practice. Without disregarding the powers of neoliberal ideology and how it contributes to the hegemonic position of the child rights discourse on participation (Aitken et al. 2008), it may be argued that child-rights-based academic scholarship has important insights to gain from this alternative interpretation of the concept of participation. For, if we agree that the spaces available for children's participation are dependent both on the child's evolving capacities and the organization

of participation in local communities, it is towards this interface between the individual and the community in day-to-day interaction that we must direct our attention. In order for the discourse on child rights to be incorporated in local ideology, it must be integrated with the understandings, ideologies and practices of everyday interaction. An analysis of participation as social practice may thus illuminate hidden aspects of human interaction providing knowledge and understanding which could be useful for practitioners within the field of child rights. Such a perspective requires a focus on different grain sizes of the social organization of caregiving, ranging from the fine-grained level of micro analysis illustrated in Studies III and IV, the less fine-grained level of caregiving organization and ideologies of guidance and control illustrated in Studies I and II, as well as macro analysis of power structures regulated by social, economic and political factors.

As Study I illustrates, the introduction of the child rights discourse in the Tanzanian context may contribute to an ideological dilemma related to individual rights and authority. This example illustrates how the use of the concept of ideological dilemmas may be useful in the analysis of changing ideologies in practice as well as theoretical ideology. This is an area of research requiring further investigation and which could be useful in the call for programmes of research within sociology of child rights (Alanen 2010). Of particular urgency is the vast problem of violence against children and the widely accepted practices of physical discipline (Pineiro 2006). Efforts to address such issues require research, which can explore the effects of prohibitions against violence in terms of theoretical and lived ideology as well as situated practice. One of the challenges is how to address the issue of physical punishment while simultaneously maintaining or even strengthening a sense of caregiving power among individual caregivers. The findings in Study I show that caregiving responsibility is dependent on building reliable relationships in the local community. The fact that the African Charter and the Child Act in Tanzania include a section on the child's responsibilities in relation to the family and the nation may in fact be of use as an example of theoretical ideology, which lies closer to local ideologies in contexts such as Tanzania. This indicates that community work addressing local ideology of guidance and control should be further explored.

The conceptual framework of this thesis is partly an attempt to relate the discourse on child rights to the study of family relationships. Alanen (2010) has recently discussed the relationship between childhood studies and child rights, arguing the need for a sociological analysis of child rights and to develop research programmes which integrate these two perspectives. This thesis partly represents such an attempt and a number of lessons can be drawn for the design of such a programme or project. Firstly, the present thesis suggests the inclusion of ideological analysis of

both child rights research as well as childhood studies as a way of highlighting potential normative aspects, rather than attempting to avoid normativity completely. Such analysis could raise the awareness of how ‘the sociology of childhood and the movement of child rights are politically, socially, culturally and practically interwoven’ (Alanen 2009: 8). Highlighting such issues could be one way to take the study of childhood as well as child rights a step further. Secondly, a micro-analytical focus of social interaction provides rich data for the analysis of social interaction. Applying the perspective of language socialization illuminates fundamental aspects of social relationality such as participation and hierarchy. Such knowledge may highlight the capacities and constraints of children’s agency, which requires further understanding in order for the profound realization of child rights. Child rights are in practice constructed through interactions between individuals in local communities. The sociology of child right’s therefore should not focus exclusively on children’s voices but also on the caregivers, teachers and people with whom children interact and not the least on the social interaction between children and caregivers. Thirdly, a programme focusing on the sociology of children’s rights should include a relational perspective also in the data collected. Here the traditions of discursive psychology and language socialization, may contribute with an analytical and methodological framework for how ideology is played out in social interaction.

REFERENCES:

- Aarsand, P. and Forsberg, L. (2010) De öppna och stängda dörrarnas moral- dilemman i deltagande observation med videokamera. [The Morals of Open and Closed Doors- Dilemmas in Participant Observation With Video.] In Sparrman, A., Cromdal, J., Evaldsson, A-C. and Adelswärd, (Eds.) *Den väsentliga vardagen: Några diskursanalytiska perspektiv på tal text och bild.* [The Significance of Everyday Life: Some Discourse Analytical Perspectives on talk, text and pictures.] Stockholm: Carlsson.
- Ainsworth, M. (1967). *Infancy in Uganda.* Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Aitken, S., Lund, R. and Kjørholt, A. T. (Eds.)(2008) *Global Childhoods: Globalization, Development and Young People.* Abingdon UK: Routledge
- Alanen, L. (2009) Generational Order. In Qvortrup, J., Corsaro, W.A. and Honing, M.-S., (Eds.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Childhood Studies.* London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Alanen, L. (2010) Editorial: Taking Child Rights Seriously, *Childhood*, 17(1): 5–8.
- Alanen, L. and Mayall, B. (Eds.) (2001) *Conceptualizing Child-Adult Relations*, London: Routledge Falmer.
- Alderson, P. (1995). *Listening to Children: Children, Ethics and Social Research.* Barking: Barnardo's.
- Alderson, P. and Morrow, V. (2011) *The Ethics of Research with Children and Young people: A Practical Handbook.* London: Sage.
- Alvesson, M. and Skjöldberg, K. (2008) *Tolkning och reflektion: Vetenskapsfilosofi och kvalitativ metod.* [Interpretation and Reflection: Scientific Philosophy and Qualitative Method](2nd ed.) Studentlitteratur.
- Archambault, C. (2009) Pain with Punishment and the Negotiation of Childhood: An Ethnographic Analysis of Children's Rights Processes in Masailand. *Africa* 79(2):282-302.
- Aronsson, K. (1998) Identity-in-Interaction and Social Choreography. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 31(1): 75-89.
- Aronsson, K. (1999) Relocating Children in Sociology and Society, *Human Development* 42:55–58.
- Aronsson, K. (2012) Language Socialization and Verbal Play. In: Duranti, A., Ochs, E., and Schieffelin, B.B. *Handbook of Language Socialization.* (pp. 341-364) Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Aronsson, K. and Čekaite, A. (2009) Förhandlingar mellan föräldrar och barn. In Markström, A-M., Simonsson, M., Söderlind, I. and Änggård E., *Barn, Barndom och Föräldrarskap.* Stockholm: Carlssons.
- Atkinson, J. M. and Heritage, J. (Ed.) (1984) *Structures of Social Action.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baquedano-López, P. (2000). Literacy Practices across Learning Contexts. In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology.* Duranti, A., (Ed.) Malden MA: Blackwell.

- Benhabib, S. (1994) *Autonomi och gemenskap. Kommunikativ etik, feminism och postmodernism*. [Autonomy and Togetherness. Communicative Ethics, Feminism and Postmodernism]. Göteborg: Daidalos.
- Bernard van Leer Foundation (2011) Tanzania Strategy Summary. Downloaded 29 January 2012, from http://www.bernardvanleer.org/files/BvLF_Tanzania_summary_public.pdf.
- Billig, M. (1997) Discursive, Rhetorical and Ideological Messages. In Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S. (Eds.) *Discourse Theory and Practice*. First published in McGarty C. and Haslam (Eds.) *The Message of Social Psychology*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Billig, M., Condor, S., Edwards, D., Gane, M., Middleton, D. and Radley, A. (1988) *Ideological Dilemmas- A Social Psychology of Everyday Thinking*, London: Sage.
- Čekaite, A. (2010) Shepherding the Child: Embodied Directive Sequences in Parent-Child Interactions. *Text & Talk* 30(1): 1-25.
- Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Chirwa, D. M. (2002) The Merits and Demerits of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child. *International Journal of Childrens Rights* 10:157-177.
- Cockburn, T. (2005) Children and the Feminist Ethic of Care, *Childhood* 12(1): 71–89.
- CRC, *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989). www.unhchr.ch.
- de León, L. (1998) The Emergent Participant: Interactive Patterns in the Socialization of Tzotzil (Mayan) Infants. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 8(2): 131-161.
- de León, L. (2007) Parallelism, Metalinguistic Play, and the Interactive Emergence of Zinacantec Mayan Siblings' Culture. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 40(4): 405–436.
- de León, L. (2012) Language Socialization and Multiparty Participation Frameworks. In: Duranti, A., Ochs, E. and Schieffelin B.B. (Eds.) *Handbook of Language Socialization*, 81-111. Malden: Blackwell.
- Duranti, A. (1997) *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duranti, A., Ochs, E. and Schieffelin, B.B. (2012) *The Handbook of Language Socialization*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Dyblie Nilsen, R. (2009) Barndomssociologins kritikk av 'socialiseringsbegreppet' og en alternativ forståelse. Sosialisering som tilpassning och motstånd. [Childhood Sociology's Critique of 'the concept of socialization' and alternative understandings. Socialization as accomodation and resistance] In Markström, A-M., Simonsson, M., Söderlind, I. and Änggård E., *Barn, Barndom och Föräldrarskap*. Children, Childhood and Parenthood]. Stockholm: Carlssons.
- Edley, N. (2001) Analysing Masculinity: Interpretative Repertoires, Ideological Dilemmas and Subject positions. In Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S.J. (Eds) *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis*, London: Sage in association with the Open University.
- Ervin-Tripp, S. (1976) 'Is Sybil There?' The Structure of Some American-English Directives. *Language in Society* 5: 25-67.

- Evans, J.L., Matola, C.E., and Nyeko, J.P.T. (2008) Parenting Challenges for the Changing African Family, in Garcia, M., Pence, A. and Evans, J.L. *Africa's Future, Africa's Challenge – Early Childhood Care and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Evaldsson, A.-C.(2007) Accounting for Friendship: Moral Ordering and Category Membership in Preadolescent Girls' Relational Talk, *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 40 (4): 377-404.
- Flewitt, R. (2006) Using Video to Investigate Preschool Classroom Interaction: Education Research Assumptions and Methodological Practices. *Visual Communication* 5(1): 25–50.
- Forsberg, L. (2009) Involved Parenthood: Everyday Lives of Swedish Middle Class Families. Doctoral thesis, Linköping University, Department of Child Studies. Linköping Studies in Arts and Science No. 473.
- Foucault, M (1979) *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Random House.
- Frankenberg Johnson, S., Holmqvist, R., and Rubensson, B. (2010) The Care of Corporal Punishment – Conceptions of Early Childhood Discipline among Parents and Grandparents in Urban Poor Tanzania. *Childhood* 17(4) 455–469.
- Garrett, P.B. and Baquedano-López, P. (2002) Language Socialization: Reproduction and Continuity, Transformation and Change, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31: 339-361.
- Goffman, E. (1961) *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Goffman, E. (2001) Footing. In: Wetherell, M., Taylor, S., and Yates, S. (Eds.) *Discourse Theory and Practice* (pp 93-110) First published 1981, London: Sage.
- Goodwin, C. (1994) Professional Vision, *American Anthropologist* 96(3), 606-633.
- Goodwin, C. (2000) Action and Embodiment within Situated Human Interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32: 1489-1522.
- Goodwin, M.H. (2006a) *The Hidden Life of Girls: Games of Stance, Status and Exclusion*. Malden MA: Blackwell.
- Goodwin, M.H. (2006b) Participation, Affect, and Trajectory in Family Directive/Response Sequences. *Text and Talk* 26: 515-544.
- Goodwin, M.H. (2007) Occasioned Knowledge Exploration in Family Interaction. *Discourse and Society* 18(1): 93–110.
- Goodwin, M.H. and Goodwin, C. (2004) Participation. In: Duranti, A. (Ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 222-44). Malden MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Goodwin, M.H. and Kyratzis, A. (2007) Children Socializing Children: Practices for Negotiating the Social Order Among Peers. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 40(4) 279–289.
- Greenfield, P. (2009) Linking Social Change and Developmental Change: Shifting Pathways of Human Development, *Developmental Psychology* 45(2) 401-418.

- Halldén, G. (2007) Omsorgsbegreppet och bilden av barnet. [The Concept of Care and the Image of the Child] In Halldén, G. (Ed.) *Den moderna barndomen och barns vardagsliv.*[Modern Childhood and Children's Everyday Lives] Stockholm: Carlssons.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1995) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice.* (2nd ed.) Abingdon UK: Routledge.
- Harkness, S. and Super, C. (1977) Why African Children Are So Hard to Test. In L. L. Adler (ed.), *Issues in Cross-Cultural Research*, 285. (pp. 326–331). New York: Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences.
- Harkness, S. and Super, C. (1983) The Cultural Construction of Child Development: A Framework for the Socialization of Affect. *Ethos* 11(4):221–231.
- Harkness, S. and Super, C. eds. (1996) *Parents' Cultural Belief Systems.* New York: Guilford Press.
- Heath, C., Hindmarsh, J., and Luff, P. (2010) *Video in Qualitative Research: Analysing Social Interaction in Everyday Life.* London: Sage.
- Heath, S. B. (1982) What No Bedtime Story Means: Narrative Skills at Home and School, *Language and Society* 11:49-76 (Cambridge University Press).
- Heath, S. B. (1983) *Ways with Words: Language, Life and Work in Communities and Classrooms.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hollos, M. (2002) The Cultural Construction of Childhood: Changing Conceptions Among the Pare of Northern Tanzania. *Childhood* 9(2): 167–189.
- Hollos, M. and Larsen, U. (2004) Which African Families Promote Smaller Families and Why? Marital Relations and Fertility in a Pare Community in Northern Tanzania. *Social Science and Medicine* 58: 1733-1749.
- Howard, K.M. (2012) Language Socialization and Hierachy. In: Duranti A., Ochs, E., and Schieffelin, B.B. *Handbook of Language Socialization.* (pp. 341-364) Malden MA: Blackwell.
- Hundeide, K., Pramling Samuelsson, I. and Sommer, D. (2010) *Child Perspectives and Children's Perspectives in Theory and Practice.* Dordrecht: Springer.
- James, A. (2009) Agency. In: Qvortrup, J., Corsaro, W.A., Honing, M.-S. (Eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Childhood Studies* (pp. 34-45) Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of Transcript Symbols with an introduction. In: Lerner, G.H. (Ed.), *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation* (pp. 13–31), Amsterdam John Benjamins.
- Kapunda, S.M. (2008) Growth, Employment and Poverty Alleviation Strategies: The Case of Tanzania. In Wohlmoth, K., Adeolu, A., Burger, P. Gutowski, A., Jerome, A., Knedlik, T., Meyn, M. and Urban, T. (Eds.) *New Growth and Poverty Alleviation Strategies for Africa: International and Regional Perspectives.* Berlin: Lit Verlag.

- Kitzinger, J. and Barbour, R.S. (1999) Introduction: The Challenge and Promise of Focus Groups. In Barbour, R.S and Kitzinger, J. (Eds.) *Developing Focus Groups Research: Politics, Theory and Practice*. London: Sage.
- Kjørholt, A. T. (2004) *Childhood as a Social and Symbolic Space: Discourses on Children as Social Participants in Society*. Doctoral thesis 2004:152. Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.
- Korbin, J. (Ed.) (1981) *Child Abuse and Neglect: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.
- Kulick, D. and Schieffelin, B.B. (2004) Language Socialization. In: Duranti, A. (Ed.) *A Companion To Linguistic Anthropology*, (p.p. 222-244) Malden MA: Blackwell.
- Kyratzis, A. (2004) Talk and Interaction among Children in the Co-Construction of Peer Groups and Peer Culture. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 625-649.
- Labov, W. (1972) *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Larsson (2005) Om kvalitet i kvalitativa studier. *Nordisk Pedagogik* 25: 16–35.
- Larsson, S. (2009) A Pluralist View of Generalization in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Research and Method in Education* 32(1): 25–38.
- Lave, J. (1988/1997) *Cognition in Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, J. (1993) The Practice of Learning. In Chaiklin, S and Lave, J. (Eds.) *Understanding Practice. Perspectives on Activity and Context* (pp. 3-32). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LeVine, R.A. (2007) Ethnographic Studies of Childhood: A Historical Overview. *American Anthropologist* 109 (2): 247-260.
- LeVine, R.A., Dixon, S., LeVine, S., Richman, A., Liederman, P.H., Keefer, C.H. and Brazelton, B.T. (1994) *Child Care and Culture: Lessons from Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- LeVine, R.A. and Norman, K. (2009) Attachment in Anthropological Perspective. In LeVine, R.A, and New, R.S. (Eds.) *Anthropology and Child Development*. Malden MA: Blackwell.
- Lave, J and Wenger, E. (1991) *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mayall, B. (2000) The Sociology of Childhood in relation to Children's Rights. *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 8: 243–259.
- Matoesian, G.M. and Coldren, J.R. (2002) Language and Bodily Conduct in Focus Group Evaluations of Legal Policy. *Discourse & Society* 13(4): 469–493.
- Maynard, A. (2002) Cultural Teaching: The Development of Teaching Skills in Maya Sibling Interactions. *Child Development* 73(3): 969–982.
- Mead, M. (1928) *Coming of Age in Samoa*. New York: William Morrow.

Montgomery, H. (2009) Discipline, Punishment and Abuse. In Montgomery, H., *An Introduction to Childhood Anthropological Perspectives on Children's Lives*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Morrow, V (2009) The Ethics of Social Research with Children and Families in Young Lives: Practical Experiences. *Working paper No. 53*. Oxford: Young Lives. Available at: <http://www.younglives.org.uk> (accessed 9 March 2012).

MS Training Centre for Development (2009) *A Child Rights Curriculum for Tanzanian Professionals Working with Young Children* Dar es Salaam: MS Training Centre for Development.

Mweru, M. (2005) *Sibling Teaching among the Agikuyu of Kenya*. Marburg: Tectum Verlag.

Mweru, M. (2010) Why Are Kenyan Teachers Still Using Corporal Punishment Eight Years After a Ban on Corporal Punishment? *Child Abuse Review* 19: 248–258.

National Bureau of Statistics, Tanzania, and ORC Macro. (2005) Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey 2004-05, Dar es Salaam Tanzania: National Bureau of Statistics and Calverton, MD, USA: ORC Macro.

Nsamenang, B. (2008) In a Globalised World, Local Culture must be the Anchor of Identity, Interview. *Early Childhood Matters* 111:13-17 (The Hague: Bernard van Leer Foundation).

Ochs, E. (1979) Transcription as Theory. In Ochs, E., and Schieffelin, B. (Eds.) *Developmental Pragmatics* (pp. 43-72). New York: Academic Press.

Ochs, E. (1986) Introduction. In: Schieffelin, B.B. and Ochs, E., *Language Socialization Across Cultures*. (1-13). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E. (1988) *Culture and Language Development: Language Acquisition and Language Socialization in a Samoan village*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E. (1993) Constructing Social Identity. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 26(3): 287-306.

Ochs, E. (2007) Introduction: Morality as Family Practice. *Discourse and Society* 18(1): 5-10.

Ochs, E., Graesch, A.P., Mittmann, A., Bradbury, T., and Repetti, R. (2006). Video Ethnography and Ethnoarchaeological Tracking. In: Pitt-Catsouphes, M., Kossek, E.E. and Sweet, S. (Eds.) *The Work and Family Handbook- Multidisciplinary Perspectives, Methods, and Approaches*. London: LEA.

Ochs, E. and Izquierdo, C. (2009) Responsibility in Childhood: Three Developmental Trajectories. *Ethos* 37(4): 391–413.

Ochs, E. and Schieffelin, B.B. (1984) Language Acquisition and Socialization: Three Developmental Stories. In Shweder, R. and LeVine, R. (Ed.) *Culture Theory: Mind, Self, and Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E. and Schieffelin, B.B. (2012) The Theory of Language Socialization. In: Duranti, A., Ochs, E., and Schieffelin, B.B. (Eds.) *Handbook of Language Socialization*, Malden MA: Blackwell publishing.

Organization of African Unity (1990) African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/24.9/49 (1990), *entered into force* 29 November 1999.

Palacios, J. (1990) Parents' Ideas of the Development and Education of Their Children: Answers to Some Questions. *International Journal of Behavioural Development* 13, 137-155.

Paugh, A. (2012) Local Theories of Childrearing. In: Duranti, A., Ochs, E., and Schieffelin, B.B. (Eds.) *Handbook of Language Socialization*, Malden MA: Blackwell.

Pinheiro, P.S. (2006) *World Report on Violence against Children*, Independent Expert for the United Nations. New York: United Nations.

Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1987) *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*. London: Sage.

Quinn, N. (2005) Universals of Childrearing. *Anthropological Theory* 5(4): 477–516.

Qvortrup, J. (Ed.) (1994) *Childhood Matters*. Aldershot UK: Avebury.

Rasmussen, S. (2009) Commentary: Opening Up Perspectives on Autonomy and Relatedness in Parent-Children Dynamics: Anthropological Insights. *Culture Psychology* 15(4): 433-449.

Richter, L. and Morrell, R. (2008) The Role of Men in Raising Children in Africa – Holding Up the Other Half of the Sky. In *Africa's Future, Africa's Challenge: Early Childhood Care and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington DC: The world Bank.

Rindstedt, C. (2001) *Quichua Children and Language Shift in an Andean Community: School, Play and Sibling Caretaking*. Dissertation. Linköping Studies in Arts and Science; 241. Linköping: Univ.

Rock, P. (2001) Symbolic Interactionism and Ethnography. In: Atkinson, P. et al. (Eds.) *Handbook of Ethnography*. (pp. 26–38) London: Sage.

Rogoff, B. (2003) *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rogoff, B., Moore, L., Najafi, B., Dexter, A., Correa-Chávez, M. and Solís, J. (2006) Children's Development of Cultural Repertoires through Participation in Everyday Routines and Practices. In J. E. Grusec and Hastings P. D. (Eds.), *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research* (pp. 490-515). New York: Guilford.

Rubensson, B. (2005) *Working Children's Experiences and Their Right to Health and Well-being*. Doctoral thesis. Karolinska Institute, Department of Public Health Sciences, Stockholm.

Rydström, H. (2003) *Embodying Morality: Growing Up in Rural Northern Vietnam*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Rwezaura, B. (1998) Competing Images of Childhood in the Social and Legal System of Contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family* 12: 253-278.

REPOA, NBS and UNICEF (2009) *Childhood Poverty in Tanzania: Deprivations and Disparities in Child Well-Being*. Dar es Salaam: REPOA.

Sacks, H. (1992) *Lectures on Conversation: Volumes I and II*. Jefferson, G. (Ed) Cambridge MA: Blackwell.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E.A. and Jefferson, G. (1974) A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turntaking for Conversation. *Language* 50: 696-735.

Save the Children UK/Tanzania (2007) Nutrition study of the under-fives: IN Singida Rural District – Singida region and Lindi Rural District – Lindi Region, final draft report. Dar es Salaam: Save the Children Tanzania.

Schieffelin, B.B. (1986) Teasing and Shaming in Kaluli Children's Interactions. In: Schieffelin, B.B. and Ochs, E. (Eds.) *Language Socialization Across Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schieffelin, B.B. (2005) *The Give and Take of Everyday Life: Language Socialization of Kaluli Children*. (2nd Ed). Tucson, Arizona: Fenestra Books.

Schieffelin, B.B. and Ochs, E. (1986) *Language Socialization Across Cultures*. (pp. 1-13). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sjöblom, B. (2011) *Gaming Interaction: Conversations and Competence in Internet Cafés*. Doctoral thesis. Linköping Studies in Arts and Science: 545. Linköping University.

Stavropoulos, J. (2006) *Violence against Girls in Africa: A Retrospective Survey in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda*. Addis Ababa: The African Child Policy Forum.

Sterponi, L. (2009) Accountability in Family Discourse: Socialization into Norms and Standards and Negotiation of Responsibility in Italian Dinner Conversations. *Childhood* 16(4): 441–459.

Street, B. (Ed.) 2001. *Literacy and Development. Ethnographic Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Super, C. M. and Harkness, S. (1997) The Cultural Structuring of Child Development. In J.W. Berry, P.R. Dasen and T.S. Saraswathi (Eds.) *Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology: vol. 2 Basic Processes in Human Development*. (pp. 1-39). Boston MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Swadener B.B. (2000) *Does the Village Still Raise The Children? A Collaborative Study of Changing Child-rearing and Early Education in Kenya*. State University of New York Press.

Therborn G. (2006) *African Families in Global Context*, Research report no. 131. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Towns, A. J. and Adams, P.J. (2009) Staying Quiet or Getting Out: Some Ideological Dilemmas Faced by Women Who Experience Violence from Male Partners. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 48: 735-754.

Twum-Danso, A. (2008) A Cultural Bridge, Not an Imposition: Legitimizing Children's Rights in the Eyes of Local Communities. *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1 (3): 391-413.

Twum-Danso, A. (2009) Reciprocity, Respect and Responsibility: The 3Rs Underlying Parent Child Relationships in Ghana and the Implications for Children's Rights. *International Journal of Children's Rights* 17:415–432.

- UNHCHR (2005) General Comment No.7 to the Convention of the Rights of the Child. Implementing child rights in early childhood, CRC/C/GC/7/Rev.1. United Nations.
- UNHCHR (2006) CRC/C/TZA/CO/2 Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties under Article 44 of the Convention. Concluding Observations: United Republic of Tanzania.
- UNICEF Tanzania (2009) 'Fact Sheet Temeke District'.
- UNICEF (2011) *Violence against Children in Tanzania. Findings from a National Survey 2009*. United Nations Children's Fund, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences. Dar es Salaam.
- United Republic of Tanzania (2009) The Law of the Child Act. www.tanzania.go.tz.
- Vetenskapsrådet (2002) *Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning*. Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet.
- Vygotsky, L.S. (1978) *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Walsh, D. (2004) Doing Ethnography. In: Seale, C. (Ed.) *Researching Society and Culture*. (2nd Ed). (pp. 226-237). London: Sage.
- Weisner, T. and Gallimore, R. (1977) Child and Sibling Caregiving. In: LeVine, R. and R.S. (Eds.) *Anthropology and Child Development. A Cross Cultural Reader*. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Wenger, E. (1998) *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wetherell, M. (1998) Positioning and Interpretative Repertoires: Conversation Analysis and Post-structuralism in Dialogue. *Discourse and Society* 9(3): 387-412.
- Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S.J. (2001) *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*. London: Sage.
- Whiting, B.B. (Ed.) (1963) *Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Whiting, B.B. and Whiting J.W.M. (1975) *Children of Six Cultures: A Psycho-Cultural Analysis*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Whiting, B.B. and Edwards, C.P. (1988) *Children of Different Worlds: The Formation of Social Behaviour*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Winther Jørgensen, M. and L. Philips(1999) *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*. [Discourse Analysis as Theory and Practice] Studentlitteratur.

LINKÖPING STUDIES IN BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE

129. RIESBECK, EVA. På tal om matematik. Matematiken, vardagen och den matematikdidaktiska diskursen. 2008. 978-91-7393-948-5.
130. LUNDIN, ANNA. Folkbildningsforskning som fält - från framväxt till konsolidering. 2008. ISBN: 978-91-7393-891-4.SLUT
131. OLSON, MARIA. Från nationsbyggare till global marknadsnomad. Om medborgarskap i svensk utbildningspolitik under 1990-talet. 2008. ISBN: 978-91-7393-890-7.
132. AXELSSON, ROSE-MARIE. Formbara människor – Högre utbildning och arbete som utsnitt ur läkares och civilingenjörers levnadsbanor. 2008. ISBN: 978-91-7393-868-6.
133. AYTON, KATARINA. An ordinary school child: Agency and authority in children's schooling. .2008. ISBN: 978-91-7393-834-1.
134. AX MOSSBERG, MARGARETA. Var dags lärande – Om lärande i ett arbetsmarknadsprojekt. 2008. ISBN: 978-91-7393-804-4.
135. ENGSTRÖM, INGER. Young Drivers and their Passengers Crash Risk and Group Processes. 2008. ISBN: 978-91-7393-766-5.
136. WIGG, ULRIKA. Bryta upp och börja om Unga svenscars berättelser om flyktingskap,skolgång och identitet. 2008. ISBN 978-91-7393-755-9.
137. WALLO, ANDREAS. The Leader as a Facilitator of Learning at Work – A study of learning-oriented leadership in two industrial firms. 2008. ISBN 978-91-7393-747-4.
138. LUNDBERG, MARTIN. Överläggningar om hållbar utveckling. En studie av studiecirkelsamtal. 2008. ISBN 978-91-7393-737-5.
139. MUKAMA, EVODE. Information and Communication Technology in teacher education. Thinking and learning in computer-supported social practice. 2009. ISBN 978-91-7393-722-1.
140. NYSTRÖM, SOFIA. Becoming a Professional -A Longitudinal Study of Political Scientists' and Psychologists' Professional Trajectories from Higher Education to Working Life. 2009.ISBN 978-91-7393-691-0.
141. BOLANDER, EVA. Risk och bejakande. Sexualitet och genus i sexualupplysning och undervisning i TV. 2009. ISBN 978-91-7393-685-9.
142. JOHNSON HARRIE, ANNA. Staten och läromedlen. En studie av den svenska statliga förhandsgranskningen av läromedel 1938-1991. 2009. ISBN 978-91-7393-616-3.
143. JUNGERT, TOMAS. Self-efficacy, Motivation and Approaches to Studying - A longitudinal study of Y and how engineering students perceive their studies and transition to work. 2009. ISBN: 978-91-7393-590-6.
144. ELVSTRAND, HELENE. Delaktighet i skolans vardagsarbete. 2009. ISBN: 978-91-7393-584-5

145. BLOMQVIST, SUZANNE. Kompetensutnyttjande i mångprofessionella psykiatriska team. 2009. ISBN 978-91-7393-553-1
146. HÖGBERG, RONNY. Motstånd och konformitet. Om manliga yrkes- elevers liv och identitetsskapande i relation till kärnämnen. 2009 ISBN: 978-91-7393-543-2
147. RASOAL, CHATO. Ethnocultural Empathy. Measurement, psychometric properties, and differences between students in health care education programmes. 2009. ISBN 978-91-7393-471-8
148. HEGENDER, HENRIK. Mellan akademi och profession. Hur lärarkunskap formuleras och bedöms i verksamhetsförlagd lärutbildning. 2010. ISBN 978-91-7393-526-5
149. DAMBER, ULLA. Reading for Life. Three studies of Swedish Students' Reading Development. 2010. ISBN: 978-91-7393-455-8
150. GAHAMANYI, MARCEL. Mathematics at Work. A Study of Mathematical Organisations in Rwandan Workplaces and Educational Settings. 2010. ISBN: 978-91-7393-459-6
151. WISTUS, SOFIA. Det motsägelsefulla partnerskapet. En studie av utvecklingspartnerskap som organiseringsform inom EQUAL-programmet. 2010. ISBN: 978-91-7393-422-0
152. WIDÉN, PÄR. Bedömningsmakten. Berättelser om stat, lärare och elev, 1960-1995. 2010. ISBN:978-91-7393-372-8
153. SANDLUND, MONICA. Lärare med utländsk bakgrund. Sju yrkeslivsberättelser om möten med nya skolsammanhang. 2010. ISBN: 978-91-7393-371-1
154. MUGISHA, INNOCENT SEBASAZA. Assessment and Study Strategies. A study among Rwandan Students in Higher Education. 2010. ISBN: 978-91-7393-340-7
155. ALM, FREDRIK. Uttryck på schemat och intryck i klassrummet. En studie av lektioner i skolor utan timplan. 2010. ISBN: 978-91-7393-322-3
156. LÖGDLUND, ULRIK. Networks and Nodes. Practices in Local Learning 2011. ISBN: 978-91-7393-249-3
157. SIN, SAMANTHA (AKA HSIU KALOTAY), An Investigation of Practitioners' and Students' Conceptions of Accounting Work. 2011. ISBN: 978-91-7393-174-8
158. BIRBERG THORNBERG, ULRIKA, Fats in Mind. Effects of Omega 3 Fatty Acids on Cognition and Behaviour in Childhood. 2011. ISBN: 978-91-7393- 164-9
159. KILHAMMAR, KARIN, Idén om medarbetarskap. En studie av en idé resa in i och genom två organisationer. 2011. ISBN: 978-91-7393-092-05
160. SARKOHI, ALI, Future Thinking and Depression. 2011. ISBN: 978-91-7393-020-8
161. LECH, BÖRJE, Consciousness about own and others' affects. 2012. ISBN: 978-91-7519-936-8

