theorising childhood

citizenship, rights and participation

edited by claudio baraldi and tom cockburn

Studies in Childhood and Youth

Series Editors
Afua Twum-Danso Imoh
University of Sheffield
Sheffield, UK

Nigel Thomas
University of Central Lancashire
Preston, UK

Spyros Spyrou
European University Cyprus
Nicosia, Cyprus

Penny Curtis
University of Sheffield
Sheffield, UK

This well-established series embraces global and multi-disciplinary scholarship on childhood and youth as social, historical, cultural and material phenomena. With the rapid expansion of childhood and youth studies in recent decades, the series encourages diverse and emerging theoretical and methodological approaches. We welcome proposals which explore the diversities and complexities of children's and young people's lives and which address gaps in the current literature relating to childhoods and youth in space, place and time.

Studies in Childhood and Youth will be of interest to students and scholars in a range of areas, including Childhood Studies, Youth Studies, Sociology, Anthropology, Geography, Politics, Psychology, Education, Health, Social Work and Social Policy.

More information about this series at
http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14474

Claudio Baraldi • Tom Cockburn
Editors

Theorising Childhood

Citizenship, Rights and Participation

Editors
Claudio Baraldi
University of Modena and Reggio Emilia
Emilia-Romagna, Italy

Tom Cockburn
Edge Hill University
Ormskirk, UK

Foreword

My first research on children and childhood 20 years ago looked at children's radio and television broadcasting across the twentieth century. A key feature of the early days of BBC radio in the 1920s and 1930s was its concern that its young listeners were active in their listening, and also active in their citizenship and engagement with the public realm. The BBC's *Children's Hour* has been criticised for being autocratic and paternalistic, but its guiding ethos was one of encouraging of public participation and civic engagement for children and young people. In many ways, what the BBC broadcasters did was more progressive, but also quotidian and enduring, than what is stated in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924 from the League of Nations. A discourse regarding young people and their contribution to the good of the nation and polity was relatively widespread and featured in relation to other leisure pursuits, such as cinema-going and sport, but also across the institutions of school and family. It was a discourse in Europe which featured across the political spectrum from National Socialist propaganda to Soviet schooling. The 'modern child' was a sign of hope, aspiration and transformation of the social through public participation and good works.

The urbanisation of Europe, tied to industrialisation and the development of capitalism, continued to grow in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Yet, at this time, many children still lived outside cities. Children and young people in the 1920s, listening to a bucolic

story on the wireless, had a relationship to the land, husbandry and wildlife that is now, for most children, only mediated through the internet, books, film and other media. As someone who grew up as a child in rural Oxfordshire in England, then spent all of my adult life in London, I was amazed to discover on a nursery school trip to a country farm with my young daughter in the 1980s one of her friends thrilled and physically excited to see a real live cow for the first time in his life.

Citizenship has been conjoined for much of its modern formation with public participation, but also with land or, rather, the control of land as bounded territory. Citizenship has been historically enunciated from a particular sense of place with regard to the control of that place as conceptualised space. The belonging and identity of citizenship are both deeply ideological and entwined in the processes of national imagination. Of course, the French revolutionary and Enlightenment construction of 'man' as the subject of universal human rights is entwined with those stories of nation, land and belonging, yet it also offers possibilities beyond those constraints. The idea of human rights feeds an imagination beyond the nation and a sense of the political beyond national community. It is an idea, at once tied to biopolitics, deeply caught up in the governmentality of national populations, that Michel Foucault analyses, as to the fracturing and contestation of such a politics that may be understood through the writing of Jacques Rancière and his sense of disagreement as a rupturing of the social.

This collection began life at the European Sociological Association Research Network 4: 'Sociology of Children and Childhood' mid-term symposium, which took place in Modena (Italy) from 21 to 23 May 2014. However, *Theorising Childhood: Citizenship, Rights and Participation* emerges at a particular moment of European crisis (or aggregation of crises), and it raises questions that resonate beyond its European origin and setting. In their introduction (Chap. 1), the editors Claudio Baraldi and Tom Cockburn list the crises of 'Europe'—the crisis of Europe as a political, economic and cultural project post-Brexit, the increase in 'rampant nationalism', the economic crisis of debt and austerity, and the crisis concerning the growth, visibility and hostility towards migrant populations from the East and the South across the Mediterranean Sea. This nexus of crises carries deep historical overtones from the 1920s, 1930s

and 1940s. After the First World War, there was rampant nationalism, economic recession, the collapse of the old European order and mass migration from the East. Writing about these crises and their contribution to the rise of totalitarianism in Europe, but also writing in the context of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, Hannah Arendt in her *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951) rightly warns that human rights stripped of political community and the jurisdiction of the nation state are worthless and offer no real protection.

This volume offers an understanding of citizenship, rights and participation not from the vantage point of adult philosophy and political theory but from the lived experiences of children. This is a perspective so often ignored. The chapters offer understandings—all different in many ways—of citizenship, rights and participation not as abstracted ideas or concepts, with normative and adultist assumptions, but as lived. The emphasis on lived experience is deeply sociological. Ethnomethodology, developed in the 1960s, was critical of abstracted and expert accounts; instead it revealed how ordinary and everyday social interactions hold the key to how society is ordered. Conversation analysis comes out of this sociological tradition. In this volume there is a focus on how sociological categories are generated and have meaning through localised interactions and particularities. To stress the *lived* aspect of children's lives and childhoods is to shift away from universal categories and to understand any commonalities as a consequence of situated practices and interactions. The 'national', 'local' and 'global' are not sociological abstractions but empirical consequences of social interactions. National boundaries are felt and realised, for example, through the particular practices and techniques of border control, policing, age verification, internment and deportation; and children, as human subjects, tell us about and provide accounts of these practices and techniques in law courts, in journalistic interviews, in therapy sessions and in sociological research.

Yet it is in these contexts where citizenship and rights are more difficult to ascertain, are the site of struggle and contestation or are forcibly denied, where a political vulnerability is often matched with a vulnerability of the body and a vulnerability of voice. When civic rights have been stripped from human beings, the body on its own finds it difficult, or is insufficient on its own, to support claims for rights. It is only through the

relationality of bodies that rights claims are made and become realised. But it also through the fragility of such relations that the voice stutters between the audible and inaudible. In the context of questions about children's rights, participation and voice, the horizon of audibility and inaudibility is significant. Children's 'voices'—or rather the wealth of media and mediums through which a politics might be demonstrated— face not ready recognition but the challenge of recognition—namely, the fact of inclusion within political community is itself contested at first base. Recognition in this sense is never given but always framed as a point of struggle, and always through forms of social solidarity. Voice in itself is never enough to articulate a politics. Moreover, children's voices, even in the plural, are certainly never enough. They must be conjoined with others as part of a complex of generational, intergenerational and intragenerational struggle.

This volume, for all its attention to lived childhood, doubles its attention to the demand for social change. A concern about the status quo of social practice and interaction is matched by another about political change. How things *are* is matched by how things *could be*. And instead of simply aligning agency and participation as one and the same thing, *Theorising Childhood* brings out the subtle differences and interrelations between the two ideas as situated categories, such that both categories take shape and meaning through their articulation in a set of questions about power, dominance and normativity. The world we live in now, so very different in many ways from Europe at the turn of the twentieth century, provides new and different surfaces within which to associate, interact and participate. The forms of mediation and the forms of solidarity and contestation available to children and young people now mean that their lived experiences and the means of control and exploitation are radically different. This volume provides support to reflect on how things might be different.

Goldsmiths, University of London   David Oswell,
London, UK

Preface

How did this collection get written and produced? Through the hard work and commitment of a large variety of people, all of whom are interested in the nature of children's citizenship, rights and participation. The chapters developed out of the European Sociological Association Research Network 4: 'Sociology of Children and Childhood' mid-term symposium, which took place in Modena (Italy) from 21 to 23 May 2014. The event was held at the beautiful University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, which was very well placed given the region's world-famous history and approaches to child-centred pedagogy commonly known as the Reggio Emilia approach, a key model for childhood studies courses across the globe. The network began in the 1980s as a critical alternative to mainstream research on children, and through increasing empirical and theoretical activity it has come to make significant and influential contributions to understanding childhood as a social phenomenon. The importance of children and childhood(s) as topics for sociological study is reflected in a growing community of scholars engaged in theoretical and empirical work in this area across Europe. This includes work looking at children living in times of political change and transition, engagements with understanding childhood as a structural space in societies, and explorations of children's everyday lives from their own perspective.

The focus of the symposium was on theorising childhood, in particular the areas of citizenship, rights and participation, exploring the different

and various perspectives that included these three topics into the broader field of childhood studies and sociology. The event theorised the variety of contexts of citizenship, rights and participation, approaching the social studies of childhood in terms of children's actions, competences and perspectives. The results are reproduced in this collection. The symposium comprised keynote speakers, including Hanne Warming (University of Roskilde, Denmark) and Michael Wyness (University of Warwick), but also Karl Hanson (Kurt Bösch Institute, Sion) and Maria Herczog (chair at Family, Child and Youth, Reader at Eszterházy Károly College and member of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child Committee). It also involved a number of contributors from across Europe. The evaluation of the conference from participants stressed both the friendliness of the experience and the high quality of the papers. Then, needless to say, the participants went home and we went back to our usual routine.

However the legacy remained. The quality of the papers initiated a discussion between the two editors, and from this the book developed and we remembered vividly the desire of participants to put their work to good purpose. Thus we approached the paper presenters and colleagues to develop the ideas of the book, albeit with some nervousness.

Of course, the greatest part of the book has depended on the contributors. We owe a huge debt to these individual authors, who wrote and rewrote their papers with patience, professionalism and not a little academic zeal. We editors are very excited by their ideas and have formulated some rather modest conclusions from standing on the shoulders of the participants, authors and other great influential thinkers in the field of the sociology of childhood. The latter are far too numerous to list but can be discerned through the acknowledgements in the chapters. However, particular acknowledgement needs to go to Jo Moran Ellis, Cath Larkins, Madeleine Leonard, Lucia del Moral Espin, Randi Nilsen and Daniel Stoecklin, the previous coordinators of the European Sociological Association Research Network, without whom we would never have got close to producing the book. Hanne Warming needs thanking for her support in running the network. Maarit Alasuutari, Harriet Strandell and Leena Alanen need mentioning for their support and counsel. The many others involved in running the network are too numerous to mention but

nevertheless receive our gratitude. We should also like to thank Griet Roets and Nigel Thomas, who have taken up the mantle of coordinating the network and moved it to the next level. The conversation, as such, has only just begun.

Emilia-Romagna, Italy	Claudio Baraldi
Ormskirk, UK	Tom Cockburn

Contents

List of Contributors

Sara Amadasi received her PhD in social sciences at the University of Padova (Italy). Her research interests concern children with a migrant background and involved in transnational journeys, and children and youth participation in intercultural communication. She has published the paper '"I already have a culture." Negotiating competing grand and personal narratives in interview conversations with new study abroad arrivals' (2017, with A. Holliday) and is currently co-editing a book on small culture formation and intercultural communication (2019, with A. Holliday).

Claudio Baraldi is Professor of Sociology of Cultural and Communicative Processes at the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia (Italy). His research includes work on cultural presuppositions and interaction in educational systems, intercultural communication and mediation, conflict management, and the development of techniques of dialogue. Currently he is President of the Research Committee 'Sociology of Childhood', International Sociological Association. On adult–children interactions in educational contexts he has published widely in international journals and collections, and he has edited and co-edited two books (2009, 2012, with V. Iervese). Currently he is co-editing a book entitled *Global Childhoods in International Perspective: Universality, Diversity, Migrations and Inequalities* (2018, with L.R. DeCastro).

Tom Cockburn is Professor of Social Sciences and Head of Department at the Department of Social Sciences at Edge Hill University (UK). He has also worked at the University of Bradford and Manchester Metropolitan University (UK). Over the past 20 years he has undertaken research into children and young people with various charities and government organisations. He has published on a variety of issues concerning children and young people, including citizenship, rights, drug use, sports participation and far-right political action. His book *Rethinking Children's Citizenship: Theory, Rights and Interdependence* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) explored theories of children's citizenship.

Florian Eßer is a senior lecturer in the Department of Social Pedagogy and Organisation Studies, University of Hildesheim (Germany),. His research interests are childhood studies, children and youth services, theories in social pedagogy, and the history of childhood and social work. Among his most recent publications *Reconceptualising Agency and Childhood. New Perspectives in Childhood Studies* (2016, as co-editor), and 'Enacting the overweight body in residential child care: Eating and agency beyond the nature/culture divide' (2017).

Federico Farini is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Northampton (UK). From 2015 to 2017 he worked as Senior Lecturer in Sociology of Early Childhood at the University of Suffolk (UK). While working as a lecturer in Education at Middlesex University (UK) he was a founding member of the Centre for Educational Research and Scholarship (2014) and the London Equality in Education Research Network (2015). He has published books, chapters, articles and edited books in Italian, English and Slovenian. In 2014 he was elected vice-president of the International Sociological Association Research Committee 'Language in Society'.

Vittorio Iervese is Associate Professor of Sociology of Cultural and Communicative Processes at the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia (Italy). His research activity is focused on intercultural communication, social participation and conflicts, the sociology of children, visual culture and visual sociology. He is president of the Festival dei Popoli—International Documentary Film Festival and is currently involved in international research on the use of images to build children's narrative memories (SHARMED, Shared Memory and Dialogue). Among his recent publications are 'Form is when the substance rises to the surface' (2016) and *Participation, Facilitation and mediation. Children and Young People in Their Social Contexts* (2012, co-edited with C. Baraldi,).

Rita de Cássia Marchi has a PhD in political sociology from Paris Descartes University (France). She is a professor at the Regional University of Blumenau (Brazil), teaching on postgraduate (Master in Education) and undergraduate (social sciences) degree courses. She is a researcher in sociology and anthropology, focusing on the sociology of childhood, the sociology of education, childhood anthropology and urban anthropology. Her research interests concern contemporary childhood, childhood poverty, child labour, school education and street children. She is editor-in-chief of the journal *Atos de Pesquisa em Educação* and she leads the research group Interdisciplinary Studies of the Child and the Teenager at the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (in Brazil) (CNQP).

Yannis Pechtelidis is Assistant Professor in Sociology of Education in the Department of Early Childhood Education at the University of Thessaly (Greece). His research interests lie in the sociology of education, the sociology of childhood and youth, the educational commons, discourse theory and analysis, and ethnography. He is a member of the European Sociological Association, the European Research Network for Sociology of Education, the European Research Network for Sociology of Childhood, the International Discourse Analysis Network, the International Association of Political Science and the Greek Network for Political Discourse. He has participated in several research projects, has published in reputable journals and is the author of two books.

Barry Percy-Smith is Professor of Childhood Youth and Participatory Practice at the University of Huddersfield (UK). He has extensive experience as an action researcher in research, evaluation and development projects with children, young people and practitioners in a range of public sector contexts. His main interests are children and young people as active agents of change, and participatory approaches to learning and change in organisations and communities. He has undertaken numerous projects concerning the theory and practice of child and youth participation and youth transitions, and he has published widely on these issues, including *A Handbook of Children and Young People's Participation: Perspectives from Theory and Practice* (2010, co-edited with Nigel Thomas).

Michele Poretti is an academic associate and lecturer at Lausanne University of Teacher Education and research associate at the Centre for Children's Rights Studies at the University of Geneva (Switzerland). He has multidisciplinary academic training and more than 20 years of professional experience comprising research, evaluation, policy development and humanitarian work in wartorn countries. During the past ten years he has conducted research on child rights-

based policies and practices, focusing on issues such as child protection, missing children, children's place in public spaces and child participation. He is currently completing a PhD thesis on the political and moral foundations of the children's rights project, which explores, through distinct thematic case studies, the practices of child rights activists at the international, national and local levels.

Manuel Jacinto Sarmento has a PhD from the University of Minho (Portugal). He is an aggregate professor at the Institute of Education, Department of Social Sciences of Education there. His research focuses on the sociology of childhood, the sociology of education and research methodologies. He has published extensively on the sociology of childhood in both books and journals.

Daniel Stoecklin is Associate Professor in Sociology at the School of Social Sciences, the Centre for Children's Rights Studies, at the University of Geneva (Switzerland). His areas of research and teaching are the sociology of childhood, children's rights, children in street situations, child participation and the capability approach applied to children's rights. He holds a PhD in social sciences from the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) for a thesis on children in street situations in China. He has been involved in several international non-governmental organisation projects for children in difficult situations, and as an independent expert for the Council of Europe regarding children's participation.

Nigel Thomas is Professor Emeritus of Childhood and Youth at the University of Central Lancashire (UK). His research embraces child welfare, children's rights and theories of childhood, with a particular focus on children and young people's participation. He has worked with a range of children and young people using a variety of innovative methods. He is associate director and co-founder of the Centre for Children and Young People's Participation. He is internationally known for his work on children and young people's participation and featured in the book *Key Thinkers in Childhood Studies*. He is a joint editor of the Palgrave book series *Studies in Childhood and Youth*. For seven years he co-edited the journal *Children & Society*, whose editorial board he now chairs. He is a visiting professor at the Centre for Children and Young People at Southern Cross University (Australia) and an Honorary Professor in the School of Education at Aberystwyth University (UK).

Gabriela de Pina Trevisan has a PhD in childhood studies from the University of Minho (Portugal). She specialises in the sociology of childhood. She is

Adjunct Professor at the Higher School of Education of Paula Frassinetti (ESEPF) (Portugal), teaching social and educational intervention and community work. She is a researcher at the Research Centre of Paula Frassinetti (CIPAF), Observatory of Socio-Educational Intervention for Applied Human Rights (OBISE) and ESEPF and principal investigator in research projects on autonomy processes of young people leaving care. She is an external member of the Centro de Investigação em Estudos da Criança (CIEC)/University of Minho. Her main research interests concern citizenship and children's rights, childhood public policies, childhood participation, community intervention and childhood poverty.

Hanne Warming is Professor of Childhood Sociology and head of the research group Social Dynamics and Change in the Department of Social Sciences and Business at Roskilde University (Denmark). She has published extensively in the fields of social work with children and young people, lived citizenship and trust, and children's perspectives. In 2005 she received a prize for the Best Project of the Year from the Joint Council for Child Issues in Denmark. In 2008 she was appointed as a European Union expert on children's rights, in 2011 as member of the National Council for Children's Affairs and in 2016 on the European Expert Database of Outstanding Female Academics, Academianet.

Michael Wyness is Associate Professor in the Centre for Education Studies at the University of Warwick (UK). His research is in the fields of childhood studies and the sociology of education. His most recent book is *Childhood* (2015). He has published widely in journals on childhood adversity, children's participation, and childhood and the state. He is currently involved in a project on child migration and identity, and formation and parents' involvement in their children's transitions.

List of Figures

1

Introduction: Lived Citizenship, Rights and Participation in Contemporary Europe

Claudio Baraldi and Tom Cockburn

Children's and Young People's Citizenship

The concept of citizenship before the twentieth century, although highly contested, broadly referred to a geographical context. This could range from a citizen of the Roman Empire to one of a specific and boundaried city, such as the city states of the Low Countries in the seventeenth century where citizens could number in the hundreds. From the Renaissance to the mid-nineteenth century, a sense of citizenship developed alongside natural rights theories. These 'civil rights' included the freedom to own property and to make contracts. This enabled the exchange of goods, services and labour to participate in a market economy. This burgeoning of citizenship also involved concepts of the state, nation and transnationalism as European countries expanded across the globe and consolidated their governance in their home territories. European countries colonised other parts of the globe, assuming a *terra nullius* of local indigenous

C. Baraldi (✉)
University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, Emilia-Romagna, Italy

T. Cockburn
Edge Hill University, Ormskirk, UK

peoples. The imperialist project involved a migration of people out of Europe, into Europe and people transferred across the various European powers' global spheres of influence through trade, slavery and the free movement of workers and their families. Today the processes of European state consolidation, the movement of people across the globe, the assertions of citizen identities and governmentality continue to concern scholars today. Sociologists of childhood, including those in this collection, also engage with these long-running themes of citizenship.

In Europe, at the time of writing, there are a number of 'crises' affecting governance and citizenship. There is the crisis of the European Union (EU) project after the UK's Brexit vote in June 2016; the continuing refugee 'crisis' as Southern Europe is beset with migrants (including children) entering the continent by boat and overland from Syria, North Africa and other troubled parts of the globe; the rise of nationalistic and populist political parties across Europe; and the continuing economic debt 'crisis' of Greece and other Eurozone states. Such crises are not new; Europe has had a long and troubled history of moments of unity (albeit relatively brief) and fragmentation; economic crises, immigration and emigration; and rampant nationalism. However, scholarship today has engaged with children's experiences within these processes amid other theoretical responses to understanding children and young people.

It is perhaps too early to forecast the political consequences of the Brexit crisis for Europe. At the time of writing, relatively simple agreements about EU citizens' residency in the UK and British citizens' residency rights in the EU are yet to be determined. Children's place in these negotiations has to date been largely overlooked because adult workers and the health needs of the elderly are at the top of the list. The repercussions on children of the 2008 economic crisis receive little conventional coverage. The few studies to have taken place from a European perspective have demonstrated the negative consequences on the provision of children's services, decreasing levels of financial support to families with children, and the impediments this has posed to children's participation in play, leisure, and formal and informal education (Ruxton, 2012). There are rising levels of child poverty among 28% of Europe's children (Eurochild, 2014), and young people as a generation continue to lag behind older age groups (Olk, 2009).

A growing body of research is concerned with children's migratory experiences and how they need to be untangled from adult migration issues (Dobson, 2009). There are studies of migrant children's own experience in host countries and their concomitant struggles for citizenship recognition (Crawley, 2010; Dorling & Hurrell, 2012). The important element of the sociology of childhood is to untangle children's own definitions of their citizenship identity, separate from that of their parents, or to see them as 'victims' of the migration process. This raises the issue of children's agency, one to be returned to later in this introduction. For now it is necessary to note the ambiguity of many migrant children in the process and to acknowledge the spectrum of migration experiences. These range from victims of 'child trafficking' and the suffering of children by immigration policies and their enforcement (O'Connell Davidson, 2011; for a further study across Europe, see Mougne, 2010) to the children of highly skilled workers (Hatfield, 2010). It is clear that it is important to retrieve the perspective of children's experiences in their everyday worlds to capture their suffering, identity formation or enjoyment of their new lives in a new country (Crawley, 2010; Den Besten, 2010). The long history of migration has also turned a focus onto the experiences of second- and third-generation 'ethnic minority' experiences of children (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003). The experiences of migrant children's identity formation brings into focus issues of their multidimensional citizenship because they are active constructors of identities utilising their identities from the host culture, those of their parents and their own constructions of citizenship as a generational experience (O'Reilly, 2012). These complexities have given rise to concepts of 'partial' citizenship (Salazar Parrenas, 2001) and hybrid citizenship status (Stasiulis, 2004).

The processes of globalisation are today the subject of huge academic attention. In citizenship studies, these have progressed into debates around global governance and global citizenship, perhaps encapsulated in ideas of 'cosmopolitanism' and cosmopolitan citizenship in contrast to national citizenship identities (Delanty, 2006). There are of course positive aspects of this, such as the 'structure of feeling' (Nava, 2002) of a symbolic allure of cultural differences in art, fashion and consumption goods from across the globe. The development of global cities, with a diverse set of communities from across the planet and the prospect of

global travel, allows for a beneficial sense of 'global citizenship' for everyone to enjoy. However, cosmopolitanism has also shown up recurring tensions around citizenship identity formation, in particular the competition and contrasting experiences of urban and rural dimensions. These tensions have been identified in the recent EU referendum in the UK with urban centres tending to vote remain in Europe and displaying their embrace of international and cosmopolitan ideals, in contrast to more rural locations voting to leave the EU, citing concerns about immigration, among others. The open-minded ideas around cosmopolitanism have their alter image of xenophobic racism and nationalism also touching the lives of children, especially those from immigrant and Muslim backgrounds (Gillborn, 2012).

Much contemporary theorising focuses on the processes of the construction of citizenship identities. For children this has taken the form of a focus on the deficits that children have in relation to adults. Here children lack full citizenship, are unable to make contracts and have problems participating in equivocal terms as adults (Cockburn, 2013). Scholars, such as Lister (2007), thus tend to outline moves for a more inclusive form of citizenship. Following on from this, theorists of childhood critique the unitary, individual model of the citizen in contrast with one that emphasises the interconnected nature of human experience (Cockburn, 1998, 2013). The interconnected nature of citizens is illustrated in models of citizenship based on principles of redistribution outlined by Marshall's classic conception and updated by Nancy Fraser for a politics of redistribution. Thus notions of poverty and class and how they link with children's lived citizenship experiences become important. The attention to the assertion of identities is reflected in the wider debates around recognitive struggles (Isin, 2015) for citizenship identities.

It is necessary to move away from traditional views of citizenship that view the citizen as an individual being processed within a bundle of rights, responsibilities, entitlements, duties, inclusion and exclusion, towards one that emphasises voice, difference and social justice (Delanty, 2000). This approach implies inclusion of more and more groups as well as a turn from a pure 'rights' (and duties) approach towards *lived citizenship*, and from which social justice through sameness develops towards acknowledgement of difference (Lister, 2007; Warming, 2015). The

notion of lived citizenship implies a more nuanced and process-driven focus on citizenship as positioning and identity-shaping, and valorises subjective experience, difference and symbolic power relations (Stasiulis, 2004; Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Here citizens develop cognitive, symbolic and social competence through a series of negotiations and positionings in everyday interactions across different institutional contexts. Thus identity is a process rather than a static given.

It is also necessary to acknowledge that lived citizenship does involve disciplinary aspects (Delanty, 2003). The learning of citizenship processes may be disciplinary based on certain norms for the 'right citizen' or 'the deserving recipient', giving rise to distinctions between those who live up to these norms and those who fail to do so (Lister, 2007). Nikolas Rose (1990) identifies that citizenship is constructed through flows of surveillance, regulation, information and communication, of which children form one of the most intense targets for disciplinary discourses. Drawing on Foucault (1979), he highlights power to be exercised in a capillary-like circular fashion, altering and influencing subjectivities in a constant flow of re/action. This gives rise to a complex series of citizenship constructions as individuals intersect with a series of power relations across different social contexts. As Devine (2011) argues in applying this disciplinary model, together with a more lived, fluid and dynamic theory of citizenship to children's education, citizenship identities are 'learned' in systems and institutions which frame this learning through cultural norms and practices.

Children's and Young People's Rights

The ambiguity of children's citizenship is mirrored when considering children's rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, calls for 'every organ of society' to engage with human rights. While it is imprecisely worded, it has great symbolic value, represents a common universal standard to be achieved and can help guide people toward human rights compliance. However, scholarly consensus is fragmented on the meaning, interpretation and application of human rights. Like citizenship, that is premised on the liberal humanist position

on rights, human rights assume a sovereign and rational human subject with a shared series of human goals and conditions; these assumptions place children in an 'incomplete' paradigm, as they are considered dependent and irrational (Cockburn, 2013). These assumptions place children in an 'incomplete' paradigm.

However, notions of human rights have been radically contested. These include critiques that see the operation of human rights as a means of enforcing liberal democracy but at the cost of 'free trade' that favours the more powerful global economies (Dean, 2008). Critiques challenge simple dichotomies of perpetrators and victims to a view of rights that emphasise the complexity of local context (Freeman, 2002). Also, liberal human rights operate by reinforcing existing power relationships rather than radically transforming the operation of power (Goodhart, 2008). Furthermore, Latour (1991/3) notes that human rights have lost their ability to transform lives and provide a vision for the future.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), ratified in 1989, outlines a broad menu of rights for children. Freeman (2007) has classically summarised these articles into the 'three Ps': provision, protection and participation. Provision refers to those elements of the UNCRC that concern a child's basic life, sustenance and services, notably education. Protection refers to those articles concerned with protecting and safeguarding children from harm, exploitation and abuse. Participation is concerned with a child's right to have their opinions taken into due consideration over decisions that concern their lives. While recognising the importance of all three of these aspects, scholars associated with the sociological study of childhood are concerned with analysing the tensions within these articles and even the rights project as a whole. First, children are excluded from universalised human rights frameworks and instead have their own *children's* convention, thus emphasising and reinforcing the difference between adults and children (Cockburn, 2013). Second, rights are often given conditionally, and if we see the context in which they are deployed they are often advanced conditionally on a series of concomitant responsibilities. For instance, the right to participation in education is premised on good behaviour (Crick, 1998) and has elements of governmentality attached to it (Rose, 1990). Thus, as Warming (2011) notes, responsibilities rather than rights become the objective. Third, rights can maintain exclusivity, as they are premised

on the ability to be able to claim equal rights (Honneth, 1995), or once rights are claimed they can exclude other children from their own rights or apply extra burdens on women (Mendus, 1995).

The sociology of childhood recently, as contributions to this collection add to, apply analytic focus on the social contexts in which rights are claimed, contested and interpreted. Thus Hanson and Poretti (2012) focus on children's interpretations of rights. Legal rights are exercised in specific contexts, so where children engage with children's rights it is important to attend to the deployment of the law, a child's interpretation and a recognition of the realities of the social context. Therefore Hanson and Poretti (2012) apply the concept of children's *living rights*. Along these lines a 'right to protection from labour' is different for child workers in the 'Global South' where 'protection' can be deployed in an arbitrary way with serious consequences for the lives of children (Liebel, 2008). Thus sociologists, rather than taking universal rights at face value, are interested in the particular contexts in which they are exercised. Those children who are most marginalised in society tend to have their own interests out-trumped by hegemonic and political interests. For instance, the right to freedom of conscience and religion tends to be overridden by the wishes of parents and the wider community'.

Alanen (2009) looks on the diet of rights in the UNCRC as a normative process through which researchers need to reflexively explore the norms and values underlying each right. She calls for attention to the social context of children claiming rights but to do so in a way that is both reflexive on the researcher's own values, processes and logics and also understanding about the exercising of children's agency in which they achieve and affirm specific rights. This may be by going beyond the agency/protection divide where the primary responsibility of adult organisations is to be 'risk averse' and to focus on the child's right to protection at the possible expense of their right to choose and participate. It is also necessary to explore rights in the political context of their own lives: are the rights to education there to provide children with an agentic understanding of their rights or are they being disciplined into obedience? How do children define their own rights? How do children wish to have their rights expressed? How and in what ways do children respect other people's rights, as well as their own? Are expressions of rights by marginalised children the same as those of more privileged children? These are all

important questions that the chapters in this collection seek to ask. It is clear that we need to be clear about what the precise meaning is of children's participation as rights holders and rights enactors. This brings to the fore important questions about children's agency and what this means to adults, practitioners, professionals, policy-makers and academics.

Children's and Young People's Participation and Agency

The Sociology of Childhood has long recognised the importance of children's participation (Prout & James, 1990) and children's agency (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). The interest in children's participation was originally inspired by the approval of the UNCRC in 1989. As we have seen, this includes the right for children to have their opinions and participation taken into consideration. However, the importance of children's participation has been considered previously, as part of the reflexive process which has been enhanced in modern Western society (Prout, Simmons, & Birchall, 2006). Reflexivity means the ability to monitor social action and therefore social processes (Giddens, 1984). It is a reaction to the increasing uncertainty and risk in a highly complex society. Reflexivity allows the examination of risks and the planning of ways to reduce the consequences of the uncertainty that follows. Participation equivocates to reflexivity because it introduces flexibility and responsiveness in cases of problematic action. In the twentieth century, the importance of children's participation has been high on the policy agenda, so that it may be represented as 'the age of children's agency' (Oswell, 2013, p. 3). These assumptions about the origins and importance of children's participation and agency are controversial, as we shall see later in this chapter. However, it cannot be denied that in the first part of the twenty-first century the importance of children's participation and agency has been increasingly emphasised. Therefore it is not surprising that most contributions to this collection deal with these topics, linking them to the issues of citizenship and rights.

Most studies of children's participation and agency have focused on institutional settings in Western societies (e.g. Thomas, 2007; Wyness, 2009). Recently, however, the analysis has been extended to new social

contexts, such as sports teams (Cockburn, 2017), and has focused on new perspectives on institutions, such as domestic violence in families (Katz, 2015), and above all new areas of global society (André & Godin, 2014; Bühler-Niederberger & Schwittek, 2014; Clemensen, 2016; Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010). The analysis of children's participation and agency has highlighted the importance of children's social action in local contexts and global society, and the awareness that children are social actors (Stoecklin, 2013) and not simply the recipients of adults' socialisation and education.

Agency in particular is conceived of as children's ability to act autonomously from external conditions (James & James, 2008), and this also means that children's actions are not determined by adults' actions (Baraldi, 2014). This definition implies that participation (and social action) should be distinguished from agency. Agency is a *specific form* of participation, which enhances social change (James & James, 2004). It is based on children's availability of choices of action, which can open different possible courses of action (Baraldi, 2014): it is a form of participation that shows the availability of choices of action, enhancing changes in their own social contexts. In other words, agency is a transformative form of participation (Mayall, 2002). In this sense, agency is at the core of children's lived citizenship and active construction of identities in social contexts. This peculiarity of children's agency is highlighted through the distinction between participation as 'having a say', or consultation, on the one hand, and participation in decision-making on the other (Clark & Percy-Smith, 2006; Hill, Davis, Prout, & Tisdall, 2004). Participation in decision-making is frequently considered to be the most complete form of participation because it makes children's choices of action and participation in social change evident. Therefore children's agency can be associated with their participation in decision-making.

However, this straightforward distinction between forms of participation is not shared in all work on children's participation. Some of studies propose more nuanced classifications, highlighting different levels and forms of participation, such as consultative, collaborative and child-led participation (Lansdown, 2010); participation as acceptance of asymmetrical power, challenges to power relations and requests for more support (Kaukko & Wernesjö, 2017). These categorisations show that

children's participation, and in particular children's participation in social change, are interpreted and assessed in a variety of ways. According to Lansdown (2010), for instance, all the conditions of consultative, collaborative and child-led participation may be relevant, depending on the social context. The theoretical foundation of this less straightforward type of classification is that, at a basic level, all children's actions can modify social processes. Giddens (1984, p. 58) defines this level as 'simple agency'—that is, as a contribution that changes a sequence of events. Conversation analysis, as applied to children's participation, confirms that *all* children's actions change the trajectory of interactions (Hutchby, 2007). In an analysis of interaction, the difficulty of distinguishing levels of agency is shown by the distinction made between a thick form of agency, like questioning and commenting, and a thin form of agency, like minimal signals and responses (Muftee, 2015). While it seems clear that thin agency is simple agency, it is not clear what thick agency implies in terms of participation in social change. Simple agency may explain children's widespread participation that is subordinated to adults' authority, as well as children's active cooperation in the social reproduction of social order—for instance, in 'collectivistic' contexts, where hierarchical arrangements and strong obligations towards the collective prevail (André & Godin, 2014; Bühler-Niederberger & Schwitteck, 2014; Clemensen, 2016). Subordination and cooperation do not show the availability of choices of action because they imply that children accept the existing social and cultural orientations. The observation of various forms of simple agency, above all in global society, has raised questions about the Western 'voice-based global standard' of children's participation and agency (Wyness, 2013b). Moreover, this recognition may raise some doubts about the meanings of children's lived citizenship and rights—that is, if they are universally based either on the form of agency as autonomous choice or on the more basic form of simple agency.

Against this background, an important question concerns the boundary between children's simple agency, associated with subordination to or cooperation with adults representing the existing social and cultural order, on the one hand, and children's agency, associated with autonomous choice of actions and an engine of social change, on the other. This question is particularly important in relation to children suffering disad-

vantage, such as migrant children and those living in poverty. In these cases, children's opportunities to choose actions and change their social context may be limited. The question is if in these cases simple agency is sufficient to guarantee the respect of children's rights.

It seems clear that children's participation and agency must be observed in the specific social and cultural contexts of children's life. This observation raises the issues of power relations and the underrepresentation of children and young people, on the one hand, and support of children's and young people's choices of action and participation in decision-making, on the other.

The Social Conditions of Children's Participation and Agency

The social conditions of children's participation and agency may be seen from two points of view: on the one hand, participation and agency are enacted in social relations, as implied in the concept of children as social actors; on the other hand, participation and agency are influenced by social and cultural contexts, as shown by several studies on global society.

First, children exercise their agency 'by actively using their resources and abilities in their relations with others in both positive and negative ways' (Bjerke, 2011, p. 94). The different forms of children's participation are associated with their 'lived' social relations (Percy-Smith, 2010). In these lived social relations, participation as agency is visible as children and young people's negotiation of meanings, actions and power, as several contributions in this collection highlight. Therefore the analysis of children's participation and agency reflects neither the liberal conception of individual rationality and choice (Valentine, 2011), nor the modernist view of the subject as protagonist in society (Prout, 2005). Rather, the combination of individual and collective factors is important to understanding children's participation (Prout et al., 2006). On the one hand, both individual (motivational) incentives and collective incentives, such as providing resources and opportunities, can enhance children's participation. On the other hand, the benefits of children's participation may be

considered as both individual, in terms of children's empowerment, and access to information and new skills, and collective, in terms of better services, improved decision-making and democracy (Cockburn, 2013; Oswell, 2013).

Second, the social conditions of children's agency are the conditions of 'children's embeddedness in the social and their connectedness' (James, 2013, p. 15). Children's participation is seen as relationally constrained and structured. In particular, it is conditioned by a hierarchical, although dynamic, generational order of relations. A generational order 'is a structured network of relations between generational categories that are positioned in and act within necessary interrelations with each other' (Alanen, 2009, pp. 161–162). A generational order implies the capillary exercise of power in adult–children relations and the discipline of children's lived citizenship. The tension between individual autonomy and dependence on social conditions is one of the most important aspects of children's agency.

The understanding of the effects of hierarchical structures and power relations is important to explaining the conditions of children's participation and agency. Hierarchical structures *require* children's participation as simple agency—for instance, children's responses to adults' questions and obedience to adults' dispositions at school and in the family. Hierarchical structures are constraints that block children's choices of action, without blocking children's participation, as children's social action is an unavoidable component of social life. Children actively participate in social relations in which they are asked to demonstrate learning and compliance. In these social relations, hierarchical structures 'only' block the consequences of children's participation in terms of social change. In particular, education is the most important social context of children's participation and a block to children's contribution to social change. Education introduces children into society, determining 'how, as adults, they will find their place within it' (James & James, 2004, p. 123). Education is therefore a context in which only simple agency is allowed.

The prevalence of hierarchical structures has triggered a widespread dissatisfaction with the practice of children and young people's participation (Thomas, 2007). This dissatisfaction seems to contradict both the importance assigned to children's participation as a form of societal reflexivity, and the importance of children's simple agency. The institu-

tional discourse on children's and young people's participation is criticised as incomplete, instrumental or not applied. Children's empowerment and emancipation from adult control, in fact taken as synonyms of agency, are impeded by 'unresolved tensions, ambiguities and social power relations' (Fitzgerald, Graham, Smith, & Taylor, 2010, p. 293). Critical views mainly focus on two aspects. First, not all children and young people are involved in institutional participatory initiatives. Disadvantaged groups of children and young people, in Western societies and, above all, in the 'rest' of global world, are neither consulted, nor involved in decision-making. Second, and more radically, the promotion of children's participation is always subordinated to forms of adult control. Children's participation is seen as an instrument for the smooth functioning of institutions, therefore control over children overwhelms their participation (Hill et al., 2004). Participation seems to benefit institutions much more than children. However, the institutional instrumental approach denies any social benefit from children's participation, as it denies their agency. Against this background, participation may be seen as genuine and effective only if it is not institutionalised—that is, if it involves children and young people in their 'everyday life arenas and practices' (Percy-Smith, 2010, p. 118), and if it is accorded to children's personal lives (James, 2013).

However, it is also important to recognise that the range of children's possible actions can never be completely predefined by social structures and relational constraints. The concept of generagency (Leonard, 2016) explains that, while children's agency is based on a generational order, children's availability of choices is also an important condition of intergenerational relations. Thus the concept of generagency stresses a paradoxical meaning assigned to children's agency, which includes both autonomy of action and dependence on social constraint. This paradoxical meaning has been observed in child counselling (Hutchby, 2007) in two forms. First, counsellors' support of children's expression of feelings and opinions is based on adult-driven interactions. Second, in fact this support enhances children's resistance to the requested self-expression. This case shows both the ambivalence and the unpredictability of the attempts to break the hierarchical structures through adult support of children's agency. It shows that the interplay between children's

participation and social structures does not necessarily produce a pre-defined order but, rather, unpredictable outcomes. A possible interpretation of this paradox is that, as participation is only possible in communication processes, it is both conditioned by the structures of these processes, generally based on adults' interventions, and made unpredictable by the production of these processes, which cannot be controlled by any participant, including adults (Baraldi, 2014).

In any case, recognition and achievement of children's agency are conditioned by adult–child relations and forms of communication. This highlights the importance of understanding the roles of adults and the forms of their partnership as a presupposition of children's participation (Wyness, 2013a). This consideration has guided the analysis of the ways in which adults effectively support children's and young people's participation and agency. This analysis shows that the conditions of children's agency are nuanced and that agency as choice of action continues to be the aim of supporters of children's emancipation. For instance, one interesting classification of forms of adult support (Shier, 2001) includes, in order of increasing positive impact on children's participation, (1) active listening; (2) encouragement of personal expression; (3) dialogue (taking into account children's perspectives; (4) involvement in decision-making (consultation, joint planning, co-construction of decisions); and (5) power-sharing and empowerment (full responsibility fore decisions). Another analysis, concerning the social forms emerging from adult support (Matthews, 2003), includes (1) dialogue (listening and consulting); (2) development (adults working for the benefit of young people); (3) participation in a proper sense (young people working within the community); and (4) integration (young people working with the community). Experiences in non-Western countries have revised the possible ways of supporting children's participation (Shier, 2010). However, while these experiences show that the social contexts and the empowering strategies are differentiated, they also show that the necessity of empowering children's participation, recognising children's competence and autonomy, and enhancing children's influence through decision-making is considered universal.

This highlights the high level of universalisation of the Western form of children's agency, despite the observation of different forms of this

agency in different social and cultural conditions. This universalisation includes the following assumptions: (1) children's participation is linked to adults' ways of acting; (2) children's participation ranges from low levels to high levels of influence on the social context; (3) different levels of participation indicate different levels of children's agency; and (4) enhancement of children's participation enables children to be involved in decisions concerning their own lives—that is, it enables children's agency because it offers availability of choice of actions to children. The abovementioned distinction between consultation and participation in decision-making may be taken as a continuum. Consultation offers children the opportunity to increase their capacity for personal expression and to build trust in their relations with adults. Participation in decision-making makes children feel influential. The combination of children's participation in decision-making and initiatives taken by children is the clearest way of promoting their agency (Holland & O'Neill, 2006).

This promotion of children's agency requires the recognition that adults are 'facilitators rather than technicians' and that 'both children and adults are co-constructors of knowledge and expertise' (Hill et al., 2004, p. 84). In other terms, adults should leave aside their typical role of experts in adult–children relations. An important, although differently valued, aspect of facilitation of children's agency is the construction of effective *dialogue* between adults and children (Baraldi, 2012; Wyness, 2013a, 2013b). Dialogue is the basic element of collaboration between adults and children, which takes children's views into account. There may be different ways of enhancing dialogue, but all of them are based on 'mutual interdependence, recognition and respect for children and their views and experiences' (Fitzgerald et al., 2010, p. 300). Dialogue is a combination of orientation to understanding and inclusion, recognition, empathy, non-intrusive support of self-expression, shared responsibilities and decision-making, and sharing of power.

The empirical meaning of the dialogic conditions of children's agency has been analysed in some educational settings (Baraldi, 2012, 2014; Baraldi & Iervese, 2014). This analysis has highlighted the importance of some adults' dialogic actions, such as forms of questioning; minimal signals of active listening and recognition; and explication, development and summary of the gist of children's contributions. This analysis shows

that dialogue depends on the empowerment of participants' actions and equal conditions of participation, and that dialogue can replace hierarchical structures and promote children's agency in educational settings. It therefore aims to show that the hierarchical generational order is a historically based and contingent way of dealing with children's participation rather than a generalised condition. Moreover, this analysis confirms the paradoxical meaning of children's agency because it depends on adults' dialogic actions. However, it also shows that, although paradoxical, the chain of adults' dialogic actions and children's choices of action can create the conditions for children's contribution to structural change in the interaction, and potentially in wider social systems, such as the education system.

This type of analysis highlights what lived citizenship may mean in specific and important social interactions involving children. This type of social interaction—for example, in classrooms, families, and formal and informal groups—makes the interplay of social structures and children's participation particularly evident, but it does not exhaust the forms of this interplay, which involves the importance of children and young people's use of the new media (Lundmark & Evaldsson, 2017). The description and explanation of the interplay between social structures and forms of participation and agency are still open to research questions. The open question continues to be: 'To what extent do—and can—children contribute to social change?' (James & James, 2008, p. 11). This collection aims to contribute to the exploration of possible answers to this question, from a theoretical as well as an applied perspective.

Lived Citizenship, Rights and Participation: Chapters in the Book

The overall theme of this book is the importance of an analytical attention to the *lived* lives of children, be that lived citizenship, living rights, lived social relations or agency in their social participation. Attention to these lived aspects and the theoretical and empirical issues they identify will be revisited in the conclusion. For now it is worth recapping on the

importance of close attention to the social contexts of children and the complex webs of meaning, relations and power in which they find themselves. The contributors to this collection provide some different contexts and tools to understand the lived citizenship, rights and participation of children in Europe today.

The theme of the chapters focuses on Europe and, as identified above, this masks the crucial contributions and insights into lived citizenship, rights and participation by theorists focusing on the majority world and other parts of the 'developed' world. However, Warming (Chap. 2) theorises children's lives from a lived citizenship and sociospatial approach. She argues that children's citizenship rights, participation and identity are an outcome of conditioned, everyday interactions and practices, and she explores these through the tensions and binary positions of agency/structure, the local/global and particularism/universalism. She argues for the development of a context-sensitive, dynamic lens that enables an insight into how globalisation in particular constitutes an essential force in the shaping of children's citizenship as practised and experienced. She explores the tensions between the processes of globalisation and local discursive practices and how these tensions shape the 'generational order', in particular around constructions of children's intimate identities and processes of trust and recognition.

Wyness (Chap. 3) focuses on lived citizenship, rights and participation by summarising the different narratives of participation, dividing them in non-mutually exclusive forms. These forms are dominant narratives, concerning discursive and developmental modes of participation based on adult regulation; critical narratives concerning analytical features of these modes of participation; and emergent narratives concerning multidimensional, diverse and relational forms of participation. Here narratives and meanings of discourse on children's participation are explored through an analysis of children's lived 'voice' and lived 'agency', and how these narratives and meanings of discourse enable, constrain or distort the participation of children. Applying a Rawlesian framework to these narratives of children's participation, the chapter concentrates more on the emergent narrative of embedded, relational and material forms of participation in a similar vein to the *lived* approach we adopt in the book.

Thomas and Stoecklin (Chap. 4) explore aspects of children's lived citizenship, rights and participation in society by using a framework that combines two theoretical models: recognition theory (Honneth, 1995) and capability theory (Sen, 1999). They suggest some new directions for theorising through combining elements of both models, attending to the processes that enable children or impede them in realising their potential value as members of society. They show that children must demonstrate that they share a specific community of value before their cognitive ability is recognised as mature enough to actively participate in legal relations. From the point of view of capability theory, then, esteem/solidarity as expressed in recognition theory may be seen as a 'conversion factor' that enables children to exercise in reality the rights that they already have in law. The authors use the actor's system model (Stoecklin, 2013) to examine the relationships between *activities*, *relations*, *values*, *images of self* and *motivations*. Of these, *values* are seen as a key element in the processes whereby recognition is achieved or denied, and capacities converted into capabilities. Thus they reject the 'becoming' label of children and establish the importance of looking at children's capabilities and 'being' at the current moment.

Eßer (Chap. 5) takes a relational approach to agency as his starting point in order to systematise some approaches to reconceptualising the body in childhood studies. Starting from the observation that the field has long had difficulty with the theorisation of the body, he highlights some empirical studies approaching the child's body from the perspective of science and technology studies, practice theory and phenomenology. The author's thesis is that the yield of a theorisation of the body helps to overcome common dichotomies in childhood studies between childhood as a social construct and children as actors. These can be resolved in favour of a concept of childhood that is both material and social.

Poretti (Chap. 6) returns to pragmatism as a critique of the agentless, Bourdieu-influenced, social theory. He acknowledges the importance of the complexities of children's lived lives in today's world and the requirement to adjust our tools to engage with this diversity. He develops the metaphor of the *bricoleur* and the need to bring an expanded theoretical toolbox with us into the research field. He elides the propensity of theorists to general and abstract frameworks to one based on critical and prag-

matic sociology to reveal both the microlevel and the social and material conditions through which children's rights are initiated and critically represented by adult experts. Drawing on a research project among participation specialists in Switzerland, and adopting a critical and pragmatic approach, the author shows the potential and the contradictions in the specialists' ways of conceiving the meaning of enhancing children's and young people's participation.

Sarmento, Marchi and Trevisan (Chap. 7) call for close attention to spaces and places of children's participation. They critique normative conceptions of modern childhood that remain a taken-for-granted and underlying subject of much theoretical work. Childhood has been implicitly assumed as a generational group under adult control and children as social actors who build their life trajectories in institutional settings such as the family and compulsory schooling that administer their rights and duties. Nevertheless, there are 'children at the margins' of this modern normative process: street children, children outside school, working children, children outside social protection systems, ethnic-minority children of non-Western societies and children from the Global South. Such children are understood in very different terms to 'modern' (Western) children because their active bodies, their movement and the form of their learning act as a threat to the more commonly held view of the child as 'naturally' placid, controlled and schooled.

The critical approach to participation and the attempt to elaborate on an emergent narrative of participation is exemplified by the contribution of Percy-Smith (Chap. 8). His chapter discusses how the participation literature is more concerned with how to embed participation into practice and ensuring children's participation brings about an impact. It draws on a European-wide evaluation project involving each country mapping children's participation with regard to legislation, structures, impact, effectiveness, barriers and good practice. This evaluation concludes that in spite of increasing provisions for children's participation in legislation, there are significant challenges in realising meaningful participation in practice. The chapter offers critical reflections on the 'state of the art' in children's participation, in particular the limitations of instrumental interpretations of participation as 'voice' or representation in decision-making, and instead it argues for the need to understand 'participation'

as a contextualised practice rooted in cultural values, social relationships and regimes of power framed by professional and policy discourses, and integrated into public sector organisational systems for learning and development. Following the theme of *lived* citizenship, rights and participation, the author outlines a more elaborate framework for understanding participation as an active process of collaborative learning and change involving young people and adults within the context of everyday settings, relationships and professional practices.

The critical approach to developmental narratives of children's participation and agency in British education is the theme of Farini's contribution (Chap. 9). The chapter analyses citizenship discourse in the 2015 Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) statutory framework that confirms the adult-led, learning, teacher-centred approach, exemplified by the idea of education's place in core British values. In the new EYFS, cooperation, freedom and responsibility are social skills to be learnt. An alternative perspective, looking at the core values of citizenship as a social form to be co-constructed by children and adults in everyday interactions, does not find any room in the English school curricula. The author argues that the EYFS lends itself as a case study for the cultural implications of the 'being/not yet being' binary, which suggests the distinction between the developed individual and the not-yet-developed individual structures the semantics of intergenerational communication in all social systems. This encourages the distinctions between trust/distrust and risk taking/risk avoidance that construct the meaning of children's active citizenship and rights. The chapter challenges the assumption that citizenship can, and must, be transmitted from teacher to children in a unidirectional way, manufacturing compliant yet active citizens. The author instead argues that citizenship is experienced and articulated as a practice embedded within the lived day-to-day reality of children and adults that militates against the binary assumptions.

Pechtelidis (Chap. 10) explores an alternative view of education, active citizenship and children's participation in crisis-ridden Greece. He observes a shift of interest from the private and public space to the shared ownership of social resources, such as knowledge and education. He utilises the concept of 'heterotopia' to analyse social and cultural spaces that have emerged, aiming for more participatory education and citizenship. According to the heterotopian imaginary, assymetrical power relations can be minimised but not cancelled. Hence the heterotopia is not a place

that can be reached but an ongoing process of becoming. It is a critical attitude towards the present and a commitment to experiments in redefining and transfiguring the limits of chidhood, education and citizenship. Adopting this perspective, the author describes the everyday lives of two pedagogical communities in order to critically discuss both their dynamics and their limitations, and the consequences for the participants (children, parents and teachers). The chapter unveils the rituals, practices and mentalities produced by the participants in the heterotopic cultural spaces to understand how new children's subjectivities come into being. In so doing it draws from different theoretical contributions, such as commons theory, heterotopian studies, the children's rights movement, sociology of childhood and emancipation theory.

Finally, Amadasi and Iervese (Chap. 11) propose an analysis of participation and agency in lived interactions as a way of making children's rights visible. They present a complex approach that includes concepts from different theories regarding structures and products of social interactions, such as narrative theory and positioning theory, and a methodological approach adapted from conversation analysis. They explore how theorising children in sociology has moved beyond mere interest in children's 'voices' to one where children actually practise agency, as a lived form of citizenship, and specifically contribute to the structuring of social interactions. They do this by exploring the positioning and identity constructions of children with migration backgrounds regarding their transnational experiences during facilitated group conversations. The authors utilise the analysis of facilitated conversations among children to show the ways in which children's narratives become cultural resources for framing, scripting and revising their positioning and identities, and managing the conflicts in the interaction. The authors demonstrate a close interdependence of participants' positioning, narratives and identity construction. Here, children's rights and citizenship, as well as their agency, can be discerned through their positioning in the interactional construction of narratives.

All of the chapters show that theorising children's *lived* citizenship, rights and participation involves a multiperspective approach reflecting the complexities of the nature and context of children's lived lives. The editors offer some concluding thoughts on possible future directions for theoretical work in the light of recognising children's lived citizenship, rights and participation.

References

Alanen, L. (2009). Generational order. In J. Qvortrup, G. Valentine, W. Corsaro, & M. S. Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of childhood studies* (pp. 159–174). Basingstoke: Palgrave. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-230-27468-6.

André, G., & Godin, M. (2014). Child labour, agency and family dynamics: The case of mining in Katanga (DRC). *Childhood, 21*(*2*), 161–174. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568213488966.

Baraldi, C. (2012). Participation, facilitation and mediation in educational interactions. In C. Baraldi & V. Iervese (Eds.), *Participation, facilitation, and mediation. Children and young people in their social contexts* (pp. 66–86). London/New York: Routledge.

Baraldi, C. (2014). Children's participation in communication systems: A theoretical perspective to shape research. In M. N. Warehime (Ed.), *Soul of society: A focus on the leaves of children and youth. Sociological studies on children and youth* (pp. 63–92). Bingley: Emerald.

Baraldi, C., & Iervese, V. (2014). Observing children's capabilities as agency. In D. Stoecklin & J. M. Bonvin (Eds.), *Children's rights and the capability approach. Challenges and prospects* (pp. 43–65). Dodrecht: Springer.

Bjerke, H. (2011). It's the way to do it. Expressions of agency in child-adult relations at home and school. *Children & Society, 25*(*2*), 93–103. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2009.00266.x.

Bühler-Niederberger, D., & Schwitteck, J. (2014). Young children in Kyrgyzstan: Agency in tight hierarchical structures. *Childhood, 21*(*4*), 502–516. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568213496658.

Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006). Beyond consultation: Participatory practices in everyday spaces. *Children, Youth and Environments, 16*(2), 1–9.

Clemensen, N. (2016). Exploring ambiguous realms: Access, exposure and agency in the interactions of rural Zambian children. *Childhood, 23*(*3*), 317–332. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568216633509.

Cockburn, T. (1998). Children and citizenship in Britain: A case for a socially interdependent model of citizenship. *Childhood, 5*(*1*), 99–117. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568298005001007.

Cockburn, T. (2013). *Rethinking children's citizenship*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cockburn, T. (2017). Children and the 'social cohesion' agenda in sport: Children's participation in 'ethnically mixed' sports teams in the North of England. *Children & Society, 31*(*1*), 50–60. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12161.

Crawley, H. (2010). 'No one gives you a chance to say what you are thinking': Finding space for children's agency in the UK asylum system. *Area, 42*(*2*), 162–169. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2009.00917.x.

Crick, B. (1998). *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools (Advisory Group on Citizenship)*. London: Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.

Crul, M., & Vermeulen, H. (2003). The second generation in Europe. *International Migration Review, 37*(*4*), 965–986. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00166.x.

Dean, H. (2008). Social policy and human rights: Re-thinking the engagement. *Social Policy and Society, 7*(*1*), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1017/S14747460700396X.

Delanty, G. (2000). *Citizenship in a global age*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Delanty, G. (2003). Citizenship as a learning process: Disciplinary citizenship versus cultural citizenship. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 22*(*6*), 597–605. https://doi.org/10.1080/0260137032000138158.

Delanty, G. (2006). The cosmopolitan imagination: Critical cosmopolitanism and social theory. *The British Journal of Sociology, 57*(*1*), 24–47. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2006.00092.x.

Den Besten, O. (2010). Local belonging and 'geographies of emotions': Immigrant children's experience of their neighbourhoods in Paris and Berlin. *Childhood, 17*(*2*), 181–195. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568210365649.

Devine, D. (2011). *Immigration and cchooling in the Republic of Ireland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Dobson, M. (2009). Unpacking children in migration research. *Children's Geographies, 7*(*3*), 355–360. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733280903024514.

Dorling, K., & Hurrell, A. (2012). *Navigating the system: Advice provision for young refugees and migrants*. London: Coram Children's Legal Centre.

Eurochild. (2014). *Is Europe doing enough to invest in children?* Brussels: Eurochild.

Fitzgerald, R., Graham, A., Smith, A., & Taylor, N. (2010). Children's participation as a struggle over recognition: Exploring the promise of dialogue. In B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (Eds.), *Handbook of children and young people's participation. Perspectives from theory and practice* (pp. 293–305). London/New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2010.00294.x.

Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and punish*. New York: Vintage.

Freeman, M. (2002). *Human rights: An interdisciplinary approach*. Cambridge: Polity.

Freeman, M. (2007). *A commentary on the United Nations Convention on the rights of the child. Art. 3: The best interest of the child*. Lieden: Martinus Nijhoff.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gillborn, D. (2012). 'You got a pass, so what more do you want?': Race, class and gender intersections in the educational experiences of the Black middle class. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 15*(1), 121–139. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2012.638869

Goodhart, M. (2008). Neither relative or universal: A response to Donnelly. *Human Rights Quarterly, 30*(1), 183–193. https://doi.org/10.1353/hrq2008.0001.

Hanson, K., & Poretti, M. (2012). 'Living rights' ou l'enfant sujet de droits: la traduction de la compréhension de leurs droits par les enfants eux-mêmes à l'attention de la communauté internationale. In P. Meyer-Bisch (Ed.), *L'Enfant témoin et sujet. Les Droits culturels de l'enfant* (pp. 81–101). Genève/Zürich/Bäle: Schulthess, Editions romandes, Collection Interdisciplinaire.

Hatfield, M. (2010). Children moving 'home'? Everyday experiences of return migration in highly skilled households. *Childhood, 17*(2), 243–257. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568210365747.

Hill, M., Davis, J., Prout, A., & Tisdall, K. (2004). Moving the participation agenda forward. *Children and Society, 18*, 77–96. https://doi.org/10.1002/chi.819.

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

Honneth, A. (1995). *The struggle for recognition*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hutchby, I. (2007). *The discourse of child counselling*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.21.

Isin, E. (Ed.). (2015). *Citizenship after Orientalism: Transforming political theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

James, A. (2013). *Socialising children*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

James, A., & James, A. (2008). *Key concepts in childhood studies*. London: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446211922.

James, A., & James, A. L. (2004). *Constructing childhood. Theory, policy and social practice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

James, A., Jenks, C., & Prout, A. (1998). *Theorizing childhood*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Katz, E. (2015). Beyond the physical incident model: How children living with domestic violence are harmed by and resist regimes of coercive control. *Child Abuse Review, 25*(1), 46–59. https://doi.org/10.1002/car.2422.

Kaukko, M., & Wernesjö, U. (2017). Belonging and participation in liminality: Unaccompanied children in Finland and Sweden. *Childhood, 24*(*1*), 7–20. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568216649104.

Lansdown, G. (2010). The realisation of children's participation rights. Critical reflections. In B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (Eds.), *A handbook of children and young people's participation: Perspectives from theory and practice* (pp. 11–23). London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2010.00294.x.

Leonard, M. (2016). *The sociology of children, childhood and generation*. London: Sage.

Liebel, M. (2008). Citizenship from below. Children's rights and social movements. In A. Invernizzi & J. Williams (Eds.), *Children and citizenship* (pp. 32–43). London/Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Lister, R. (2007). Inclusive citizenship: Realizing the potential. *Citizenship Studies, 11*, 49–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020601099856.

Lundmark, S., & Evaldsson, A.-C. (2017). Click-guides and panic buttons: Designed possibilities for youth agency and user empowerment in online youth counselling services. *Childhood, 24*(*2*), 260–278. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568216656761.

Matthews, H. (2003). Children and regeneration: Setting and agenda for community participation and integration. *Children & Society, 17*, 264–276. https://doi.org/10.1002/CHI.745.

Mayall, B. (2002). *Towards a sociology of childhood: Thinking from children's lives*. Buckingham: Open University.

Mendus, S. (1995). Human rights in political theory. *Political Studies, 43*, 10–24. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1995.tb01733.x.

Moosa-Mitha, M. (2005). A difference-centred alternative to theorization of children's citizenship rights'. *Citizenship Studies, 9*(*4*), 369–388. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020500211354.

Mougne, C. (2010). *Trees only move in the wind: A study of unaccompanied Afghan children in Europe*. Geneva: UNHC.

Muftee, M. (2015). Children's agency in resettlement: A study of Swedish cultural orientation programs in Kenya and Sudan. *Children's Geographies, 13*(*2*), 131–148. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2013.828451.

Nava, M. (2002). Cosmopolitan modernity: Everyday imagniaries and the register of difference. *Theory, Culture and Society, 19*(*1–2*), 81–99. https://doi.org/10.1117/026327640201900104.

O'Connell Davidson, J. (2011). Moving children? Child trafficking, child migration, and child rights. *Critical Social Policy, 31*(*3*), 454–477. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018311405014.

O'Reilly, K. (2012). *International migration and social theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Olk, T. (2009). Children, generational relations and intergenerational relations. In J. Qvortrup, W. Corsaro, & M.-S. Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of childhood studies* (pp. 188–201). Basingstoke: Palgrave. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-230-27468-6.

Oswell, D. (2013). *The agency of children: From family to global human rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Percy-Smith, B. (2010). Councils, consultation and community: Rethinking the spaces for children and young people's participation. *Children's Geographies, 8*(*2*), 107–122. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733281003691368.

Percy-Smith, B., & Thomas, N. (Eds.). (2010). *A handbook of children's and young people's participation*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2010.00294.x.

Prout, A. (2005). *The future of childhood. Towards the interdisciplinary study of children*. London/New York: RoutledgeFalmer. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203323113.

Prout, A., & James, A. (1990). A new paradigm for the sociology of childhood? Provenance, promise and problems. In A. James & A. Prout (Eds.), *Constructing and reconstructing childhood. Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood* (pp. 7–34). Routledge/Falmer: London/New York/Philadelphia.

Prout, A., Simmons, R., & Birchall, J. (2006). Reconnecting and extending the research agenda on children's participation: Mutual incentives and the participation chain. In E. K. Tisdall, J. M. Davis, M. Hill, & A. Prout (Eds.), *Children, young people and social inclusion* (pp. 75–101). Bristol: Policy Press.

Rose, N. (1990). *Governing the soul*. London: Routledge.

Ruxton, S. (2012). *How the economic and financial crisis in Europe is affecting children and young people in Europe*. Brussels: Eurochild.

Salazar Parrenas, R. (2001). Transgressing the nation-state. *Signs, 26*(*4*), 1129–1155. DOI: 10.1086/495650.

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shier, H. (2001). Pathways to participation: Openings, opportunities and obligations. *Children & Society, 15*, 107–117. https://doi.org/10.1002/chi.617.

Shier, H. (2010). 'Pathways to participation' revisited. Learning from Nicaragua's child coffee workers. In B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (Eds.), *A handbook of children's and young People's participation. Perspectives from theory and practice* (pp. 215–229). London/New York: Routledge.

Stasiulis, D. (2004). Hybrid citizenship and what's left. *Citizenship Studies, 8*(*3*), 295–503. https://doi.org/10.1080/1362102042000257014.

Stoecklin, D. (2013). Theories of action in the field of child participation. In search of explicit frameworks. *Childhood, 20*(*4*), 443–457. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568212466901.

Thomas, N. (2007). Towards a theory of children's participation. *International Journal of Children's Rights, 15*(*2*), 199–218. https://doi.org/10.1163/092755607X206489.

Valentine, K. (2011). Accounting for agency. *Children & Society, 25*, 347–358. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2009.00279.x.

Warming, H. (2011). Children's participation and citizenship in a global age: Empowerment, tokenism or discriminatory disciplining? *Social Work & Society, 9*(*1*), 119–134.

Warming, H. (2015). The life of children in care in Denmark – A struggle over recognition? *Childhood, 22*(*2*), 248–262. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568214522838.

Wyness, M. (2009). Children representing children: Participation and the problem of diversity in UK Youth Councils. *Childhood, 16*(*4*), 535–552. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568209344274.

Wyness, M. (2013a). Children's participation and intergenerational dialogue: Bringing adults back into the analysis. *Childhood, 20*(*4*), 429–442. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568212459775.

Wyness, M. (2013b). Global standards and deficit childhoods: The contested meaning of children's participation. *Children's Geographies, 11*(*3*), 340–353. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2013.812280.

2

Children's Citizenship in Globalised Societies

Hanne Warming

The theme of this book—theorising children's citizenship, rights and participation—can be approached in various ways, but all of them require the researcher to take a stand when it comes to the fundamental sociological tensions between agency/structure, the local/global and particularism/universalism. One is also compelled to relate to debates within the new sociology of childhood over 'the little s'—in other words, whether researchers should analyse childhood as a singular or a plural category (see James, 2009; James & James, 2012; Qvortrup, Corsaro, & Honig, 2009). In this chapter I theorise children's citizenship from a lived citizenship and sociospatial standpoint—that is, I regard citizenship rights, participation and identity as outcomes of conditioned, everyday interactions and practices, and in doing so I strive to take account of the abovementioned tensions and binary positions. I develop a context-sensitive, dynamic lens that enables an insight into how globalisation—defined as the various processes by which the world is becoming increasingly interconnected as a result of massively increased communications and trade—

H. Warming (✉)
Roskilde University, Roskilde, Denmark

29

constitutes an essential force in the shaping of children's citizenship as practiced and experienced.

Etymologically, the word 'citizenship' addresses the status, rights, privileges and responsibilities of a citizen—that is, of an inhabitant of a city (Hall, 2017). Today the word is typically associated with nationality and the nation state, as is reflected in Marshall's (1950) classical and influential theory of social citizenship. However, as recognised by Kymlicka (1995), Delanty (1996, 2000), Beck (2002) and Moosa-Mitha (2017), to name but a few important contributions, various processes of globalisation challenge the traditional view of citizenship as attached to a given geographical boundary. Instead, these authors regard citizenship both as a formal relationship (a status) that carries rights and responsibilities, and in terms of practices and identity, including the emotional dimension of belonging. Although some traditional liberal and communitarian perceptions of citizenship propose a dynamic view of 'active citizenship' and are sensitive to the nationally and locally anchored shaping of different groups' citizenship and belonging (Delanty, 2000), globalisation compels us to rethink citizenship in even more dynamic terms. Seen from this perspective, (children's) citizenship is not attached to any particular place. Instead, we should think of it as contested, dynamic and constituted through power relations and flows of ideas and communication that extend beyond specific localities and link them to other places (Warming & Fahnøe, 2017).

This chapter therefore proposes a theoretical framework that enables an analysis of children's citizenship as a product of the tensions and relationships between globalisation processes, local practices and power relations; as well as of how these shape the 'generational order', notably constructions of children's positions and sense of belonging which are, in turn, related to trust and recognition. I argue that we need to combine theorising about life in globalised societies with practice-sensitive theory. For this purpose, I offer a 'theoretical prism' approach rather than a single theoretical framework. An optical prism separates white light into a spectrum of colours. However, the resulting configuration depends on the angle of the incoming light wave and the medium of the prism. This idea has inspired my prism metaphor. Thus my theoretical prism reflects children's lived citizenship in globalised societies in various ways, depending

on the medium and the angle. The major component of the medium in my theoretical prism is lived citizenship combined with a spatial perspective. However, analyses of lived citizenship can also be approached using various practice-sensitive theories, which here constitute the prism's submediums. The angles through which children's citizenship are refracted through the prism are different theories about changing life conditions in global societies.

This chapter starts with an introduction to the spatial, lived citizenship approach, and highlights the importance of recognition and trust in shaping citizenship. These concepts constitute the main 'medium' in my theoretical prism. Next, and based on a messy picture of children's lived citizenship as characterised by ambiguities of recognition and discrimination, I unfold how one might theorise a practice perspective within the lived citizenship approach by thinking in terms of an analytical prism that is partly composed of various 'submediums' rather than just a single, coherent theory (the main 'medium'). The chapter then turns to the social and cultural conditioning of these practices in globalised societies (the angles through which the 'light', here children's citizenship, is refracted through the prism). Thus, once again, I present different theoretical/conceptual perspectives, including developing the sociospatial approach focusing on increasing flows of communication; a governmentalisation and responsibilisation perspective; and an intimate citizenship perspective. Finally, based on the argument that the complexity of globalised societies means that trust plays an even more essential role in children's (and other people's) lived citizenship, I validate my claim that we have to incorporate the social and cultural conditioning of trust in children's lives in our theorising about their citizenship.

Lived Citizenship: A Theoretical Prism for a Practice-Sensitive Approach

The lived citizenship approach is rooted in a gender- and diversity-based critique of T.H. Marshall's (1950) influential theory of social citizenship (Lister, 2003; Lister et al., 2007; Kabeer, 2005; Siim, 2009). It posits that

'the notion of universal social rights contains a false universalism where the norm for a "citizen" is a white, heterosexual, non-disabled adult male' (Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Warming & Fahnøe, 2017, pp. 4–5). This critical attention to the various and intersecting constraints and discrimination that affect people who do not live up to this norm offers a starting point for theorising children's citizenship in a way that embraces childhood, understood both in the singular as a position in the generational order, and in the plural in terms of different subpositions resulting from inter-sections between the generational order and other social ordering mechanisms.

Gerald Delanty (2003) pays similar critical attention to the impact of citizenship norms on people's citizenship capabilities and their feeling of belonging. He draws on Axel Honneth's notion of recognition as essential for individuals' life quality and social integration, conceptualising citizenship as a lifelong identity-shaping process. Seen from this perspective, all subjects (including children) are both citizen-beings and -becomings. Their identity-formation process can be either inclusive or alienating. Alienating identity formation is related to narrow, discriminatory norms that define who should be recognised and who should not, causing exclusion and alienation, and depriving those concerned about citizenship capabilities and a sense of belonging. Conversely, inclusive identity formation is characterised by difference-centred recognition that enhances identification and the realisation of citizens' rights and responsibilities. Although citizenship identity-shaping involves learning the capacity for taking action and responsibility, Delanty (2003, p. 602) emphasises that it is essentially 'about the learning of the self and of the relationship of self and other', which takes place both in critical moments and in everyday interactions. His concept of 'learning' addresses much more than just the idea of 'being taught'; for him, learning means *experiencing* in a broad sense that includes an emotional as well as a cognitive dimension. For children, this experiencing takes place through everyday interactions with family members and friends, as well as with professionals in various institutional settings, or even with strangers. It also includes 'real-life' face-to-face interactions as well as virtual interactions—that is, interactions facilitated by new media and communication technologies. Because citizenship identity is shaped in many different arenas and 'moments',

this experiencing of the self and of the self–other relationship will often proceed in a non-linear and ambiguous manner. Moreover, even single interactions may involve ambiguous experiences.

Honneth (1995) conceptualises the self and self–other relationship as three dimensional, suggesting three corresponding types of recognition that cannot replace each other because they contribute to the self and self–other relationship in different ways (for further explanation of the three types of recognition, see Chap. 4: for a reworking of this theory that brings it into line with the central axis in the new social studies of childhood, see Thomas, 2012; Warming, 2015). I have elsewhere argued that children lack all three forms of recognition as a result of the generational order (Warming, 2011, 2012, 2015), resulting in discriminatory and alienating experiences. However, the picture is more messy and dynamic than that. One example of lack of recognition and the messiness of the picture is that even though children may enjoy formal status as citizens of a nation state, they are at the same time legally positioned as minors and hence as not-yet-citizens. For instance, Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) ascribes children the right both to express their views and to influence decision-making, but at the same time moderates these rights with reference to age and maturity (Majstorovic, 2014; Warming, 2017). In this case, practices, including negotiation of the meaning of age and maturity, will be essential to children's lived citizenship, and will probably cause differences between children as a group, and even between children in the same age group. Another example (pointed out by Manfred Liebel) is that while many countries during the past decade have increasingly legislated against age-based discrimination against the elderly, they have not done the same for children; quite the opposite: 'many countries have regulations and legal practices that sustain age-based discrimination of children' (Liebel, 2014, p. 121). I would add that these practices are not necessarily only national but may take place in different local contexts. Thus children may be exposed to discrimination in some contexts and not in others, and some children may be exposed to more discrimination than others as a result of differences between local spaces, and the dynamics of intersection with other social orders. Recognition of how the positioning of children in the generational order is sustained in international conventions and national

laws is crucial for a critical analysis of children's citizenship. However, local rules, norms and practices are just as important, and so is discriminating between intersecting dynamics. It can be argued that the positioning of children in the generational order—sometimes intensified by local practices and sometimes mitigated by them—denies children universal citizenship rights and signals distrust in them as morally on a par with adults. As I have argued elsewhere, drawing on Honneth's (1995) tripartite conceptualisation of recognition, this constitutes legal misrecognition with potentially negative consequences for children's self-respect and citizenship identity (Warming, 2006, 2017; see also Thomas, 2012). Likewise, Robin Fitzgerald and her colleagues (2010) have characterised children's participation as a struggle over recognition. Conversely, it could be argued that children also experience positive discrimination, such as through protection rights, and the age limit for criminal responsibility and jail (Lux, 2014). However, if the alternative is a 'care intervention' whereby children are interned in a so-called secure institution for several years without a lawsuit, the outcome is messier. Does this constitute positive or negative discrimination and how will this special treatment impact children's lived citizenship during the intervention? That depends, of course, on the practices carried out (which may be locally, culturally and historically path dependent, and which may also be informed by knowledge travelling across institutions and cultural settings) at the secure institution and on various everyday negotiations between children and staff members, the outcomes of which can be ambiguous. Other examples of special children's rights that seem to work in reverse in some cases owing to the way they are interpreted and practised as children's responsibilities rather than as their rights include the right to go to school, the right to have a say and the right to their biological family (UNCRC 1989, Articles 28, 12 and 9; Majstorovic, 2014; Warming, 2011, 2014). Moreover, children may experience some protection rights as discriminatory—for instance, the right to protection from work (UNCRC, Article 32)—with the result that some children (either because they need to work to ensure their own and/or their family's survival, or because they want to earn their own pocket money) evade this protection and enter the illegal or 'gray zone' labour market where they are exposed to exploitation and unregulated work environments (Wall, 2016, p. 116ff). Finally, there

may be unintended consequences when children's rights are enshrined in international conventions and agreements. An example of this is the Haager Adoption Convention (HCCH, 1993), which caused the number of legal adoptions from some countries to decrease following the implementation of stricter procedures: 'In quantitative terms, the most significant developments relating to countries of origin have been the two-thirds fall in adoptions from China, due in part to its ratification of the Convention in 2006' (Cantwell, 2014, p. 29). The risk, then, is that the number of 'non-regulated' adoptions will increase, given that the international market demand for adoptive children is not shrinking.

All this substantiates the need to address children's citizenship as a messy, ambiguous and multidimensional phenomenon that takes shape through local practices and negotiations, and is impacted by the subjective experiences of the children themselves, as these experiences are essential to children's feeling of belonging and to the way they participate in, and respond to, the opportunities and demands, or lack thereof, with which they are met. However, it also makes clear that local practices are conditioned by knowledge, meaning-making and power relations (the generational order) that extend the local, both in the form of national laws and international conventions, and in sense-making that may take more or less for granted the othering of children or challenge this.

The lived citizenship approach offers an in-depth and practice-sensitive way of analysing children's citizenship that takes its theoretical point of departure in the intersecting constraints and enabling conditions for substantive citizenship with regard to rights, participation and identity, and which focuses analytically on how these are enacted, negotiated and experienced in everyday life (Lister, 2007). Using this approach, notably Delanty's (2003) theorising of citizenship as an identity-shaping process, children's citizenship is conceptualised here as an ongoing materially, socially and emotionally produced effect of conditioned (but not determined) practices, rather than as a formal status and identity anchored in legislation or in a static social order. Central to this conceptualisation, which constitutes the main 'medium' in my theoretical prism, is a focus on the constraining and enabling conditions for practices, negotiations and experiences of recognition and trust as essential fault-lines dividing inclusive and discriminative citizenship learning.

Later in this chapter in the section 'Trust as Conditioning Children's Lived Citizenship in Complex Globalized Societies' I explain why trust is so essential. Moreover, the prism pays special attention to citizenship norms, which from a lived citizenship viewpoint including norms about rights, responsibilities, participation and belonging in local communities such as neighbourhoods, schools, day-care institutions and residential care institutions. The prism is also attentive to the generational order as a universal, historically path-dependent phenomenon, which nonetheless varies across cultures and over time, and is an outcome of continued negotiations. It also enables an analysis of intersections with other ordering mechanisms, such as gendered and ethnic social orders or the impact of institutional roles (e.g. professionals and clients), and of the meaning of 'special' ages and maturity. Finally, my prism encompasses children's relationships with communities on various scales, enabling an analysis of how these relationships are enacted and experienced as they emerge from multiple everyday interactions between children, and between children and adults, in which children perform, negotiate, learn and experience citizenship as a self–other relationship (Lister, 2007). These communities range from the very local to the transnational insofar as such communities are part of children's everyday lives. The concept is also open to children's own agency, as well as that of the adults and non-human agents around them, and of the impact of this on their experiences and feelings of belonging. Thus this approach to children's citizenship addresses the interplay between agency and structure, including the role played by different policies that affect children's everyday lives; discursive and non-discursive practices and power relations in various settings; and materiality, such as infrastructure and communication technologies.

The Submediums in the Theoretical Prism

Several sociological theories offer analytical tools for undertaking such a practice-sensitive approach (the 'submediums' in my theoretical prism). These include Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977), Foucault's governmentality perspective (1991) and, by extension, Butler's (1993)

performativity theory, positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990), the new materialism (e.g. Latour's (2005) actor-network theory) and Barad's (1999) agential realism. The new materialist perspective is becoming increasingly popular, not least within childhood studies (see, e.g., Eßer, 2016; Oswell, 2016; Taguchi, 2010), and it undoubtedly has its strengths when it comes to grasping the agency of materiality and questioning the taken for granted (an ambition also inherent in Bourdieu's and Foucault's work). However, the new materialism does not really seem to address, or be preoccupied with, the dimension of experience (due to dehumanisation), and its tools for analysing power relations in relation to childhood could be sharper, notably when it comes to an awareness of the generational order and its intersection with other power relations, for which purpose Bourdieu's theory and the concept of 'intersection' are more helpful (as shown, e.g., by Alanen, Brooker, & Mayall, 2015); and changing governance dynamics, for which purpose Foucault's concepts of governmentality are helpful and have shown their value in childhood studies in theorising and analysing children's citizenship (Falster, 2016).

All these theories can and have been criticised. For example, both Bourdieu and Foucault have been accused of being overly structuralist. However, rather than discussing which is the best theory for analysing practice, or trying to merge them into one coherent and comprehensive practice theory (which I doubt is even possible), I suggest thinking about these theories as submediums in a practice-theoretical prism. Each submedium enables different analyses and insights, and thereby adds valuable features to the overall picture of the dynamics of children's lived citizenship. Together, this multiple-prism analysis (using the same basic medium and different submediums) enables a more comprehensive, though fragmented and not exhaustive, understanding of the messiness, ambiguity and multidimensionality of children's lived citizenship than one would be able to grasp using a single, coherent analytical framework.

We now move to the different angles that can enable theorising about changes in life conditions in globalising societies, through which children's lived citizenship is refracted in the prism.

The Speeding Up of Social Processes as a Central Characteristic of Life in Globalised Societies

One of the most crucial and defining features of children's everyday lives in contemporary globalised societies is the constant speeding up of social processes through accelerating economic, technological and cultural interconnectedness (Rosa, 2013; Wall, 2016). Thus, as Massey (2005) reminds us, whereas places as sites for sense-making and power relations have never been fixed or closed but have always been constituted through their relations with other places, this interrelatedness is more significant today than ever before owing to communications technologies and the global economy. Children (and the adults around them) communicate and are addressed through communications technologies, including the new social media—that is, through words and 'pictures' (photos, videos, facetime etc.)—that virtually connect various everyday arenas which were previously disconnected in time and space, and further connect them to people and institutions beyond their everyday arenas, including governmental bodies and virtual communities. Children, and the adults around them, are informed, governed, watched, inspired, motivated, mobilised and emotionally affected by this communication, which is sometimes dialogical and sometimes multilogical or just one-way. The latter can take the form of information, nudging, advertising and governance, as well as surveillance and monitoring

Governmentalisation and Responsibilisation

The above tendencies can be understood partly in terms of the impact of the global economy, including government strategies introduced by the competition state (Cerny, 1997, 2010; Jessop, 2002; Pedersen, 2011) and interconnectedness on a political level, which produce what has been conceptualised by Rose (1999) as neoliberal governmentalisation and responsibilisation, drawing on Foucault's governmentality analyses (e.g. in regard to health, Wahlberg & Rose, 2015; citizenship, Delanty, 2003;

and parenting, Dahlstedt & Fejes, 2014; Knudsen, 2010). These processes are crucial to the shaping of citizenship practices and negotiations. Thus Delanty (2003) has criticised the governmentalisation of citizenship as a learning process in a European context, arguing that it produces alienating processes for those who don't live up to the defined citizenship norms, thereby causing social pathologies.

From a critical perspective, one might ask what this has to do with globalisation. However, although the governmentalisation of citizenship is not a new phenomenon, it has accelerated and assumed a new form owing to the way the competition state operates within today's global economy, and as a result of intensified flows of knowledge about government strategies. In the case of children, nation states invest in their development and active participation (albeit perhaps also with a view to supporting the best interests of the child), striving to optimise the formation of soldiers of the competition state—that is, children fit to be future superworkers and supercitizens who ensure the competiveness of the nation state in the globalised capitalist economy (Pedersen, 2011; Sjøberg, 2014). This means that the twin neoliberal mechanisms of governmentalisation and responsibilisation (Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999) which seek to produce citizens who comply with government policies, and individualise responsibility for success/failure and the common good, are magnified to an extreme when it comes to childhood. Children's lives, actions and identities are intensively monitored and governed through the governmentalisation and responsibilisation of the children themselves (Keddie, 2016; Simons & Masschelein, 2008), their parents (Dahlstedt & Fejes, 2014) and professionals in the field of childcare and education (Falster, 2016; Sjøberg, 2014).

Rose suggests that the concept of community governance can grasp the refined governance strategies deployed by the competition state. Using this concept, he suggests that the community represents a new territory for the administration of individual and collective existence. A community can be either place-bound or based on the identification and problematisation of certain groups. The point is that its members are made amenable to authoritative action by virtue of their features—'strengths, cultures and pathologies' (Rose, 1996, p. 331)—and that these authoritative actions are informed by the growing flows of knowledge in globalised

societies. As a generation, children, by virtue of their construction as 'becomings' and as future soldiers of the competition state, and because of the significance of early childhood for personality-shaping (making early childhood education a crucial space for authoritative action), can be regarded as such a community. However, subgroups of children can also be regarded as such communities—for example, in cases where there is a risk of negative social inheritance or as a result of their ethnic or religious background, various medical diagnoses, criminality or failed tests.

Such community governance and the intensified flow of knowledge that supports the categorisation and identification of risk, and which informs government strategies, can be argued to have intensified governmentalisation and responsibilisation processes, and thereby also the risk of misrecognition and alienating identity-shaping processes, though the governmentalisation might also be practised and experienced as empowering. It also involves a scaling down of the spaces of lived citizenship to the local level (as Desforges, Jones, & Woods, 2006 argue), such as to the social space of early childcare, or even a concrete nursery or a special programme for a subgroup of children. However, as argued above, the spaces of lived citizenship are also increasingly constituted through spatial flows of information and communication (Payne, 2013; Simonsen, 2001), and in that way they transcend place-based localities. Examples of such flows include knowledge and theories about how to deal with children who are problematised in certain ways, and also virtual social fora that enable the exchange of experience and the social organisation of critique and rights claims. Thus, as noted by Mitchell (2000), the intensive spatial flows resulting from globalisation can serve the purposes of governing but may also be constitutive of resistance within cross-place communities.

Intimate Citizenship

An intimate citizenship perspective can also shed light on the changing mechanisms of governance, resistance and rights claiming, and on the increasingly blurred division between public and private spaces and issues, which is related to individualisation as well as to neoliberal governmentalisation and responsibilisation. The concept of 'intimate citizenship'

has been suggested by Plummer (2003) 'as a sensitizing concept, which sets about analyzing a plurality of public discourses and stories about how to live the personal life in a late modern world where we are confronted by an escalating series of choices and difficulties around intimacies' (Plummer, 2010, p. 238), *including our innermost emotional desires, longings, fears and frustrations*. He argues that these processes are characterised by both globalisation and glocalisation, as witnessed by the simultaneous down-scaling and transgression of the place-boundedness of spaces for lived citizenship that are a feature of globalised societies, and are also characterised by individualisation, standardisation and hybridisation.

Intimate life has undergone massive and accelerating changes in the form of digitalisation, technologisation, globalisation, medicalisation, commodification and destabilisation, which are interwoven with the rise of rights-claiming and the governance of intimate life, producing new struggles over recognition. Plummer thus points to how intimate issues are embedded in deep moral conflicts that manifest in public debates as well as in private lives, both as an overwhelming and psychologically stressful number of choices stemming from the massively increased translocal communication in globalised societies, and as struggles to attain recognition of one's choices and rights to choose, which are shaped by the trend towards neoliberal governance and responsibilisation in globalised societies.

Although Plummer does not directly address children and childhood, his observations are also highly pertinent to children's lives and relationships with adults and other children. We see this, for instance, when he highlights the unequal distribution of choices and rights between people in the global North compared to those in the global South (Plummer, 2004), further noting that while these new issues are framed as individual choices and rights, 'there is a, often market driven, proliferation of socially patterned choices' (2004) that might be magnified in globalised societies characterised by intensified trade. Or, as formulated by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (1995, p. 40), individualisation in late modernity is coupled with 'considerable pressure to conform and behave in a standardized way'. In a globalised world, these market pressures affect us not only as objects of advertisements and nudging from international companies, and as commodified labour, but also as soldiers of competing nation

states, a tendency which may affect children even more than adults, as already suggested.

These tendencies also reach us through media representations of norms for attractive identities and lives. Think, for instance, of the effect on children (and others) of television entertainment—for example, talent and reality shows about children's self-improvement such as *Plain Jane and I Used to Be Fat*, and games such as SimCity, which globally transmit notions about 'ideal' identities and lives, including stereotypes of girls, boys, mothers and fathers, and advice about how to perform self-improvement in order to become a successful human being and achieve a good life. Hartmut Rosa (2013) draws our attention to the cultural features and historical roots of this drive towards individual success, pointing to the ideology of modernity that has 'shifted the balance between tradition and innovation toward the priority of change, such that "real life" […] is to be sought in "change for the sake of change"' (ibid., p. 90). Although he empathises with the historical roots of this idea, Rosa recognises the role of the 'economic motor', and thus of globalisation, in the institutionalisation of this norm as part of the ideal way of living one's life. This allows for the insight that, in practice, this idea has migrated from Western society to the global arena, and even within the Western context has been intensified by massively increased communication and the global economic drive.

The consequence of this shifted balance and secularisation is an ideal of the good life as 'a fulfilled life, a life that is rich in experience and developed capacities' (Rosa, 2013, p. 90). To live up to this ideal, we speed up our lives, but the paradox is that the very same technologies (e.g. the internet and television) that allow global fast communication and, through that, 'accelerated realization of the options simultaneously increases the numbers of options at an exponential rate' (ibid., p. 91). These speeding-up processes, and the related slowing-down processes in the form of the unintended consequences of acceleration and dynamisation, and deceleration in the form of deliberate resistance to acceleration (ibid., p. 94), are central to understanding the shaping of children's lived citizenship in terms of their interactions with each other, and with adults; as well as their negotiation, practice and experience of self and the self–other relationship in globalised societies. Acceleration is likely to bring about ongoing

changes in children's struggles for recognition, although this remains to be explored. Moreover, acceleration is intertwined with functional differentiation, further increasing the complexity (ibid.) which children and other people have to navigate and which shapes their enactment and experience of citizenship, including in regard to intimate dimensions.

Trust as Conditioning Children's Lived Citizenship in Complex Globalised Societies

As should be clear from the above, children's (as well as adults') lives in our globalised society are characterised by rapid changes and huge complexity involving an overwhelming number of choices combined with intensive governance of how these choices should be made, as well as by detraditionalisation and functional differentiation. This, in combination with the generally massively enhanced communication possibilities that transcend local spaces, contradicting and intersecting with local cultural-historical path-dependent practices and meaning-making, have produced an increase in the amount of (often contradictory) information, social relations and networks, as well as the erosion of grand narratives and time-space distanciation.

Luhmann (2005) argues that these new conditions make trust, understood as an attitude of positive expectations but also willingness to accept the inherent risks and the courage and will to take them, far more important today than ever before. His argument is that confidence and rational calculation in globalised societies are increasingly impossible, and hence that if one does not trust, one is doomed to rely on oneself all the time, which undermines one's ability to choose, act and cooperate with other people—that is, one's ability to navigate all the abovementioned complexity that characterises life in globalised societies. Thus, trust affects one's ability to make the right choices and hence also to be legally and socially recognised. Trusting and being trusted are preconditions for inclusive citizenship identity-shaping, including a feeling of belonging. That may always have been the case, but it is even more pertinent in globalised societies, as confidence and rational choice becoming increasingly challenged. Moreover, if one does not trust—and is not trusted—it becomes

very hard to navigate complexity with a view to enacting one's citizenship rights and responsibilities (Warming, 2012, 2013). Being met with trust is crucial because social trust is built up in reciprocity and over time through communication about trust ('small steps' towards trust) and experience of the other as trustworthy. Thus, if adults meet children with distrust, this attitude will impede the construction of a trusting relationship, including the children's trust in the adults. Furthermore, being met with trust is psychologically engaging and contributes to a positive experience of self and self-other, whereas being met with distrust causes negative experiences of self and self-other and sets one free from social obligations. In other words, it is alienating.

Luhmann (2005) argues that institutionalised distrust in the form of systematised control mechanisms is a functional equivalent to trust. He argues that such distrust reduces risk since it compels one to act in a trusting manner, so that, even if you have not built up a trusting relationship, you can still act as though you trust. However, as I have argued elsewhere, 'institutionalized distrust is not necessarily satisfactory (risk-reducing) for both parties in a trust relationship, and thus does not enable both sides to trust' (Warming, 2013, p. 21). Moreover, being met with distrust, even if it is institutionalised, in the form of negative expectations in regard to your intentions and competences, produces negative consequences for the self-relationship of the distrusted as well as for the self–other relationship. Thus, institutionalised distrust does not necessarily enhance individuals' ability to navigate the complexities of the acceleration society, nor the acquisition of a positive feeling of belonging.

If we accept the above argument that a trusting attitude by, and towards, children is essential for children's lived citizenship in globalised societies, it becomes clear that we must theorise and analyse the dynamics of, and conditions for, trust, including the power relations that shape them. According to Luhmann, and I have also found evidence for this in a study of social work with children (Warming & Christensen, 2016), trust relations are built up or damaged in culturally and socially framed communication. So what can we say about the cultural and social framing of communication in children's lives in globalised societies? One feature of this framing is managerialism, which is one of the ideologies and government strategies that have proliferated in many arenas of chil-

dren's lives where the public sector is involved, and which is not a direct result of globalisation. That notwithstanding, the spread of this governance strategy, and of the knowledge and tools that inform its practices, is related to the intensive flow of knowledge and communication in globalised societies and to the streamlining discourse of the competition state. Managerialism is imbued with institutionalised distrust (Parton, 1998) towards clients, be they children or adults (Smith, 2001), and childcare professionals, which also negatively influences their ability to meet children with trust (Pinkney, 2013; Warming & Christensen, 2016). Conversely, another feature of this cultural and social framing has to do with children's rights and new views of children as competent actors, which have served to loosen up the rigid generational order that previously positioned children as untrustworthy. However, as pointed out by Moran-Ellis and Sünker (2013, p. 35), the power differential between adults and children persists even though children's participation has grown, and it further intersects with other power relations and differentiations among children (Warming, 2017). With respect to intersecting power relations, one need only recall the increasingly discriminatory discourse (and political practices) pertaining to immigrants, especially those presumed to be Muslims, which has spread rapidly across Europe, the USA and Canada in the wake of the 'war on terror' following 9/11.

Another cultural and social frame is the pedagogisation of children's lives and the tendency for children to become the 'projects' of adults, including professionals and parents, around them, a tendency which is intertwined with the ideal of the 'good life' in the acceleration society. Children are thus regarded as future soldiers of the competition state, in line with the twin neoliberal mechanisms of governmentalisation and responsibilisation that characterise life in globalised societies, as argued above. This frame may work in two ways: on the one hand by recognising people's (children's, parents' and professionals') goodwill and competences—that is, by communicating trust; and on the other by enabling certain kinds of community governance that problematise particular life practices, which unequivocally constitute distrust. Moreover, even without this problematisation, pedagogisation is based on distrust towards children's own initiatives and free will when it comes to making the right choices and fulfilling ideals about the good life.

Concluding Discussion

In this chapter I draw on a lived citizenship and spatially aware approach in theorising children's citizenship in globalised societies in a context-sensitive and dynamic manner. I posit that recognition is a universal condition for a positive self and self–other relationship, whereas trust is becoming increasingly important in globalised societies owing to massive complexity, specifically an overwhelming number of choices combined with functional differentiation which leads to a proliferation of social relations and networks, and erodes grand narratives. Theorising children's citizenship must, therefore, centre on the social and cultural conditioning and practices of recognition and social trust in children's lives. Exploring and theorising how the social features of globalisation frame and are handled in everyday life is essential to understanding children's citizenship as practised, negotiated and experienced.

For this purpose, we need to combine an analysis of globalisation and society with practice-sensitive theory. In this chapter I propose a diagnosis of changing intimacies, including increasing rights-claiming, governmentalisation, responsibilisation, spatial flows and acceleration, with a view to theorising how globalisation changes the ways in which children's citizenship is shaped, especially in connection with processes of recognition and trust. I call this diagnosis a 'practice-theoretical prism' analysis, and I argue that the main medium in a theoretical prism enabling a context-sensitive analysis of children's citizenship in globalised societies is the suggested spatially aware, lived citizenship approach that pays special attention to the preconditions for recognition and trust. I further argue that a submedium in the form of sociological practice theories is needed, because although none of these theories is optimal for such an analysis, they support its further development and enable different insights.

I further argue that we need alternative theorisations of social life as it relates to globalisation processes. Still using the prism metaphor, I see these alternative theorisations as the angles through which children's citizenship in globalised societies is refracted, and I further argue that the picture that emerges from our analysis is a result of the combination of medium and angle, and therefore encourages us to piece together the

analysis by shifting between different submediums in the analytical prism, and by refracting children's citizenship through different angles by theorising about the changes and characteristics of social life in globalised societies.

I have suggested various submediums and angles that I find insightful and helpful, but others could be added. This framework is by no means exhaustive, and it may appear excessively eclectic. I recognise that the different theories and their contributions could have been explored in greater depth, but space limitations prevented this. I suggest, however, that this eclectic theoretical framework is necessary and helpful in embracing the complex, multidimensional and ambiguous dynamics of children's citizenship; and that we need to drop the ambition to come up with a single, coherent and exhaustive approach and instead explore these dynamics from multiple angles. I therefore call on other scholars to put forward new submediums and angles for the prism and to pursue those I have already outlined here.

References

Alanen, L., Brooker, E., & Mayall, B. (Eds.). (2015). *Childhood with Bourdieu*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137384744.

Barad, K. (1999). Agential realism: Feminist interventions in understanding scientific practices. In M. Biagioli (Ed.), *The science studies reader* (pp. 1–11). New York/London: Routledge.

Beck, U. (2002). The cosmopolitan society and its enemies. *Theory, Culture & Society, 19*(1–2), 17–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/026327602128931206.

Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (1995). *The normal chaos of love*. Cambridge/Oxford/Malden: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of 'sex'*. New York/London: Routledge.

Cantwell, N. (2014). *The best interests of the child in intercountry adoption. Innocenti Insight*. Florence: UNICEF Office of Research.

Cerny, P. G. (1997). Paradoxes of the competition state: The dynamics of political globalisation. *Government and Opposition, 32*(2), 251–274.

Cerny, P. G. (2010). The competition state today: From Raison d'État to Raison du Monde. *Policy Studies, 31*(1), 5–21.

Dahlstedt, M., & Fejes, A. (2014). Family makeover: Coaching, confession and parental responsibilisation. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 22*(2), 169–188. https://doi.org/10.1080/01442870903052801.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 20*(1), 43–63.

Delanty, G. (1996). Beyond the nation-state: National identity and citizenship in a multicultural society—A response to rex. *Sociological Research Online, 1*(3). http://www.socresonline.org.uk/1/3/1.html. https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.23.

Delanty, G. (2000). *Citizenship in the global age: Culture, society and politics*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Delanty, G. (2003). Citizenship as a learning process: Disciplinary citizenship versus cultural citizenship. *Lifelong Education, 22*(6), 597–605. https://doi.org/10.1080/0260137032000138158.

Desfor 439–451. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020500301213.

Eßer, F. (2016). Neither thick nor thin: Reconceptualizing agency and childhood relationally. In F. Eßer, M. S. Baader, T. Betz, & B. Hungerland (Eds.), *Reconceptualising agency and childhood: New perspectives in childhood studies* (pp. 48–60). London/New York: Routledge.

Falster, E. S. (2016). *En dag på stuen—en Foucauldiansk analyse af barnets subjektposition i det pædagogiske praksisregime* (Master ethesis). Roskilde University.

Fitzgerald, R., Graham, A., Smith, A., & Taylor, N. (2010). Children's participation as a struggle over recognition: Exploring the promise of dialogue. In B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (Eds.), *Handbook of children and young people's participation. Perspectives from theory and practice* (pp. 293–305). London/New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2010.00294.x.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp. 87–104). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hall, T. (2017). Citizenship on the edge: Homeless outreach and the city. In H. Warming & K. Fahnøe (Eds.), *Lived citizenship on the edge of society. Rights, belonging, intimate life and spatiality*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55068-8_2.

HCCH. (1993). 33. Convention on protection of children and co-operation in respect of intercountry adoption. In *Hague Conference on private interna-*

tional law, 29th May 1993. Retrieved from https://assets.hcch.net/docs/77e12f23-d3dc-4851-8f0b-050f71a16947.pdf

Honneth, A. (1995). *The struggle for recognition. The moral grammar of social conflicts*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

James, A. (2009). Competition or integration? The next step in childhood studies? *Childhood, 17*(4), 485–499. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568209350783.

James, A., & James, A. L. (2012). *Key concepts in childhood studies*. London: SAGE.

Jessop, B. (2002). *The future of the capitalist state*. Cambridge/Oxford/Malden: Polity Press.

Kabeer, N. (Ed.). (2005). *Inclusive citizenship: Meanings and expressions*. London: Zed Books.

Keddie, A. (2016). Children of the market: Performativity, neoliberal responsibilisation and the construction of student identities. *Oxford Review of Education, 42*(1), 108–122. https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2016.1142865.

Knudsen, H. (2010). *Har vi en aftale?—magt og ansvar i mødet mellem folkeskole og familie*. København: Nyt fra Samfundsvidenskaberne.

Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social. An Introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Liebel, M. (2014). Adultism and age-based discrimination against children. In D. Kutzar & H. Warming (Eds.), *Children and non-discrimination. Interdisciplinary textbook* (pp. 119–142). Children's Rights Academic Network. Estonia: University Press of Estonia. https://resourcecentre.savethe-children.net/node/9528/pdf/crean-english-for_homepage.pdf

Lister, R. (2003). *Citizenship: Feminist perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lister, R. (2007). Inclusive citizenship: Realizing the potential. *Citizenship Studies, 11*(1), 49–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020601099856.

Lister, R., Williams, F., Anttonen, A., Bussemaker, J., Heinin, J., Gavana, A., & Tobio, C. (2007). *Gendering citizenship in Western Europe. New challenges For citizenship research in a cross-national context*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Luhmann, N. (2005). *Tillid—en mekanisme til reduktion af social kompleksitet*. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Lux, A. (2014). Non-discrimination, complaints mechanisms and equality bodies. In D. Kutzar & H. Warming (Eds.), *Children and non-discrimination. Interdisciplinary textbook* (pp. 60–76). Children's Rights Academic Network.

Estonia: University Press of Estonia. https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/node/9528/pdf/crean-english-for_homepage.pdf

Majstorovic, I. (2014). Children's participation in family mediation: An example of new challenges for non-discrimination. In D. Kutzar & H. Warming (Eds.) *Children and non-discrimination. Interdisciplinary textbook* (pp. 91–110). Children's Rights Academic Network. Estonia: University Press of Estonia. https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/node/9528/pdf/crean-english-for_homepage.pdf

Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship, social class and other essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Massey, D. (2005). *For space*. London: Sage Publications.

Miller, P., & Rose, N. (2008). *Governing the present. Administering economic, social and personal life*. Cambridge/Oxford/Malden: Polity Press.

Mitchell, D. (2000). *Cultural geography: A critical introduction*. Maiden: Blackwell.

Moosa-Mitha, M. (2005). A difference-centred alternative to theorization of children's citizenship rights. *Citizenship Studies, 9*(4), 369–388. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020500211354.

Moosa-Mitha, M. (2017). Geo-politics and citizenship: Why geography matters in defining social citizenship rights of Canadian muslim youth. In H. Warming & K. Fahnøe (Eds.), *Lived citizenship on the edge of society. Rights, belonging, intimate life and spatiality* (pp. 225–248). Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55068-8_11.

Moran-Ellis, J., & Sünker, H. (2013). Adult Trust and Children's Democratic Participation. In H. Warming (Ed.), *Participation, citizenship and trust in children's lives* (pp. 32–51). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137295781_3.

Oswell, D. (2016). Re-aligning children's agency and re-socialising children in childhood studies. In F. Eßer, M. S. Baader, T. Betz, & B. Hungerland (Eds.), *Reconceptualising agency and childhood: New perspectives in childhood studies* (pp. 19–23). London: Routledge.

Parton, N. (1998). Risk, advanced liberalism and child welfare: The need to rediscover uncertainty and ambiguity. *British Journal of Social Work, 2*(1), 5–28.

Payne, J. G. (2013). Transgendering Mother's Day: Blogging as citizens' media, reproductive rights and intimate citizenship. *Citizenship Studies, 17*(8), 928–941. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2013.851143.

Pedersen, O. K. (2011). *Konkurrencestaten*. København: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Pinkney, S. (2013). Trust relations between children, social welfare professionals and the organisation of welfare. In H. Warming (Ed.), *Participation, citizenship and trust in children's lives* (pp. 93–113). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137295781_6.

Plummer, K. (2003). *Intimate citizenship. Private decisions and public dialogues*. Washington, DC: University of Washington Press.

Plummer, K. (2004). Intimate Citizenship in an Unjust World. In *Blackwell Handbook of Social Inequalities*. Retrieved from https://kenplummer.com/publications/selected-writings-2/intimate-citizenship-in-an-an-unjust-world/. Unpaginated.

Plummer, K. (2010). The square of intimate ccitizenship: Some preliminary proposals. *Citizenship Studies, 5*(3), 237–253. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020120085225.

Qvortrup, J., Corsaro, W. A., & Honig, M. (Eds.). (2009). *The Palgrave handbook of childhood studies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-230-27468-6.

Rosa, H. (2013). *Social acceleration: A new theory of modernity*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rose, N. (1996). The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government. *Economy and Society, 25*(3), 327–356.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Siim, B. (2009). *Citizenship, diversity and gender equality: Intersections of gender with ethnicity and religion.* Paper presented at ECPR Joint Session of Workshops: Workshop 12: Governing Religious Differences at the Intersection of Gender and Ethnicity, Lisbon, Portugal.

Simons, M., & Masschelein, J. (2008). The governmentalization of learning and the assemblage of a learning apparatus. *Educational Theory, 58*(4), 391–415. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5446.2008.00296.x.

Simonsen, K. (2001). Rum, sted, krop og køn—dimensioner af en geografi om social praksis. In K. Simonsen (Ed.), *Praksis, Rum og Mobilitet* (pp. 17–48). Fredriksberg: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

Sjøberg, L. (2014). The construction of the ideal pupil—teacher training as a discursive and governing practice. *Education Inquiry, 5*(4), 517–533. https://doi.org/10.3402/edui.v5.23136.

Smith, C. (2001). Trust and confidence: Possibilities for social work in 'high modernity'. *British Journal of Social Work, 3*, 287–305. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/31.2.287.

Taguchi, H. L. (2010). *Going beyond the theory/practice divide in early childhood education. Introducing an intra-active pedagogy*. London/New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203872956.

Thomas, N. (2012). Love, rights and solidarity: Studying children's participation using Honneth's theory of recognition. *Childhood, 19*(4), 453–466. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568211434604.

UN. (1989). *Convention on the rights of the child.* http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx

Wahlberg, A., & Rose, N. (2015). The governmentalization of living: Calculating global health. *Economy and Society, 44*(1), 60–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085147.2014.983830.

Wall, J. (2016). *Children's rights: Today's global challenge.* Lanham, Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield.

Warming, H. (2006). How can you know? You're not a foster child': Dilemmas and possibilities of giving voice to children in foster care. *Children, Youth and Environments, 16*(2), 28–50.

Warming, H. (2011). Children's participation and citizenship in a global age: Empowerment, tokenism or discriminatory disciplining? *Social Work & Society, 9(*1), 119–134. http://www.socwork.net/sws/article/view/11/40

Warming, H. (2012). Theorizing adult's facilitation of children's participation and citizenship. In C. Baraldi & V. Iervese (Eds.), *Participation, facilitation, and mediation: Children and young people in their social contexts* (pp. 30–34). London: Routledge.

Warming, H. (2013). Theorizing trust – citizenship dynamics. In Warming (Ed.), *Participation, citizenship and trust in children's lives* (pp. 10–31). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Warming, H. (2014). Conclusion: Challenges and pathways for future work in the field. In D. Kutsar & H. Warming (Eds.), *Children and nondiscrimination: Interdisciplinary textbook* (pp. 253–255). Tartu: CREAN, University Press of Estonia.

Warming, H. (2015). The life of children in care in Denmark—A struggle over recognition? *Childhood, 22*(2), 248–262. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2012.00893.x.

Warming, H. (2017). Trust and power dynamics in the shaping of children's lived citizenship and participation in globalised societies. *Open Journal of Social Sciences* (forthcoming).

Warming, H., & Christensen, M. (2016). *Tillid i socialt og pædagogisk arbejde med børn og unge.* København: Akademisk Forlag.

Warming, H., & Fahnøe, K. (2017). Social work and lived citizenship. In H. Warming & K. Fahnøe (Eds.), *Lived citizenship on the edge of society. Rights, belonging, intimate life and spatiality* (pp. 249–268). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55068-8.

3

Children's Participation: Definitions, Narratives and Disputes

Michael Wyness

Introduction

Since the 1990s, children's participation has become a dominant theme within childhood studies and child-related policy and practice. It challenges hitherto conventional ideas about the dependent and incompetent child bringing into sharp focus developmental assumptions of children's 'ages and stages'. Conceptually, participation emerges from and is closely associated with children's agency, which focuses on children's capacities and their formative influence within their environments (Oswell, 2013). The idea of children's participation brings a practical and political dimension to the idea of agency. However, as participation has become an orthodoxy within the field, so there has been critical examination of the nature, range and authenticity of various forms of children's participation (Valentine, 2011; Wyness, 2013). In doing this, within the research and to a lesser extent the policy and practice realms, participation has become more contested in both theoretical and empirical terms.

M. Wyness (✉)
University of Warwick, Coventry, UK

In this chapter I examine a range of meanings and forms of participation that characterise the field of children's participation. I outline some of the disputes within the field. Despite a lack of consensus as to the meaning of children's participation, I argue that policy-makers and practitioners nationally and globally have settled on a narrow institutionalised mode of children's participation, a set of normative ideas and practices that I call the dominant narrative—that is, a normative way of thinking about children's participation. I discuss this in section "Dominant Narrative", focusing on the institutional, discursive and developmental aspects of participation. In section "Critical Narrative", I examine critical responses to this dominant institutional narrative. Drawing mainly on the work of scholars from within childhood studies, I discuss a number of critical themes and claims in terms of a critical narrative. In section "Emergent Narrative", I tease out some of the implications of these critical claims through an emergent narrative, a more up-to-date review of research within the field. These trends or narratives are not mutually exclusive because the emergent narrative accommodates many of the institutional forms found within the dominant narrative. In essence, more recent work within the field of children's participation is much broader and multidimensional, incorporating institutional and more embedded forms. In section "Framing Children's Participation", I reflect on conceptual developments within children's participation and draw on Archard's (2015) reworking of Rawls' concept/conception framework in providing a framework for examining children's participation.

Dominant Narrative

Institutional

There are innovative initiatives that generate youth engagement in a range of fields. Nevertheless, the dominant modes of children's participation tend to be more formalised and institutionalised, with an emphasis on adult regulation. The rights agenda has had a formative influence here. In particular, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989), drawn on by policy-makers and practitioners at local

and global levels, includes articles that support the idea that children have participatory rights, a right to a voice in affairs that directly affect them (Landsdown, 2012). These normative modes of participation focus on pre-existing institutional arrangements where adults initiate and shape the form and direction that participation takes. Various institutional settings are relevant here, including schooling, health, care and protection, local authority and community (Alderson, 2008; Fielding, 2007; Kirby & Gibbs, 2007). For the most part, adults in positions of authority consult children about their views and perspectives regarding various issues (Wyness, 2013). In particular, various consultation exercises take place in schools and local authorities aimed at involving children in data-gathering exercises: agendas and processes are normally established before the participation takes place.

Children's participation is modelled on adult-driven conceptions of voice and democracy. The school or youth council offers a clear example of participation based on liberal democratic principles (Wyness, 2009). Elaborate systems of communication are assembled through which children represent the opinions and ideas of their peers. Children represent children: they are expected to 'hold office' for a limited period, participating in highly choreographed events and meetings. In theory, child representatives, often known as school or youth councillors, provide an institutional link between the teaching and adult staff and their peers in conveying the pupils' perspectives. It is now an expectation that all schools have some version of this model, with schools, health services and local authorities having a much stronger commitment to children's voices (Wyness, 2015). The representative model seems to enable professionals to both hear children and incorporate their voices within ongoing institutional structures and practices.

Discursive

As we shall see later in the chapter, participation can take many forms. However, the dominant institutional mode of children's participation is discursive. The concept of voice is crucial and is viewed as an expression of their rights. States are now judged internationally on the basis of how well children's views are articulated. The United Nations Committee on

the Rights of the Child stated that in UK 'education law and policy', not enough has been done to encourage greater 'respect for the views of the child' (UN, 2008). Participation here is framed in terms of voice, with states judged with regard to the extent to which children have a voice. Interestingly, this is something to which children themselves are committed. Children take a pragmatic line in terms of modes of participation. They view participation as an entitlement. At the same time, they are happy to be consulted on a range of issues in school where there is an expectation that adults and professionals will listen and act on their choices and perspectives (Hill 2006; Stafford, Laybourn, Hill, & Walker, 2003). According to this research, children's voices in school and in other contexts need to carry weight; children need to feel that what they say is making a difference.

Developmental

While institutions value the perspectives of children as children, the dominant narrative also views participation in developmental and educational terms. Participation becomes an important dimension of children's preparation for adulthood. Normative models located within institutions are a rehearsal for future life: an important vehicle for children's acquisition of experience and knowledge in citizenship and politics. In schools, participation can more easily follow developmental trajectories that take account of their cognitive/linguistic and socioemotional capacities. In many Western countries, participation is a more integral part of social and citizenship curriculums in school where children are incrementally prepared for a later adult life as full citizens with access to liberal democratic politic rights (Skelton, 2007). We can see this if we return to the liberal democratic models of participation found. Electoral politics is practised relatively safely within schools with child representatives trained to be sensitive to the voices of their 'constituent' peers and the latter able to practise the kinds of judgement they might make in adulthood as voters (Wyness, 2003). Within these terms, children are carefully propelled along increasingly complex career paths or trajectories where participation expands and reinforces the work already carried out by parents and teachers.

There is also an element of developing an awareness of 'real-world' limits on desires and aspirations; developing a sense of obligations and responsibilities. Children learn to frame their interests within institutional agendas which narrow the possibilities for the realisation of these interests. Thus some of these interests are unlikely to make their way onto the school council agenda. Children learn about realpolitik; their participation has to accommodate the 'realities' of institutional life, providing a rehearsal for the later real world of diplomacy and compromise.

Critical Narrative

More formal and institutional models of children's participation have become popular, and participation has become part of research orthodoxy within childhood studies. In response to this, children's participation has been subject to considerable critical appraisal (Cockburn & Cleaver, 2009; Pinkney, 2011; Treseder, 1997). First, the location of participation within institutions such as the school and the local authority has meant that initiatives often have to fit in with adult agendas. Adults initiate children's participation within institutional settings: children tend to be dependent on adults for support, legitimacy and continuity (Wyness, 2009). Thus, outcomes and processes are often tied to broader institutional aims and commitments, with children having limited involvement in the latter. This can also mean that children's participatory initiatives mirror or imitate adult models of participation, particularly the emphasis on electoral processes, making it more ritualised and less likely to engage with children's interests. There is evidence to suggest that children are capable of participating in these adult modes of political representation (Wyness, 2009). However, school councils can become highly constrained in terms of their agendas, with children's access to particular areas within the school agenda being regulated by teaching staff. Research also suggests that these are not the most effective forms of representation or participation, with more informal modes of participation favoured by children (Cockburn & Cleaver, 2009).

Second, there are concerns that dominant forms of participation are used in a superficial way to engender the support of children with little

regard for their efficacy in terms of whether they make a difference to children's lives. Hart's ladder of participation (1997) has been drawn on as a blueprint for working with children within organisations. Within this framework, participatory initiatives move from one rung up to the next rung, where there is a gradual increase in levels of children's involvement as both collaborators with adults and initiators of different forms of participation. Children learn and develop their social and political capacities as they move up the ladder. The ladder is also drawn on as a critical frame within which children's participation is assessed (Treseder, 1997). The further up the ladder we can locate a participatory initiative, the more authentic and child focused the participation is judged to be. The ladder of participation makes an important distinction between forms of 'non-participation', tokenistic forms between rungs 1 and 3, and legitimate forms of participation between rungs 4 and 8. It is not always clear that the more institutional and formal modes of participation deliver the changes that the children often advocate through the various forms of consultation and are likely to be judged as forms of 'non-participation'. At best they may be viewed as low-level forms of consultation.

The issue turns on whether adults are judged by children to listen to their concerns and take them seriously. In some instances, participation has cosmetic aims in the way that adults are able to present their institutions as participatory without any substance. The danger here is that children eventually become cynical about all forms of participation if it is felt that they are not listened to, which can have implications for children's future as active political participants (Matthews, 2003).

A third critical theme is the emphasis on event-based rather than processual forms of participation. School councils appear to approximate to the latter, with children involved in election and selection events, with those children who are successful taking on responsibility to represent their peers for a fixed period of time. However, the work of school councils revolves around specific events, such as council meetings where children have the opportunity to have their views formally recognised. There is very likely to be a lull in the participation between council meetings. School routines predominantly made up of adult-driven classroom activities are punctuated by, at most, twice-termly meetings that may generate excitement among the child electorate (Wyness, 2009). At the

international policy level, children had no involvement in the 11-year process of drafting the UNCRC. Some attempts have been made to rectify this situation with international organisations such as the UN setting up events where child delegates are able to come into contact with heads of state and leaders of international organisations (Skelton, 2007). The Special Session on Children in 2002 was a three-day event organised by the UN, which allowed child representatives from a range of countries to present their case for greater global recognition of the challenges that many children face. Around 7000 children attended these sessions alongside 70 heads of state, including Nelson Mandela. These events may give the impression that children are involved in deliberations and reflections on the kinds of support network for children at local, national and international levels. At the same time, they may have limited influence on the routine aspects of living with or working with children, perpetuating the tokenist idea of children's participation.

A fourth criticism is often levelled at schools and local authorities for attracting a narrow field of children when introducing participatory initiatives. Schools have particularly come in for criticism in the way that participatory initiatives can often attract a similar group of children from a narrow range of backgrounds (Hill, 2006). Issues of social class, able-bodiedness and engagement with schooling in general can be used to differentiate between children who are more or less likely to take part in participation. The question is whether dominant modes of children's participation attract a diversity of children such that a range of children are represented. If we return to the dominant forms of children's participation, it is possible that children who have difficulties negotiating the culture and structure of schooling are less likely to take part in these forms of participation because the latter are seen by these children to be an extension of the norms and expectations of schools and therefore difficult to negotiate (Wyness, 2009). This critical issue has global significance, with children from poorer socioeconomic backgrounds often being excluded. To take one example, White and Choudhury (2007) refer to the work that Indian children undertook to develop a programme for an Indian television station on the topic of child poverty in India. Poorer children took part in the production of this programme. However, it was a small minority of middle-class children who dominated the project.

They argued that they were better able to represent the plight of the poor than their working-class counterparts as a result of their educational background and level of articulation.

Emergent Narrative

An emergent body of work is heavily influenced by the critical narrative. However, here I want to highlight work that effectively defines participation in much broader terms and goes well beyond the institutional and discursive emphases. Three themes emerge here from this relatively new body of work: the multidimensional nature of participation; the diversity of contexts within which participation takes place; and its embedded and relational nature.

Multidimensional

Participation within this new narrative is multilayered, with research focusing on the affective and material dimensions, as well as children's discursive capacities. Jupp (2008) focuses on the emotions associated with participation, including excitement, disappointment and anger—what are referred to as the 'everyday feelings and spaces' as children participate within their local communities. Kraftl and Horton (2007) discuss the affective and physical dimensions of participatory events where children engage with each other. Participation here is embodied, with an emphasis on the co-presence of bodies as children participate in events and processes related to decision-making. Importantly, one dimension that challenges the discursive emphasis within the dominant narrative here is the material nature of children's participation. Globally, the dominant narrative focuses on individual rights and voice, with the UNCRC endorsing discursive voiced-based conceptions of participation. While Kraftl and Horton (2007) emphasise the material and affective aspects of these discursive modes, the UNCRC and the international community are clear in their commitment to eliminating other material forms of children's participation, such as child labour, which is seen to conflict

with children's educational, material and social development (Wyness, 2013). The emergent narrative, on the other hand, views working children, including children as carers and children's military involvement, as legitimate means of participation. Given the challenging circumstances within which this work normally takes place, this is a highly contentious point. Nevertheless, what we can say is that there is some recognition at 'local' levels of the work that children undertake within these different contexts (Wyness, 2016).

In the process there is an attempt to rebalance normative notions of participation with other material conceptions of participation which challenge the 'deviant' status attributed to the latter (Liebel, 2003). Research focuses on the need to recognise children's economic and material participation. The research in Sub-Saharan Africa on young carers, as well as research on more routine work undertaken by children in more affluent settings, highlights the agency of children and their capacity to manage challenging familial circumstances (Kendrick & Kakuru, 2012; Mayall, 2002). Furthermore, the field of participation also incorporates the commitments of global and regional organisations to rebalance discursive and material dimensions of participation in promoting the voices of working children (Liebel, 2003). Thus, while child workers participate in significant economic activities, they often have limited access to decision-making processes. Various working children's organisations such as the International Movement of Working Children set up in 1996 are committed to raising the profile of children's economic roles, and to creating channels through which children can pursue their interests in improving their working conditions.

Diversity

In focusing more on material forms of participation, we are recognising the diversity of different forms of participation. There is now a wider spectrum of sites and contexts within which participation takes place. First, the dominant narrative emphasises adult-oriented institutional forms. We can broaden the institutional dimension to include the political role of children. This includes children organising themselves in trying

to improve their working and school-based lives (Liebel, 2003). There are also attempts to engage with children politically in terms of the provision of services offered by local authorities and policy formation. Thus at the local community level of UK policy there have been attempts to recognise children's capacity to make judgements about the services that local authorities should invest in. The UK government initiative of the 2000s, Every Child Matters, is a good example of this (Parton, 2011). Children were to be consulted on a range of issues relating to service provision within their local communities. Similarly, some countries have attempted to incorporate children within the policy-formation process. If we take Scotland as an example, attempts have been made to incorporate children into the educational policy process (Tisdall & Bell, 2006). Second, within the more private and hidden sphere of family and care, children's participation in families is more longstanding, more focused on the everyday routine aspects of family life (Mayall, 2002). Children participate in a number of different informal ways, including caring for family members, domestic work, and mediating between family and the outside world. In effect, children's participation here is integrated into the work that others within the family undertake. Intergenerational relations and relations between siblings involve complex arrangements where participation is routine, material and emotional (Wyness, 2015).

Third, the virtual domain is both a site of and a means by which children participate. Technological innovation has enabled children to play formative educational, political and social roles within public and private realms (Harris, 2008; Kenway & Bullen, 2001). Digital technology expands children's knowledge base, particularly with respect to global issues relating to the environment, global capitalism and poverty. Teenage girls have set up their own websites and blogs in order to display and discuss a range of topics and focal points from politics to fashion (Chittenden, 2010; Harris, 2008). Fourth, and associated with the virtual realm, is the global market, which has become an important arena within which children participate as consumers. In the mid-twentieth century, advertisers targeted parents, in particular mothers, when trying to sell toys and merchandise to children (Seiter, 1995). Since the 1970s there has been a shift in focus, with children being targeted directly by marketers and advertisers. Children have become more significant par-

ticipants within a global consumer culture (Kenway & Bullen, 2001). While there is considerable controversy about the status of children's roles within global markets, there is support for children's participation as discerning social agents with a capacity to make choices and rational decisions (Kenway & Bullen, 2001; Seabrook, 1998). Children's roles as economic actors are also apparent on the streets, particularly in less affluent parts of the globe. Children here work with peers and family in developing and demonstrating survival, entrepreneurial and mediating skills (Estrada, 2013).

Finally, research provides an important and growing context within which children participate. Early research *on* children and childhood has given way to researching *with* and *by* children (Shaw, Brady, & Davey, 2011). The dominance of the concept of agency within childhood studies has ensured that children play a much more formative role within the research process. Various typologies have been constructed of the relationship between the child and the researcher (Fielding, 2006; Shaw et al., 2011). Most of them are adapted from Hart's ladder of participation, focusing on the way in which children can move from one lesser, more adult-directed form of research to more child-focused and child-initiated forms. Thus Shaw et al. (2011) move from children as subjects being consulted on a range of issues to researching with children, where children work alongside adult researchers to a final model of the child as a 'research initiator', where children have more autonomy in shaping research agendas.

Relational

Children's participation within an emergent narrative is more likely to be understood now in relational terms. The critique of tokenist forms of participation emphasises the limitations of participatory structures and initiatives in shifting generational power relations. It is a moot point as to whether children's participation challenges or reinforces existing relations between children and adults. The general thrust of the critical narrative is to shift power much further towards children, or at the very least focus far more on authentic and genuine voices of children. However, as

Fielding (2007, p. 304) argues, there now appears to be 'too sharp and too exclusive a focus on the standpoints of young people'. An emphasis on empowering individual children through participation has unwittingly led to the marginalisation of adult involvement. In the process, the interdependent relationship between children and adults in a range of diverse settings has been neglected. Within the emergent narrative there is more emphasis on the different ways in which children's participation is understood in terms of ongoing relations between children and adults. Fielding's (2007) analysis of relations within English schools focuses on participation emerging out of 'intergenerational dialogue and collaboration'. Participation here is about children and adults working together to create a more trusting and ethical context within which teaching and learning can take place in state schools.

There is also a more open sense in which different forms of participation can be located within different contexts. A range of forms of participation from consultation through to more child-initiated practices reflect different kinds of intergenerational relations. There is a more eclectic approach to the meaning of participation with less of an emphasis on hierarchical approaches, which are drawn on in making judgements about the authenticity of participatory initiatives and practices (Hart, 1997). Thus consultation is not necessarily a lesser form of participation, particularly where children are likely to weigh up their commitment to participatory forums against a commitment to retaining control over their 'free' time (Hill, 2006).

Moss and Petrie's (2002) notion of children's spaces here is instructive in terms of the range of contexts and capacities. Their empirical focus is on preschool children and the ways in which these spaces can be constituted in and through the interactions of children with themselves and child professionals. They argue that their approach is relational. 'The child is not regarded as an autonomous and detached subject, but as living in networks of relationships, involving both children and adults' (Moss & Petrie, 2002, p. 143). They take some of their inspiration from the Reggio Emilia schools in Northern Italy where the emphasis is on democratic engagement as well as child empowerment (Ghirotto & Mazzoni, 2013).

Framing Children's Participation

In reflecting on the expanding field of children's participation, it may be useful to draw on the work of American philosopher John Rawls. Archard (2015), in his theorising of childhood, draws on Rawls' distinction between 'concept' and 'conception'. The former refers to a starting position in the analysis: children are assumed to be different from adults, and childhood and adulthood as concepts can clearly be distinguished. In almost all historical periods and within most global settings, children in some respects are separated from and viewed differently from adults. The latter refers to the different ways in which these concepts can be distinguished. One crude example might be the differences between African and English childhoods. The latter is a period of the life-course where children have to juggle activities around play and school. In the former case, children juggle school, play and work. Arguably the international political realm supports this difference. The UNCRC focuses on what states and organisations can do for children in terms of contexts for provision, protection and participation (Franklin & Franklin, 1996). This would underpin an English childhood. The African Charter (1999), on the other hand, was drafted ten years after the UNCRC. It focuses more on what African children can do for their communities and families, with an emphasis on children's responsibilities towards others (Twum-Danso, 2014). Thus work becomes a social duty for children and their responsibilities combine with their rights to schooling and play. In effect, what Archard (2015) argues is that it makes sense to make a broad distinction between children and adults: it is difficult to think of historical, political and social contexts within which there are no differences. However, what counts and what is significant are the ways in which we can differentiate childhoods according to political, economic and cultural contexts. Within these contexts we can identify different conceptions of childhood.

If we apply this Rawlsian framework to children's participation, we are effectively recognising the diversity of ways in which children participate, the different conceptions of children's participations. At the same time, our analysis departs from Archard's assumed concept of childhood. We need to specify conditions within which a phenomenon counts as

participation—in Rawlsian terms, the *concept* of participation. I want to argue that a concept of children's participation would have to include certain elements. First, it would embrace the idea of *agency* in a broad sense. Participation implies children's capacity to make a difference to their lives and the lives of others in and through the relations they have with others (Oswell, 2013). It would go beyond the narrow confines of institutional forms in that children's agency emerges within a range of diverse formal and informal settings.

Second, *voice* is a critical feature of children's participation. In one sense, children having a say follows Article 12 of UNCRC in that there are two elements. Children have the capacity to articulate their interests; they are in a stronger position to express their opinions. These interests have to be taken seriously—in Article 12 terms, 'given due weight'. Where the concept of voice departs from the UNCRC is in the way it encompasses all forms of communication, allowing children of all ages to participate. In other words, we are talking about a broader concept of participation in that children's voices are not just reliant on adults for their legitimacy. There is a more relational dimension with children across the childhood age spectrum and adults negotiating what might count as voice (Alderson, 2008). Third, participation involves children playing some role within *decision-making processes*. The emphasis is on the embedded and relational nature of voice. As participants, children work alongside adults and peers in exploring (1) the conditions of their participation; (2) the form that this participation takes; and (3) the nature of any outcomes as a consequence of this participation. In sum, a concept of children's participation means recognition of children's agency in the way that they are in a position to voice their interests, and that these interests are recognised through decision-making processes within which children are prominent actors.

Conceptions of children's participation provide us with more detail about the form that this participation takes, given due account of the expanding range of contexts within which we find children. Archard (2015) draws on Rawls in arguing that there is little doubt that a concept of childhood exists: the key focus for childhood scholars here is the examination of different conceptions of childhood. I want to utilise the concept/conception framework a little differently. Childhood scholars might

accept the idea of a concept of childhood and invest their energies in explicating the differing conceptions. I want to focus more on the contested nature of the concept of children's participation. In other words, we cannot assume that child participation exists within all contexts. The focus here is on applying this framework to assess whether a particular context within which we find children counts as a form of participation. In other words, does it count as a form of participation in that it satisfies the three requirements of agency, voice and decision-making? Let us take the example of child labour, which in normative terms is excluded from the category of participation. By applying this framework it may be difficult to view children's paid work in some countries as a form of participation. Banks' (2007) analysis of children's rights in Bangladesh identifies an imbalance between material and discursive forms of children's participation. Bangladeshi children have major responsibilities towards their parents and community. However, there is little sense in which they have any say about these responsibilities; there is a limited capacity for children here to express an opinion or have any involvement in family decisions. Children's voices here are muted with only restricted access to decision-making capacities.

There are, on the other hand, contexts where children have had to take collective responsibility with their peers to assert their right to a voice. Liebel's (2007) work has focused on the way in which street children have been able to successfully organise themselves in order to further their collective interests as child workers. The Bhima Sangha child movement in Bangalore, with around 16,000 members, satisfies the conditions for inclusion within the category of children's participation (Reddy, 2007). These child workers mainly located on the streets have successfully negotiated with welfare workers and local employers in improving their working conditions. Children here have a collective voice and demonstrate their agency in and through negotiations with others in seeking to change their conditions and the working lives of other children. While these children would barely feature within the dominant narrative, the emerging ideas about agency, voice and participation would embrace the idea that child workers are also child participants. In returning to the difference between concept and conception of children's participation, we might argue that the Bhima Sangha satisfies the condition for inclusion

as a concept of participation. Moreover, it becomes one among a number of different conceptions of children's participation. In different contexts we are likely to encounter these conceptions of participation where in different ways children demonstrate their agency and their voice through decision-making processes.

Conclusion

The field of children's participation extends across political, economic, institutional, academic and private settings and sites. The neighbourhood space is in some ways concerned with establishing that children's contributions within these contexts can be viewed more positively. The dominant narrative focuses on more established and legitimated participatory practices largely initiated and framed by adults in institutional terms. The UNCRC is a crucial frame of reference in locating children's participation within regulated adult-driven contexts. At the same time, it marginalises children's material economic and political capacities (Wyness, 2016). Despite some acknowledgement of cultural diversity, the key principles of the UNCRC are that children are provided for and protected with limited adult regulated spaces within which children can participate. In drawing on Archard and Rawls, it remains to be seen whether the dominant narrative allows for a clear concept of children's participation.

Agency is a central feature of the critical narrative and at the same time converges with the test of whether participation is authentic and driven by the interests of children, and whether children's agency is fully deployed in decision-making processes and practices. This question is central to the critical narrative. Institutional forms of participation in some ways compromise children's capacity to participate and make a difference. Participation here extends and refines an institution's capacity to regulate children's lives. Moreover, the dominance of performativity within many organisations where practices and policies are measured by prescribed outcomes limits children's capacities to participate. Within an educational context, participation is at best subsumed within standardised assessments and the accountability of pupils, teachers and

schools (Fielding, 2007). Pupil consultation becomes another institutional means through which school participants are drawn on in legitimating the position of schools. The test of authenticity here overlaps with the test of the concept: consultation in school offers children a voice but is unlikely to establish them within decision-making processes, and it is debatable whether children's agency is fully deployed.

Within the dominant narrative, children who work within families and on the street, those children who sometimes assume dominant roles within the domestic economy, are not viewed as legitimate participants. More recent research within the emergent narrative expands a frame of recognition in attempting to incorporate children's material and political contributions. While much of children's participation within the critical narrative is aspirational, the expanding of different forms incorporating material, emotional and intergenerational dimensions allows us to recognise forms of participation hitherto invisible or marginal to the broader political and social project of establishing children's rights to participate. Again, the concept/conception frame is useful in identifying these practices as forms of participation. While there is an underlying broader concern about children's unequal access to resources and the distribution of dominant forms of participation, there is also some recognition within the research field of childhood studies of the different ways in which more embedded and material forms both challenge and ameliorate these inequalities.

References

Alderson, P. (2008). *Young children's rights, exploring beliefs, principles and practice* (2nd ed.). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Archard, D. (2015). *Children: Rights and childhood* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.

Banks, C. (2007). The discourse of children's rights in Bangladesh: International norms and local definitions. *International Journal of Children's Rights, 15*(3 & 4), 391–414. https://doi.org/10.1163/092755607X262801.

Chittenden, T. (2010). Digital dressing up: Modelling female teen identity in the discursive spaces of the fashion blogosphere. *Journal of Youth Studies, 13*(4), 505–520. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260903520902.

Cockburn, T., & Cleaver, F. (2009). *How children and young people win friends and influence others*. London: Carnegie Trust.

Estrada, E. (2013). Changing household dynamics: Children's American generational resources in street vending markets. *Childhood, 20*(1), 51–65. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568212458441.

Fielding, M. (2006). Leadership, radical student engagement and the necessity of person-centred education. *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 9*(4), 299–313.

Fielding, M. (2007). Beyond 'voice': New roles, relations and contexts in researching with young people. *Discourse: Studies in Cultural Politics of Education, 28*(3), 301–310. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596300701458780.

Franklin, A., & Franklin, B. (1996). Growing pains: The developing children's rights movement in the UK. In J. Pilcher & S. Wagg (Eds.), *Thatcher's children?* (pp. 201–218). London: Falmer.

Ghirotto, L., & Mazzoni, V. (2013). Being part, being involved: The adult's role and child participation in an early childhood learning context. *International Journal of Early Years Education, 21*(4), 300–308. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669760.2013.867166.

Harris, A. (2008). Young women. Late modern politics and the participatory politics of online cultures. *Journal of Youth Studies, 11*(5), 481–495. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260802282950.

Hart, R. (1997). *Children's participation: The theory and practice of involving young citizens in community development and environmental care*. London: Earthscan.

Hill, M. (2006). Children's voices on ways of having a voice: Children and young people's perspectives on methods used in research and consultation. *Childhood, 13*(1), 69–89. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568206059972.

Jupp, E. (2008). The feeling of participation: Everyday spaces and urban change. *Geoforum, 39*(1), 331–343. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2007.07.007.

Kendrick, M., & Kakuru, D. (2012). Funds of knowledge in child-headed households: A Ugandan case study. *Childhood, 19*(3), 397–413. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568212439587.

Kenway, J., & Bullen, E. (2001). *Consuming children: Education-entertainment-advertising*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Kirby, P., & Gibbs, S. (2006). Facilitating participation: Adults' caring support roles within child-to child projects in schools and after-school settings. *Children and Society, 20*(3), 209–222. https://doi.org/10.1002/CHI.872.

Kraftl, P., & Horton, J. (2007). 'The health event': Everyday, affective politics of participation. *Geoforum, 38*(3), 1012–1027. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2007.01.2013.

Landsdown, G. (2012). The realisation of children's participation rights: Critical reflections. In B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (Eds.), *A handbook of children's and young people's participation* (pp. 11–23). London: Routledge.

Liebel, M. (2003). Working children as social subjects. *Childhood, 10*(3), 265–285.

Liebel, M. (2007). Opinion, dialogue, review the new ILO report on child labour: A success story, or the ILO still at a loss. *Childhood, 14*(2), 279–284. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568207078361.

Matthews, H. (2003). Children and regeneration: Setting an agenda for community participation and regeneration. *Children and Society, 17*(4), 264–276. https://doi.org/10.1002/CHI.745.

Mayall, B. (2002). *Towards a sociology of childhood: thinking from children's lives*. Buckingham: Open University.

Moss, P., & Petrie, P. (2002). *From children's services to children's spaces*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Oswell, D. (2013). *The agency of children: From family to global human rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parton, N. (2011). Child protection and safeguarding in England: Changing and competing conceptions of risk and their implications for social work. *British Journal of Social Work, 41*, 854–875. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcq119.

Pinkney, S. (2011). Participation and emotions: Troubling encounters between children and social welfare professionals. *Children and Society, 25*(1), 37–46. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2009.00261.x.

Reddy, N. (2007). Working with working children in India. In B. Hungerland, M. Liebel, B. Milne, & A. Wihstutz (Eds.), *Working to be someone: Child focused research and practice with working children* (pp. 187–196). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Seabrook, J. (1998). Children of the market. *Race and Class, 39*(4), 37–44.

Seiter, E. (1995). *Sold separately: Children and parents in consumer culture*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Shaw, C., Brady, L.-M., & Davey, C. (2011). *Guidelines for research with children and young people*. London: NCB.

Skelton, T. (2007). Children, young people, UNICEF and participation. *Children's Geographies, 5*(1–2), 165–181. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733280601108338.

Stafford, A., Laybourn, A., Hill, M., & Walker, M. (2003). 'Having a Say': Children and young people talk about consultation. *Children and Society, 17*(2), 361–373. https://doi.org/10.1002/CHI.758.

Tisdall, K., & Bell, R. (2006). Included in governance: Children's participation in 'Public' decision-making. In K. Tisdall, J. Davis, M. Hill, & A. Prout (Eds.), *Children, young people and social inclusion: Participation for what?* (pp. 105–120). Bristol: Policy Press.

Treseder, P. (1997). *Empowering children and young people*. London: Children's Rights Office.

Twum-Danso, A. (2014). Realising children's rights in Africa. In A. Twum-Danso & N. Ansell (Eds.), *Children's lives in an era of children's rights* (pp. 3–21). Basingstoke: Palgrave.

United Nations. (1989). *Convention on the rights of the child*. Geneva: United Nations.

United Nations (UN). (2008). *Committee on the rights of the child: Consideration of reports submitted by states parties – UK*. Geneva: United Nations.

Valentine, K. (2011). Accounting for agency. *Children and Society, 25*(5), 347–358. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2009.00279.x.

White, S., & Choudhury, S. (2007). The politics of child participation in international development: The dilemma of agency. *The European Journal of Development Research, 19*(4), 529–550. https://doi.org/10.1080/09578810701667508.

Wyness, M. (2003). Children's space and interests: Constructing an agenda for student voice. *Children's Geographies, 1*(2), 223–239. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733280302193.

Wyness, M. (2009). Children representing children: Participation and the problem of diversity in UK youth councils. *Childhood, 16*(4), 535–552. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568209344274.

Wyness, M. (2013). Global standards and deficit childhoods: The contested meaning of children's participation. *Children's Geographies, 11*(3), 340–353. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2013.812280.

Wyness, M. (2015). *Childhood*. Cambridge: Polity.

Wyness, M. (2016). Childhood, human rights and adversity: The case of children and military conflict. *Children and Society, 30*(5), 345–355. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12171.

4

Recognition and Capability: A New Way to Understand How Children Can Achieve Their Rights?

Nigel Thomas and Daniel Stoecklin

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore new ways of understanding how children achieve a place in society. The focus is both analytical and ethical, attending to the processes that enable children or impede them in realising their potential value as members of societies. The task of developing new sociological understandings of childhood has recently been addressed using a number of different theoretical approaches, singly or in combination (Alanen, 2014). This chapter explores aspects of children's place in society using two theoretical models: recognition theory, in particular the three modes of 'love, rights and solidarity' (Honneth, 1995), and the capability approach (Sen, 1999). The idea is not to merge the two perspectives but to show what they respectively draw attention to.

N. Thomas (✉)
University of Central Lancashire, Preston, UK

D. Stoecklin
University of Geneva, Geneva, Switzerland

We shall look at the 'blindspots' in both approaches, the missing links that other theories may help to fill. While recognition theory puts the focus on personal identity, the capability approach is primarily concerned with acts that people do or don't have the freedom to perform. We suggest that the link between activities and identities is a central issue because it is always mediated by specific values that are a key element in the processes whereby recognition is achieved or denied. For instance, it appears that children often must show that they share a specific community of value before their cognitive ability is recognised as mature enough to actively participate in legal relations. From the point of view of capability theory, then, esteem/solidarity as expressed in recognition theory could be seen as a 'conversion factor', enabling children to exercise in reality the rights that they already have in law. In such ways, recognition may be necessary in order to have one's capacities converted into capabilities.

We consider in particular the application of both theories to the case of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) as an example of how children's place in intergenerational relations is constructed, crafted as it is by adults for the presumed benefit of children, but at the same time reinterpreted by children themselves (Hanson & Poretti, 2012). The recursivity of the process whereby children achieve a place in society is underlined, as achieved functionings retroact on the social definition of individual entitlements. The 'rights of the child' then become part of the configuration of personal and social factors that convert these entitlements into an ever-evolving capability set. The chapter concludes with a review of current attempts to use the two theories to inform and guide empirical research with children.

Honneth's Theory of Recognition

Honneth's project is to build a theory of social progress that is founded on the concept of intersubjective *recognition* as a fundamental element in human interaction, and individual and group identity.[1] Not only does he put the concept of recognition at the heart of his social theory but he has also done more than any other author to articulate the concept of recognition in a complex way. It is this articulation, perhaps as much as the

overarching theory, that makes his model interesting as a way of thinking about children's place in society.

Throughout the development of his theory, Honneth maintains the three-fold conceptualisation of intersubjective recognition which he originally took from Hegel, for which he found empirical support in Mead (1934), and which he refers to in summary as 'love, rights and solidarity'.

By 'love' he means 'primary relationships insofar as they—on the model of friendships, parent-child relationships, as well as erotic relationships between lovers—are constituted by strong emotional attachments among a small number of people' (Honneth, 1995, p. 95). For him, these relationships are the site of complex emotional interactions, of which the most significant are affection, attachment, trust, and the struggle to achieve a balance between symbiosis and self-assertion. Many things can go wrong in such primary relationships, but the outcome, when they are successful, is a mutual recognition of independence 'supported by an affective confidence in the continuity of shared concern' (1995, p. 107).

By 'rights', Honneth refers to the respect for persons implied in modern legal relations. The first step is that 'subjects reciprocally recognize each other with regard to their status as morally responsible' (Honneth, 1995, p. 110). Honneth links this to a Kantian concept of rational autonomy that immediately raises questions about *who* is included; questions that, as we argue below, he does not fully address. What he does suggest is that 'the essential indeterminacy as to what constitutes the status of a responsible person leads to a structural openness on the part of modern law to a gradual increase in inclusivity and precision' (ibid.). This tends to produce both an extension of the classes of people to whom basic human rights are extended, and an extension of the types of right to which they are entitled, as Marshall (1963) showed. Honneth's contribution is to link this with social respect, and with self-respect, which he argues is dependent on the ability to claim one's rights through a legal process. Empirical support for this is to be found in the negative—for example, in experiences of the civil rights movement, where subjects 'talk of how the endurance of legal under-privileging necessarily leads to a crippling feeling of social shame, from which one can be liberated only through active protest and resistance' (Honneth,1995, p. 121; see also Fanon, 1961). The extension of rights to children is on the contrary a positive example

whereby the burden of proof of the incapacity of children to exert their rights is put on the parties (the states), notably regarding the kind or level of maturity required to be heard (UNCRC, Article 12), and therefore 'structural openness' mentioned by Honneth is a central issue.

By 'solidarity', Honneth means 'the forms of social regard in which subjects are recognized according to the socially defined worth of their concrete characteristics' (1995, p. 121). He employs a broad conception of the values and goals that, 'taken together, comprise the cultural self-understanding of a society' (p. 122). This understanding is historically variable, and the forms that esteem can take therefore depend in part on 'the degree of pluralization of the socially defined value-horizon' (ibid.). Specifically, Honneth argues that the move to a social order in which values (1) are not tied to one's place in society and (2) are subject to individual determination creates a space in which people's sense of being 'valuable' depends on being 'recognized for accomplishments that they precisely do not share in an undifferentiated manner with others' (p. 125). However, he is also clear that 'the worth accorded to various forms of self-realisation and even the manner in which the relevant traits and abilities are defined fundamentally depend on the dominant interpretations of societal goals in each historical case' (p. 126).

Honneth's theory of recognition is both a theory of individual development in a social context and a theory of social change in a historical context (see Fig. 4.1). Although the theory is a developmental and historical one, and the modes are also expressed as stages (if mainly cumulative rather than successive), a degree of synchronicity in its application is also permissible, even necessary. One does not cease to need recognition in the form of love, and the point at which one begins to need respect and esteem may be rather earlier in life than Honneth sometimes implies, as we argue below. On this basis, the model can in principle be used to interrogate any social setting—for example, a workplace, a festival, a parliament, a nursery, a war—since all three modes of recognition will always be more or less present or absent, and the ways in which they are or are not expressed may or may not be problematic.

Honneth does not talk about children except in the context of primary relationships of love and care. The exclusion of children from universal human rights is taken as read, which means that the question of their

Mode of recognition	Emotional support	Cognitive respect	Social esteem
Dimension of personality	Needs and emotions	Moral responsibility	Traits and abilities
Forms of recognition	Primary relationships (love, friendship)	Legal relations (rights)	Community of value (solidarity)
Developmental potential	–	Generalization, de-formalization	Individualization, equalization
Practical relation-to-self	Basic self-confidence	Self-respect	Self-esteem
Forms of disrespect	Abuse and rape	Denial of rights, exclusion	Denigration, insult
Threatened component of personality	Physical integrity	Social integrity	'honour', dignity

Fig. 4.1 The structure of relations of recognition (based on Honneth 1995)

status is not made explicit. This is in the face of Honneth's own assertion that it must always be asked of a universally valid right—in light of empirical descriptions of the situation—what the circle of human subjects is, within which, because they belong to the class of morally responsible persons, the rights are supposed to be applicable (p. 113).

We argue here that (1) children *do* belong to the class of morally responsible persons and are therefore holders of rights and entitled to respect; and (2) children are people with talents and capabilities, who contribute in a variety of ways to society and culture, and so are deserving of esteem. Research in childhood studies, and the adoption of the UNCRC, have led to these assumptions being more widely, if not universally, accepted. It then becomes possible to analyse children's place in society using the concepts provided by Honneth's recognition theory: to

ask when, where and how they achieve reciprocal recognition (1) as love, (2) as respect and (3) as esteem. In other words, the model invites us to look at children not only as recipients of care and affection but also as givers of care and affection, *and* as rights-bearers and rights-respecters, *and* as potential, if not actual, members of a community of solidarity based on shared values and reciprocal esteem.

The Capability Approach

Capabilities can be defined as the real freedom one has to lead the kind of life one has reasons to value (Sen, 1999). The capability approach began as a theory of welfare economics but developed into a broader theory of justice, notably by Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2000). In this approach, 'individual advantage … is judged by a person's capability to do things he or she has reason to value' (Sen, 2010, p. 231). The approach employs some key concepts. *Capabilities* are a person's real freedoms or opportunities to achieve functionings. They are based on (1) resources and (2) conversion factors, personal, social and environmental factors which enable people to convert resources into functionings. The aim is to analyse inequality in a way that allows for agency and difference, rather than imposing external measures that are intended to fit all.

Like Honneth, Sen and Nussbaum barely mention children except with a developmental orientation ('children and parental duties'). Implicitly, individual advantage is judged by a child's capability to do things they will have reason to value in the future, or by their future capabilities. The central concept of 'agency freedom', or freedom to follow ones own life choices, is not really applied to children.

The capability approach has only recently been applied to children (Ballet, Biggeri, & Comin, 2011; Dixon & Nussbaum, 2012) and to children's rights (Stoecklin & Bonvin, 2014). Dixon and Nussbaum remain stuck in a vulnerability and 'future' orientation to children. Ballet et al. apply the approach to children in a way that tries to allow for their agency to some extent, with the concept of 'evolving capabilities' (see also Liebel, 2014). Stoecklin and Bonvin seek to identify the factors that convert entitlements (formal rights) into capability (real

freedom). They hold that there is always a gap between children's formal liberties (rights) and their real freedom (capability), and that the conversion factors necessary to convert the rights on paper into effective enjoyment of rights include social factors such as public policies and individual factors, such as cognition. Figure 4.2 shows how, depending on personal and social conversion factors, individual entitlements are converted into more or less important and numerous possible functionings.

The feedback loops indicated by backwards arrows in the figure illustrate 'the recursivity or cyclical aspect of the process, whereby achieved functionings, in later sequences, retroact on the social definition of individual entitlements as well as they become part of the configuration of personal and social factors that convert these entitlements into an ever evolving capability set' (Stoecklin & Bonvin, 2014, p. 134). The decision-making process is therefore seen as a complex interplay between children's reflexivity, that of adults and the opportunities offered by actual structures.

The notion of recursivity in participation processes highlights the fact that achievements or experiences resulting from the child's choice among several possibilities that were at hand (freedom to achieve) are crucial for the re/interpretation of one's individual entitlements. This (re)interpreta-
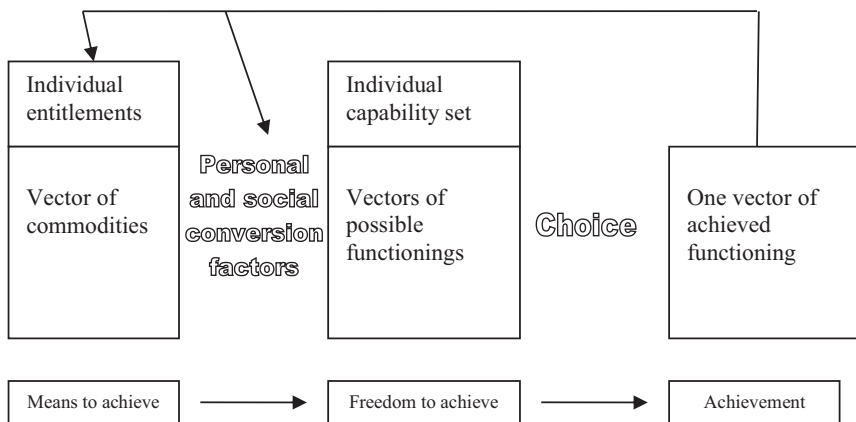
Fig. 4.2 From entitlements and commodities to achieved functionings (Stoecklin & Bonvin, 2014, p. 134)

tion also corresponds to the bottom-up translation of children's rights, or 'living rights': the understandings of rights as they are experienced by children in different contexts (Hanson & Poretti, 2012). This means that children can themselves have agency on how individual entitlements are understood in a specific community, and children's actual choices are to a great extent dependent on their own understanding of their rights.

Our starting point is that

1. children do have life goals and reasons to value particular functionings;
2. there is no reason in principle not to apply the capability approach with children as with adults;
3. everyone's freedom to choose their life goals is potentially limited by societal expectations in various ways, not only children's.

Therefore we can use the capability approach to understand children's place in society

1. to consider the resources available to children, which include adult care and concern for their present and future well-being, as well as resources that support their autonomous action;
2. to understand the 'conversion factors' (personal, social and environmental) that turn those resources into capabilities, including the propensity of the adult world to take account of children's own views and support their autonomous action;
3. to analyse the evolution of capabilities in individual cases and on a broader group or societal level;
4. to understand how local and global inequalities are maintained and how they can be challenged, including inequalities between adults and children.

Commonalities and Differences

We can now begin to compare the two theoretical approaches in relation to the understanding of children's position in society. Both approaches combine socioeconomic analysis with an ethical underpinning. Both

theories can help us to understand children's social position, and both can be used to make demands on behalf of children. Recognition theory is primarily a theory of social relations, while the capability approach also embraces material resources. Recognition theory is a general theory of society, while the capability approach is an 'informational' model without prescriptive content. Both potentially offer new and useful ways of thinking about children's place in society.

Both have particular strengths and limitations. Recognition theory has been criticised for not taking account of power (McNay, 2008). Honneth's version of recognition theory has also been criticised for demoting the importance of struggles over the distribution of resources (Fraser, 1995). Honneth's theorising is firmly rooted in Western European philosophy, history and social institutions. On the other hand, the capability approach has grown to address issues of development and poverty, and it does not have an explicit historical dimension but is arguably better at addressing global issues and contexts (and therefore global childhoods). It remains unclear, or contested (Nussbaum, 2010; Sen, 1992), how far 'capabilities' can be generalised and how far they are self-defined. Finally, applying either model to children and childhood raises the old question of one childhood as a structural formation or multiple childhoods as social constructs (Qvortrup, 2009).

The Two Theories in Dialogue

A dialogue between recognition theory and the capability approach can help to reveal new features of both: first, the centrality of activity in the capability approach, the centrality of identity in recognition theory, and their respective silence on the relationship between activity and identity. In the capability approach 'real freedom to live a life they have reason to value' implies the idea that to 'live' is manifested in 'doings'; predominant accounts of capabilities are still made through the presence or absence of substantial and concrete activities that are considered to be indicators of one's 'real freedom'. In recognition theory, the focus is on acceptance by others of one's conception of self, be it in terms of love, rights or solidarity. The focus each theory puts on another aspect of one's experience

(activities versus identity) prepares the ground for implicit hypotheses. In capability theory, one would consider that 'doings' have some sort of priority over 'beings', whereas in recognition theory, doings are seen as consequences of beings (being loved, being respected, being esteemed), so that identity is primary. Therefore both theories, in different ways, suffer from missing connections between activities and identities. In the capability approach,

> resources are conceived as means to reach a valuable end, i.e. the development of capabilities. What matters is the end and not the equal distribution of means; in this respect Sen's perspective ranges among the 'equality of opportunity' approaches. The main concern, then, is not to increase the means but to ensure as much as possible the achievement of the end. A key issue in this respect is that of conversion: as a matter of fact, the ability of people to convert the possession of resources or commodities into capabilities or real freedoms to live a life they have reason to value, depends on individual and social factors, i.e. individual characteristics such as gender, nationality, physical or mental abilities, etc. on the one hand, social norms, available public policies, socio-economic opportunities, etc. on the other hand (Bonvin & Stoecklin, 2016, pp. 22–23).

The question of identity is of course not reducible to 'gender, nationality, physical or mental abilities'. Nor are people's wishes and aspirations only the products of a collective habitus (Bourdieu, 1992); they are also elaborated individually on the basis of specific identities (actual or sought). Hence, one's reflexive thinking in the elaboration of preferences is not solely determined by the collective debate about good *reasons* to value specific doings and beings. There is a double structuration (Giddens, 1984) whereby individual actions and social systems are reciprocally constructed.

The logic of double structuration is also contained in Stoecklin's (2013) conception of social action. This understands social action as the interplay between dimensions of experience displayed within one's activities, relations, values, images of self and motivations, as highlighted in Fig. 4.3.

The interdependence between relations, values and images of self is of interest here. It suggests that identity results from reflections of and on the self (images of self) evolving according to the kind of values (love,

activities

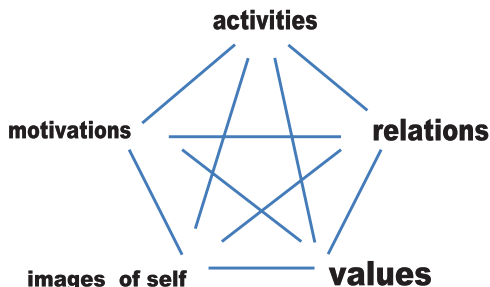motivations

relations

images of self

values

Fig. 4.3   The actor's system (D. Stoecklin)

rights, solidarity) that are 'shaped' within relationships. Within this conception, we do not consider values as preceding relationships, like a 'stock of knowledge' (Schütz, 1987) that actors would grab onto, but rather as constructed within social interaction itself. Unless they are asked to do so, social actors do not often explicitly refer to values, they do not wear them or hold them as flags. Unless they want others to give up their own interests and act for their benefit, they are not using preconceived values in an instrumental way. Children also experience values first of all 'in the making', during interaction. The rationalisation of values comes with education, peer-group membership, identification with categories of people—all socially induced processes whereby values may eventually turn into rigidified discourses. The perspective of interpretive reproduction (Corsaro, 1997) is certainly relevant to account for this plasticity of values that is observable especially in early childhood. Hence values are in the making and are 'shaped' within interactions and not given beforehand. Values are embedded in concrete relations with 'significant others' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), family members in particular, and a 'generalised other' is formed through constant comparison with other contexts. A basic feature of identity can be highlighted: it is built within relationships that leave more or less open the set of values that any actor may conceive. Stoecklin's (2013) 'actor system' is helpful to conceive the construction of identity as the result of the links among the other dimensions of action. Not only do relations and values but also activities and motivations shape identities. The recursive nature is underlined, as identities in turn are shaping motivations and activities.

We can now return to the discussion about capability and recognition, considering the interdependencies in the 'actor's system', and underline two basic features. First, Honneth's three modes of recognition are embedded in triadic links between relations, values and images of self, with values having a mediation effect. Second, capabilities are embedded in the triad made of images of self, motivations and activities, with motivations as the mediator. That is to say, people's preferences (motivations) are strongly shaped by the images they have of themselves, as reflections of and on the self are embedded in the forms of recognition identified by Honneth. Therefore Honneth's theory of recognition, seen from the perspective of the 'actor's system', contributes towards filling some gap in the capability approach—namely, the importance of reflexive thinking about one's own identity. Reversely, the same perspective helps in asking whether recognition theory takes full account of the specific 'activities' inducing the prevalence of one mode of recognition over the others. There might be a tendency to see love, rights and esteem only in a diachronic way, as modes of recognition that follow each other according to children's evolving capacities. It is more than probable, now that we have highlighted the complexity of one's system of action, that the three modes of recognition can also form specific configurations according to activities and contexts. The diachronic and the synchronic perspectives should not be opposed but seen as complementary. This is certainly more interesting because it allows us to compare situations from a perspective that does not strictly oppose social constructionism and developmental psychology (the so-called Piagetian 'stages'), but rather seeks bridges between them and so fosters the interdisciplinary debate.

Although Honneth's model of recognition theory locates rights/respect as prior to solidarity/esteem, there are suggestions (Thomas, 2012) that children are in practice often unable to realise the former until they have demonstrated that they merit the latter; in other words, that children must show that they share a specific community of value before their cognitive ability is recognised as mature enough to actively participate in legal relations. From the point of view of capability theory, then, esteem/solidarity may be seen as a 'conversion factor' enabling children to exercise in reality the rights that they already have in law. This leads us to a discussion about the UNCRC.

The UNCRC as a Framework for Recognition and Capabilities

The UNCRC is the most ratified international treaty, so it gives rise to a range of debates and a myriad of positions within them. Different appraisals and understandings of the provisions contained in this normative framework have been observed, confirming the relevance of sociological and anthropological perspectives, especially when it comes to local interpretation and implementation. Nevertheless, some global trends can be identified, within which Hanson (2012) identifies four 'schools of thought' (paternalism, liberalism, welfare and emancipation). Our position is located within the 'emancipation' approach. We look at how children achieve a place in society, calling in two theoretical approaches (recognition and capability) to better understand the dynamics of children's agency.

We have come to a point where we suggest that these theories help go beyond ideological positions (what to do) and closer to sociological observations (how things are done). While the 'new sociology of childhood' emphasised childhood as a social construction and shed light on children's competences (James & Prout, 1990; Oswell, 2013), the majority of practice dealing directly with children is still dominantly paternalistic, protecting children's 'becomings'. The radical reaction of 'liberationists' to dominant traditional viewpoints presumes full competence and rationality of children ('being' independent citizens), and therefore claims that children should have rights equal to those of adults (Hanson, 2012, p. 74). Our position is to reject the 'being/becoming' dichotomy, because the life course is made up of the interaction of both dimensions, and hence this divide is a poor device to analyse the question of agency pertaining to the entire life course.

The distinction between power and legitimacy is central here. With the adoption and ratification of the UNCRC, the social construction of childhood has been framed by rational-legal domination (Weber, 2013). However, the power of children as subjects of participation rights (legitimacy of their voices) remains restricted by adults' views and expectations. From a Weberian perspective, we could say that the UNCRC entitles

children to pursue legitimate claims (the third optional protocol about individual complaints, entered into force in 2013, is a further step in this direction). Yet legitimation does not prevent domination (Giddens, 1979; Shapiro, 2005). Children's voices may have legitimacy, but they have little or no effective power. The ethical position holding that every effort should be made to turn downward cycles (Lansdown, 2010) into upward cycles is an illustration of the perceived gap to be narrowed between children's enhanced legitimacy as rights-holders and their limited power as social actors.

On an analytical level, however, we should not only try to better understand the dynamics that enable children or impede them in realising their potential value as members of societies. We should also consider that this problem itself reveals something about the social construction of childhood: the very fact that children can be thought of as valuable participants to democratic processes of governance, that will in turn enhance their own capability, is only possible along the modern individualistic vision of the 'common good'. The rational-legal domination associated with human rights, extended to children through a binding normative instrument such as the UNCRC, should logically include children as stakeholders in the implementing of their own rights. But how much capability do they really have in this process? The capability of children regarding the official or dominant interpretation of their own rights is weak. We know that the provisions of the UNCRC were crafted by adults for the presumed benefit of children, and also that they are at the same time reinterpreted by children themselves (Hanson & Poretti, 2012). But how much of this reinterpretation is 'reinjected' into debates around specific provisions of the UNCRC? How much are children's own reflexive formulations about their rights included in their implementation? How much do we respect the right of children, as a group, to express their views and to be heard, about their own understanding of what their rights are or should be?

This should be researched further with a focus on the feedback arrows of the capability framework (Fig. 4.2), together with the structural openness mentioned by Honneth, allowing for the inclusion of children as responsible persons. This structural openness is linked to two important questions raised by the capability approach: How do we understand 'free-

dom' and how do we consider 'reason'? Freedom to lead a certain kind of life has to do with the actual possibilities that are in fact two-sided: in order to do something, one has to be able to act in the relevant ways to achieve what one wants to do (positive freedom), but one also must not be prevented by others or by circumstances (negative freedom). To play music, for instance, is a freedom that necessitates a proper capacity to use an instrument (including one's voice) but also an environment where one is not prevented from doing so by other people and/or by the absence of instruments. Hence the freedom to lead a life based on respect for human rights requires the capacity to identify rights and an environment that is conducive to seeing oneself and others as rights-bearers. Actually the latter is a precondition of the former. In other words, there must be some rights-grounded habitus, resulting from the reproduction of social norms through their internalisation in individual actors, in order for children to be able to recognise and name a right (Snodgrass-Godoy, 1999). Children's rights are therefore necessarily an adult-driven habitus because the process of internalisation of something called a 'right' can only be embedded in education, which is an ontological necessity (Dewey, 1910). Compared with other species, human beings develop their innate functional capacities (e.g. walking and talking) in the long run. The symbolic capacities necessary to make sense of something called a 'right' take even longer to develop fully. Sometimes also adults do not have a clear understanding of what a 'right' entails and requires: the interdependence of rights and duties; the conventional dimension of rights, and hence their interpretation, deconstruction and reconstruction—all these rather complex issues are actually only gradually understood by actors who are learning through experience. Nobody can reasonably expect children (at any age) to understand a 'right' if no concrete example of it is mentioned or experienced. It takes the capacity to systematise specific events into a specific configuration, which can be compared to a 'general rule' that had already emerged from previous experience. So we see that the recognition of any right, and of the violation thereof, takes a learning process favoured by the 'structural openness' that Honneth mentioned. Rights are not innate; they are learnt conventions. On this basis we can now better understand that the 'freedom to lead a certain kind of life' does actually not just require that one would be able to act in a certain way and that other

people or circumstances do not oppose one's desires; it also depends on the elaboration of one's desires, of how something may become desirable, and this is very much a social process linked to structural openness. We may see here that the two aspects of 'freedom' and 'reason' are actually linked together. Things people have 'reason' to value are precisely collectively elaborated:

> Capabilities are not a matter of preferences, but of 'reasonable' preferences. […] Capabilities must be, then, something people have 'reason to value' and do not necessarily equate with their preferences. […] In his work, Sen consistently insists on an open definition of rationality and denounces the limitations of too specific a view on this issue. Partisans of a strictly economic view of rationality based on a cost-benefit analysis are for instance considered as 'rational fools' (Sen, 1977). In his eyes, the problem of rationality is 'undecidable' (Sen, 2002), which means that the content and criteria of rationality cannot be fixed once for all, they are to be determined in situation in the course of a public discussion. This argument accounts for Sen's constant insistence on the importance of public reasoning (Sen, 2009). (Bonvin & Stoecklin, 2016, pp. 24–25)

The relevance of individual preferences is always debated, and public support is necessary to build a good 'reason' to value them. The social norms prevailing in the public deliberative space are already an expression of in-built preferences, reflecting the 'normality' (deriving from a 'capability' to make norms and naturalise them) of individuals equipped with more resources taking different forms of capital: economic, social, cultural and symbolic forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1992). Honneth's (1995) conception of a 'value horizon' is a partial attempt to address this problem, by positing a range of values that, while not all shared universally, are generally recognised as socially acceptable value sets.

A major issue is that the limitation of structural openness often goes beyond what is necessary to protect children. Therefore the collective debate which is required is not democratic enough. The reasons to value certain things are the reasons of certain people more than others; and as children neither have an innate sense of rights nor a privileged position within the debate about 'reasonable preferences', they are in fact highly dependent on the values that are predominant in certain settings. 'Being

free to live the way one would like may be enormously helped by the choice of others, and it would be a mistake to think of achievements only in terms of active choice by oneself' (Sen, 1993, p. 44). This is why 'the enhancement of capabilities as a requirement of social justice depends on the joint action of the individual concerned and other actors in her environment' (Bonvin & Stoecklin, 2016, p. 22).

Conclusion: Agency and Freedom

There have been several attempts to test the application of the capability approach to children's place in society. In the field of organised leisure, Stoecklin and Bonvin (2014) use the capability approach to understand the relationship between children's rights and the praxis of participation. They identify four sets of factors—economical, political, organisational and personal—that enable 'the child's right to be heard' under Article 12 of the UNCRC to be converted into effective participation. Combining these factors helps us to understand the process element of participation, while use of the 'actor's system' brings in children's reflexivity as a major converting factor and underlines the recursivity of the participation experience.

In relation to the participation of children in care, Robin (2014) uses the capability approach to show how children can move from being 'objects' to being 'subjects'. She shows that there is still a gap between the formal right accorded by the French Child Protection Reform Law to children living in care to take part in the assessment process (as part of a number of new rights accorded to children living in care following the adoption of the UNCRC) and the concrete opportunities for those children to actually exercise this right. These constraints result from interdependences of individual features and social opportunities in decision-making processes taking place in care facilities. This study also approaches these processes as non-linear, cumulative and retroactive.

There have also been a few attempts to test the application of recognition theory. Thomas (2012) observed the operation of young people's forums in research that highlighted the importance of both love and solidarity, and the surprisingly low profile of rights, in the work of these forums. Distinguishing the different modes of recognition proved to be a

powerful tool in analysing the strengths and weaknesses of this particular approach to young people's participation, with resonance for participants. In schools, a large study by Graham et al. (2014) discovered that Honneth's categories of 'love, respect and esteem' also appeared highly resonant when students and teachers talked about their conceptions of well-being. A subsequent study, now nearing completion, is showing the strength of the relationship between participation and well-being, and how that is mediated by experiences of intersubjective recognition and misrecognition.

To our knowledge there has been one attempt to apply the two theories together. Golay and Malatesta's (2014) research on children's councils in Lausanne explored the understanding of 'opportunities and barriers' in two different types of council in terms of three components of capabilities (opportunity, capacity and agency) together with the three modes of recognition. Using the two frameworks in combination, together with elements of a 'living rights' approach which attends to the claims children make from their lived experience (Hanson & Nieuwenhuys, 2013; Hanson & Poretti, 2012; Liebel, 2008), enabled the authors to analyse and critique in some depth the operation of children's councils, showing how their modes of working are mainly defined by adults, and how institutional goals play a major role in defining the frame of participation, restricting the opportunities that councils present for children, and reinforcing class and gender inequalities. Real change would require the recognition of children as a group and overcoming 'social cleavages' so that girls and other devalued groups have a better chance of participating (p. 124). The authors suggest that these preconditions, considered to be social and individual conversion factors in the capability approach, would be required to promote solidarity and foster greater recognition of children's contribution.

We suggest that these studies represent the beginnings of a project to test the usefulness of these two theoretical models, separately and together, in understanding the limits and possibilities, the constraints and the enablers, the particular characteristics and the determinants, of children's participation in society.

Both theories are fundamentally about conceptions of freedom. Sen distinguishes between *substantive* freedom, which the capability approach aims to explain, and *procedural* freedom, which it does not. Honneth's

account of recognition is fundamentally an account of freedom and how it is 'actualised'. This is very clear from his more recent work (Honneth, 2014). Here he distinguishes between negative or *legal freedom*, reflexive or *moral freedom*, and *social freedom*. Social freedom is dependent on cooperation with others.

Can one theory be subsumed by the other? For instance, could we interpret capabilities as a means to achieving fuller recognition, on the one hand, or recognition as a resource, or as a conversion factor, on the other? Or is it better to employ them in parallel and to ask (in relation to a child, a group of children or all children): Where and how do children achieve reciprocal recognition (how are children cared for, how are their rights respected, in what ways are they valued)? What resources and what conversion factors enable them to achieve what functionings?

As we have noted, the capability approach mainly highlights activities, whereas recognition theory puts relationships and images of self in its focus. The links between different dimensions of action (praxis) must therefore be specified, and we suggest that the 'actor's system' can help with this (Stoecklin, 2013). The capability approach, focusing on the range of possible activities an actor has access to, according to individual and social conversion factors, should consider that the other dimensions of action, namely relations, values, images of self and motivations, are interwoven within the conversion factors. Therefore, one's relations and images of self, which in recognition theory is the focal aspect of action, is bound to the aforementioned interwoven dimensions.

These symbolic dimensions of action are actually instantiated in institutional forms, conventions, institutions and positions, which in turn inform interactions. This two-way structuration between intersubjectivity and social institutions is notably addressed by Honneth's (2014) work, which moves on from the intersubjectivity that underpins his original statement of recognition theory to look at the part played by important social institutions. This is an attempt to reconstruct the values implicit in social institutions in order to critically illuminate precisely how they fail to deliver, or enable, true freedom, and what would need to change in order to make that implied promise a reality. That of course involves struggle—a struggle in which we contend that children can and should be understood as playing a full part.

Notes

1. This section draws substantially on Thomas (2012).

References

Alanen, L. (2014). Theorizing childhood. *Childhood, 21*(1), 3–6. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568213513361.

Ballet, J., Biggeri, M., & Comim, F. (2011). Children's agency and the capability approach: A conceptual framework. In M. Biggeri, J. Ballet, & F. Comim (Eds.), *Children and the capability approach* (pp. 22–45). Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books. https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1968.70.4.02a00870.

Bonvin, J., & Stoecklin, D. (2016). Children's rights as evolving capabilities: Towards a contextualized and processual conception of social justice. *Ethical Perspectives, 23*(1), 19–39. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9091-8.

Bourdieu, P. (1992). *The logic of practice*. Cambridge: Polity.

Corsaro, W. (1997). *The sociology of childhood*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Dewey, J. (1910). *How we think*. Boston: D.C. Heath & Co. https://doi.org/10.1037/10903-000.

Dixon, R., Nussbaum, M. (2012). *Children's rights and a capabilities approach: The question of special priority*. University of Chicago Public Law and Legal Theory Working Paper, No 384.

Fanon, F. (1961). *The wretched of the earth*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Fraser, N. (1995). From redistribution to recognition: Dilemmas of justice in a 'postsocialist' age. *New Left Review, 212*, 68–93.

Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory. Action, structure and contradiction in social analysis*. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Golay, D., & Malatesta, D. (2014). Children's councils implementation: A path toward recognition? In D. Stoecklin & J.-M. Bonvin (Eds.), *Children's rights and the capability approach: Challenges and prospects* (pp. 109–130). Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9091-8_6.

Graham, A., Fitzgerald, R., Powell, M., Thomas, N., Anderson, D., White, N., & Simmons, C. (2014). *Improving approaches to wellbeing in schools: What*

role does recognition play? (Final Report). Centre for Children and Young People, Southern Cross University, Lismore.

Hanson, K. (2012). Schools of thought in children's rights. In M. Liebel (Ed.), *Children's rights from below. Cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 63–79). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230361843_5.

Hanson, K., & Nieuwenhuys, O. (Eds.). (2013). *Reconceptualizing children's rights in international development: Living rights, social justice and translations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139381796.

Hanson, K., & Poretti, M. (2012). 'Living rights' ou l'enfant sujet de droits: la traduction de la compréhension de leurs droits par les enfants eux-mêmes à l'attention de la communauté internationale. In P. Meyer-Bisch (dir.), *L'enfant témoin et sujet: les droits culturels de l'enfant* (pp. 81–101). Genève: Schulthess.

Honneth, A. (1995). *The struggle for recognition: The moral grammar of social conflicts*. Cambridge: Polity Press. https://doi.org/10.1177/089692059702 300309.

Honneth, A. (2014). *Freedom's right: The social foundations of democratic life*. Cambridge: Polity Press. https://doi.org/10.1111/heyj.12653.

James, A., & Prout, A. (1990). *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. Basingstoke: Falmer Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203362600.

Lansdown, G. (2010). The realisation of children's participation rights. Critical reflections. In B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (Eds.), *A handbook of children and young people's participation: Perspectives from theory and practice* (pp. 11–23). London: Routledge.

Liebel, M. (2008). Citizenship from below: Children's rights and social movements. In A. Invernizzi & J. Williams (Eds.), *Children and citizenship*. London: Sage.

Liebel, M. (2014). From evolving capacities to evolving capabilities: Contextualizing children's rights. In D. Stoecklin & J.-M. Bonvin (Eds.), *Children's rights and the capability approach: Challenges and prospects* (pp. 67–84). Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9091-8_4.

Marshall, T. (1963). Citizenship and social class. In T. Marshall (Ed.), *Sociology at the crossroads and other essays*. London: Heinemann.

McNay, L. (2008). *Against recognition*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mead, G. (1934). *Mind, self and society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.184.19mea.

Nussbaum, M. (2000). *Women and human development: The capabilities approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511841286.

Oswell, D. (2013). *The agency of children. From family to global human rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139033312.

Qvortrup, J. (2009). Childhood as a structural form. In J. Qvortrup, W. Corsaro, & M. Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of childhood studies* (pp. 21–33). Basingstoke: Palgrave. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230274686.

Robin, P. (2014). The participation of children in care in the assessment process. In D. Stoecklin & J.-M. Bonvin (Eds.), *Children's rights and the capability approach: Challenges and prospects*. Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9091-8_10.

Schütz, A. (1987). *Le chercheur et le quotidien*. Paris: Meridiens Klincksieck.

Sen, A. (1977). Rational fools: A critique of the behavioral foundations of economic theory. *Philosophy & Public Affairs, 6*(4), 317–344.

Sen, A. (1992). *Inequality re-examined*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Sen, A. (1993). Capability and well-being. In M. Nussbaum & A. Sen (Eds.), *The quality of life* (pp. 30–54). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A. (2002). *Rationality and freedom*. London/Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Sen, A. (2009). *The idea of justice*. London/Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Sen, A. (2010). *The idea of justice*. London: Penguin.

Shapiro, I. (2005). *The state of democratic theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Snodgrass-Godoy, A. (1999). 'Our right is the right to be killed': Making rights real on the streets of Guatemala. *Childhood, 6*(4), 423–442. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568299006004003.

Stoecklin, D. (2013). Theories of action in the field of child participation. In search of explicit frameworks. *Childhood, 20*(4), 443–457. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568212466901.

Stoecklin, D., & Bonvin, J.-M. (2014). Cross-fertilizing children's rights and the capability approach. The example of the right to be heard in organized leisure. In D. Stoecklin & J.-M. Bonvin (Eds.), *Children's rights and the capability approach: Challenges and prospects* (pp. 21–33). Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9091-8_7.

Thomas, N. (2012). Love, rights and solidarity: Studying children's participation using Honneth's theory of recognition. *Childhood, 19*(4), 453–466. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568211434604.

Weber, M. (2013). *La Domination*. Paris: La découverte.

5

Theorising Children's Bodies. A Critical Review of Relational Understandings in Childhood Studies

Florian Eßer

Introduction

From the start, the discovery of children as agents has played as central a role in childhood studies as an understanding of childhood as a social construct (Prout & James, 1990). Taken together, however, these two basic conceptions of childhood studies have jointly resulted in the body being lost from view. On the one hand, it has been shown from a social constructivist and discourse analytical perspective how developmental psychology and medicine first construct the developing child's body that they examine (Burman, 1994; Stainton Rogers, & Stainton Rogers, 1992). They have been accused of engaging in an adult centrism that construes both the body and the mind of children as merely a transitional stage on the way to the 'finished' adult. At the same time, those starting from the conceptual premise of children as agents undertook efforts to show that children, exactly like adults, are in a position to act in a socially responsibly

F. Eßer (✉)
University of Hildesheim, Hildesheim, Germany

and serious fashion (James, 2009). The corresponding argument ran that children, despite their relatively smaller physis, are equal to adults in social terms.

In recent years, both of these efforts have been the target of criticism within the field of childhood studies. From the one side, the social-constructivist side, it is argued that the emphasis placed on the discursive character of childhood leads, at the same time, to a bracketing of the physical and material, which in turn represents an inadequate reduction of the social (Ryan, 2011). According to critics, sociomaterial interconnections are highly significant for the constitution of childhood and cannot be separated from their discursive representation. From the other side, the actor-centred side, it has been argued in turn that this approach takes as its starting point the rational and autonomous subject of modernity, which has already been comprehensively deconstructed in the wake of post-modern, feminist and post-colonial criticism. From this perspective, the attempt of childhood studies to ascribe an actor-centred individual agency to children does not lead to theoretical equality with adults but merely extends dubious Western autonomy claims concerning adults onto childhood (Cockburn, 2013; Eßer, Baader, Betz, & Hungerland, 2016; Oswell, 2013).

This chapter enquires into the theorisation of the body because it begins from the thesis that both problems culminate here and that the body of the child itself continues to represent, at the same time, an insufficiently theorised entity in childhood studies, which affects in turn the theoretical constitution of childhood. Here the body will be theorised as being situated at the interface of nature and culture as well as of subject and society. This represents an alternative by way of which the still existing differences between, on the one hand, a macroperspective (which grasps childhood as construction and discourse) and, on the other, a microperspective (which starts from the premise of children as actors with individual agency) can likewise be overcome.

Children's bodies, agency and childhood—the starting point of this chapter—need to be conceived together, both theoretically and empirically. Prout (2000) recognised this at the turn of the century and, at the same time, regretted the fact that scholarship had hitherto completely

failed to occupy this terrain. Ten years later, Valentine renewed the same judgement and qualified children's bodies as 'an absent presence' (Valentine, 2010). Despite this general criticism, in the meantime the basis for overcoming this lack certainly exists in childhood studies. The discussion about a reconceptualisation of agency in childhood studies is particularly helpful in this connection. This line of argumentation explicitly rejects both substantialist concepts of actors and a definition of the social that brackets material and corporal aspects (Kraftl, 2013; Oswell, 2016). In keeping with these efforts, this chapter is itself based on a relational understanding of agency, which forms the general framework for further analysis. The reflections that follow aim to provide a sketch of three current approaches to the body in childhood studies and to systematise the research activities resulting from them by reference to the understanding of agency on which they implicitly rely. The goal of the chapter is to reconstruct the new debate about the body, which has hitherto been highly dispersed and displays little reciprocal reference among participants. In the final analysis, what is at stake is arriving at the possibility of a theorisation of agency that explicitly includes the body and thereby transcends common dualisms in childhood studies.

Agency as Understood by Relational Social Theories

As noted at the outset, there has for some time been a certain unease in childhood studies concerning its two most characteristic programmatic approaches: treating childhood as a social construct and treating children as agents. On the one hand, per the first critique, the insight into the fact that childhood is a social construct has led to a marginalisation of the material and the substantial. From this side, one has argued for overcoming the division between a social and a natural, material world in order to arrive at a *general* construction (Lee & Motzkau, 2011). On the other hand, thus continues the critique, now with respect to the second approach, the emphasis on the status of children as agents has led to the

latter being construed as autonomous subjects, which make their environment their own by actively shaping it. However, this reliance on 'more-or-less conscious, rational and self-interested practice' (Valentine, 2011) should be abandoned in favour of more networked and interdependent models. At stake from this side is an overcoming of the difference between subject and society and/or of agency and structure (Oswell, 2013, p. 50).

Both critiques are in turn connected to a more general unease in childhood studies, which consists of the impression of having failed to link up with the broader discussion in social theory (Oswell, 2013, p. 38). Since the beginning of the 1990s, this has been characterised by critical reflections on the idea of an independent actor and autonomous agency (Hays, 1994), on the one hand, and on the distinction between a cultural world of the social sciences and a material world of the natural sciences, on the other (Latour, 1993). Thus, for instance, Fuchs describes these dichotomies, which oppose micro to macro, subject to object, nature to culture, and agency to structure, as the 'great divide' (Fuchs, 2001b, p. 25) of modernity.

In social-theoretical discussions, contemporary approaches that attempt to overcome this great divide have been collectively placed under the heading of the 'relational turn' (Dépelteau, 2013). For all their differences, these approaches share the view that social relations are the key to explain social phenomena, which also include subjects and objects, actors and their agency. Dépelteau states that 'there is no such thing as a Subject in this approach' (Dépelteau, 2013, p. 180). Per this understanding, human beings are not the smallest indivisible parts of the social, but rather only first become what they are in their social interconnections. Consequently, agency too is not an individual, anthropological faculty of subjects but rather represents an effect of relationships, not their precondition (Fuchs, 2001a). In recent years, relational theories of agency have been a subject of great interest in childhood studies. Even if this is not the place to discuss the full scope of this reception (see Eßer, 2016), the implications of such an understanding of agency for theorising the body of the child should be briefly discussed.

In the first place, a relational understanding of agency has the consequence that the dichotomy of the 'mind' and 'body', by which modern

Western thought has been essentially determined, is also rendered obsolete. The Cartesian idea according to which subjectivity represents a kind of 'ghost in the machine' (Crossley, 2001, p. 63) has been criticised in depth in the course of the so-called 'body turn' in sociology. According to this traditional idea, human agency is supposed to have its seat in the mind, which steers the body and matter in accord with its own interests. As an alternative to this conception, models of mindful bodies have been developed, which transcend the clear separation of mind and matter. Thus the body becomes social also in its materiality, and material in its sociality. Consequently, in a relational turn it helps to create agency, just as the social and material relations in which it stands helped to create the body itself (Crossley, 2006; Goodwin, 2008; Shilling, 2012).

But even if talk of the three 'turns' on which the new sociological interest in the body are based (the 'relational turn', the 'body turn' and the 'material turn') suggests a certain unity, each of the approaches that are located within these turns have their own particular emphases. Hence, in what follows, three different approaches are presented and questioned as to their conception of agency. All of them could achieve a certain influence in childhood studies.

Hybrid Bodies: Decentred Agency

It is most probably science and technology studies (STS) that has the longest tradition in the analysis of the body in childhood studies. Deriving from the works of Callon (1986), Latour (2005), Law (1999) and others, STS is, above all, relevant in sociology for having called attention to the agency of objects by emphasising how the latter are embedded as non-human actors in social translation processes. Among other things, this has also led to the conceptualisation of hybrid bodies, in whose enactment organic and non-organic, as well as both human and non-human, actors are involved (Haraway, 1991).

In childhood studies, Turmel, for instance, has used STS to provide a historical analysis (Turmel, 2008) of how children's bodies do not simply develop naturally, but rather this development of their bodies is made and/or 'embodied'. This happens by way of graphs, tables and texts,

which form a network that stabilises the developing body of the child (Turmel, 2008, p. 34). For Turmel, of interest is the inscription of institutions in children's bodies (Turmel, 2008, p. 76). The institutional 'fabrication' (Eßer, 2015) of the child always also signifies an 'inscription' of development in the child's body: the increase in the height and weight of the infant, which are recorded and graphically represented, as well as the motor skills, which are tested and described.

In several individual case studies, Castañeda (2002) too analyses how the body of the child is specifically 'figured' in different times, national contexts and scientific theories. By 'figural bodies', she means 'a relation between the semiotic and the material' (Castañeda, 2002, p. 3): '[F]iguration provides a way of accounting for the means through which the child is brought into being *as* a figure, as well as the bodies and worlds that this figure generates through a plurality of forms' (Castañeda, 2002, p. 3ff). In this sense, Castañeda opposes a common conception of the child as the embodiment of what is instinctive and natural in the human being, and speaks instead, citing Haraway (1991), of 'agency of nature' (Castañeda, 2002, p. 165). In particular, she also criticises post-structuralist theories for still using the child for origin stories and she insists that children are neither more original nor more natural than adults. Thus, for instance, she argues that a newborn too is already a natural/cultural body, which is inaccessible to adults inasmuch as it is already formed by the semiotic and material processes of birth (Castañeda, 2002, p. 168).

It is not only the hybridity of the child's body between culture (or semiotics) and nature that has been analysed by drawing on STS but also that between organic and non-organic substances. Place (2000) reconstructed how monitoring devices and other medical objects in a clinical intensive care unit become part of children's bodies in clinical practice, help to keep them alive and are treated by clinic personnel as ontologically belonging to the body. Middleton and Brown (2005) did the same for a neonatal unit.

The different studies from the STS milieu have in common that they do not situate agency at the level of individual children/actors. Rather, agency is here the result of networks in which different human and non-human, material and discursive, and also organic and technical actors are brought into relation with one another and collaborate.

Bodies as Participants: Agency in Embodied Practices

A second way of reconceptualising the body is to be found in practice-theoretical approaches and consequently, in order to add a fourth turn to the relational, body and material turns, it has been described as the 'practice turn' (Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina, & Savigny, 2001): '[P]ractice accounts are joined in the belief that such phenomena as knowledge, meaning, human activity, science, power, language, social institutions, and historical transformation occur within and are aspects or components of the field of practices' (Schatzki, 2001, p. 11).

Two distinct but interlacing aspects, in particular, constitute practice-theoretical approaches (Eßer, 2017b): (1) they too conceive the body beyond the dichotomy of body and mind: from a body-sociological conception, people as well as their bodies are not prior to bodily practices (Schatzki, 2001, p. 11); (2) rather, bodily practices themselves form social action. From a subordinate appendage of the social, the body here becomes the bearer of embodied practices that constitute the social. '[T]he skilled body commands attention in practice theory as the common meeting point of mind and activity and of individual activity and society' (Schatzki, 2001, p. 12). The ethnomethodological orientation towards practical common-sense knowledge, which cannot, however, be made explicit, is behind these insights.

With respect to childhood studies, it was, above all, Kelle and her colleagues who tested the usefulness of practice theory for the empirical analysis of childhood. In their ethnographic project on paediatric check-ups (Kelle, 2010), they analyse the production of normally developing children's bodies in medical practice. In so doing, they are able to show that the physical age and development norms described by Turmel and Castañeda do not only take effect in graphs, tables and visualisation. They are particularly effective inasmuch as they are applied to individual children in the course of everyday and physical practices. In Germany, children are not only regularly measured and weighed during doctors' check-ups but also asked to paint pictures, pronounce tongue-twisters and master other tasks whose solution facilitates the assessment of their individual level of development.

In this case, it is likewise not a matter of isolated practices of children; rather, doctors, parents and children carry them out together (Bollig & Kelle, 2016). From the other side—that is, the children's side—, Schulz (2015) also emphasises this aspect in his practice and performance-theoretical analyses of monitoring practices in daycare facilities. He reconstructs how the monitoring of the educational processes of pre-school children is not only structured by the observational situation but also produced by the children themselves. When the teacher comes to them with the questionnaire, the children know that the educational process is being monitored and they demonstratively present something important, which the teacher can then record.

In an ethnography of residential childcare, I have analysed a special case of concerted physical practices of children and adults, focusing on intergenerational physical contact (Eßer, 2017b). I assume here that it is the practices of touch that constitute the bodies and not vice versa. This also applies to the question of the subject: children become children inasmuch as they are touched by adults in a certain way—for example, hugged or held. Relationally, this is also, of course, the case for the adults, who in the same caring or 'restraining' contact are likewise constituted as care-providers.

Practice analyses show that the 'big' discourses of contemporary child-hood—such as physical and cognitive development, education and safety—only become effective because they are situationally created in practice. This occurs again by way of the physical involvement of children and adults. From the practice-theoretical perspective as well, agency is not an anthropologically given faculty that enables people to undertake actions but rather itself a product of corporal and material practices. Neither bodies nor subjects exist prior to these practices and hence children also become 'participants in practice' (Bollig & Kelle, 2016).

The Body as Flesh: Embodied Agency

Phenomenological sketches opt for slightly displaced access to the body and to the subject. Whereas STS and practice-theoretical concepts aim at a decentring of the body, the starting point for phenomenological studies

is the bodily experience of being-in-the-world (Heidegger, 1927/2001), in which the individual constitutes itself in its connection with the surrounding world. The reflections in question are essentially based on the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty (2012/1945) and his concept of 'flesh' (Merleau-Ponty, 1968): 'Flesh belongs neither to the subject nor world exclusively. It is a primal "element" […] out of which both are born in mutual relation. It cannot then be conceived of as mind or as material substance. Rather, the "flesh" is a kind of circuit' (Leder, 1990, p. 210). Merleau-Ponty's philosophy is currently being rediscovered in the sociology of the body—especially within the framework of so-called 'carnal sociology' (Wacquant, 2015).

In childhood studies too, there are a few scattered approaches to be found that attempt to integrate the body and its significance for the existence of children. They offer the potential to make even such phenomena into objects of analysis as elude the domain of wakeful consciousness—for example, sleep (Moran-Ellis & Venn, 2007). Even if he doesn't rely on Merlau-Ponty, but rather on Winnicott and Deleuze/Guattari, Lee's (2008) reflections on a conceptualisation of sleep that goes beyond the 'awake/asleep' binary can be understood in this way. He enquires into the significance of cuddly toys when going to sleep—or, more exactly, of one particular cuddly toy to which the child maintains a special exclusive relationship—and he interprets them, following Winnicott, as transitional objects: 'Transitional phenomena build a path to psychological well-being by allowing 'play' between the otherwise static and opposed inner and outer realms' (Lee, 2008, p. 63). In their physical contact to the cuddly toy, which functions as transitional object, children incorporate the world and, at the same time, situate themselves within it.

Tahhan (2008) offers a similar interpretation with regard to the significance of touch when going to sleep. She explicitly refers to Merleau-Ponty's philosophy when understanding 'co-sleeping, not as a practice involving two separate bodies (that is, the contained bodies of teacher and child)' (Tahhan, 2008, p. 40). Instead, she grasps physical contact as a moment of participation in one another and in the world. People 'are no longer separate or distinct bodies but a different body that includes the experience of others' (Tahhan, 2008, p. 41). In this sense, bodies that come into physical contact are merely the medium of a more profound

connection, which comes into being by way of the 'flesh', and facilitates intimacy and a sense of security for the children.

As in the case of STS, the body, along with its organic processes, also itself becomes a social phenomenon on the basis of a phenomenological understanding. This happens, however, in a sense that binds the individual to the world and first makes the individual possible in this relation, which is both originary and necessary. In my own analysis of the enactment of overweight bodies in residential childcare, I have referred to just such a double emergence of the body (Eßer, 2017a). Applying medical and aesthetic norms, children's bodies are declared to be overweight and consequently subjected to further observational and dietary practices (Mol, 2013). Such 'biopolitics' have, moreover, an elementary connection to the experience of one's own body. In the individual, as well as shared, physical assimilation of food, in the sensory experience of it and digestion, children situate themselves in the world and, in a certain way, engage with it (Eßer, 2017a; Van de Port & Mol, 2015).

In a phenomenological understanding as well, agency is neither 'mindful' nor limited to the particular individual. It circulates. But—and this distinguishes the phenomenological approach from other relational approaches—it can at the same time be experienced by the individual, inasmuch as the latter is involved in a both bodily and embodied process of exchange with the world. It is a bodily and material self–world relation, which, in a wider sense of the term, is always also political, inasmuch as the bodily experience of the self defines both possible and impossible ways of being (Grosz, 1995; Kraftl, 2015).

Conclusion

The three relational approaches to the body presented here exhibit clear differences in their respective ways of conceiving agency. Whereas practice theories, for instance, emphasise the fluid, performative and repetitive character of bodily practices as the source of agency, STS and phenomenological approaches always also focus on the materiality, substance and 'ontology' of the body that receives and develops agency—if, of course, also in a non-substantialist sense. To mention yet another

important distinction, the human capacity for action gets reconceptualised in STS in such a way that things are conceptually equal to subjects as actors that create agency in common networks of action. In practice theory, actors are, in turn, understood as participants in practices. In phenomenological approaches, on the other hand, it is always also a matter of the sentient and, at the same time, sensed body, which, along with its feelings and perceptions, represents a privileged site for knowing the world.

Despite all their differences, the three approaches can, nonetheless, be understood as thoroughly complementary. This possibility is already contained in their shared philosophical foundations, even if, in somewhat different ways, both STS (Lynch, 1997) and practice theory (Reckwitz, 2010) draw on ethnomethodology, which essentially derives, in turn, from the phenomenology of Alfred Schütz (Sharrock, 2004)—which thus represents a common point of reference for all three approaches. In social-theoretical terms, all three approaches also draw on a relational understanding, which aims to overcome the widespread mind/body dualism that divided matter from reason. This anti-Cartesian conception leads, in turn, to an understanding of agency that regards the latter as the result of links between embodied beings, materialities and practices.

For childhood studies, the three approaches outlined here, taken together, create a considerable theoretical and analytical potential, which is far from having been exhausted. A relational understanding of the body provides solutions to some of the difficulties, which were described at the outset, in the opposition between the two poles of childhood as a social construct and children as actors. On the one hand, they lead from an understanding of childhood as 'social' construct to a general concept of childhood as a biomaterial-discursive construction (Lee, 2008, p. 59). What follows from this are theoretical and empirical analyses that are able to reconstruct different politics of childhood not only in the 'big' discourses but also in the local context of its practical implementation (Kraftl, 2013). On the other hand, a relational understanding of the body also leads to a concept of agency that embodies agency and enacts children's bodies. Finally, a non-substantialist understanding of the body and its systematic integration into theory formation in childhood studies is also tied to the hope of arriving at a both material and social concept of

childhood that precisely overcomes the difference between childhood as social construct and children as actors, rather than reproducing it.

References

Bollig, S., & Kelle, H. (2016). Children as participants in practice. In F. Eßer, M. S. Baader, T. Betz, & B. Hungerland (Eds.), *Reconceptualising agency and childhood. New perspectives in Childhood Studies* (pp. 34–47). London: Routledge.

Burman, E. (1994). *Deconstructing developmental psychology*. London, New York: Routledge.

Callon, M. (1986). Some elements of a sociology of translation: Domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay. In J. Law (Ed.), *Power, action and belief: A new sociology of knowledge?* (pp. 196–223). London: Routledge.

Castañeda, C. (2002). *Figurations. Child, bodies, worlds*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Cockburn, T. (2013). *Rethinking children's citizenship*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Crossley, N. (2001). *The social body. Habit, identity and desire*. London [u.a.]: SAGE.

Crossley, N. (2006). The networked body and the question of reflexivity. In D. Waskul & P. Vannini (Eds.), *Body/embodiment. Symbolic interaction and the sociology of the body* (pp. 21–33). Hampshire: Ashgate.

Dépelteau, F. (2013). What is the direction of the 'relational turn'? In C. Powell & F. Dépelteau (Eds.), *Conceptualizing relational sociology. Ontological and theoretical issues* (pp. 163–185). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eßer, F. (2015). Fabricating the developing child in institutions of education. A historical approach to documentation. *Children & Society, 29*(3), 174–183. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12113.

Eßer, F. (2016). Children's agency and welfare organizations from an intergenerational perspective. In S. Punch, R. Vanderbeck, & T. Skelton (Eds.), *Families, intergenerationality, and peer group relations* (pp. 1–22). Singapore: Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-4585-92-7_21-1.

Eßer, F. (2017a). Enacting the overweight body in residential child care: Eating and agency beyond the nature–culture divide. *Childhood, 24*(0), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568216688245.

Eßer, F. (2017b). Touch in residential child care: Staff's bodies and children's agency. *European Journal of Social Work, 20.* https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2017.1289898,1-11.

Eßer, F., Baader, M. S., Betz, T., & Hungerland, B. (Eds.). (2016). *Reconceptualising agency and childhood. New perspectives in Childhood Studies.* London: Routledge.

Fuchs, S. (2001a). *Against essentialism. A theory of culture and society.* Cambridge u.a.: Harvard University Press.

Fuchs, S. (2001b). Beyond agency. *Sociological Theory, 19*(1), 24–40.

Goodwin, D. (2008). Refashioning bodies, reshaping agency. *Science, Technology & Human Values, 33*(3), 345–363. https://doi.org/10.1177/0162243907306694.

Grosz, E. (1995). *Space, time and perversion: Essays on the politics of bodies.* New York: Routledge.

Haraway, D. J. (1991). A Cyborg Manifesto. Science, technology, and socialist-feminism in the late twentieth century. In D. Haraway (Ed.), *Simians, cyborgs and women* (pp. 149–181). New York: Routledge.

Hays, S. (1994). Structure and agency and the sticky problem of culture. *Sociological Theory, 12*(1), 57–72.

Heidegger, M. (1927/2001). *Sein und Zeit* (18 Aufl.). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

James, A. (2009). Agency. In J. Qvortrup, W. A. Corsaro, & M.-S. Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of Childhood Studies* (pp. 34–45). Basingstoke, Hampshire u.a.: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kelle, H. (2010). Age-Appropriate Development' as Measure and Norm. An ethnographic study on the practical anthropology of routine paediatric checkups. *Childhood, 17*(1), 9–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568209351548.

Kraftl, P. (2013). Beyond 'voice', beyond 'agency', beyond 'politics'? Hybrid childhoods and some critical reflections on children's emotional geographies. *Emotion, Space and Society, 9*, 13–23. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2013.01.004.

Kraftl, P. (2015). Alter-childhoods: Biopolitics and childhoods in alternative education spaces. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 105*(1), 219–237. https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2014.962969.

Latour, B. (1993). *We have never been modern.* New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social. An introduction to actor-network-theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Law, J. (1999). After ANT. Complexity, naming and topology. In J. Law & J. Hassard (Eds.), *Actor network theory and after.* Oxford u.a.: Blackwell.

Leder, D. (1990). Flesh and blood: A proposed supplement to Merleau-Ponty. *Human Studies, 13*, 209–219.

Lee, N. (2008). Awake, asleep, adult, child: An a-humanist account of persons. *Body & Society, 14*(4), 57–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X08096895.

Lee, N., & Motzkau, J. (2011). Navigating the bio-politics of childhood. *Childhood, 18*(1), 7–19. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568210371526.

Lynch, M. (1997). *Scientific practice and ordinary action: Ethnomethodology and social studies of science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1968). *The visible and the invisible*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (2012/1945). *Phenomenology of perception*. London: Routledge.

Middleton, D., & Brown, S. D. (2005). Net-working on a neonatal intensive care unit. The baby as a virtual object. In B. Czarniawska & T. Hernes (Eds.), *Actor-network theory and organizing* (pp. 307–350). Malmö: Liber & Copenhagen Business School Press.

Mol, A. (2013). Mind your plate! The ontonorms of Dutch dieting. *Social Studies of Science, 43*(3), 379–396. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306312712456948.

Moran-Ellis, J., & Venn, S. (2007). The sleeping lives of children and teenagers: Night-worlds and arenas of action. *Sociological Research Online, 12*(5), http://www.socresonline.org.uk.

Oswell, D. (2013). *The agency of children. From family to global human rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oswell, D. (2016). Re-aligning children's agency and re-socialising children in Childhood Studies. In F. Eßer, M. S. Baader, T. Betz, & B. Hungerland (Eds.), *Reconceptualising agency and childhood. New perspectives in Childhood Studies* (pp. 19–33). London: Routledge.

Place, B. (2000). Constructing the bodies of ill children in the intensive care unit. In A. Prout (Ed.), *The body, childhood and society* (pp. 172–194). Houndmills: Macmillan.

Prout, A. (2000). Childhood bodies. Construction, agency and hybridity. In A. Prout (Ed.), *The body, childhood and society* (pp. 1–18). Houndmills: Macmillan.

Prout, A., & James, A. (1990). A new paradigm for the sociology of childhood? Provenance, promise and problems. In A. James & A. Prout (Eds.), *Constructing and reconstructing childhood. Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood* (pp. 7–34). London/New York/Philadelphia: Routledge/Falmer.

Reckwitz, A. (2010). Toward a theory of social practices. A development in culturalist theorizing. In M. Bevir (Ed.), *Interpretive political science* (pp. 275–298). Los Angeles: SAGE.

Ryan, K. W. (2011). The new wave of Childhood Studies: Breaking the grip of bio-social dualism? *Childhood, 19*(4), 439–452. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568211427612.

Schatzki, T. R. (2001). Introduction: Practice theory. In T. R. Schatzki, K. Knorr-Cetina, & E. V. Savigny (Eds.), *The practice turn in contemporary theory* (pp. 10–23). London: Routledge.

Schatzki, T. R., Knorr-Cetina, K., & Savigny, E. V. (Eds.). (2001). *The practice turn in contemporary theory*. London: Routledge.

Schulz, M. (2015). The documentation of children's learning in early childhood education. *Children & Society, 29*(3), 209–218. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12112.

Sharrock, W. (2004). What Garfinkel makes of Schutz: The past, present and future of an alternate, asymmetric and incommensurable approach to sociology. *Theory & Science, 5*(1), 1–13.

Shilling, C. (2012). *The body and social theory* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles [u.a.]: SAGE.

Stainton Rogers, R., & Stainton Rogers, W. (1992). *Stories of childhood. Shifting agendas of child concern*. Hassocks: Harvester.

Tahhan, D. A. (2008). Depth and space in sleep: Intimacy, touch and the body in Japanese co-sleeping rituals. *Body & Society, 14*(4), 37–56. https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X08096894.

Turmel, A. (2008). *A historical sociology of childhood. Developmental thinking, categorization and graphic visualization*. Cambridge u.a.: Cambridge University Press.

Valentine, G. (2010). Children's bodies: An absent presence. In K. Hörschelmann & R. Colls (Eds.), *Contested bodies of childhood and youth* (pp. 22–37). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Valentine, K. (2011). Accounting for agency. *Children & Society, 25*, 347–358. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2009.00279.x.

van de Port, M., & Mol, A. (2015). Chupar frutas in Salvador da Bahia: A case of practice-specific alterities. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 21*(1), 165–180. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.12151.

Wacquant, L. c. (2015). For a sociology of flesh and blood. *Qualitative Sociology, 38*, 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-014-9291-y.

6

Unexpected Allies: Expanding the Theoretical Toolbox of the Children's Rights Sociologist

Michele Poretti

Towards Children's Rights Studies

Children's rights occupy a paradoxical and ambiguous place within childhood studies. Following the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), they have become a central theme within childhood scholarship. Until recent years, though, they have received limited theoretical attention (Quennerstedt, 2013; Reynaert, Bouverne-De Bie, & Vandevelde, 2009). Scholars' engagement with children's rights has also been characterised by a strong, although not always explicit, normativity (Alanen, 2010). As Reynaert, Bouverne-De Bie and Vandevelde (2012) point out, academic debates about children's rights have actually been marked by a polarisation between 'believers' and 'opponents'. The first largely adhere, without critical distance, to the children's rights project, whose emphasis on children's so-called 'participation rights' resonates with childhood studies' commitment to contribute to the recognition of children and young people's competences and agency

M. Poretti (✉)
University of Teacher Education (HEP), Lausanne, Switzerland

(Alanen, 2010). Opponents, for their part, usually move their critique from cultural relativist positions, challenging the universalist claims of children's rights without engaging with their possible value in promoting greater respect for children (Reynaert, Bouverne-De Bie, and Vandevelde, 2012, p. 156).

In this context, many childhood scholars have called for the development of the study of children's rights and for engaging more critically with the issue (Alanen, 2010; Hanson, 2014; Quennerstedt, 2013; Reynaert et al., 2012). Hanson (2014) and Quennerstedt (2013) advocate, in particular, for a clearer distinction between the study of children's rights, which should entail theoretical ambitions and a critical and reflexive posture, and efforts aimed at enhancing their respect. The UNCRC, Quennerstedt summarises, is 'not something to preach, but something to analyse' (2013, p. 239). In a similar vein, Reynaert et al. (2012) propose to develop a field of 'critical children's rights studies', which would reveal the processes, values and logics underpinning the practices associated with the idea of children's rights. Within this approach, critique is meant to be constructive because the knowledge produced by academics ultimately aims 'to change these practices in the direction of a greater respect for the human dignity of children' (Reynaert et al., 2012, p. 166). For Alanen, who calls for working towards a more reflexive sociology of children's rights (2010), the inherently normative nature of rights, which mobilise ideas of the good or desirable childhood, would inevitably lead scholars to address more openly issues of values and norms, and to problematise their own standpoint.

Despite setting forth useful guiding principles for the emerging field of children's rights studies, these proposals leave several fundamental questions unanswered. These concern, in particular, the appropriate intellectual resources allowing one to theorise children's rights and the type of critical and reflexive posture to be adopted. Calls for theorising children's rights emerge, in fact, at a time when childhood studies is going through a moment of self-doubt concerning its own capacity to shed light on the complexity of childhood (James, 2010; Prout, 2005; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). Prout argues (2005), in particular, that the field remains entrenched in an overly static conception of society drawn from modernist sociology, which crystallises in dichotomies such as structure/agency, adult/child

and being/becoming. The conception of childhood as a social construction and the idea that children have agency, which have become sorts of undebated 'mantras' within the field (Tisdall & Punch, 2012, p. 251), may also need to be more critically interrogated.

Critique may also take different forms. Should children's rights sociologists espouse a minimalist conception of critique (Sayer, 2009, pp. 769–772), which consists, like the child in Andersen's novel *The Emperor's New Clothes*, in 'unmasking' or reducing illusion in society, opposing scientific truths to the actors' beliefs? Or should they instead engage more openly, as Sayer suggests (2009), with moral and political issues, challenging relations of domination and pointing, by mobilising alternative ideas of the common good, towards brighter futures? While these questions, which imply distinct postures and different kinds of reflexivity, do not exhaust the possibilities of critique, they are vital for children's rights studies, especially in a world where critical thought, despite its unprecedented ubiquity, seems to have lost its transformative potential (Boltanski, 2009; Latour, 1991/1993).

Children's rights scholars therefore face at least three interwoven challenges: exploring new theoretical horizons, clarifying their critical stance and reflecting on their own normative engagement with their object of study. In this chapter I wish to contribute to the reflections on these issues by drawing on recent debates within French sociology, opposing Pierre Bourdieu's critical sociology, also known as the sociology of domination, and the pragmatic sociologies of two Bourdieusian 'dissidents', Luc Boltanki and Bruno Latour, who developed, respectively, a sociology of critique (Boltanski, 2009; Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991) and a sociology of translation, also known as actor-network theory (ANT) (Latour, 1991/1993, 2005). Moving away from conceptions of theories as general and abstract frameworks, typically holding strong truth claims, I adopt a pragmatic understanding of theories, which sees them as 'tools' (Garnier, 2014) and assesses their value according to the task to be accomplished. This approach, which puts all theories, at least *a priori*, on the same level, opens up the space for combining multiple, complementary and possibly competing approaches. While other authors have underscored the value of Bourdieu's sociological thought (Alanen, Broker, & Mayall, 2015), Boltanski's sociology (Garnier, 2014) or ANT (Prout, 2005) for childhood

studies, my goal here is to explore the potential of mobilising jointly these resources in the study of children's rights and, more specifically, of policies aimed at fostering children and young people's participation.

The chapter first summarises the controversies within contemporary French sociology and shows how critical and pragmatic resources may productively add to children's rights studies. Drawing on a recent enquiry into the practices of participation specialists in Switzerland, it then illustrates how these 'unexpected allies' may be productively combined in child and youth participation research.

Debates Within French Sociology

It would be vain to attempt to summarise here the works of Bourdieu, Boltanski and Latour, whose innovative and evolving analytical thought defies simple accounts. I shall therefore limit myself to revisiting two central debates: the articulation between structures and agency, and the role of critique and reflexivity.

Structures, Agency and the (In)stability of the Social Order

A core opposition between Bourdieu's sociology and his pragmatic 'dissidents' lies in the weight given, respectively, to social structures and to people's competences. Bourdieu posits that the social space is divided into different relational and autonomous fields, such as the political, the bureaucratic or the academic fields, each governed by its own logic (1994, 1984/2002). On his account (1979/1984, 1994), people pursue strategies of distinction by accumulating different types of capital (economic, cultural, social etc.). Their practices are determined, namely, by the interplay between their dispositions, or *habitus*, embodied largely during childhood and therefore dependent on social origin, and their objective structural position within the concerned field.

Moving away from rationalist theories of action, Bourdieu assumes, through the concept of *illusio*, that the actors adhere to the rules of the

game prevailing within each field, whose stakes go largely unquestioned (1997/2003, pp. 237–242). In other words, people are caught up in and by the game they play (e.g. publishing to gain cultural capital in the academic field, producing laws to accumulate juridical capital in the bureaucratic field), even though these stakes may appear to be an illusion to external observers. Accordingly, Bourdieu's sociology often consists in questioning, through a thorough historical examination of the constitution of fields, the epistemological and political foundations of taken-for-granted categories and assumptions. His analysis of the genesis of the state (1994, pp. 101–133) sheds light, in particular, on the 'symbolic violence' through which government devices (laws, schools, bureaucracies etc.) universalise a particular truth, or *doxa*, thereby shaping our principles of vision and division.

Although Bourdieu tries to prevent deterministic interpretations of his theory, underscoring, for instance, that the habitus may change over time and that its manifestations in each situation are not fully predictable (1994), his sociology has often been accused of being overly fatalistic. This is indeed one of the main critiques addressed to Bourdieu by Boltanski and Latour. To avoid imposing on the actors a pre-existing social order, heavily charged by sociological constructs such as field, structures or *habitus*, both authors emphasise people's critical and reflexive competences and move the focus of their enquiries towards the controversies that characterise the fabric of the social (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991; Latour, 1991/1993). They argue that sociology should not posit the social order but explain how it emerges through situated practices. The key task for sociology is therefore, as Latour puts it (2005), to 'follow the actors' as close as possible. This approach does not entail simply conveying the actors' analyses but, more specifically, following the operations through which they (un)make the social order in specific situations (e.g. by valuing certain people or things, by forming or dismantling groups), without judging whether these operations are valid, just or true from the sociologist's perspective.

To explore social order in the making, Boltanski and Latour resort to the notion of test or trial (*épreuve*) (Boltanski, 2009; Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991; Latour, 2005). This notion has received different definitions, but for the sake of this chapter it may be understood as an event,

or moment of uncertainty, in which different things (people, arguments, projects etc.) are pitted against one another in order to establish their relative value and, ultimately, a legitimate hierarchy between them (think, by analogy, of sports contests or school examinations). Boltanski and Chiapello observe:

> It is […] no exaggeration to think that a society (or the state of a society) may be defined by the character of the tests it sets itself, through which the social selection of people is conducted, and by conflicts over the more or less just nature of those tests. (2005, p. 32)

Sociology, Reflexivity and Critique

Reflexivity is essential to Bourdieu's critical sociology. In line with his theory of practice, he posits (1997/2003) that social scientists' adhesion to the rules of the game prevailing in the academic field restricts their ability to thoroughly reflect on the beliefs and assumptions that underpin their endeavours. His posture towards reflexivity does not primarily call, as often happens, for an introspective (and narcissistic) return of the subject on oneself. He advocates instead for an 'epistemic reflexivity' which entails addressing three main biases (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2014): those resulting from the researcher's origin and social position; those related to his or her place within the academic field; and the intellectualist bias, whereby the scientist ignores the fundamental breach between the logic of practice, which entails being and acting in the world, and the logic (and luxury) of the scholastic reason, a posture that implies taking distance from the constraints of action and that inevitably alters people's practices—namely, through the tools used to gather and analyse data (questionnaires, codes etc.). Bourdieu's reflexivity thus implies a constant application of critical thought to the epistemic assumptions of one's own field of study. Besides the generalised exercise of critique of all by all within scientific fields, it requires, in other words, a critical sociology of sociology (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2014, p. 111). Although Bourdieu acknowledges the impossibility of assuming a totalising perspective of one's own standpoint, renouncing thereby to an absolutist claim to objectivity, he is confident that the historicisation of science will guarantee progress towards rational knowledge (1997/2003, pp. 171–176).

Despite Bourdieu's nuanced view of reflexivity, Latour and Boltanski are unconvinced about the epistemic break he establishes between ordinary people and the scientist, who is given the role of arbiter and seems to possess superior knowledge and reflexive capacities. In line with their ambition to rehabilitate people's competences and to study controversies, they therefore both postulate symmetry as a method for treating sociology's objects of enquiry evenly (Guggenheim & Potthast, 2012). Latour's symmetry principle is both epistemic and ontological. Based on ethnographic observations of scientists' work in laboratories, ANT rejects the idea that science distinguishes itself from other practices by a supposedly higher rationality—like it discards, by the way, similar distinctions separating adults from children, or moderns from savages (Latour, 2006). If there is a difference between the poles of these dichotomies, ANT contends, it is to be searched for in their respective capacities to create more or less stable assemblages of heterogeneous material, including human and non-human beings (Latour, 2005, pp. 88–93). ANT's symmetry also aims to rehabilitate the role played by objects, conceived as sociotechnical hybrids (Latour, 2000), in the construction of the social. Accordingly, ANT aims to replace 'social constructivism', and its exclusive emphasis on humans, meanings and discourses, with a broader 'constructivism', where humans and non-humans are given equal attention.

While Boltanski also acknowledges the role played by objects in the fabric of the social, his symmetry principle is mainly concerned with the existence of a plurality of equally legitimate moral and political orders, which he understands as 'orders of worth' or 'regimes of justification' (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991). These orders, he argues, embody different principles through which people may assess, in each situation, the respective value of beings. This model distinguishes itself from Bourdieu's dialectic between *habitus* and field, as people possess the capacity to draw on many, and possibly conflicting, 'regimes of justification' in each situation and may find themselves, at different moments, in situations requiring the mobilisation of distinct principles. While this approach is primarily concerned with microlevel dynamics, it also allows one to transcend the situation by showing how people draw on a plurality of narratives in order to justify their actions (Blokker, 2011).

Latour and Boltanski also criticise Bourdieu's critical posture. Latour is deeply sceptical about the possible effects of academic critique on the

actors' practices, especially if critical thought is not relevant to them. The key task for sociology, he posits (2005), is not to produce critique but to describe or, better, to 'deploy' the actors, showing how they constitute networks of mediation—that is, actor networks of different size and composition capable of mobilising resources so as to redefine the boundaries of the social. Asymmetries, power and domination do not disappear from the enquiry; they become a matter of relative size between heterogeneous collectives (Latour, 1991/1993).

Boltanski recognises the interest of critical sociology, but he also argues that it is extremely difficult, including for social scientists, to analyse a normative dispute (e.g. about ideas of the good childhood) while being engaged in it (Basaure, 2011, p. 371). His sociology is therefore conceived of as a metacritical project aimed at exploring the actor's critical capacities (Boltanski, 2009). While distancing himself from Bourdieu, Boltanski does not abandon the emancipatory ambitions of sociology: he understands his approach mainly as a method to establish the necessary distance from normative disputes and as a 'production detour' aimed to strengthen sociology's capacity to anchor its critique in social reality (2009, p. 47).

Resources for Children's Rights Studies

The above debates offer potentially fruitful resources to children's rights scholars. Theoretically, pragmatists invite us to set aside, at least for the sake of description, the debates about the relative importance of structures and agency, focusing instead on how order emerges from situated practices. By locating action in the collective work of humans and non-humans, the flat and hybrid ontology proposed by ANT provides fertile ground for overcoming the structure/agency binary. Boltanski's metacritical stance, for its part, opens up the space for analysing, with the necessary distance, the moral and political logic of the controversies surrounding children's rights. This posture may prove particularly useful if the actors' normativity, as in the case of the participation specialists discussed in the next section, resonates strongly with our own.[1]

Bourdieu, Boltanski and Latour also invite us, in different and complementary ways, to scrutinise the fabric of collective beings, including

the categories lying at the core of our own research endeavours, such as childhood, youth and rights. By underscoring the complicity of social sciences in the construction of dominant representations of the state, Bourdieu (1994, pp. 104–107) reminds us, in particular, that radical doubt is a necessary ally when approaching law, public policies and the construction of so-called 'social problems'.

However, the most valuable contribution of the debates outlined above is, perhaps, the possibility of establishing a dynamic and productive tension between the critical and the pragmatic postures (Bénatouïl, 1999; Buzelin, 2005). As Bénatouïl suggests, in fact, the cooperation between these approaches may create 'an odd circular relationship of mutual objectification' whereby each theory 'might be the theory of the other's practice' (1999, p. 391). By overcoming the science/practice divide and by putting the critique produced by sociologists on the same level as any other critical practice, pragmatic sociology may, in particular, allow childhood scholars to be more aware of the limits of their critique and of the categories on which it stands. Bourdieu's reflexive sociology may provide, for its part, the resources for recontextualising the pragmatic stance—namely, by putting situated action in a social, political and historical perspective. Both Boltanski (2009) and Latour (2005, pp. 247–262) recognise, in fact, the limits of situated analysis and the possibility, if not the necessity, to combine it with critical sociology, whose stable and powerful constructs may strengthen the political relevance of sociological thought. After all, Latour contends, 'The mistake [of critical sociology] was not to wish to have a critical edge, but to reach for it at the wrong moment and before the other tasks of sociology had been fulfilled' (2005, pp. 249–250).

An Application to Child and Youth Participation Research

Like childhood studies, child participation research has recently come under increasing scrutiny. Scholars have underscored, in particular, its incapacity to shed light on the tensions and ambiguities that inevitably characterise participation practices, calling for a better understanding of the work of participatory mechanisms and the roles played

by adults therein (Graham & Fitzgerald, 2010; Wyness, 2013). This section pursues this line of enquiry. Drawing from a mixed-methods ethnographic research on local policies in the cantons and municipalities of French-speaking Switzerland, it explores, in particular, the practices of specialists, usually called 'delegates', tasked with promoting children's and young people's participation and citizenship.[2] The study, which took place between 2012 and 2015, involved participant observation (e.g. planning and running children's councils, participating in the conception of projects involving young people), a survey of 159 municipalities (Poretti, 2015), 29 semistructured face-to-face interviews and 13 group discussions, which reached a total of 43 people,[3] including 9 policy-makers (politicians, senior executives), and 27 childhood and youth specialists (delegates, child-protection staff, academic experts etc.).

The enquiry borrowed from pragmatic sociologists two interrelated methodological principles: the principle of symmetry, which implies entering the field as if the world were flat (ontologically, theoretically, morally etc.), giving equal weight to the different beings, be they practitioners, academics or things; and the commitment to follow the actors as closely as possible, taking their arguments seriously and avoiding judgements about their respective value or truth. From Bourdieu, the research borrowed instead the ambition to systematically locate situated action into its historical, social and political settings. From both pragmatic and critical sociology, finally, the study derived the need to pay specific attention to the operations aimed at assembling the social into collectives or groups in order to shed light on their moral and political logic. This approach results in a posture that might be termed constructivist, provided that this notion is not opposed to realism, nor confused with social constructivism. In line with pragmatists (Boltanski, 2009; Latour, 2003), I use the building metaphor to highlight the labour-intensive processes through which common worlds are fabricated in situations open to critique. Not only are these worlds real in the sense that they materialise in concrete beings (people, laws, categories of thought etc.), but the agreement about their nature and identities cannot be separated from the actors' assessments of their correspondence with 'reality'—what

Boltanski terms 'reality tests' (2009)—no matter how 'subjective' or 'constructed' these assessments may be. This section outlines, specifically, the political trajectory of child and youth participation in Switzerland, the actors' justifications and critiques, and their efforts aimed at stabilising a common world.

The Rise of Participation

Youth participation emerged on the Swiss public policy agenda during the 1960s, in conjunction with what was then called 'the youth problem'.[4] Interestingly, we owe the first comprehensive analysis of the situation of young people in Switzerland, as well as the first major attempt to institutionalise their participation, to four sociologists, working under a mandate emanating from youth organisations and national authorities. Their study (Arnold, Bassand, Crettaz, & Kellerhals, 1971) associates youth unrest with a 'crisis of socialization' resulting from the failure of 'traditional socializing agents' (families, schools and communities) to transmit to the young a coherent set of values and norms, as well as with the progressive constitution of young people as a separate social group possessing its own 'language' and 'subculture'. The participation of young people in public life, through the mediation of consultative devices and youth associations (Arnold et al., 1971, p. 164), is thus seen as a way to reduce their marginalisation in society. Building on this study, in 1971 the Swiss Federal Department of Home Affairs tasked a working group with outlining the principles of a comprehensive youth policy. The working group recommended, in particular, to extend the emerging youth policy to children and to appoint a national 'delegate to the youth problems', who would ensure that the interests of the young are taken into account in all relevant policy domains (Département fédéral de l'intérieur, 1973).

More than 40 years later, Switzerland has yet to develop an overarching childhood and youth policy and the proposal to nominate a national delegate has not been followed through. However, the promotion of the participation of the young, generally under the responsibility of dedi-

cated delegates working within broader devices aimed at promoting social cohesion, leisure or sports, has gradually become an integral part of cantonal and municipal policies. Since Switzerland's ratification of the UNCRC in 1997, the number of childhood and youth delegates in the French-speaking region of the country has thus risen more than ten-fold (from two at the end of the 1990s to more than 20 today). Whereas laws and policy documents generally focus on all young people below the age of 18 or 25, administrative services typically distinguish interventions targeting children from those aimed at young people, usually setting the boundary between childhood and youth at the age of 12 or 13 (Poretti, 2015), a distinction that is also reflected in the delegates' mandates. With the notable exception of the childhood delegation of the city of Lausanne, which engages regularly with children below the age of 12, most participation policies mainly target adolescents and young adults.

The delegates, who since 2009 join efforts through a regional umbrella organisation, the Conférence Romande des délégué(e)s à l'enfance et à la jeunesse (CRDEJ) (French-speaking Conference of Childhood and Youth Delegates), have often been trained as social workers or educators and habitually possess, at the moment of appointment, several years of professional experience within local administrations or civil society organisations, including as leaders of youth organisations. Their function within public administrations is typically conceived through the metaphor of the 'transmission belt' (Délégués romands à la jeunesse, 2005). They are generally the primary entry point for children and young people wishing to bring their concerns to the attention of politicians. They are also usually involved, alone or with the backing of small teams, in running children or youth councils, parliaments or commissions, and in supporting so-called 'youth projects'—that is, small-scale initiatives originating from young people, such as the creation of new sports grounds or the launch of prevention campaigns. These activities, coupled with their personal trajectories, provide them, at least in their own eyes and in those of their superiors, with the necessary legitimacy to speak on behalf of children and youth—that is, to define the boundaries between and within these collectives, as well as their characteristics, needs and rights.

Justifications and Critiques

The delegates typically contend that attitudes towards children and young people, including within the state, do not sufficiently recognise the competences of the young and their potential contribution to the polity. Children, they say, are often invisible in policy-making and tend to be treated with condescendence, while young people, despite greater visibility, suffer from a negative image and are perceived as deviant, unruly or disengaged. Against this backdrop, the delegates portray children and young people, as an official document puts it, as 'full-fledged actors in society' and as 'a driving force of renewal' (Ville de Sion, 2011, p. 4). Their efforts thus concentrate on the one hand on gathering and promoting children and young people's 'voices' and projects, while on the other they work tirelessly to improve the image of the young, striving to ensure that politicians, public officials and the public take children and young people seriously.

Childhood and youth are nonetheless also seen as periods of inexperience and immaturity, and the delegates frequently emphasise the need to 'support' and 'mentor' the young if they are to thrive, lead a healthy life, and become autonomous and responsible citizens. Based on these premises, the delegates typically portray themselves both as 'spokespersons', or 'relays of the creativity of the young' (Délégués romands à la jeunesse, 2005), and as 'coaches', a pedagogical stance that emphasises benevolent guidance and encouragement. This double posture, where the balance between 'relaying' and 'coaching' depends on the delegates' assessment of children and young people's performance in each situation, justifies multiple interventions in the participation processes so as to achieve pedagogically, morally or politically appropriate results. Most delegates recognise, albeit to different degrees, that the tests enshrined in participation devices, such as speaking in public, coordinating meetings and drafting project documents, tend to favour older children and young people with higher educational achievements. Within the limits of their resources, many of them therefore strive to offer additional support to younger children and to the most disadvantaged, such as by helping them draft the required documents or by training them in communication skills.

Despite the relative political success of child and youth participation, the delegates frequently have to justify their work, both with their hierarchical superiors (senior executives or elected politicians), who often question the lack of visibility and the impact of their endeavours, and with other childhood and youth professionals. Child-protection specialists contend, in particular, that participation deals mainly with 'the young who do well' and is, as a result, of less value than protection, which addresses the urgent needs of 'those who do badly'. To counter these critiques, the delegates typically strive to provide proof that all kinds of people actually take part in participation processes. While some delegates also contend that participation, by providing a meaningful role in society, may have a broader preventive role, others, often those who have worked with youth organisations, strongly reject this argument, claiming that the link between participation and prevention is hard to prove and that participation is essentially a matter of citizenship.

The delegates are often critical of local bureaucracies, whom they describe as dominated by a static, segmented and outdated culture. Within this context, they see themselves as the holders of a more flexible, creative and dynamic—in sum, younger—way of working. They also recurrently criticise senior executives and politicians for pursuing objectives in terms of personal reputation that 'have nothing to do' with the interests of the young. In fact, the delegates are chiefly concerned that participation may serve as an alibi to their hierarchy. Looking back at a participatory workshop where she facilitated dialogue between young people and senior public officials, Anne, a delegate with longstanding engagement with marginalised populations, shares her deep frustration:

> There are multiple objectives, and at that moment something slips, it slips because the political is there, visibility is there, communication is there, and it all turns into a masquerade. […] And *I am the armed wing of that*, and I feel the need to run away. Well, I say to myself 'It is *through me* that *this* happens!'. […] And, really, I feel that [the young] are instrumentalized, for me it is very difficult.

Commenting on the same event, Nathalie observes: 'kids will not be heard by these politicians, […] we have to make the interface, because otherwise

it will not happen'. In fact, while they recognise the vital role played by politicians in fostering the inclusion of the young in society (and, subsidiarily, in guaranteeing them a stable job), the political often appears as a potential threat from which children and young people have to be protected.

Significantly, the very origin of the act of delegation instituting the delegates is surrounded by ambiguity. During an informal conversation on the margins of a meeting of the CRDEJ, Martine, an experienced delegate, notably asked: 'In fact, is it children who delegate us the power to speak on their behalf, or is it the state, which delegates us a certain power?' While her colleagues claimed to be representing the young, they admitted that the answer was, institutionally, far from clear. In fact, while working within state structures, most delegates see themselves as the spearhead of a broader social movement, as a progressive force whose main goal is, in Paolo's words, to 'infiltrate a bit everywhere, so as to put youth on the table' (field notes, 2013). Many delegates in fact maintain varying allegiances with civil society organisations, which Martine portrays as a useful 'counter-power to the state'. When regulations, or their superiors, prevent them from pursuing what they believe are the interests of the young, some delegates do not hesitate to mobilise their network to realise their projects outside the state's structures, such as by creating dedicated non-governmental organisations. Remarkably, the delegates' uncertain loyalties often lead their superiors to 'call them to order' and have earned them the widely used qualifier of 'free electrons'—an attribute that many delegates actually do not dislike.

Building a Common World

Child and youth participation occupies a marginal position within local political and administrative arrangements. The resources allocated to education, health and child protection, in particular, bear no comparison with those dedicated to participation, which leads Martine to observe that participation is doubtlessly the 'poor relative' of childhood and youth policies. During a meeting of the CRDEJ, Tristan, for his part, bitterly noted: '[O]ur weight is anyway minimal. […] Issues of citizenship and youth parliaments are our core concerns, but they only interest us'.

Surrounded by controversies and, as a cantonal delegate acknowledges, 'largely swimming upstream', the delegates strive to strengthen their legitimacy by building alliances with other professionals, by associating with academic experts and by taking part in a variety of overlapping regional, national and international networks. Accordingly, the very existence of the CRDEJ allows the delegates, as one of the founders of the association notes, 'to show that they are not alone'. He also recalls, however, that the creation of the CRDEJ, triggered by the need to strengthen the coherence between the practices of the increasing number of participation specialists, amounted to a difficult search for 'a minimum common denominator', which translates, in the association's statutes, in the ambition to 'defend collectively the interests of children and young people and to promote a proactive policy in this domain' (CRDEJ, 2009/2014).

In fact, despite coming together as 'delegates', the members of the CRDEJ have different personal and professional trajectories; they also focus on different target populations (youth, children and youth, children), work at different levels (cantonal or municipal) and in different capacities (delegate, coordinator, chief of youth service, youth projects promoter etc.), and have different prerogatives. The delegates of the cities of Geneva and La Chaux-de-Fonds, in particular, are at the head of sizeable services and manage large human and financial resources. The size of these devices is primarily linked to the association of participation with issues such as street social work, sociocultural activities in neighbourhoods or daycare. In contrast, the majority of delegates, who focus essentially on participation, manage small teams and have very limited budgetary autonomy.

Looking back at the short history of the CRDEJ, Martine observes: '[T]he association has become, during the years, a big boat, but it also remains fragile'. While this fragility is partly linked to the heterogeneity of its membership, the association's capacity to stabilise its identity and to promote a coherent agenda is also challenged by external forces. Martine explains, in particular, that many municipalities appoint delegates as 'a means to tackle the growing security and social integration problems', rather than as a measure aimed at promoting participation and citizenship. As these delegates ask to join the CRDEJ, consequently, the associa-

tion is under pressure to clarify its membership criteria and, more broadly, its political aims and ambitions, a task that, to date, it has been unable to address, largely due to a lack of internal consensus.

Pragmatic and Critical Perspectives on Child and Youth Participation

The above account presents us with a world composed of a variety of actors connected by more or less stable associations. In this world, the delegates and the participatory mechanisms under their responsibility occupy centre stage—they have become, as Callon would put it (1986), an 'obliged point of passage' in a process of translation. Their practices cannot be understood, however, without accounting for the work of other people, such as academics and politicians, and for the simultaneous constitution of other collectives, including children, young people, the state or civil society. In the remaining part of this chapter I illustrate some of the analytical possibilities of the pragmatic and critical stances of French sociology by applying their resources to the analysis of the politics of representation, and of the moral and political order emerging from participation practices.

The Politics of Representation

Bourdieu contends that subaltern populations, such as children or youth, can exist as a group—that is, as forces able to legitimately speak in the public space—only through persons or organisations acting as their spokespersons (2001). Yet the figure of the spokesperson, typified, for instance, by delegates or academics speaking on behalf of the young, is not without problems. According to Boltanski (2009), this figure is inherently ambiguous because the interests of the representative can never be made to fully coincide with those of the group he or she is meant to represent. Suspicion, in other words, is always there: aren't the delegates, after all, as a critical scholar once asked me, 'mainly working to defend their personal interests and to justify their own existence?'. Moreover, far from acting as a 'trans-

mission belt' between the young and politicians, a metaphor that suggests the possibility of transmitting meaning without change, spokespersons take an active part in a process of translation (Callon & Latour, 2006, pp. 12–13), which inexorably entails the transformation of the 'voices' of the young, the possibility of betrayal and, paradoxically, the silencing of the persons they pretend to represent (Callon, 1986, p. 196). Despite people's best intentions, delegation may therefore legitimately be conceived, in line with Bourdieu (2001), as an act of political alienation, whereby the plurality of the group is inevitably neglected and the representative cannot but usurp, at least to some extent, the voices of the represented.

Bourdieu also argues that delegation is an inherently paradoxical 'act of magic' (2001), which creates, in the same movement, the delegate and the group they represent. Indeed, while youth, as Bourdieu suggests, may well be 'just a word' (1984/2002)—albeit not an innocent one, as it often silences the existence of multiple youths, varying in terms of gender, origin or class—the appointment of dedicated delegates contributes, literally, to bringing youth into existence: if children and young people can be legitimately represented and spoken about, then they truly exist as social groups. The act of delegation therefore closely ties together, relationally, the respective destinies and identities of the young and of their spokespersons. The delegates' claim to be acting on a delegation emanating from the young and not, as it could legitimately be argued, on a nomination by local authorities, appears therefore under a new light. Caught up, as Bourdieu would contend (1994), in and by the game prevailing in their field, which implies working selflessly to promote the interests of children and young people, the delegates implicitly underscore the vital link connecting them with the groups they claim to represent. This posture contributes to removing the social and political conditions that give them the power to represent children and young people, and to shape the tests that will determine their value.

The Logics of an Emerging Social Order

The above findings also present us, in line with ANT's emphasis on hybrids, with a proliferation of uneasily classifiable entities, including

children, young people and the delegates. Participation specialists, in particular, treat children and young people as both beings *and* becomings, shedding light on the situated, emergent and ambiguous worth of the young, whose citizenship depends on their capacity to withstand the tests embedded in participatory mechanisms. The metaphor of the 'free electrons' used by politicians and senior public officials to qualify the delegates is also particularly telling. Borrowed from physics, where it designates the electrons located at the periphery of the atom, loosely bound to its nucleus and therefore likely to drift randomly to other atoms, the metaphor illustrates particularly well the delegates' marginal position within local governmental structures, and their elusive and shifting associations. Working at the interface between the young and politicians, the delegates often blur the distinction between state and civil society, both in their discourses and through their practices and alliances, to the point that their actual allegiances are a matter of controversy. If, as I have argued, they may betray the voices of the young, they may also forsake the state—the frequent 'calls to order' of their superiors are, in this respect, highly revealing. Of course, as Anne admits, the delegates' 'room for manoeuvre is very limited', but their objectives and practices remain unpredictable. They are not simple implementers of law and policy documents: they interpret, contextualise and transform them, as far as possible, so as to fit their own idea of justice.

The marginality of the delegates, the intense critical activity surrounding their endeavours and the paucity of efforts aimed at involving children below the age of 12 also draw the boundaries of the narrow and fragile political consensus about the citizenship of the young. In this respect, the strong resistance faced by the majority of delegates, who justify participation through narratives of rights, contrasts with the relative success of those associating participation with more consensual narratives of health, prevention and education, who have managed in the past to significantly increase the size of their collectives (in the form of devices assembling people, policy documents, target populations, buildings etc.). The quick look at the political trajectory of participation presented in the previous section also indicates that its rise is often linked to the desire to develop educative and preventive measures aimed at tackling so-called 'youth problems', whether they are framed in terms of intergenerational

gaps, social integration, risky behaviours or deviance. The emancipatory narrative accompanying child and youth participation policies is therefore only part of the story. The Swiss case suggests, in fact, that participation practices are not simply, nor necessarily, about the recognition of children and young people's agency, 'voice' and citizenship: they always pursue a variety of overlapping and ambivalent moral and political objectives, including, in particular, citizenship education, prevention and the promotion of a positive image of the young, thereby inevitably favouring and producing certain kind of subjectivities.

Conclusion

Today, children's rights studies face complex challenges, in terms of theorising, critical posture and reflexivity. This chapter first revisited contemporary debates between the critical and the pragmatic stances of French sociology, suggesting the possibility, if not the necessity, of jointly mobilising these 'unexpected allies'. It then applied their respective resources to the study of the practices of delegates tasked with promoting child and youth participation in Swiss localities, thereby offering complementary insights into the politics of participation. While Bourdieu invites us to critically scrutinise the paradoxical logic of the act of delegation and to locate participation within relational fields, pragmatists call for a thicker ethnographic description of how heterogeneous beings of varying size, including the delegates, sociologists, politicians, laws, financial resources and categories of thought, contribute to the emergence, in concrete situations, of a certain kind of social order. By acknowledging the hybrid nature of beings, ANT also opens up the space for rethinking the binary categories we often use for studying children's rights, such as child-adult or state-civil society.

The debates within French sociology may also contribute to moving forward our reflections on critique and reflexivity. The metacritical posture proposed by Boltanski establishes a suitable distance from the controversies surrounding children's rights, where scholarly critique is given equal status to that of other forms of critique and becomes, as such, part of the enquiry. A pragmatic approach aimed at 'following the actors' also

opens up the space for acknowledging the constraints of action and for anchoring academic critique within the actors' reality, thereby potentially strengthening its relevance. Bourdieu's critical sociology, for its part, suggests the need to problematise the politics underpinning the children's rights project and our own engagement with it.

However, this chapter also leaves many questions unanswered, starting with the very possibility of combining coherently, within the same research endeavour, the critical and pragmatic postures of French sociology. Boltanski himself, despite arguing for unifying these approaches, admits that he does 'not know whether this attempt at unification can actually hold out theoretically' (cited in Basaure, 2011, p. 374). Yet the fecundity of the analytical insights of each sociology, combined with the possibility to create a productive tension between them, makes the enterprise worth pursuing. A reasoned, pragmatic and pluralist stance towards theorising also calls for expanding the theoretical toolbox of the children's rights sociologist beyond the resources mobilised in this chapter, including by crossing disciplinary boundaries. After all, as Foucault contends (1984, p. 45), a truly critical stance may be conceived 'as a *limit-attitude*', a posture which 'consists of analysing and reflecting upon limits', including the limits imposed by our own trajectories, ethos, disciplines and pet theories.

Notes

1. As many childhood scholars, I study children's rights partly because I am convinced that children are resourceful agents and should be taken seriously. My professional trajectory also led me to work in war-torn countries for a large non-governmental organisation, including as a delegate and as an action-researcher engaged in promoting a greater recognition of children's perspectives. My favorable bias towards children and young people's participation requires therefore additional precautions when approaching the study of the related practices.
2. The Swiss federal system distinguishes three main levels of government: federal, cantonal and municipal.
3. Participants expressed themselves under condition of anonymity, so the names used in this chapter are pseudonyms.
4. The translations of quotations from material in French are mine.

References

Alanen, L. (2010). Editorial: Taking children's rights seriously. *Childhood, 17*(1), 5–8. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568209361011.

Alanen, L., Broker, L., & Mayall, B. (Eds.). (2015). *Childhood with Bourdieu*. Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137384744.

Arnold, P., Bassand, M., Crettaz, B., & Kellerhals, J. (1971). *Jeunesse et société. Premiers jalons pour une politique de la jeunesse*. Lausanne, Suisse: Payot.

Basaure, M. (2011). An interview with Luc Boltanski: Criticism and the expansion of knowledge. *European Journal of Social Theory, 14*(3), 361–381. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431011412350.

Bénatouïl, T. (1999). A tale of two sociologies: The critical and the pragmatic stance in contemporary French sociology. *European Journal of Social Theory, 2*(3), 379–396. https://doi.org/10.1177/136843199002003011.

Blokker, P. (2011). Pragmatic sociology: Theoretical evolvement and empirical application. *European Journal of Social Theory, 14*(3), 251–261. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431011412344.

Boltanski, L. (2009). *De la critique. Précis de sociologie de l'émancipation.* Paris: Gallimard.

Boltanski, L., & Chiapello, E. (2005). *The new spirit of capitalism*. London/New York: Verso.

Boltanski, L., & Thévenot, L. (1991). *De la justification. Les économies de la grandeur*. Paris: Gallimard.

Bourdieu, P. (1979/1984). *Distinction. A social critique of the judgement of taste.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984/2002). La 'jeunesse' n'est qu'un mot. In P. Bourdieu (Ed.), *Questions de sociologie* (pp. 143–154). Paris: Editions de Minuit.

Bourdieu, P. (1994). *Raisons pratiques. Sur la théorie de l'action*. Paris: Seuil.

Bourdieu, P. (1997/2003). *Méditations pascaliennes.* Paris: Seuil.

Bourdieu, P. (2001). La délégation et le fétichisme politique. In P. Bourdieu (Ed.), *Langage et pouvoir symbolique* (pp. 259–279). Paris: Seuil.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992/2014). *Invitation à la sociologie réflexive.* Paris: Seuil.

Buzelin, H. (2005). Unexpeced allies. How Latour's network theory could complement Bourdieusian analyses in translation studies. *The Translator, 11*(2), 193–218. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2005.10799198.

Callon, M. (1986). Eléments pour une sociologie de la traduction. La domestication des coquilles de Saint-Jacques et des marins-pêcheurs dans la baie de Saint-Brieuc. *L'Année Sociologique, 36*, 169–208.

Callon, M., & Latour, B. (2006). Le grand Léviathan s'apprivoise-t-il? In M. Akrich, M. Callon, & B. Latour (Eds.), *Sociologie de la traduction. Textes fondateurs* (pp. 11–32). Paris: Mines.

Conférence romande des délégué(e)s à l'enfance et à la jeunesse [CRDEJ]. (2009/2014). *Statuts.* Fribourg, Suisse.

Délégués romands à la jeunesse. (2005). *Délégués à la jeunesse. Passeurs de la créativité des jeunes.* Retrieved on September 20, 2014, from Sion.ch: http://www.sion.ch/pdf/jeunesse_plaquette-delegues-romands-jeunesse.pdf

Département fédéral de l'intérieur. (1973). *Réflexions et propositions concernant une politique suisse de la jeunesse. Rapport du groupe d'étude du Département fédéral de l'intérieur pour les problèmes relatifs à une politique suisse de la jeunesse.* Berne, Suisse.

Foucault, M. (1984). What is Enlightenment? In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault reader* (pp. 32–50). London/New York: Penguin Books.

Garnier, P. (2014). Childhood as a question of critiques and justifications: Insights into Boltanski's sociology. *Childhood, 21*(4), 447–460. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568213491770.

Graham, A., & Fitzgerald, R. (2010). Progressing chldren's participation: Exploring the potential of a dialogical turn. *Chldhood, 17*(3), 343–359. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568210369219.

Guggenheim, M., & Potthast, J. (2012). Symmetrical twins: On the relationship between Actor-Network theory and the sociology of critical capacities. *European Journal of Social Theory, 15*(2), 157–178. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431011423601.

Hanson, K. (2014). 'Killed by charity'—Towards interdisciplinary children's rights studies. *Childhood, 21*(4), 441–446. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568214547453.

James, A. L. (2010). Conpetition or integration? The next step in childhood studies? *Childhood, 17*(4), 485–499. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568209350783.

Latour, B. (1991/1993). *We have never been modern.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Latour, B. (2000). When things strike back: A possible contribution of 'science studies' to the social sciences. *British Journal of Sociology, 51*(1), 107–123. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2000.00107.x.

Latour, B. (2003). The promises of constructivism. In D. Idhe & E. Selinger (Eds.), *Chasing technoscience. Matrix for materiality* (pp. 27–46). Bloomington/Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.

Latour, B. (2005). *Re-assembling the social. An introduction to actor-network theory*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Latour, B. (2006). 'Les 'vues' de l'esprit'. Une introduction à l'anthropologie des sciences et des techniques. In M. Akrich, M. Callon, & B. Latour (Eds.), *Sociologie de la traduction. Textes fondateurs* (pp. 33–69). Paris: Mines.

Poretti, M. (2015). *Politiques locales de l'enfance et de la jeunesse en Suisse romande: Etat des lieux et enjeux.* Centre interfacultaire en droits de l'enfant (CIDE). Genève, Suisse: Université de Genève

Prout, A. (2005). *The future of childhood. Towards the interdisciplinary study of children*. London/New York: RoutledgeFalmer. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203323113.

Quennerstedt, A. (2013). Children's rights research moving into the future—Challenges on the way forward. *International Journal of Children's Rights, 21*(2), 233–247. https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-02102006.

Reynaert, D., Bouverne-De Bie, M., & Vandevelde, S. (2009). A review of children's rights litterature since the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. *Childhood, 16*(4), 518–534. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568209344270.

Reynaert, D., Bouverne-De Bie, M., & Vandevelde, S. (2012). Between 'believers' and 'opponents': Critical discussions on children's rights. *International Journal of Children's Rights, 20*(1), 155–168. https://doi.org/10.1163/15718 1812X626417.

Sayer, A. (2009). Who's afraid of critical social science? *Current Sociology, 57*(6), 767–786. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392109342205.

Tisdall, E. K. M., & Punch, S. (2012). Not so 'new'? Looking critically at childhood studies. *Children's Geographies, 10*(3), 249–264. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2012.693376.

Ville de Sion. (2011). *Politique Jeunesse.* Sion, Suisse: Service des Sports, de la Jeunesse et des Loisirs.

Wyness, M. (2013). Children's participation and intergenerational dialogue: Bringing adults back into the picture. *Childhood, 20*(4), 429–442. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568212459775.

7

Beyond the Modern 'Norm' of Childhood: Children at the Margins as a Challenge for the Sociology of Childhood

Manuel Jacinto Sarmento, Rita de Cássia Marchi, and Gabriela de Pina Trevisan

Introduction

This text discusses how childhood normativity and the development of the social situation of childhood has been affected since the turn of the century as a result of social crisis (impoverishment, refugees in the Mediterranean Sea etc.). By normativity we understand the set of rules, and legal and symbolic dispositions (whether explicit or implicit), that regulate children's position in society and guide their relations with adults, in face-to-face interactional contexts, in institutional settings and in childhood policies. These rules and dispositions are variable through time and space. However, the hegemonic claim of a specific childhood

M. J. Sarmento (✉) • G. d. P. Trevisan
University of Minho, Institute of Education, Braga, Portugal

R. d. C. Marchi
FURB. Regional University of Blumenau, Blumenau, Brazil

normativity was established in Western modernity, based specifically on the idea of the 'feelings of childhood' that Ariès has documented (1973).

The construction of the new sociology of childhood was based mainly on normative conceptions of childhood that have emerged with modernity, and it has been the focus of intensive work involving interpretation and juridical regulation. This normative conception is expressed, for example by Ariès, in pedagogical discourses from Rousseau to Comenius, in an expansion of developmental psychology, in a specific market of products directed to childhood and translated in legal documents of childhood regulation such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, e.g. James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). The sociology of childhood was often developed by the critical deconstruction of theoretical proposals of the twentieth century, based on a normative conception of childhood. That normative conception was developed from functionalist theories of socialisation and of cultural reproduction, in the sociology field; and on constructivist childhood development theories, in the psychology field. Simultaneously, the study of childhood as a social category and of children as social actors, sustained by the sociology of childhood, has allowed a range of theoretical backgrounds of a renewed vision of childhood such as those related to agency, childhood cultures, public policies for childhood and social practices, and institutional settings for children.

Understanding the heterogeneous reality of 'children at the margins' defies current concepts of childhood 'normativity' in childhood studies research. Examples of that normativity, including the child in the family, the child at school, the child as a subject of rights, the protected child, can be considered. The study of children outside the norm poses political and epistemological challenges, such as gaining a deepened understanding of (1) what a child is and (2) how childhood public policies are constructed. Both the sociology of childhood and childhood public policies have a lot to gain by considering the existence of broader experiences of childhood, such as those of 'children at the margins'. The pertinence of this analysis also relates to relevant ideas about *childhood identity* versus *diversity*, and arguments that social theory often focuses on Western cultures and their patterns, regardless of the existence of other social and cultural worlds that challenge mainstream views and explanations. Hence

these 'unknown childhoods' remain outside mainstream theoretical frameworks and empirical studies that reveal both childhood identity and diversity in particularly rich and meaningful ways. Arguably, we could question whether these children are also at the 'margins' of theoretical thinking about the sociology of childhood. As we live in processes of intensification of social crisis and, therefore, with children outside social protection systems (e.g. in Southern European countries), reflections on the possibilities for a critical sociology of childhood of the modern norm are appropriate. (Sarmento & marchi, 2008)

The Debate About Childhood Normativity

Ideas about 'vulnerability' and 'innocence' usually attributed to childhood have been criticised in the new social childhood studies field, such as on conceptual aspects that define children as subordinates and minors. The need to protect children is not at stake in this critique. Rather, the argument is that this protection cannot underestimate children as social actors and subjects of rights. Hence Sheper-Hughes and Sargent (1998) refer to the perverse way in which contemporary society has been abandoning these ideas towards children, especially as an effect of neoliberal public policies. These 'attributes' of children are part of the modern model of childhood and are a crucial part of the normative construction of childhood.

This construction has changed over time, but the twentieth century is particularly important for this normative definition. On a national and international level, several legal documents have regulated children's lives and standardised the relationship between the state, families and children, and, broadly, between children and adults. Those documents took a global approach and the UNCRC of 1989—as the world's most ratified document of human rights—became one of the most significant expressions of political and cultural globalisation of a certain model of childhood. As a universal document about children's rights that aims to consider the different features of childhood at a global level, the UNCRC is a product of intense and prolonged negotiations mainly because of the complexity of social, cultural and religious differences between nations

(Fernandes, 2009). The tense arena of negotiation occurred not only as a political struggle between states with different interests, unequal access to resources and power and, especially, a diversity of childhood conceptions and children's rights, but also in the political context of the Cold War, which amplified the complexity (and timeline) of negotiations (Rosemberg & Mariano, 2010). Nevertheless, and considering its nature and content, the document is a 'turning point' compared with previous perspectives on children's rights. By adopting the legal form of a convention that requires states to apply its principles in laws and internal order in their countries, it expands its impact on children's daily lives; and in its content, by presenting itself as a symbol of a new perception of childhood and children's rights. In this new understanding of childhood, children's right to decision-making and to an active voice in decisions that affect them (the participation rights or 'freedom' rights) are included. In addition, there is an acknowledgement that these rights are not always congruent with their parents, which were absent from previous declarations and are now included (Fernandes, 2009). The UNCRC has been the result of social pressure for the internationalisation of children's rights and as 'the most recent political development destined to promote and protect' those rights (Franklin, 1995, p. 16). It was well received, particularly because of its positive image of childhood, where children and young people are now seen as social actors and human beings with rights, and as an important document to advocate for these rights at local, national and international levels, assuring that the interests of the child are a central concern. However, from its early stages, it was also widely criticised (Sgritta, 1997; Tisdall & Punch, 2012).

Among those critiques is the mismatch in combining the 'universal' notion of rights with 'particular' ideas about children and childhood, which creates controversy in local contexts. The fact is that the document that prescribes children's participation rights did not include them substantially in its writing and production (Arce, 2015). For some critics, declarations, status or conventions on children's rights that do not take into account dominant relations, especially those relating to age, could enable mechanisms that end up amplifying or reinforcing adult power over children (Hanson & Nieuwenhuys, 2013; Rosemberg & Mariano, 2010; Sgritta, 1997). In addition, the UNCRC was dominated by countries of the global North (or 'minority world'), later becoming the defining

conception of children and childhood. Even though containing certain ideas about childhood and children, and privileging problems of local contexts, the document forgets others. One example is the definition of age and the exclusive focus on children as individuals, neglecting questions such as responsibilities, interdependencies and reciprocities that involve intergenerational relations in family and community settings. The Western-centred matrix and ideological and cultural hegemony of modernity of global North countries and its legal orientations have been widely identified in critical literature from childhood social studies, discussing tensions and contradictions within the UNCRC: its universal pretention, even with a Western emphasis on individual rights (of citizenship) and the simultaneous proclamation of protection and provision rights, on the one hand, and of freedom, expression and participation on the other; and its attempt to conciliate protectionist and liberationist approaches are often antagonistic and/or incompatible (Hanson & Nieuwenhuys, 2013; Rosemberg & Mariano, 2010).

It is also important to stress that this normative orientation regarding childhood can be seen elsewhere, such as in a set of assumptions, knowledge, ideas, presuppositions and social representations that incorporate dominant ways of answering the following questions: What is it to be a child? How should adults act properly towards children? These dominant features are also expressed in behaviour patterns, habits and adult attitudes towards children that are equally configurators of childhood normativity, as stated above. At a legal level, the UNCRC relates to a conception of childhood that determinates a normative perspective with strong regulatory effects on children's lives and on adult's actions in relation to and responsibilities for them. But this conception is also expressed in implicit assumptions that dialogue with the written norm is not always expressed in convergent ways but is more often divergent. Therefore in every historical moment the normative guidance, legal and non-legal, explicit or implicit, constitutes the 'symbolic administration' of childhood (Sarmento, 2004). As the most globalised document in a globalised society, the UNCRC has a clear influence on the symbolic administration of childhood. This influence is seen in the articulation of divergent or convergent cultural elements from different nations across the world; in the way adults understand and relate to children; and in how institutions integrate and take care of their youngest members.

In conclusion, the influence of the UNCRC is a problematic one and still contains contradictions that are hard to conciliate.

Rights and Childhood Norm of 'Children at the Margins'

The cultural and ideological basis of legal documents and the implicit orientations that integrate childhood normativity tend to push to the margins those children who often escape the frameworks that are usually based on the perspective of the high and middle classes of advanced capitalist countries of the global North (and of middle and high social classes of peripheral countries). Millions of children are 'outside the norm', including most poor children from the Global South, indigenous children, gypsy children and street children. As mentioned in many of the literature reviews about children, they are often allocated to the condition of the non-child since they do not fit the hegemonic model (Aitken, 2001; Connolly & Ennew, 1996; Cook, 2009; Marchi, 2007). Hence a Western-focused normative conception of political intervention in rights tends to be expressed in ways that ignore childhood diversities and reproduce the 'middle-class European' vision. By doing this, it ignores and excludes different ways of living and acting among children who are 'outside the norm', thus reproducing an exclusionary vision, however well intentioned (Arce, 2015; Marchi, 2007).

Children who 'escape' childhood norms or those who do not fit them are a consequence of definitions of childhood that do not recognise the reality of dominated political and economic classes. Inequality of life conditions and opportunities among different children is usually seen as 'imperfections' or 'deformations' that can be 'corrected' with an attribution of 'rights'. Rather, they are integral features of the historical and social conditions in which some children find themselves. In other words, unequal conditions of childhood are not 'strange' or 'external' to the historical development of its modern construction since they are its consequence and condition at the same time (Marchi, 2007).

The UNCRC was elaborated in a prolonged process, from the International Year of the Child in 1979 until its approval by the United Nations Assembly on 20 November 1989. At the same time, a neoliberal

response to the impact of the first oil crisis in 1973 was initiated, from the most dominant countries and regulatory action of institutions from the Washington consensus, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. This promoted a hegemonic form of globalisation with market deregulation, exponential expansion of financial capital and increasing social inequalities both between and within world regions. The political, social, cultural and environmental effects of this form of domination and its implications for childhood are well documented (Fass, 2007; Punch, 2016; Wells, 2009). The paradoxical element introduced by the UNCRC is the proclamation of children's rights in a moment where structural conditions for its application were greatly affected by the historical process, for a great number of children. The prescribed rights are then only structurally assured to children of countries and classes who benefit the most from the hegemonic model of globalisation, even if, to a certain extent, every child in the world is affected negatively by some consequences deriving from social deregulation introduced by advanced capitalism, such as environmental degradation and a consequent increase in reduced air and water quality, exposure to conflicts of 'infinite war' (Costa & Louçã, 2003), urban violence, degeneration of sociability relations, uncertainty towards employment and future insertion into the labour market. It is certain, though, that children from 'losing' countries and social groups in the new social question introduced by globalised capitalism are the ones hit hardest by these consequences.

By hypostatising the social condition of contemporary childhood, the UNCRC and other dominant forms of its symbolic administration have globalised a conception of childhood that idealises a certain social context of a non-universal idea of childhood, despite its symbolic and wide-ranging acceptance. Therefore, if a certain type of childhood is considered to be the norm, certain children are disqualified from the ideal or, more seriously, excluded at an empirical level—of daily social reality—of the rights that are internationally assured to them. Thus certain children would only be 'children' in a juridical way. In this sense, practices and conceptions of children that move away from a childhood normativity, defined by dominant social classes and groups, lead to their exclusion from the recognised social status of childhood. Children seen as the 'non-child', street children, for example, will be doubly excluded—from basic

social rights and from the inherent symbolic value of their recognition as children *de jure* and *de facto* (Marchi, 2007).

What becomes untenable is the fact that some children remain enclosed in the most diverse problems that modern societies are already capable of controlling or solving—that is, that children 'without childhood' are living in a social time that offers no plausible reasons for their existence. Poverty, seen as an abomination and a remnant of pre-modernity that modernity should end, is now an element in the 'infinite variety' of existence (Bauman, 2006). In this sense, promises of modernity were not only broken but also *removed*. As Bauman argues (2006, pp. 9–20), the production of 'human trash' (human beings seen as 'unnecessary' or 'surplus' owing to an excess of population in developed countries or war refugees) is the deep meaning of imperialism and colonisation. Reaching the furthest territories of the planet, modernity does not allow global solutions to local problems. Currently, all countries, including those with high levels of development, are doomed to look for *local solutions* to problems that have *global causes*.

This analysis of the negative social effects of globalisation processes relates first to the fact that children are most affected by the increase in social inequality (Unicef, 2014). The normative idealisation of the child as a subject of rights collides with the fact that many children who remain 'outside the childhood norm' are, to a certain extent, excluded from the promise of childhood modernity: their childhood condition is frequently overlooked and perceived as a social or ontological pathology. These children are, after all, the ones without access to minimum resources to constitute themselves as 'children' in a modern sense of the term. Now, recent times seem to inform us that this contradiction of an idealised universal conception of a rights-based childhood—children protected from risk, with dignifying life conditions, proper food and healthcare, education, housing, culture and leisure, and with recognised participation rights in social life—and the current global reality of childhood is no longer viable. Therefore a theoretical questioning of normativity and its diversification is needed, as well as a consideration of a new childhood politics, more aware of structural factors that could privilege children in subaltern conditions (e.g. social, cultural, ethnic, racial, geographical and gender or disability inequality). Wouldn't it be more accurate to consider the

multiplicity of childhood norms and open up ways for accepting (both politically and sociologically) the diversity of children's lives and relations between children and adults into a critical, cosmopolitan and multicultural perspective of children's rights? The fundamental problem is that this contradiction is not solved by a tacit acceptance of suppression or neutralisation of the rights of children in particularly precarious or vulnerable positions, as *seems to be happening*.

The Attack on Children's Rights

The most pungent mediated image of contemporary children is probably that of girls and boys fleeing from their home countries as a result of war or misery, drowned on the beaches of the Mediterranean. The situation of total abandonment of migrant children has a more serious precedent, which can be found in the child victims of the Holocaust. In fact, this is the first time in the past 70 years that humanity has seen such a forced and intense exodus.

The collective imaginary is filled with images of children as victims in extreme ways, shaping barbaric facts that we thought were over following Auschwitz: Vietnamese children suffering napalm bombings; girls and boys dying of hunger in Biafra and Ethiopia; teenage boys and girls shot in several Columbine episodes; street children murdered in Candelária, Rio de Janeiro; little soldiers fighting, where Western countries finance blood diamonds; weak children victims of HIV in countries where the disease is now the first cause of child mortality; Chernobyl victims; and victims of tsunami and other natural catastrophes related to global warming and climate change, mainly caused by production methods that do not consider climate issues and exhaust natural resources. These situations can demonstrate how the second half of the twentieth century and the first years of the millennium are violating the rights and well-being of children as the times before them did. Yet, in all these moments, there have been statements from public powers, more or less sincere, hypocritically convincing or ineffective, towards these child victims. However, that is not the case with the contemporary drama of refugee and migrant children. To a certain extent, these children have become the

direct expression of a denial of children's rights, precisely from the global North countries that homogenised its definition. Indeed, the drowning of children in the Mediterranean Sea has only happened since most European countries have decided to close their borders, in some cases (e.g. Hungary) with barbed wire barriers to ensure their safety. The UK denies children's right to family reunification at the doors of Calais. Some countries, such as France, expel children from their territory for not having the `appropriate' legal documentation as prescribed by the Schengen Agreement. Across the Atlantic, promises from the US president to build a wall and the wish to expel all undocumented Muslims bring new threats to children that do not integrate the WASP power (white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant).

Never have so many children asked for asylum in another country, whether for reasons related to war or extreme poverty in their countries of origin. Never have so many children migrated without their parents and are left alone; never before have they had to face so many obstacles in searching with their families (if existing) for basic survival conditions (Unicef, 2016). The same public powers from the global North that proclaim children's rights invoking the UNCRC are also the ones that powerfully contribute to this extreme situation, not just from discriminating policies, in some cases openly racist, but also from military commitments in the wars that generate those exoduses or by economic interests in exploiting post-colonial countries. These children are the expression of the horror of contemporary childhood. However, more than being an extreme situation, they express a more common condition: the universal violation of children's rights whenever hegemonic economic or political interests outweigh the needs for protection and child development. A significant expression is seen in the way the economic and financial crisis, from 2008 onwards, has affected children in a special way: through an increase in child poverty; a disinvestment in social policies directed to children and families; a reduction in public investment in education, health and social protection for childhood; a worsening of general life conditions of children, especially towards unemployment or parental impoverishment; and a reduction in services for children in particularly vulnerable situations, such as special needs and ethnic minorities (Harper, Jones, Mckay, & Espey, 2009; Unicef, 2014). The reality of Southern

European countries, which especially vulnerable owing to the crisis and the management of political and financial European authorities, shows significant regressions, in some cases of decades, in an important part of social indicators of children's well-being (Sarasa & Luppi, 2012; Sarmento, Fernandes, & Trevisan, 2015; Unicef, 2014). This is also visible in the Portuguese case.

Normativity and Poverty: The Portuguese Case

Child poverty has been a persistent phenomenon in contemporary societies as a result of a range of factors. Over the past ten years, however, it has become more serious particularly because of the global economic crisis. This crisis, especially felt in countries of Southern Europe assisted by bailout programmes, such as Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece, has developed children's condition outside the social protection system norms. Its effects have been particularly studied since 2010, not only in terms of statistical indicators but also regarding the impact on well-being of children and young people, and on their citizenship status and participation rights (Wall, Almeida et al., 2014). In Portugal, for instance, the economic crisis had a huge impact on employment, well-being, public resources and children's protection processes—for example, by cutting both public money to protect services and technical staff to work with children and their families. Ever since the beggining of the global economic crisis, research has documented the impact of structural conditions on children's lives but also on the ways children themselves are able to experience these impacts in daily-life contexts, such as schools, families, and communities (Wall, Almeida et al., 2014).

As Sarmento et al. (2015) have argued, in 2013 some 25 million children were at risk of poverty and social exclusion in Europe. Following these concerns, child poverty and risks were discussed, and it was concluded that children and young people are, in fact, the most vulnerable age group with regard to poverty and social exclusion. As Bastos and Nunes observe,

> Children are a group particularly vulnerable to poverty and represent a
> higher proportion of the population compared to other groups (Atkinson

et al., 2005; Bradbury et al., 2001). The concern is not only about the number of poor children but also about the consequences of living in poverty. A parent's low earnings will have a negative impact both in the short run—in terms of living conditions—and in the long run – in the consequences on the cognitive development of the child. (Bastos & Nunes, 2009, p. 68)

These implications are particularly striking when effects on children's access to basic social and political rights are analysed. Since family realities have changed dramatically, particularly for those who were already living in difficult conditions, households may experience multiple disadvantages through low income, poor housing and environment, inadequate healthcare and barriers to education. Some of the effects found from living in poverty are the exclusion from sporting, recreational and cultural activities that are normal for other children. On the other hand, public policies designed to protect children and young people have a major role in reducing these impacts, but these are often cut during periods of financial pressure in different European countries. Thus children's citizenship and participation rights end up being at risk in poverty situations. Adding to these concerns, living in poverty as a child has particular influences in later life. As Bastos and Nunes suggest,

The dynamic analysis of child poverty sheds light on important areas of the problem such as determinants, persistence, pattern and turnover. Knowing who enters and who escapes from poverty enables one to identify the factors associated with these movements and to understand the factors that determine outflows and inflows, which are important insights for policy design. Children who spend a long time in poverty are more likely to be worse off than those who experience a short period of poverty. But it is not only the duration that matters. The pattern of longitudinal poverty itself also matters. The consequences of having intermittent spells or long spells in poverty also differ. (Bastos & Nunes, 2009, p. 79)

Different data from the Portuguese perspective (from annual reports from official child protection services and other studies) points out increases in school dropouts; in exposure to domestic violence; in institutional placement of children in childcare institutions as a result of abuse at home; in situations of health and safety risk, particularly to smaller

children (0–5); in children's deviant behaviour; and in poverty risk rates, among others (Sarmento et al., 2015). Different reports on children and childhood (from Unicef's Portuguese Committee and the Observatory of Families and Family Policies) analyse in a clear way the most important aspects of the effects of austerity policies on children's well-being and life conditions. From indicators in both reports (Wall, Almeida et al., 2014; Wall, Leitão, & Atalaia, 2014) the following synthesis can be presented:

1. Between 2010 and 2014 there was a significant reduction in the economic support provided to families by the state. From 2010 on, access to social benefits that depend directly on family's income (e.g. child support benefits, social action in schools, parental benefits, social income and social unemployment benefits) were restricted not only in the number of families that benefit from them but also in the value of the benefits. The situation is even more serious when considering salary cuts and tax rises.
2. The absence of childhood and family policies makes it more serious because childhood is not a priority in times of the crisis and regulation instruments on the effects of austerity policies on more vulnerable populations are inadequate.
3. As a result, childhood's current situation in Portugal is characterised by alarming figures: since 2008, children are the generational group with a higher risk of poverty; one in four children live in severe material deprivation; the risk of poverty is greater in bigger families (41 %), in single-parent families (31 %) and among unemployed people; single parents families with an unemployed parent present an almost absolute risk of poverty (90 %); 30 % of Portuguese children have lost their benefits in three years (2009–2012); public policies drawn up for families are clearly insufficient, non-integrated and inadequate (Sarmento, Fernandes, & Trevisan, 2014, pp. 45–46).

The effects of this crisis had different impacts on children's lives. As Sarmento et al. (2014) argue,

> The economic crisis affecting particularly lower income families and middle class families—there are clear indicators of an aggravation of inequalities—has effects on every child. However, it affects them in a differentiated

way. It is the poorest children that suffer higher rights restrictions when it comes to basic rights such as protection and provision ones. One could even claim a social regression on this matter. This conclusion also urges us to the importance of considering at the same time, childhood as a social generational category and the different social backgrounds of children, by dialectally articulating the identity of childhood with the diversity of their life conditions. (Sarmento et al., 2014, p. 52)

These data highlight two main aspects: the economic crisis leads to poorer children's exclusion from important sectors of childhood 'normativity' (in the school, the family, the protection system); and children's condition in same cases has worsened before the proclamation of rights and of the normative construction of contemporary childhood (e.g. the right not to be hungry, not to be exposed to violence and to have schooling). Thus public policies are asked to make a difference for children in an opposite movement of the crisis: the return to children's normality is regaining economic, social and political conditions of normativity. The European Union has also recognised the dimension and impacts of child poverty, issuing different studies and recommendations. As Araújo and Fernandes (2016) observe, these documents have clearly appealed for the adoption of different public policies to turn children's disadvantage around. Analysing the commission recommendation (Eurochild, 2013), 'Investing in children: breaking the cycle of disadvantage', among others, authors highlight the importance of public investment but also of the inclusion of children's voices and participation as a central condition to break that cycle. However, and as Eurochild (2013) argued in assessing the general features of this recommendation,

A policy approach that focuses exclusively on moving families out of material poverty through more active labour market participation and through a 'back to work' perspective runs the dual risk of, not only fuelling a materialistic approach, but also disadvantaging children emotionally if they have to spend most of their day in childcare, away from a family environment. A rights-based approach to moving families out of material poverty means putting effective child-centred measures in place to create decent employment opportunities for parents that do not involve long working hours on low pay, that entitles both parents to flexible working hours and paid parental leave, that ensures adequate family benefits and income support

and that does not just focus on children as 'the next working generation' but as children who need a good childhood now. (Eurochild, 2013, p. 3)

Referring to these concerns, Araújo and Fernandes (2016) observe that efforts are still not consistent or strong enough to build policies and strategies to fight child poverty. Childhood social inequalities should be constituted as an object of scientific knowledge. Homogeneity and heterogeneity are two sides of the same generational category, where studying the 'poor child' is an ethical, political and epistemological necessity.

An Alternative Agenda to Produce Critical Knowledge About Childhood

An alternative agenda for the social studies of childhood is drawn by emphasising different images and constructs, different from the features of children and childhood beyond normativity processes, as discussed above. Analysing childhood from the margins constitutes both an epistemological and a theoretical challenge since it implies looking away from normative conceptions in order to problematise it and produce a new perspective capable of amplifying the sense of childhood. In the sociology of childhood field, the Research Centre in Child Studies at the University of Minho, Portugal, and its Brazilian partners have been working with children on the margins, questioning structuration and action processes that expand Western-focused childhood notions. The study's findings are addressed below.

Street Children Research has shown street children to be subjects of childhood cultures by defying social order, fighting for survival and establishing new sociabilities (Marchi, 2007; Santana, 2008), a radically different image than definitions of street children as forms of social pathology (Rizzini & Rizzini, 2004).

Poor Children As evidence of the failure of the social state, street children underline in their life conditions the contradictions between a rights-based conception of childhood and its practical denial (Sarmento et al., 2015; Sarmento & Trevisan, 2017; Sarmento & Veiga, 2010).

Social Action of Babies The sociological study of baby's behaviour contradicts traditional psychological and developmental analysis that attributes to them egotistical behaviour and the absence of sociability. An alternative conception of smaller children is as being competent in their interactions, with strategic and tactical capacities in peer interaction and with significant adult contrasts with the egoistic stereotype (Coutinho, 2010).

Children in a Rural Context As a consequence of growing urbanisation of social life, rural children are found in a situation of invisibility, defying established conventions regarding contemporary child action, whether in relation to work, in school or in leisure practices and integration in leisure cultures (Sarmento & Oliveira, 2005; Sarmento & Stropasolas, 2010; Silva, 2011).

Working Children The presence of children in production relations is not an exceptional contemporary reality but a present condition, even though frequently hidden, whether in household support or their learning as an economic condition (Zelizer, 2005). Research on children exposed to exploitational conditions is an expression of a dilution of frontiers between childhood and adulthood, even if working children are still children in their childhood cultures and its ways of sociability (Noronha, 2017; Sarmento, Bandeira, & Dores, 2000).

Children in Post-colonial Contexts Children's daily action in post-colonial contexts, such as African ones, helps us to question Western forms of affiliation, of sibling relations, of care of smaller children, in domestic contexts, in intergenerational relations, in leisure activities and in culture transmission (Barra, 2016; Colonna, 2012).

The Political Child The expression of children's political behaviour in the context of demanding affirmation of their rights (Fernandes, 2009), of expressing cosmopolitical behaviours and actions (Tomás, 2011), or participating in city policies (Trevisan, 2014) expresses the unthought-of side of liberal democracies: the participative action of children in the configuration of public space, in constructing the common good and exercising citizenship.

These different social conditions of children's lives have contributed to this alternative agenda to mainstream theory and promoted a critical view of contemporary childhood. They could also be considered as fundamental axes for a view that explores the idea of children beyond the norms as we have been arguing. In the same way, a displacement of the look on the traditional social place (locus) of childhood is made.

The *educational locus* shifts from viewing children as pupils (and focusing on aspects such as education as labour) to the construction of the *métier d'enfant* (Sirota, 1998); children's participation in school education, especially on a critical analysis of instruments and processes of participation and their impact on the school, which contrasts with the passive image of a schooled child; the child at school and educational policies, their body, movement and learning are seen as more active.

The *family locus* moves from the dependent child as an exclusive object of parental care, to viewing the family as a space for complex relations and for children's actions in building intra-family relations, in production and consumption practices and caring for siblings. This image presents the child in a far more active light, as a human being with agency.

The *social locus* moves from the 'non-child' to that of the child as a subject of rights. A focus on social exclusion and child poverty emphasises the impact on the objective conditions of children's lives as well as subjective ones, such as participation opportunities and citizenship status. The objective and subjective processes have a particular impact on the lives of street children; working children and abused children demonstrate the importance of rights but the limits of the UNCRC.

Finally, *the political locus* moves from the political exclusion of children's citizenship to focus on children's participation that influences action, capable of promoting co-decision-making processes and social transformation. Children's political competences are recognised as mobilised in different contexts, for instance, in organisations and public policies, and as acting in urban spaces, especially by mobilising mediated spaces for children's participation, where they build meaningful alliances with adults that appear as facilitators of such processes.

Conclusion

A conception of childhood built in Western modernity was imposed through international protocols as exemplified by the UNCRC. This has presented a challenge for analyses in the sociology of childhood. The child as a subject of rights, participative, competent and socially active is confronted with the lived realities of others, not just from the Global South and other social and cultural distinct Western modernities but also from contradictions generated by the increase in child poverty and the economic and financial crisis. The development of new approaches that are more aware of social inequalities and diversity is now necessary for the sociology of childhood to engage with, mainly to produce a deeper knowledge towards the complexity of late modernity. The sociology of childhood must confront itself with the concept of 'normativity' and be open to the deconstruction of new perspectives that make the conception of childhood as a social and generational category more complex and diverse (Cook, 2009; Hönig, 2009; Neyrand & Mekboul, 2014; Nieuwenhuys, 2009; Punch, 2016; Wasshede, 2016). As we have argued, the assumption of modern normativity has placed into invisibility 'children at the margins' because they do not fit in to a normative view of childhood and of what children are supposed to do or be. The proposal of thinking *childhood through the margins* brings a new visibility of all childhoods. This new visibility of childhood identity could be a process of 'generativity '(Hönig, 2009) and of children's diversity that challenge a dominant normativity. In theory, one could argue that within the sociology of childhood we practise a 'sociology of absences '(Santos, 2003) regarding children in the margins—that is, an inclusion of invisibility in the sociological discourse.

The sociology of childhood could become a 'public sociology' (Burawoy, 2008), socially implicated and with intervention in children's lives. By being produced as a part of social transformation, knowledge constitutes itself as a way of social reflexivity and action. Research that can produce detailed knowledge about children's lives and propose changes to improve them is needed to change the social condition of childhood. In this sense, knowledge can be put to the service of social intervention projects.

Identity and diversity are, finally, thought of as two interconnected dimensions of a conception of complex childhood. Both are needed to consider a critical perspective on childhood studies and a reflexive knowledge on children's lives, and so should be included in the promotion of an alternative agenda for childhood studies.

As we live in processes of intensification of social crisis and, therefore, of children outside social protection systems (e.g. in Southern European countries), we wish to reflect on the possibilities for critical sociology of childhood of the modern norm. This critical approach should be able to build a theoretical work from the concept of 'multiple normativities' aware of diversity, of differentiated processes of 'generativity' and of multiple cultural universes.

References

Aitken, S. C. (2001). Global crises of childhood: Rights, justice and the unchildlike child. *Area, 33*(2), 119–127.

Araújo, S. C., & Fernandes, N. (2016). A criança como sujeito de direitos no contexto da União Europeia: nuances e diálogos necessários entre os direitos de participação e os direitos de proteção. In A. Bastos & F. Veiga (Eds.), *A Análise do bem-estar das crianças e jovens e os direitos da criança* (pp. 109–130). V.N. Famalicão: Edições Húmus.

Arce, M. C. (2015). *Hacia um discurso emancipador de los derechos de las niñas y los niños*. Lima, Perú: IFEJANT.

Ariès, P. (1973). *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris: Seuil.

Atkinson, A., Cantillon, B., Marlier, E., & Nolan, B. (2005). *Taking forward the EU social inclusion process*. Luxembourg: Council of the European Union.

Barrra, S. M. (2016). *A Infância na Latitude Zero – As brincadeiras da 'criança global' africana. Tese de Doutoramento em Estudos da Criança*. Braga: Universidade do Minho.

Bastos, A., & Nunes, F. (2009). Child poverty in Portugal. Dimensions and dynamics. *Childhood, 16*(1), 67–87. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568208101691.

Bauman, Z. (2006). *Vies Perdues – la modernité et ses exclus*. Paris: Ed. Payot et Rivages.

Bradbury, B., Jenkins, S., & Micklewright, J. (2001). Child poverty across industrialized world: Evidence from the Luxembourg Income Study. In K. Velminckx & T. Smeeding (Eds.), *Child well-being: Child poverty and child policy in modern nations: What do we know?* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Burawoy, M. (2008). Por uma sociologia pública. In R. Braga & M. Burawoy (Eds.), *Por uma Sociologia Pública*. Alameda: São Paulo.

Colonna, E. (2012). *Eu é que fico com a minha irmã': vida quotidiana das crianças na periferia de Maputo. Tese de Doutoramento em Estudos da Criança.* Braga: Universidade do Minho.

Connoly, M., & Ennew, J. (1996). Children out of place. *Childhood, 3*(2), 131–145. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568296003002001.

Cook, D. T. (2009). When a child is not a child, and other conceptual hazards of childhood studies. *Childhood, 16*(1), 5–10. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568208101687.

Costa, J., & Louçã, F. (2003). *A Guerra Infinita*. Porto: Afrontamento.

Coutinho, A. M. S. (2010). *A acção social dos bebés: um estudo etnográfico no contexto da creche. Tese de Doutoramento em Estudos da Criança*. Braga: Universidade do Minho.

Eurochild. (2013). *Overall assessment of the European Commission recommendation on 'investing in children: Breaking the cycle of disadvantage'.* Brussels: Eurochild.

Eurochild & Eeapn. (2013). *Towards children's wellbeing in Europe. Explainer on child poverty in the EU*. Brussels: Eurochild & Eeapn.

Fass, P. S. (2007). *Children of a new world. Society, culture and globalisation*. New York: New York University Press.

Fernandes, N. (2009). *Infância, Direitos e Participação: Representações, Práticas e Poderes*. Porto: Afrontamento.

Franklin, R. (Ed.). (1995). *The new handbook of children's rights. Comparative policy and practice*. London: Routledge.

Hanson, K., & Nieuwenhuys, O. (Eds.). (2013). *Reconceptualizing children's rights in international development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harper, C., Jones, N., Mckay, A., & Eespey, J. (2009). *Children in times of economic crisis: Past lessons, future policies* (pp. 1–12). London: ODI.

Hönig, M.-S. (2009). How is the child constituted in childhood studies? In J. Qvortrup, W. Corsaro, & M. S. Hönig (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of childhood studies* (pp. 62–77). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

James, A., Jenks, C., & Prout, A. (1998). *Theorizing childhood*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Marchi, R. de C. (2007). *Os sentidos (paradoxais) da infância nas ciências sociais: um estudo de sociologia da infância crítica sobre a 'não-criança' no Brasil*. Tese (Doutorado em Sociologia Política). Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis.

Neyrand, G., & Mekboul, S. (2014). *Corps sexué de l'enfant et norms sociales – la normativité corporelle en société néoliberale*. Toulouse: Éditions Érès.

Nieuwenhuys, O. (2009). Is there an Indian childhood? *Childhood, 16*(1), 147–153. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568209104398.

Noronha, E. (2017). *As crianças perambulantes-trabalhadoras, trabalhadoras-perambulantes nas feiras de Manaus: um olhar a partir da Sociologia da Infância*. Manaus: UEA Edições.

Punch, S. (2016). Cross-world and cross-disciplinary dialogue: A more integrated, global approach to childhood studies. *Global Studies of Childhood, 6*(3), 352–364. https://doi.org/10.1177/2043610616665033.

Rizzini, I., & Rizzini, I. (2004). *A institucionalizacão de crianças do Brasil. Percurso histórico e desafios do presente*. Rio de Janeiro: PUC-Rio.

Rosemberg, F., & Mariano, C. L. S. (2010). A Convenção Internacional sobre os Direitos das Crianças: debates e tensões. *Cadernos de Pesquisa, 40*(141), 693–728.

Santana, J. P. (2008). *Cotidiano, Expressões Culturais e Trajetórias de Vida: Uma investigação participativa com crianças em situação de rua.* Tese de Doutoramento em Estudos da Criança. Braga: Universidade do Minho.

Santos, B. de S. (2003). Para uma sociologia das ausências e uma sociologia das emergências. In B. de S. Santos (Ed.), *Conhecimento Prudente para uma Vida Decente* (pp. 735–775). Porto: Edições Afrontamento.

Sarasa, S., & Luppi, F. (2012). Crisis Economica y pobreza infantil en algunos países de la Unión Europea. In V. Navarro (Ed.), *El Impacto de la Crisis en las Familias y en la Infancia* (pp. 17–55). Barcelona: Ariel.

Sarmento, M. J. (2004). As Culturas da Infância nas Encruzilhadas da 2ª Modernidade. In M. J. Sarmento & A. B. Cerisara (Eds.), *Crianças e Miúdos. Perspectivas Sócio-Pedagógicas da Infância e Educação* (pp. 9–34). Porto: Asa.

Sarmento, M. J., Bandeira, A., & Dores, R. (2000). *Trabalho Domiciliário Infantil: um estudo de Caso no Vale do Ave*. Lisboa: Programa para a Erradicação da Exploração do Trabalho Infantil.

Sarmento, M. J., Fernandes, N., & Trevisan, G. (2014). The economic crisis and children's rights to non-discrimination. *Teacher Education, 22*(1), 38–55.

Sarmento, M. J., Fernandes, N., & Trevisan, G. (2015). A Redefinição das Condições Estruturais da Infância e a Crise Económica em Portugal. In

F. Diogo (Ed.), *Pobreza em Portugal: contextos, transformações e estudos* (pp. 81–99). V.N. Famalicão: Húmus.

Sarmento, M. J., & Marchi, R. de C. (2008). Radicalização da infância na segunda modernidade: para uma sociologia da infância crítica. *Configurações, 4*, 91–113. https://doi.org/10.4000/configuracoes.498.

Sarmento, M. J., & Oliveira, J. M. (2005). *'A Escola é o Melhor do Povo...' – Relatório de Revisão Institucional do Projecto das Escolas Rurais*. Porto: Profedições.

Sarmento, M. J., & Stropasolas, V. L. (2010). Os sentidos do trabalho Infantil no campo. *Travessias – revista de ciências sociais e humanas em língua portuguesa, 10*, 233–263.

Sarmento, M. J., & Trevisan, G. (2017). A crise social desenhada pelas crianças. *Educar em Revista*. volume. 33, nº. especial 2, pp. 17–34, set. 2017.

Sarmento, M. J., & Veiga, F. (Eds.). (2010). *Pobreza Infantil: Realidades, desafios, propostas*. V. N. Famalicão: Edições Húmus.

Scheper-Hughes, N., & Sargent, C. (1998). Introduction: The cultural politics of childhood. In N. Scheper-Hughes & C. Sargent (Eds.), *Small wars – The cultural politics of childhood?* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sgritta, G. B. (1997). Inconsistencies: Childhood on economic and political agenda. *Childhood, 4*(4), 375–404.

Silva, A. N. (2011). *Jogos, brinquedos e Brincadeiras: Trajetos Intergeracionais*. Vila Verde: Athaca.

Sirota, R. (1998). L'emergence d'une sociologie de l'enfance : evolution de l'objet, evolutions du regard. *Education et Sociétés, 2*, 9–33.

Tisdall, K. M., & Punch, S. (2012). Not so 'new'? Looking critically at childhood studies. *Children's Geographies, 10*(3), 249–264. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2016.1219022.

Tomás, C. A. (2011). *Há muitos mundos no mundo… Cosmopolitismo, Participação e Direitos das Crianças*. Porto: Afrontamento.

Trevisan, G. (2014). *Somos as pessoas que temos de escolher, não são as outras pessoas que escolhem por nós*. I*nfância e cenários de participação pública: uma análise sociológica dos modos de codecisão das crianças na escola e na cidade*. Tese de Doutoramento em Estudos da Criança. Universidade do Minho, Braga.

Unicef. (2014). *Children of the recession: The impact of the economic crisis on child well-being in rich countries* (Innocenti report card 12). Florence, Italy: UNICEF.

Unicef. (2016). *Uprooted: The growing crisis for the refugee and migrant children*. New York: UNICEF.

Wall, K., Almeida, A. N., Vieira, M. M., Cunha, V., Rodrigues, L., Coelho, F., … & Atalaia, S. (2014). *As Crianças e a Crise em Portugal: Vozes de Crianças, Políticas Públicas e Indicadores Sociais.* Lisboa, Portugal: UNICEF.

Wall, K., Leitão, M., & Atalaia, S. (2014). *Principais Desenvolvimentos das Políticas de Família em 2013*. Lisboa: Observatório das Famílias e das Políticas de Família Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa.

Wasshede, C. (2016). Normalization of children: Politics and images of children in the Freetown of Christiania. *Childhood, 23*(2), 207–220. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568215592041.

Wells, K. (2009). *Childhood in a global perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Zelizer, V. (2005). The priceless child revisited. In J. Qvortrup (Ed.), *Studies in modern childhood: Society, agency and culture* (pp. 184–200). London: Palgrave.

8

Participation as Learning for Change in Everyday Spaces: Enhancing Meaning and Effectiveness Using Action Research

Barry Percy-Smith

Introduction

> Kevin is 17. He has been a member of the Youth Parliament for two years, is on the Shadow Youth Scrutiny Committee and is active in participatory initiatives. Kevin is well respected by elected members and officers alike for his involvement and clearly derives benefits from being involved. But Kevin is unemployed, he has few qualifications, his brothers are in prison, his parents have split up and his mother suffers from mental health problems. When I last saw him he was beginning to reflect on what benefits he was getting from participating, becoming somewhat disillusioned. What might meaningful participation involve in the context of Kevin's life?

In 2004, Sinclair laid down the challenge of directing attention to children's and young people's participation that is meaningful, effective and sustainable. This was key in highlighting the importance of organisational and systemic contexts and processes when children and young people participate, and the importance of impact and outcomes for both

B. Percy-Smith (✉)
University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield, UK

services and young people. For many professionals working to support and promote the participation of children and young people, their commitment is based on a conviction about rights, equality and justice for children and young people. Such a commitment is based on the imperative of Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which outlines children's right to have a say in matters that affect them and for those views to be taken account in decision-making. While it is of course important for children to have a say and be involved in democratic processes, there is growing evidence (ECORYS, 2015) that such participation does not always give rise to impact in practice, in terms both of influencing decision-making and of tangible benefits in the lives of young people. Indeed, there is an assumption that giving voice to young people is an effective and empowering enactment of democratic citizenship and, in the case of marginalised or excluded young people, that by having a say and enhancing their participation in mainstream society, they will be able to realise the promise of inclusive citizenship.

There are a number of issues here. First, as an evaluation of children's participation across the European Union (EU) (ECORYS, 2015) highlights, while legislation supporting children's participation exists to varying extents across the EU member states, there are evident difficulties in translating such legislation into practice. Second, while there is now well-developed knowledge, understanding and commitment to participation among professionals and advocates who work with children, this does not always extend to professionals more broadly or society itself, with many not understanding what participation involves in practice (ECORYS, 2015). Third, many participation initiatives tend to be focused on professional and public sector agendas, and mirror existing 'representative' democratic processes. At the same time, analysis of good practice in the EU study[1] and elsewhere (Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010) suggests that participation is more meaningful and effective in everyday contexts where there is tangible relevance to young people's immediate life situations. This includes peer-to-peer support with children in care, democratic school initiatives, finding help with mental health issues and young people's participation in neighbourhood improvement processes; where

children can engage actively as partners in, rather than respondents for the purpose of, change. Yet examples such as these tend to be exceptions rather than the norm.

It appears that the radical roots of participation as an emancipatory process have at best been overlooked and, at worst, co-opted by mainstream neoliberal managerialism for the purpose of market and service efficiency. Fielding (2006) refers to this as a focus on participation for effective organisations rather than participation for human flourishing. As such, I argue that the focus on individual *empowerment* has been lost with the result that, ironically, participation tends to exacerbate dependency on the state at the expense of young people's autonomy and self-determination.[2] I argue that this is to a significant extent due to the way in which participation is understood and enacted in practice, inviting questions such as: How can we respond to the exclusion of young people at the margins? What might it mean for these young people to be empowered to participate as equal citizens? How can young people participate in actively contesting their marginalisation? What forms of participation/action/research are effective? And what role should adults take? Evident from recent literature is a shift in young people's participation from engagement in mainstream political structures to recognition of the significance of more fluid forms of participation evolved by young people themselves in response to issues and causes that have relevance to their everyday lived experiences (Juris & Pleyers, 2009; Rossi, 2009; Vromen, Xenos, & Loader, 2015). These shifting contours of youth participation are paralleled by a reorientation not towards concern for participation an end but towards concern for the *process* of participation informed by identity and values manifest as participation as subcultural practice (Juris & Pleyers, 2009; Tsekouro, 2016).

This chapter responds to these issues and questions by putting forward a case for understanding participation as a process of learning for change rooted in the everyday lives of young people. In particular, it draws on action research as a post-positivist approach to learning and development, which I argue provides a more robust praxis for enhancing meaning and effectiveness with participation in terms of both process and outcomes.

Participation: Coming of Age

In recent years, concerns about whether and how children and young people have a say in decisions that affect them have given way to a more critical discourse concerned with developing a more substantial, theoretically informed understanding of participation (see Cockburn, 2013; Percy-Smith, 2010; Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010; Thomas, 2007, 2012; Tisdall, 2013). Thomas (2012), for example, draws on Honneth's (1995) theory of recognition as a contribution to understanding participation in terms of 'love, rights and solidarity', which he contends are essential for children's full participation. He argues that children cannot participate fully if they do not feel warmth and affection, if they are not respected as rights holders and unless there is mutual esteem, solidarity and a sense of shared purpose. This focus is also emphasised by Cockburn (2013), who sees the importance of interdependency, trust and mutuality within a revisioned theory of citizenship for children.[3] In a similar vein, Fitzgerald, Graham, Smith, and Taylor (2010) argue that,

> In approaching children's participation as a struggle over recognition, attention is drawn to the relational and mutual nature of participation and to the dialogical space within which norms of recognition and inter-subjectivity are constituted & negotiated.

They go on to state:

> This dialogical shift implies that children's participation is not tied to the efforts of an individual child asserting a claim, but rather emerges within a mutual interdependence, recognition and respect for children and their views and experiences.

Cockburn (2013), however, goes further by asserting the importance of children and young people laying claim to citizenship themselves, thus focusing on the active roles of children in negotiating their own forms of participation. Of interest in this chapter is the way in which young people's participation as a struggle for recognition can be understood as the playing out of their claim for active citizenship in everyday contexts.

These developments are important in highlighting children's participation as a socially contexualised practice within wider social and structural relations. Hence Gallacher and Gallagher (2008) reassert the importance of power in children's participation and the way in which their participation is negotiated in interactions with adults in a form of 'legitimate peripheral participation' (Lave & Wenger, 1991). However, in spite of an increasing awareness of the significance of dialogue and interaction with adults as a relational process (Lundy, 2007), there has been comparatively little acknowledgement of the implicit notion of 'learning' in participation, not to inform or motivate participation but as an exploratory process of enquiry and self-realisation to find out what needs to happen to make changes or improvements to a situation integral to participation itself.

Tilbury (2007), in the context of learning for sustainable development, outlines an approach to *learning based change* drawing on principles of action enquiry in which she argues that, 'rather than relying on outside specialists or managers, participation can engage more stakeholders in becoming part of the process of self-governance and decision-making' (p. 127). For Tilbury, this involves critical thinking and reflection, enabling people to examine and question assumptions which influence their choices.

This has been referred to elsewhere as 'critically reflexive learning' in participation or, as Weil (1998) puts it, 'critically reflexive action research'. Learning in this sense refers to a creative and emergent process of 'coming to know' in which all parties, regardless of age, seek to understand and respond to an issue or concern of mutual importance through a process of dynamic interaction in which answers emerge out of enquiry. We can see this in terms of young people making sense of their own situation and views in relation to others'; but also as 'social learning' between all those involved (including adults) critically questioning their assumptions and practices through reflection and enquiry. Following Wildemeersch, Jansen, Vandenbeele, and Jans (1998) participatory social learning can be understood as

> The learning through participatory systems such as groups, networks, organizations and communities, in conditions which are new, unexpected,

uncertain, conflictual and hard to predict … when solutions have to be found for unforeseen contextual problems. … emphasis is on the optimal use of the problem-solving potential of which a group, institution or community disposes. Social learning is action- and experience-oriented, it is critically reflective, meaning that actors question the validity of particular opinions, judgments, strategies, actions, emotions, feelings, etc. It is cooperative and communicative, which means that the dialogue between actors is crucial, continually involved in implicit or explicit processes of negotiation.

More recently, Tisdall (2013) sought to go beyond discussions about how to make participation more effective to question the transformative potential of participation. Citing Hickey and Mohan (2004), she argues that the objective of participation is to ensure transformation of existing practice, and the social relations, institutional practices and capacity gaps which cause social exclusion. By implication, the implicit assumption here is that in order to transform something, it is necessary to find an alternative, which involves learning and innovation.

This focus on the transformative potential of participation invites us to challenge our preoccupation with the neoliberal agenda of enhancing involvement as consumer-citizens, and instead to rediscover the emancipatory potential of participation through learning by enabling those concerned to realise their own sense of agency and empowerment as change agents active in resolving the issues they are confronted with. Such a paradigm shift refocuses attention on the agenda and, in turn, the agency and self-determination of young people. This is not to perpetuate individualising discourses but instead to acknowledge structural constraints, and simultaneously recognise the extent to which young people are able to participate as active change agents according to their own agenda as architects of their own lives in response to those constraints (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007). While we can recognise that childhood and youth (and, in turn, childhood and youth subcultures) are sociologically significant variables in understanding their lives, there is simultaneously an acknowledgement that young people's lives are characterised by different niches and trajectories (Evans & Furlong, 1997) according to the way young people negotiate the actualisation of their own personal biographies

as manifest in their own values, meanings and identities (Weil, Wildemeersch, & Jansen, 2005). We could indeed arguably conceive of a biographicisation of participation as a result of the coming together of young people's expressions of agency with their own identity projects.

A Fork in the Road: The Danger of Getting Lost and New Possibilities

Just as these disparate discursive influences have sought to contribute to a deeper understanding of participation, there seems also to be a broadening of meanings of participation itself beyond the preoccupation with involvement in public decision-making. The result is that there appear to be two parallel strands of interest emerging with respect to participation. The first, following the customary concern about decisions being informed by children's views, focuses on participation as a process by which children and young people seek to exercise increasing power and influence over their lives and forces that shape them. The second, reflecting a broader focus beyond the concern with voice in decision-making, concerns participation in terms of child and youth (subcultural) activities as an expression of their interests and values, including where they go and what they do in public arenas (see the EU Partispace project[4]). This focus is on styles and spaces of participation, arguing that young people already 'participate' but not in ways that are always acknowledged as such. Interestingly the latter is what has constituted the focus of children's and young people's geographies since the 1990s (Chawla, 2002; Christensen & O'Brien, 2003; Matthews & Limb, 1999; Percy-Smith, 1999; Skelton & Valentine, 1998; Valentine, 2004), and before that from youth subcultural studies (Gelder & Thornton, 1997; Hebdige, 1979).

In essence this focus is concerned with the way children's and young people's values are imprinted on local landscapes through their place of behaviour; as creators of their own cultural geographies. Children and youth geographies provide evidence for the way in which children are already participating in the context of their own everyday lives (Chawla, 2002; Clark & Percy-Smith, 2006; Percy-Smith & Malone, 2001) as

they reflexively engage with local places, albeit in worlds apart from adults (Matthews, Limb, & Percy-Smith, 1998). Wulff (1995), an anthropologist, articulates this in terms of young people as active cultural producers, spontaneously creating and expressing their values through their choices and actions. 'Participation' has also for some time been used to talk about the extent to which young people engage in particular activities, such as sport, youth work and leisure (Allender, Cowburn, & Foster, 2006; DES, 1982). However, while this is a valid and literal use of the term, this focus on the passive take-up of activities remains distinct from the meaning of participation used in this chapter, concerned with an active expression of values as sociocultural practice in relation to the contexts in which young people find themselves.

While both of these interpretations—young people's reflexive engagement with place and involvement in decision-making and change processes—are worthwhile areas of study, there is potential for both confusion as well as opportunity with regard to how the participation of children and young people is understood. Following this extended and interconnected understanding of participation, the way young people use neighbourhood space can be seen as an expression of participation as self-determination and action as they reflexively engage with whatever context they find themselves. This may mean that they occupy places for their intended purposes (e.g. playing sport in a park or recreational space), but it may also mean young people co-opting places to use in their own prescribed way—for example, occupying a piece of urban wasteland as a place to meet and hang out, or using urban street space for skate boarding or parkour. In essence, and in contrast to ideas that young people's 'leisure' activities involve take-up of 'provided' or commodified opportunities, such behaviours highlight young people's competence as social actors able to creatively produce their own opportunities, rather than relying on opportunities provided by (professional) adults. And, indeed, some of this activity may be *aspatial* wherein child and youth subcultural activities happen regardless of specific places. Equally, young people's use of public space can be read (in some cases) as a less benign and more overtly political act involving what has historically been referred to by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies as 'rituals of resis-

tance' (Hall & Jefferson, 1976). As Thomas argues (2007, p. 206), 'There is a discourse of … participation that is predominantly social – that speaks of networks, inclusion, … and of opportunities for social connection … Alongside this there is an alternative discourse that is more or less overtly political—that speaks of power and challenge and change'.

In relation to the wider community, these lines of thinking can be followed through arguments that young people's presence on local landscapes contributes to public life (Chawla, 2002). However, just as young people, in contributing their views to decision-making, may come into conflict with other (adult) views, young people's place behaviour may well collide with the 'moral order of the street' (Lieberg, 1995) shaped invariably and tacitly by dominant social (and largely adult) norms and practices. How such conflicts over space are resolved (or not) pushes the focus of children's and young people's participation back to an emphasis on how decisions are made and 'problems' solved. This is reflected in Percy-Smith's (2006) paper based on work as part of the Growing up in Cities project, which highlights the limitations of policy responses to the perceived problem of young people on the street in the form of planning and design solutions (e.g. introducing specific facilities for children and young people, such as play areas, skate parks or youth shelters); or measures to regulate and control young people's use of spaces through surveillance and policing, curfews, mosquito devices and so on. Instead, Percy-Smith (2006) argues that not only do such imposed solutions marginalise young people as citizens but they also fail to address the underlying social relations that bring about conflicts. He proposes a theory of participation as community social learning, drawing on Wildemeersch et al.'s (1998) theory of participatory social learning in which the different parties come together in dialogue to find solutions through a better appreciation of the different issues and concerns at play.

These parallel foci and interpretations of children's and young people's participation—place behaviour and involvement in decision-making—offer an interesting potential contribution to a more sophisticated undertaking of participation. Yet at the same time there is an evident confusion wherein discussions about place behaviour are conducted in ways that appear to seamlessly flow in and out of the different discursive traditions

as if unproblematic. By surfacing these tensions and differences, it is hoped to clarify as well as deepen our understanding of participation as a learning process

Towards a Theory and Praxis of Participation as a Post-positivist Process of Learning for Change: The Promise of Action Research

If we return to focus on the idea of participation as involvement in decision-making and change processes, there has increasingly been a move away from simplistic notions of children's voice and representation of their interests to recognise that, even within this conventional and less contentious discursive context for participation, there is a more complex set of processes at play that need to inform understandings of participation. Indeed, I would argue that some of the challenges that have been documented in achieving participation that is meaningful and effective are possibly due to the lack of attention to this complexity. In some ways the limitations in thinking are the result of a preoccupation with representative democratic processes, to which the voices of those concerned (children and young people) are assumed to contribute their perspective, normally for others (adults) to then make a decision without children's involvement. Indeed, there is mounting evidence that in spite of huge progress in children's participation, giving rise to developments in practices and methodologies, children and young people rarely get to influence real decision-making or realise their participation rights within the context of their own lives (Thomas & Percy-Smith, 2012).

It is relevant here to understand 'participation' in terms of the 'project cycle' or 'decision-making-cycle',[5] which acknowledges identifiable phases in learning and action in response to a particular issue or problem. These phases are in turn developed from experiential learning theory developed by Kolb (1984) and are commonly understood in terms of Assess, Plan, Do, Review.[6] Central to understanding the effectiveness of children and young people's participation is the extent to which they are able to engage in these different phases. Some of the more recent contributions to the

field have focused on participatory democratic processes in which children's and young people's involvement is not constrained to one part of the decision-making cycle or adult's (professional) agenda but is assumed to be influential through the project cycle. Accordingly, I argue that an effective and meaningful process of participation involves participation in all of these phases. We can clarify these different phases with reference to the action research, which can be understood as a 'process of learning for change' (Weil, 1998), and to the action research cycle as formulated by Lewin (1948):

- identifying issues
- understanding the issues
- developing plans (decision-making)
- taking action
- evaluating action.

In simple terms we can refer to this as learning, action and reflection, and in reality this reflective cycle occurs throughout each phase of the decision-making cycle rather than as a sequential process. Hence the presenting issues that start the cycle may be reframed as a result of dialogue and reflection. An example of this might be shifting attention from how to deal with youth violence through criminal justice interventions to focusing on how young people can be supported in developing a sense of pride and inclusion in their neighbourhood. If we are to take further this extended and more elaborate articulation of the praxis of participation, it is pertinent to draw on the established post-positivist tradition of action research and its various manifestations (PAR, action enquiry, cooperative and appreciative enquiry; Reason & Bradbury, 2001).

Central to action research is a dynamic 'learning' process; more specifically, 'learning for change' in response to particular issues or problems. As Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 35) state, 'participation in terms of learning and action is an integral part of generative social practice in the lived-in world' and is therefore more conducive to supporting change. This may involve learning in the form of 'seeing differently', critical questioning or developing a better understanding, but it may also

involve a process of reflection and enquiry to challenge established assumptions and practices. Donald Schon (1983) referred to this in terms of reflection-in and on-action, thus surfacing the experiential and socially contextualised nature of participation as action research. Weil (1998) accordingly defines action research as 'Problem centred research that challenges and changes individuals and the systems they are a part' of, highlighting the fundamental critically reflexive nature of participative learning for change.

Underlying these processes of 'learning' is an acknowledgement that answers to social problems may not be simplistic and therefore solvable by just hearing people's views, but this involves an implicit commitment to creativity and innovation in finding solutions to problems. Through active involvement in critically reflective learning, those concerned enhance their own capacity for action by developing a better awareness of the situation or problem and, through reflection and dialogue, open up new possibilities for action—a process that Kemmis (2001) refers to as 'communicative action'. For me, therefore, action research offers a way of contributing to a theory of praxis that can in turn enable a clearer understanding of what an effective participatory process might involve. The contributions of action research to the mainstream concern of involving young people in decision-making and change processes are clear. The contribution of action research to understanding participation as youth subcultural practice, given that such activity may not be explicitly concerned with bringing about change rather simply engaging in 'performance' for its own sake, needs further elaboration. These performances as well as other behaviours, actions, interactions and relationships with others can arguably be thought of in terms of 'acts of citizenship' (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Arguably, such (sociocultural) acts are what constitutes active citizenship—a cultural (and geographical?) lens into the way in which the values of particular social groups are given expression within a broader societal context, with all its inherent contradictions concerning power and difference. Given that the world is not shaped solely by the decisions of professionals in formal contexts, the informal interaction of groups in terms of both explicit problem-solving and 'lay' social activity in everyday contexts is important for understanding participation. To

this extent I would argue for the value of understanding participation as the social practice of active citizenship.

I have made reference above to ideas about participation in terms of more non-instrumental ways in which children and young people can be involved in (meaningful) community-development processes involving a commitment to engage with and respond to fundamental problems between groups using community social learning (Percy-Smith, 2006) rather than through surveys and consultations. There are often issues affecting the lives of children and young people which we can variably talk about in terms of structural disadvantage and exclusion which originate at a level beyond young people's everyday lives. Yet the clunky way in which state apparatus functions and the corresponding, often ineffective, enactments of more formalised 'participation' seem to fall a long way short of effectiveness in addressing these problems. Hence while young people with a cause may join a youth council or a forum with a view to (nobly) seeking to contribute to 'making things better' for other young people, the realities are so often that little changes, giving rise to an accountability gap in the praxis of participation. Excluded young people tend not to become more included through having a say in the decision-making of a system that has already excluded them.

A fundamental question here is to what extent existing functions of the state and prevailing opportunities to participate that largely mimic adult structures and perpetuate the status quo stand a chance of ever making any progress in bringing about a change in the lives of marginalised young people. There are an increasing number of examples of 'alternative', non-establishment forms of youth participation, such as activism (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007). And, in turn, in relation to public service systems and statutory responsibilities, we see some of the most innovative forms of good practice with participation involving the self-initiated action of children and young people—for example, through peer-to-peer initiatives and campaigns to contest oppressive practice, such as projects contesting the negative attitudes and actions of adults towards young people (Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010).

What characterises these initiatives is not a formulaic and instrumental process but a more spontaneous and creative form of 'living, learning and

action for change' involving young people, motivated by a cause or concern, exploring possibilities of how to respond. Fundamental to such action are processes of learning and gradual realisation of their own capacity for action as they engage experientially. Freire (1971) conceptualised this process in his theory of 'conscientization' in which those concerned 'look critically at the world in a dialogical encounter with others … and gradually understand their reality and through increased personal and social awareness develop strategies to improve their worlds'.[7] What Freire is referring to here is the development of a critical consciousness, and by implication also developing the capacity for social action through learning. Developing the capacity for democratic action in this way seems to offer prospects for more meaningful as well as effective participation in terms of both empowerment and achieving outcomes that have validity for those involved.

Understanding what matters for different young people is variable and context specific. Participation can hence be conceived of as a socially situated learning activity rooted in everyday realities, but also within young people's identity projects both in terms of biographical self-determination and as a struggle for recognition (Thomas, 2012) with respect to wider society. Emerging here is a nexus of participation between the personal and the political (Batsleer, 2010), between self and society, and between sociocultural performance and public decision-making (Tsekoura, 2016). In this way we can say that the personal becomes political through biographical self-determination, and struggles for recognition as young people seek to realise the meaning and significance of their own values in their own lives and within the wider context of layers of socioecological influence (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

In the remainder of this chapter I want to illustrate and underpin the arguments herein with a case study from funded research of how action research can inform more meaningful participation. The case study is based on work on a completed project for the EU concerned with the participation and empowerment of young Roma. This was an 'action' grant to explore whether and how action research could be used to enhance the participation and empowerment of young Roma in response to their everyday realities of marginalisation as an excluded group. The

significance of this example is to learn from a project with a marginalised group in ways that are not framed by professional systems but instead start with the experiences and realities of young people themselves and as such could be seen as an example of a youth-led initiative.

Enhancing the Participation and Empowerment of Young Roma

For many young people on the margins, such as young Roma,[8] the significance of participation is not just about competing with other voices to have a say; instead it involves participating from a position of structural disadvantage. Simply hearing young Roma's views without taking account of their disadvantaged position thus seems somewhat disingenuous. The questions posed earlier in this chapter about what it might mean for these young people to be empowered to participate as equal citizens are central to understanding what constitutes meaningful and 'effective' participation/action/research for young Roma. In particular, how can young people actively participate in contesting their marginalisation?

The EU PEER project[9] was a two-year action research project with the overarching objective of understanding better how to enhance the participation of young Roma (11–18 years) in nine countries. The project was funded as an action grant to support young Roma in learning experientially how they might become empowered to participate in decisions that shape their lives. The idea of 'empowerment' was interpreted in this project in terms of exercising the power and influence to make things happen. In this sense, the action from action research might involve influencing existing decision-making structures, but equally it could involve taking direct action themselves. This interpretation of 'empowerment' resonates with Friedmann's (1992) use of the term, in the context of alternative development, which he understands in terms of placing the emphasis on 'autonomy in decision-making of … communities, local self-reliance, direct (participatory) democracy and experiential social learning' (ibid., p. vii).

Young Roma leaders were trained in an action research approach to work with other young Roma with an emphasis on building capacity among themselves. The project was conducted in two cycles of action research in which young Roma learned experientially from being involved in the project. The original formulation of the project was to work with young Roma in the first cycle to surface issues that mattered to them, to work with them to develop and implement some kind of action in response to those issues and then to evaluate the actions by supporting the young people to reflect on what they had learnt from the action. Emphasis was on a youth-led process wherein young people were supported in developing skills and confidence through mini experimental projects about issues that mattered to them. The second phase focused on 'embedding action research' and was designed to build on and further develop opportunities for young Roma to participate by trying to systematise what had been learnt about the effective participation of young Roma, and put in place systems to sustain that participation.

As an action research approach the emphasis was not on collecting data. Instead it was about those affected by the issues or problems and learning together how to bring about change. This involved facilitating an action enquiry process with young Roma to reflect critically on their situation—for example, using community mapping to understand where they felt included or excluded. A training manual was provided to support the training of young Roma facilitators and in turn to develop their skills and capacity.[10] The idea was that through participation experiences such as these the young people would be able to gradually develop a sense of empowerment to participate as actors of change in their own right. The assumption was that this would be realised through increased awareness and understanding of their situation, and through the development of new skills acquired through both the training and the experience of engaging in the action research process. In many ways this reflects what Lave and Wenger (1991) referred to as 'legitimate peripheral participation' in which young people engage in situated social learning activity in realistic ways rather than immediately seeking to influence the forces that shape their lives directly (Fig. 8.1).

A key argument in this chapter is that 'learning' is central to effective participation. In turn, because thinking precedes action, the imperative is

Fig. 8.1   Young Roma reflecting on their shared experiences

on young people challenging their own assumptions about their situation, about possibilities for responding to their situation as well as about their own role as change agents. Learning for change is fundamental to an action research process and emerges out of reflective enquiry. It is this type of learning that gives rise to empowerment. However, participation initiatives often miss out 'learning' and instead seek to jump to solutions without having time to engage in critical enquiry to understand the issue

Fig. 8.2   Young Roma using photo-voice to deepen their enquiry into the roots of their disempowerment

and how it plays out in practice. Hence it is difficult to know how to respond to 'exclusion' without appreciating how it is manifested and experienced in young people's lives. Developing a better understanding of an issue hence helps reveal tangible and realistic possibilities for action (Fig. 8.2).

The work with young Roma people was conducted through regular sessions and it loosely followed an action research cycle in different ways in different countries, but it typically involved

- starting with young people sharing stories from experience, reflecting on those stories together and drawing out key issues and priorities;
- reflective enquiry to develop understanding of issues, such as exploring how and where young Roma experience in/exclusion and making sense of barriers to participating as equal citizens;

- developing plans for what they can do to address these issues based on their own critically reflective learning from experience;
- taking actions;
- evaluating and learning from these actions.

Case Study Example: Combating Gender Inequalities

A key issue for one of the groups in Bulgaria concerned gender inequalities (including gender-based violence) and girls not having control over their lives.[11] A key issue for one of the groups in Bulgaria concerned gender inequalities (including gender-based violence) and girls not having control over their lives. While Roma as a group are seen to be marginalised, within Roma communities, girls are in turn seen as being more disadvantaged as a result of the expectation that they will be married off soon after 12 years of age. Girls cannot go against family wishes. Action research, however, does not seek quick and simple answers by bracketing out the messiness but instead aims to understand and work with the complexities at play. Part of the enquiry in this session concerned the young people grappling with the tension between, on the one hand, respecting their culture and their parents and, on the other hand, recognising how cultural practices undermine the ability of girls to exercise control and self-determination in their lives (Figs. 8.3 and 8.4).

Bo's Story

In taking this issue forward the group worked with Bo. She has been found a boy to marry, she cannot oppose her father, she is still at school, she is experiencing domestic violence at home and she is developing mental health problems. The group have collectively developed ways of supporting Bo. This includes arranging support in school; gaining access to psychologist services; providing active peer support; organising for the girls to talk as a group to Bo's parents and her arranged partner.
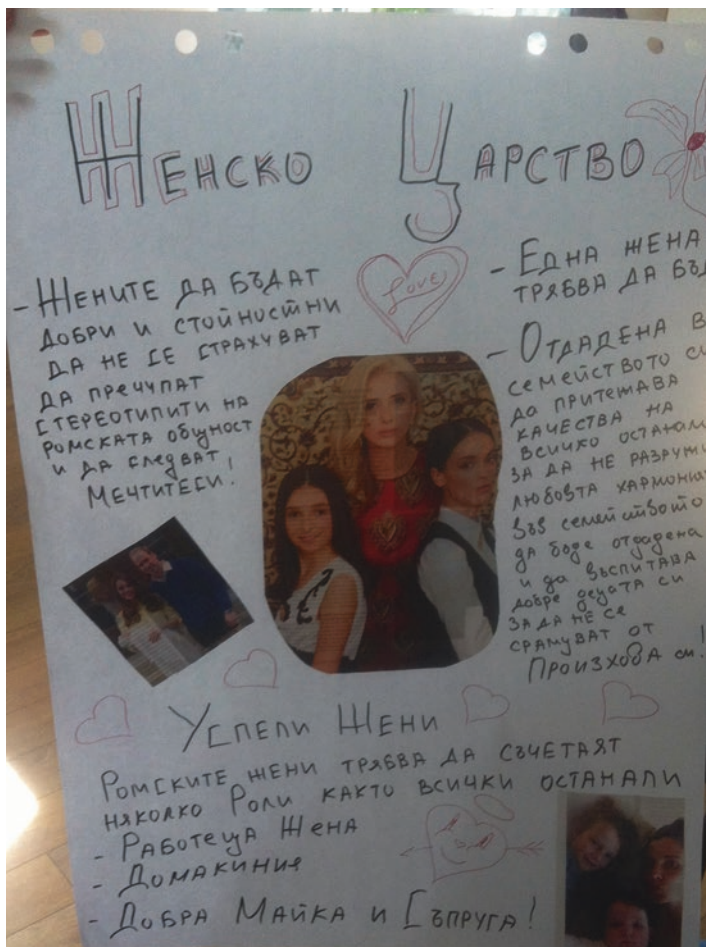
Fig. 8.3 Using visuals to articulate the problem of gender inequality

While these were specific measures taken in this one context, reflection on their experiences enabled the group to develop further measures to help prevent and address future similar cases, including developing the idea of children's police (to monitor where other young people may be experiencing similar situations),[12] peer support and teaming up with a local non-governmental organisation (NGO) to encourage young Roma

Fig. 8.4 Communicating provisional plans to respond to gender inequalities

to attend the youth club and develop opportunities for the group to discuss issues such as relationships and violence, and receive education about violence-prevention activities.

Reflections on Using Action Research to Enhance the Participation and Empowerment of Young (Roma) People

The idea of 'participation' is unfamiliar to many young Roma, as it is for many other young people. Many had limited experience of participatory projects, were not used to expressing their views and initially felt inhibited in taking part. Creating an appropriate environment in which to engage young people is key.[13] In the case study above, having a female

Roma facilitator made a difference in the girls feeling free to open up and trust. The group met on a number of occasions just to build up trust and confidence before talking about their lives. As one facilitator reflected, 'There is no culture of participation so we need to build it.' While the approach adopted in the PEER project reveals possibilities for bringing about positive outcomes for young people, we should not expect them to be able to transform their lives after engaging in a training workshop for a day. Young people need time to develop skills and confidence in themselves and others, ability (language) to express their opinions, and engage in social learning and change with others. Young people are often able to identify key issues and barriers in their lives but find it difficult to move beyond these. It takes time for them to understand the complex relations of factors affecting their situation. Perhaps the most significant learning from this work was the importance to many young people of just having an opportunity to talk about small things. Gradually developing solidarity through sharing and hearing stories, and developing peer support with the help of local community-based NGOs, appears to offer the best prospects for valuing young Roma and enabling them to realise their rights. This seems to go some way to corroborate Thomas' argument concerning the relevance of Honneth's recognition theory (1995) for understanding participation.

In this chapter I have made a case for participation in everyday contexts, not as performance but as a socially situated process of learning for change. The argument is that through participation in everyday contexts, impact and meaning from participation is more easily realisable for children and young people as they exercise increasing agency and self-determination in connection with issues that matter to them. As highlighted in the case study above, involving the girls in developing responses to gender inequalities through self-help and peer–to-peer support can give rise to a sense of empowerment because those concerned realise their own agency and capacity for action in response to shared concerns.

However, one could of course argue that while finding solutions themselves that are realistic and quite immediate, these may not fundamentally challenge the structures of oppression which marginalise young

Roma. There are of course examples of such initiatives within and beyond the PEER project where this happens (Percy-Smith, 2007; Thomas & Percy-Smith, 2012); where young people engage in dialogue and learning with professionals to challenge assumptions and reform policy. My reason for not focusing on these here is to direct attention away from mainstream formalised processes and a reliance on professional and policy solutions, and to the potential of young people's agency and self-determination in participating in problem-solving in everyday non-formal contexts. As Ginwright and Cammarota (2007, p. 693) state, 'Youth activism in the urban community provides opportunities to develop critical civic praxis through engagement with ideas, social networks and experience that build individual and collective capacity to struggle for social justice.' The underlying rationale here is that enhancing youth participation needs to involve participation from below (as democratic action and learning) as well as above (mainstream political decision-making; see also Thomas & Percy-Smith, 2012). As Friedmann (1992, p. viii) argues, 'If an alternative development looks to the mobilization of civil society at the grass roots, […] it must also, as a second and concurrent step, seek to transform social into political power and to engage the struggle for emancipation on a larger […scale].' He goes on to argue: 'The politics of alternative development (grass roots participation) cannot be totalized. It is a transforming politics that will itself be transformed in practice.'

The way in which participation in everyday practice becomes transformed, and in turn transforms those involved, is itself an important element to the learning and change process that is integral to action research. Rather than expect young Roma to easily contest and reanimate the embodied sense of disempowerment they have grown up with and develop the necessary social and cultural capital for participation in relation to mainstream politics in the short term, localised projects and change initiatives in everyday contexts provide an opportunity for them to gradually develop the skills for participation and active citizenship to challenge their position (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Hart, 1992). This chapter makes a case for the use of action research in achieving that end.

Notes

1. As identified by respondents.
2. There is a body of literature that critiques empowerment in terms of placing responsibility for change on the individual (see, e.g., McLaughlin, 2016). In contrast, I argue that 'empowerment' does not negate the responsibility of the state nor individualise power and responsibility, but instead seeks to maximise the power of individuals in relation to the state.
3. See also Mannion (2007), who advocates for understanding participation as a *relational process* in which the collaboration and interaction between children and adults is key.
4. www.partispace.eu.
5. In the UK public sector, interventions are often developed according to a 'commissioning cycle' (see, e.g., http://commissioning.libraryservices.nhs.uk/commissioning-cycle).
6. The phases originally outlined by Kolb (1984) in his experiential learning cycle were experience, reflection, learning and action.
7. Adapted from Freire (1996, p. 14).
8. This chapter acknowledges that there are many 'traveller' groups who do not identify as Roma. Indeed, many travellers, even in one community, argue for the need to recognise diversity in traveller/Roma communities. The arguments and approaches in this chapter are, however, relevant to all types of traveller and indeed any marginalised groups.
9. This project with young Roma was funded by a Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Action grant (Just/2013/FRAC/AG/6230) and was coordinated by Maria Roth from Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, and Cath Larkins, University of Central Lancashire, UK. For further information, see www.peeryouth.eu.
10. See http://www.editura.ubbcluj.ro/bd/ebooks/pdf/2009.pdf.
11. This case-study material draws on work specifically in Bulgaria coordinated by Borislava Metcheva from the Know How Centre, New Bulgarian University.
12. This is resonant with the child reporters of Orissa in India where children and young people conducted surveys of their neighbourhood to identify changes they felt were needed (Acharya, 2010).
13. See participatory practice guide for the PEER project (http://peeraction.eu/en/guide-for-professionals/).

References

Acharya, L. (2010). The Child reporters of Orissa. In B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (Eds.), *A Handbook of children and young people's participation: Perspectives from theory and practice* (pp. 204–214). London: Routledge.

Allender, S., Cowburn, G., & Foster, C. (2006). Understanding participation in sport and physical activity among children and adults: A review of qualitative studies. *Health Education Research, 21*(6), 826–835. https://doi.org/10.1093/her/cyl063.

Batsleer, J. (2010). Commentary 4: Methods and frameworks. In B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (Eds.), *Handbook of children and young people's participation: Perspectives from theory and practice* (pp. 193–195). London: Routledge.

Bronfrenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chawla, L. (2002). *Growing up in an urbanizing world*. London: Earthscan.

Checkoway, B., & Gutierrez, L. (Eds.). (2006). *Youth participation and community change*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press.

Christensen, P. M., & O'Brien, M. (2003). *Children in the city: Home, neighbourhood and community*. London: Routledge.

Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006). Beyond consultation: Participatory practices in everyday spaces. *Children, Youth and Environments, 16*(2), 1–9.

Cockburn, T. (2013). *Rethinking children's citizenship*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

DES. (1982). *Experience and participation: Review group on the youth service in England* ('The Thompson Report'). London: HMSO.

ECORYS. (2015). *Evaluation of legislation, policy and practice on children's participation in the European Union*. Brussels: EU DG Justice. https://doi.org/10.2838/45596.

Evans, K., & Furlong, A. (1997). Metaphors of youth transitions: Niches, pathways, trajectories or navigations. In J. Bynner, L. Chisholm, & A. Furlong (Eds.), *Youth, citizenship and social change in a European context*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Fielding, M. (2006). Leadership, radical student engagement and the necessity of person-centre education. *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 9*(4), 299–313. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603120600895411.

Fitzgerald, R., Graham, A., Smith, A., & Taylor, N. (2010). Children's participation as a struggle over recognition: Exploring the promise of dialogue. In B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (Eds.), *Handbook of children's participation: Perspectives from theory and practice* (pp. 293–305). London: Routledge.

Freire, P. (1971/1996). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Friedmann, J. (1992). *Empowerment: The politics of alternative development*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Gallacher, L., & Gallagher, M. (2008). Methodological immaturity in childhood research? Thinking through 'participatory methods'. *Childhood, 15*(4), 499–516. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568208091672.

Gelder, K., & Thornton, S. (Eds.). (1997). *The subcultures reader*. London: Routledge.

Ginwright, S., & Cammarota, J. (2007). Youth activism in the urban community: Learning critical civic praxis within community organisations. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 20*(6), 693–710. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518390701630833.

Hall, S., & Jefferson, T. (Eds.). (1976). *Resistance through rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain*. London: Hutchinson.

Hart, R. (1992). *Children's participation: From tokenism to citizenship*. Florence, Italy: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.

Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Methuan.

Hickey, S., & Mohan, G. (Eds.). (2004). *Participation: From tyranny to transformation? Exploring new approaches to participation*. London: Zed Books.

Honneth, A. (1995). *The struggle for recognition: The moral grammar of social conflicts*. Bristol: Polity Press.

Juris, J. S., & Pleyers, G. H. (2009). Alter-activism: Emerging cultures of participation among young global justice activists. *Journal of Youth Studies, 12*, 57–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260802345765.

Kemmis, S. (2001). Exploring the relevance of critical theory for action research: Emancipatory action research in the footsteps of Jurgen Habermas. In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds.), *The handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice* (pp. 91–102). London: Sage.

Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lewin, K. (1948). *Resolving social conflicts; selected papers on group dynamics*. New York: Harper & Row.

Lieberg, M. (1995). Teenagers and public space. *Communication Research, 22*(6), 720–744. https://doi.org/10.1177/009365095022006008.

Lundy, L. (2007). 'Voice' is not enough: Conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. *British Educational Research Journal, 33*(6), 927–942. https://doi.org/10.1080/01411920701657033.

Mannion, G. (2007). Going spatial, going relational: Why listening to children and children's participation needs reframing. *Discourse, 28*(3), 405–420. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596300701458970.

Matthews, H., & Limb, M. (1999). Defining *an* agenda for the geography of children: Review and prospect. *Progress in Human Geography, 23*(1), 61–90. https://doi.org/10.1191/030913299670961492.

Matthews, H., Limb, M., & Percy-Smith, B. (1998). Changing worlds: The microgeographies of young teenagers. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie, 89*(2), 193–202. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9663.00018.

McLaughlin, K. (2016). *Empowerment: A critique*. London: Routledge.

Moosa-Mitha, M. (2005). A difference-centred alternative to theorization of children's citizenship rights. *Citizenship Studies, 9*(4), 369–388. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020500211354.

Percy-Smith, B. (1999). *Multiple childhood geographies: Giving voice to young people's experience of place* (Unpublished PhD thesis). University of Northampton.

Percy-Smith, B. (2006). From consultation to social learning in community participation with young people. *Children Youth and Environments, 16*(2), 153–179.

Percy-Smith, B. (2007). You think you know? You have no idea: Youth participation in health policy development. *Health Education Research, 22*(6), 879–894. https://doi.org/10.1093/her/cym032.

Percy-Smith, B. (2010). Councils, consultation and community: Rethinking the spaces for children and young people's participation. *Children's Geographies, 8*(2), 107–122. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733281003691368.

Percy-Smith, B., & Malone, K. (2001). Making children's participation in neighbourhood settings relevant to the everyday lives of young people. *PLA Notes, 42*, 18–22. London: IIED.

Percy-Smith, B., & Thomas, N. (Eds.). (2010). *Handbook of children's participation: Perspectives from theory and practice*. London: Routledge.

Reason, P., & Bradbury, H. (Eds.). (2001). *A Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice*. London: Sage.

Rossi, F. M. (2009). Youth political participation: Is this the end of generational cleavage? *International Sociology, 24*(4), 467–497. https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580909334498.

Schon, D. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. New York: Basic books.

Sinclair, R. (2004). Participation in practice: Making it meaningful, effective and sustainable. *Children and Society, 18*(2), 106–118. https://doi.org/10.1002/chi.817.

Skelton, T., & Valentine, G. (Eds.). (1998). *Cool places: Geographies of youth cultures*. London: Routledge.

Thomas, N. (2007). Towards a theory of children's participation. *International Journal of Children's Rights, 15*(2), 199–218. https://doi.org/10.1163/092755607X206489.

Thomas, N. (2012). Love, rights and solidarity: Studying children's participation using Honneth's theory of recognition. *Childhood, 19*(4), 453–466. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568211434604.

Thomas, N., & Percy-Smith, B. (2012). 'It's about changing services and building relationships': Evaluating the development of Children in Care Councils. *Child and Family Social Work, 17*(4), 487–496. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2011.00806.x.

Tilbury, D. (2007). Learning based change for sustainability: Perspectives and pathways. In A. E. J. Wals (Ed.), *Social learning: Towards a sustainable world* (pp. 117–132). Wageningen: Wageningen Publishers.

Tisdall, E. K. M. (2013). The transformation of participation? Exploring the potential of 'transformative participation' for theory and practice around children and young people's participation. *Global Studies of Childhood, 3*(2), 183–193. https://doi.org/10.2304/gsch.2013.3.2.183.

Tsekoura, M. (2016). Spaces for youth participation and youth empowerment: Case studies from UK and Greece. *Young, 24*(4), 326–341. https://doi.org/10.1177/1103308815618505.

Valentine, G. (2004). *Public space and the culture of childhood*. Aldershot: Gower publishing.

Vromen, A., Xenos, M. A., & Loader, B. (2015). Young people, social media and connective action: From organizational maintenance to everyday political talk. *Journal of Youth Studies, 18*(1), 80–100. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2014.933198.

Weil, S. (1998). Rhetorics and realities in public service organisations: Systemic practice and organisational learning as critically reflexive action research. *Systemic Practice and Action Research, 11*(1), 37–62. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1022912921692.

Weil, S., Wildemeersch, D., & Jansen, T. (2005). *Unemployed youth and social exclusion in Europe: Learning for inclusion?* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Wildemeersch, D., Jansen, T., Vandenbeele, J., & Jans, M. (1998). Social learning: A new perspective on learning in participatory systems. *Studies in Continuing Education, 20*(2), 251–265. https://doi.org/10.1080/0158037980200210.

Wulff, H. (1995). Introducing youth culture in its own right: The state of the art and new possibilities. In V. Amit-Talai & H. Wulff (Eds.), *Youth cultures: A cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 1–18). London: Routledge.

9

The Child, the Pupil, the Citizen: Outlines and Perspectives of a Critical Theory of Citizenship Education

Federico Farini

Introduction

In 2014 the English National Curriculum (ENC; Department for Education, 2014a) for citizenship education in schools was criticised for failing to value pupils' expectations, understanding and experiences of rights, responsibilities and the changing nature of democracy. At the turn of the same year, the statutory framework for early years education, the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS; Department for Education, 2014b), introduced education to British values (sometimes referred to as 'Fundamental British values'; see Home Department, 2011) via curricular provision: early years settings must now be demonstrated to teach young children values such as cooperation, freedom and responsibility. However, the contribution of children's actions and experiences in shaping the meaning of values is not acknowledged in the curriculum; instead, values are social skills to be learnt in preparation for life.

F. Farini (✉)
Department of Sociology, University of Northampton,
Northampton, UK

This chapter discusses the paradoxical status of British values in the EYFS and citizenship in the ENC. On the one hand, the semantics of British values and citizenship is genuinely educational: they are knowledge that creates the conditions for further learning (Baraldi & Corsi, 2016). On the other hand, learners have limited opportunities to experience, test and assess the learnt knowledge as a result of their limited agency in the education system, related to the institutionalised distrust that structures educational interactions. The social situations in which learning about British values and citizenship can be recombined and applied are not provided because children and young people are not agents in education and they have limited opportunities to make choices according to their personal judgement. The EYFS and the ENC are documents that introduce knowledge, British values and citizenship, which will be experienced in the future, and outside the education system. In this contribution, curricula have been approached and analysed using document analysis.

Methodology

Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents. Similar to any other analytical methods in qualitative research, it requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning and develop empirical knowledge (Rapley, 2007).

Atkinson and Coffey (2004) refer to documents as 'social facts', which are produced, shared and used in socially organised ways. Documents that can be used for systematic evaluation as part of a study take a variety of forms. For instance, educational documents include attendance registers; minutes of meetings; manuals; background papers; school brochures; diaries and journals; maps and charts; newspapers; organisational or institutional reports; and curricula.

The analytic procedure in document analysis entails finding, selecting, appraising and synthesising data contained in documents, to then be organised into major themes and categories (Labuschagne, 2003). Document analysis is deemed as particularly appropriate for approaching educational curricula through a focused intensive documentary case

study (Stake, 1995), aiming to produce a rich description of the semantics of education in British values and citizenship. Document analysis has previously been applied to educational curricula, using them as a key to deciphering emerging social forms in the semantics of education—for instance, regarding digital learning (Angers & Machtmes, 2005) and computer-mediated communication (Scollan & Gallagher, 2016).

The analytical procedure of document analysis combines elements of content analysis and thematic analysis. Content analysis is the process of organising information into categories related to the central questions of the research, entailing a document review, in which meaningful and relevant passages of text are identified (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). As the second stage of content analytical procedure, thematic analysis follows content analysis and aims to recognise emerging themes within the data (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

The reliability and validity of document analysis are secured by a circular relationship between interpretation and theory (Bowen, 2009). If document analysis is driven by objectivity (seeking to represent the document fairly) and sensitivity (responding to even subtle cues to meaning), the interpretation of documents is made possible by theoretical categories that pre-existed the data, while theoretical categories are validated by the data characteristics.

Document analysis is not a formalistic methodology: documents are understood as historical objects. For this reason, the analysis of educational curricula is introduced through a historical review of citizenship education in the English school system.

A Historical Review of Citizenship Education in English Curricula

The Quest for Political Neutrality

For many decades, since its foundation and until the end of the twentieth century, English state education was reluctant to involve itself in any form of citizenship education (Hodgson, 2008). Excluded from the curricula, civic education was left to the initiative of individual schools.

A review of school codes and statutes across the first half of the twentieth century (O'Sullivan, 2014) suggests that civic education was rarely implemented, and when provided it was conceptualised as moral education for the individual.

Under the influence of pedagogical publications (Madeley's *History as a school of citizenship*, 1920) and teacher education pamphlets (the Board of Education's *Report on the teaching of history*, 1923), history was recognised as the medium for the transmission of moral values, inspiring pupils with exemplary lives of British heroes and heroines.

The approach to citizenship as moral education based on the celebration of historical examples remained largely unchallenged until the 1970s. Landmark government reports, the Spens Report (Ministry of Education, 1938) and the Norwood Report (Ministry of Education, 1943) supported the idea of civic education as moral education based on exemplar histories (Batho, 1990). In 1949 a Ministry of Education pamphlet, *Citizens growing up*, defined the pedagogical guidelines for civic education: the development of the qualities of the democratic citizens was best served by the 'permeation approach' where civic virtues were to be passed along 'ordinary' academic subjects rather than through specifically designed provision. Civic education was deemed as the possible vehicle of unwelcome propaganda and biased political visions of society (Lawton, Cairns, & Gardner, 2005).

Notwithstanding the persisting concern for political 'neutrality' in schools, subjects such as sociology, economics and politics became increasingly popular in schools throughout the 1970s. However, nothing moved towards the inclusion of citizenship in the curriculum. It is believed that political disagreement regarding the concept of citizenship was the main factor hampering a programme of study for the development of civic skills and understanding.

Citizenship and Citizenship Education as an Object of Political Struggle

Nowadays, Marshall's model (Marshall, 1950) is widely acknowledged as hegemonic in the English discourse on citizenship (Kymlicka, 2008;

Kymlicka & Norman, 1994), also informing aims and objectives of citizenship education (Olssen, 2004; Osler, 2000). However, until the 1990s the status of Marshall's model was the object of controversies, linked to political tensions surrounding not only the teaching of citizenship but also its interpretation.

Marshall's tripartite model of citizenship education is based on (1) rights and responsibility; (2) political literacy; and (3) community involvement. The first component is itself a tripartite category, collating civil rights, political rights and, most controversially, social rights.

Civil rights, largely developed in the eighteenth century are the rights necessary for individual freedom, such as liberty, freedom of speech, justice and property rights. Political rights, which developed in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, are chiefly understood by Marshall in the framework of representative democracy, as the right to vote and to stand for political offices.

While civil and political rights were already included in traditional, history-based civic education, the political controversy during the 1970s concerned social rights. These are defined by Marshall as

> a range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being, according to the standards prevailing in the society. (1950, p. 149)

Marshall's view of social rights aims to 'civilise capitalism' by reducing the inequality that the economic system tends to produce. His category of social rights aligned with the post-war consensus (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994), appeasing both the social democracy of the Labour Party and the model of 'managed capitalism' of post-Churchillian Conservatives (O'Sullivan, 2014). However, despite such ideological consensus, the traditional British reluctance about the inclusion of citizenship education in the curricula prevented the development of a programme of citizenship teaching in the 1950s and 1960s. By the following decade, while the rise of the social sciences in school curricula was reinvigorating the case for citizenship education, the consensus around the meaning of citizenship had led to a polarised debate centred on the legitimacy of social rights.

As early as the mid-1970s, British political discourse was hegemonised by the emerging ideology of the New Right, which 'sought to counter and reverse the development of social citizenship by returning to the traditional liberal idea of free markets and limited government (Biesta & Lawy, 2006, p. 68), emphasising civil rights and market self-regulation rather than social rights. The vanishing of consensus on the very meaning of citizenship prevented any further advancing of citizenship education until the late 1990s.

It was only with the New Labour government (1997–2010) that some political consensus on the meaning of citizenship was restored, enabling the relatively recent, and relatively dramatic, developments in citizenship education to take place. In 1997 the historical momentum was created whereby the government-commissioned Advisory Group on Citizenship could successfully put forward the case for the compulsory teaching of citizenship in the English curriculum.

Hodgson argues that by the end of the twentieth century, citizenship education to some extent came to be a relatively safe alternative to some of the much more radical political education that was taking place in schools from the late 1970s on an *ad hoc* basis (Hodgson, 2008). Biesta and Lawy (2006) demonstrate how New Labour largely accepted the individualistic interpretation of the role of the citizen that the Thatcherite programme had bequeathed it, emphasising the alliance between individual rights and a sense of responsibility and obligation. In such a favourable cultural environment, the recommendations advanced by the Advisory Group was publicised through a landmark paper, known as the Crick Report (1998, named after Bernard Crick, chair of the Advisory Group).

The Crick Report is informed by the 'rights and responsibilities' rhetoric of New Labour and builds on a partial recovery of Marshall's tripartite concept of citizenship based on rights, political literacy and community involvement, which therefore provides the framework for the development of citizenship education in England.

The report considers three interrelated learning outcomes for citizenship education: (1) social and moral responsibility towards those in authority and each other; (2) community involvement, including service to the community; (3) political literacy—that is, the knowledge, skills and values to be effective in public life.

The Crick Report is a political document, and the learning outcomes of citizenship education fit into the communitarian agenda brought forward by New Labour, calling for morally motivated, responsible and politically engaged citizens (Etzioni, 1995). Citizenship education aims to

> make secure and to increase knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy; also to enhance the awareness of rights and duties, and the sense of responsibility needed for the development of pupils into active citizens; and in doing so establish the value to individuals, schools and society of involvement in the local and wider community. (Crick, 1998, p. 40)

The Crick Report was subject to criticism for being indifferent to issues of equality and social justice (Cockburn, 2013), government technology applied to political socialisation (Pykett, 2007). A few months after the report's publication, an early review argued that 'moral values' need to be balanced by guarantees of equality of rights and the absence of discrimination, not just at an interpersonal level but also in key services such as housing, health and education (Osler, 2000). For Osler, values are an important but inadequate response in a society characterised by diversity and deep inequalities, whereas the Crick Report does not address structural disadvantages which act as a key barrier to full and equal citizenship.

Nevertheless, Crick's framework successfully resonated across the whole political spectrum owing to its emphasis on the duty of the citizen to participate in public affairs, to respect the rights and freedoms of the nation state, and to observe its laws and fulfil the duties and obligations of citizenship. Scholars have suggested that the success of the Crick Report is due to its ideological continuity with the New Right Agenda—for instance, the emphasis on personal responsibility and individual choice (Miller, 2000)—and to its methodological affinity to 'safe' teacher-centred pedagogies, interested in transmitting 'good' citizenship rather than promoting the social and critical capabilities of young people (Tomlinson, 2005).

The Crick Report became the ideological and technical imprint of compulsory citizenship education, which began in September 2002 via a

curriculum described as 'light touch' by the then secretary of state for education, David Blunkett: schools were allowed flexibility to deliver the curriculum in ways that matched the local conditions. Although based on a small case study, Burton and May's (2015) discussion of qualitative interviews with teachers suggests that this remains the case today: while there is a curricular programme to follow, topics can be covered within various aspects of school life and as part of existing subjects.

A historical review of citizenship education in English schools introduces us to the analysis of current curricula—an analysis focused on the paradoxical status of British values and citizenship as educational knowledge.

British Values and Citizenship as Educational Knowledge

The EYFS and the ENC are educational curricula introducing British values and citizenship as learning outcomes for educational planning. From a sociological perspective, educational curricula can be understood as a component of a triadic configuration that includes the curriculum, the teacher and the learner. This triadic configuration enables more stable educational relationships than an asymmetric dyadic one between teacher and students. The focus on the subject matter, which needs to be taught and learned, creates the conditions for the sequential organisation of the educational process (Weick, 1979), and for decisions about motives, themes and their timing (Vanderstraeten, 2003). Through curricula, education creates its own limits of what is possible and meaningful (Blacker, 2000). If approached from an organisational point of view, curricula are programmes for decision-making in pedagogical planning and assessment of pupils' performances, helping to stabilise relationships between teacher and learner (Weick, 1979).

It is against the curriculum (and school organisation) that the history of the interactions, as well as the personal characteristics of the participants, can become meaningful for the interaction. School curricula represent one of the changes encompassed by the morphogenesis of the modern educational system at the end of the nineteenth century, with the

so-called discovery of the child, the universalisation of classroom education and the professionalisation of the teacher (Vanderstraeten, 2006).

Curricula do not only reduce the complexity of the educational interaction; they also reduce the complexity of the internal environment of schools, limiting the possibility of choice for teachers, pedagogues and managers. As state-enhanced programmes for decision-making, curricula represent an interface between education and its social environment. The state administration cannot teach but can impose curricular models and organisational structures.

The EYFS lends itself as an example, establishing curricular goals for the development of the young child, therefore simplifying decision-making for practitioners and managers in early years settings. Within the EYFS, age-specific activities are imposed that must be tailored to secure development in the government-defined core areas of development—that is, 'understanding the world', 'personal, social and emotional development', and 'people and communities'. The teaching of British values is now a task for early years practitioners, and children's learning must be demonstrated for all core areas of development.

British Values in the EYFS: The Present as Preparation for the Future

Since 2015 the EYFS has included British values as a core component of early years settings as the statutory duty to secure a positive and socially constructive development of the child. British values are as important as any of the many facets of a well-developing individual; state-appointed inspectors must be able to see that early years settings demonstrate the inclusion of teaching of British values, as failing to do so would result in losing financial support.

Probably due to some awareness of the vagueness of the concept of British values, the EYFS presents a non-negotiable trivial list of values to be transmitted to a child: (1) rule of law; (2) mutual respect and tolerance; (3) democracy; and (4) individual liberty.

Criticism of the EYFS treatment of British values has concerned the elusiveness of the idea of distinctive British values (Jerome &

Clemitshaw, 2012) and the difficulty for practitioners to avoid a language implying some form of moral supremacy to other nations and cultures (*The Guardian*, 2014). For instance, leading English early years practitioner Meleady stresses that the UK does not have a monopoly on rule of law, individual liberty, mutual respect and 'tolerance', so claims to these values should not negate the fact that other nations, cultures, civilisations and peoples also claim and implement these values as their own (Meleady, 2015).

While a discussion of the ideological implication of the nationalisation of moral values and civic virtues surely deserves further development, the focus is now moved to the semantics of education (and adult–child relationships) underpinning the EYFS approach to the development of British values.

In the statutory guide for early years practice, the first two British values, 'rule of law' and 'mutual respect and tolerance', are linked to learning about how to manage feelings and behaviour, treating others as the child wants to be treated, and understanding that rules matter. The third and fourth values, democracy and individual liberty, refer to learning about how to make decisions together, making use of self-awareness and self-confidence.

The analysis of the curriculum evidences the enduring influence on the EYFS of Marshall's model of citizenship in the version revived by the Crick Report. Rule of law, mutual respect and tolerance, democracy and individual liberty are objects of learning, translating to pedagogical planning two of Marshall's dimensions of citizenship: 'rights and responsibility' and 'community involvement'. As a political comment in the margin of the discussion, it is possible to appreciate how the Conservative-led EYFS 2015 can be considered to be a continuation and expansion of the cultural project inaugurated by the New Labour government, and evidence of a shared hegemonic semantics of citizenship across the political spectrum.

The EYFS and the ancillary guidelines for early years inspections (Department for Education, 2015) demand settings to include in their planning activities that are directly relevant to the transmission of British values.

British values are presented as a valuable object to be 'transmitted' from one generation to another through a learning process led and monitored

by the adult practitioner, who accesses the role of the 'knowledgeable other' in educational interactions (Parsons & Bales, 1955). Education in British values is presented in the guidelines for early years inspectors as a core resource to equip children to acquire the 'core knowledge they need to be educated citizens', to 'develop skills and understanding to play a full part in society' (Department for Education, 2015). Underpinning education with British values is a distinction between the educated citizen of the future and the child in the present, an incumbent citizen who needs protection and education but cannot currently be trusted as a citizen. The knowledge that represents the moral foundations of citizenship is constructed and delivered by adults. Children's epistemic authority (Baraldi, 2014)—that is, their rights and their responsibilities to contribute to constructing the meaning of citizenship—is not valued, and children are included in the education in British values as the object of adult practices.

Early years settings must document and present to state inspectors how they are securing the acquisition of British values. Evidence of carefully planned activities pictorially linked to the desired learning outcomes must be shown and is assessed against standardised criteria. It is therefore possible to argue that it is not only children who are not giving a voice; also educators' epistemic status is inferior to the supreme authority of the centralised curricula. This resonates with recent research commissioned by the Professional Association for Childcare and Early Years, suggesting that practitioners across England feel that their professional identity is somehow questioned as education to British Values becomes the object of bureaucratic inspections, based on standardised learning outcomes, may detract from the focus on care, play and children's well-being that constitutes the core of early years professional identity (PACEY, 2015).

However, pedagogical planning neither prevents practitioners from devising opportunities for children to practise British values nor denies space for the voice of the child to be heard. Looking at the 'Characteristics of Effective Learning and Teaching', the pedagogical guidelines embedded in the EYFS, the best teaching practice consists of 'supporting children to think critically and become independent learners'. The (well-) developing child makes sense of the world through 'opportunities to explore, observe and find out about people, places technology and the environment' (Department for Education, 2014b).

Guidance material published by the British Association for Early Childhood Education, 'Development Matters in the Early Years Foundation Stage' (2015), emphasises the influence of child-centred pedagogies, notably the works of Montessori and the Reggio Emilia Approach on the definition of the 'Characteristics of Effective Learning and Teaching' in the EYFS. In particular, the semantics of child development presented by the EYFS, 'development is not an automatic process, but it depends on each unique child having opportunities to interact in positive relationships and enabling environments' (Department for Education, 2014a, b, c), would underpin Montessori's centrality of observation, putting the unique child at the centre, against adults' expectation and Reggio's focus on giving children the opportunity to express themselves in as many ways as possible, co-constructing enabling environments with them, rather than for them.

The EYFS would appear to acknowledge the child as an agent who makes choices relevant to their own education (for a curricular perspective on the Reggio Approach, see Siraj-Blatchford, 2008; for a sociologically informed analysis, see Baraldi, 2015). This would suggest that early years settings in England represent a favourable environment for children's experience of British values in their everyday life, enhancing the use of educational learning to learn.

However, the EYFS is a complex document, at the intersection of contrasting agendas, where the child-initiated pedagogy and the acknowledgment of the child as an agent in the present are accompanied by the indication that education in British values is to be given to the child as preparation for their future stages in life. The future citizen, not the present child, is the reference of educational planning and practice.

If the focus is enlarged from British values to the general position of early years education and care, it is possible to observed the preparatory nature of education in British values. This aligns with a trend towards the reconceptualisation of early years education and care as preparation for the following stage of life, Using the language of policy-making, early years education and care is understood as a resource to achieve 'school readiness' (Office for Standard in Education, 2014; for critical voices, see Bingham & Whitebread, 2012; O'Connor & Angus, 2013).

Under the umbrella of 'school readiness', education in British values and all aspects of early years provision are colonised by the culture of schooling, based on standardised expectations and generalised learning outcomes. Within this cultural framework, it is not surprising that in the EYFS, British values are largely provided to practitioners as a body of recommendations. This implies a top-down implementation model in which practitioners are perceived as the *implementers* (Jerome, 2016) of state-administered decision-making programmes, while their voice, as the voice of the child, is noticeable for its absence.

Government guidelines for education in British values for young children dictate educational planning—,for instance expecting settings to 'support children with material on the strengths, advantages and disadvantages of democracy, and how democracy and the law works in Britain' (Department for Education, 2014c). British values are a core component of the 'knowledge, skills and understanding which young children of different abilities and maturities are expected to have' (Department for Education, 2014b). The EYFS provides references to literature listing the social skills that provisions must impart to children (Heckman & Kautz, 2012): motivation, sociability, attention, self-regulation, self-esteem and time preference. These are evidently skills required for successful participation in school education. British values are understood and presented as an additional skill. They are therefore included in a discourse on expectations, performances, measurability and assessment, and early years provision must ensure that British values support children in being 'developed enough' for the next stage of their life, which coincides with school education.

Another important piece in this picture of a government-led, teacher-implemented, future-centred pedagogy consists in the effects of the marketisation of early years provision. Lloyd (2015) argues that the 'school colonisation' of early years provision is further enhanced by its marketisation in the aftermath of the 2006 Childcare Act. Measured by tables reporting the success of pupils in subsequent primary education, the effectiveness of early years provision in secure school readiness shows their 'quality' to families and funding bodies, within a market-driven competition for accessing scarce resources (Moss, 2009). In the framework of the 'educationalisation' of early years provision, marketisation further reduces the space for children's agency, favouring the implementation of knowledge-based predetermined learning objectives.

Missing from the picture, however, is children's experience of their social contexts in the here and now. early years provision is expected to develop children's 'skill and attitudes that *will* allow them to participate fully in and contribute positively to society' (Department for Education, 2014c). British values are future-oriented, foundations of a process of learning citizenship which is projected in the future. Early years inspectors must assess the social development of young children, measuring their 'acceptance and engagement with the British Values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect' (Department for Education, 2015). It is therefore the duty of practitioners to 'ensure that children understand their own and others' behaviour and its consequences, and learn to distinguish right from wrong', 'learn to take turns and share, and challeng[e] negative attitudes and stereotypes' to 'develop the skills that *will* enable them to positively contribute to their communities' (Department for Education, 2014c).

Moving from preschool contexts to primary and secondary education, the next section will argue that, similar to British values in early education, the status of citizenship as educational knowledge in primary and secondary schools is caught between the promotion of civic virtues and the impossibility of experimenting with them. The analysis will focus on the ENC for key stages 3 and 4 which organises objectives and assessment for secondary education in the English education system.

Such analytical choice is motivated by two concurring aspects: (1) citizenship education in key stages 1 and 2 (primary education) is not a statutory subject and (2) key stages 3 and 4 represent the last opportunity for the education system to provide citizenship education to all in a situation of compulsory comprehensive education before more specialised and/or vocational studies take over.

Citizenship Education in the ENC: A Matter of Trust

Although a review of the National Curriculum supported by the Coalition government suggested that citizenship should not retain its status as a foundation subject (Department for Education, 2011), citizenship

remains a programme of study at key stages 3 and 4 for the current curriculum (ages 11–14 and 14–16).

Citizenship education is a statutory subject in the early years curriculum, so schools must demonstrate that they provide pupils with the knowledge, skills and understanding prescribed by that curriculum, either through a discrete subject or through a range of subjects and curricular activities. An interesting point of discussion is that citizenship education is not implemented in the primary phase (key stages 1 and 2, ages 5–7 and 7–11). For these stages, a traditional permeation model, inherited from pre-2000s civic education, is still considered more appropriate. Within the framework of the permeation model, civic virtues should be passed along 'ordinary' academic subjects rather than through specifically designed provision. In the initial stages of primary education, teachers' role of modelling through class management is considered the most efficient medium for civic values (Lawton et al., 2005).

Non-statutory guidelines for citizenship in key stages 1 and 2 (Department for Education, 2015) indicates that the primary phase is still considered to be a transitional phase regarding the development of the child into the citizen. Primary citizenship provision, similar to the teaching of British values at an earlier age, is a form of moral education, combined with a gradual approach to the theme of children's rights and their involvement in the life of the school through learning activities, such as discussions of children's books or videos (Association for Citizenship Teaching, 2016).

However, when it comes to key stages 3 and 4, citizenship education becomes a specific subject that should foster pupils' 'keen awareness and understanding of democracy, government and how laws are made and upheld' (Department for Education, 2014a). The areas of learning underpinning citizenship education concern (1) the development of the political system of democratic government in the UK; (2) the nature of rules and laws and the justice system; and (3) the roles played by public institutions and voluntary groups in society and the ways in which citizens work together to improve their communities.

Even more clearly than education in British values in the EYFS, citizenship education therefore fits into the classic Marshallian tripartite model of citizenship. Its three areas of learning reproduce Marshall's categories of political literacy, rights and responsibility, and community involvement.

As is the case for British values in the EYFS, the ENC presents citizenship as the outcome of a teacher-led learning process. Citizenship is 'knowledge that pupils need to be educated citizens, providing them with skills and understanding to play a full part in society' (Department for Education, 2014a). While schools must transmit knowledge about 'liberties enjoyed by citizens of the United Kingdom', equipping pupils with 'the skills and knowledge to explore political and social issues critically', no reference is made to consideration for pupils' expectations and understanding of concepts such as rights, responsibilities, identity and community cohesion. Stating that citizenship education should 'prepare pupils to take their place in society as responsible citizens', the ENC moves within the framework of 'citizenship-as-achievement' (Lawy & Biesta, 2006), the outcome of a successful curriculum. Citizenship must be learnt and understood, echoing the Crick Report:

> Democratic institutions, practices and purposes must be understood […] showing how formal political activity relates to civil society in the context of the United Kingdom and Europe, and to cultivate awareness and concern for world affairs and global issues. (Crick, 1998, p. 40)

In line with a genuinely educational approach, citizenship is to be cultivated through study. The lived experiences of young people in society, what Lawy and Biesta (2006) define as citizenship-as-practice', are marginalised from a prescriptive concept of citizenship as young people become 'pupils' in the educational system.

It is possible to argue that the transformation of citizenship into educational knowledge via the ENC introduces a distinction between valued and not-valued knowledge, marginalising everything that falls into the latter category, including lifestyles (Hebdige, 1979, 1988), and the participation in activities and practices through which young people achieve their citizenship. It should be remembered that the ENC for key stages 3 and 4 is designed for learners who, probably more intensively than younger children, experience complex networks of relationships, playing an active and visible role in many social contexts outside the classroom. As suggested by France (1998, 2000), and by Hall and Williamson (1999), young people's practised citizenship is often misunderstood and

perceived as a community threat, leading to increased surveillance and mutual distrust. This point substantiates Smith et al.'s argument that the assumption that young people need education to develop their citizenship is not based on concepts of citizenship but on how youth is perceived (Smith, Lister, Middleton, & Cox, 2005)

In the ENC, citizenship is understood to be a desirable 'outcome', and schools are *manufacturers of citizens*. As Bernard Crick put it, 'the aim of Citizenship education is to create active and responsible citizens' (Crick, 2000, p. 67): citizenship is presented (and assessed) as a status to be achieved. In this way, it becomes the object of educational planning, teaching and assessment. However, and for the same reason, citizenship is knowledge that cannot be used for further learning because young people have limited agency in the education system.

Evidence offered by a long tradition of sociological research on education suggests that children and young people experience a situation of limited agency in the education system because education is interested in standardised role performances rather than agency (Farini, 2011; Mehan, 1979; Parsons & Bales, 1955; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Vanderstraeten, 2004; Walsh, 2011).

However, the concept of agency can enhance an understanding of the paradoxical semantics of education underpinning the ENC. Agency can be observed in the availability of choices of action, and the agent's ability to exercise a personal judgement and to choose accordingly (Baraldi, 2014, 2015; Bjerke, 2011; James, 2009; James & James, 2008; Percy-Smith, 2010).

While Marshallian concepts of citizenship based on literacy, engagement and responsibility link citizenship to agency, the curricular language of citizenship education in the ENC indicates that agency, in terms of full active citizenship, is awarded on successful participation in education, which implies a situation of limited agency. It seems clear that the intention is to develop a curriculum based on historical knowledge of law, representation, democracy and citizenship (Larkin, 2001), but how pupils can learn to be active citizens in a context where they are recognised as having limited agency is rather unclear.

Tilly's idea that inequality becomes embedded in any organizational structure (1998) can help the discussion on the relationship between

education and citizenship in the ENC and the limited agency of the learners in the education system.

Tilly argues that certain kinds of social structural relation are solutions to problems generated within social systems—for instance, the problem of trust. Educational interaction creates categorical forms of inequality, among pupils and between pupils and teachers. Such inequalities are both a structural feature of the educational relationships and an expected output of the system. Organisationally installed categorical inequality supports the decision-maker in the risky choice between according trust or not. Here, Tilly advances a claim regarding the effects of categorical inequality on the stability of organisational relationships: the former stabilises the latter. Institutional distrust may be understood as a consequence of the operations through which educational organisations reproduce themselves. For educational organisations, institutional distrust in the pupils frees resources for the attainment of predetermined curricular goals—for instance, by excluding pupil-led activities, or by marginalising non-curricular knowledge and skills. However, the construction of categorical inequalities in education activates a vicious circle between institutionalised distrust and marginalisation (Luhmann, 1988). While trust enlarges the range of possible actions in a social system, distrust restricts this range in that it requires additional premises for social relationships, which protect interactants from a disappointment that is considered to be highly probable. When distrust in pupils is established as a structure of the education system, their ability to practise citizenship is limited, and marginalisation can be understood as a limitation of children and young people's agency in the education system, mirroring their status of 'not yet-citizen' in society.

Taylor's historical account of the conceptualisations of human value (Taylor, 1989) can further enrich the argument. According to him, the transition from feudal societies to modernity is characterised by a transformation in the semantics of human value, which becomes linked not to honour but to dignity. Different from honour, dignity is taken to be both the possession of and what is owed to each and every individual, regardless of the conditions of their birth.

However, human value as a structural form does not disappear with modernity. Taylor observes that to differentiate between grades of human

value, the universal and inclusive principle of dignity is coupled with the selective and exclusive principle of 'level of development', which is measured according to criteria such as separateness from others, self-governance, and independence from the claims, wishes and command of others.

Such coupling becomes the catalyst for a semantics of categorical distinctions: development is associated with general historical movement (savages against civilised), gender (female against male), ethnicity (black people against white people, white people of the South against white people of the North) and age (child against adult). The coupling between the inclusive principle of dignity and the exclusive principle of development is still accepted in the public discourse only regarding generational order, generating social semantics. An example consists of the coupling between dignity and children's unpreparedness for citizenship (Grant & Portera, 2011; Herrlitz & Maier, 2005). Dignity generates the inclusion of children in universal rights connected to the condition of human beings. Citizenship generates exclusive and conditional rights that depend on the status of the citizen, which is an attribute of adulthood (Mattheis, 2012). Children and young people are positioned at the centre of the paradoxical coupling between dignity and citizenship.

Conclusion

The overarching argument of this contribution is that British values in the EYFS and citizenship in the ENC are paradoxical forms of educational knowledge. As educational knowledge, British values and citizenship are expected to create the conditions for further learning (Baraldi & Corsi, 2016). However, while young children learn about British values, and older children learn about citizenship, they have limited opportunities to experience, test and assess the learned knowledge owing to limited agency in the education system.

Learning from learning is prevented because British values and citizenship cannot be applied and experienced: children's expectations based on knowledge acquired cannot be verified, and reflection on what has been done to gauge what else could be done is not possible (Baraldi & Corsi, 2016).

The EYFS expects young children to receive from adults the knowledge that fundamental values of British identity include democracy and individual liberty, and to learn that democracy and liberty need participation and involvement in the life of the community (the value 'democracy, for instance, is eloquently qualified as 'making decisions together'). The ENC expects adolescents in secondary schools to receive from adults the knowledge that citizenship is weakened and democracy deteriorates if citizens do not participate by actively taking responsibility for decisions that affect the community. However, it can be argued that an active and responsible contribution to the life of the community, including school communities, is possible only in situations of trust, whereas children and young people in the education system are considered to be citizens-in-progress, lacking the maturity needed to be trusted as responsible participants in the education system.

The paradoxical condition of British values and citizenship is solved in the EYFS and the ENC by conceptualising British values and citizenship as knowledge to be learned in the present but experienced in the future, and outside the education system.

What this contribution does not contest is that educational curricula have the potential to teach values and include children's and young people's experience of citizenship-as-practice. The key is a pedagogy allowing children and young people to develop the skills needed to apply educational knowledge. This requires children's agency to be produced in the education system from a young age, and trust to replace distrust as a structural component of communication.

From their initial steps in the educational system, children are introduced by the EYFS to the moral contract between the individual and the British nation state. British values can be considered to be the moral foundations of such contractual obligations, which will be further articulated through subsequent citizenship education. However, the same British values cannot be applied and experienced because children are considered too immature and naïve to make responsible decisions.

A theoretical framework for a citizenship pedagogy combining transmission of knowledge and creation of the conditions for the application of knowledge to education for citizenship is perhaps offered by studies in

the area of *cosmopolitan citizenship* (Osler, 2011; Osler & Starkey, 2006). This is underpinned by the idea that children, as much as young people, are citizens not moving *to* but *through* citizenship. Indeed, this approach makes no distinction between what might otherwise be regarded as a differential status between adults as citizens and children as not-yet-citizens, whose agency is limited by institutionalised distrust, in the education system as well as in other social contexts.

Conceptualising citizenship as an ongoing practice involves a fundamental change to the way citizenship education is conceived and articulated, transferring emphasis from questions about manufacturing citizens through educational technologies to the investigation of the complexity of children and young people's experiences of citizenship, and how they perceive themselves as citizens in the present.

References

Angers, J., & Machtmes, K. L. (2005). An ethnographic-case study of beliefs, context factors, and practices of teachers integrating technology. *The Qualitative Report*, *10*(4), 771–794. Available at: http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol10/iss4/8. Accessed 12 Feb 2017.

Association for Citizenship Teaching. (2016). *Citizenship national curriculum, guidance for schools*. Available at: https://www.teachingcitizenship.org.uk/about-citizenship/citizenship-national-curriculum-2014-guidance. Accessed 8 Jan 2018.

Atkinson, P. A., & Coffey, A. (2004). Analysing documentary realities. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative research: Theory, method and practice* (pp. 56–75). London: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446282243.n25.

Baraldi, C. (2014). Children's participation in communication systems: A theoretical perspective to shape research. *Soul of Society: A Focus on the Lives of Children and Youth,* *18*(18), 63–92. https://doi.org/10.1108/S1537-46612014000018014.

Baraldi, C. (2015). Promotion of migrant Children's epistemic status and authority in early school life. *International Journal of Early Childhood, 47*(1), 5–25. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13158-014-0116-7.

Baraldi, C., & Corsi, G. (2016). *Niklas Luhmann. Education as a social system*. London: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-49975-8_3.

Batho, G. (1990). The history of the teaching of civics and citizenship in English schools. *Curriculum Journal, 1*(1), 91–100. https://doi.org/10.1080/0958517900010110.

Biesta, G., & Lawy, R. (2006). From teaching citizenship to learning democracy: Overcoming individualism in research, policy and practice. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 36*(1), 63–79. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6091-512-3_1.

Bingham, S., & Whitebread, D. (2012). *School readiness. A critical review of perspectives and evidence*. London: TACTYC.

Bjerke, H. (2011). It's the way to do it. Expressions of agency in child-adult relations at home and school. *Children & Society, 25*(2), 93–103. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2009.00266.x.

Blacker, D. (2000). The institutional autonomy of education. *Journal of Philosophy of Education, 34*(2), 229–246. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9752.00170.

Board of Education. (1923). *Report on the teaching of history*. London: H.M. Stationery Office.

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal, 9*(2), 27–40. https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027.

British Association for Early Childhood. (2015). *Fundamental British values in the EYFS*. Available at: http://www.foundationyears.org.uk/files/2015/03/Fundamental_British_Values.pdf. Last accessed on 24 June 2017.

Burton, D., & May, S. (2015). Citizenship education in secondary schools in England. *Educationalfutures, 1*(7). Available at: http://educationstudies.org.uk/?p=3690. Last accessed 27 August 2017.

Cockburn, T. (2013). *Rethinking children's citizenship*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137292070.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452230153.

Crick, B. (1998). *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools. Final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship*. London: Qualification and Curriculum Authority. Available at: http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/4385/1/crick-report1998.pdf. Last accessed 7 Jan 2018.

Crick, B. (2000). The citizenship order for schools'. In N. Pearce & J. Hallogarten (Eds.), *Tomorrow's citizens. Critical debates in citizenship and education* (pp. 77–83). London: Institute for Public Policy Research. https://doi.org/10.1093/parlij/55.3.488.

Department for Education. (2011). *The framework for the national curriculum. A report by the expert panel for the national curriculum review*. London: Department for Education.

Department for Education. (2014a). *The national curriculum in England: Key stages 3 and 4 framework document*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-secondary-curriculum. Accessed 12 Feb 2017.

Department for Education. (2014b). *Statutory framework for the early years foundation stage: Setting the standards for learning, development and care for children from birth to five*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/early-years-foundation-stage-framework--2. Accessed 12 Feb 2017.

Department for Education. (2014c). *Promoting British values as part of SMSC*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/380595/SMSC_Guidance_Maintained_Schools.pdf. Accessed 12 Feb 2017.

Department for Education. (2015). *Inspecting registered early years providers: Guidance for inspectors.* Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/early-years-inspection-handbook-from-september-2015.   Accessed 12 Feb 2017.

Etzioni, A. (Ed.). (1995). *New communitarian thinking: Persons, virtues, institutions, and communities*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Farini, F. (2011). Cultures of education in action: Research on the relationship between interaction and cultural presuppositions regarding education in an international educational setting. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*, 2176–2186. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2011.02.001.

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5*(1), 80–92. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500107.

France, A. (1998). 'Why should we care?': Young people, citizenship and questions of social responsibility. *Journal of Youth Studies, 1*(1), 97–111. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.1998.10592997.

France, A. (2000). Towards a sociological understanding of youth and their risk-taking. *Journal of Youth Studies, 3*(3), 317–331. https://doi.org/10.1080/713684380.

Grant, C. A. (2011). In A. Portera (Ed.), *Intercultural and multicultural education. Enhancing global interconnectedness*. London/New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203848586.

Hall, T., & Williamson, H. (1999). *Citizenship and community*. Leicester: Youth Work Press.

Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203139943.

Hebdige, D. (1988). *Hiding in the light: On images and things*. New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203358863.

Heckman, J. J., & Kautz, T. (2012). Hard evidence on soft skills. *Labour Economics, 19*(4), 451–464. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.labeco.2012.05.014.

Herrlitz, W. (2005). In R. Maier (Ed.), *Dialogue in and around multicultural schools*. Tubingen: Niemeyer. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110933215.

Hodgson, N. (2008). Citizenship education, policy, and the educationalization of educational research. *Educational Theory, 58*(4), 417–434. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5446.2008.00297.x.

Home Office. (2011). *Prevent strategy review*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97976/prevent-strategy-review.pdf. Accessed 23 June 2017.

James, A. (2009). Agency. In J. Qvortrup, G. Valentine, W. Corsaro, & M. S. Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of childhood studies* (pp. 34–45). Basingstoke: Palgrave. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-230-27468-6.

James, A., & James, A. (2008). Childhood studies. In A. James & A. James (Eds.), *Key concepts in childhood studies*. London: Sage. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781526435613.n9

Jerome, L. (2016). Interpreting Children's Rights Education (CRE): Three perspectives and three roles for teachers. *Citizenship, Social and Economic Education, 15*(2), 143–156. https://doi.org/10.1177/2047173416683425.

Jerome, L., & Clemitshaw, G. (2012). Teaching (about) Britishness? An investigation into trainee teachers' understanding of Britishness in relation to citizenship and the discourse of civic nationalism. *The Curriculum Journal, 23*(1), 19–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585176.2012.650468.

Kymlicka, W. (2008). Education for citizenship. In J. Arthur & I. Davies (Eds.), *Citizenship education* (pp. 128–150). London: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849200486.

Kymlicka, W., & Norman, W. (1994). Return of the citizen: A survey of recent work on citizenship theory. *Ethics, 104*(2), 352–381. https://doi.org/10.1086/293605.

Labuschagne, A. (2003). Qualitative research. Airy fairy or fundamental? *The Qualitative Report, 8*(1), 100–103. Available at: http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol8/iss1/7. Accessed 23 June 2017.

Larkin, C. (2001). *Citizenship education or crowd control? The Crick Report and the role of peace education and conflict resolution in the new citizenship curricu-*

lum (Working paper). University of Bradford. Available at: http://www.brad. ac.uk/acad/confres/assets/ccr9.pdf. Accessed 12 Feb 2017.

Lawton, D., Cairns, J., & Gardner, R. (2005). *Education for citizenship*. London: Continuum. https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197911432594.

Lawy, R., & Biesta, G. (2006). Citizenship-as-practice: The educational implications of an inclusive and relational understanding of citizenship. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 54*(1), 34–50. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8527.2006.00335.x.

Lloyd, E. (2015). Early childhood education and care policy in England under the Coalition Government. *London Review of Education, 13*(2), 144–156. https://doi.org/10.18546/LRE.13.2.12.

Luhmann, N. (1988). Familiarity, confidence, trust: Problems and alternatives. In D. Gambetta (Ed.), *Trust: Making and breaking cooperative relations* (pp. 94–107). Oxford: University of Oxford.

Madeley, H. M. (1920). *History as a school of citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mattheis, C. (2012). The system theory of Niklas Luhmann and the constitutionalization of the world society. *Goettingen Journal of International Law, 4*(2), 625–647. https://doi.org/10.3249/1868-1581-4-2-mattheis.

Mehan, H. (1979). *Learning lessons*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674420106.

Meleady, C. (2015). The EYFS paves the way for British values. *Nursery World.* Available at: http://www.nurseryworld.co.uk/nursery-world/opinion/1147445/eyfs-paves-british-values. Accessed 23 June 2017.

Miller, D. (2000). Citizenship: What does it mean and why is it important? In N. Pearce & J. Hallgarten (Eds.), *Tomorrow's citizens. Critical debates in citizenship and education* (pp. 26–35). London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Ministry of Education. (1938). *Secondary education with special* reference *to grammar schools and technical high schools* (The Spens report). London: HM Stationery Office

Ministry of Education. (1943). *Educational reconstruction* (The Norwood report). London: HM Stationary Office.

Ministry of Education. (1949). *Citizens growing up: At home, in school and after*. London: HM Stationary Office.

Moss, P. (2009). *There are alternatives! Markets and democratic experimentalism in early childhood education and care*. The Hague: Bernard Van Leer Foundation. Available at: http://eprints.ioe.ac.uk/5608/1/There_are_alternatives_

Markets_and_democratic_experimentalism_in_early_childhood_
education_and_care.pdf. Accessed 23 June 2017.

O'Connor, D., & Angus, J. (2013). Give them time – An analysis of school
readiness in Ireland's early education system. *Education 3–13: International
Journal of Primary, Elementary and Early Years Education*, 1–10. https://doi.
org/10.1080/03004279.2012.723726.

O'Sullivan, F. W. (2014). *Citizenship education: An Investigation of Crick's model
and citizenship coordinators' perceptions of the subject's purpose*. Worcester: The
University of Worcester. Available at: http://eprints.glos.ac.
uk/2130/1/O%27Sullivan_William%20Fergus_PhD%202015.pdf.
Accessed 01 Sept 2017.

Office for Standard in Education. (2014). *Are you ready? Good practices in school
readiness*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/
uploads/attachment_data/file/418819/Are_you_ready_Good_practice_in_
school_readiness.pdf. Accessed 12 Feb 2017.

Olssen, M. (2004). From the Crick Report to the Parekh Report: Multiculturalism,
cultural difference, and democracy – the re-visioning of citizenship educa-
tion. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 25*(2), 179–192. https://doi.org
/10.1080/0142569042000205127.

Osler, A. (2000). The Crick Report: Difference, equality and racial justice.
Curriculum Journal, 11(1), 25–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/095851700
361375.

Osler, A. (2011). Teacher interpretations of citizenship education: National
identity, cosmopolitan ideals, and political realities. *Journal of Curriculum
Studies, 43*(1), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220272.2010.503245.

Osler, O., & Starkey, H. (2006). Education for democratic citizenship: A review
of research, policy and practice during 1995–2005. *Research Papers in
Education, 21*(4), 433–466. https://doi.org/10.1080/02671520600942438.

PACEY (Professional Association for Childcare and Early Years). (2015). *Better
inspections for all*. Available at: https://www.pacey.org.uk/Pacey/media/Imported
Files/pdf/Better%20inspection%20for%20all%20-%20PACEY%20
consultation%20response%20FINAL.pdf. Accessed 24 June 2017.

Parsons, T., & Bales, R. F. (1955). *Family, socialization and interaction process*.
Glencoe: Free Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315824307.

Percy-Smith, B. (2010). Councils, consultation and community: Rethinking
the spaces for children and young people's participation. *Children's Geographies,
8*(2), 107–122. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733281003691368.

Pykett, J. (2007). Making citizens governable? The Crick Report as governmen-
tal technology. *Journal of Education Policy, 22*(3), 301–319. https://doi.
org/10.1080/02680930701269202.

Rapley, T. (2007). *Doing conversation, discourse and document analysis*. London: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208901.

Scollan, A., & Gallagher, B. (2016). Personal and socio-emotional development and technology. In L. Kaye (Ed.), *Young children in a digital age* (pp. 113–133). London: Routledge.

Sinclair, J., & Coulthard, M. (1975). *Towards an analysis of discourse. The English used by teachers and pupils*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Siraj-Blatchford, I. (2008). Understanding the relationship between curriculum, pedagogy and progression in learning in early childhood. *Hong Kong Journal of Early Childhood Education*, *7*(2), 3–13. Available at: http://libdr1.ied.edu. hk/pubdata/img00/arch00/link/archive/1/instarh/2051_image_vol7_no2_ p1_68.pdf. Accessed 1 Sept 2017.

Smith, N., Lister, R., Middleton, S., & Cox, L. (2005). Young people as real citizens: Towards an inclusionary understanding of citizenship. *Journal of Youth Studies, 8*(4), 425–443. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260500431743.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Taylor, C. (1989). *Sources of the self: The making of the modern identity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

The Guardian. (2014, August 8). *Childcare experts dismayed by plans to cut funding for childcare that does not promote 'British values'*. Available at: https:// www.theguardian.com/education/2014/aug/08/childcare-funding-british- values-early-years-education. Accessed 12 Feb 2017.

Tilly, C. (1998). *Durable inequality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tomlinson, S. (2005). Race, ethnicity and education under New Labour. *Oxford Review of Education, 31*(1), 153–171. https://doi.org/10.1080/0305498042 000337246.

Vanderstraeten, R. (2003). Education and society: A plea for a historicized approach. *Journal of Philosophy of Education, 38*(2), 195–206. https://doi. org/10.1111/j.0309-8249.2004.00375.x.

Vanderstraeten, R. (2004). The social differentiation of the educational system. *Sociology, 38*(2), 255–272. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038504040863.

Vanderstraeten, R. (2006). The historical triangulation of education, politics and economy. *Sociology, 40*(1), 125–142. https://doi.org/10.1177/ 0038038506058432.

Walsh, S. (2011). *Exploring classroom discourse: Language in action*. New York/ London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203827826.

Weick, K. E. (1979). *The social psychology of organizing*. New York: McGraw Hill.

10

Heteropolitical Pedagogies: Citizenship and Childhood—Commoning Education in Contemporary Greece

Yannis Pechtelidis

Introduction

In crisis-ridden Greece a shift can be observed where young people are interested in a move from private and public ownership to the common ownership of social resources, such as knowledge and education. Several people seek to manage collective resources with some independence from the state and the markets, promoting civic self-organisation and community across differences (Dardot & Laval, 2014; Hardt & Negri, 2012; Ostrom, 1990). People, especially the young, are looking for a different political ethics, or 'heteropolitics' (Kioupkiolis & Pechtelidis, 2017; Pechtelidis, 2016a), in response to social exclusion, unemployment and underemployment, state violence, and the crisis of politics and democracy. In this context, various social and cultural spaces have been emerging in Greece aiming for a more participatory education and citizenship.

In this chapter the focus is on the intergenerational process of commoning education, looking at two examples: a public elementary school

Y. Pechtelidis (✉)
University of Thessaly, Volos, Greece

(Fourfouras, The school of Nature and Colors, with children aged 6–12) and an independent pedagogical community (Sprogs), run by its members (parents, teachers and children), which enables us to understand the emergent logic of the commons in contemporary Greek education. A core group of two preschool teachers and around 14 parents and ten children (aged 2.5 to 5) were fully engaged in Sprogs, which started its operation in 2013 and finished in 2017. In Fourfouras the process of commoning education started from 2010 and continues to the present. In the beginning there were four teachers for the whole school. Today there are seven. With anonymity in mind, the name 'Sprogs' is fictitious. However, Fourfouras' real name is retained because its activity is known in Greece.

The analysis draws on empirical data collected from a variety of sources, such as participant observation, conversations with teachers and parents, blogs and internet sites of the school and the pedagogical community, various internet posts, videos and radio broadcasts, flyers and a teacher's autobiographical book about Fourfouras. Specifically, members of the Lab of Sociology of Education, which I direct, participated in the procedures of the numerous events held by Sprogs and were involved in many relevant discussions. Also, this study is something of a follow-up to a small-scale research project that we conducted in 2015 (Pechtelidis, Kioupkiolis, & Damopoulou, 2015). Regarding Fourfouras, we conducted a short-term participant observation in 2016. Moreover, a seminar about heterotopic pedagogical orientations was organised by the lab and took place on the premises of the University of Thessaly (15 April 2016), where teachers from Fourfouras, Sprogs and other alternative pedagogical communities presented various activities from their schools and their reflections about them. Furthermore, important material recorded in videos and sites (https://fourfourasweb.wordpress.com/) where the children share their thoughts and present their actions they have undertaken was used in this study.

My intention is to make the special lived experience of the people involved (the commoners) evident. Thus I seek to briefly describe rituals, practices and mentalities produced within these alternative educational social spaces, and to provide an understanding on how alternative children's subjectivities and citizenship come into being. I consider all these

practices as heteropolitical attempts to build spaces up for being and becoming in the here and now. The aim is to critically discuss both their dynamics and their limitations; their similarities and differences; and subsequently their consequences for the participants (children, parents and teachers) and society.

In this context I shall try to critically discuss the contributions of the pedagogical social realities of the study to the empowerment of children's status, and critically reflect on the embodied subjective features that are produced within these alternative sites. It is worth mentioning that I am especially interested in the intergenerational construction of citizenship, and production of a heteropolitical habitus within these particular heterotopic pedagogical and educational communities and collective groups. In this scope, I intend to bring out dominant beliefs and ideas about children's political ability, and their right to participate in public life on their own terms. Policy-making and politics are often alienated from children's views and ways of expressing opinions and participation in public life (Cockburn, 2010). Therefore such understandings are important to the empowerment of children's status and to foster their participation because this can have positive effects, such as leading to improved well-being and social inclusion. In doing this I draw from the theory of the 'new commons' (Bollier, 2014; Bollier & Helfrich, 2012; Dardot & Laval, 2014; Hardt & Negri, 2012; Ostrom, 1990), heterotopian and heteropolitical studies, the sociology of childhood, the sociology of education, the sociology of generation and Jacques Rancière's emancipation theory.

The subsequent analysis will put forward the following claims:

1. The pedagogical cases of Sprogs and Fourfouras are perceived as heteropolitical (Kioupkiolis & Pechtelidis, 2017) endeavours in the sense that they develop a process of 'commoning education', which constructs alternative learning spaces and fosters experiments in thought and action beyond the dominant neoliberal order and the logics of top-down state power and profit-driven markets.
2. They engender a political activity, which is not focused on the formal political system.
3. The collective action on social structures and subjectivities ('the political') is part of the ordinary, face-to-face interactions and attempts at 'coping' with everyday problems.

4. The political activity takes place on every scale of social life in more or less institutionalised social spaces.
5. At the heart of the settings being studied, plurality and confluence, disruptions of normality and the making of alternative normalities are joined together.

Pedagogical Heterotopias, Heteropolitics and Subjectivity

Drawing from Michel Foucault (1986), we could consider Sprogs and Fourfouras public school as heterotopias—that is, as physical, social and symbolic spaces of otherness (Heynen, 2008; Pechtelidis, 2016a). They are heterotopias and not utopias because they are real places—places that exist and that are formed within a society and a culture. Foucault (1986) argues that utopias are sites with no real space, having a relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society. These unreal spaces portray either a perfect society or a society turned upside-down. In contrast, heterotopias do not lead to a promised land because the struggle against domination and exploitation is relentless. Heterotopia is not a place we might reach but an ongoing process of becoming. It is worth mentioning that heterotopian experiments share a point of departure rather than a place of arrival. Foucault (1986) said that each heterotopia has a precise and determined operation within a specific social and historic formation. Thus it would be interesting to investigate how the heterotopias of the Sprogs, and Fourfouras operate within Greek society. It is important to see how they function in direct relation to a particular material reality, which consists of everyday issues, problems and contradictions. Therefore the main purpose of this chapter is to explore the dynamics and limitations of these spaces and the subjectivities that are crafted there.

Subjectivity is the main field of the struggle between hegemonic and non-hegemonic discourses in contemporary societies. In a seminar in 1984, Felix Guattari claimed that the crisis cutting through capitalism from the beginning of the 1970s in the West is above all a crisis of the

production of subjectivity (Lazzarato, 2014). The production of the subject is the most significant of all the productions of capitalism. Political economy is nothing more than a 'subjective economy'. Contemporary capitalism—that is, neoliberalism—proposes and imposes certain forms of subjectivity via the articulation of economic, technological and social practices and discourses. What subjects could become stands as the political, ethical, social and philosophical problem of today (Foucault, 1984). Foucault (1984, p. 42) suggested a transgressed critical style of thinking, or a 'limit attitude', to problematise the subjects' identities as social and historical products, and therefore to challenge existing ways of being and doing. Following Foucault (1986), we can examine whether the pedagogical sites that run through this study attempt to experiment in transcending and redefining the limits of childhood, education, pedagogy and citizenship.

With regard to the cases used in this study, the questions that arise are the following: Which are the pedagogical and educational conditions for a political and existential rupture with the hegemonic forms of subjectivity? What are the special tools for the production of a heteropolitical form of subjectivity and citizenship? How can the commons of education limit exclusions and power asymmetries?

Commoning Education

In light of the new commons theory (Bollier, 2014; Dardot & Laval, 2014; Hardt & Negri, 2012; Ostrom, 1990), we can argue that both Sprogs and Fourfouras are underpinned by the commons heteropolitical ethics and logic, despite their differences. Specifically, they share a common resource: education. The 'common' is interpreted here (for both cases) as a heteropolitical process of 'commoning' education (Means, Ford, & Slater, 2017), which I describe below. However, Sprogs is a typical or classic form of small-scale common. For Fourfouras, on the other hand, it could be claimed that it is a different kind of commons because the commons' ethics is developed inside a public school and in accordance with a specific official curriculum and strict state requirements.

Commons are various forms of collective ownership that have been established by different communities to ensure the survival and prosperity of each of their members. Whether they are material, such as land and water, or immaterial, such as education and knowledge, the commoners tend to form a web that connects all individuals into a network of social cooperation and interdependence. The existence of the commons presupposes and promotes the self-organisation of the communities and the rational management of their common resources (Ostrom, 1990). The commons' structure consists of three interrelated main parts: (1) common resources; (2) institutions (i.e. communing practices and rules); and (3) the communities or the commoners who are involved in the production and reproduction of commons (Bollier & Helfrich, 2012, p. 3). Hess and Ostrom (2011, p. 10) said: 'The analysis of any type of commons must involve the rules, decisions, and behaviours people make in groups in relation to their shared resource.' As we shall see below, the commons have limits, rules, social norms and sanctions determined by the commoners (i.e. the members of the community). In our cases, the children are considered to be commoners because they partly influence the formation of the communing practices and rules, mainly through their involvement in the assembly or the council. Also, they follow these rules and are subjected to the sanctions of the community to which they belong. From this perspective I shall try to illuminate this particular alternative logic of 'common education' through the specific description of the social organisation of space and time in the schools under study, and the process of citizenship that takes place there.

Time and Space

Everyday life is organised around 'time' and 'space'. According to Durkheim (2008), space and time are socially organised and are the basic axis of social life. Subjectivity is inevitably engendered within social space and time. In the heterotopic pedagogical social settings of the study, space and time are organised in a non-conventional way to produce a heteropolitical habitus. Specifically, both schools' buildings are located in the countryside. Sprogs is located in a seaside village in middle Greece;

Fourfouras is on the island of Crete island in the mountainous part of Rethimno. Fourfouras is a public elementary school so specific standards exist and rules regulate the its everyday life, the curriculum, the architecture, and the arrangement of space and time, which are imposed by the state through the Ministry of Education, Research, and Religious Affairs. However, the teachers at the school have expressed great will to change the layout of the classrooms in order to adapt them to their pedagogical demands and the children's needs. They used to say: 'classrooms' transformation will be finished when the school desks and chairs will look out of place' (Patsias, 2016, p. 55). The idea was that the same place could be used not only as a classroom but also as a workshop, or even as a place of relaxation; and additionally it should be reminiscent of a children's playroom. Moreover, the teachers turned an old storage room into a kitchen; and they built a learning space outdoors. They said that they initially arranged the outside classroom according to the official disciplinary frontal logics; however, after a while they were forced to conduct lessons everywhere they could, under a big tree, inside a church, in the hen house, in a flowerbed and so forth because the weather destroyed he building. Owing to this misfortune they realised that teaching and learning could be conducted everywhere (Patsias, 2016, p. 62). Furthermore, the teachers decided to replace the school chairs with big puffed balls. The children became excited, but the region's school council visited the school and made strict recommendations to the teachers to bring back the chairs and remove the balls. Nevertheless, the council provoked the aggressive reaction of the parents and the local community in general. Thus the balls have remained (ibid.).

Similar to Fourfouras, at Sprogs, children and adults feel free to build a social setting fitting their specific needs and interests. However, Sprogs is an independent pedagogical site for early childhood run by the members of a collective group, and therefore there are no official (state or private) standards about the space and time. Thus the participants on both the individual and the collective levels organise the space and the time on their own terms. Specifically, they follow their own time and space routines, even though there are some common standards or rules regulating the everyday life of the community. Precisely, the duration of a school day is quite limited and flexible. Arrival time is from 9:00 to

10:00 a.m. and end time is up to 14:30 p.m. Breakfast is served in the kitchen until 11:00 a.m. and assembly is called at around midday. Lunch usually starts at 13:00 p.m. (depending on the children's appetite). It could be said that this routine is fixed, but participation in it is optional. Also, for the rest of the day each participant is free to decide what to do and where to be. In a sense, even though there is a routine and a common time regulation for everyone, participants are free to experience these differently.

Time is interwoven with space. Specifically, the children can make use of the whole place to satisfy their own needs and interests. The place is familiar to them; they know every room of the building in detail and feel free to use every object, knowing that they belong to all the members of the group. When they want to go outside to play, walk, run, reflect and so on, they just do it. They do not have to ask an adult for permission. There are no prohibited areas for the children: the whole place is fully accessible to them at any time of the day. In that way, both children and adults perceive the school setting in very positive terms: the school feels like home.

According to a preschool teacher at this social site, the primary idea was the creation of a pedagogical environment where children, teachers and parents feel free. This does not mean that they do not have rules regulating their behaviour. Indeed, they follow rules, which are the result of their co-decision in the assembly, as we shall see below.

On the whole, everyone has access to all the sites of the community at any time. Furthermore, all members have the right to co-configure and reinscribe the limits and usage of space and time. In this way, space and time are not considered to be static, fully predictable and controllable. Instead, they are contingent. They are not predetermined disciplinary tools imposed by the state, and the financial and economic power of the market.

The official school environment embodies particular values and hierarchies, and it attempts to ideologically discipline children according to specific political and economic criteria. It usually excludes children from the decision-making process and the formation of the rules of the school community. However, what becomes evident from the findings of this research is that children reflect on the issues of their school everyday life

and react accordingly. Children, together with their teachers and parents, reclaim social space and time, and declare the need for an active engagement in the educational social settings. The active participation of the children in them perhaps causes confusion about the role and participation of young children in public life. This confusion arose from inevitable uncertainty around the nature of 'childhood' and the shift of power between children and adults. As we shall see in the next section, the children's assembly and council, and their contribution to the formulation of the rules of these communities, are evidence of such a shift.

Heteropolitical Citizenship

'Citizenship' in the field of education and more widely has been on the political and civic organisations' agenda (Isin & Wood, 1999) in the decade since 2007. Traditionally, it relates to the relation between the individual and the state, defining citizens' legal rights and obligations (Marshall, 1950). The last two decades, citizenship has ceased to concern the development of formal knowledge of rights and duties and instead focuses on the various aspects of the formation of identity in political, cultural and economic life (Birzea, 2005).

In educational research and policy there is an ongoing discussion about the contribution of education to democratic citizenship (Biesta, 2011; Callan, 1997; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). This research emerges from different disciplines. Some approaches stress the juridical dimension of the relation between citizenship and education, and also the top-down relationship between the individual and the state (Feinberg & McDonough, 2003; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000). Other research focuses on the notion of citizenship as constituted by individuals and groups in their daily life in schools and elsewhere (Olson, Fejes, Dahlstedt, & Nicoll, 2014). A substantial body of research tends to focus on these two dimensions, assessing the influence of educational practices on knowledge, and dispositions necessary for good citizenship (Davies, 2010; Olson et al., 2014).

Much of this work considers the role of education in the preparation of young people and children for citizenship (Cockburn, 2013).

Recognising people as citizens is emphasised in Greek education policy. Considering citizenship education in Greece, there is a gap between its proclaimed aims and actual educational results (Makrinioti, 2012, pp. 56–57). Although citizenship education declares critical thinking and public engagement, in reality it channels pupils into predetermined and thus controllable social and political roles. Citizenship education in schools promotes specific moral responsibilities that precisely delineate what citizens should (or should not) do in the field of social interaction. However, the citizen's right to criticise, to protest, to change or to subvert bad laws and unfair policies is not mentioned (ibid., p. 57). In this way the pupils' preparation for public life is more or less a spoof because in practice it sidelines any participation of young people in public life. What's more, it produces an individualistic, apolitical version of the political (Cunningham & Lavalette, 2004).

Citizenship practice is still considered to be the result of specific educational trajectories. Focusing on what is not attained yet by the pupils neglects their existing activities as citizens in the present (Olson et al., 2014). Children are represented as incomplete social beings, as future adult citizens and thus as individuals without a present. Therefore they will only fully attain their social and political nature through a predefined socialising course. In this sense, it is vital to investigate and reconsider youth's and children's views about citizenship, as well as their citizenship activity and their potential for social change (Cockburn, 2010, 2013; Pechtelidis, 2016b; Percy-Smith, 2016; Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010).

Using the notion of 'subjectification' instead of 'socialisation' (Biesta, 2011) enables us to conceptualise children (and adults) as agents. 'Subjectification' is the opposite of 'socialisation' and 'identification' because it does not place children in a predetermined position and role (Bath & Karlsson, 2016; Biesta, 2011). In this sense it challenges the conventional connections between education, citizenship and democracy (Biesta, 2011) because it contests the notion that 'political subjectivities can be and have to be fully formed before democracy can take off [...] A democratic citizen is not a pre-defined identity that can simply be taught and learned, but emerges again and again in new ways from engagement with the experiment of democratic politics' (Biesta, 2011, p. 152).

In particular, within the pedagogical settings of the study, the children are not socialised into a predetermined citizenship identity. Specifically, they enact an autonomous subjectivity through their direct involvement in the assembly or the council of the group, unconditional play and the expression of solidarity. For instance, at Sprogs the assembly has a core role in the workings and everyday life of the group. Teachers and parents equally and horizontally participate in the decision-making process. Decisions are the result of discussion and full agreement among the participants. Necessary tasks, such as cleaning and cooking, are equally distributed between all members. In the same vein, the children's assembly is established. It is called daily by the teachers, between 11:30 a.m. and midday, as long as there are issues to be settled. Children are not obliged to participate in the workings of the assembly, but whoever decides to participate has to respect its alternative rules. For example, children must be quiet and ask for permission when they want to say something. Two children are delegated as the coordinators of the procedure by their teachers. It was observed that this handling gradually reduced the adults' influence and helped children to effectively control their consultation. The children assembly's agenda consists of a range of topics and issues. A favourite topic of the children is the excursions of the team, such as a visit to a museum, free play, a picnic or hiking in the mountains. The ideas are engendered from all members of the group and are discussed in detail during the assembly. Another major topic under consideration is the everyday needs of the school, such as demands to change the breakfast menu, buying a new CD player, or just expressing one's feelings and experiences. The children seem to gradually become more responsible for their lives through their daily participation in the procedures of the assembly. They realise what it really means to make a decision come true by their own means and power. They learn how to find, collectively and individualistically, solutions to problems and organise their everyday life. They all seem very familiar with the process of dialogue, collective thinking and decision-making. Furthermore, the children try to end discussions that are fully acceptable to all the participants because they realise that it is important for all members to feel satisfied about the group's decisions.

In the public elementary school of Fourfouras, the teachers, inspired by the children's councils in Summerhill School (Neil, 1970), established a weekly council where all pupils could actively participate with their teachers. Every month, four children are delegated as the coordinators of the procedure. A difference from Sprogs' assembly is that the coordinators are older (sixth-graders). It is worth mentioning that another difference is that the participants in the council finally vote. However, there are cases showing that the children really care not only about the majority of the voters but also about the minority. For instance, they try to renegotiate a decision of the council in order to include and satisfy those who voted against, teachers and pupils. Cockburn's (2010) work in the UK notes that children do not like to have significant minorities of children without being heard, and for this they make compromises. Moreover, the children reconceptualise and reconstruct the notion of 'detention' or 'punishment' during the council's procedures, showing great effectiveness, justice and solidarity. Remarkably, adults' interference in the council's procedures diminished as time went by. The Child's Counsel (an independent principle advocating children's rights; it is part of the official institution of the Citizen's Council) visited the school and recorded how a 'children's society' can effectively handle a school's everyday issues and problems, such as the division of work, bullying, racism and sexism, and therefore how it can function autonomously, helping not only the pupils but also the school and the community.

Cockburn (2007) argued about the importance of an 'intermediary space' where children's everyday language and worlds will communicate with those of contemporary public spheres. Bath and Karlsson (2016) characterise 'intermediary space' as play. Jans (2004, p. 35) also stresses the importance of playfulness for a 'children-sized concept of citizenship'. We could expand these conceptualisations of the 'intermediary space', including the participation in the assembly, or the council.

Jans (2004, p. 40) says that 'citizenship of children is based on a continuous learning process in which children and adults are interdependent'. As Mannheim (2001, p. 301) notes, 'not only does the teacher educate his pupil, but the pupil educates his teacher too. Generations are in a state of constant interaction.' In this sense it is worth noting the interconnection, as well as the conflict, between generations. Children face a

different set of experiences from those faced by the generation of their parents and teachers at a similar life point, and therefore they will build a different orientation to the current challenges. However, the fact that children live in different generational conditions from the previous generations does not mean that their values will be radically alien to those of their parents and teachers. In particular, we could claim that the children in these schools inherit a political and cultural capital from their parents and teachers, but they rework it with their own terms and experience. Within this scope, generations are perceived in dispositional and hence subjective terms, and are linked to a range of possible modes of thought, experience, feeling and action (Woodman & Wyn, 2015). Eyerman and Turner (1998, p. 93) define a generation by its common habitus, including emotions, attitudes and embodied practices. Habitus is a set of emotions, attitudes and embodied practices of which individuals are not necessarily aware. According to Bourdieu (1977), social action is being driven primarily by the socially based dispositions developed within each individual's social environment. These dispositions are not totally deterministic, nor always rational and conscious. While Bourdieu (2000) argued that habitus persisted over time, he went out of his way to claim that it is not static, nor necessarily unified. Therefore it is crucial to study it in its actual formation.

Considering both children and adults' participation in the assembly or the council of the groups, we could point out an intergenerational agency (Mayall, 2015; Woodman & Wyn, 2015, pp. 68–70) which provides a base of a hybridised habitus, or, to put it differently, a mixing of new dispositions and elements of tradition. In other words, the relationship between the young and old generations inside the educational commons of this study seems to produce a new habitus. According to a teacher from Fourfouras, not only do children gradually become more responsible, autonomous, self-regulated and familiarised with the democratic process of dialogue and decision-making through their participation in the procedures of the council, but also adult participants take an important 'lesson' about children'socracy. In particular, the adults (the teachers in Fourfouras, and the teachers and parents in Sprogs), inspired by the tradition of the democratic schools, launched the idea of a council or an assembly, but the ways the children were negotiating and arranging

their issues was innovative and actually effective. The children tended to reconceptualise the procedures of the council or the assembly and adapt them to their own terms, demands and views. They showed great sensitivity and concern for the protection of collective life, the right to express their own opinion and equal participation in decision-making procedures. For instance, at Fourfouras, the children were not completely satisfied with the voting procedure owing to the exclusion of those who voted against the majority's will, and thus they tried to negotiate and rearrange the procedure with different and more inclusive terms, as described above.

On the whole, the everyday life at Sprogs and Fourfouras reflects, and reproduces, to an extent the view of the defenders of children's rights that children who are involved in institutions, such as a school, should actively participate in their function and organisation (MacNaughton & Smith, 2009). What's more, priority is given to children's needs and their broader development, and not only in their preparation for the marketplace and the process of economic production. In other words, children are not considered only as the future employees in a global economic system of knowledge but mainly as active members of society 'here and now' (Cockburn, 2013; Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010). Despite the daily problems and restraints, the members (children and adults) of these pedagogical heterotopias try to establish heteropolitical structures that give them the opportunity to directly participate in the workings of these sites as citizens of the present.

Emancipation 'Here' and 'Now'

These alternative pedagogical and social practices challenge both *traditional* and *(neo)liberal paternalism*. Traditional paternalism does not acknowledge any rights and autonomy to young children. In this context, the 'child' is depicted as the 'other' and is contrasted with the 'adult' (Jenks, 1996). Specifically, children are represented as directly related to nature, irrationalism, dependence, immaturity, play and the private sphere, while adults are seen as connected to civilisation, rationalism, independence, work and the public sphere. Traditional paternalism

articulates contradictory ideas about children. On the one hand, they are seen as innocent, dependent, pure, incompetent and unable to work. On the other hand, they are considered inherently fierce, cruel and threatening, putting themselves and society in danger.

We could argue that traditional paternalism is related to the generalised interest of the modern states to regulate and control the entire population (Rose, 1989). According to Rose (1989), children are the main object of control and surveillance of adult society. 'Modern' disciplinary power seeks consensus about the legitimacy of its intervening and regulative practices on children through its processed and subtle ways of surveillance and control (Jenks, 1996). Children are both the target and the instrument of disciplinary power in the formal educational system. Disciplinary power has an educational dimension in the sense that it transmits information and knowledge to subjects in order to exploit all information, knowledge and skills in the near future. Disciplinary power thus aims to form the productive and docile subject (Foucault, 1995). From the other point of view, we could argue that in the pedagogical heterotopias of the study, children would possibly learn to overthrow the disciplinary power of the state and the market.

However, today, a different *neoliberal* paternalistic perception of childhood has been developed, as the viability of the current hegemonic neoliberal regime demands a different socialisation process of children. In particular, children's well-being is connected with autonomy, and hence the 'child' is deemed to be an agent in the socialisation process (Smith, 2012). The 'competent and autonomous child' represents a relatively new form of governance, which stresses children's views, and their right of choice and participation in decision-making about matters that concern them. Although this image creates a new potential for childhood, at the same time new forms of intervention and paternalistic control limit it (Pechtelidis & Stamou, 2017).

To be more specific, *(neo)liberal discourse* about childhood is also paternalistic, but at a different level from traditional paternalism. We could claim that this discourse is a compound of a limited form of autonomy and a limited form of paternalism. In fact, even though it acknowledges children's right to autonomy, competence and active participation in learning, their agency is undermined since it is represented as being

demarcated and controlled through particular patterns initiated by adults (Smith, 2012). Actually, restraints on children's autonomy are considered necessary for their future rational development and independence. Thus children's agency tends to be an outcome of adults' guiding. In this way, children's 'autonomy' is cancelled in practice and their emancipation is continually postponed.

To grasp the meaning of this paradox it is necessary to situate it in the current political context of hegemonic neoliberal rationality and governmentality, which increases the apparently contradictory connection between freedom and control. The dominant neoliberal strategies in education are intended to give prominence to children's abilities for self-regulation and self-management (Pechtelidis & Stamou, 2017; Smith, 2012). In this sense, neoliberalism is trying to govern the individual from within by guiding their self-management according to specific normative standards (Dean, 2009; Foucault, 1991, 2010; Rose, 1989). However, in the discursive neoliberal context, children's autonomy is exclusively perceived in relation to consumption and the world of goods, to entrepreneurship and the market (Pechtelidis & Stamou, 2017; Smith, 2012).

Considering the heteropolitical regulation of Sprogs and Fourfouras' everyday life, we could argue that they challenge both traditional and neoliberal paternalism. Thus they are cracks in the current post-political regime, and an obstacle in the operations of neoliberal power. Also, the heteropolitical pedagogical styles of Sprogs and Fourfouras question the traditional discourse about a child being a passive, weak, defective and ignorant being, who is lacking not only in knowledge, capabilities and skills but also in learning capability (Biesta, 2010).

Everyday life at Sprogs and Fourfouras challenges the dominant pedagogical myth, according to which the world is divided into those who possess the knowledge and others who are ignorant, or the clever and the stupid, respectively, the competent and the incompetent (Rancière, 2010). At Sprogs, the children are not dependent on the educators, who explain to them the physical and social reality. Specifically, the main goal of this pedagogical project is self-reliance and collective autonomy, and consequently the emancipation of children from the adults (educators and parents). Therefore the aim of this particular pedagogy is the constant verification both of the principle under which all people are equal

and the belief that there is no natural hierarchy of intellectual capabilities (Rancière, 2010, p. 6). The child is being encouraged to see, think and act in order to realise that they are not dependent on the others who claim that they can see, think and act on the child's behalf (Rancière, 1991, 2010). In this sense, children's trajectory towards learning and knowing is also a trajectory towards emancipation, where the mind learns to obey only itself. This approach resonates quite similar alternative pedagogical approaches, such as the Reggio Emilia approach, which challenge the popular assumption that children are not capable of learning by themselves, without adult help and instruction. However, that does not mean that the teacher's role is cancelled. Instead, we could argue that the educator is someone who demands the effort and devotion from their pupils, and also verify that this process is carefully accomplished by them (Rancière, 1991, 2010).

Conclusion

The aim of this research is to figure out how novel and alternative practices of citizenship, participation in public life, social self-reconstruction, and self-governance in education and pedagogy initiate a process of sharing knowledge, and opening education, citizenship and politics to all social actors, including adults as well as children, to the settings of the research on a basis of equality and autonomy.

In particular, Sprogs and Fourfouras are perceived as heteropolitical because they develop a process of 'commoning education', which constructs alternative spaces for learning and promotes experimentation in thought and action beyond the top-down, bureaucratic structures of state administration and profit-driven market logics. In these contexts, there seems to be a cultivation of a specific heteropolitical habitus of the commons consisting of the dispositions of (1) direct involvement in public and collective life; (2) autonomy; and (3) self-reliance. The members of these settings (children and adults) contribute to openness, social justice and the well-being of the community. Plurality and confluence, disruptions of normality and the making of alternative normalities are joined together in the educational settings of the study. These specific figures of

the 'common' created intergenerationally by the social actors are critically considered as responses to the contemporary crises of liberal democracy, and economic life, the increasing inequalities and environmental breakdown. However, further research grounded on children's views is needed because the statements expressed in this study are mostly from an adult perspective (teachers and researchers). Furthermore, the processes of commoning education are initiated mainly by adults. Despite this the children have an active role in this process, which they conceptualise and enrich with their own experience and views. Also, we should take into consideration the fact that adults' mentoring and support can happen in many ways (Cockburn, 2010, p. 310). In our cases, they try not to get involved too much and give space for children to express themselves freely and to shape the process on their own terms.

Moreover, it is important to stress that the process of commoning education occurs on every scale of social life and it could not be immediately applied to all the various contexts and scales. This specific heteropolitical activity of the commons of this study is subject to numerous practical constraints in each case. For instance, the governments and bureaucracies are often cautious or unwilling to support the commons because they perceive them as an independent force, which threatens their certainties and their allies in the marketplace (Bollier, 2014). According to Bollier (2014), governments prefer to manage their resources through predetermined conventional and strict hierarchical control systems. For them the commoning of education appears chaotic and unreliable.

Regarding the autonomous commons, like Sprogs, the basic constraint is with funding. Sprogs' members decided to put an end to this endeavour after four years because they could no longer afford the cost. Many commoners claim that the state should support the commons on both an economic and a legal level. They argue that the majority of governments provide legal privileges and subsidies to support new businesses to develop and thrive. In this context, it is argued that the best model for the backing of the commons is a commons-friendly state policy, which not only provides money, resources and legal protection but also supervises them. However, the state should not be heavily involved in control of the commons because there is a risk of limiting commoners' desire to manage things by themselves (Bollier, 2014).

Also it is argued that the heteropolitical activity is unfolded within specific heretopic pedagogical space-time constellations. Specifically, they seem to promote new possibilities of subjectivity through the rejection of a particular form of individuality that has been imposed on us for many years through the conventional educational system. The participants (adults and children) experiment with new ways of thinking and acting, of subjectification and citizenship. They construct new subjectivities and they engage in alternative social relations. It seems that they are educational and pedagogical communities that give them the chance to change the way they feel, think and act. However, the adults (teachers and parents) are the ones who initiated this change because the children cannot do so because of either the formal school constraints (in the case of the public school of Fourfouras) or their young age (mainly at Sprogs). However, children have the ability to influence and shape the process of subjectification.

All the above reveals a political vision that brings lived experience and collaboration to the forefront: a political activity which is not focused on the formal political system but is engendered in the educational and pedagogical communities of this study. 'The political'—namely, the collective action on social structures and subjectivities—is part of face-to-face interactions and attempts at 'dealing' with everyday problems. In this sense, they produce micropolitical actions that may have an impact only on certain social practices and relations, or they may coalesce with others to prepare and engender large-scale antagonisms and systemic macro-changes. Moreover, this unique experience cannot be reduced to pre-defined meanings of political participation, citizenship, education, childhood and so on. Thus it becomes apparent how important it is to preserve the openness of concepts such as 'citizen', 'child', 'student' and 'adult' inside any given discourse. This approach provides a deeper understanding of how such concepts are created in the context of everyday life and thus are never final and fixed.

References

Bath, C., & Karlsson, R. (2016). The ignored citizen: Young children's subjectivities in Swedish and English early childhood education settings. *Childhood, 23*(4), 554–565. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568216631025.

Biesta, G. (2010). Learner, student, speaker. In C. Bingham & G. Biesta (Eds.), *Jacques Rancière. Education, truth, emancipation* (pp. 133–144). Continuum: London/New York. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472546975.

Biesta, G. (2011). The ignorant citizen: Mouffe, Rancière, and the subject of democratic education. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 30*(2), 141–153. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11217-011-9220-4.

Birzea, C. (2005). European citizenship as a cultural and political construct. *Journal of Social Science Education*, *3* (Special Edition—European Year of Citizenship through Education). Retrieved September 2, 2016, from http://www.jsse.org/2005/2005-3/birzea-european-citizenship-as-a-cultural-and-political-construct

Bollier, D. (2014). *Think like a commoner, a short introduction to the life of the commons*. Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers.

Bollier, D., & Helfrich, S. (Eds.). (2012). *The wealth of the commons: A world beyond market & state*. Amherst: Levellers Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory and practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian meditations*. Cambridge: Polity.

Callan, E. (1997). *Creating citizens*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/0198292589.001.0001.

Cockburn, T. (2007). Partners in power: A radically pluralistic form of participative democracy for children and young people. *Children and Society, 21*(6), 446–457. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2006.00078.x.

Cockburn, T. (2010). Children and deliberative democracy in England. In B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (Eds.), *A handbook of children and young people's participation perspectives from theory and practice* (pp. 306–317). New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203871072.

Cockburn, T. (2013). *Rethinking children's citizenship*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137292070.

Cunningham, S., & Lavalette, M. (2004). 'Active citizens' or 'Irresponsible truants'? School student strikes against the war. *Critical Social Policy, 24*(2), 255–269. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018304042002.

Dardot, P., & Laval, C. (2014). *Commun*. Paris: La Découverte.

Davies, L. (2010). "Citizenship." Education and contradiction. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 22*(2), 299–308. https://doi.org/10.1080/014256901200549024.

Dean, M. (2009). *Governmentality. Power and rule in modern society*. London: Sage.

Durkheim, E. (2008). *The elementary forms of religious life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eyerman, R., & Turner, B. S. (1998). Outline of a theory of generations. *European Journal of Social Theory, 1*(1), 91–106. https://doi.org/10.1177/136843198001001007.

Feinberg, W., & McDonough, K. (2003). *Citizenship and education in liberal-democratic societies: Teaching for cosmopolitan values and collective identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Foucault, M. (1984). What is enlightenment? In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault reader* (pp. 32–50). New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1986). Of other spaces. *Diacritics, 16*(1), 22–27.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchel, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp. 87–104). London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline & punish: The birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (2010). *The birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the collège de France*, 1978–1979 (Lectures at the College de France). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2012). *Declaration*. New York: Argos.

Hess, C., & Ostrom, E. (Eds.). (2011). *Understanding knowledge as a commons from theory to practice*. London: The MITpress.

Heynen, H. (2008). Heterotopia unfolded? In M. Dahaene & L. D. Cauter (Eds.), *Heterotopia and the city. Public space in a post-civil society* (pp. 311–324). New York: Routldege. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203089415.

Isin, E. F., & Wood, P. K. (1999). *Citizenship and identity*. London: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446218129.

Jans, M. (2004). Children as citizens: Towards a contemporary notion of child participation. *Childhood, 11*(1), 27–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568204040182.

Jenks, C. (1996). *Childhood*. London: Routldege.

Kioupkiolis, A., & Pechtelidis, Y. (2017). Youth heteropolitics in crisis-ridden Greece. In S. Pickard & J. Bessant (Eds.), *Young people and new forms politics in times of crises: Re-generating politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-58250-4.

Kymlicka, W., & Norman, W. (2000). *Citizenship in diverse societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/019829770x.001.0001.

Lazzarato, M. (2014). *Signs and machines. Capitalism and the production of sub-jectivity*. Cambridge: Semiotext(e)/The MIT Press.

MacNaughton, G., & Smith, K. (2009). Children's rights in early childhood. In M. J. Kehily (Ed.), *An introduction to childhood studies*. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Makrinioti, D. (2012). Redefining childhood: A discussion about the limits, protection and autonomy. In E. Kourti (Ed.), *Childhood and the mass media* (in Greek) (pp. 47–69). Athens: Herodotos.

Mannheim, K. (2001). The problem of generations. In P. Kecskemeti (Ed.), *Essays on the sociology of knowledge: Collected works, volume 5* (pp. 276–322). New York: Routledge.

Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mayall, B. (2015). Intergenerational relations: Embodiment over time. In L. Alanen, E. Brooker, & B. Mayall (Eds.), *Childhood with Bourdieu* (pp. 13–33). Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137384744.

Means, J. A., Ford, R. D., & Slater, B. G. (Eds.). (2017). *Educational commons in theory and practice*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-58641-4.

Neil, A. (1970). *Summerhill school. A radical approach to child rearing*. London: Pelican Books.

Olson, M., Fejes, A., Dahlstedt, M., & Nicoll, K. (2014). Citizenship discourses: Production and curriculum. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 36*(7), 1036–1053. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2014.883917.

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Patsias, A. (2016). *The school of nature and colours. A story from the Fourfouras' elementary school* (in Greek). Thessaloniki: Fylatos Publishing.

Pechtelidis, Y. (2016a). Youth heterotopias in precarious times. The students autonomous collectivity. *Young, 24*(1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1177/1103308815595519.

Pechtelidis, Y. (2016b). Occupying school buildings in Greece of the memorandum: The discursive formations around pupils' political activism. In C. Feixa, C. Leccardi, & P. Nilan (Eds.), *Spaces and times of youth cultures in the global city*. The Hague/New York: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004324589.

Pechtelidis, Y., Kioupkiolis, A. & Damopoulou, E. (2015). Beyond the private and public education: Education as commons. In T. B. Thanos (Ed.), *Sociology of education in Greece* (in Greek) (pp. 212–223). Athens: Gutenberg.

Pechtelidis, Y., & Stamou, G.A. (2017). The "competent child" in times of crisis. A synthesis of foucauldian with critical discourse analysis in Greek preschool curricula. *Palgrave Communications* (it will be published on the 4th of July 2017).

Percy-Smith, B. (2016). Negotiating active citizenship: Young people's participation in everyday spaces. In K. P. Kallio, S. Mills, & T. Skelton (Eds.), *Politics, citizenship and rights* (Vol. 7, pp. 401–422). Singapore: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-4585-57-6.

Percy-Smith, B., & Thomas, N. (Eds.). (2010). *A handbook of children and young people's participation perspectives from theory and practice*. New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203871072.

Rancière, J. (1991). *The ignorant schoolmaster. Five lessons in intellectuall emancipation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Rancière, J. (2010). On ignorant schoolmasters. In C. Bingham & G. Biesta (Eds.), *Jacques Rancière. Education, truth, emancipation* (pp. 1–24). Continuum: London/New York.

Rose, N. (1989). *Governing the soul*. London: Routledge.

Smith, K. (2012). Producing governable subjects: Images of childhood old and new. *Childhood, 19*(1), 24–37. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568211401434.

Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2004). What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy. *American Educational Research Journal, 41*(2), 237–269. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312041002237.

Woodman, D., & Wyn, J. (2015). *Youth and generation. Rethinking change and inequality in the lives of young people*. London: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473910591.

11

The Right to Be Transnational: Narratives and Positionings of Children with a Migration Background in Italy

Sara Amadasi and Vittorio Iervese

Transnational Children Between Protection and Promotion

Since the end of the last century, studies on migration have introduced the term 'transnationalism' to describe the ways in which migrants construct and reconstitute their embeddedness in more than one nation state (Glick-Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1995, p. 48). In the context of globalisation, the strong increase of transnational individuals and communities undermines the means of defining and controlling difference founded on territoriality. The concept of *transnationalism* refers thus to multiple ties and interactions linking people and institutions across the borders of nation-states (Vertovec, 1999). This concept has recently included studies concerning children and childhood, giving rise to research focused on children who are part of transnational families (Parreñas, 2001) and who live in permanent return migration experiences (Hatfield, 2010), and that

S. Amadasi • V. Iervese (✉)

Department of Studies on Language and Culture, University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, Modena, Italy

considers and investigates the relationship between rights, emotions, place and belonging (Den Besten, 2010; Urry, 2005).

Moreover, some studies look at repeated cross-cultural movements at a young age as a challenge to an individuals' identity formation (Fail, Thompson, & Walker, 2004) as children might experience difficulties attaining a solid cultural identity (Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011). Therefore, children, whose lives are characterised by transnational relationships and frequent international movements are observed as disoriented and deprived of their sense of belonging (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). In this chapter, we challenge these dominant discourses about children with migration backgrounds by combining a discussion about children's rights with an analysis of children's narratives concerning their experiences in a multiplicity of migratory contexts.

As claimed by Dixon and Nussbaum (2012, p. 573), 'when people talk about children and children's rights, they often talk about the vulnerability of children and their incompetence', and this is even more meaningful when it relates to children with migrant backgrounds, caught between different cultural orientations, constraints and opportunities. According to will theory (Eekelaar, 1986; MacCormick, 1976), rights are protected exercises of choice and therefore only those who can make choices can have, or at least exercise, rights. By contrast, interest theory (Alston, 1994; Mnookin, 1979) affirms that only those who have significant interests to protect can have rights. Following these theories, children are presented not as right-holders because they are incapable of exercising choices and only their representative can protect their interests.

This debate also relates to one of the most challenging narratives of the past ten years: the importance of children's active participation in terms of practising agency rather than simply having a voice. Improving children's rights means promoting their participation, thus defining a wider concept of active citizenship. Therefore the promotion of children's rights is strictly linked with the social form of children's agency. Against this backdrop, in this chapter we deal with children's agency considering participation as a way to achieve and affirm specific rights, rather than as a right in itself. In particular, our interest is in children with a migration background, with explicit attention to children's transnational migratory experiences, which allow us to reflect and focus on a particular aspect that

this topic implies: children's agency and the discursive construction of cultural identity.

Most of the works that look at international movements as a risk for children's sense of belonging adopt an essentialist understanding of concepts such as identity (Fail et al., 2004; Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011) and culture (Moore & Barker, 2012, p. 554). However, what might be seen as an opposite view—children's mobility as a positive experience owing to the possibilities that it would open up an ability to shift between different cultural identities (Moore & Barker, 2012, p. 555)—is only apparent in contrast with the first one. This interpretation, which looks at mobility as being deeply embedded in contemporary practices, related to and affected by a globalised world as well as boundaries and opportunities of specific social systems and contexts, still observes cultural identity as reified and shaped by external forces, denying children's personal agency. In this chapter we introduce a perspective which aims to call into question both narratives of mobility, as danger and mobility as an opportunity, to reflect on the promotion of children expressing their cultural identities and their transnational experiences.

The Agency of Children Living Transnational Experiences

The common point characterising these two interpretations of mobility—that is, cultural identity as a fixed and stable product based on past experiences—orientates and binds any possibility of an individual's action. In rethinking children's rights, participation and citizenship, it is therefore relevant to challenge this essentialist interpretation of cultural identity and to pay close attention to the cultural work of children with transnational experiences. Insights into children's narratives of their journeys and lives shed new light on the cultural construction of place, identity and interconnectedness, which so far has been almost completely dominated in the literature by adult perspectives. Children with migration backgrounds are active agents, creating culture rather than merely learning it.

The idea of the child as stuck among cultures, against which the criticism of some authors (Mannitz, 2005) is addressed, is thus strongly bound up with an unambiguous understanding of these children as defined by a disadvantage that has to be compensated. The idea of disadvantage is even more overwhelming and pervasive when the child is attending specific groups where they learn the dominant language. In this chapter, these groups are defined by the abbreviation ISL (Italian as a second language). Children's need for special assistance with language and literacy offers an opportunity to qualify and observe their identities, with the risk that—in a school environment as well as in academic studies—they become labelled as '"disadvantaged" groups' (Wallace, 2011, p. 102).

Through an acknowledgement of these narratives, we aim to draw attention to the lack of studies that look at how a construction of a stable orientation, which can be defined as cultural identity, is realised in daily interactions involving children. It is possible to point out two important elements for a reflection on the construction of the cultural identity of children with transnational backgrounds. The first concerns the interconnection existing between the process of constructing a personal (and collective) identity and the study of children's agency. The second relevant aspect to be considered concerns the fact that the individual is inscribed within a chain of relationships that is crucial for the construction of cultural as well as personal identity.

> There is no essence of identity to be discovered, rather, cultural identity is continually being produced within the vectors of resemblance and distinction. Cultural identity is not an essence but a continually shifting description of ourselves. "[…]" Since meaning is never finished or completed, identity represents a 'cut' or a snapshot of unfolding meanings, a strategic positioning which makes meaning possible. (Barker & Galasiński, 2001, p. 30)

When identity is observed as the result of an accumulation of elements over lifetimes, 'that may have had their origins in childhood, adolescence and the many later "periods" of our lives' (Lemke, 2008, pp. 18–19), it is possible to recognise the dominant developmental discourse which sees

childhood as a *tabula rasa* of identities. This interpretation not only contributes to constructing an image of children as 'vulnerable, immature and in need of education and socialisation if they are to develop into fully competent citizens' (Kjørholt, 2007, p. 30) but also creates an essentialist view of identity, which constrains children to preconstituted categories and degrees of development that do not allow us to consider how they, as well as adults, take up and play with fluid positions in the discursive construction of their personal stories.

The paradigm shift introduced by the new social studies of childhood, representing an epistemological break with the traditional developmental psychology perspectives (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998), is grounded in a view of children as competent social actors in their own right (Gallacher & Gallagher, 2008). Thus, in recognising their active role in social processes (Corsaro, 2003; James et al., 1998;), the interest of sociological childhood studies lies in understanding how children actively participate in giving meaning to their experiences (Jans, 2004) and how they are, together with adults, co-constructors of knowledge (Hill, Davis, Prout, & Tisdall, 2004, p. 84). Agency is therefore a paramount concept in childhood studies (Baraldi & Iervese, 2014; James, 2009; James et al., 1998; James & Prout, 1997). However, as Valentine (2011, p. 348) claims, childhood studies presents different understandings of agency.

In this chapter, agency is considered in the meaning suggested by Giddens (1984) as the capacity to 'make a difference'. This means that the agent is the author of certain events as, somewhere in the chain of acts, they came across the possibility of acting differently. It is possible thus to understand agency as the capability of individuals to both shape their own lives and influence their social contexts. From this view, children's agency is not an individual feature, independent and isolated from interactions that children have with adults. Agency, as a specific form of active participation (Baraldi & Iervese, 2014) in social processes, is seen as relational because it is in the relationships with adults that children claim their right to participate (Bjerke, 2011, p. 99). It is possible to distinguish two different visions of children's participation: one in which the point is shared decision-making between children and adults; and another in which the point is the degree to which power is handed over from adults to children. In this chapter, the meaning of children's agency is closely

associated with change and unpredictability in social processes, particularly in interactions, in which children's actions always affect their interlocutors' actions. To look at children's agency, we consider in our analysis three complementary aspects: (1) the interaction among participants and between them and the researcher; (2) the participants' positioning in the interaction; and (3) the narratives they choose to sustain their positioning.

Interaction, Positioning, Narratives

Looking at interactions means looking at 'the ways in which participants themselves make sense of one another's actions, and establish collaborative courses of social activity in real time' (Hutchby, 2005, p. 67). By doing this, the coordination of children and adults' actions in the interaction (Baraldi & Iervese, 2014) cannot be ignored, representing a key point in the accomplishment of a 'participation chain' (Prout, Simmons, & Birchall, 2006). An effective methodology to look at the interaction as an organised turn-taking system is conversation analysis (Sacks, Shegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). This regards participants' ways of taking turns (acting) in the interaction and organising sequences of turns. Our analysis, however, does not aim to be 'conversational'. Here, we use some basic methodological aspects of conversation analysis, regarding the turn-taking system and the organised sequence of turns in order to analyse how children's agency is displayed through turn design (Heritage & Clayman, 2010) and in sequence organisation in which turns are included. It is also possible to observe children's agency through children's positioning, as rejecting, confirming and negotiating meanings in the interaction. Position is created through 'a complex cluster of generic personal attributes' (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999, p. 1), which locates a participant in communication, conditioning their possibilities of action and the assignment of rights, duties, obligations and entitlements to them. Position constrains the participant's actions. Therefore agency goes through, above all, the assignment of positions and the attribution of responsibilities.

Positioning theory is a dynamic take on identity that overcomes the shortcomings of static role-based theories in understanding and explaining situational behaviour. Positioning can be understood as the construction of narrative accounts which make participants' activities intelligible to themselves and others. Positions are defined here as 'unfolding narratives'. They are dynamic and subject to change over the course of an interactional episode. However, using 'narrative' and 'story-lines' as key terms or as evocative, metaphorical concepts is not useful for an empirical observation of the interaction (Deppermann, 2013). Bamberg (1997, p. 337) distinguishes three levels of positioning to observe how identity work is shaped by narration: (1) positioning on the level of the story; (2) positioning on the level of the interaction; and (3) positioning on the level of the construction of the self. In other words, positioning and narrative can be analysed while focusing on how the characters are positioned in relation to one another within the reported events; how the speaker positions themselves in relation to the audience' and 'how narrators position themselves to themselves'. To sum up, the empirical observation of positioning and narratives in the interaction permits us to analyse how the teller chooses to take up certain positions with regard to dominant narratives and other participants' positioning, and by doing they present a certain self/identity (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 385).

Hence, specific attention must be paid to narratives that children choose, reproduce and adapt to sustain and make sense of certain positions (and identities constructed through these) in the interaction. Narratives include all stories that guide actions (Baker, 2006). This concept is inscribed in the more general epistemological stance of social constructionism, asserting that human knowledge is constituted in social relationships (Gergen, 1991; Harré, 1984). Narratives constitute rather than represent reality. They are social constructions in which the observed reality is interpreted and told, through different media (oral telling and written documents, but also ballets, motion pictures, photos etc.). Narratives shape the semantic contents of communication processes. A narrative identity approach assumes that people act in particular ways because not to do so would fundamentally violate their sense of being at that particular time and place (Somers & Gibson, 1994). From this

perspective, according to Somers and Gibson, the main analytical challenge is 'to develop concepts that will allow us to capture the narrativity through which agency is negotiated, identities are constructed, and social action mediated' (Somers & Gibson, 1994, p. 64).

Positioning can be considered part of the discursive production of identities, 'whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines' (Davies & Harré, 1999, p. 48). This approach thus contributes to the understanding of individual's self and identity in institutional settings. It enables the researcher to analyse how identity is presented in positions and narratives, as well as how the practice of taking positions and of constructing narratives shapes identities.

This chapter explores the identity construction in the light of some video-recorded interactions between children and adults. We focus on children' self-expression during interactions in an institutional setting. Positioning could be distinguished into self-positioning and other positioning. Harré and van Langenhove analyse first-, second- and third-order positioning, performative and accountive positioning, moral and personal positioning, self and other positioning, and tacit and intentional positioning (Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 20). Here we limit the analysis to the categories which are more relevant to our chapter. First-order positioning (FOP) refers to the means by which a speaker locates themselves and others within a social space or moral order. Second-order positioning (SOP) occurs when FOP is not taken for granted by other participants in the interaction. Most FOP is tacit—that is, participants position themselves and others within an ongoing and lived narrative. FOP can be questioned within the conversation or within another conversation about the first one. An intentional SOP can make a tacit FOP visible and understandable in the interaction. Participants who have a dominant role in the interaction can force the other speakers into specific positions. In the classroom, for instance, teachers deliberately position pupils in a predetermined storyline. Such positioning can take the form of evaluation, reproach or moral judgement. FOP is not always evident and questionable, so it is important to focus on SOP, as opened up by children, or on self-positioning, where children try to express their points of view. In this sense, looking at children's agency in institutional settings

such as schools is important because it confirms that the course of action based on FOP is only one among various possibilities.

Methodology and Data

The data discussed in the following section have been collected during a larger study exploring how children keep ties with their (or their parents') country of origin through temporary return journeys. In particular, the study concerned the way in which these children construct and give meaning to their transnational experiences and cultural identity in the interaction (Amadasi, 2014). The research started in November 2012 and ended in November 2013. It was conducted at one primary school and one first-grade secondary school, in the province of Reggio Emilia, and a primary school in Parma (Italy). The first part of this research took place in Reggio Emilia, with students attending two ISL classes. The second part was conducted in Parma with a class composed of children with a migration background and those with no migration experience. In Reggio Emilia the ISL group in the primary school involved pupils aged 7–10, and the ISL class of the first-grade secondary school involved girls and boys aged 11–15.[1] Both groups had between 15 and 20 students from different countries.[2]

This study was based on different methods and tools to collect data. During the first part of the fieldwork, five months (November to March 2012–2013) of ethnographic observation during standard ISL lessons were conducted. This stage represents a *progressive field-access strategy* (Wolff, 2004, p. 202), whose purpose was not 'the accomplishment of the research plan' but rather 'the securing and setting up of an appropriate situational context for the research process.' (Wolff, 2004, p. 202). Some 31 hours of workshops were video-recorded with both the ISL groups in Reggio Emilia and the students in Parma. Workshops were considered to be appropriate tools to collect interactions with children as they allow a build-up of work, and the activities are based on the feedback received from the children, leaving each encounter open to being moulded by the peculiarities of the group rather than imposing a rigid schedule to which participants must adapt.

It was relevant for this kind of work that the children took up an active role inside the research process itself, allowing the researcher to adjust research tools and timing to the context and the environmental conditions of the investigation. The workshops allowed an analysis not only of children's answers but also of the interaction between them and the researcher, promoting reflections on the role of the researcher in the research process (Amadasi & Holliday, 2017). The encounters developed around the topics of travel and travelling experiences. Each ISL group was divided into three subgroups so that the groups included seven or eight participants each. Three meetings were conducted with each group. The three extracts that we present in this chapter come from the encounters taking place in a primary school in Reggio Emilia (children aged 7–10). The selected extracts are part of the same encounter, as we aim to give an account of the process through which the construction of meanings is generated during the conversation. The extracts allow us to highlight not only the development of positioning but also the development of the storylines related to this positioning.

Transcriptions are based on some conventions from conversation analysis, which highlight the most important features of the ongoing conversation (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). All the names in the transcriptions are pseudonyms. In the translation from Italian to English we have tried to maintain the speakers' mistakes and hesitations in the selection of some of the words.

Data Analysis

Extract 1 is taken from the first workshop. Eight children took part:, five boys and three girls. Paolo, Munirah and Andrea came from the fifth grade of a primary school, while Mor, Loveleen and Nimrit were together in third grade. Said and Hamed attended fourth grade. Although they were all attending ISL classes, their knowledge of Italian was pretty different, and while Paolo, Andrea, Mor, Said, Munirah and Nimrit spoke Italian quite well, Loveleen and Hamed, whose arrival in Italy was more recent, spoke Italian poorly.

Moreover, while Said usually travelled to his parents' country every summer, Nimrit travelled less often, although she went to visit her parents' country a few months before the encounter, around Christmas time for a few weeks. Loveleen instead planned to leave a few days after the second meeting. While all the teachers were informed about Nimrit's journey, Loveleen was one of those children usually described in teachers' accounts as 'leaving from one day to the other', without any communication from the parents to the school.

Extract 1 starts with the researcher (R) asking the participants how many flights they have caught.

Extract 1[3]

1. R:	tu Munirah l'hai mai preso l'aereo?
	and you Munirah, have you ever caught an airplane?
2. Munirah:	sì
	yes
3. RIC:	quante volt—ah m'hai detto cinque (.) e ti piace o no?
	how many tim—ah you told me already five (.) and do you like it or not?
4. Munirah:	sì (.) perché ( )-
	yes (.) because
5. Loveleen:	io dieci volte!
	me, ten times!
6. R:	dieci volte l'hai preso?
	you caught it ten times?
7. Nimrit:	io quattro volte!
	four times me!
8. Mor:	((teasing Loveleen)) eh:::::::
9. Said:	I—io ci sono andato dieci volte! o—ogni volta all'anno devo andarci e io ho dieci anni
	I—I went there ten times! e—each time every year I have to go there and I am ten years old
10. Nimrit:	Io avevo sonno
	I was tired

11. R:		una volta all'anno devi andarci?
		once a year you have to go there?
12. Said:		sì
		yes
13. R:		e tu Nimrit quante volte l'hai preso?
		and you Nimrit? How many times did you take it?
14. Nimrit:		quattro
		four
15. R:		quattro volte. E per andare dove?
		four times. And to go where?
16. Nimrit:		(During the flight) ero molto stanca
		I was very tired
17. R:		come?
		pardon?
18. Nimrit:		ero molto stanca
		I was very tired

This extract shows how positioning and narratives arise in the interaction between the researcher and the children. The main narrative, which can be defined as transnational, is introduced by the researcher, who affirms that she is working with them as they are expert travellers. This action is a FOP that the children can choose whether or not to accept. If they accept it we can observe alignments or adjustments to the previous turn. If they reject it we can observe different SOPs. In Extract 1, the children start a sort of race on the number of taken flights, interpreting the narrative of themselves as transnational experts as positive. Loveleen's enthusiastic statement about having caught ten flights (turn 5) and Mor's expression of doubt about Loveleen's experiences (turn 8) seem to give a positive connotation 'to being' transnational.

This is also confirmed in turn 9, where Said, to prove the truthfulness of his statement, displays a logical reasoning: as he has to go every year to his parents' country, and he is ten years old, he has been there ten times. Interesting here is that by saying 'I have to' ('devo andarci'), Said affirms that he has to follow his parents' decisions and thus he cannot choose. However, by positioning himself as a child lacking possible choices, paradoxically he shows his agency in the conversation.

In turn 10, Nimrit seems to partially resist this positive interpretation and the corresponding positioning as 'transnational expert'. In turn 14 she confirms that she caught several flights, but in turn 16 she avoids answering the researcher's question about the destination of those journeys (turn 15), distancing herself from her experience and a positive engagement with it ('I was very tired'). By doing this, she is giving a negative connotation and a different meaning to the transnational narrative. Nimrit's SOP is a way of building a new narrative rather than a counter-positioning. To sum up, in Extract 1 we can see how the interactional participants have the chance to build a shared narrative of identity and to personalise it starting from their experiences. This identity narrative is bound to the possibility of participants making decisions about their own life freely and thus claiming their rights through social participation.

Extract 2 is the continuation of Extract 1. Here it is interesting to observe the development of the conflict which was possible in turn 8 of Extract 1, when Mor calls into question the truthfulness of what Loveleen was saying (turn 8). On that occasion this turn was ignored by all the other participants, including the researcher. In Extract 2, with a 'trick question', Mor tries to propose the previous issue.

Extract 2

19. Mor: (addressing Loveleen) anche te una volta all'anno?
once a year you too?

20. Loveleen: sì
yes

21. Mor: bugiarda!
you liar!

22. Loveleen: (da quando siamo a casa)
(since we were home)

23. Mor: bugiarda! è una bu—ha detto ogni—ogni—ogni anno! Quindi no—
ha:: otto—ha: sette anni
you liar! She is a l—she said—every—every—every year! So no—
she is eight—is seven years old

24. Loveleen: no (.) stavo dicendo [( )] quando finisce la scuo::la::!
                  no (.) I was saying [( )] when the school ends!
25. Mor: [ha sette anni]
                                            [she's seven years old]
26. RIC: quando finisci la scuola tu devi prendere l'aereo per andare
                  dove?
                  *when you finish school you have to catch the airplane to go
                  where?*
27. Loveleen: Mh:: in India dove::::
                  Mh:: to India whe::::re
28. RIC: in India dai tuoi:: parenti?
                  in India to see your relatives?
29. Mor: eh!
30. RIC: e quante volte ci sei andata?
                  and how many times did you go there?
31. Loveleen: Mh:::::
32. Nimrit: dieci ha detto
                  she said ten
33. Loveleen: no cinque volte in 'merica
                  no five times in America
34. Nimrit: e perché hai detto dieci?
                  and why did you say ten?
35. Loveleen: e in 'merica dieci volte!
                  e in America ten times!
36. Mor: eh::::::
37. RIC: in America dieci volte?
                  in America ten times?
38. Loveleen: sì:::
                  ye:::
39. Mor: eh::::::: (.) maestra
                  eh::::::: (.) teacher
40. Loveleen: sì! una volta quand'ero piccola, ancora piccola, ancora
                  piccola,
                  *yes! Once when I was a baby, again a baby, again a baby
                  again*
41. Nimrit: ma basta adesso
                  stop it now

42. RIC: e perché dite che non è v—che non può essere vero?
               and why do you all say it can't be t—it can't be true?

43. Mor: perché lei ha sette anni (.) ha sette   anni e ha preso dieci
               aerei?!!
               because she's seven years old (.) she's seven years old and
               did she take ten flights?!!

44. Said: ma secondo te eh può anche andare non p-
               but eh she can also go not t-

45. Loveleen: dai smettetela (che io devo—devo ancora disegnare!)
               c'mon stop it (that I have—I still have to draw!)

46. Hamed: la prima volta in Italia!
               the first time in Italy!

47. RIC: la prima volta in Italia?
               the first time in Italy?

48. Said: cioè nessuno ha detto che ci va una volta all'anno lei e
               inizia a
               dire le—eh:: lei non ha neanche dieci anni come può andare
               eh—
               in un anno può essere andata tre o quattro volte no?
               I mean no one has said that she goes once a year and he starts
               saying she—eh:: she isn't even ten years old how can she go eh—
               in one year she maybe could have gone there three or four
               time, couldn't she?

49. RIC: tre o quattro volte
               three or four times

50. Mor: eh:::

51. Loveleen: ma:: ero andata anche (.) con la mia mamma quando ero
               piccola::
               bu::t I went also (.) with my mum when I was a baby

52. RIC: in America o in India?
               in America or India?

53. Loveleen: anche in 'merica anche in India
               In America as well as in India

In turn 19, Mor takes the 'evidence of truth' reasoning used by Said in turn 9 of Extract 1 as a method to investigate the truthfulness of what Loveleen has affirmed. In turns 21 and 23, he openly claims that Loveleen

is a liar, and in turn 25 he starts to display his own logical reasoning to prove this truth. Our aim is not to find out the truthfulness of what Loveleen is affirming; interesting here is to observe the narrative and the emergence of a counter-positioning which stimulates an action–opposition sequence.

By claiming that she has travelled ten times, Loveleen is constructing and proposing a particular transnational identity: what she suggests is that she travels not because she is an immigrant but by choice; being a 'transnational expert' is for Loveleen an opportunity and a privilege. This perspective is refused by both Mor and Nimrit, who, in turns 32 and 34, step in, to follow Mor's approach to Loveleen's statement, trying to highlight contradictions in her accounts to 'unmask' her.

By doing this, the children are not only trying to position Loveleen as 'the liar' of the group; they are trying to position themselves as acute observers. This is also particularly evident in turn 50, when Said apparently intervenes to take the defence of Loveleen. He does not openly defend her; rather, he seems to expose a logical reasoning (as in Extract 1) with the aim of opening up a range of possibilities. By doing this he at the same time tries to fix two points. First, by recognising the possibility of the positioning displayed by Loveleen, he is constructing himself as cosmopolitan as well, reconfirming a narrative of a transnational experience. Second, by showing his logical ability, he is positioning himself as a particularly clever and accurate observer, skilled in arguing his own point of view. Every position opens up opportunities to give substance to some narratives and, at the same time, projects other positions in the following turns. The interplay between FOP (turns 21 and 23) and SOP (turns 24 and 40) is at the core of a discursive identity construction. From this point of view, conflict is a form of interaction in which different positions try to affirm different narratives. In this specific case, the two narratives at stake are the one expressed by Mor (a child cannot have such frequent journeys) and that expressed by Loveleen (I am a transnational child in a transnational family).

This use of narratives as tools to argue and sustain the reason of a positioning inside the group is also evident in Extract 3.

Extract 3

101. RIC: Loveleen tu invece dove vorresti vivere?
                 Loveleen and you, where would you like to live?
102. Loveleen: In eh::: 'merica
                 In eh::: America
103. RIC: In America? Perché in America?
                 In America? Why in America?
104. Paolo: perché è bella!
                 because it's beautiful!
105. Loveleen: così!
                 no reason actually
106. Nimrit: tu non ci sei neanche andata!
                 You didn't even go there!
107. Said: io ci vorrei andare (.) in America
                 I would like to go there (.) in America
108. Loveleen: Sì::: sono andata!
                 Ye::: I went there!
109. Mor: io voglio andare a New York!
                 I want to go to New York
110. Nimrit: ((addressing Loveleen)) quando?
                 when?
111. Loveleen: con la mia mamma e con il mio papà
                 with my mum and my dad
112. Nimrit: e perché gli indiani vanno in America se non c'è niente?
                 And why do Indians go to America if there is nothing?
114. Loveleen: lì è la mia zia!
                 There is my aunt!
115. RIC: c'è la tua zia lì?
                 Is there your aunt there?
116. Loveleen: Sì!
                 Yes
117: Paolo: (   )
118. Said: Io voglio andare a Hollywood!
                 I want to go to Hollywood!
119. Nimrit: °non ci credo°
                 °I don't believe it°
120: Loveleen: [Sì::]
                 [ye::s]

121. RIC:	[perché] non ci credi Nimrit?	
	[Why] you don't believe it Nimrit?	
122. Loveleen:	Sì::	
	ye::s	
123. Nimrit:	perché in America ci sono dei dei::: mh: non ci sono italiani	
	because in America there are no Italians!	
124. Loveleen:	no è indiana:: (.) la mia zia!	
	No, she is India::n (.) my aunt!	
125. Nimrit:	eh eh perché in In in I:::	
	eh—eh—because in In—in I:::	
126. Munirah:	non ci sono	
	there aren't	
127. Loveleen:	Eh:::::↑ per and—qua—vado perché voglio eh anche capire	
	ingle:::se:: per quello vado	
	Eh:::::↑ to go—whe—I go because I want eh also to understand English, this is why I go!	

In turn 106, Nimrit tries to raise doubt again concerning the truthfulness of Loveleen's accounts. However, Said and Mor this time ignore this suggestion and continue by telling the researcher about where they wish to live, while the dialogue between Loveleen and Nimrit carries on.

Initially Nimrit shows her scepticism about Loveleen's accounts through a further narrative, which presents identity as depending on national borders (as an Indian immigrated to Italy, Loveleen has to stay either in India or in Italy: turns 112 and 119). Nimrit tries to develop and adapt her position during the conversation to prove Loveleen's lies (turns 123 and 125). Here, owing to Nimrit's visible attempt to catch Loveleen out, it is possible to observe the use of narratives as tools to sustain or reject certain positions suggested or pursued in the interaction. According to Somers and Gibson, 'agents adjust stories to fit their own identities, and conversely, they will tailor "reality" to fit their stories. But the interpersonal webs of relationality sustain and transform narratives over time' (Somers & Gibson, 1994, pp. 61–62). Therefore during this conversation it is possible to observe Loveleen's determination to affirm her positioning through a developing of the narrative, which starts with

the affirmation of herself as a frequent traveller together with her parents (turn 111), passing through a description of her family as transnational and therefore with a family member living in America (turn 114), and finally declaring a far-sighted plan for her future: 'I go because I want also to understand English, this is why I go!' (turn 127).

These contributions, and the two narratives emerging through them, one centred on national borders and the other on a transnational view, should not be considered as isolated but in mutual relation and connected to the context generated through the interaction. Thus Nimrit assumes a positioning which is in a relation of counter-position to Loveleen's statements, and she supports this positioning by choosing an opposite narrative—that of the denial of the aptitude to international movements.

Conclusions

Positioning can be understood as a construction of identity in conversation, based on narrative accounts (Tirado & Galvèz, 2007). Narratives are constantly adapted to positioning and vice versa. Both positioning and the narratives through which it is constructed are extremely dynamic and can change easily. Moreover, positions are negotiable in the sense that there is always the possibility of questioning a determined act of positioning.

The analysis of the three extracts has highlighted how (1) the dynamic relationship between FOP and SOP contributes to structuring the meanings of participation in the interactions; and (2) the feedback loop between positioning and narratives shapes personal identity, conceived as the active result of a relational process rather than a static entity. In this regard, looking at negotiations between positions is crucial to understand how people manage opportunities and constraints—in other words, how opening up different courses of action allows children to enhance the meaning of their social actions.

Promoting children's positioning means promoting their participation in social interactions. This practice often has a conflictive character, but not in terms of incompatibilities (Ayoko, Härtel, & Callan, 2002) or

opposed and frustrated interests (DeChurch & Marks, 2001; Gudykunst, 1994); quite the opposite (Baraldi & Iervese, 2012). By observing the communicative production of conflictive meanings and orientations in the extracts presented in this chapter, it is possible to analyse (1) how children construct their narrative of identity through positioning and counter-positioning in the interaction; and (2) how this construction allows us to exercise and improve agency, showing that children can choose, achieve and affirm specific rights.

Notes

1. Although the standard age for first-grade secondary school in Italy is 11–13, most of the students attending ISL classes have repeated some years as a result of their limited knowledge of Italian.
2. The number of students in an ISL class can vary during the school year as a result of new arrivals and departures.
3. Transcription symbols
   [ ] Overlapping utterances
   (.) Micropause (>2 seconds)
   ( ) Inaudible expression
   (expression) Not clear expression, probable
   ((expression)) Description of non-verbal act
   text- Interrupted turn
   : Sound extension of the last letter of a word

References

Alston, P. (Ed.). (1994). *The best interests of the child: Reconciling culture and human rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Amadasi, S. (2014). Beyond belonging. How migrant children actively construct their cultural identities in the interaction. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Family Studies, 19*(1), 136–152.

Amadasi, S., & Holliday, A. (2017). Block and thread intercultural narratives and positioning: Conversations with newly arrived postgraduate students. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 17*(3), 254–269. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2016.1276583.

Ayoko, O. B., Härtel, C. E., & Callan, V. J. (2002). Resolving the puzzle of productive and destructive conflict in culturally heterogeneous workgroups: A communication accommodation theory approach. *The International Journal of Conflict Management, 13*(2), 165–195. https://doi.org/10.1108/eb022873.

Baker, M. (2006). *Translation and conflict*. London/New York: Routledge.

Bamberg, M. (1997). Positioning between structure and performance. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 7*, 335–342. https://doi.org/10.1075/jnlh.7.42pos.

Bamberg, M., & Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). Small stories as a new perspective in narrative and identity analysis. *Text & Talk, 28*(3), 377–396. https://doi.org/10.1515/TEXT.2008.018.

Baraldi, C., & Iervese, V. (Eds.). (2012). *Participation, facilitation, and mediation: Children and young people in their social contexts*. New York: Routledge.

Baraldi, C., & Iervese, V. (2014). Observing children's capabilities as agency. In D. Stoecklin & J. M. Bonvin (Eds.), *Children's rights and the capability approach. Challenges and prospects* (pp. 43–65). Dodrecht: Springer.

Barker, C., & Galasiński, D. (2001). *Cultural studies and discourse analysis: A dialogue on language and identity*. London: Sage.

Bjerke, H. (2011). It's the way to do it. Expressions of agency in child-adult relations at home and school. *Children & Society, 25*, 93–103. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2009.00266.x.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101.

Corsaro, W. A. (2003). *Le culture dei bambini*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1999). Positioning and personhood. In H. Rom & L. van Langenhove (Eds.), *Positioning theory. Moral contexts of intentional action* (pp. 32–52). Oxford: Blackwell.

DeChurch, L., & Marks, M. M. (2001). Maximizing the benefits of task conflict: The role of conflict management. *The International Journal of Conflict Management, 12*(1), 4–22. https://doi.org/10.1108/eb022847.

Den Besten, O. (2010). Local belonging and 'geographies of emotions': Immigrant children's experience of their neighbourhoods in Paris and Berlin. *Childhood, 17*(2), 181–195. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568210365649.

Deppermann, A. (2013). Editorial: Positioning in narrative interaction. *Narrative Inquiry, 23*(1). https://doi.org/10.1075/ni.23.1.01dep.

Dixon, R., & Nussbaum, M. (2012). Children's rights and a capability approach: The question of special priority. *Cornell Law Review, 97,* 549–594. *Public Law Working Chapter No. 384*.

Eekelaar, J. (1986). The emergence of children's rights. *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies, 6*, 161–182. https://doi.org/10.1093/ojls/6.2.161.

Fail, H., Thompson, J., & Walker, G. (2004). Belonging, identity and Third Culture Kids. Life histories of former international school students. *Journal of Research in International Education, 3*(3), 319–338. https://doi.org/10.1177/1475240904047358.

Gallacher, L. A., & Gallagher, M. (2008). Methodological immaturity in childhood research? Thinking through 'participatory methods'. *Childhood, 15*(4), 499–516. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568208091672.

Gergen, K. (1991). *The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in contemporary life*. New York: Basic Books.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1995). From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration. *Anthropological Quarterly, 68*(1), 48–63. https://doi.org/10.2307/3317464.

Gudykunst, W. (1994). *Bridging differences: Effective intergroup communication* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Harré, R. (1984). *Personal being. A theory for individual psychology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Harré, R., & Van Langenhove, L. (Eds.). (1999). *Positioning Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hatfield, M. (2010). Children moving 'home'?: Everyday experiences of return migration in highly skilled households. *Childhood, 17*(2), 243–257. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568210365747.

Heritage, J., & Clayman, S. (2010). *Talk in action. Interactions, identities, and institutions*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hill, M., Davis, J., Prout, A., & Tisdall, K. (2004). Moving the participation agenda forward. *Children and Society, 18*, 77–96. https://doi.org/10.1002/chi.819.

Hoersting, R. C., & Jenkins, S. R. (2011). No place to call home: Cultural homelessness, self-esteem and cross-cultural identities. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 35*, 17–30. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2010.11.005.

Hutchby, I. (2005). Children's talk and social competence. *Children and Society, 19*, 66–73. https://doi.org/10.1002/chi.858.

Hutchby, I., & Wooffitt, R. (1998). *Conversation analysis. Principles, practices and applications*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

James, A. (2009). Agency. In J. Qvortrup, G. Valentine, W. Corsaro, & M. S. Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of childhood studies* (pp. 34–45). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

James, A., Jenks, C., & Prout, A. (1998). *Theorizing childhood*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

James, A., & Prout, A. (Eds.). (1997). *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. London: Falmer Press.

Jans, M. (2004). Children as citizens. Towards a contemporary notion of child participation. *Childhood, 11*(1), 27–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/090756820 4040182.

Kjørholt, A. T. (2007). Childhood as a symbolic space: Searching for authentic voices in the era of globalisation. *Children's Geographies, 5*(1–2), 29–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733280601108148.

Lemke, J. L. (2008). Identity, development and desire: Critical questions. In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard & R. Iedema (Eds.), *Identity trouble. Critical discourse and contested identities* (pp. 17–42). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

MacCormick, N. (1976). Children's rights: A test-case for theories of rights. *Archiv für Rechts und Sozialphilosophie, 62*(3), 305–317.

Mannitz, S. (2005). Coming of age as the third generation: Children of immigrants in Berlin. In J. Knörr (Ed.), *Childhood and migration: From experience to agency*. Bielefeld/Somerset, NJ: Transcript & Transaction Publishers.

Mnookin, R. H. (1979). Foster care: In whose best interests? In O. O'Neill & W. Ruddick (Eds.), *Having children: Philosophical and legal reflections on parenthood* (pp. 179–213). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moore, A. M., & Barker, G. G. (2012). Confused or multicultural: Third culture individuals' cultural identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 36*, 553–562. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.11.002.

Parreñas, R. (2001). Mothering from a distance: Emotions, gender, intergenerational relations in filipino transnational families. *Feminist Studies, 27*(2), 261–291. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178765.

Pollock, D. C., & Van Reken, R. E. (2009). *The third culture kid experience growing up among worlds*. Boston, MA: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.

Prout, A., Simmons, R., & Birchall, J. (2006). Reconnecting and extending the research agenda on children's participation: Mutual incentives and the participation chain. In E. K. M. Tisdall, J. M. Davis, M. Hill, & A. Prout (Eds.), *Children, young people and social inclusion* (pp. 75–101). Bristol: Policy Press.

Sacks, H., Shegloff, E., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematic for the organization of turn—Taking for conversation. *Language, 50*, 696–735. https://doi.org/10.2307/412243.

Somers, M., & Gibson, G. D. (1994). Reclaiming the epistemological 'other': Narrative and the social constitution of identity. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity* (pp. 37–99). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Tirado, F., & Gálvez, A. (2007). Positioning theory and discourse analysis: Some tools for social interaction analysis. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 8*(2). https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-8.2.248.

Urry, J. (2005). The place of emotions within place. In J. Davidson, L. Bondi, & M. Smith (Eds.), *Emotional geographies* (pp. 77–86). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Valentine, K. (2011). Accounting for agency. *Children & Society, 25*, 347–358. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2009.00279.x.

Van Langenhove, L., & Harré, R. (1999). Introducing positioning theory. In R. Harré & L. Van Langenhove (Eds.), *Positioning theory* (pp. 14–31). Oxford: Blackwell.

Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22*(2), 445–462. https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329558.

Wallace, C. (2011). A school of immigrants: How new arrivals become pupils in a multilingual London school. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 11*(2), 97–112. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2011.556742.

Wolff, S. (2004). Ways into the field and their variants. In U. Flick, E. von Kardorff, & I. Steinke (Eds.), *A companion to qualitative research* (pp. 195–202). London: Sage.

12

Conclusion: Lived Childhoods

Claudio Baraldi and Tom Cockburn

The contributions to this volume introduce some new theoretical insights into children's citizenship, rights and participation. These highlight the specificities of *lived* citizenship, rights and participation, which we might summarise as *lived childhoods*. The concept of lived childhoods highlights the interdependence of citizenship, rights and participation in defining and shaping the lives of children. Thus we move away from an abstraction of 'childhood', where all individual children share a general condition based on their age premised on fixed social norms. By way of contrast the concept of *lived* childhood refers to children, in different regions and countries, situations and conditions, who share, in their daily life, the problems and opportunities of being citizens, having rights and participating in social processes. Thus the contributors discuss aspects of *lived* citizenship, *lived* rights and *lived* participation, thereby eschewing

C. Baraldi (✉)
University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, Emilia-Romagna, Italy

T. Cockburn
Edge Hill University, Ormskirk, UK

abstractions of citizenship, rights and participation. The *lived* aspects of childhood outlined in this collection emphasise the different, and often unequal, ways of living citizenship, rights and participation. Of course, there are clearly some shared aspects of children's daily lives, but these operate in specific social circumstances rather than being *a priori* conditions. Lived childhoods, in this sense, are realised in both local and global social and cultural conditions, which means that they are realised in the so-called glocal dimension of society and interactions, as outlined by Warming (Chap. 2).

Analysing lived childhood means taking the perspective of children's 'real' lives. The insights into lived childhood in this volume are based on different but intertwined views of general theory (Thomas and Stoecklin (Chap. 4), Warming (Chap. 2), Wyness (Chap. 3), Eßer (Chap. 5)), critical theory (Sarmento, Marchi and Trevisan (Chap. 7)) and applied theory (Percy-Smith (Chap. 8), Poretti (Chap. 6), Farini (Chap. 9), Pecthelidis (Chap. 10), Amadasi and Iervese (Chap. 11)). These contributions, although containing important differences of approach and philosophy, share an attention to direct theoretical bases for analysing lived childhood. At the same time they stress the symbiotic attention to the specific (lived) contexts regarding their childhood, based on daily interactions and analysed with different methodological tools (analysis of interactional processes, interviews, written materials, participatory observation). In this conclusion, we aim to provide some reflections on the opportunities of theoretical developments emerging from such a daunting array of possibilities.

The basic and probably most important opportunity for development concerns theoretical innovation about lived childhood. On the face of it, the diversity of theoretical and methodological tools can give rise to accusations of eclecticism and inconsistency. The chapters in this volume do present a large variety of theoretical approaches. There are some rather loose connections between different chapters based on important theories, such as those of Bourdieu and Honneth. However, the richness of the volume is built on the effort, in each chapter, to include and mix different concepts to provide a new theoretical framework. Taking this furthest of all, the contribution by Warming advocates for mixing a large number of theoretical approaches in what she calls a 'prism', with the aim

of taking into account the largest number of important tools to analyse lived childhoods. The collaboration between Thomas and Stoecklin (Chap. 4) proposes to analyse different issues with different theoretical frameworks. Other authors mix and harmonise different concepts in a theoretical framework (Percy-Smith (Chap. 8), Eßer (Chap. 5), Pechtelidis (Chap. 10) and Amadasi and Iervese (Chap. 11)), or compare different theories to find criteria that can be applied to specific contexts (Poretti (Chap. 6), Wyness (Chap. 3)). Sarmento and colleagues (Chap. 7), rather than proposing a new theoretical framework, draw attention to the lack of one adopted in childhood studies to analyse the impact of the economic crisis on the lived childhoods of children in the majority world or those children at the margins of rich countries, such as in Europe today. All these contributions avoid the mere reproduction of well-established concepts and advocate a review or reworking of them. The theoretical effort to combine different concepts is important to an interdisciplinary subject such as childhood studies, and it is necessary to avoid the risk of reducing conceptual innovation in order to strengthen the 'discipline'. Childhood studies needs systematic theoretical contamination and combination. The challenge is to discuss, compare and maybe integrate different theoretical frameworks to introduce both new issues about lived childhood and new ways of dealing with these issues. It is thus vital to avoid the temptation to stabilise the identity of the 'discipline' through the construction of basic and unchangeable frameworks. Childhood is a heterogeneous experience among a diversity of social conditions. It is thus necessary for our theoretical tools to reflect this variety rather than force childhood experiences to fit our tools.

The second opportunity for theoretical development concerns the impact of institutions on lived childhood, be they schools, playgroups, leisure institutions and so on. In childhood studies, this impact has been analysed in a large amount of material and reflections on intergenerational, asymmetrical relations, which basically converges on the concept of a 'generational order' (see the Chap. 1). The problem of an unequal or inadequate institutional approach to children's citizenship, rights and participation is omnipresent in research and theory. Analyses involve both political and practical levels of institutional support and the degree of impact on children's lives. In particular, education (as reflected in this

volume) is the most analysed institution regarding issues around adult-children intergenerational relations. However, we also show that research focused entirely on the negative outcomes and experiences of institutions may be replaced by the observation that intergenerational relations can take very different forms, particularly in alternatives to traditional state-directed institutions. There are two important tasks for future theorisation in this field. First, comparative analysis needs to continue on different forms of intervention, through which it may be possible to identify specific practices that do or don't enhance the lived citizenship, rights and participation (as agency) of all children. Second, the connection between political decisions, policies and interventions needs to be explicated. Institutional engagement in the lived childhoods of children directly concerns their citizenship, rights and participation, but a theoretical reflection on their connection has not yet been fully elaborated. This also implies the requirement for exploring the connections between different methods of analysing lived childhoods. In particular, the role of children's contributions, as displayed in adult–children *lived* interactions, needs more focus and attention. Children can make important contributions to the analysis of the ways in which political decisions and policies are implemented in social interventions, not least by reflecting on what effects interventions and practices have on their own lived childhoods.

The third opportunity concerns the meaning of the glocal dimension of lived childhood. In this volume, this problem is addressed both directly, and indirectly—that is, questioning the local conditions of lived childhood and indirectly comparing them with alternative conditions. Warming (Chap. 2) and Sarmento and colleagues (Chap. 7) suggest considering the global dimension as particularly relevant for the development of new theories of lived childhoods. Sarmento and colleagues in particular stress that it is precisely the global dimensions that are missed in theories of childhood studies. Other contributions suggest analysing the importance of regional or national policies and interventions (Poretti (Chap. 6), Farini (Chap. 9)), or the importance of case analysis in order to understand global processes of change to lived childhoods (Percy-Smith (Chap. 8), Pechtelidis (Chap. 10) and Amadasi and Iervese (Chap.11)). Further reflection on the connection between these different

levels of analysis of lived childhoods seems necessary. This could start from the connection between three subdimensions: (1) the effects of globalisation on local lived childhood (which is probably the most studied aspect of childhood studies); (2) the effects of different forms of lived childhoods on globalisation processes; and (3) the ways in which local analyses of lived childhoods may be connected to global processes, and analyses of global childhoods may be connected to local conditions of lived childhoods.

The fourth opportunity for theoretical development concerns the analysis of some frequently taken-for-granted dimensions of lived childhood, such as gender, social class and ethnicity. The problems with these 'intersectionalities' are frequently ignored. For instance, children may be categorised as belonging to ethnic groups imposed by adult or colonialist criteria, or gender hierarchies may be taken for granted as a premise of research and not challenged. Here, an important issue concerns the relationship between children's social, cultural and personal identities, on the one hand, and the meaning of social and cultural conditioning of children, on the other. In this area, some important categorisations have to do with the body—,for instance with physical or sexual development, (dis)ablement and/or gender identities. Alan Prout (2005) suggests the importance of dealing with the body, thus overcoming the divide between a social constructionist approach and a biological one. In this volume, Eßer (Chap. 5) identifies the relevance of the body as an important material dimension of lived childhood. This is another important issue to develop. In particular, it is worth considering the embodied aspects of development when considering early childhood; the embodiment of sexual identities; the embodiment of the experience of pain and illness; the embodiment of vulnerability and capability; and so on. While childhood studies has drawn on feminism, disability research, critical race theory and the mental health movement, further focus on processes of embodiment and the avoidance of the culture/nature dichotomy will be fruitful.

The fifth opportunity concerns the forms and conditions of lived childhood that are not visible in intergenerational relations because they are constructed among children only. Very little research, in particular regarding early childhood (Corsaro, 1997; Danby & Baker, 1998; Forrester, 2002), or linguistic analyses (Evaldsson & Svahn, 2012;

Karlsson & Evaldsson, 2011), are focused on peer interactions and relations. Amadasi and Iervese (Chap. 11) provide some suggestions about peer interactions and tensions within those interactions, although coordinated by a researcher but largely defined by the child participants. In childhood studies, the existence of a dimension of children's peer relations has been theorised from the beginning as a 'tribal' dimension, according to James, Jenks and Prout (1998). However, this theoretical framework has not been adequately developed. Rather than a 'tribal' childhood, a new theoretical framework might focus on the autonomous practices of lived childhoods. Both editors of this collection have published about informal groups of young people. Baraldi (1996), writing in the Italian context, analysed the ways in which these young people are affected by 'attending' informal groups and communicating within them. Cockburn and Cleaver have written about the importance of how informal groups of 'friends' are indeed at times complex 'institutions' with hierarchies, roles, obligations and reciprocities, and are crucial in the formation of social capital (2009). These informal groups of children are rarely accessible to research for methodological reasons and because of the prevailing interest in the institutional conditions of children's participation and citizenship. Informal relations and interactions among children are a relevant part of lived childhoods, and it is crucial to understand how, in these relations, citizenship, rights and participation are shaped. Theorising informal groups of children and their way of interpreting lived childhood, and comparing them with institutional conditions, are an important part of the future research agenda.

The final opportunity for development concerns the possibility of subverting the existing social and cultural presuppositions of childhood by elaborating the actual lived conditions and meanings of childhood. Mainstream theories take for granted the abovementioned generational order, analysing the ways in which children are subordinated to adults' views and directives. The hidden agenda here is that families and institutions determine, or at least strongly influence, children's socialisation, pushing children towards conformity, deviance or innovation. Some chapters in this volume suggest that children can change the conditions of their lives, in schools and groups, if they are provided with the social 'tools' to do so—for instance, in learning (Percy-Smith (Chap. 8)) or

educators' support (Petchtelidis (Chap. 10)). However, still missing is the analysis of the possibility that children take their lives in their own hands. It may be surprising to see that, after all, this topic is largely underesearched in childhood studies. As Luhmann (1984) wrote, socialisation should be understood as the distinction between conformity and deviance, and it is never predictable on which side of the distinction socialisation children will be driven. Moreover, according to him, any type of education unavoidably produces effects of socialisation. This is probably the most effective theoretical way of explaining why children's socialisation cannot be fully socially determined. However, the open theoretical question is whether children can change their lived childhoods autonomously, or whether they are always reliant on learning, help from enlightened or skilled adults, and supportive institutions or organisations to become relevant in society. Theories pointing to the primacy of social relations in children's lives may see in this question the seed of individualism, but, on the other hand, lacking an answer to individualism means taking for granted the subordination of children to adults. Theorists of childhood may find themselves trapped between what they perceive as the risk of individualism and the risk of adultism, if they do not find a convincing theoretical answer to the question.

A basic point here is that a theoretical framework can never be a normative premise of lived childhood, fixing the 'correct' ways of dealing with children. Lived childhood can be taken seriously if theoretical approaches work as a form of 'second order observation'—that is, observation of the ways in which children live their childhood, whatever that means. Theoretical frameworks must have built within them the probability that children will, despite the will of adults, build, construct and live their citizenship; interpret, negotiate and live their rights and respect the rights of others; and have the agency (however that is defined) to participate in their lives with others.

References

Baraldi, C. (1996). I gruppi adolescenziali e giovanili: teoria, ricerca e intervento. In S. Ansaloni & C. Baraldi (Eds.), *Gruppi giovanili e intervento sociale* (pp. 30–70). Milan: FrancoAngeli.

Cockburn, T., & Cleaver, F. (2009). *How children and young people win friends and influence others*. London: Carnegie UK Trust.

Corsaro, W. (1997). *The sociology of childhood*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Danby, S., & Baker, C. (1998). 'What's the problem?' Restoring social order in the preschool classroom. In I. Hutchby & J. Moran-Ellis (Eds.), *Children and social competence. Arenas of action* (pp. 157–186). London: Falmer Press.

Evaldsson, A., & Svahn, J. (2012). School bullying and the micro-politics of girls' gossip disputes. In S. Danby & M. Theobald (Eds.), *Disputes in everyday life: Social and moral orders of children and young people* (pp. 297–323). Bingley: Emerald.

Forrester, M. (2002). Appropriating cultural conceptions of childhood: Participation in conversation. *Childhood, 9*, 255–276. https://doi.org/10.11 77/0907568202009003043.

James, A., Jenks, C., & Prout, A. (1998). *Theorizing childhood*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Karlsson, M., & Evaldsson, A. (2011). 'It was Emma's army who bullied that girl': A narrative perspective on bullying and identity making in three girls' friendship groups. *Narrative Inquiry, 21*(1), 24–43. https://doi.org/10.1075/ni.21.1.02kar.

Luhmann, N. (1984). *Soziale systeme*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp (transl. *Social Systems*, Stanford University Press, 1995).

Prout, A. (2005). *The future of childhood*. Abingdon: RoutledgeFalmer.

Index