

Research, children and ethics: an ongoing dialogue

Investigação, crianças e ética: um diálogo em curso

Investigación, niños y ética: un diálogo en curso

Teresa Sofia Castro¹

Resumo: A Convenção das Nações Unidas sobre os Direitos da Criança foi um momento crucial que mudou o estatuto da criança na sociedade e na investigação: deu-lhe voz e o direito de ser ouvida. No entanto, se a competência da criança foi posta em causa durante muito tempo, ela tem-se revelado uma preciosa ajuda, colaborando com os investigadores e ajudando-os a entender as complexidades inerentes às suas vidas, e sobre a infância pós-moderna, enquanto experiência vivida por ela mesma. O reconhecimento das crianças como atores sociais e agentes interativos, bem como o crescente interesse empírico pela infância, levanta novas discussões metodológicas e éticas, dilemas e responsabilidades que precisam de ser refletidas. O presente artigo discorre por algumas decisões éticas que foram cuidadosamente consideradas no decurso de uma investigação participativa com crianças. Meninas e meninos – 41 participantes, maioritariamente com idades entre os 10-12 anos – revelaram-se colaboradores indispensáveis no estudo qualitativo e as suas perspetivas foram fundamentais para adentrar na subjetiva presença das tecnologias digitais nos seus mundos e interações. Aqui são analisados alguns aspectos éticos essenciais: acesso às crianças; proteção da privacidade e confidencialidade das crianças; equilibrando o poder na relação adulto-criança; construção de laços de confiança; entrar no espaço das crianças. Quando se faz investigação, nem sempre se encontra facilmente respostas nos livros. E a pesquisa nem sempre decorre de acordo com o plano traçado inicialmente. O objetivo principal deste capítulo é fornecer informações sobre algumas preocupações práticas de caráter ético que surgiram e foram cuidadosamente ponderadas durante o processo de investigação.

Palavras-chave: Criança. Ética. Investigação qualitativa.

Abstract: *The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was a crucial moment that changed children's status in both society and in research: giving them a voice and the right to be heard. If on the one hand children's competence has been doubted for a long time; on the other hand, children have demonstrated to be very knowledgeable experts co-researching with researchers and helping them understanding the complexities enclosed in their own lives, and shedding light on the lived experience of postmodern childhood. The recognition of children as social actors and interactive agents, followed by the upsurge in empirical interest in childhood, raises new methodological and ethical discussions, dilemmas and responsibilities for researchers that need further reflection. This text gives an overview of key ethic concerns that were carefully considered when doing participatory research with children. Girls and boys – a total of 41 participants, mainly aged 10-12 – were involved in a qualitative study and recognised as important collaborators whose understandings were central to interpret the embeddedness of digital technologies in their worlds and interactions. Some ethical key aspects are analysed: access to children; protecting children's privacy and confidentiality, managing power in adult-child relationship, building trust, entering children's space. When doing research, not all answers can be easily found in books. Research not always develops according the initial plan. The main purpose of this chapter is to provide information about some practical ethical concerns that were carefully pondered, and also time consuming, during the process of carrying out research.*

Keywords: *Children. Ethics. Qualitative research.*

1 Doutora em Tecnologia Educativa, Professora e pesquisadora da Universidade Nova Lisboa (CICS.NOVA), Pesquisadora da Unidade de Investigação de Criminologia e Ciências do Comportamento (UICCC) do Instituto Superior da Maia (ISMAI).

Resumen: La Convención de las Naciones Unidas sobre los Derechos del Niño fue un momento crucial que cambió el estatus de los niños tanto en la sociedad como en la investigación: dándoles voz y derecho a ser escuchados. Si por un lado la competencia de los niños se ha puesto en duda durante mucho tiempo; Por otro lado, los niños han demostrado ser expertos en la co-investigación con los investigadores, ayudándoles a comprender las complejidades encerradas en sus propias vidas, y arrojar luz sobre la experiencia vivida de la infancia posmoderna. El reconocimiento de los niños como actores sociales y agentes interactivos, seguido por el aumento del interés empírico en la infancia, plantea nuevas discusiones metodológicas y éticas, dilemas y responsabilidades para los investigadores que necesitan una mayor reflexión. Este texto ofrece una visión general de las preocupaciones éticas clave que se consideraron cuidadosamente al hacer la investigación participativa con los niños. Las niñas y los niños - un total de 41 participantes, principalmente de edades comprendidas entre 10-12 - participaron en un estudio cualitativo y fueron importantes colaboradores cuya comprensión fue fundamental para interpretar la incrustación de las tecnologías digitales en sus mundos e interacciones. Se analizan algunos aspectos éticos clave: acceso a los niños; Proteger la privacidad y la confidencialidad de los niños, manejar el poder en la relación adulto- niños, construir confianza, entrar en el espacio de los niños. Al hacer la investigación, no todas las respuestas se pueden encontrar fácilmente en los libros. La investigación no se desarrolla siempre según el plan inicial. El propósito principal de este capítulo es proporcionar información sobre algunas preocupaciones éticas prácticas que consumieran tiempo, pero fueron cuidadosamente ponderadas durante el proceso de investigación.

Palabras-chave: Niño. Ética. Investigación cualitativa.

Introduction

According to Alderson (2001), the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) was a crucial moment that changed children's status in both society and in research. Recognised as social actors worthy of being studied in their own right (Hill et al., 2004), children's agency and competence is placed in the centre of (child-centred) research, and their experiences and perspectives about life became most valued contributes (Grover, 2004; Wyness, 2012b). This shift in research gave rise to the emergence of a new paradigm for the study of childhood in new directions, rescuing children from biologists and psychological prospects (Sarmiento, 2005b) and from social invisibility (James & Prout, 2005) – the competence paradigm (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998; Jenks, 2009).

In the competence paradigm, childhood is a historical, cultural and social construction and children are considered to be both rational and competent. Competence is a dynamic activity held by children in social arenas of action (such as family, peer group, and school), that they routinely share with each other and with adults; where they struggle for power (working out their own agenda), contest meanings, exercise social competencies and negotiate relationships (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998). Nevertheless, children's competence has been recurrently challenged based on age attributes and as a result of the dominant discourse of developmental psychology (to read more about levels of competency, see Freeman, 2007). Struggling against this, Alderson (1993) has been a fierce advocate demonstrating children's (even at young children's) ability to arrive at an informed and wise decision even in very serious health conditions (see for instance the Gillick decision in Alderson, 1993). Children have demonstrated themselves to be very helpful in helping researchers to understand complex and vulnerable life experiences and identities in several delicate topics. Examples of this abound: for example, war experiences (Davis et al., 2008; Martins, 2011); street experiences (Davis et al., 2008); disability (Davis et al., 2008; Monteith, 2004; Wickenden & Kembhavi-Tam, 2014); care (Roche, 1999; Wihstutz, 2011); health and welfare (Alderson, 1993; Balen, 2006; Coyne et al., 2009; Kiely, 2005; Kline, 2005; Murray & Hallett, 2000); domestic violence and physical punishment (Freeman, 2007; Iversen, 2013; Saunders & Goddard, 2005); family decisions and divorce (Hemrica, 2004; Holland, 2006; Tomanovic'-Mihajlovic', 2000); and sexual abuse (Robinson, 2005). Brutalities committed against children and children's experiences as murderers, carers, or soldiers disclose their powerlessness in relation to adults, their power over others and demonstrate a competence that "throw[s] into disarray any notions of an all-embracing childish innocence" (James & Jenks, 1996, cited in James, 1998, p. viii) and dependency (James, 1998).

The recognition of children as social actors, followed by the upsurge of empirical interest in childhood, raises new ethical discussions, dilemmas and responsibilities for researchers

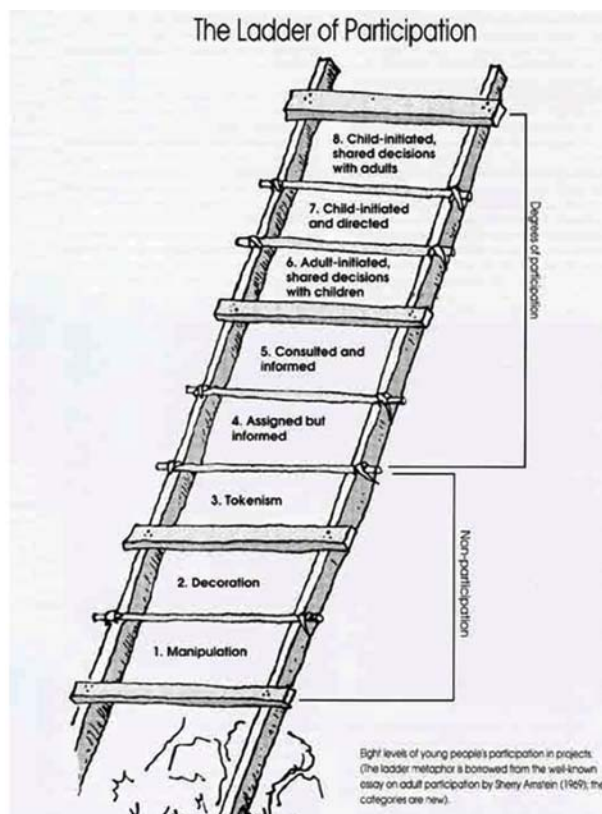
(Christensen & Prout, 2002). In line with these challenges this text develops from a qualitative study in which children's voices (a total of 41, mostly aged 10-12) were privileged to reflect about the complexities enclosed in the technologised world in which children grow, move and participate (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998).

Children's Participation in Research

As a "direct consequence of the pervasive impact of developmental psychology" (James & James, 2009, p. 92), children's participation in research is not a subject of peaceful discussion, on the contrary, is marked by ambiguities and tensions that are still unresolved (Graham & Fitzgerald, 2010) on issues related with children's competence, age, maturity, and credibility of their testimonies (Davie et al., 1996, cited in Komulainen, 2007), harming and weakening children's rights to participation in research and, ultimately, in society. Hart (1992) reasons that this occurs because the UNCRC is more concerned with protecting children, relegating to second place that children only learn to become responsible citizens if they engage in collaborative activities within the community. Inspired by the Arnstein's citizenship ladder, he proposes a 'ladder of participation' (see Figure 1), "a beginning typology to think about children's participation in projects" (Hart, 1992, p. 9) and better perceive the different levels of children's active enrolment and power (agency) in decision-making processes. Thomas (2007) proposes that children's agency is not always straightforward in the research process and may contribute to some misinterpretation around the 'participation' and 'consultation' dichotomy.

Participation is child-orientated: it gives children more power to see their engagement translated into a real social contribution; and enables children to be heard and actively involved in decision-making processes about matters that affect their lives, whether individually or collectively. Consultation, on the other hand, operates in one direction (asking for opinions, that may or may not be taken into account afterwards) and does not require hearing the children directly. In consultation children's voice may be reduced to a glimpse of their views.

Figure 1- Hart's ladder of children's participation



In Hart (1992, p. 8).

In each process children have different levels of decision, and different levels of power over adults. Consultation may be a mean of enabling children to participate, but it can also be a substitute for participation in decisions that are made without the direct involvement of children, though their views may be feeding results. To overcome some negative charge assigned to consultation, and to avoid the greyness of participation/consultation dichotomy, some opted to use instead 'dialogue'.

Children's participation implies "some presumption of empowerment of those involved" (Sinclair, 2004, p. 111) in decision-making processes in order to achieve 'change'. In James and James' terms, participation means "to take part in and contribute actively to a situation, an event, a process or an outcome, although the extent of the contribution and the autonomy with which is made may vary considerable and may be constrained in various ways" (2009, p. 92). As Sinclair (2004) argues, in practice, participation has a more passive connotation simply meaning to be 'listened to' or 'consulted', which may explain the frequent misunderstanding and that would lead us back to the beginning of the misinterpretation.

Children's active participation is not straightforward when children-adults' lives intersect. Constrictions often arise and create tensions, inhibiting children from being seen and heard and being able to positively exercise their participation rights. Research with children understandably heightens particular anxieties and, therefore, ethical considerations took a crucial place when researching with children. In line with this matrix, the ethical framework that guided the investigation mentioned previously, endorsed the consequentialist model elaborated from the feminist ethic of care (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) and 'ethical symmetry' (Christensen & Prout, 2002). Moreover, it is sustained by two ethical guidelines supporting research with children: Barnado's (Tyler et al., 2006) and Save the Children (Laws & Mann, 2004).

To avoid undesirable and instrumental pitfalls, hence, consideration of ethics was a reflexive exercise that happened "before, after and during the research" (Boyden & Ennew, 1997, p. 42). In accordance with this, this text gives an overview of key ethic issues that were carefully considered along the study: access to children; protecting children's privacy and confidentiality, managing power in adult-child relationship, building trust, entering children's space.

Access To Children

One of the greatest achievements of the UNCRC was the recognition of rights empowering children to participate in research in order to have a voice and to be listened to about matters that concern them and affect their lives. Still, despite having the right to be heard and being the centre of this research, gaining direct access to children raised a number of challenges, such as negotiating with gatekeepers (institutional coordinators and parents or legal guardians), who in turn, hold the responsibility to ensure children's best interests and to protect them from harm (Coynes, 2010; O'Reilly et al., 2013).

The institutional gatekeepers were informed of the research goals, design, strategies and ethical guidelines through a written proposal and face-to-face meetings (these happened regularly before and during researcher's stay in the field). After being granted institutional approval, gatekeepers were enrolled in the planning of the field entrance and the following tasks. The gatekeepers were extremely supportive and from the first moment took care of scheduling the activities, giving a proper space for the research meetings with the children, contacting the participants, giving information about the research to parents and children, recruiting children, introducing the researcher to the staff and to the children, and by offering suggestions and information about the participants during the research. Although highly accessible and cooperative, it is not possible to assure the level of control and bias introduced by these institutional gatekeepers in the final group of participants (Coynes, 2010; also see O'Reilly et al., 2013).

Simultaneously, procedures for gaining parents or legal guardians and children's consent were considered. Respecting parents'/legal guardians' concerns to ensure the child's safety and interests (Morrow & Richards, 1996), a document was prepared containing information about the research project, protection guidelines, and researcher contacts; in this document was also included a signed consent requesting children's participation in the research and permission to record the sessions. Nevertheless, parents'/guardians' agreement for their child to take part in the research was not the sole prerequisite to allow children's participation in the research. To seek equilibrium between protection and participation, children's consent was also sought. Notwithstanding their choice to be part of the study, to avoid being coerced to participate, participants were invited to partake in a session where the researcher gave further details and explanations about the study and about their participation and collaboration in the study, including: children's role in the investigation; how data is used; the purpose of informed consent and assent; and what happens to the recordings made and the overall data collected during the meetings. Participants were additionally informed that their participation in the study was voluntary and that they were able to withdraw from the study and end their involvement at any point. After the stay in the field oral and written feedback was given to the host institutions.

Protecting Children's Privacy and Confidentiality

To protect children's rights to privacy and confidentiality, identities and personal information were concealed. Participants' identities were replaced by a pseudonym and personal information was erased. To protect children's anonymity, narratives capable of identifying the participants were omitted. However, from a safeguarding perspective and prioritising the child's best interests, confidentiality would have been overridden in order to fulfil a stronger obligation, for instance in the situation of actual or potential harm to the child or others. Fortunately, no such situation arose during the stay in the field.

No monetary retribution was offered to guarantee participants' active enrolment in the research activities. No monetary retribution was offered to guarantee participants' active enrolment in the research activities.

Managing Power in Adult-Child Relationship

As discussed formerly, children's participation is not a linear or straightforward process, which means that even when officially accepted, it does not always translate into authentic participation, as some authors observe (Mayall, 2000; Reynaert et al., 2009; Roche, 1999; Thomas, 2007; Tomanovic'-Mihajlovic', 2000; Wyness, 2009; 2012b).

Considering Tomanovic'-Mihajlovic's (2000) and Wyness' (2012b) perspectives, ethical symmetry and solidarity developed in the relationship developed between the researcher and the participants, which resulted in working alongside as partners. This, however, does not mean the generational differences were prevented. For example, at the beginning of the process, due to lack of experience in qualitative research with children, the researcher was not always comfortable in sharing decisions with the children. However, this did not turn out to be a negative outcome. On the contrary, it enabled the researcher to approach these interactions reflexively (see Doyle 2013) as children demonstrated being fully capable of developing strategies to resist the adult's "pressures and diminish the uneven distribution of power" (Tomanovic'-Mihajlovic', 2000, p. 153). To mitigate the potential imbalance of power between adult researcher and participants, strategies were initiated by the researcher (empowering) and by the children themselves (resisting), as is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1 - Balancing power in adult-child relationship (strategies)

Empowering strategies (Initiated by the researcher)	Resisting strategies (Initiated by the children)
<p>In order to build horizontal relationships children were asked and encouraged to call the researcher by the first name. However, despite the efforts some children, when addressing the researcher or talking about the researcher, participants kept calling the researcher ‘teacher’.</p>	<p>At first, children decided the time that each session lasted. In one group, a 13-year-old girl decided the duration of the meeting before its start and controlled the time, by frequently looking at her watch. During the meeting she warned the researcher that it was time to leave. This is a more explicit example of a situation that was surpassed as children began to accept the researcher and requesting for the meetings to last longer.</p>
<p>Activities were not compulsory for the participants. Activities were proposed and negotiated with children and they could decide to participate or not; or make suggestions to enrich the activity or adapt to what was more interesting to them.</p>	<p>Sometimes they readjusted the activities with tasks of their own choice, for instance in a storytelling activity, some chose to write, others to draw, and others to improvise orally. They also shared with the group videos and stories they considered to be interesting.</p>
<p>Participants were free to use their digital devices during the meetings.</p>	<p>Participants were free to choose whether to participate or not in the meetings and in the activities. None of them gave up the meetings, although their attendance was not always regular.</p>
<p>The choice for participatory and group activities satisfied children’s right to be heard.</p>	<p>The fact that children in the group were friends or acquaintances reduced power imbalance between researcher and participants.</p>
<p>The adoption of a non-authoritative, humble and learner attitude.</p>	<p>Children assumed the expert role willing to help the researcher understanding their digital worlds and interactions.</p>
<p>Besides the informed consent requested to parents/guardians, also children were able to decide their participation in the study by giving oral or signed assent.</p>	<p>Children’s choice to participate was voluntary. Minor cases in which parents signed the consent but children were not motivated to engage in the research process, children’s right to non-participation prevailed and they were not included in the activities.</p>
<p>Withholding judgement from an adult perspective and demonstrating respect for children’s understandings.</p>	<p>Revelations or questions to test the researcher and see researcher’s reactions.</p>

Entering Children’s Spaces

The generational, cultural and social gap between the researcher and the children involved in the research cannot be ignored. Aware of this deterrent gap, a humble, sensitive, friendly approach helped to build bonds and reliable relationships, and sharing in a comfortable, safe and trusted environment.

The research was carried out in places with social and cultural meaning (James & James, 2009), infused with subjectivity in which relationships were developed; a considerable amount of participatory work was done; information was ‘freely’ shared and disclosed through narratives

conveyed and constructed within an interactional environment (Renold, 2012). Despite being spaces designed by adults and from adults' perceptions about children's needs and interests (James & James, 2009), children appropriated these spaces in a relaxed and informal fashion, enabling face-to-face conversations, free speech and eye contact between the participants and the researcher. Nevertheless, it was not possible to engage all the children to the same level of participation or interest.

Meetings were held in a leisure activity centre (in the school facilities) and two community centres. The educational/school setting where meetings were held may have had an influence and biased children's participation by leading them to give socially expected or 'right' answers, which may not resemble entirely their thoughts or experiences (Kenney, 2009). In order to overcome this the researcher was concerned to provide a space of freedom of speech, sharing, mutual respect, where children could express their true feelings and thoughts without fearing lectures or judgements. In short, research meetings attempted to be a place where participants could exercise their citizenship. With time, group meetings became that expected secure and reliable environment, a space for participants to openly express their opinion, worries, expectations, and share their digital experiences, embodying the role of experts of their own lives (Bond, 2014) and "the primary source of knowledge about their own views and experiences" (Alderson, 2003, p. 253).

When entering children's space there are several implications that need to be pondered. Although video and audio recording were authorised by children's parents/guardians, the option to record the sessions in audio format, instead of video, is associated with the protection of children's privacy. However, during the meetings some moments were video recorded (e.g. role-playing activities). The option to audio record instead of taking notes was due to the fact that some interactions would be ignored while taking notes.

Taking advantage of the uptake of post-pc devices (Clark & Luckin, 2013), a tablet was the equipment selected to assist the research meetings and other research tasks (Linder et al., 2013).

The preference for a tablet, instead of using more traditional recording technologies, certainly opened up empowering opportunities for collecting data in more efficient and flexible way, as it converged in just one easy-to-carry and easy-to-use tool with various possibilities (text, video, audio, image) that could be used in a less intrusive fashion. Corroborating Clark and Luckin (2013) and Linder et al. (2013), the use of a tablet for research purposes equally motivated and engaged the participants by representing an opportunity and an incentive for them to explore and enhance technological dexterities. The children responded positively to the use of the tablet.

Building Trust

Agreeing with Santana and Fernandes (2011) that significant gains come when spaces for free dialogue are opened to children, group meetings were structured through the use of participatory and group activities with the purpose of capturing children's understanding, experience and perceptions about their digital everyday lives. Research activities became a work in progress, organised to combine work and play (O'Kane, 2003). In the first meetings ice-breaking activities were employed to get the participants more relaxed and engaged. They were allowed to use the internet freely, share jokes, stories and talk about day-to-day life in school, friendships, family, gossip, hobbies and relationships.

Throughout the fieldwork there was also the likelihood of time constrains for both the children and the researcher. In order to minimise the pressure of collecting data, it was important to have the ability to lower expectations and, instead, choosing to enjoy the research process, making the activities as embracing as possible and providing enjoyable moments for everyone. Alice's (10 years old) words reflect their vivid enthusiasm about the group meetings: "Ask us

more questions”; or when asked which session they enjoyed the most, she states “They were all cool” or when Hera (10 years old) inquires: “why are you leaving us?”.

When doing qualitative research with children, forming relationships is almost inevitable and important to get them to participate (Duncombe & Jessop, 2002; Woodhead & Faulkner, 2003). As fieldwork developed, relationships became stronger and closer (self-disclosure was a way to maintain the adult-child power relationship balanced) (Duncombe & Jessop, 2002; Punch, 2011). Several signs indicated researcher’s acceptance by the participants (e.g. invitations to take part in school events and birthdays, sitting next the researcher during the meetings, offering help, personal compliments, showing interest and curiosity in the researcher’s personal life, seeking the researcher to confide about personal concerns, asking for advice in several matters). Obviously, not all relationships gained the same level of collaboration. Not all participants contributed in identical ways. For instance, despite the effort to stimulate everyone’s participation, in particular, the boys became more invisible within the meetings as girls were more numerous in the groups and were more talkative. To overcome this power differential, steps were taken to encourage the boys to give them voice by using interactive and fun activities, such as role-playing or games. In another situation, ethnicity was also a source of exclusion inside one group, as the dominant culture routinely excluded the minority group. To mitigate the problem, the work was developed with smaller groups or one to one meetings.

Final Thoughts

During the research process it is important to remember the role of the researcher. Being a female researcher with a youthful appearance and a communicative approach were advantages that helped to create a good first impression with the children and develop friendly relationships. Whilst, if this is considered ‘good for the job’, according to Duncombe and Jessop words, it is not necessarily so good for the researcher when challenged by uncomfortable feelings of ‘faking a friendship’ (Duncombe & Jessop, 2002). It could be considered that participants gave more to the research than the researcher was able to give them back, but during the research period at least, the meetings helped to raise awareness among the participants, by stimulating reflection on the complex venues enclosed in their technologized lives. Similarly, there was the feeling of achieving a balance “between being their friend, [...] an adult and a researcher [...]” (Punch, 2011, p. 99) by letting children “lead wherever possible, letting them decide how they preferred to negotiate our relationship in different contexts” (Punch, 2011, p. 99).

Acknowledgment

This study was financed by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), within the framework of QREN-POPH – Type 4.1 – Advanced Training, European Social Fund and Portuguese national funding from MCTES (scholarship reference SFRH/BD/68288/2010).

References

- Alderson, P. (1993). *Children’s Consent to Surgery*. Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Alderson, P. (2001). Research by children: rights and methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology: Theory and Practice*, 4(2), 139-153.
- Balen, R. (2006). Involving Children in Health and Social Research: ‘Human becomings’ or ‘active beings’? *Childhood*, 13(1), 29-48. doi: 10.1177/0907568206059962

Bond, E. (2014). *Childhood, mobile technologies and everyday experiences - changing technologies = changing childhoods?* : Palgrave macmillan.

Boyden, J., & Ennew, J. (1997). *Children in focus: a manual for participatory research with children*. Stockholm: Radda Barnen.

Burke, R. H. (2005). *An introduction to Criminological theory* (2nd edition ed.): Willan Publishing.

Christensen, P., & Prout, A. (2002). Working with Ethical Symmetry in Social Research with Children. *Childhood*, 9(4), 477-497. doi: 10.1177/0907568202009004007

Clark, W., & Luckin, R. (2013). *What the research says: iPads in the classroom*. London: London Knowledge Lab, Institute of Education, University of London.

Coyne, I. (2010). Accessing children as research participants: Examining the role of gatekeepers. *Child: Care, Health and Development*, 36(4), 452-454.

Coyne, I., Hayes, E., & Gallagher, P. (2009). Research With Hospitalized Children: Ethical, methodological and organizational challenges. *Childhood*, 16(3), 413-429. doi: 10.1177/0907568209335319

Davie, R., Upton, G., & Varma, V. e. (1996). *The Voice of the Child: A Handbook for Professionals*. London: Falmer Press.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (Eds.). (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. California: SAGE.

Doyle, S. (2013). Reflexivity and the capacity to think. *Qualitative Health Research*, 23(2), 248-255. doi: 10.1177/1049732312467854

Duncombe, J., & Jessop, J. (2002). 'Doing rapport' and the ethics of 'faking friendship'. In M. Mauthner, M. Birch, J. Jessop, & T. Miller (Eds.), *Ethics in qualitative research* (pp. 107-122): SAGE Publications.

Fernandes, N. (2005). *Infância e direitos: participação das crianças nos contextos de vida: representações, práticas e poderes*. (Doctoral), Universidade do Minho, <http://hdl.handle.net/1822/6978>.

Freeman, M. (2007). Why It Remains Important to Take Children's Rights Seriously. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 15(1), 5-23. doi: 10.1163/092755607x181711
Gillick v West Norfolk and Wisbech Area Health Authority, A.C. 112 C.F.R. (1986).

Graham, A., & Fitzgerald, R. (2010). Progressing children's participation: Exploring the potential of a dialogical turn. *Childhood*, 17(3), 343-359.

Grover, S. (2004). *Why Won't They Listen to Us? : On Giving Power and Voice to Children Participating in Social Research*. *Childhood*, 11(1), 81-93.

Hart, R. (1992). *Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship*. Florence.

Hemrica, J. (2004). Tacit Notions of Childhood: An analysis of discourse about child participation in decision-making regarding arrangements in case of parental divorce. *Childhood*, 11(4), 449-468. doi: 10.1177/0907568204047106

Holland, S. (2006). 'We had to be there to make sure it was what we wanted': Enabling children's participation in family decision-making through the family group conference. *Childhood*, 13(1), 91-111. doi: 10.1177/0907568206059975

Iversen, C. (2013). Predetermined participation: Social workers evaluating children's agency in domestic violence interventions. *Childhood*, 21(2), 274-289. doi: 10.1177/0907568213492804

James, A. (1998). Foreword. In I. Hutchby & J. Moran-Ellis (Eds.), *Children and Social Competence. Arenas of action* (pp. vii-x): Routledge.

James, A., & James, A. (2009). *Keys concepts in Childhood studies*: SAGE Publications Ltd.

James, A., & Jenks, C. (1996). Public Perceptions of Childhood Criminality. *British Journal of Sociology*, 47 (2), 315-331.

James, A., & Prout, A. (2005). Introduction. In A. James & A. Prout (Eds.), *Constructing and reconstructing childhood. Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood* (2 ed.): Falmer Press.

Jenks, C. (2009). Constructing childhood sociologically. In M. J. Kehily (Ed.), *An introduction to Childhood Studies* (2nd ed., pp. 93-111): Open University Press.

Kiely, P. (2005). The voice of the child in the family group conferencing model. In J. Mason & T. E. Fattore (Eds.), *Children taken seriously: in theory, policy and practice* (pp. 218-228). London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Kline, S. (2005). Countering Children's Sedentary Lifestyles: An evaluative study of a media-risk education approach. *Childhood*, 12(2), 239-258.

Komulainen, S. (2007). The Ambiguity of the Child's 'Voice' in Social Research. *Childhood*, 14(1), 11-28. doi: 10.1177/0907568207068561

Laws, S., & Mann, G. (2004). So you want to involve children in research? A toolkit supporting children's meaningful and ethical participation in research relating to violence against children. Save the Children Sweden: PartnerPrint.

Lee, N. (2001). The extensions of childhood: technologies, children and independence. In I. Hutchby & J. Moran-Ellis (Eds.), *Children, technology and culture: the impacts of technologies in children's everyday lives* (pp. 153-169): Routledge.

Linder, L. A., Ameringer, S., Erickson, J., Macpherson, C. F., Stegenga, K., & Linder, W. (2013). Using an iPad in research with children and adolescents. *Journal for Specialists in Pediatric Nursing*, 18(2), 158-164. doi: 10.1111/jspn.12023

Martins, C. (2011). The dangers of the single story: Child-soldiers in literary fiction and film. *Childhood*, 18(4), 434-446. doi: 10.1177/0907568211400102.

Mayall, B. (2000). The sociology of childhood in relation to children's rights. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 8, 243-259.

Monteith, M. (2004). Making progress? The transition to adulthood for disabled young people in Northern Ireland. In L. Vicky, M. Kellet, C. Robinson, S. Fraser, & S. Ding (Eds.), *The reality of research with children and young people* (pp. 162-180). London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi: SAGE Publications in association with the Open University.

Morrow, V., & Richards, M. (1996). The ethics of social research with children and young people: An overview. *Children & Society*, 10, 90-105.

Murray, C., & Hallett, C. (2000). Young People's Participation in Decisions Affecting Their Welfare. *Childhood*, 7(1), 11-25. doi: 10.1177/0907568200007001003.

O'Kane, C. (2003). The development of participatory techniques. Facilitating children's views about decisions which affect them. In P. Christensen & A. James (Eds.), *Research with children. Perspectives and practices* (pp. 136-159): RoutledgeFalmer.

O'Reilly, M., Ronzoni, P., & Dogra, N. (2013). *Research with children. Theory and practice*: SAGE Publications.

Punch, S. (2011). Negotiating autonomy: children's use of time and space in rural Bolivia. In V. Lewis, M. Kellet, C. Robinson, S. Fraser, & S. Ding (Eds.), *The reality of research with children and young people* (pp. 94-119): SAGE in association with The Open University.

Renold, E. (2012). Boys and girls speak out: a qualitative study of children's gender and sexual cultures (age 10-12). National Assembly for Wales Cross-Party Group on Children, Sexualities, 'Sexualisation' and Equalities & Cardiff University.

Reynaert, D., Bouverne-de-Bie, M., & Vandeveld, S. (2009). A Review of Children's Rights Literature Since the Adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. *Childhood*, 16(4), 518-534. doi: 10.1177/0907568209344270

Robinson, K. H. (2005). Childhood and sexuality: Adult constructions and Silenced Children. In J. Mason & T. E. Fattore (Eds.), *Children taken seriously: in theory, policy and practice* (pp. 66-76). London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Roche, J. (1999). Children: Rights, Participation and Citizenship. *Childhood*, 6(4), 475-493. doi: 10.1177/0907568299006004006.

Santana, J. P., & Fernandes, N. (2011). Pesquisas participativas com crianças em situação de risco e vulnerabilidade: possibilidades e limites. Paper presented at the XI Congresso Luso Afro Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais. Diversidades e (Des)igualdades, Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA). Salvador, Brasil.

Sarmiento, M. J. (2005b). Gerações e alteridade: interrogações a partir da sociologia da infância. *Dossiê Sociologia da Infância: Pesquisas com Crianças. Educação e Sociedade*, 26(91).

Saunders, B. J., & Goddard, C. (2005). The objectification of the child through 'physical discipline' and language: the debate on children's rights continues. In J. Mason & T. E. Fattore (Eds.), *Children taken seriously: in theory, policy and practice* (pp. 113-135). London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Sinclair, R. (2004). Participation in Practice: Making it Meaningful, Effective and Sustainable. *Children & Society*, 18, 106-118. doi: 10.1002/CHI.817.

Thomas, N. (2007). Towards a theory of children's participation. *International Journal of Children's Rights*, 15(2), 199-218.

Tomanovic'-Mihajlovic', M. (2000). Young people's participation within the family: Parents' accounts. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 8, 151-167.

Treseder, P. (1997). *Empowering Children and Young People. Promoting involvement in decision-making*. London: Save the Children.