Welcome

I am very pleased to welcome you to Childhood Remixed—the first online interdisciplinary journal emerging from University Campus Suffolk (UCS). This exciting and innovative production seeks to investigate and explore all aspects of childhood and bring together people from different areas, backgrounds and interests to share ideas and explore various aspects of childhood.

Whilst children make up one third of all humanity, up until quite recently they have not featured centrally in academic study and we know surprisingly little about them. The aim of Childhood Remixed is to capture emerging debates about childhood and engage intellectually with topics relating to children.

The contributors to the first edition of Childhood Remixed span across three of the five schools within UCS. The examinations of childhood utilise a range of media. There are five written articles, one image based submission and one voice recording of an undergraduate presentation. The first article is an image based contribution from Russell Walker (Arts and Humanities) who reflects on the first Christmas card he designed as a 6 year old and how this has developed into his design practice as an adult. Russell's contribution is followed by a text based research paper by Allison Boggis (Applied Social Sciences) who examines the ways in which disabled children's voices are inhibited and shaped by complex debates relating to competency, age and maturity.

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Sarah Todd and Karen Hayward's (Nursing and Midwifery) joint article continues with the theme of children's voices as they discuss the dilemmas that health care practitioners face when involving children and young people with cancer in decisions about the management of their condition. Diane Hayward (Applied Social Sciences) reflects on factors that shape children's developing concepts of their national identity and her paper focuses on a Muslim boy growing up in Britain in the aftermath of the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York. Jessica Clark's (Applied Social Sciences) paper investigates the role of sexuality and consumer culture in the lives of children and young people. She argues that there is a lack of attention to the voices of children and young people themselves within these debates and recommends that more critical attention is paid to children's sexual lives. The theme of agency continues in the final text based paper contributed by Sarah Richards (Applied Social Sciences) who examines the social positioning of children and their rights of participation and agency. The final submission is a voice recording contributed by Jane Keveren (Applied Social Sciences) who presented this paper on play in her final year of the BA Early Learning Degree programme.

Embracing a variety of approaches, the journal will open up discussion about childhood and children's lived experience. This aim relates closely to the wider vision of UCS where staff and students in areas such as science, art, business and education can interact in new ways to help to establish UCS as a recognized and respected force in this area.

Professor Mike Saks

Provost and Chief Executive
University Campus Suffolk

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Navigation

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Every effort has been made by the publisher to ensure this document and its contents are as accessible as they can be to as wide an audience as possible. The publisher accepts that it may not have met every possible provision to suit all needs within this launch issue, and therefore would welcome feedback on what individual user needs may be in order to work towards maximum accessibility in subsequent electronic publications.

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Russell Walker School of Arts and Humanities
UCS Senior Lecturer, Russell Walker, MA PGCE, has 30 years of academic
and design experience and has taught at numerous Universities and
Colleges across the UK. His teaching interests are firmly based on ideas
and visual problem solving, extending the potential of a design concept
and the ability of the students that he works with. He encourages both
problem seeking and problem solving.

Russell often contributes to the prestigious Association of Illustrators
'Images' Annual: The Best of British Illustration. He has won a Pentagram
Award for Illustration, and is an elected member of The Chartered Society
of Designers.

Russell Walker'a article for Childhood Remixed, Ho Ho Ho!, was first
published in Illustration magazine in December 2011 and is reprinted here
with kind permission.

Ho Ho Ho!

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Every year it's the same problem, and every year there needs to be a new solution. The problem isn't what presents I should buy, it's what on earth am I going to draw for my Christmas Card?

For as long as I can remember I've been producing my own Christmas card, in fact the earliest drawing that I still have from my childhood is a picture of King Herod sword fighting. In the background I've included a Christmas tree in order to make sure that the picture is indisputably about Christmas. That was in 1965.

I always think of making a picture much like the making of a hit record. It should be catchy but it shouldn't be so predictable that it's uninteresting. It should have a smart idea but not so 'smart' that only a rocket scientist could decode it.

So, what to do this year? Well, if I don't include some of the usual subjects in the picture such as snow, stars or perhaps Santa himself then its not going be Christmas. I learnt that when I was aged 6. The answer lies in how many of these elements I include and what will I do with them in the drawing?

So what about Colour? It's difficult to avoid using certain colours in a Christmas Card. In fact, it could be argued that if you didn't include red, green or white then you've got no chance of making sure that those who receive your card would know that it had anything to do with the festive season at all!

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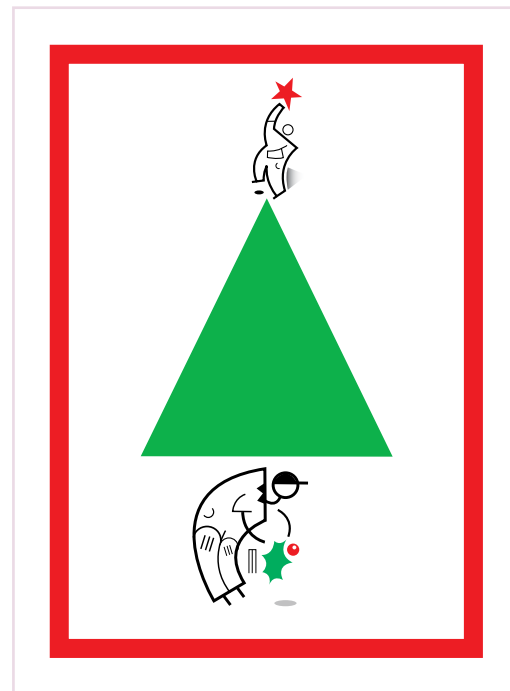
And what about an idea? Much like a little boy at Christmas making his wish list, I make a list of things we all think of at this time of year. It's the writing of this list that reminds me of the Action Man figure Santa brought me in 1967. I must have been a good boy that year.

Come to think of it, how about an illustration showing Action Man delivering presents? It's just an idea, one idea, and I need another ten to pick from. Action Man bursting out of a present. Action Man in a Santa costume…just a Rudolph minute ! Santa is the festive Action Man after all. And that's my idea, all I need to do now is draw it. Ho Ho Ho!

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Allison Boggis School of Applied Social Sciences
Allison Boggis is a Senior Lecturer at the University Campus Suffolk and
a Course Leader for the Foundation Degree in Children's Care, Learning
and Development. As a mother of a disabled son and having worked with
disabled young children and their families in her role as project manager
for Scope, Allison has a personal and professional interest in researching
with disabled children and young people. She admits to enjoying the
'messiness' and unpredictability of researching with disabled children
and is particularly intrigued about the ways in which they are (under)
represented in academic literature.

Unconventional voices: Listening to disabled children and young people

Abstract
The emphasis on children's rights has led to prioritising their active
participation (Veale, 2005) but despite suggestions that increasing numbers
of children are being encouraged to participate in research, growth in this
area has been slower in respect to disabled children and young people
(Council for Disabled Children, 2003, Sinclair and Franklin, 2000). Whilst
there are examples of disabled children's active engagement in research
studies (for example Lewis, 2001; Marchant and Crisp, 2001; Shakespeare
2000), traditionally, their roles have been that of passive recipients and
objects of enquiry. Indeed, the majority of research relating to disabled
children and young people still relies on data collected from parents, carers
and professionals (Stalker and Connors, 2003) or has focussed on children
who were most verbally articulate (Begley, 2000; Fabretti et al, 1997).

With the commitment to reviewing and challenging notions of what
are appropriate and reliable ways of knowing and understanding the world,
this paper presents findings about the contexts that shape disabled children
and young people's voices. The discussions are based on a broader
ethnographic study with children whose voices do not meet recognized
and constituted forms. In order to illustrate some of the epistemological
implications of this, the paper is underpinned by an empirical study that
forms the basis for the authors PhD research.

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Introduction

Since the introduction of the United Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989) there has been a heightened awareness of the importance of children's participation and an increasing interest in listening to their voices. This popular discourse regards the child's voice as worthy of being listened to and studied in its own right (James and Prout, 1997). The introduction of legislation and international conventions designed to assert and protect the interests and rights of children (Children Act, 1989; Children (Scotland) Act, 1995; Children (Northern Ireland) Order, 1995); imply that they should be encouraged to contribute to decisions that affect them. These changes in children's positions signify that they can no longer be regarded simply as products of biological determinism or as the passive output of child-rearing practices (James et al 1998). As a result, there is now more recognition of their social agency and active participation and the nature of their involvement in research within human and social sciences is changing.

However, complex debates relating to disabled children's competencies, age and maturity, and the credibility of their input have affected assessing whether their voices can be taken seriously. Assumptions of their lack of cognitive, emotional and experiential competence to make decisions in their own best interests have denied their agency (Parton and Wattam, 1999) and excluded their voices. Indeed, as Mazzei (2009) asserts, in our rush to capture voices, we tend to seek those that can be easily heard, confirmed and clarified. Not only do we seek voices that are tame and friendly but we also seek those that are easily translated.   In other words, we seek 'normative' voices—those that can be shared for whoever must and can understand them (Derrida, 2001). This paper argues that it is no longer acceptable to exclude voices simply because they are considered incompetent or pose challenges to traditional research methods. Ignoring unconventional voices and only listening to those considered as normative fails to 'work the limits of voice' (Jackson, 2003) and this results in a partial understanding of childhood.   Listening to disabled children and young people therefore, not only affords a more nuanced understanding of childhood, it adds moral imperative from a social justice and rights perspective.

Whilst 'listening to children's voices' is a good starting point for the social study of disabled childhoods, it is a complex and challenging task for the notion of voice is multi-dimensional. In addition, the art of listening to unconventional voices demands an attentiveness and openness that has hitherto been absent from ordinary enquiry. Therefore, in order that children and young people with little or no speech are fully included in research, this paper calls for researchers to critically reflect on the processes of production of voice. By doing so, the concept of voice will become more visible than it currently is. Listening to all voices and insisting on difference as well as equality should be the ultimate goals of participation.

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The research

This paper draws on in-depth qualitative research with disabled children and young people who use mediated communication in the form of high-tech Augmentative and Alternative Communication Systems (AACS). The study was carried out over a period of 18 months as part of the author's PhD research. The intention of the study was not to produce information that could be generalised, nor to seek typicality or representativeness, but to gather unique, individual and 'rich' descriptions of disabled children's lives. Therefore, creativity and reflexivity was employed when designing approaches for consultation and, to this end, 'bespoke' methods were adopted. In addition, a range of data collection tools were used to gather data including familiarisation visits, participant observation, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. This multi-method approach enabled the provision of important findings relating to disabled children's everyday experiences of using high-tech communication aids.

Unlike other research methodologies beginning with and proceeding to answer carefully crafted questions, researching with children and young people was 'messy and emergent' (Huber and Clandinin, 2002:787). Indeed, whilst the sequencing of the data collection was important to the outcome of the study in terms of reliability and validity, the process was iterative rather than linear. In addition, not only was the information gathered through research conversations with the children, it was gathered from a range of sources, creating what Eisner (1991:72) describes as a 'collage' where pieces of descriptive information were patched together to make a recognisable 'whole'.

Whilst sensitive, skilful questioning techniques and building rapport pushes against notions of distance and the maintenance of objectivity, Emond (2000) suggests that when researching with children, one cannot be disconnected from the process itself. Indeed, the author found that her role as researcher was inexplicably linked with other roles such as volunteer-helper and mother of a disabled child, becoming what Rose (1997:308) terms as a 'multiple-self' where existing knowledge and understanding tangled together with experience. In order to address this, a reflexive stance was employed where the negotiation and re-negotiation of roles was required. Only then was the author able to pay attention openly and honestly to the ethical dynamics of conducting research with disabled children and young people.

All participants in the study were registered disabled and researching a social category necessitates a definition of the population about whom the literature is being reviewed. The contentiousness of terminology regarding disability has been the cause for much academic discussion and clearly, it means different things to different people. Oliver (1983: 261) observes that 'it has been suggested that the term 'people with disabilities' should be used in preference to 'disabled people' because this prioritizes people rather than disability. However, he goes on to explain that 'disabled people' is

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the preferred terminology of those within the disability movement because it makes a political statement: they are not people 'with' disabilities, but people who are disabled or disadvantaged by society's response to their differences (Oliver, 1990). Throughout this paper, the terms 'disabled children and young people' and 'children and young people with disabilities' are used reciprocally and intentionally. 'Disability' will be placed purposefully either before or after 'children' to emphasise both social barriers and individual impairment.

Contexts that shape disabled children's voices
Classic child development theory has heavily influenced the understanding of childhood, cultivating the notion that children develop towards adulthood competencies through a sequence of predictable stages. This dominant structure emphasized a sequence of measurable stages and provided a definitional framework representing what it means to be a 'normal' child. Despite the legitimacy of these principals being questioned, (Donaldson, 1978; James & Prout, 1995) this stance has had an enduring influence on conceptions of childhood. In addition, and with particular relevance to disabled children, the boundaries marked out by influential psychologists such as Piaget and Erikson 'provided the administrative basis for treating children with impairments not only as different but also 'sub-normal' or 'developmentally delayed' (Priestly, 2003:65). Indeed, Bloch (2000) believes that disabled children's lives are directly influenced by debates around 'normal' child development. This supports Priestley's (1998:208) suggestion that disabled children are most often 'judged against normative yardsticks, the imperfectable bodies....of disabled children were inevitably constructed as inferior—as 'backward' or 'developmentally delayed'. It is argued that repeated judgments such as these become embedded into daily routines and serve to strengthen the perception that collectively, children with disabilities are significantly more vulnerable and dependent on adults than their non-disabled peers.

The reference to disabled children as being 'developmentally delayed' suggests that they may never become the kind of autonomous adult citizen that most societies seem to require. This term is also used into adulthood, where lifelong impairments such as learning difficulties are described as 'developmental disabilities' (Smith, 1999). The effects of not having successfully completed a sequence of predictable stages implies that those who develop differently are seen as 'underdeveloped' or 'incomplete', not just within childhood, but throughout the life course. Contexts that concentrate on impairment, vulnerability and presumed dependency not only homogenize disability but pathologize disabled childhoods and, as Priestley (1998: 219) suggests, that this has 'de-sensitized us from their agency as social actors'.
Children's agency is often discussed in the context of arguments for increased participation. Therefore, in principle, agency should equate with

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the entitlement to voice opinions in decisions that affect them. It was clear from the early stages of the study that all of the young participants could communicate and take an active part in research conversations. Those who had little or no speech had unique ways of making their voices heard and so it was perplexing to discover that their views were not included in the processes of assessment and the provision of the AACS's. The majority of young participants were not asked if they wanted one nor were they given a choice of voice prosthetics. As one participant confided; '*we are just given them…* ' Excluding unconventional voices in decisions that affect them in this manner legitimises the 'situational tendencies' (Archer 1995:167) of incompetence that is usually associated with disabled children and young people. It also suggests that agency is closely related to articulation. Voices that are more amenable to active participation and constructive agency tend to be privileged because they are more suited to participatory environments. Unconventional voices require more careful listening and social circumstances need to be rearranged to accommodate their needs.

Including unconventional voices therefore requires researchers to move away from a universal definition of agency and place more emphasis on analysing the inflections of privilege and disadvantage that inform agency. This calls for a critical recognition of difference within equality whereby specific procedures are put in place to ensure that all voices can contribute to the debate. Adopting this model of agency not only respects and values a multitude of voices; it also includes different perspectives allowing for a more nuanced understanding of childhood.

Processes that inhibit disabled children's voices
The following scenario offers an example of how children and young people with little or no speech experience daily 'irresistible' external forces of domination (Stones 2005:111) that inhibit their voices. One young participant 'Lizzie' had just about given up using her AACS because it was physically exhausting to use and the time it took to compose a response meant that she could not keep in sync with situational conversations. She had begun to display signs of irritability when she was encouraged to use it. The following extract from an observation describes how Lizzie behaved as the teaching assistant tried to fix the AACS to the lap tray of her wheelchair: '*Lizzie protested loudly, wriggled and tried to push the teaching assistant's arm away. This attracted much attention and a second teaching assistant joined her. The two teaching assistants tried to figure out why she was so distressed and spoke together loudly above the screaming. After some discussion, they decided that the episode was just a case of 'Lizzie going off on one again because she didn't want to use her AACS' . The AACS was taken off the lap tray but Lizzie continued to cry and shout, signing 'toilet'. Her chair was reclined and she quietened momentarily. She signed 'toilet' again and whilst it was acknowledged it was dismissed because unscheduled toilet breaks were not usually permitted. After much*

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deliberation, the teacher granted permission and Lizzie stopped crying and shouting as she was taken down the corridor to the toilet'. Later, when I saw Lizzie and asked her how she was feeling, I got no response; she did not lift her head to look at me or acknowledge that I had asked her a question. The teaching assistant replied on her behalf; '*she's fine, aren't you love? You made all that fuss 'cos of a little tummy ache. Just started her period, that's all*'. Later, as I transcribed my observations, I reflected on Lizzie's reliance on others for personal, intimate care. She had little or no voice and so she used other means of communication—body language, vocalisation and signing. When her body language did not get the required response, she vocalised and signed to communicate. Even then, it took some time for the conveyed message to be understood and acted upon. Clearly, Lizzie had learned to rationalize her action based on previous attempts in order to make her voice heard.

Theories of agency in the context of voice are considered important to the above discussion not only in terms of their complex interactions in relation to the capacities of individuals, but also in terms of the interaction between individuals and societies in which they live. Whilst the work of Giddens (1984) can be usefully applied to childhood studies in that the analysis of childhood can account for the ways in which children shape and are shaped by social forces, it can be criticised for neglecting the non-rational, self-defeating aspects of agency, especially for individuals like Lizzie who experience what Ferguson (2003) describes as severe constraints on choice and action. The above scenario demonstrates how agency is constrained because inarticulation is often equated to non-rationality and incompetence. This legitimises dependence on, and constraint by, adults. Whilst Lizzie's choices were purposeful and she reflexively used her knowledge to monitor her conduct in rejecting the AACS and opting for an alternative way in which to get her message across, the powers of domination were irresistible. As a result, she began to use her voice less frequently and then only in relation to pain or frustration. However, not having a voice is not the same as having nothing to say. Indeed, during our research conversations, Lizzie demonstrated she had much to say and clearly had adequate means to do so. The above scenario, however, positions her very differently; far from being recognised as a competent agent, she was disabled by attitudes and governance. Despite the UNCRC (1989) actively encouraging listening to children's voices and respecting their experiences, Lizzie's voice was ignored. This led to feelings of disconnection and she struggled to see herself as worthwhile. Eventually she chose to keep silent in the fear that, in speaking, her voice would not be heard.

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Conclusion

Whilst not disputing that the recognition of disabled children and young people's agency entitles them to greater participatory rights, it can be concluded that the problem is that rights are rooted in a mis-guided perception of the developmental needs of children. Indeed, this paper has presented empirical research that suggests that children's rights are susceptible to being defined and moderated by political and cultural consideration. The discussions have highlighted some of the contexts and processes that influence and shape both the participatory rights and the voices of disabled children and young people. The paper has suggested that conventional emphasis of agency relates to articulation, and suggests that the continued marginalisation of inarticulate children and young people's voices on the grounds of vulnerability and incompetence allows for the (mis) interpretation of disabled childhoods. Rendering unconventional voices as part of the overall soundscape of voice not only demands an attentiveness and openness to hearing voices that are unusual and unspoken, but also on suspending disbelief of incompetence. This paper calls for researchers and practitioners to adjust their thinking, to move away from accepting only scripted words as valid and listen more carefully to silently spoken voices, facial expression, utterances and body language to make meaning. It also calls for equal opportunities for voice and embraces a moral obligation to listen and seek mutual understanding.

This paper is an open and honest reflection of some of the key themes arising from my PhD study with disabled children and young people. Ethical consideration regarding informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity were considered in depth throughout the research and all participants were fully aware of their rights of withdrawal. Ethical guidelines from the BSA, NPSCC, NCB and the University of Essex were used to support this study. Ethical approval was gained before primary data was obtained. The author has an Enhanced CRB. The real names of participants have been substituted in the paper by pseudonyms, but any mistakes and errors noted within the paper, are of course, my own.

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Karen Hayward School of Nursing and Midwifery
I trained at The Hospitals for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street (GOSH), London and The London Hospital and in 1981 qualified both as a Registered Sick Children's Nurse and as a Registered General Nurse. Since qualifying I have worked on the respiratory Intensive Care Unit and was Ward Sister of the metabolic ward. In 1984, I was seconded to work in the Sultanate of Oman. I began working in Nurse Education in 1988. Currently, I am a Senior Lecturer in Children's Nursing and Course Leader for Children's Nursing (Campus Delivery) at UCS. I am also the Deputy Course Leader for the MA Education for Health and Social Care Professionals.
RSCN, RGN, RNT, RCNT, MA in IPHCE, BA in Health Care Studies, Diploma in Nurse Education, Diploma in Nursing.

Sarah Todd School of Nursing and Midwifery
Sarah qualified initially as a Registered Adult Nurse, but an interest in children's oncology led to a post registration sick children's course at Westminster Children's Hospital. After qualifying Sarah worked in a bone marrow transplant unit before moving to a sister's post. There were several moves from clinical practice to education, as a clinical teacher, ward sister, eventually to her current post as a UCS Lecturer in Child Health Nursing/ Course Leader/ Professional Advisor for post registration child and young person degree programme.
Sarah also works as a Paediatric Oncology Nurse Specialist at The Ipswich Hospital NHS Trust. This includes managing care through the acute phase of treatment, palliative and end of life for children and young people with cancer up to eighteen and their families, in both hospital and community. This role is complimented by Sarah's work as an advisor for palliative care courses and research project at Masters Level.

Involving children and young people with cancer in decisions about management of their condition

Abstract
Practitioners working with children and young people with cancer face many dilemmas, in that the illness and subsequent treatment often has devastating effects upon their patient's lifestyle. Conflict arises due to the necessity to conform to treatment, whilst encouraging the child/young person to lead as normal a life as possible. Compromise is necessary but not always accepted particularly by young people.

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A case study approach will be used to focus on the main theoretical and practical issues associated with these individuals in decisions about their care. The article will include ethical and legal implications such as consent, children's rights and respect for the individual; advocacy; working in partnership; negotiating care; communication skills and support for the young person /parents to negotiate the transition from parental responsibility to self-care/ to promote an active role in future care.

The case study approach will support the use of examples from clinical settings. This will demonstrate the importance of the key worker and multidisciplinary team work, to ensure effective communication between principal treatment centres and shared care units in district hospitals. This will enable the reader to develop their understanding of the relationship between the theoretical concepts and what happens in practice.

Introduction

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) and The Children Act (OPSI, 1989) acknowledge and promote the involvement of children in making decisions in subjects that affect them. This article focuses on the issues in relation to children and young people with cancer who are aged 12 to 18 years. This age range has been selected as it enables the focus to be on those who are in the Formal Operational stage of cognitive development. This implies that they are developing the ability to solve a problem systematically, logically and in an organised way (Boyd and Bee, 2008).

From a healthcare perspective the Department of Health (DoH) specified that children should have control over decisions that involve their care, treatment and service planning (DoH, 2003). The National Service Framework for Children, Young People and Maternity Services identifies that children and young people should be involved in the decision making process (DoH, 2004). More recently the DoH (2011) document "Improving outcomes: a strategy for cancer" highlights that whilst the incidence of cancer is low for children and young people, the high survival rates indicate that the number of children and young people who have been treated for cancer is growing. It also emphasises the importance of involving them in decisions that will impact on the remainder of their life.

Despite these drivers for involving children and young people in decisions about their care, practitioners often face a variety of theoretical and practical issues that impact on their ability to implement this aspect of care; including consent, children's rights and respect for the individual; advocacy; working in partnership; negotiating care; communication skills and support for the young person/parents to negotiate the transition from parental responsibility to self-care/to promote an active role in future care. These issues will be explored in relation to a variety of case studies that relate to clinical practice.

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Consent

When exploring the issue of consent the competence of children to fully appreciate what they are being asked to consent about is often raised. Valid consent involves permission or agreement to proceed and can be given in a variety of forms including written and verbally (Dimond, 2011).

The DoH (2001) explains that children and young people aged 16 years and above are presumed to be competent to give their consent. However, if it can be demonstrated that they are Gillick competent, namely the young person has "sufficient understanding and intelligence to enable him or her to understand fully what is proposed" (DoH, 2001, p5), then they should be encouraged to be involved in the consent process. In order to complete this children or young people must be conversant with the relevant information this ensures that consent is informed and based upon the truth. The National Institute for Health and Clinical Evidence (NICE) manual for "Improving outcomes in children and young people with cancer" (NICE, 2005) identified the report by Spinetta et al (2003) on "Valid informed consent and participative decision-making in children with cancer and their parents" as one of many key documents that underpin clinical practice. Spinetta et al (2003) feature guidelines that encourage practitioners to give developmentally appropriate information in order to elicit informed consent.

Gibson (2011) characterises informed consent as an area that is laden with ethical issues for practitioners, for example often decisions are made at times of great stress for the child or young person or if parents had chosen to withhold information from the child or young person. A fifteen year old boy with Leukaemia relapsed after several years and as no curative treatment was feasible with his presenting symptoms, he started palliative care. However his parents would not allow any professional or family member to discuss with him that his present treatment was palliative. His parents felt that it should not be discussed and that their son had no understanding of the concept of palliative care or the terminal phase of his condition. All the professionals involved felt to the contrary, that this boy was aware of the situation. In discussion with his parents, as professionals it was decided that if this boy asked about his condition, the situation would be clarified with him and any of his questions would be answered. His parents were unhappy with this situation and in fact never left him alone with any professional from that day until he died.

Children's rights and respect for the individual

Whilst there is evidence that establishes the right for children to participate in decision making on issues that impact on them (DoH, 2011; DoH, 2004; DoH, 2003; OPSI, 1989; UNCRC, 1989), upholding those rights and respecting the individual requires recognition of the need for open communication between the parties involved. Gibson (2011) highlights that this is regarded as best practice when working with children and young

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people, in that it enables them to feel in more control. However, respecting their rights to choose can cause conflict when the choices made by children and young people involve non-compliance with what is viewed as best clinical practice. Gormley-Fleming and Campbell (2011) speculate that when young people refuse medical treatment the principles applied for assessing their competence to make such a decision are greater than those used with adult patients.

Respecting individuals encompasses acting in their best interest. A sixteen year old girl refused to take oral Dexamethasone as part of her treatment for Leukaemia as she had read that taking steroids could cause her to put on weight, due to an increased appetite. She felt also that the steroids caused terrible mood swings and so she lost her temper very quickly, especially with her peers. After discussion with the dietician, offering advice on managing her diet and the physiotherapist, with details of exercises, access to a gym and increasing her sports involvement at school, she agreed to take the steroids. Involvement of the CLIC Sargent social worker helped her to manage her relationships with her peers.

Advocacy

Advocacy is one of the cornerstone principles when working with children and young people. It involves acting in the best interests of individuals and in this instance promoting participation in healthcare (John and Griffith, 2011). For qualified nurses this is one of the fundamental values incorporated into their professional code (NMC, 2008). NICE (2005) promotes the identification of a key worker to co-ordinate the care of children and young people with cancer. Houlston (2008) feels that healthcare workers have an obligation in acting as advocate in decision-making that they ensure the child's interest(s) are the principal consideration, for this to be accomplished the child or young person must be consulted throughout. However, Coyne and Harder (2012) identify that on occasion adults have differing views on the need for children and young people to be protected from too much information. If this is the case it must be recognised that the child or young person's ability to fully participate in the decision-making process is compromised.

This is seen as essential when care is shared between more than one treatment centre. The essence of shared care is good communication, between the principal treatment centre and paediatric oncology shared care units, which are usually based in district hospitals. Patient held shared care records are kept and often daily telephone contact between the nurse specialists in both hospitals. However it is important that the young person/ parents know their key worker and who to contact for advice or in an emergency.

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Working in partnership

Working in partnership means not only working with the child, young person and their family but also within the multi-disciplinary team (MDT). There is a requirement within the NICE (2005) manual for improving outcomes to have weekly MDT meetings in the shared care units and the outcomes of the meeting are recorded in the patient's records and faxed, according to NHS confidential guidelines, to the principal treatment centre. Monthly video conferences are held between the two hospitals and bi monthly visits from the consultant and nurse specialist from the principal treatment centre. Thereby enabling the partnership to be maintained and developed.

Negotiating care

In negotiating care it is important that one side is not more powerful than the other. However, it is important to recognise the implications of negotiating care. Giving children and young people a voice means that they may reject the treatment that is recommended. At times this may present an ethical dilemma, for example when deciding if a child or young person has the right to reject the treatment, particularly if this is in dispute with the parents of the child or young person or the staff. Whitty-Rogers et al (2009) argue that when working with children where end-of-life decisions are to be made, it is important that they have autonomy in order to ask questions and to state their opinions so that they can fully understand their health condition.

It is clear that an important element of negotiating care is that of open and honest communication channels that are focussed on the individual needs of the child or young person and family (Corlett and Twycross, 2006). This raises the ethical issue often encountered in practice, namely truth telling (Gibson, 2011). Parents may wish to protect their child, as could be argued from the example given in the section related to consent. Gibson (2011) and experience from practice establishes that the opposite may be true, in that the young person may wish to protect the parents. It should be acknowledged that there are many facets to truth telling, Gibson (2011) highlights issues such as available time and cultural practices. However, for the professionals involved it is about being clear on whose best interests they are acting. For nurses this means being open, honest and acting with integrity (NMC, 2008).

Communication skills

A Cochrane review undertaken by Ranmal et al (2008) highlighted the need for more rigorous research into interventions that augment communication with children and young people with cancer. However, Kelsey's (2007) phenomenological study discovered the importance of communication skills on the perception of being involved in health care decisions. The children and young people discussed both verbal and non-verbal communication

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skills as important to their perception of being involved in the decision-making process. It is clear that communication skills are an integral part of all aspects of involving children and young people in the decision-making process. To achieve this, professionals within the MDT need to be sensitive to the child or young person's needs and to use developmentally appropriate strategies to ensure understanding and comprehension of the issues being discussed.

Support for the child or young person
Understanding the child or young person's perception of living with their condition is important in being able to offer support to them. Taylor et al's (2008) critical review of the literature explored adolescent's perceptions of living with a chronic condition discovered the following themes, developing and maintaining friendships, being normal/getting on with life, the importance of family, attitude to treatment, experience of school, relationship with healthcare professionals and the future. There is no reason to think that some, if not all of these are important for children and young people with cancer. Continuing to help young people to lead as normal a lifestyle as much as possible is a priority for the MDT. The lead on managing their care is usually taken from the young person. The importance of maintaining their normal social links is paramount, even if it is just managing to attend school for only an hour initially. As much as possible routine blood samples may be taken either at home or school by the nurse specialists. The time of chemotherapy is whenever possible fitted around family commitments and often the extended family or friends may attend to offer support. Often the child / young person/ parents find it very difficult to continuously explain about the illness. The MDT can help, especially the nurse specialists and the CLIC Sargent social worker (with child/ young person and parents' permission), with the use of puppets for the young children and group discussion for the older children. Support is also needed for the young person and their family when they are in maintenance treatment as they look perfectly well but are still having treatment and continue to have side effects, particularly, feeling constantly tired.

Making the transition from children's services to adult services is an aspect of care and delivery of services that is important for many young people. NICE (2005) states that a well co-ordinated approach needs to be taken where appropriate. Locally, this involves discussing transition to adult services and how a smooth transition will be facilitated with children as young as twelve years of age. However, not every twelve year old wishes to discuss this aspect of their care, so it is imperative for this to be taken into account.

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Conclusion

This article has explored involving children and young people with cancer in decisions about their care. It has focused on the aspects of consent, children's rights and respect for the individual; advocacy; working in partnership; negotiating care; communication skills and support for the child or young person. Integrated into the discussion have been case studies that highlight particular aspects of the issues included. It is clear that whilst children and young people should be encouraged to be involved in decisions about their health care, it needs to be established that this was in the child/young person's best interests.

Moore and Kirk's (2010) literature review of twenty-four pieces of research on children's and young people's participation in decisions relating to health care concluded that practitioners need clear guidance on how to involve children and young people in the decision-making process. It is evident that in relation to children and young people with cancer this would be a welcome addition to the evidence-base for clinical practice.

This paper reflects the key themes arising from current literature on involving children and young people with cancer in decisions about management of their condition. Ethical considerations were considered in the development of a case study approach, it was decided that no names were to be used in the article in order to ensure that confidentiality was not breached.

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Diane Henley School of Applied Social Sciences
My name is Diane Henley and I have been married to my husband William for 15 years. We live in rural Suffolk with our three children, of whom we are immensely proud. Prior to starting our family, I worked as a sales account manager for a database marketing company. I left school at 17 with a good set of O'levels and secretarial qualifications but had always regretted not going to university. I eventually satisfied this desire at the age of 43; when I commenced my Early Childhood Studies BA Honours course at UCS. After 3 years of study and very hard work, I achieved a first class pass. Having been inspired by social psychology, my article reflects the essence of my research into the development of national identity in Britain, and the complexities of this process.

Iranian, British or 'othered'? A study of how a Muslim boy living in contemporary Britain develops his national identity

Abstract

The media discourse which has surrounded Islam since the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York has significant power (Poole 2000) in that it contributes to social relations and practices of discrimination (Van Dijk 1991). This paper reflects on specific factors that influence individuals concepts of national identity which were previously raised within an Early Childhood Studies Undergraduate Dissertation carried out by the author. The original study focussed on Ahmed, a hypothetical 12 year old Muslim boy growing up in Britain in the aftermath of the attacks on the World Trade Centre on 11th September 2001 (9/11). The discussions in this paper offer an insight into the ways in which the author hypothesises how Ahmed's sense of national identity might have been formed in what Ackroyd and Pilkington (1999) term as an increasingly globalised world.

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Are We Visible?
by Shamshad Khan (2001)

Oppressed Coverage
Bomb blasts it was us who did it
Famines the result of Islamic rule
Demonstrations only of mindless masses
Women covered it's got to be oppressive
And whatever the news
You restate your views with such ease
Always finishing with a call to prayer
Any excuse to show us on our knees

Introduction

September 11th 2001 is a date which marks a major event in world history—a day which most people will recognise in its commonly abbreviated form of '9/11' and when a new page was written in the story of the struggle between 'Jihad and McWorld' (Barber 2003). The significant and powerful media discourse which has surrounded Islam since 9/11 has created increasingly problematic relationships between those of differing ethnicity and religion in the UK (Poole 2000). The core of this conundrum raises debates as to how a young Muslim boy growing up in contemporary Britain might develop a national identity, and also questions to which country his affinities might lie. Whilst national identity is historically and culturally tied to patriarchy and territorial divisions which shape, unite and divide us (Anderson 1991), it is also an emotive and fascinating subject. It was this that inspired the decision to study it in depth as a final year dissertation topic, the findings of which inform this article.

As identity is at the heart of some of the most pressing issues of the early 21st century, the notion of what it means to be 'British' is one which features regularly in the press (Carrington 1995). The Dissertation study argued that media discourses not only construct notions of 'difference' and 'other' but also contribute to debates about whether 'multiculturalism' is a lived reality or rhetorical ideology expounded by politicians (BBC News [online] 2005). The author highlighted that Muslim children like Ahmed, regularly face what is known as the 'monolithic bloc' infers that they are 'all the same'. She concludes that it is reasonable to suggest that this underpins their lack of affinity with their 'homeland' and contributes to feelings of resentment and exclusion (Bonnell et al [online] 2010).

The final Dissertation study highlighted how, at school, Ahmed would be taught citizenship with the intention of promoting racial equality and democracy. However, the author uses evidence to suggest that such an homogenising approach has serious shortcomings. Indeed, she argues that whilst Ahmed himself may adopt a hybrid identity to emphasise certain aspects of his life (Moinian 2009), this is considered inadequate for the

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majority of Muslims face a dominant western hegemony that surrounds Islam in Britain (Werbner 2000). She not only questions whether the so-called lack of affinity with 'homeland' contributes to feelings of resentment and exclusion (Bonnell et al [online] 2010) but also whether it can be counteracted with citizenship education even when incorporated with contentious debate and critical thinking.

An outline of the study

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which was ratified by the British government in 1991, has resulted in an increasing demand to hear the child's voice and encourage participation in research. This is one of a set of rights when working with young children (Alderson 1995) that should not only underpin research with children but all matters which affect children's lives (Morrow and Richards 1996). Understanding this, and acknowledging that a literature based study can be seen to be limited by not actually 'hearing the child's voice' (Alderson 1995), it was possible for the author to focus on a hypothetical Muslim child by utilising a 'case study' approach, a method that Yin (1994) believes is suitable when studying complex social phenomena. In addition, the author concluded that not only did a literature based study have the advantage of being basically ethnographic, but by studying discourse and literature children are not viewed as 'othered' (Lahman 2008), but fully embedded in society (Qvortrup et al 2009). In this way, she felt that 'Ahmed' would be given a voice which may otherwise remain unheard.

The methodological approach underpinning the Dissertation study as a whole developed from a view of childhood as a social construction and as a central element of social structure (Qvortrup et al 2009). This view of children as social agents underpins the 'new sociology of childhood' advocated by James et al (1998) which sees the construction of childhood in relation to adulthood, not opposed to each other (Alanen and Mayall 2002). From a social constructionist perspective, where sociology and psychology are integrated (Burr 2003) to emerge as critical social psychology (Wetherell 1996), the author felt that this perspective effectively challenged the 'taken for granted' ways in which the world is understood via 'conventional' wisdom (Burr 2003) and advocates that language, or discourse, is the defining feature of social life (Tuffin 2005). The author concluded that together with the philosophy of social construction, critical social psychology works with the fluidity of life, suitably reflecting the power structures and organisational inequalities evident in language, ideologies, meanings and culture which develop from discourse (Hepburn 2008).

Like Hall (1997), the author regarded discourse as powerful and, in agreement with Billig (1995) believed that it seeps into consciousness in surreptitious ways to influence attitudes and construct identity. Inspired by the work of Foucault (2002), the author sought to identify 'discourses' that positioned Ahmed within cultural and historical functions of institutions.

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Indeed, according to Foucault (2002), identity is actually produced out of discursive power practices and power relations. He also viewed discourses, or language, as the key building blocks through which both political and personal dynamics operate (Hepburn 2008).

'Passing the school dinner table test…'
The Dissertation study indicated ways in which media discourse surrounding the 9/11 attacks included graphic reports of the 'war on terror', the subsequent invasion of Iraq and the 2005 London bombings and argued that the culmination of which has been destructive, powerful and divisive. The author suggested that such discourse has resulted in widespread fear of Muslims and, as a result, a reactive culture has developed and contributed to the rise of right wing organisations such as the English Defence League (Eatwell and Goodwin 2009). This, she pointed out, was emphasised when Baroness Warsi of the Conservative party stated that the term 'Islamophobia' had passed the 'dinner table test' (Kirkup 2011a) which indicated that nationalism may be increasing as people retreated to place, race and religion as a means of self-defence.

The author argued that discursive analysis of articles published in the Daily Telegraph, the Guardian and the BBC news served to demonstrate how media coverage of significant events such as 9/11 and the London bombings of July 2005 vilified Muslims in British Society today; issues that were exemplified by David Cameron, the British Prime Minister, when he declared the failure of multiculturalism (Kirkup 2011b). Indeed, the study analysed the news reports using both Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1981) and Social Cognitive Development Theory (Aboud 1988). However, the author deduced that neither theories were entirely adequate for a full in-depth study of contemporary national identity.

Discussions within the Dissertation study suggested that perceived breakdown in British society was a problem which hit the height of the political agenda after a spate of racially motivated issues which culminated in raised racial tensions following the 9/11 attacks. They highlighted that the finger of blame was pointed towards the young, and, as a result, institutions such as schools worked to reproduce an idealised view of childhood in order to be 'good citizens' in contemporary society (Lee 2001), school was the chosen arena for change. Citizenship education was formally rolled out in September 2002 in order to introduce children to democracy (Giddens 2006) and to challenge racism and the controversy surrounding multiculturalism (Smithers 2002). An in-depth evaluation of the delivery of citizenship education was made within the Dissertation study with particular reference to social issues which worsened after the London bombings on 7th July 2005. Indeed, an assessment of its success made with reference to reports by Parekh (2000), the Department for Education (2007), Breslin et al [online] (2006) and the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (Keating et al [online] 2010), all of which explore notions of 'Britishness' and citizenship.

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The study also considered more recent approaches to identity and prejudice and focussed on Ahmed and the constraints of the British social structure. However, it acknowledged that multiple identities proliferate in an ever-evolving globalised world (Ackroyd and Pilkington 1999) and are influenced by many social elements including family, school, the media and social environments (Ding and Littleton 2005). Indeed, an assessment was made of more recent research by Barrett (2000, 2004), Davies and Harre (1990) and Moinian (2009) to incorporate the fluid, non-static nature of multiple identities.

Ahmed's national identity—people, politics and power

Initially, the Dissertation study critically evaluated how children develop a concept of nation and how this may be influenced by the discourse of political leaders which is delivered via the media of newspapers and television news. The evaluation was underpinned by Social Identity Theory, or S.I.T., (Tajfel 1978) and Social Cognitive Development Theory (Aboud 1988). In recognition of the many regional and cultural variations in the way this process works according to the specific socio-cultural context a child experiences (Barrett 2000), the study focussed on a hypothetical child named Ahmed, a twelve year old Muslim boy growing up in the London Borough of Newham. It was felt that a qualitative case study of this type would give voice to a particular child of ethnic minority status in Britain today, avoiding the homogenisation that is often created when diversity is ignored and children are grouped as a mass collective (Connelly 1998).

After extensive analysis of news coverage of the terrorist attacks on New York on 11th September 2001 (9/11) as reported in the Telegraph, the Guardian and by BBC News [Online], the author discovered that recurring themes began to emerge from the data. Descriptions in the media such as 'the Muslim world' or 'Islamic Terrorists' (la Guardia et al [online] 2001) highlighted that some groups who believe in Islam created a divisive, derogatory anti-Muslim message. Another theme highlighted America as 'the only superpower' and a democratic world leader, positioning its dominance in global affairs economically and politically (Harden [online] 2001). The supposed impregnability of America was shaken by the attacks, giving concerns that the events had adjusted the 'New World Order' (La Guardia et al [online] 2001).

The 9/11 attacks were immediately interpreted as an assault on democratic values and Blair, the Prime Minister of Britain, endorsed this by saying that the battle was between 'the free and democratic world and terrorism'. He confirmed Britain's alliance with Bush by vowing to stand 'shoulder to shoulder with America to fight the new evil in our world' (Jones 2001) and other politicians across the world deemed the attacks a 'message of war' (Delves Broughton et al [online] 2001). In Britain, Hague of the Conservatives likened the attacks to 'an act of war against civilisation'; thereby positioning the West as good and civilised, fighting the evil 'other'.

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This view was emphasised when Bush quoted 'you are either with us or against us' (Jones 2001)' as it created an 'us versus them' situation, evocative of Said's (2004) term 'the West versus the rest'. The author suggested that when Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1978) were applied to Ahmed and his family at this stage, a dilemma quickly became apparent. Indeed, whilst Ahmed and his siblings were (hypothetically) British born Muslims, would their allegiance lie with Islam or the U.S.A. and the West? She concluded that this exposed a weakness in the theory, arguing that many people are culturally diverse and therefore may belong to several social groups relating to nationality, religion, language, ethnicity and other customs (Barth 1969).

The Dissertation illustrated that suspicion for the 9/11 attacks was immediately placed on Osama bin Laden, the 'multi-millionaire Islamic terrorist' (Delves Broughton et al 2001) and his 'terrorist group Al Qaeda' (Johnston 2001). The author suggested that the use of the word 'Islamic' as a monolithic bloc contributed a powerful, divisive anti-Islam message which was evident in the terms such as 'the extreme Islamic Taliban movement' and 'Islamic Jihad' who were reportedly 'happy to see America suffer' (Delves Broughton et al [online] 2001). The implication, she felt was clear. Terrorists were embedded in Islam and therefore the enemies were Muslims.

In this way, political discourse was being used to describe differences which can determine 'modes of thought' by restricting alternative ways of thinking and behaving, so knowledge becomes a force of control, as well as power (Giddens 2006). As Foucault (1980) argued, such discourse is able to reach into the hearts and minds of individuals and influences their very sense of being. To relate these reports more specifically to Ahmed and his family, the author felt that the effects would have been particularly threatening for an Islamic family based in East London, as attacks on Muslims were swift and retributive. Indeed, she reported that The Forum against Islamophobia and Racism cited over 600 cases of criminal damage, harassment and violence were perpetrated against British Muslims in the two weeks following the September 11th attacks (Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism [online] 2011).

These issues hit the height of media reports as indicative of a broken society (BBC News [online] 2001b) which caused the government serious concerns surrounding perceived breakdown in community cohesion. This, the author argued, prompted politicians to assess the difficulties some young people experience when forming a British identity, leading to debate around 'core British values' (BBC News [online] 2005c) and citizenship. Citizenship education began to feature heavily in the British political arena as the means to teach children about diverse cultures and ethnicities in order to challenge racism and racial stereotypes (Smithers 2002). It was viewed by many as a way of both reinvigorating interest in the political system and addressing the issues surrounding multiculturalism (Arthur and Wright 2001).

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How might Ahmed learn to become a 'good' British citizen?

Citizenship education was incorporated into the National Curriculum in England for secondary schools pupils from September 2002 as a measure to counteract the demise of social cohesion (BBC News [online] 2002) and to introduce children to democratic and communitarian ideals (Giddens 2006). The perceived breakdown in multiculturalist society was a problem which rose up the political agenda after a string of racially motivated issues; the Macpherson report into the murder of teenager Stephen Lawrence (Macpherson 1999), race riots in Bradford throughout the summer of 2001, raised racial tensions after the 9/11 attacks followed by the London bombings of 7th July 2005 which were perpetrated by 'home grown' terrorists (Sengupta [online] 2005).

Citizenship is founded on the concept of democracy and human rights, and despite the recommendations in the Crick report (QCA 1998) to include the diverse, multicultural aspects of British society, instead the emphasis was placed on Britain as a nation-state (Osler 2009) with the homogenising effect of civic values aimed at producing 'good British citizens' which may equate ethnicity with 'other' or 'bad' (Brown 1995).

Recognising this, the Parekh report (2000) stressed the need for multicultural variations of Britishness to be deemed normal, as the language of 'ethnic minorities' and the need to integrate evoke a false image of a large, homogeneous society and various strands of minority groups. Seen from a Foulcaultian (2002) perspective, such discourse holds power as it seeks to produce 'normal' citizens fit to run civil society through reproductive means. In order to develop national identity with a homeland, Billig (1995) argues that a person needs to feels socially, legally, behaviourally and physically accepted in society. However, divisive processes are instrumental in the marginalisation of others (Hall 1996), which are endemic within British institutions as described in the Macpherson report (1999).

In the decade since the Macpherson report (1999), the debate surrounding citizenship, national identity and multiculturalism has heightened. After 9/11, concerns about national security and the prevention of extremist terrorism were added to the justifications for citizenship education (Osler 2009). Following the 2005 London terrorist attacks, the stark realisation that these terrorists were young, educated and 'home grown' (Sengupta [online] 2005) prompted the government to assess the difficulties some young people experience in forming a British identity. This led to increased debate around 'core British values' (BBC News 2005c), but trying to define national characteristics for Britain is problematic (Paxman 1998). Any definition of 'Britishness' has the ability to exclude, as well as include, some groups with the threat of indoctrination into a fixed and intolerant nationalism (Breslin et al [online] 2006).

In the wake of the London bombings of 7th July 2005 (7/7), the Ajegbo Report (DfES 2007) was commissioned by the government to

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review citizenship education in a bid to prevent extremism. It advocated that a more diverse curriculum should be developed and that 'collective identities' should be promoted to reflect Britain's diversity and rich history, and citizenship education seemed the ideal forum. However, these recommendations were ignored and instead citizenship lessons exclusively for young Muslims were introduced, emphasising their marginalised status. Citizenship education remained focussed on the British nation and the citizen's supposed affinity to the nation state, completely avoiding true multiculturalism and a critical examination of children's racist attitudes (Osler 2009).

The most recent assessment in the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (Keating et al [online] 2010) showed that British children develop a strong sense of national identity and have less tolerance of refugees and immigrants. However, the author argued that citizenship education fails to offer alternative information to children who may encounter xenophobic or Eurosceptic propaganda, leaving them vulnerable to the views of any extreme political party (Osler 2009).

The Conservative government has threatened to remove Citizenship Education as a statutory subject within the curriculum (Brown 2011), but a recent study conducted by the National Foundation for Educational Research (Bonnell et al [online] 2011) showed that it could be used to challenge the growth of racism and extremist ideologies; providing children are encouraged to celebrate their own individual identities.

Will Ahmed always be 'othered' or can difference be based on affinity?

The Dissertation study effectively brought together these ideas by considering more recent approaches to identity and prejudice by focussing on Ahmed and the constraints of the British social structure, as Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1978) and Social Cognitive Development Theory (Aboud 1988) fail to include social-cultural aspects (Barrett 2000,2004). Multiple identities proliferate in an ever-evolving globalised world (Ackroyd and Pilkington 1999) and these are influenced by many social elements including family, school, the media and social environments (Ding and Littleton 2005). However, it was acknowledged that there are socio-economic and political restrictions to this process, which enable the wealthy and inhibit the poor (Hall 1995).

The social constructionist approach of Positioning Theory (Davies and Harre 1990) suggests that identity is not just something we are, but something we do (Buckingham 2008), seeing individual roles as flexible and negotiable 'scripts' of everyday life (Hall 1996). The way in which people appear are developed according to their own particular circumstances and available resources (Barrett 2000), with media and consumer culture playing a key role in the process of constructing and defining national, ethnic and cultural identities (Gillespie 1995). This approach was encapsulated

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by Moinian (2009) in her identity study of students born in Sweden of Iranian heritage, concluding that these children appreciated global youth culture and preferred to adopt a hybridity of identities; rejecting the binary polarisation of being either Iranian or Swedish. This dynamic process illustrates what Bauman (2000) refers to as the 'fluidity' of global identity, involving negotiations and an on-going construction of self. By the means of consumption, young people such as Ahmed may attempt to contest, subvert and transform what they experience as racial or ethnic identities (Ding and Littleton 2005). However, gender and ethnicity, combined with a lack of material resources, still continue to limit their individual freedom (Gillespie 1995).

Conclusion

On reflection, and in order to teach British children true democracy, the author suggested that they should be encouraged to develop a positive sense of identity together with critical thinking skills (Bonnell et al 2010). She argued that with safe spaces to air their views, however controversial, they will be able to experience democratic relations amongst their peers. In this way, we may hope that children will learn that despite cultural diversity, we share more similarities than differences (Brah 2009). Whilst citizenship in education may be the means by which to create these 'safe spaces' (Bonnell et al [online] 2010), true democracy will involve debate and critical thinking whereby children should feel that their grievances could be aired and, at the same time, encouraging them to develop a positive sense of identity. This would facilitate true 'citizenship education'; integrated throughout the national curriculum and thereby acknowledging that 'Every Child Matters' (DfEE 2011).

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Jessica Clark School of Applied Social Sciences
As a lecturer within the School of Applied Social Sciences and Course Leader, BA (Hons) Children, Young People and Policy, teaching commitments are spread across BA (Hons) ChYPP, BA (Hons) Early Childhood Studies and MA Childhood and Youth and focus on the social studies of childhood and youth including health and wellbeing, embodied childhoods and children's geographies. A career background running HE Programmes in FE Environments is combined with academic study at the Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Essex and University of Greenwich in the fields of sociology and social research methods. A methodological background in quantitative methods and statistics is combined with an interest in child centred methodologies and creative and visual methods. Substantive areas of focus include the fields of embodiment, sexuality and wellbeing with a focus on the lived realities of children and young people.

The double hermeneutic of the 'sexualisation of childhood' debate

Abstract

The proliferation of debates surrounding the sexualisation of childhood in the late 20th and early 21st century has led to the commission of a range of investigations into the role of sexuality and consumer culture in the lives of children and young people. This paper sets out to analyse three international examples of such reports, finding that a broad brush approach to sexualisation appears to render all fashion, consumption, nudity and seemingly embodiment itself, as 'sexualised' and therefore inherently problematic. In what is overwhelmingly a negative reading of contemporary media and consumer cultures the concept of gender remains un-problematised. Girls are constructed as vulnerable and passive simultaneously boys are ignored, either unaffected or unimportant. This results in a lack of attention to the voices of children and young people in a debate which should place them at the centre of enquiry. The paper concludes by urging academics to consider the double hermeneutic of the social studies of childhood. To pay critical attention to the role of theoretical and value positions, as well as lacunas in bodies of work, as influential, not just in academic study, but in informing the gendered and embodied worlds we seek to explore.
Keywords: sexualisation, double hermeneutic, children's voices, gender

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Introduction

The new sociology of childhood (James and Prout 1990) signalled a turning point for the study of children and young people within the social sciences. An emphasis on the role of culture, structure and agency in the everyday lives of children replaced the previous focus on universality, passivity and developmental progress through pre-assigned stages to adulthood. An important part of this development was the role of the double hermeneutic of the social sciences in the study of childhood "to proclaim a new paradigm of childhood sociology is also to engage in and respond to the process of reconstructing childhood" (James and Prout 1990:9). Second order concepts, devised to mediate the frames of meaning of social worlds, can become first order concepts appropriated by social life itself (Giddens 1984). That is to say, that research and theories within the social sciences are likely to have practical consequences. Academics and policy-makers do not operate within a distinct and separate bubble and debates surrounding children and childhood have the power to profoundly impact upon social worlds.

This paper intends to explore the role of the double hermeneutic in the sexualisation of childhood debate manifest in three international reports: the Australia Institute's (AI) (2006) Corporate Paedophilia, American Psychological Association's (APA) (2010) Report of the Task Force on the Sexualisation of Girls and Bailey's (2011) Report of an Independent Review of the Commercialisation and Sexualisation of Childhood commissioned by the Department of Education for England and Wales. It would be impossible to provide a thorough discussion of all the pertinent issues within these reports. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to draw attention to areas inadequately considered and in need of further critical discussion. These include firstly, broad definitions of 'sexualised' media content or commercial goods which appear to render consumption and embodiment as implicitly 'sexualised'. Secondly, the limited attention paid to the role of agency in the lives of children and young people and, finally unproblematised constructions of gender and sexuality. Included originally was also Buckingham et al's (2010) Report to the Scottish Equal Opportunities Committee regarding sexualised goods aimed at children. However, on analysis of this report, it was evident that this was an encompassing and child-centred approach to the debate and the critiques levelled here at the other reports do not apply. Readers are recommended to consult this report for a full discussion of the proliferation of 'sexualised' commodities and their role in the lives of children.

Cultural and theoretical contexts

The individual remits of these reports vary; however, their overall focus is the role of consumerism, 'sexualised' goods and associated media content in the lives of children. The reports are situated within seemingly perverse cultural landscapes, saturated with sexual imagery (Jackson and Scott

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2010) yet framing the sexual as risky, rife with cautions and prohibitions. Sexuality in contemporary cultures occupies a similar position to childhood itself, presumed to be natural yet requiring constant vigilance. It is argued that modern societies are characterised by risk anxiety (Giddens 1990; Beck 1992) and this is never more present than in conversations which consider the relationship between childhood and sexuality. Sexual knowledge is considered an important boundary marker between the worlds of adults and children (Jackson 1982) but the location of this boundary is a source of debate—often manifest in discussions of sex education (Pilcher 2005). Sexuality is frequently conceptualised as inimical to childhood itself – the two domains as mutually exclusive. As such, discussions surrounding the sexualisation of childhood are indicative of a more general social fear regarding the loss or erosion of childhood itself (Postman 1994); emotionally charged with high degrees of moral concern.

This paper adopts an alternative position, locating children as neither inherently sexual nor asexual; sexuality as neither intrinsically good nor bad for children's wellbeing. Instead it considers individuals 'sexuality' as possessing a corporeal materiality that is simultaneously culturally constructed; accessed, understood and modified through discourse. Emphasising appreciation of biology, structure, culture and agency and attempting to move past moral absolutes.

The development of the New Sociology of Childhood (James and Prout 1990) enabled the posing of new questions in childhood studies and the employment of social constructionism (Berger and Luckmann 1967) facilitates an emphasis on the historical and cultural specificity of children's everyday experiences; a statement which could equally be applied to sexuality. Elias (1994:148) demonstrates the differences in the treatment of sexuality and children across history, "In the civilising process, sexuality…is increasingly enclosed in a particular enclave…and with children, such things are…not referred to at all". However, a reliance solely on social constructionism can result in a form of determinism which in its extreme manifestations ignores the materiality of the social world and the corporeality of the self.

In order to move beyond risks of social or cultural reductionism, where any acknowledgement of the 'realness' of individuals physical experiences disappears behind a veil of discourse, this paper situates the study of childhood and sexuality in a similar manner to the way in which James and Hockey (2007) frame their exploration of health and the body—utilising Shilling's (2005) Critical Realism. This framework employs social constructionism alongside Structuration Theory (Giddens 1979) and Phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty 1974). In the context of this debate, the media and consumer culture will have an impact on the everyday lives of children but these experiences are accessed and understood through shifting historical and cultural discourses and embedded in the corporeal experiences of individuals. Contexts which appear fixed are never stable

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(Derrida 1988) but the performances are no less real for individuals.

Defining sexualisation

The reports in question have very different approaches to defining 'sexualisation'. The Bailey Review (2011:8) argues that this debate is not served well by developing "complicated and contested, definitions of commercialisation and sexualisation". The report makes no attempt to define the sexualisation of childhood, no concept which can be operationalised in existing or future debates. Thus readers continue for a subsequent 100 pages unsure of exactly what it is that we're all supposed to be discussing. This appears similar to the approach taken by the Australian Government during the investigation into images of naked children used by artist Bill Henson. The then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, described the images, before actually seeing them, as absolutely revolting (Trickey et al 2008) with other politicians following suit, effectively sexualising the image. The recognition that images of child nudity have been present in art for centuries is not considered. In fact in all the reports historical perspectives are virtually absent (Wouters 2010).The photographs themselves are not necessarily implicitly sexual, resting instead on the interpretation brought by the viewer and subsequent value judgements; such absolutist political discourse serves to render the discussion of childhood sexuality as illegitimate in itself (Simpson 2011:292). Such conversations will remain shrouded in veils of morality without attempting to define these imperative concepts, and adopting more encompassing historical and theoretical perspectives (Wouters 2010). "Cliches such as 'let children be children' are unhelpful and say nothing…the nature of childhood is not self evident" (Simpson 2011:295).

However, it is questionable whether the attempts to define sexualisation actually place us in a better position. An all encompassing approach to sexualisation is adopted by AI (2006:15) who describe "material related to beauty, fashion, celebrities or romance…as sexualising content". APA (2010) provides perhaps the most explicit definition with 'sexualisation' as occurring when one or more of four processes takes place, the final one being sexuality inappropriately imposed upon a person. However this definition is so wide ranging that it offers nothing concrete for academics to operationalise further, for practitioners or parents to utilise or young people to discuss. The solely negative definition provided by the APA has been subject to extensive critique as violating an established academic standard by not even considering the possibility of a positive view, some condemning it as unworthy of publication (Verra 2009).

Unbounded definitions are not helpful for furthering the debate and can result in sensationalist claims. AI (2006:44) perhaps takes this the furthest, in the name of the report itself "Corporate Paedophilia" and by making an explicit link between sex in popular culture and increased risk of paedophilia for children. "Subjective interpretation and value judgements

are presented as scientific fact (Simpson 2011:295) instead of being subject to explicit, critical reflexivity (Hawkesworth 2006). Such sensationalist statements could in themselves be damaging and abhorrence of child sexual abuse should not blind us to investigating sexual non-abusive activities in children's lives. As in the Bill Henson case, the question should be asked "were those who wished to classify Henson's photography as child pornography in fact...rendering those particular images of the child even more sexually desirable to the very people they feared?" (Simpson 2011:299). Inadequate consideration of the context of clothing, nakedness and images of children in consumer culture results in a struggle of signification (Cover 2003) where the rituals that constrain both gazer and performer become unstable. Applying the double hermeneutic, if all embodied commodities or images of children's bodies are defined as 'sexualised' this has the potential to render such imagery as sexual even if that was not it's intention or how it is understood by adults or children. As Archard (2004:105) argues "talk of children's essential innocence is in danger both of being mythic and, ironically, of being sexualised".

Agency and appropriation
The issue of how adults and children may differ in their interpretation of 'sexualised' imagery is a fundamental part of exploring the agency of young people in consumptive practices yet that much research cited within these debates has been based on adults rather than children (Buckingham et al 2010). Bailey (2011) devotes an entire section in his review to the views of parents but this is not mirrored by a section devoted to young people so that the voices of children can be afforded equal status. Despite frequent quotes in large font from parents decorating the pages throughout the report, it is not until half way through that any explicit discussion of children's views takes place. Even then this discussion is appears to be a negative one exploring the role of 'pester power' in parent's consumptive practices and overshadowed by more quotes from parents articulating the pressure from children and their own subsequent guilt.

     In addition, the language employed within the reports is implicitly passive with regards to children's economic action and media literacy. Throughout all the reports constant referrals are made to children's vulnerability, susceptibility to marketing exploitation and limited capabilities to interact in mediatised consumer societies. There is a lack of recognition of the negotiation of gender, consumer culture and sexuality by children whereby consumptive practices are subject to appropriation. Used as both part of collective social practices and in the construction of identity (Konig 2008). The analytical concept of bricolage (Levi-Strauss 1966) whereby consumer goods can be subject to a range of uses and meanings (Hebdige 1979) is not employed. AI (2006) considers this position as failing to acknowledge the vulnerability and limited capacity of young people to process information and yes, it would be irresponsible to disregard

the potential of media messages to impact, potentially negatively, on children's everyday experiences. However, Angelides (2004:52) highlights that "notions of children's powerlessness…stand as unsubstantiated assumptions, begging the question of their political and performative function". This paper mirrors these concerns highlighting the double edged sword of a desire in contemporary culture to protect versus a desire to control children (Lumby 1998), taking issue with the suggestion that children and young people are entirely powerless.

Hello (passive) girls and goodbye (irrelevant) boys

A key area where the double hermeneutic is potentially most problematic is with regards to gender. It is only APA (2010) that sets out to explicitly explore only the lives of young girls however the lacuna, which the role of sexualisation for boys appears to fall into, in the other two reports is cause for concern. The role of boys is akin to the role of the body in sociological discussions prior to the 1980s and 1990s—occupying an absent presence (Shilling 2003), characterised by the very lack of attention they have received. AI (2006) provides an extensive list of clothing and accessories that 'sexualise' girls yet the list for boys contains simply one item and of the range of images provided in the report from magazines and catalogues only three contain boys. The Bailey Review (2011) takes this further by providing a description of the pubertal development of females but failing to do so for boys. Skimming over boys in consultations whose sole role would appear to be exploring the role of sexualisation in the lives of all children fails to consider half of all young people. What message are we sending to boys by seeming to place so little value on their experiences? Even if the argument that girls are the most affected by this issue (Bailey 2011) is considered as a good reason for their restricted focus (which is in itself questionable), by failing to consider the place of boys in the experiences of young women, these reports fall far short of providing a complete picture of the lives of girls.

Concerns surrounding the failure to consider boys within this debate are paralleled by an equal uneasiness surrounding how young girls are constructed. AI (2006:9) emphatically states that "adult women use cosmetics to make themselves more attractive to men". Such assumptions of gendered behaviour serve to construct women in particular ways which do not recognise the multi-faceted nature of girls' experiences, or that 'girl culture' can act as a site for agency and creativity (Cook 2004). Bailey's (2011) justification for discussing the pubertal development of girls but not boys is that girls are more affected by this discussion and more prominent within it. This serves not to question the potential essentialism of femininity in popular culture (Jackson and Scott 2004) but instead naturalises gender as an issue—leaving little space for critiques of femininity and masculinity as social constructs. This is not to say that the media does not circulate standardised images of femininity (Frost 2001) or reify dominant cultural

standards of beauty (Lloyd 1996) and sex. Indeed, Buckingham et al (2010) argue that children are not wholly free to make their own choices but equally "they are not in any sense simply the dupes of marketers" (2010:4). As explored in the previous section concepts of appropriation and agency are imperative to understanding how children interact with and utilise commodities and media images. "Young people present themselves as media literate and able to make their own decisions about sex" (Attwood 2009: xx). These decisions may be mediated by structural forces and dominant cultural scripts but if we assume girls are unanimously vulnerable and passive and take the same broad brush and unquestioning approach to gender and sexuality, evidenced in these reports, then we too are guilty of not supporting the diversification of images of gender, sexuality and what it means to be a child in the 21st century.

Conclusion

The intention here has not been to present a discussion of feminist critiques of sexualised media (Bordo 1993; Gill 2008) or to extensively analyse the literature on young masculinities, sexuality in consumer cultures or children's voices in the research process. Instead it has intended to draw attention to the role of the double hermeneutic in the sexualisation of childhood debate by highlighting that both unquestioned assumptions and lacunas in the reports analysed, have the potential to inherently impact the social worlds under discussion. The commissioning of these reports has provided a valuable space for debates surrounding sexuality in contemporary media and consumer cultures and has drawn attention to an important issue in the lives of children in contemporary cultures. However, this paper highlights a broad brush approach among the reports to the complex issue of child sexuality. The discussions lack historical context, are imbued with value judgements that have not been subject to critical reflexivity and are framed in morally absolutist terms.

The reports fall far short of recognising children as social actors (Prout 2000) and fail to place value on children's voices in a debate which should place them at the centre of enquiry. Even where children's views are considered they remain gendered. To put this bluntly, to ignore boys in academic work is to ignore boys in real life. It sends a message that boys are unaffected by these issues and that boy's views are unimportant within these conversations, neither of which are true and both of which run the risk of silencing their voices. The conceptualisation of girls as inherently vulnerable within a dominant culture will not serve to help reinforce women's power (Wolf 1994) or rights and, despite the emphasis on young girls within these reports, certainly does not demonstrate the value of their voices either.

If academics, policy makers, practitioners and educators continue to focus all their attention on girls, construct children and young people as fundamentally passive and assume all media and commodities related to

young people's bodies are 'sexualised' and therefore intrinsically negative, then there is an inherent failure to acknowledge the intricate nature of children's embodied relationships with consumptive practices and indeed their own sexuality. The double hermeneutic tells us, this is not only a failure within critical academic debate but also serves to misrepresent, and have a potentially negative impact upon the complex, gendered and embodied worlds we seek to explore.

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Sarah Richards School of Applied Social Sciences

As a lecturer at UCS my teaching interests reflect my undergraduate and post graduate background in Social Policy and the academic study of Childhood. How Childhood, as an interdisciplinary subject is researched and where children are variously situated in the research process is of longstanding interest to me. This is reflected in personal research, where my PhD explores alternative kinships with children and their parents. The approach used in this study and the emerging themes from it, form the basis of papers presented nationally and internationally. Childhood is a dynamic academic discipline which makes teaching and researching in this area challenging and of constant interest.

'Why are we not allowed to comfort children when they've been told off?' The social positioning of children and their capacity for ethical agency

Abstract

Significant contemporary focus is placed upon the rights of children. To be heard, participate and have agency are all part of the discourse of contemporary childhood. The agency being fostered within the social institutions which surround children reflect ethical principles found in human rights legislation and are emphasised in ethical frameworks through which social research with children is conducted. These codes of behaviour are based upon the Cartesian subject where the rights of selfhood and individualism are integral. The autonomy embedded here and ascribed to children through rights based upon this autonomous subject, is, I argue inappropriate for the interdependency and subjectivity of children's lives. Children's sense of social justice, empathy and moral reasoning is not only underestimated but inhibited by social structures as children are shaped for the responsibilities of citizenship. In this theoretical paper I explore how the social relationships of children demonstrate developed ethical qualities representative of an ethic of care. I evaluate whether such an ethic of care is compatible with contemporary education's emphasis on agency and the pursuit of the citizens of the future.

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Introduction

Motivation for this theoretical paper is drawn from an interaction which took place sometime ago between me and my daughter. With her permission, I outline the exchange here which sets the context for the discussion to follow. When asked about her day in school she explained that someone in her class had moved his name from the green light to the amber light (A punishment involving the use of traffic lights where children must move their names towards the red light at each transgression). She suggested that she felt sad for him as he had wanted to sit with his friend but had not been allowed to and when he had got upset, he had been told to move his name. She expressed a desire to comfort him and this was followed by asking me why children who were being told off could not be comforted by their friends. I asked if he was a particular friend of hers and she said no he was just one of the children in her class. My honest but inadequate response to her was that I did not know, but I was reminded of Wall's (2010:10) claim of childhood being a test for morality. The discussion here is not analysis of this interaction rather of my interest in the issues evoked by it.

Children's right to participate enshrined in UNCRC, is embedded within the institutions such as school where childhood is situated. In these locations children are encouraged and at times compelled to acquire the skills associated with participation, paradoxically one of these being autonomy. I argue that the extent to which autonomy and rationality are embedded within these rights, has created a hegemonic ethical discourse to the detriment of children. The tension between the moral and empathetic actions of children and established ethical codes of behaviour is a neglected topic. Yet it is also one where opportunity to shift ethical understanding exists. In this paper I outline the evident misfit of these two positions and explore children's capacity for moral interdependency within school as a social structure which fosters the acquisition of adultist autonomy, rationality and individualism.

The relationship between ethics and morality first needs to be outlined. To do this I use Frank's (2004:19) exploration of the inextricable connection of the two terms, where ethics refers to a codified set of principles and the term moral is used to describe the situated and contingent response between people where the nature of that response 'declares our moral self' in the sense that 'how we act will declare who we are'. This moral connection between self and other is the crux of my debate here and I use Bakhtin's (1984:287) argument to situate the following ethical discussion where individual existence is established not through holding an 'internal sovereignty' but is to be found in the boundary between self and other as a result of dialogue.

The contemporary meaning and significance of autonomy (and its relationship with rationality) in ethical discourse is also a key element in this discussion. I suggest that children are consigned to the margins of ethical debates as a result of the dominance of claims for autonomy and children's

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assumed incapacity to demonstrate autonomy as conversely used as justification for this marginalisation. It is worth reflecting on Rose's (1999:91) argument about 'self' as being 'an object of knowledge and autonomy…to be achieved through a continual enterprise of self-improvement through the application of a rational knowledge and technique'. Such knowledge and technique used to develop this autonomous individual have been delivered (according to Rose) through the extensive use of 'psychotherapeutic lenses' where individuals learn to constitute themselves as the 'self' required by contemporary government. School is a dominant location where this concept of autonomy is applied. Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (1995:7) argue that the obligation on individuals to regulate and standardize their existence is based upon the needs of the labour market which makes the application of it in school as a place where children are trained, a contemporary imperative. Autonomy is dominant in a hierarchy of characteristics evident within an adult rights holder in advanced liberal societies. It is a necessary component of economic citizenry valued in the public sphere where work is remunerated and quantifiable, in contrast to the private sphere where children are positioned as recipients of care which is neither (for the most part)remunerated or quantifiable (Tronto 2009:164).

Adultist human rights
The rights that protect this autonomous and economic citizen, are based upon the values which emerged through Enlightenment and modernity, depicted as being 'the equal right of all men to be free' (Hart 1955:175). These relate to the requirements of the social and political context so that 'human rights exist to preserve social liberty or autonomy' (Wall 2008:531). The capacities to reason and rationalize are also prerequisites for the rights and responsibilities embedded in current citizenship discourse and are inextricable from the human rights legislation from where ethical codes of behaviour are drawn. The human envisioned in such codes is adult not child. Such legislation sits clumsily on the shoulders of children and I argue impedes rather than enhances their social inclusion as ethical subjects. However the requirements of this citizen ensure that children must have the opportunity to acquire the skills of participation (Lewis 2010).

The dominant dichotomy between child and adult, based on a biological narrative of qualities deficit in childhood and embedded in adulthood, has been empirically justified through a psychological developmental approach to children. This knowledge has been used to shape the education and schooling of children despite the more recently emerged sociologies of childhood (see for example Jenks 1996, Prout 2004, James & James 2005). Parsonian concepts of the child as an empty vessel remain convenient for adults who, continue to articulate the boundaries of childhood through such deficiencies.
Psychological developmental staging of childhood present children as the clay from which adulthood is shaped. Continued prevalence of this position

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perpetuates the denial of children as having the capacity to maintain complex social and moral relationships until an age more proximate to adulthood is reached (see for example Kohlberg 1981). The reduction of the diversity of children to a universal, temporal, developmental journey inhibits our ability to see children like adults, as having the capacity to be moral and therefore ethical beings (as well as immoral and unethical). However such inadequacies in children are not 'natural or innate' but must be considered as being socially produced (Cockburn 1998:109). My argument here is that such qualities should not be assumed to be the result of progressive development (or indeed a failure of such an emphatic developmental focus when such qualities are absent) but already present in children who are constructed by but also construct their social worlds (Wall 2010). The evidence for this is found in the everyday social actions of children. Bakhtin's boundary between self and other with our existence being within communication provides a useful lens through which to identify children's empathy and moral actions.

Voices between the boundaries

Part of current ethical discourse involves the right to protection from harm. Despite this being a dominant concern of the care which surrounds children, much more is written about the necessities of protecting than about the child assuming a protective role. Yet empirical examples of children as the protectors of others, acting as moral and empathetic beings, as complex and developed as adults are not difficult to find. Cheney (2011) provides narratives of children protecting their parents from painful discussions about their HIV status. Wall (2010) speaks movingly about a terminally ill child misbehaving to frustrate his parents as an attempt to reduce their pain at his death. These examples demonstrate the connection felt by one child for an 'other'. Such engagement requires empathy not independence and autonomy. The prevailing discourse on morality in childhood is that children are the passive recipients. However it is how such terms are understood that excludes children from being moral agents. If ethical understanding shifted towards an ethic of care where the emphasis is on nurturance, reciprocity and connection, then children's ethical and moral actions would become far more explicit. A justice model which can operate in the classroom reduces the capacity for empathy and increases the tension between alternative attributes looked for in children. The social positioning of children allows adults to seek obedience and compliance to rules from them, I argue that this autocratic approach to the child-adult relationship impedes the very qualities that we seek to embed (Lockyer 2007:29). Morality is constructed in the moment by moment action, in those boundaries between self and other, rather than an abstract concept ascribed to human interaction. Such moments as these are uncomfortable ones where what we do declares who we are (Frank 2004). It is in the social structures where children are situated that they learn alternative ethical and

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moral concepts to those that they already hold.

Constraints upon the ethical reasoning of children determined by the social structure and their social position are evident in their interactions. If an absolutist approach to the control of behaviour in the classroom dominates, we run the risk that it will overshadow the ethical relativism practiced by children. The current emphasis on autonomy in ethical codes of behaviour induces a tension between the need to connect and the pursuit of individual freedom. However, what the empirical interactions offered by Cheney (2011) and Wall (2010) reveal are intricate connections between all those involved as well as the complexity of the social context which children successfully navigate. Rather than valuing and protecting independence, we need to reframe ethical discourse to better reflect such connection through a greater emphasis on interdependence (see for example Oakley 2005).

Dependence and vulnerability as human attributes
Qualities which are commonly attributed children are vulnerability and dependence. Such characteristics however need to be evaluated and their application to children not necessarily refuted but extended more inclusively. This task is a necessary one if rational individual autonomy is to be developed into more inclusive ethical principles where the moral and ethical actions of children can be more relevant. Despite extensive evidence that children demonstrate both social and economic interdependence historically and currently, they continue to be perceived as passive, vulnerable and the dependent appendages of adults. However greater recognition of interdependence between adult and child is becoming evident (see for example Ennew 1994, Invernizzi 2008). In part this has been revealed through liberal political administrations with extensive market economies which have necessitated the economic labour of both (where appropriate) adults in households. Such economic labour has changed familial organisation and highlighted the actions of children in supporting parental economic activities (Ennew 2007). Wall (2010) extends this concept of interdependency by arguing that children are at times vulnerable and dependent but that adults on occasion are too. His argument, that we are all both dependent and independent is not to be confused with the developmental, temporal, linear model but one indicative of a more fluid approach. What then emerges is a plurality of experience between self and others which is inclusive and based upon all our interdependencies. This would effectively shift ethical codes from the individual to the plural 'others' and recognise ethical rights to extend beyond notions of individual justice towards ethics of care and empathy.

Experiencing empathy
An exploration of the relationship between autonomy and empathy is relevant here. An appropriate argument for this is provided by Slote (2007:59) who suggests that children practice their skills in autonomy by

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example, offered through empathetic parenting. Parents, who allow for the individualities of children, demonstrate respect for their opinions and aspirations, ultimately, facilitate a nurturing environment for the acquisition of autonomous thinking. The application of Bakhtin's (1984) concept of the 'being' developed through communication between connected but other individuals is also evident here. This theory becomes an important one to consider in relation to the acquisition of a characteristic so valued in advanced liberal states currently and I question the extent to which the acquisition of empathy (as a route to it) is facilitated in the classroom specifically but in the wider social context generally. An inclusion of children's moral activities in a more plural ethical discourse, where the relations between self and other are nurtured may just result in more autonomous adults.

Conclusion

Children hold the potential to shift and develop our ethical understandings. Children's and adult's capacity to care should be the starting point for ethical principles not the place where it becomes diminished by an emphasis on autonomous selfhood. Connected empathy is an ethical position that children already demonstrate and arguably can be used as an effective route towards the autonomous citizen. Unifying morality and ethics within an ethic of care makes for a more complete ethical position where children and adults are centred not excluded or seen as ethical citizens in the making. Wall (2010:10) suggests that 'Childhood is morality's most profound test'. I argue that children demonstrate ethical relations as equally complex as those practiced by adults in the social worlds that we construct and are constructed by. Childhood then is society's most enduring opportunity to move towards an ethic of care.

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Jane Kaveren School of Applied Social Sciences
Jane Keveren is the Childcare Manager at ABC Childcare (Ipswich) Limited
with responsibility for both the pre-school and out of school club services.
Prior to joining ABC's management committee in 2004, Jane had 13 years
experience of various roles with Barclays Bank PLC, culminating in the role
of Personal Banker, and subsequently 5 years with the local NHS trust as a
Care Services Manager.

Jane is currently studying for her BA in Early Learning, having
successfully completed her Foundation Degree in Children's Care Learning
and Development in 2011 and has recently enrolled on the Early Years
Professional Status programme at UCS.

The role of free-play in supporting children's personal, social and emotional development

Abstract
The role of free-play in supporting children's personal social & emotional
development considers the low value given to children's free-play in today's
society. It highlights the challenges faced by playwork settings in order to
meet the learning & develoment requirements of the Early Years Foundation
Stage (EYFS) whilst maintaining the focus on the freely-chosen, personally
directed play required by the Playwork Principles. Current research
into children's well-being and the implications of failing to support the
development of Personal, Social and Emotional Development (PSED) are
reviewed within the presentation.

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