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Participant or Protagonist? The impact of the personal on the development of children and young people's participation

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Participant or Protagonist?

The impact of the personal on the development of children and young people's participation

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Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE

The Research Story and Research Background

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

CHAPTER THREE

Research Strategy and Research Design

CHAPTER FOUR

A Two-Dimensional Framework for Participatory Practice: representing the relational in the participatory process

CHAPTER FIVE

Changing Consciousness: coherence between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding

CHAPTER SIX

Participatory Methods: facilitators of the relational participatory process?

CHAPTER SEVEN

Summary and Conclusion

Appendices

References

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Photos

List of Text Boxes

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ECA	Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
IBGE	Insituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística
LOAS	Lei Orgânica da Assistência Social
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

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Signed:

Victoria Jupp Kina

Date:

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You were the reason I started this journey

and

To my husband, Daniel Jupp Kina -
You are the reason I finished

Abstract

This research aimed to respond to the recent shifts in thinking around children and young people's participation by exploring participatory practice in three community-based NGOs in São Paulo, Brazil. There is profound confusion within children and young people's participation both in theory and in practice. A credible and coherent body of theory to inform practice is lacking and consequently wide variations in the quality of practice have been identified. Current theoretical frameworks for children and young people's participation within Northern literature rely upon sequential and hierarchical models of participation and largely fail to incorporate the fluidity of participatory practice. This has led to calls to shift attention towards the relational dimension of participation resulting in the re-emergence of the role of the adult in the participatory process. However, as yet theoretical frameworks for children and young people's participation have failed to incorporate this perspective.

By working in three small community-based NGOs in São Paulo, Brazil, I set out to respond to these shifts. Adopting a participatory action research approach, I worked alongside staff members to develop, plan, facilitate and reflect upon a range of participatory methods to unravel current attitudes to and understandings of children and young people's participation amongst adults involved in the participatory process. The findings of the research are founded on two key points. First, that participation should be viewed as a *process* rather than an event. Second, that participation should be viewed as a *relational* process between all involved. I propose a new framework for participatory practice that recognises the fluidity of the participatory process and the continual learning of all involved through conceptualising participation as a scale that is directly related to the notion of 'consciousness'. I explore 'consciousness', focusing on the role of the adult, and argue that increasing of levels of 'consciousness' is based upon increasing coherence between emotional and intellectual levels of understanding; that the 'adult' needs to move beyond the intellectual decision to 'do' participation and actively include themselves in the process of transforming subjectivities. I then explore the role that participatory methods can play in the process of increasing 'consciousness' and propose that whilst participatory methods can facilitate the dialogical relationships between the emotional and the intellectual, there needs to be a more realistic vision of their potential.

The Research Story and Research Background

'Political action on the side of the oppressed must be pedagogical action in the authentic sense of the word, and, therefore, action with *the oppressed.'*
(Freire, 1996[1970]: 48 [emphasis in original])

1.1 Introduction to the Research

In this research I set out to explore the reality of children and young people's participation in three community-based Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in São Paulo, Brazil. Participation is now politically and philosophically embedded within social development both nationally and internationally. In the UK context, participation has come to be seen as a cornerstone of social care and social work policy and philosophy (Beresford and Croft, 2001) and in the international arena the words 'participatory' and 'participation' are argued to have become embedded in the language of international development (Chambers, 2005: 101). In Brazil, citizen participation was formally established in the 1988 constitution through the decentralisation of policy making and establishment of mechanisms for citizens to participate in social policy development, implementation and monitoring (Coelho, 2007). This resulted in citizen participation (*'participação* cidadã*'*) becoming a foundational aspect of both the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (*'Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente' [ECA]*) and the Organic Law of Social Work (*'Lei Orgânica da Assistência Social'* [LOAS]) both of which have the common objective of strengthening citizen power to influence decisions, actions and social control (Stamato, 2008). However, despite widespread use participation remains an ambiguous concept, with multiple meanings ranging from people providing information to people analysing problems and participating in decision-making as genuine protagonists (VeneKlasen et al., 2004) In the UK, participation, or user involvement, is argued to have been primarily based on a consumerist agenda resulting in services remaining provider-led rather than user-led:

'The whole process can be seen as one as much concerned with extraction, that is to say, data gathering from service users, as one of empowerment,

that is to say, increasing their personal and political power. While the aim may be to make change, control remains with the service system.' (Beresford and Croft, 2001: 296)

In the international development arena, the same ambiguities have been identified, with the participatory discourse being rapidly absorbed into the official aims and objectives of governments and international aid agencies (Williams, 2004) leading to criticism that participation had been incorporated, adapted and co-opted by mainstream development practice (Nederveen Pieterse, 1998). Even in Brazil, where the focus on citizen participation has led to Brazil being coined a laboratory of democratic innovation (Gaventa, 2004 cited in Coelho, 2007), a recent survey investigating the exercise of citizenship in São Paulo found that associational participation, in other words formal membership or active participation in associations, whilst enhancing levels of active citizenship does not improve the quality of civil relations to government and makes only a limited contribution to the democratic rule of law (Houtzager et al., 2007).

Children and young people's participation is also characterised by ambiguity, with the discourse being criticised as often lacking theoretical clarity and political astuteness (Theis, 2010: 344). The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) has been particularly influential in promoting the participation of children and young people with participation becoming the third 'P' alongside the goals of protection and provision (Skelton, 2007), yet 'despite its widespread usage, there remains considerable lack of clarity about what is actually meant by participation in the context of children's rights.' (Lansdown, 2010: 11) In the UK, participation policies and practices have been criticised as being ineffective or misdirected with 'participatory' innovations such as school and youth councils often being regarded by young people as tokenistic, unrepresentative, adult-led and ineffective in acting on what they want (Davis and Hill, 2006: 9). In Brazil, despite extensive debates on the role of children and young people within society and the widespread use of the term youth protagonism (*'protagonismo juvenil'*), defined as the active participation of young people in 'real problems' (Costa, 1997: 65), within the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (ECA) youth protagonism remains a term that is 'imprecise and multifaceted' (Stamato, 2008: 56 [my translation]). In relation to current practice, particularly within NGOs, youth protagonism has also been criticised as offering young people one particular model of political action resulting in a 'prescribed participation' that has the effect not of promoting protagonism but of nullifying it (Magalhães de Souza, 2007: 6 [my translation]).

The profound confusion that surrounds participation in general and children and young people's participation in particular highlights the need for more clarity. Current theoretical frameworks for children and young people's participation within Northern literature rely upon sequential and hierarchical models of participation which reflect 'a limited and fragmented conceptualisation of children's participation.' (Malone and Hartung, 2010: 28) Recent calls have highlighted the need to shift attention towards the relational dimension of participation that recognises 'ways of thinking and being that move beyond rules and rights and emphasise the importance of mutual interdependence and inter-subjective understanding.' (Prout and Tisdall, 2006: 243) The challenge is now identified as moving beyond the success or failure model within children and young people's participation and towards a model that promotes critical reflection on whether a culture of children's participation has become more realisable (Percy-Smith and Malone, 2001 cited in Malone and Hartung, 2010). Recognition of participation as a relational process for all involved (Mannion, 2010) has led to the re-emergence of the role of the adult in participatory processes. If participation is more than a 'new manner of working' but rather 'a value and a way of perceiving ourselves in relation to others' (Hart et al., 2004: 59) then it cannot be understood outside of those relations. The sustained autonomous activity by children is in most instances not a realistic goal, resulting in the ongoing responsibilities of adults within participation processes (Prout and Tisdall, 2006), yet the roles that adults play within children and young people's participation have received limited attention within theoretical and academic debates (Wyness, 2009).

This research aims to respond to these more recent shifts by exploring the practice of children and young people's participation through working alongside adults involved in the participatory process. By working in three small community-based NGOs in São Paulo, Brazil, I set out to explore the reality of children and young people's participation through tracing the attitudes and practices of the adults involved in developing children and young people's participation in organisational decision-making processes. Adopting a participatory action research approach, I set out to work alongside staff members to develop, plan, facilitate and reflect upon a range of participatory methods with children and young people attending the NGOs in order to try to unravel adult staff members' attitudes to and understandings of children and young people's participation.

1.2 Telling the Research Story: the place of 'I'

This thesis tells a story. As well as reviewing contemporary discourses and analysing empirical data, throughout this thesis I tell a story of multiple dimensions and multiple voices. The clearest of the voices is undoubtedly my own. Whilst the research process was participatory, the writing of this thesis was not and as the owner of the authorial voice I feel obliged to hold my own personal history up for examination. As highlighted by Benhabib in her essay on the 'other', our inner nature can only be understood in relational terms; our individual interpretations of our needs and motives 'carry with them the traces of those early childhood experiences, phantasies [*sic*], wishes, and desires as well as the self-conscious goals of the person.' (1985: 417) For Benhabib, human relationships require a recognition of the other through the knowledge 'that 'I' am an 'other' to you and that, likewise, you are an 'I' to yourself but an 'other' to me' (1992: 52) and therefore 'In this respect the self only becomes an I in a community of other selves who are also I's. Every act of self-reference expresses simultaneously the uniqueness and difference of the self as well as the commonality among selves. Discourses about needs and motives unfold in this space created by commonality and uniqueness, generally shared socialization, and the contingency of individual life-histories.' (1985: 417) Therefore before moving on to discuss the multiple 'others' within the thesis, it is necessary to examine my own 'I' and to examine how my 'I' has affected, and been affected by, the concrete 'otherness' of those around me.

The research has a far longer history than four years of doctoral study. My reasons for choosing to continue to study, the reason for the chosen topic and the chosen epistemological approach are a result of my way of looking at the world, my lived experiences in my personal as well as professional life, my values and beliefs. In other words, this research is a result of, and has now become part of, my personal history. As argued by Freire (2001: 58), we 'exercise our capacity to learn and to teach so much better for being subjects and not simply objects of the process we are engaged in' and through recognising the socially constructed nature of knowledge, through recognising that my understanding of others is relational to my understanding of me, throughout the research process I actively engaged with my own subjectivity. Therefore before explaining what was done in this research, I describe and reflect upon the background against which the research was set, moving beyond *what* was done to consider the question of '*why*'?

1.2.1 My story: a reflective journey

Eight years ago, as an enthusiastic freshly graduated twenty-two year old, I spent nine months working as a volunteer for a UK-based NGO that utilises a 'youth-led' methodology in eight countries across Africa and South Asia. Upon arriving in my chosen country – South Africa – and together with the other volunteers I spent the first month at a university campus undertaking training. Of the forty or so volunteers, eleven were non-South African, roughly ten were from other states in South Africa and the remaining volunteers were young men and women from the various communities throughout the Eastern Cape that had been selected to be included in the programme. These nine months proved to be the foundation upon which would develop a cynicism towards the development sector in general and 'gap year' organisations in particular. The experience was personally challenging but not for the reasons I predicted. Instead, what became increasingly challenging was how to deal with my frustration, embarrassment and increasing anger at what I perceived to be the primacy given to me, the inexperienced, out-of-her-depth, white, female, British volunteer. Whilst I felt this throughout my time working on the programme, it was after the end of the programme when I went back to visit a friend, a South African who was from one of the communities north of where I had been working, that I was able to identify a possible foundation for my feelings of discomfort.

I met my friend at a beach near to his home and we wandered along the shore to a little café next to a tiny river. We sat and chatted, catching up on who was doing what (and with whom) and inevitably we began to reminisce about that first month at the university campus, laughing at the memories of the inventiveness of a group of forty bored young people with ground rules but no supervision. Our conversation drifted to recollecting our first few days after arrival. It was then that Joshua[1] told me about the shame he had felt during mealtimes during the first few days. I didn't understand, so he patiently explained: he had grown up using a spoon to eat and so had not known how to use a knife and fork, yet only knives and forks were provided at each mealtime during our one-month training course. This conversation turned out to be one of those conversations that stays with you, that teaches you and challenges you in equal measure and that you hope to never forget. It showed me how the simple can be powerful and how this power can have a profound effect. It showed me how much the whole nine months had been about meeting my needs rather than the needs of the people whose country I had come to 'help'. It showed me the

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[1] Name has been changed to preserve anonymity

importance of not assuming, of dialogue, of asking questions. Looking back now, this conversation set me on the path I now follow. It showed me the importance of participation.

The cynicism towards the development sector was further deepened a year or so later when I travelled once again, but this time as an independent volunteer for a project based in the north-east of Brazil. My trip, organised via a UK-based fundraising organisation, was to further confirm the problems within the development sector, but this time I began to see how the paternalistic nature of funding relationships promoted an institutional dependency that I felt prevented both personal and organisational development. The small community project with which I was volunteering had been receiving funding for nearly ten years from the UK-based funder and a relationship of dependency had clearly been created. However a more profound aspect of this period in my life was the realisation, much later, how much I had used, and possibly abused, my power before I had even realised that I had any. With no significant skills to bring except enthusiasm and a willingness to pay my own airfare, and with no understanding of Portuguese, I had once again flown across the world under the cover of wanting to 'help' whilst failing to admit that this trip was, once again, more about me than anyone else. Although I had been uncomfortable by the almost implicit assumption in many of my interactions with the staff at the local project that I had something to 'teach', my reaction had been one of annoyance that 'they' were putting me in this position, that they were undervaluing their own skills and knowledge. I had been unable to see that they were simply reacting to the position I had put *myself* in. Rather than undervaluing themselves, I had overvalued myself. Whilst I quickly became frustrated, disappointed and angry at the way that the UK funder had created dependency, it took a lot longer before I realised my own complicity in this creation.

1.2.2 Why this research? And why Brazil?

After returning to the UK I began a postgraduate qualifying course in social work. It was during my time studying that I first came into contact with theoretical writing about power, empowerment, powerlessness and participation and I was able to reflect upon my previous experiences and begin to place them in a theoretical framework. During the two years I spent studying and working around these issues I began to develop the ideas and thinking that would form the basis for a PhD funding proposal. There are two main reasons for the research occurring in Brazil. First, my pre-existing relationship with the UK-based funding organisation provided access to a wide range of community based NGOs across Brazil.

Second, I had a personal interest in learning a new language and in increasing my professional experience outside of the UK.

The original proposal was a far cry from the final product of the research process. My frustration with the development sector was initially directed towards the funding organisations, who I felt reinforced power inequalities rather than overcoming them. I wanted to investigate these relationships through examining the development and implementation of participatory monitoring and evaluation as an efficiency-driven as opposed to an empowerment-driven approach to organisational development. I approached the UK-based funding organisation which had helped to organise my time volunteering in the north-east of Brazil and proposed conducting a study of six of the Brazilian community-based NGOs funded by them to critically explore the development and impact of participatory monitoring and evaluation processes for the community-based NGOs, all of which work with children and young people. The proposal was accepted, however as the research progressed the original proposal became increasingly problematic for two reasons. First, organisational changes within the UK-based funding organisation led to a period of organisational instability, including the employing of a new managing director, which I felt could potentially impact negatively upon the research process. Second, after a preliminary field trip to Brazil to visit eleven of the community-based NGOs and conduct an initial survey in order to inform the selection of potential participant organisations (conducted as part of my MA in Social Research Methods) it became clear that my relationship with the NGOs would be negatively influenced if I was seen as 'part' of the UK-based funding organisation. As a result I decided to shift the focus of the research away from specifically analysing the funder-funded relationship and towards analysing the overall development of participatory practice with children and young people within the Brazil-based NGOs. I also decided to narrow the focus of the research to work with fewer NGOs to enable a deeper research process and to work in just one geographical area in order to facilitate inter-organisational comparison. This resulted in the final research being undertaken in three community-based NGOs in the city of São Paulo.

1.3 The Brazilian Context

In this section I provide a brief overview of some of the relevant political and economic issues within Brazil in order to provide a backdrop against which the remaining thesis can

be set. While I did not explicitly examine political, social or cultural aspects particular to Brazil, the objectives, practices and cultures of the three NGOs are deeply intertwined with historical, political and economic developments. Therefore before moving on to discuss key academic debates and discourses, I will provide a brief overview of two key aspects relevant to this research: the issue of ongoing social inequalities and the political shifts towards participatory democracy after Brazil's return to democratic rule.

1.3.1 Brazil: the continuing issue of social inequality

Brazil is the largest country in Latin America both in terms of land mass and population size (World Bank, 2009a). With a Gross National Income (GNI)[2] per capita of $10,296 Brazil is classified as an upper middle income country by the World Bank (World Bank, 2009a and World Bank, 2009b) and was ranked 75th of 182 countries in the 2009 Human Development Index (UNDP, 2009). The proportion of people living below the poverty line has declined significantly since the 1970s, falling from 68.4 percent in 1970 to 34.95 percent in 1999 (UNDP, 2004: 10-11), yet despite this reduction poverty levels continue to be high in comparison to other countries with a similar per capita income, indicating that continuing poverty levels are related to the high degree of income inequality within Brazil (UNDP, 2004). Brazil's income distribution has been one of the world's most uneven for the last half-century (Skidmore, 2004) and poverty and social exclusion continue to be significant challenges. For example, in the National Household Survey in 2001 10 percent of families reported a per capita income of around $0.40 - $0.50 per day, well below the World Bank poverty line of one dollar per day (Schwartzman, 2003: 15). The concentration of poverty within squatter settlements, or *'favelas'*, and the representation of these areas as spaces of 'absence; absence of law, resources, culture, productive and creative power, or even, in more extreme cases, of morality' (Butler, 2007: 6) is argued to have led to social segregation whereby there has been a 'relativization of citizenship', in other words citizenship has become a concept relative to skin colour, level of education, income and place of residence (Souza and Santos, 2004 cited in Butler, 2007). The ongoing challenge of social segregation within Brazil has contributed to Brazilian NGOs continuing to place the issue of citizenship as a central aspect of their work. As noted by Cornwall et al.:

> *'After more than three decades of the democratization process, and despite the election of a government aligned with the popular movements, the*

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[2] The World Bank has now adopted the terminology Gross National Income (GNI) in place of the previous term of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

struggle for citizenship continues to lie at the heart of the work and practice of
social movements, NGOs and other progressive actors in Brazil.' (2008: 15)

1.3.2 The development of citizen participation and the role of NGOs

In 1532 Brazil was made part of the Portuguese colony and did not gain independence again until 1822 (Fausto, 1999). During this time an estimated 4 million people, mostly young men, from all over the African continent were enslaved and transported to Brazil (Fausto, 1999). Revisionist historians have challenged previous assumptions about the mild and humane conditions of Brazilian slavery (Conrad, 1974) and they also highlight how the economic position of slaves actually worsened after the abolition of slavery due to the state's encouragement of mass European immigration (Graham, 1999) and of the new immigrants undertaking the work previously done by slaves. This resulted in 'freed' slaves being excluded from the competitive marketplace and experiencing more severe poverty after abolition than before (Hanchard, 1999). This contributed to the migration of 'freed' slaves towards towns and cities in an attempt to find employment, which in turn resulted in the start of the '*favela*' communities, or squatter settlements, as the newly 'freed' slaves began to build their own shelters and homes within and around the larger cities.

However in terms of the role of NGOs in Brazillian society, the period of military rule between 1964 and 1985 (Castro, 2000) proved to be a foundation upon which current participatory practices are built. Experiences during the struggle for democracy are argued to have 'shaped the experiments that took place over the following years to create institutions that could ensure the accountability and responsiveness of the new democratic state.' (Cornwall et al., 2008: 3). The 1988 Brazilian Constitution not only established the formal transition to democracy, but also sanctioned the decentralisation of policy making and established mechanisms for citizens to participate in the formulation, management and monitoring of social policies (Coelho, 2007: 35) leading it to be regarded as 'one of the world's most important laboratories of democratic innovation' (Gaventa, 2004 cited in Coelho, 2007: 35). One of the principal developments was participatory budgeting, which involves the creating of deliberative spaces and mechanisms for allocating municipal budget resources (Avritzer, 2002). Within Brazil, participatory budgeting is argued to have been a way to incorporate the strong and widespread movement of neighbourhood associations that emerged throughout the main cities in Brazil by the late 1970s into these institutionalised processes of deliberation (Avritzer, 2002). The participatory mechanisms introduced have been criticised as poor tools for the achievement of political equality, whereby the inequalities in the wider socio-political structure 'entail asymmetries and

restrain political participation, which reinforces inequality and so deepens the representation deficit of disadvantaged actors' (Pozzoni, 2002 cited in Coelho, 2007: 36). However more recent studies have begun to break down this perspective and highlight how, under certain circumstances, these mechanisms can be both inclusive and meaningful (Coelho, 2007).

The commitment to citizen participation within Brazil is highlighted by the reversal of the term 'social control' (*'controle social'*) during the process of democratisation from the traditional view of social control signifying the control exercised by the state over its citizens, to signifying the control exercised by civil society over the state (Paz, 2009). The period of democratisation saw the growth of an increasingly strong and influential 'third sector' within Brazil, including a wide variety of non-profit organisations including welfare-based organisations linked to the Church, cooperatives and associations linked to big companies, philanthropic organisations, NGOs, and a new wave linked to the privatisation of public services which functioned as micro-businesses (Cornwall et al., 2008: 12). However, shortcomings in how participation was implemented meant that in some cases 'civil society has been seen as a mere extension of the state for the design and implementation of programmes and policies' and in other cases the role of civil society has been 'largely limited to legitimising the orientation of government policies, without influencing the decision-making process.' (Cornwall et al., 2008: 15) This has resulted in the main focus of NGOs and civil society groups today being on the challenge of maintaining their autonomy alongside the continued focus on the struggle for citizenship (Cornwall et al., 2008: 15).

1.4 Definitions and Terminology

Before I move on to examine key areas of literature, I define some of the terminology used throughout the thesis. In referring to 'children and young people', I have adopted the definitions set out in Brazil's Statute of the Child and Adolescent (Governo do Brasil, 1990). The statute considers a child to be a person up to the age of twelve years and an adolescent to be a person between the ages of twelve and eighteen. Although a small number of young people were nineteen at the time of the research, they are included in the category of 'young people'. Throughout the thesis I will also use the terms 'North/Northern' and 'South/Southern' to refer to country and region-based divisions within the world. Whilst deeply problematic, particularly for countries like Brazil that are classed as upper middle

income (World Bank, 2009b), and creating an artificial division of the world that overlooks substantial parts of reality, no other template is yet available (Weiss, 2009). Whilst I recognise the implicit simplification of using such dualistic language, the terms 'North' and 'South' will be used throughout the thesis. The term 'Western' will be used when I refer to authors who have used this expression. To provide clarity I will always use quotation marks for the term 'Western' to indicate reference to other sources.

1.5 Outline of Thesis Structure

This research was an ongoing process of reflective learning. I aim to represent this learning by interweaving my own reflections throughout the thesis. I chose to adopt this approach to reflect the iterative research process and tell the unfolding story of learning about how participation really works. In chapter two I provide an analysis of the key literature relevant to the research. In chapter three I provide a detailed examination of the research design and research strategy. In this chapter I reflect upon a range of participatory methods utilised during the research process, identifying both strengths and weaknesses. This is followed by a set of three results chapters, each focusing on a specific aspect of children and young people's participation. Chapter four explores the concepts of participation and protagonism, arguing that both are essential elements to participatory processes and are relational to increasing levels of consciousness. In chapter five I break down the idea of consciousness by examining the role that emotions play in the participatory process, arguing that increasing levels of consciousness is related to coherence between intellectual and emotional levels of understanding. In chapter six I examine the role that participatory methods can play in increasing consciousness. This chapter directly addresses the 'tyranny of techniques' critiques of participation. In chapter seven I summarise the research findings and make ten recommendations for NGOs aiming to encourage the development and implementation of children and young people's participation.

Summary

In this chapter I provided an overview of the key shifts in recent debates regarding children and young people's participation within the UK and Brazil. I then demonstrated how this research aimed to respond to calls to recognise the relational aspect of children and young people's participation through exploring participatory practice with children and young

people in three small community-based NGOs in São Paulo, Brazil. I then provided a background within which the rest of the thesis is placed. By detailing some key personal experiences and motivations for undertaking this research in a framework of continual reflection, I articulated not only what I did, but also *why* I did what I did. I then provided an overview of ongoing social inequalities in Brazil and the political shifts towards participatory democracy. In the following chapter I widen the discussion to focus on four main areas: the development sector, power, participatory development and children and young people's participation.

CHAPTER 2
Literature Review

Introduction

In this research I explore the practice of children and young people's participation in three community based NGOs in São Paulo, Brazil. All three NGOs work in community development, are part-funded by UK-based funding organisations and work specifically with children and young people. The review of the literature was undertaken throughout the research as an ongoing process of review and re-review in order to form an iterative process of analysis and reflection. I returned to the literature throughout the research to explore emerging themes, clarify initial ideas and test theoretical developments. As a social worker, I inevitably utilise some of the theoretical approaches found within the social work literature within my analysis, however the international nature of the research alongside the extensive and rich debates regarding the practice of participation within the international development sector also led me to explore the literature in this area. I also focus upon the literature on children and young people, including the conceptualisation of children and childhood and the debates surrounding children's rights. Power emerged as a central theme during the research process and I therefore returned to the literature to explore theoretical approaches and debates in this area. It is also worth noting that as the research progressed and my ability to read academic Portuguese improved, I also began to access more Brazilian literature, focusing particularly on the debates surrounding children and young people's participation. Consequently, while this review covers four key areas of discourse I also interweave into the analysis some of the key debates and theoretical approaches found within both the UK social work literature and the Brazilian debates on children and young people's participation.

In this review I first provide an overview of the main developments within discourses surrounding development, highlighting the shift away from structural and homogenising approaches towards recognition of the value of local knowledge through the poststructural conception of the socially constructed nature of knowledge. I move on to discuss power, drawing on the work of four key theorists: Michel Foucault, Steven Lukes, Paulo Freire and Amartya Sen. I then return to the development discourse to examine in more detail the debates and critiques of participatory development, utilising the previous discussion of the

various power discourses as a framework for discussion. Finally, I focus attention on key issues and debates on children and young people's participation within development. I end the review by bringing these debates together and identifying how the present research builds upon current knowledge before specifying my research aim and research questions.

2.1 The Meaning of 'Development'

Despite the common use of the term 'development' its meaning not only remains unclear but has changed significantly over time. Nederveen Pieterse (2001: 7) traces the changes within development theory, broadly outlining the general trends within development theory over time as follows:

From	To
Macro-structures	Actor-orientated, agency, institutions
Structuralism	Constructivism
Determinism	Interpretative
Homogenizing, generalizing	Differentiating
Singular	Plural
Eurocentrism	Polycentrism

(taken from Nederveen Pieterse, 2001: 13)

From 'mainstream development', to 'alternative development', to 'post-development' as well as 'anti-development' and 'beyond-development' (Nederveen Pieterse, 1998; 2000), it is safe to say that development is a term that lacks in clarity. In an attempt to provide conceptual clarity to the muddy waters of development, I now provide an overview of the main debates.

2.1.1 Overview of debates in development discourse
It was the perceived failure of the 'old theories' of the post-war development project (Kothari and Minogue, 2002) and in particular the little evidence that the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund had actually stimulated growth that proved to be a catalyst for change within the development sector throughout the 1990s (Parfitt, 2002). Despite decades of 'official aid' that was delivered through the state, resulting in some gains in economic and social development, poverty

and inequality not only persisted but had grown within developing nations since the end of the Second World War (Kothari and Minogue, 2002). The recognition that development planning had failed to reduce inequalities and alleviate poverty (Kothari and Minogue, 2002) led to a desire for a new approach to development. 'Alternative development' emerged, broadly concerned with introducing alternative practices and redefining the goals of development (Nederveen Pieterse, 1998). This emergence came at a time when the rise of the 'NGO agenda' was viewed as an alternative to the state-delivered aid of the past (Lewis, 2005). This was facilitated by the rise in neo-liberalism, whereby the increased focus on privatisation and the withdrawal of the state during the 1980s (Nederveen Pieterse, 1998) resulted in an increase in the levels of accessible funding. These two aspects facilitated a move away from the state-led 'Western' capitalist model of development towards NGO provision of services (Lewis, 2005).

Yet 'alternative development' has been criticised as lacking theoretical and conceptual clarity (Tvedt, 1998) and focusing on micro rather than macro approaches to development (Nederveen Pieterse, 1998). Whilst the alternative approaches offered a selection of alternative methodologies they are argued to have fallen short of providing an oppositional position, resulting in it not only being relatively easy for the previous approaches to adopt the new methodologies but it also provided a way around having to answer the more fundamental questions about the overall purposes of development (Nederveen Pieterse, 1998). This led to a move towards 'post-development', which arose out of the critique that 'alternative development' still maintained the boundaries of colonised and coloniser. Rooted in post-colonial discourse, 'post-development' argued that the poverty of the 'Third World' had an identifiable cause and 'fundamental identity' due to colonisation (Worsley, 1979: 102). The impact of the colonial past was argued to have been forgotten by development theorists and post-colonialism developed as:

> *'… a theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath. It is a disciplinary project devoted to the academic task of revisiting, remembering and, crucially, interrogating the colonial past.'* (Gandhi, 1998: 4)

Postcolonial theorists are the main proponents of post-development where the focus is on examining the underlying premises and motives for development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2000). Edward Said's 1978 book 'Orientalism' was a catalyst within postcolonial theory, drawing attention to the discursive and textual production of colonial meanings that

resulted in colonial hegemony based on racial and ideological stereotypes. As Said notes in the introduction:

'No one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances in life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of society. These continue to bear on what he does professionally, even though naturally enough his research and its fruits do attempt to reach a level of relative freedom from the inhibitions and the restrictions of brute, everyday reality. For there is such a thing as knowledge that is less, rather than more, partial than the individual (with his entangling and distracting life circumstances) who produces it. Yet this knowledge is not therefore automatically non-political.' (Said, 2003[1978]: 10)

One of the central critiques within post-colonial theory is of 'Western' science. It was argued that the reductionist and universalising tendencies of science 'become inherently violent and destructive in a world which is inherently interrelated and diverse.' (Shiva, 2008[1997]: 161-2) Indeed Escobar argued that 'Western science through development exercises a form of 'cultural violence on the Third World'' resulting in a need for ''alternative conceptions of knowledge'.' (Escobar, 1992 cited in Nederveen Pieterse, 2001: 89) Although 'indigenous knowledge' was advocated within the alternative approaches (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001: 89) whilst the differentiation between populations was acknowledged, and the alternative approaches were argued to challenge assumptions based upon stereotypes and generalisations, they were criticised as further concealing the agency of the 'expert' (Kothari, 2002: 47). Rather than exposing the inherent power differentials within the development sector, 'alternative development' was argued to continue to reflect the Eurocentric genealogy of the construction of knowledge (Kothari, 2002: 37) whereby a neo-colonial division of labour remained within knowledge production, with theory being generated in the North and data generated in the South (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001: 4). Although this criticism has been argued to have ignored the fact that knowledge production in the South has been influential despite the hegemony of Northern theorists – for example, Gandhi, dependency thinking, Maoism, Guevarism, and the Delhi school of development thought (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001: 4) – it highlights the ways in which alternative approaches to development have failed to challenge the continued dominance of 'Western' knowledge.

16

The complexities behind challenging the dominance of 'Western' knowledge were most effectively highlighted by Spivak (1988). Analysing the arguments put forward by Foucault and Deleuze, Spivak draws attention to the tendency of both theorists to rely upon 'two monolithic and anonymous subjects-in-revolution' within their arguments whilst intellectuals are 'named and differentiated' (Spivak, 1988: 272). This resulted in generalisations and theories that, despite the intention to recognise multiple realities and value individual voice, end up overlooking them. For Spivak, any discussion of subaltern consciousness is always mediated by scholars who can never know the subaltern, and therefore the subaltern 'cannot speak' (Mohan, 2001: 157). As Kapoor highlights, Spivak 'reproaches Western researchers/academics for sometimes too easily distancing themselves from postcolonality by uncritically situating the native informant as authentic and exotic 'insider'' as the 'inside/outside separation either helps contain and depoliticise ethnicity, or puts the onus for change and engagement exclusively on the Third World subaltern.' (2004: 631) Instead of valorising multiple realities and local knowledge, the alternative approaches within development further reinforce the 'Western' position through failing to recognise that:

> *'Our interaction with, and representation of, the subaltern are [sic] inevitably loaded. They are determined by our favourable historical and geographic position, our material and cultural advantages resulting from imperialism and capitalism, and our identity as privileged Westerner or native informant. When the investigating subject, naively or knowingly, disavows its complicity or pretends it has no 'geo-political determinations', it does the opposite of concealing itself: it privileges itself.' (Kapoor, 2004: 631)*

The impact of the position of the 'subaltern' was also taken up by Fanon (1986). Focusing on the impact of colonisation within Africa, Fanon argues that 'The feeling of inferiority of the colonized is the correlative to the European's feeling of superiority' (1986: 93). In other words, the feeling of inferiority is constructed in opposition to superiority and consequently to try to address the feeling of inferiority without first addressing the cause (i.e. what it is oppositional to) only serves to reinforce inferiority. It is this that forms a particularly powerful critique for development, as 'few texts have focused specifically on the issue of identity and development practice', yet identity is a 'significant question' as the meanings that we all equate with Self and Other are manifested in development practice (Eriksson Baaz, 2005: 2). Therefore the continued focus upon the 'Other' within development whilst ignoring the construction of 'Self' results in even the alternative approaches, whilst

claiming to be based upon poststructuralist ideas, being susceptible to the criticism of reinforcing paternalism:

'Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression.' (Freire, 1996[1970]: 36)

2.2 Power in Development

Despite the criticisms levied by the postcolonial theorists, it is important to highlight that common to both 'alternative' and 'post-development' approaches is the influence of 'the body of theory variously known as 'post-modernism' or 'post-structuralism'' (Parfitt, 2002: 1). Poststructuralist thought is founded upon the recognition of the socially constructed nature of knowledge and the intimate connection between knowledge and power. Post-colonial critics argue that alternative development failed to overcome the knowledge/power connection resulting in a continued dominance of 'Western' knowledge and rather ironically, given the explicit Foucauldian and Freirian roots, this critique has been broadly accepted, particularly by proponents of participatory development. It is only very recently that there has begun to be recognition of the 'need to engage with and understand this phenomenon called power.' (Gaventa, 2006: 23) However, despite the numerous attempts to theorise power 'among those who have reflected on the matter, there is no agreement about how to define it' (Lukes, 2005: 61). The complexity of power, alongside the numerous theoretical frameworks by which people have attempted to define it, has inevitably impacted upon how it has been dealt with within development theory and practice. Therefore before moving on to discuss the various approaches and critiques of participatory development, a brief examination of key theoretical debates about power is required. In order to do so, the main arguments of four key theorists will be explored: Michel Foucault's power/knowledge connection, Steven Luke's three-dimensional model of power, Paulo Freire's educational pedagogy and Amartya Sen's 'Capability Approach'.

2.2.1 Foucault: power and knowledge

Foucault's work is credited as having 'hugely influenced our thinking, across many fields and disciplines' through his proposal of a 'deep and intimate' connection between power and knowledge (Lukes 2005: 88). Foucault challenged the idea of power as 'sovereign… a

commodity concentrated in the hands of a few, emanating from the top down and from the centre outward, and as exercised instrumentally to dominate marginal groups and recreate ideologies that maintain relations of dominance' (Kesby, 2005: 2040) and instead placed 'as the object of analysis *power relations* and not power itself' (Foucault, 2002: 339 [emphasis in original]). This is a significant shift as it resulted in a move away from the notion of power as being centralised and concentrated in the hands of the few – the ruling elite – and towards a focus upon the 'microphysics of power'; or, to put it more simply, the *everyday* nature of power (Foucault, 1980: 39). As a consequence, according to Foucault's conception, power should not be thought of as the property of particular classes or individuals or an instrument to be used but instead as 'the various forms of domination and subordination and the asymmetrical balance of forces which operate whenever and wherever social relations exist.' (Garland, 1990: 89 cited in Lukes, 2005: 89) This had clear implications for theoretical approaches to development, as Foucault highlights that power is in effect a two-way street: it is about both domination *and* subordination and, most importantly, it is about how these are manifested in everyday experience.

Foucault's conceptualisations can be argued to have influenced the development sector, both within the alternative and the post-development perspectives, in a number of key ways. First, his argument that power is multifaceted and 'reaches into the very grain of individuals' (Foucault, 1980: 39) resulting in power manifesting itself in, and being inseparable from, discourse created an attempt to move away from hegemonic discourses and towards discourses that recognise individual experience. Second, Foucault questioned the idea of individuals as autonomous beings and instead argued that 'we have in fact been produced as such by the social, cultural and historical contexts within which we live.' (Gallagher, 2006: 162) This social constructionist view impacted upon the conceptualisation of knowledge, as it moved away from the notion that there is one 'truth' to be uncovered. This is also connected to a third influence regarding 'governmentality'. Foucault argued that the business of government is to define the 'boundaries of action – the 'conduct of conduct' – rather than simply acting directly on people' alerting us to 'the constantly shifting ground upon which struggles for control are waged…' (Cornwall, 2004: 80). Both the social constructionist view and the idea of 'governmentality' impact upon the notion of agency, whereby agency becomes something that is shaped by social, cultural and historical contexts, the boundaries of which are in turn shaped by the way in which we are governed. Finally, a central yet often overlooked aspect of Foucault's arguments is the idea that power is both a positive and a negative force. In discussing the idea of

repression, Foucault highlights the inadequacy of thinking of power as a wholly negative force:

> *'In defining the effects of power as repression, one adopts a purely juridical conception of such power, one identifies power with a law that says no – power is taken, above all, as carrying the force of a prohibition. Now, I believe that this is a wholly negative, narrow, skeletal conception of power, one that has been curiously widespread. If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it? What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no; it also traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.' (Foucault, 2002: 120)*

This conceptualisation of power as positive as well as negative is particularly important with regards to the challenges levied by the post-colonial theorists towards those within the field of alternative development, as the idea that 'power is everywhere' was used by a number of critics of the participatory approaches (see Cooke and Kothari, 2001). However, these conceptualisations of power tended to focus upon power as a solely negative force, that 'even when individual's think that they are most free, they are in fact in the grip of more insidious forms of power, which operate not solely through direct forms of repression but often through less visible strategies of normalization.' (Kothari, 2001: 144) These debates surrounding the negative and positive role of power will be further explored in the following section on participatory development, however I now move on to explore the ideas of another key theorist of power: Steven Lukes.

2.2.2 Lukes: a three-dimensional model of power

Steven Lukes developed a three-dimensional model of power, which was an extension of previous one and two-dimensional theories developed by Bachrach and Baratz (1962) in response to the pluralistic attempts to define power in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s (Lukes, 2005: 20). Whilst acknowledging the importance of their work, in Lukes' view the two-dimensional view of power was inadequate as it lacked a sociological perspective with which to examine 'latent conflicts' within society. Lukes, like Foucault, also believed in the socially constructed nature of power:

'…the bias of the system is not sustained simply by a series of individually chosen acts, but also, more importantly, by the socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups, and practices of institutions, which may indeed be manifested by individual inaction.' (Lukes, 1974: 21-2)

Although Lukes highlights the weaknesses in Foucault's conceptualisations and his 'extravagent claims… that his thought offers an ultra-radical view of power' (Lukes, 2005: 106), it was through the inclusion of the social nature of power or the 'third dimension' (Lukes, 1974: 38) that he sought to address the inadequacies of the two-dimensional model. In his three-dimensional model of power, Lukes recognised that any conceptualisation of power required 'consideration of the many ways in which potential issues are kept out of politics, whether through the operation of social forces and institutional practices or through individuals' decisions' (Lukes, 1974: 25) and, most importantly, he highlighted how this can happen *without* any observable conflict. Importantly Lukes' model recognises the possibility of '*latent conflict*, which consists in a contradiction between the interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude' (Lukes, 1974: 25 [emphasis in original]).

However, in his latest book Lukes reconsiders his original three dimensional model and acknowledges that the 'underlying concept of power' within his original writing is 'entirely unsatisfactory' as it defines not power but rather 'the securing of compliance to domination.' (Lukes, 2005: 109) One of the five areas that Lukes identifies as being unsatisfactory is that the original model of power focused 'entirely on the exercise of 'power over' – the power of some A over some B and B's condition of dependence on A.' (Lukes, 2005: 109) In his complex reconsideration of power as a wider concept than the relational and asymmetrical notion of power as something that you have *over* another, Lukes turns to the philosophy of Spinoza. For Lukes, Spinoza provides a 'conceptual distinction' through the Latin words of *'Potentia'*, signifying the power of things in nature (including people), and *'Potestas'*, signifying being in the power of another (Lukes, 2005: 73). Through tracing a detailed 'conceptual map' of power (Lukes, 2005: 74-85), Lukes demonstrates that for him the idea of power 'over' is in effect a sub-concept of power as *potentia* – it is the 'ability to have another or others *in your power*, by constraining their choices, thereby securing their compliance.' (2005: 74 [emphasis in original]) Although Lukes questions the separation of power over and power to, the differential conceptualisation of power as 'power to', 'power over', 'power within' and 'power with' that

has become popular within both development and social work literature over the past couple of decades (see for example Just Associates[3], 2006; and Tew, 2006) remains a valuable conceptual tool by which to think about power and as such they will be returned to in section 2.3.3 in relation to understanding power in practice. To summarise Lukes' revised thinking, he argues that power should be seen as a dispositional concept referring to an ability or capacity that people may or may not exercise (Lukes, 2005: 63), moving away from his earlier zero-sum conceptualisation of power towards the idea that power is productive and cumulative (Prout and Tisdall, 2006: 244). As Prout and Tisdall highlight, this new conceptualisation is particularly relevant to children and young people's participation as 'If power… is not a zero-sum game, then children's relationships with adults might open the way to mutually beneficial outcomes in which both increase their power.' (2006: 244-5)

Before moving on to discuss the ideas of Paulo Freire, it is worth briefly highlighting the work of Spinoza. Known as Espinosa in Portuguese, Spinoza was a Dutch philosopher whose rationalist philosophy meant that he was viewed firstly as a heretic and then as an atheist, leading to his most important work, *'Ethics'* (originally published in 1677), being promptly banned after publication. However his work led him to be credited as the 'father of the Enlightenment' (Scruton, 2002) and although historically overlooked within philosophical discussion, it was through his challenging of the social and political structures of his day that Spinoza's ideas are credited as the starting point for the fundamental questions of modernity (Brandão, 2008). As Scruton (1999: 4) highlights, Spinoza's work tackles the fundamental, but 'barely fathomable' questions about existence, about how the world is composed, about who we are within this world, about our freedom and about how we should live our lives, the answers to which, Scruton argues, are equally relevant today as they were three centuries ago. His ideas are relevant to modern conceptualisations of power, with his work being taken up as a philosophy of power by Delueze (Moreau, 1996: 430) as well as Lukes, and his concept of potential ('*potentia*' in Latin) also being explored by Vygotsky and introduced into psychological discourses to overcome the negative view of emotions (Sawaia, 2009). This aspect, in terms of Spinoza's influence on understanding of emotions, is particularly useful in trying to improve understanding of the role of emotions in the participatory process and as such

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[3] Just Associates is a global community of activists, organisers, educators and academics with the mission to strengthen women's voices to create a just and fairer world. See http://www.justassociates.org/ for more information.

Spinoza's philosophy will be returned to in chapter five to facilitate discussion of emotions within the development of children and young people's participation.

2.2.3 Freire: a constructivist educational pedagogy

Paulo Freire was a Brazilian educational pedagogue who developed a constructivist pedagogy for adult learning (Gadotti and Torres, 2009). Central to Freire's ideas was the social constructionist view that our being is 'something constructed socially and historically' (Freire, 2001: 25). Freire viewed 'men and women as beings in the process of becoming – as unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality' (Freire, 1996[1970]: 65) and it was through the explicit recognition of human beings as 'becoming' that Freire developed his 'problem-posing' (Freire, 1996[1970]: 65) approach to adult education based upon the principle of changing consciousness. His seminal text *'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'* (1970) develops the argument that freedom can only come through the recognition of oppression *by the oppressed*, as anything else amounts to a 'false generosity' (Freire, 1996[1970]: 26). Freire acknowledges the complexity of this process as whilst the oppressed may recognise that they are 'downtrodden… their perception of themselves as oppressed is impaired by their submersion in the reality of oppression' resulting in an identification not with liberation 'but to identification with its opposite pole.' (Freire, 1996[1970]: 27) This returns us to the arguments put forward by Fanon, in that 'For the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white.' (Fanon, 1986: 228) For Freire, the 'correct method' for overcoming the identification with oppression rather than liberation is dialogue. Introducing the idea of *'conscientização'*, Freire argues:

> *'The conviction of the oppressed that they must fight for their liberation is not*
> *a gift bestowed by the revolutionary leadership, but the result of their own*
> *conscientização.' (Freire, 1996[1970]: 49)*

This forms the keystone around which Freire develops his ideas. Fundamentally, he highlights not only the process of changing consciousness necessary for the oppressed to begin to fight for their freedom, but crucially he argues that the oppressors cannot create freedom *for* the oppressed. This is of central importance in the idea of development, as Freire goes beyond the ideas of empowerment towards the notion of emancipation (Cooke, 2004: 46). Whilst empowerment can be wrongly conceptualised by the conceiving of 'power relations as those operating within a zero-sum paradigm in which one party holds power at the expense of the other' (Dominelli, 1999: 444) Freire's explicit inclusion of the role of the oppressor as engaging in dialogue with the oppressed moves towards the

more emancipatory understandings of empowerment whereby it is a 'two-way process that involves dialogue between opposing groups, a commitment to sharing power and a recognition of the power of 'the other'.' (Dominelli, 2002: 118) Furthermore, Freire's arguments are based upon the idea that we are all 'unfinished' and that it is through this awareness that 'we will exercise our capacity to learn and to teach so much better for being subjects and not simply objects of the process we are engaged in' (Freire, 2001: 58). Crucially, Freire breaks down the oppressor/oppressed us/them dichotomy through placing us all within the same category of 'unfinished'. This is a key aspect of Freire's thinking that will be returned to throughout the thesis.

2.2.4 Sen: a 'capability approach' to development

Whilst Amartya Sen's work centres on analysing the development sector, his theoretical approach to development is built around the idea of increasing 'freedoms' in order to overcome inequalities in power. For Sen, freedom is about expanding individual capabilities, but crucially he regards this as being more than expanding *substantive* freedoms. As an individual is only 'capable' within a context, Sen argues that it is necessary to include the subjective element to freedom within analysis. For example, with regards to economic freedom, Sen describes how poverty can drive human beings to take terrible risks, and even risk terrible deaths, for the sake of 'a dollar or two of honey' (Sen, 2001: 146) highlighting how 'the real issue is not so much what people actually choose, but what they have *reason* to choose.' (Sen, 2001: 148 [emphasis added]) In other words, providing 'choice' is as insufficient conceptualisation of freedom, as the freedom to choose is relative to previous and current experience. Therefore the expanding of freedoms is necessarily *processual* as well as *substantive*. Sen eloquently highlights the centrality and the subtle difference between these two freedoms through tracing the situation of 'Natasha', a hypothetical woman who is either prevented or forced to go out for the evening, concluding:

> *'The comparison between 'being forced to go out' (when she would have gone out anyway, if free) and, say, 'being forced to polish the shoes of others at home' (not her favourite way of spending time, I should explain) brings out this contrast, which is primarily one of the opportunity aspect, rather than the process aspect. In the incarceration of Natasha, we can see two different ways in which she is losing her freedom: first, she is being forced to do something, with no freedom of choice (a violation of her process freedom); and second, what Natasha is being obliged to do is not something she would*

choose to do, if she had any plausible alternative (a violation of her substantive opportunity to do what she would like to do).' (Sen, 2005: 153)

Sen then goes on to argue that the idea of 'capabilities' can help in the understanding of substantive opportunities, as it allows a distinction to be drawn between '(i) whether a person is actually able to do things she would value *doing*, and (ii) whether she possesses the *means* or *instruments* or *permissions* to pursue what she would like to do' (Sen 2005:153 [emphasis in original]). This shifts attention away from a more limited view of means by acknowledging that two people can have 'very different substantial opportunities even when they have exactly the same set of means: for example, a disabled person can do far less than an able-bodied person can, with exactly the same income and other 'primary goods'.' (Sen, 2005: 154) Through reframing opportunity as capability Sen shifts the focus away from the *act of choosing* towards the *level of freedom that the individual has to make that choice*.

Interestingly, Sen also takes this idea of the level of freedom to make choices further, through relating it to responsibility:

> *'The bonded laborer born into semislavery, the subjugated girl child stifled by a repressive society, the helpless landless laborer without substantial means of earning an income are all deprived not only in terms of well-being, but also in terms of the ability to lead responsible lives, which are contingent on having certain basic freedoms. Responsibility requires freedom.' (Sen 2001: 284 [emphasis in original])*

This argument is particularly relevant to the alternative and post-development debates as one of the central criticisms of the alternative approaches was the simplistic conceptualisation of power that failed to recognise the dangers in assuming 'that one can encounter the Third World, and especially the Third World subaltern, on a level playing field.' (Spivak, cited in Kapoor, 2004: 631) This has been one of the key criticisms of participation within development, and it is to this area that I now turn.

2.3 Participatory Development

One of the principle aspects of the 'alternative' approaches to development is participation. The move towards participation within development from the late 1980s and the 'explosion of interest' throughout the 1990s was initially based in the NGO community, but the participatory discourse rapidly became part of the official aims and objectives of governments and international aid agencies (Williams, 2004). This left participatory development open to severe criticism as despite the objective of providing an alternative to the top-down mechanistic approaches to development of the post-war period, the fact that participatory discourse was so 'successfully and often quite rapidly absorbed into the mainstream' (Kothari and Minogue, 2002: 9) indicated that participation had, in essence, been co-opted (Nederveen Pieterse, 1998). However, before moving on to analyse if this was indeed the case, and if so why it occurred, it is necessary to take a step backwards and first try to understand what this thing called 'participation' actually is.

2.3.1 Definitions of participation

Participation is an ambiguous concept (Parfitt, 2004). Meanings of participation are multiple and range from people participating by providing information, to people analysing problems and participating in decision making as genuine protagonists (VeneKlasen et al., 2004: 5). Potentially referring to involvement, engagement or protagonism, participation as a term has the potential to be widely (mis)interpreted. There have been various attempts to develop a theoretical foundation for participation (see for example the 'ladders' of participation: Arnstein, 1969; and Hart, 1992) however these have tended to rely upon hierarchy as a means of categorisation, moving from 'non-participation' as the lowest rungs on the hierarchical 'ladder' and then moving up through tokenism, consultation and then towards partnership and participant-directed actions at the top of the hierarchy. Whilst capturing the wide variation, and potential misuse, of participation as a concept, the hierarchical approach to definition largely fails to capture the 'fluidity and flux of participation in practice' which inevitably makes any attempt to characterise its dimensions problematic (Cornwall, 2002b: 3). Another approach to definition has been to differentiate participation as a means and participation as an end (Parfitt, 2004). This is a useful approach as whilst not providing a definition *per se*, it does provide a framework by which to differentiate the objective of participation. For Parfitt, participation as a means is indicative that power relations will be left largely untouched; in other words the focus is on hearing people, but how this is acted upon and by who 'essentially remains the same as in traditional top-down models of development' (2004: 539). Participation as an end,

however, suggests a transformation in power relations between those traditionally in the decision making role and those at the grassroots. Succinctly put: 'Whereas participation as a means is politically neutral insofar as it does not address such power differentials, participation as an end has an emancipatory, politically radical component in that it seeks to redress unequal power relations.' (Parfitt, 2004: 539)

Whilst problematic, as the either/or aspect of the means versus end classification fails to recognise that participation is a process that can incorporate elements of both, it is through linking participation with power relations that provides the clearest path by which to understand participation as a concept. Participation as an end, in other words, where the aim of the action is participation, as opposed to 'being participatory' in order to achieve another objective, reconnects participation to the idea of emancipation. This is particularly relevant within the development sector as, despite the emancipatory roots of participatory development, the underlying rationale is often 'framed narrowly as a methodology to improve project performance, rather than a process of fostering critical consciousness and decision-making as the basis for active citizenship.' (VeneKlasen et al., 2004: 5) In other words, the underlying rationale is participation as a means. This breaks away from the analysis of power relations and towards a mechanistic view of participation that focuses on techniques by which to listen or include, but which fails to reflect upon why it is that you may be listening or including in the first place. In this respect participation has encountered many of the same difficulties encountered with regards to empowerment. Participation is intimately connected with empowerment; in fact, empowerment is impossible without it. Although empowerment is also contested and has also suffered from misinterpretations and manipulations, it is through connecting participation and empowerment that the political aspect of participation – the viewing of participation within wider relations of power – can provide us with a clearer understanding of what this thing called participation actually is.

Empowerment first emerged within the social and community work literature in the UK during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. It is deeply intertwined with the development of anti-oppressive practice, which was in turn connected with the recognition of the social worker's ambiguous role in deciding who would or who would not be helped and under what conditions, resulting in social workers being 'a part of society's social control arrangements at the same time as encouraging them to respond to those in need' (Dominelli, 2002: 28). This ambiguous role of the social worker made it necessary to develop a theoretical base upon which to recognise power imbalances and work towards

the promotion of change to redress the balance of power (Dalrymple and Burke, 1995: 15). Anti-oppressive practice then emerged as a framework based upon the explicit recognition of power and oppression. Whilst anti-oppressive practice has received criticism, particularly due to the 'unreserved acceptance' and the dominant role and position of 'experts' due to the minimal involvement of recipients of social work in the development of anti-oppressive practice (Wilson and Beresford, 2000: 554), criticism has centred upon the execution of the framework rather than the principles upon which the framework is based. Self-determination, now referred to as empowerment, is a key value within the framework whereby practitioners try to help clients make their own decisions and 'thereby assume greater control over their lives and outcomes' (Dominelli, 2004: 66). Importantly, in contrast to the means/end classification of participation, within this framework empowerment is viewed as both a process *and* a goal (Dalrymple and Burke, 1995: 51). It is not about giving power or giving voice. Instead it is about helping to reduce the powerlessness that individuals or groups experience through creating a process of change. This process has been argued to have three levels: the level of feeling, the level of ideas and the level of action (see Figure 2.1). The level of feeling broadly refers to the personal experience of the person who is feeling powerless. It can be summarised by the idea that 'it is impossible to begin change without first being able to locate oneself' (Dalrymple and Burke, 1995: 53), which is the fundamental idea behind Freire's critical dialogue approach to empowerment. The second level, the level of ideas, is principally about self-efficacy; it is about changing consciousness and recognising the self against the wider structural or social inequalities. This level can be equated, then, with the aim of Freire's process of '*conscientização*'. The third level is about moving from the personal to the political; it is about ensuring that policy decisions are influenced by those directly affected by them (Dalrymple and Burke, 1995: 55). This framework is particularly useful for clarifying participation, as it clearly highlights how participation as a goal (the level of action), is dependent upon participation as a process (the levels of feelings and ideas). It is this combining of participation as both a goal and as a process that appears to have created significant confusion within the development sector that, as we shall now see, continues to present a significant challenge.
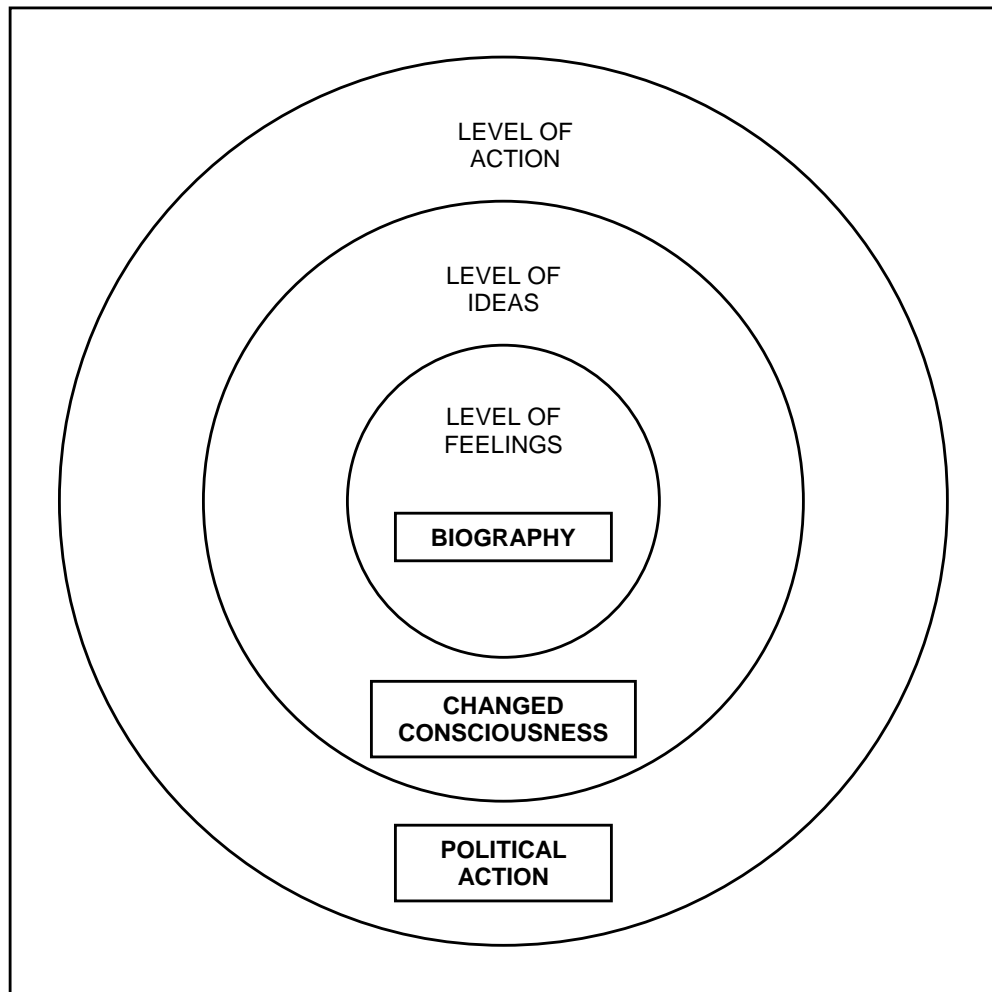
2.3.2 The reality of participatory development

'Participation is usually a superficial gloss over the same old story. Like receiving a false smile, it leaves you disconcerted.' (Scott-Villiers, 2004: 204)

Despite hefty criticism (see Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Kapoor, 2002; 2005) over the past decade, there has been a whole-hearted adoption of the language of participation within the development sector. As highlighted by Chambers: 'By the turn of the century, the words *participatory* and *participation* were embedded in development speak.' (2005: 101 [emphasis in original]) However the use of participatory language has been strongly

criticised as misrepresenting reality. Despite stressing partnership and transparency, it has been recognised by both proponents and opponents to participatory development that embedded traditions, vested interests and bureaucratic inertia mean that old behaviours and organisational cultures persist (Hinton and Groves, 2004: 5). As highlighted by Cornwall (2002a):

> *'For some, the proliferation of the language of 'participation' and 'empowerment' within the mainstream is heralded as the realisation of a long-awaited paradigm shift in development thinking. For others, however, there is less cause for celebration. Their concerns centre on the use of participation as a legitimating device that draws on the moral authority of claims to involve the poor to place the pursuit of other agendas beyond reproach. According to this perspective, much of what is hailed as 'participation' is a mere technical fix that leaves inequitable global and local relations of power, and with it the root causes of poverty, unchallenged.' (Cornwall, 2002a: 15)*

This returns us to the postcolonial critiques of development, whereby the new approaches to development were accused of further reinforcing colonial relationships of power. A clear example of this is with regards to 'partnership'. Over the past decade and a half the international development sector has seen a 'massive and very significant shift … towards the idea of 'partnership'' (Mawdsley et al., 2002: 9) however financial transfer has remained the 'overarching framework for North-South NGO relationships in all of the five development decades after World War II' (Malhotra, 2000: 658). This has resulted in a continued paternalistic approach to aid (Fowler, 2000) that is diametrically opposed to the concept of 'partnership'. Furthermore, the idea of 'partnership' remains very much a contested concept (Brehm et al., 2004: 7) with some authors viewing partnership as at best empty rhetoric and at worst an overt tactic to cover up more underhand goals (see for example Rahnema, 1997). Eriksson Baaz puts forward a more hopeful view in her analysis of partnerships and identity in development, arguing that just because 'the partnership policy is poorly reflected in practice cannot be taken as a pretext for a conspiracy – that partnership was never intended.' (2005: 8) This is also reflected in an analysis of the dominance of Northern NGOs within the development sector's 'knowledge economy' whereby Northern NGOs continue to dominate '*despite* an often genuine commitment to listening to the voices of their Southern partners, and to participation at all levels.' (Mawdsley et al., 2002: 2 [emphasis in original]) However if dominance remains despite a

'genuine commitment to listen to voices', this raises the question of why: why has the language of participation and partnership failed so dramatically to translate into practice?

One possible answer to this question is the fact that the impact of power within development practice had until very recently been largely ignored. As Hinton and Groves highlight: 'Understanding where the power lies, and how it may be used, is… essential to understanding the functioning of international development, a prerequisite to bringing about change.' (2004: 10). However, despite the emphasis placed on working in partnership with recipients of aid, be that in the form of financial support or of provision of services, and although the talk is of two-way accountability and joint decision-making, research highlights that in reality the power still very much lies with the funding organisation (Chambers and Pettit, 2004: 138). Furthermore, relationships of unequal power, which generate compliance and resistance, are found 'all along the aid chain and exist between local NGOs and their communities as well as between donors and INGOs [International Non-Governmental Organisations]' (Wallace et al., 2007: 5). This failure has led to a call to make 'the current rhetoric real through changes in power and relationships' (Chambers and Pettit, 2004: 144) and recognition of the 'need to engage with and understand this phenomenon called power.' (Gaventa, 2006: 23)

2.3.3 'Power over', 'Power to', 'Power with' and 'Power within'

The idea of 'power over' was first introduced by Arendt in her influential analysis of violence (1970). Using the writing of Bertrand de Jouvenel, Arendt describes power as an instrument of rule where power consists of 'making others act as I choose' (Arendt, 1970: 36). Taking this further, Allen (2003) breaks down the concept of 'power over' by highlighting the need to look at power's various modalities. Allen identifies six modes of power within the category 'power over' ranging from blatant forms of power, to modest and finally, more subtle forms: domination, coercion, authority, manipulation, inducement and seduction (cited in Kesby, 2007: 2817). However Allen then introduces two new modalities of power – negotiation and persuasion – which fall under the broad category of 'power with'. As Kesby notes, this brings debates much closer to the idea of empowerment through the differentiation between forms of power – 'power over' as an hierarchical, vertical, dominating, and exploitative mode of power, and 'power with' as a reciprocal, lateral, accountable, and facilitating mode of power – however Kesby also highlights how this aspect falls outside of Allen's main focus, which centres very much on the concept of 'power over' (Kesby, 2007: 2818)

The recognition of different forms of power has now been further developed, and four categories of 'power over', 'power to', 'power with' and 'power within' have been identified that provide a valuable recognition of this call to engage with 'the phenomenon called power'. Importantly, the four categories provide a framework by which 'people can better understand how forces of subordination and inequity operate in their own lives and envision alternative strategies and visions of power through which they can challenge injustice.' (Just Associates, 2006: 4)

Broadly, the four categories of power can be differentiated as follows:
- *'Power over':* the ability of one person to affect the actions and thoughts of another. In other words, the power *over somebody*;
- *'Power to':* an individual's capacity to act. In other words, the power *to do something*;
- *'Power within':* the gaining of confidence or awareness necessary in order to take action. In others words, the power *within me*;
- *'Power with':* the power that can be created through working with others. In other words, the power *with others*.

The danger with any form of categorisation of power is that of oversimplification. Tew (2006: 35) traces some of the difficulties with these categorisations, highlighting how the notion of 'power to' builds on an individualised concept that 'may mask a more complex underlying reality in which some are more able to exert influence than others'. Dominelli (2005: 708) highlights the complexity of the idea of 'power over' within day-to-day practice as power has 'both positive and negative dimensions embedded in negotiations between people' that can 'both become power over if equality or egalitarianism does not underpin it.' Taken further by Tew (2006: 37), he notes how the focus on the repressive and coercive deployment of power, whilst 'in some ways reflecting the realities of power as experienced by many people', has effectively recreated the paternalistic relations of power over that radical workers sought to overturn. This is a charge that has already been levied particularly severely against the development sector (as explored in section 2.1.1). Furthermore, the use of 'power over' and 'power to' can also result in a camouflaging of the ways in which those subjected to 'power over' may succeed in accessing productive forms of power, particularly with regards to the idea of resistance (Tew, 2006).

Whilst 'power over' is the most commonly recognised form of power, and has the most negative connotations for people such as repression, force, coercion, discrimination,

corruption and abuse (Just Associates, 2006: 5), the other three forms of power are recognised as alternative and more positive ways of thinking about power through providing some basic principles for constructing empowering strategies for change. For example, 'power to', when based on the belief that 'each individual has the power to make a difference that can be multiplied by new skills, knowledge, awareness and confidence' (Just Associates, 2006: 6), in other words, when 'power to' is viewed as *potential*, it shifts away from the individualised conceptualisation and recognises that an individual's 'power to' is fundamentally connected to the structural and social reality within which s/he lives. What is particularly interesting about this framework is the close resemblance that it has with the way in which empowerment has been conceptualised within social work. The three concepts of 'power within', 'power to' and 'power with' reflect the three 'levels' of feelings, ideas and activity. For example, 'power within' closely relates to biography, or the level of feelings, through the focus on self-worth and self-knowledge. 'Power to' is arguably reflected in the idea of changed consciousness at the level of ideas and 'power with' can be related to the notion of political action at the level of activity. What is currently lacking in the current categorisations of power is recognition of the interrelationships between the various forms of power, and maybe Dalrymple and Burke's model might provide a valuable base on which to start to recognise the processual aspects of these different forms of power.

A further response to the recognition of the need to engage with power has been to break down the concept over 'power over' into three 'interactive dimensions of power… that shape the parameters of political action and change.' (Just Associates, 2006: 9) These range from the visible forms of power, such as observable decision-making, to more hidden forms such as the agenda-setting that Lukes highlighted in his discussions of 'latent conflict' and finally probably 'the most insidious of the three dimensions of power', the invisible power that shapes the psychological and ideological boundaries of change: in other words, what shapes our notion of what is possible (Just Associates, 2006: 10). This is particularly useful when thinking about power in practice as recognising the invisible forms of power immediately raises the question of how to make the invisible visible. Gaventa (2006) argues for preconditions of participation in the form of awareness-raising as a way to address the invisible forms of power, however this is a somewhat simplistic approach. As Freire highlighted, the conviction to fight for liberation can only be as a result of your own *conscientização* (Freire, 1996[1970]: 49), and so undoubtedly the awareness of your power, or lack of it, is the first step in challenging it. However awareness does not equate with acceptance and acceptance does not equate with action. As Lukes' discussion

of 'latent conflict' illustrates, although awareness may be the first step, it is precisely the insidious nature of power, the invisible forms that it takes, that results in it manifesting in unpredictable ways. Indeed, as Lukes points out in his review of his original text, not only is power 'at its most effective when least accessible to observation, to actors and observers alike' (2005: 64), but actions 'bring in their wake innumerable chains of unintended consequences' (2005: 76). It is precisely these least accessible aspects of power, combined with the refusal of individuals to adopt predictable, linear processes of learning and action that make power difficult to overcome. Although awareness-raising is both useful and essential, it raises questions about how this can be achieved to ensure that the 'real interests' of the excluded are addressed.

2.3.4 Anti-oppressive practice: theories in practice

At this point a return to the literature on anti-oppressive practice in social work may prove useful. As highlighted above, through the principles of anti-oppressive practice social work has attempted to translate theoretical understandings of power and empowerment into a practical framework. This is clearly illustrated by Dalrymple and Burke's framework for anti-oppressive practice which incorporates values, skills and knowledge into the framework and demonstrates how all three of these aspects impact on professional practice (see Figure 2.2). They take 'as a given an acknowledgement of the reality of oppression and inequality that exists in society' and focus instead on the impact that this has on the professional:

> *'It is how we experience the reality of oppression (our biography) which determines our response and so inevitably shapes our value base. Our understanding of that reality then propels us to go and seek out the knowledge about the issues and information needed to develop skills which will combat oppression and inequality. This then leads on to the third stage, which is how our knowledge, values and skills are brought together in such a way that our care and practice with others is empowering at both the personal and the structural levels.' (1995: 92)*

Figure 2.2: A framework for anti-oppressive practice (taken from Dalrymple and Burke, 1995: 92)

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Knowledge of:                                                        │
│  The law                                                              │
│  Principles of empowerment  ─────────────┐                            │
│  Theory                                  │                            │
│        ▲                                 ▼                            │
│        │                    Health and Social Care Practice           │
│        │                    Work in partnership                       │
│  Values:                    Promote choice                            │
│  Knowledge of own           Assessment                                │
│  value base                 Planning                                  │
│        │                    Interaction                               │
│        │                    Evaluation                                │
│        ▼                    Changing legislation                      │
│                                  ▲                                    │
│  Skills:                         │                                    │
│  Facilitating  ──────────────────┘                                    │
│  Advocating                                                           │
│  Negotiating                                                          │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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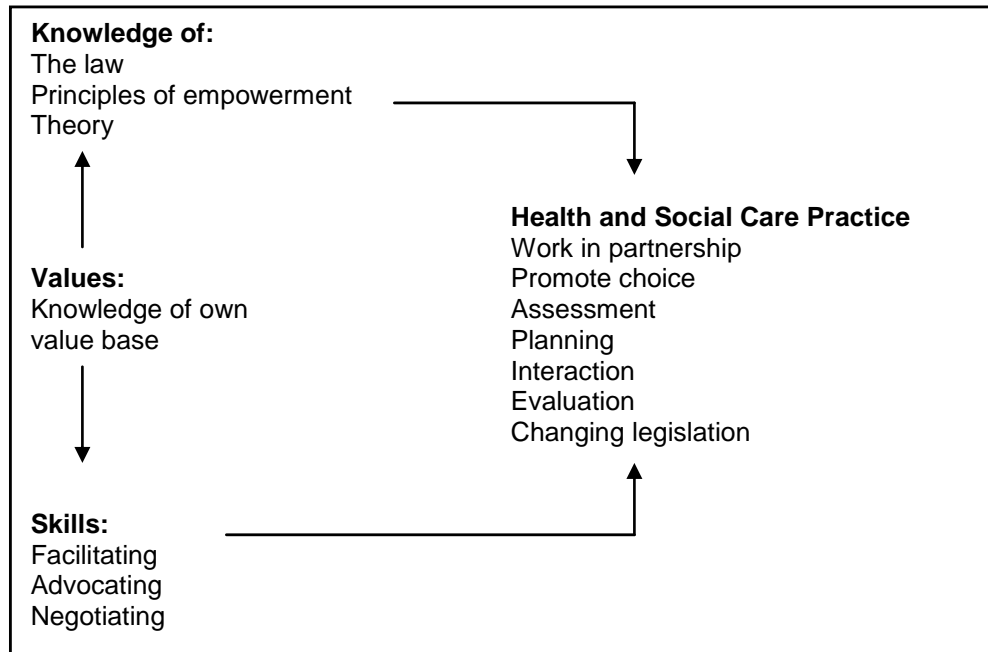
It is the complete acceptance of oppression as a 'fact of life' (1995: 16) that differentiates Dalrymple and Burke's approach, as instead of attempting to theorise the oppression they get on with the task of thinking practically about how to deal with it. Indeed, they take this further and argue that theories are themselves a reflection of power:

'Theories help focus our minds. They give us a lens through which we can observe and impose consistency. They go beyond simply defining social reality to attempting to explain that reality… They reflect the social, political and economic conditions of society. It is important to acknowledge this fact, for some ideas about the world can be given prominence and thus universally accepted, or suppressed and thus denied. Theories essentially reflect the power relationships that exist between us all.' (1995: 11)

This reflects a Foucauldian perspective of society whereby power is viewed as being everywhere and inseparable from knowledge. But Dalrymple and Burke not only accept power inequality and oppression as a fact of life, they reframe it and recognise its positive potential. They view oppression as a 'system of colliding explosive forces, which, if they

35

collide randomly, are more likely to be oppressive. If channelled and controlled, however, they can open up new opportunities.' (1995: 57) However, the positive potential of power had until recently largely been overlooked within development discourse. Power tended to be regarded as wholly negative, as something to be negated, a view clearly advocated by Chambers in his statement: 'For learning, power is a disability… All power deceives, and exceptional power deceives exceptionally.' (1997: 76) However as Kapoor (2002) in his comprehensive critique of Chambers' work on participatory development notes:

> *'…the idea that power is a disability for learning and hence must be minimised suggests it can be uncoupled from learning so that learning can flourish unfettered. This conception misses the important Foucauldian argument that power can be positive and that power/knowledge implicate one another.' (2002: 112)*

Furthermore, as a result of Chambers' perception of power as wholly oppressive his approach to empowerment focuses almost entirely on those in positions of privilege (the 'uppers'). Chambers argues for the 'primacy of the personal' whereby the means by which to address power inequalities is through personal transformation (Chambers, 2005: 194), however he places the responsibility for change almost entirely on those in positions of privilege. When developing the concept of responsible well-being, Chambers claims that:

> *'In general, the word 'responsible' has moral force in proportion to wealth and power: the wealthier and more powerful people are, the greater the actual or potential impact of their actions or inactions, and so the greater the scope and need for their well-being to be responsible.' (2005: 194)*

For Chambers 'it is then especially individuals who are powerful and wealthy who have to change.' (2005: 195) This conceptualisation of power has been severely criticised. As Mohan and Stokke highlight, this is a voluntaristic conceptualisation that fails to put forward strategies for affecting wider structures, the corollary of which is that 'by valorising the local in this way and being self-critical of our colonising knowledge, 'we' behave as if we do not have anything to offer. The populist line treats all knowledge from 'the West' as tainted and prevents genuine dialogue and learning.' (2000: 254) Taking this criticism further, Kapoor also points out that by placing all the responsibility on the privileged, Chambers' approach goes against the fundamental principles of participation:

'…Chambers fails to provide any role for the 'lowers' in this process... Yet, the participatory intent of PRA suggests that, where power inequalities exist, disadvantaged community members would need to identify these inequalities specifically (not leave the 'uppers' to do so by themselves), attempt to address them (in dialogue with the 'uppers'), and ensure appropriate compliance (with, or perhaps even without, the co-operation of the 'uppers').'
(2002: 112)

This clearly highlights how current conceptualisations of participation within development, or at least the form of participation found in Participatory Rural Appraisal, or PRA, is not only fundamentally at odds with the anti-oppressive principles found within social work but it is also working against the very principles upon which it is based.

2.3.5 Rescuing participatory development: the role of reflexivity

However, this does not rule out participation as an approach. A much more comprehensive understanding of power within development is now beginning to emerge. For example, Kesby (2005) in his comprehensive discussion paper responding to the overarching critique of participation as the new 'tyranny' (Cooke and Kothari, 2001) defends the poststructuralist position within participatory development. He accepts that power is everywhere, and therefore cannot be escaped, but suggests that it is precisely because power cannot be avoided that it must be worked with (Kesby, 2005). Here, Kesby argues that participation can be used as a tool by which to resist or outmanoeuvre more dominating forms of power and argues against the idea that all power must be resisted. For Kesby, 'resistance is not power's polar opposite but is itself entangled with domination' (2005: 2044) and therefore although he accepts that participation has failed to escape from power and its association with governance, this does not 'inherently prevent it from being one of many helpful discourses on which to draw in the pursuit of a radical, transformative political praxis.' (2005: 2048) The means with which to achieve this is through a 'conscious, reflexive agency' that, although situated and framed by power, provides a means by which ordinary people can draw on a variety of sources to achieve the 'strategic agency necessary to deconstruct, resist, and outflank the most domineering powers.' (Kesby, 2005: 2060) Through using a reflexive, strategic agency as a tool by which to challenge wider inequalities, the previous failure to connect structural and institutional change to personal behaviour (Hinton and Groves, 2004: 5) and the less tangible personal journeys of 'self-discovery' and individual transformations (Kesby, 2005) begins to be addressed.

However, the development literature fails to really answer the question of how to 'do' participation. Although numerous authors have highlighted the importance of a reflexive, strategic individual agency in order to challenge power inequalities (Chambers, 2005; Chambers and Pettit, 2004; Groves, 2004; Kesby, 2005; Pasteur and Scott-Villiers, 2004b; Pettit, 2006; Taylor and Soal, 2004) there continues to be a dearth of proposals that explore how this can be achieved in practice. For example, the idea of reflexivity is explored by Nederveen Pieterse (1998) within his critique of the development discourse. Developing the 'more interesting and enabling' position of reflexive modernity, Nederveen Pieterse puts forward the notion of 'reflexive development' whereby development becomes reflexive in a social and political sense, encouraging discussion of development goals and methods. His focus is on participation, arguing that development has become more orientated towards local actors and as such participation has increasingly become a 'threshold condition for local development' (1998: 369). Nederveen Pieterse argues that democratization is participation at the macro level, and that a lack of participation results in 'democratic deficits' which then need to be discussed at local, national and international level. It is the discussion of these deficits that constitutes 'reflexive development'. The focus remains on participation, however rather than looking at who *is* participating, and using this as evidence of equality, it focuses on who *is not* participating and asking the question 'why not?' This forces the development sector to look in towards itself and develop a culture of questioning that, rather than looking to 'alternatives' as providing answers 'alternative' becomes inherent within development and there is a continuous search for alternatives, a continuous search for more questions. This not only challenges those working directly with people to which 'aid' is targeted, but also challenges those working within multilateral organisations and development theorists to start to ask the more challenging questions about development's own role within global processes.

However, there seems to be a personal element missing from Nederveen Pieterse's analysis which prevents translation into practice. As highlighted by Kesby, reflexivity is a personal journey and as such it is not something that can just be 'done' but requires each individual to embark on a challenging process of personal learning. As highlighted within Action Aid's report on their Participatory Methodologies Forum: 'Without changing ourselves we cannot promote meaningful rights-based change with the poor and excluded.' (2001: 24) Therefore a genuine reflection on institutional decisions or past individual or institutional actions can only be truly effective if all involved are both able to, and prepared to, reflect upon their own positionality within these processes. It is precisely

the lack of understanding of how the personal interacts with and impacts upon the professional within the development field that has led to simplified perceptions about how participation can be put into practice and a resulting failure to create change. In a wonderfully refreshing and honest account, Scott-Villiers highlights the impact that a lack of honest reflection about ourselves has had on practice: 'I suspect that a lot of attempts to create change have foundered on the lack of ability to truly understand ourselves and what we want.' (2004: 205) This highlights the centrality of the individual within development; however it highlights not the classic idea of the individual 'without' – the 'Other' – but focuses attention on the individual 'within' – the 'Self'. Again, in reflecting on her experiences of trying to 'achieve' participation, Scott-Villiers concludes: 'Although I tried repeatedly to create participatory projects of one sort or another, I made a mistake. I looked outwards without looking inwards… By looking only outwards, I was hoping for participation without taking responsibility for my own participation, so I was not being participatory. Naturally, my efforts failed.' (2004: 205) Through her reflections, Scott-Villiers highlights that participation is not something external to ourselves, but is integral to every interaction in every aspect of our lives. That the participation of others is dependent on our own; that participation is not just our right, it is our responsibility.

2.4 Children and Young People's Participation

> *''Participation' appears to be* the *word, concept and discourse to engage with when doing research or working with children and young people in the context of development.' (Skelton 2007: 165 [emphasis in original])*

The widespread acceptance of children and young people's participation both within the UK and in other countries has been argued to have been fuelled by the convergence of new and developing ideas coming from three main perspectives: the growing influence of the consumer, the children's rights agenda, and new paradigms within social science that have increased our understanding of the child as a competent social actor (Sinclair, 2004). Two of these perspectives will be the focus of this final section of the review: the extensive influence of the children's rights agenda and the changing perceptions of children and childhood.

2.4.1 The influence of the children's rights agenda

Children's rights have now become a central aspect within human rights. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (UN, 1989) was ratified throughout the 1990s by all bar two countries – Somalia and the United States (Skelton, 2007). Fundamentally, the UNCRC introduced the third 'P', participation, alongside the goals of protection and provision (Skelton, 2007). Article 12 of the UNCRC states:

> *'States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.'*

Although Article 12 is the most cited article in discussions of participation as children's right, it is important to note that children's participation is 'not a stand-alone article but is *embedded* within the [UN]CRC' (Skelton, 2007: 167 [emphasis in original]). Children's participation has become one of the 'most debated and examined aspects of the Convention on the Rights of the Child since it was adopted' and for many people 'children's rights have become synonymous with participation.' (Lansdown, 2010: 11) However whilst being successful in bringing the issue of children and young people's participation to the table, the UNCRC has also received criticism. Whilst some theorists support the convention as a 'significant legal and political achievement: It elevated the child to the status of an independent rights-holder and placed children's issues at the centre of the mainstream human rights agenda' (Fottrell, 2000: 1), others argue that it is 'largely perceived as an instrument to protect vulnerable children rather than to promote children's rights as independent citizens' (Theis, 2001: 101). As a result of universality, the UNCRC is indeed ambiguous. However, it needed this ambiguity to allow for local interpretation (Prout, 2005: 32) and the universal mandate for intervention 'in the best interests of the child' is deliberately left open-ended to allow for the particular circumstances of a child in a particular cultural context (Panter-Brick, 2000: 10). Therefore the aim was to combine the universal with the local; to promote universal rights through local, contextualised protection.

However, this ambiguity can also be identified within Article 12. As Thomas and Percy-Smith highlight, the statement has two possible limitations with regards to the development of children and young people's participation. First, the formulation of the statement can be interpreted to imply that only individual and private matters 'affecting the child' are

concerned. Second, Article 12 only talks about 'views' and participation is now increasingly conceptualised as going far beyond the simple expression of 'views' and includes various forms of action (Thomas and Percy-Smith, 2010: 2). The ambiguity, and therefore the lack of clarity about what is meant by participation in the context of children's rights despite the widespread usage (Lansdown, 2010: 11), has meant that 'whilst children's participation has entered the mainstream vocabulary of development… the practice lags behind the rhetoric' (Mayo, 2001 cited in Skelton, 2007: 168).

Other authors advocate a slightly different view in that 'In some ways, practice has outstripped theory' (Thomas and Percy-Smith, 2010: 3). Essentially, it seems that whilst rhetoric is widespread, and practice is therefore lagging behind, practice it is still much further down the path than theory. As Thomas and Percy-Smith (2010: 3) highlight, 'participation lacks its own distinctive theoretical framework, and the theories that have been drawn upon are often not especially child centred.' Whilst there have been numerous attempts to provide a theoretical base for children and young people's participation, these have broadly utilised a categorical approach that have been broad variations of Hart's 'Ladder of Participation' (1992). Whilst undoubtedly useful in advancing understanding of children and young people's participation, the implication of a sequential and hierarchical order to children's participation has been criticised (Fajerman and Treseder, 1997: 6) and Hart himself has criticised the model for cultural bias (Hart, 2008 cited in Malone and Hartung, 2010). However, despite the recognition of the model's limitations and the emergence of alternative typologies (see for example, Fajerman and Treseder, 1997; Shier, 2001), 'the fundamental sequential and hierarchical nature of the model remains the same, reflecting a limited and fragmented conceptualisation of children's participation.' (Malone and Hartung, 2010: 28) This has resulted in participation as a concept becoming 'an empty vessel that can be filled with almost anything…' (Theis, 2010: 344).

Essentially, participation with children and young people has been criticised as being based upon universalised and normative assumptions (Skelton, 2007) that fail to recognise the multiple and diverse experiences of childhood. This has led to recent calls for 'a new focus on the 'participating child' [that] implies that the various structural, contextual and geopolitical factors at play will have to be deconstructed to understand the full significance of participation in creating a significant societal and cultural change for children.' (Lund, 2007: 146) The lack of attention that has been paid to structural, contextual and geopolitical factors alongside the lack of comprehensive theoretical framework has resulted in wide variation in understanding of what is meant by children and young

people's participation. Furthermore, the use of semantic equivalents of the English term 'participation' implies that specific connotations of the concept are presupposed (Liebel and Saadi, 2010). However in a study of conceptualisations of participation across cultures, it was found that whilst there was broad commitment to the concept of 'children's participation' understandings of what was meant by the term differed (Mason and Bolzan, 2010).

At this point it is worthwhile to take a brief look at the Brazilian literature surrounding the concept of youth protagonism. The Statute of the Child and Adolescent ('*Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente*' [ECA]) was introduced in 1990 and advocated as one of the most advanced pieces of legislation for children's rights in the world (Costa, 2008). This legislation was crucial in that it moved from viewing children and young people as objects to being subjects of human rights. The high proportion of children and young people under the age of 18 years in Brazil (nearly 60.5 million of the 170 million inhabitants in Brazil are between the ages of 0-17 years [IBGE, 2000]) alongside the high level of vulnerability that young people face has been argued to have placed the political issue of '*juventude'*, or youth, as a priority issue on the national political agenda (Stamato, 2008: 13). The term *'protagonismo juvenil'* – youth protagonism – emerged at the end of the 1980s, yet its widespread use has resulted in a term that is 'imprecise and multifaceted, anchored in different theories, methodologies and ideologies' (Stamato, 2008: 56 [my translation]). Indeed, whilst being founded upon the notion of youth empowerment the lack of clarity around the term has resulted in it being used as a basis for sometimes contradictory theoretical and methodological conceptions (Stamato, 2008: 73). However, youth protagonism has been broadly defined in relation to participation, in that youth protagonism is the active participation of young people. As defined by Thiago Carlos Gomes da Costa, who is regarded as a leading figure within the development of youth protagonism in Brazil:

> *'Youth protagonism is based upon the presumption that what adolescents think, say and do can transcend the limits of their personal and family surroundings and influence the course of events in community and wider social life. In other words, youth protagonism is a form of recognising that the participation of adolescents can generate decisive changes in the social, environmental, cultural and political reality where they are inserted. In this interpretation, to participate for an adolescent is to involve themselves in processes of discussion, decision, design and execution of actions, aiming,*

through their involvement in the solution of real problems, to develop their creative potential and their transformative force. Like this, youth protagonism, is just as much a right as a responsibility for adolescents.' (Costa,1997: 65 [my translation]).

For Costa, youth protagonism is the active participation of young people in 'real problems'. The conceptualisation of youth protagonism as active participation in decisions has also been elaborated by Barrientos and Lascano (2000) whereby they propose an integral programme of capacity development in four interactive levels:

- **Basic capacities:** self-esteem, identity, humour, optimism, hope and creativity;
- **Participation:** related to confidence, autonomy, socialisation and reciprocity, capacity to interact with your surroundings;
- **Protagonism:** capacity to actively participate in the elaboration and execution of initiatives that can transform adversities, that involve capacity of vision (strategic thinking), of proposition, of negotiation and of management/execution;
- **Social action for development and citizenship:** capacity for active participation in the planning and construction of your own future, of your family and your community, fulfilling your family, social, economic and political role. (Barrientos and Lascano, 2000 [my translation])

Crucially, Barrientos and Lascano demonstrate that these four levels are *interdependent*. This is a significant aspect of the definition as it challenges the more static sequential and hierarchical theoretical models that have come to dominate Northern discourse. Furthermore, the authors classify the spaces for protagonism in two ways: young people's own spaces in which they can act free from the interference of adults; and the spaces created by adults with young people to guarantee their voices are heard in society and in the decisions that affect them (Barrientos and Lascano, 2000) This is a further useful aspect with regards to Northern literature, as the idea of participatory spaces is one of the more recent developments within Northern debates on participation (see for example Cornwall, 2004) and is particularly complex with regards to children and young people's participation due to the adult-child relationships that result in children's participatory spaces being created within their conventional places within the social structure (Moss and Petrie, 2002 cited in Wyness, 2009).

Despite the arguably more advanced discourses about youth participation and protagonism within Brazilian literature, the term youth protagonism has recently received severe criticism. In a comprehensive critique of the concept of youth protagonism, Magalhães de Souza argues that despite the rhetoric of both governmental and non-governmental organisations, young people continued to be viewed as objects rather than subjects of interventions:

> *'Youth protagonism, however, is a discourse of adults, produced and shared by international organisations, government departments, NGOs, businessmen and women and educators, in other words, by adults that dedicate themselves to the integration of young people, who are considered the object of the intervention. The youth protagonist is the object and not the subject of governmental and non-governmental policies and measures.'* (Magalhães de Souza, 2007: 10 [my translation])

This is particularly interesting as it appears that despite the comprehensive debates within Brazil alongside the comprehensive set of children and young people's rights as set out in ECA, the issue of the continuing influence of ontological viewpoints with regards to children and young people has yet to be overcome. Returning to the Northern literature, this difficulty can be seen in relation to Article 5 of the UNCRC which states that the 'rights and responsibilities for children… must be directed to the exercise by the child of their rights 'in a manner consistent with their evolving capacities' (Lansdown, 2006: 140). Whilst extending the idea of participation, as not only are children entitled to express their views and have them taken seriously but also to take decisions when they are competent to take them, this raises fundamental questions regarding how that competence is assessed, respected and promoted (Lansdown, 2006: 140). This highlights the centrality of ontological perspectives of children and childhood, as well as of adult-child relations and historical, social and cultural context. Indeed, the UNCRC has been identified as the trigger in the revolutionary step in the recognition of children as 'human beings' rather than as 'human becomings' (Kjørholt, 2001 cited in Skelton, 2007). This highlights how the development of the UNCRC and the shift towards children's participation is intrinsically linked with the 'conceptual shift' that took place within social studies of children and childhood. Through critically engaging with ideas about what constitutes 'childhood' the shifting debates inevitably influencing the development of the UNCRC (Skelton, 2007). It is to these debates that I now turn.

2.4.2 The evolving perspectives of children and childhood

The notion of 'childhood' has undergone numerous transformations within Northern sociological discourse throughout the last three decades. Initially, children and childhood were largely ignored within sociological discourse, with children tending to be studied indirectly through subdisciplines such as the family or education rather than in their own right (Brannen and O'Brien, 1995). This was primarily due to the conception of childhood, rooted in the ideas of both Locke and Rousseau, in which children were thought of as adult 'becomings' rather than child 'beings' (James et al., 1998: 207). This view of childhood as a passage into the social world of adults can also be traced through psychological accounts such as Jean Piaget's 'The Origin of Intelligence in the Child' (1977) which were then translated directly into sociological accounts of childhood. This focus on psychological accounts of childhood within sociological discourse created a false binary of 'asocial child' and 'social adult' (Theis, 2001: 100), resulting in a focus on socialization theory, whereby 'to be a child [was] not yet to be an adult' (Archard, 1993: 30).

A key theme within socialization theory was that of protectionism. This is intrinsically related to the perception of children as innocent. Rousseau, who is 'widely credited with pioneering a modern view of childhood' (Archard, 1993: 22), was the first to develop the idea of childhood innocence, whereby 'God makes all things good; man meddles with them and they become evil' (cited in James et al., 1998: 13). Rousseau's work heavily influenced thinking around children and childhood. Interestingly however, although Rousseau 'opened up the question of the child's particularity', resulting in the child being 'promoted to the status of person, a specific class of being with needs and desires and even rights' (James et al., 1998: 13), it has been argued that this had a negative impact upon children. Some authors argue that this resulted in citizenship being removed from children to become the 'exclusive territory of adults. For children, it [citizenship] was the final destination of their childhood' (Jans, 2004: 32). Therefore, although Rousseau was able to 'personify' children through the promotion of their rights as a 'specific class of being', and therefore worthy of intellectual attention, this was from the perspective of the child being the 'moral innocent' (Archard, 1993: 22). This further reinforced the perception of children as innately different from adults and it is this conception of 'childhood as innocence' that has come to dominate Northern understandings of what it means to be a child (Valentine, 1996).

The dominance of the ontological position of the child as innately innocent created a conceptual lens through which all children were viewed. This not only resulted in a

protectionist stance within sociological thinking, but also resulted in children being rendered passive and dependent. As highlighted by Jenks:

> *'… a dominant modern discourse of childhood [that] continues to mark out 'the child' as innately innocent, confirming its cultural identity as a passive and unknowing dependent, and therefore as a member of a social group utterly disempowered – but for good, altruistic reasons.' (1996: 124)*

The protectionist stance heavily influenced philanthropic ideals which were based around the protection of children from 'exhausting, unhealthy labour' and promoting their rights to care and education (Jans, 2004: 32). This divide between employment and education exemplifies one of the key criticisms of what then became the dominant model of childhood. Childhood became inextricably linked to class. The notion of 'childhood' developed out of middle class 'Western' ideology of the domesticity of children (Ennew, 1995: 202), whereby 'They did not work; they played and learned' (Davin, 1990: 37). The debates around childhood became embedded in 'Western', middle class normative judgements about what the life of a child *should be* (Panter-Brick, 2000: 9) and these altruistic judgements were then translated into a universal model for childhood. This model was then utilised as a yardstick by which to measure childhood across the world. This is particularly relevant in this research, as normative judgements based upon 'Westernised' perceptions are not only potentially oppressive within cross-cultural research, but have heavily influenced the work of development organisations working with children and young people. For example, in an analysis of the experiences of children in 'shantytowns', or *favelas*, in Rio de Janeiro, Goldstein states that 'in Brazil, childhood is a privilege of the rich and practically non-existent for the poor' (1998: 389). For Goldstein, the perception of what a childhood should be is clear: 'Middle-class and upper-class children can be loved and adored as children, while lower-class children are hastened into becoming adults in order to survive' (1998: 395). This indicates that the normative judgements based on 'Western' perceptions of a 'proper' childhood have permeated Northern discourse, without regard to social or cultural context. It naturalized 'the childhood of the rich as the only form that childhood can take… and identifies it with one socially and historically located construction' (Prout, 2005: 13). Furthermore, the promotion of middle-class ideals not only successfully permeated discourse, but 'it proclaimed the righteousness of middle-class ideology, and the duty to intervene in working-class life ... And, at the same time, it confirmed the passive and dependent role of children, whether victims or rescued.' (Davin,

1990: 53) This perception has also been identified within Brazilian historical perspectives of childhood whereby the 'new ideologies concerning the control and protection of children paralleled those in other Western countries' resulting in children and young people being classified according to their 'type of abandonment' or 'degree of dangerousness' (Rizzini, 2002: 165-6).

A further aspect of the universal model and its inherent normative judgements that has influenced development work is the perception of children's needs. Although some argue that need itself is a concept that is 'culturally as much as biologically constructed' (Woodhead, 1997: 78), statements about children's needs also imply assumptions about what makes a 'good society', in other words, about what constitutes the accepted parenting model (Woodhead, 1997). Therefore the definition of children's 'needs' is also related to structural inequality and power relations between countries in the North and those in the South. For example, the 'home' continues to play a central role within normative ideas about children's needs, despite the deeply ethnocentric connotations that this portrays:

> *'… all country reports seem to assume that homes are the location of play, culture and family life. Yet this is more typical of a Northern experience of family life in private (and relatively spacious) dwellings. For the majority of families in Southern countries, life in slums and shantytowns does not display this privacy; overcrowding forces play, culture and family life out on to the streets.' (Ennew, 2000: 172)*

The extensive globalisation of 'Western' ideas of childhood (Jenks, 1996) highlights how the 'Western' model of childhood has been used as a conceptual lens by which to judge 'normal' childhood experiences, resulting in a simplistic normative conception of childhood that places countries in the North as 'experts'. Instead of valuing individual experience, the universal model not only denies agency for children, but for entire countries as Northern-based professionals use the universal model as a lens through which to differentiate between 'good' and 'bad' experiences of childhood. This is particularly important for children who work, as the fact that 'childhood in the North is becoming an ever more differentiated construct from adulthood', particularly with regards to their separation from the economic arena, means that children who work, and particularly children who work in the street, are seen as an 'antithesis to childhood' (Bar-On, 1997: 67). Yet whilst the only way to effectively challenge this de-valuing of different experiences of childhood is through

challenging the universal concept of childhood and recognising the cultural plurality of children's lives, this reconciliation between universalism and cultural plurality has proved to be, and remains, a stubborn obstacle to surmount.

Ariès (1962) is credited as the first theorist to challenge the universal account of childhood through his analysis of the historical development of childhood. Although his analysis has been criticised for its weak evidential basis and value-laden interpretation of the past through present-day attitudes (Archard, 1993), Ariès is credited with 'relativizing of the concept of childhood' (James et al., 1998: 4). Despite the identified problems with his analysis, Ariès was the 'first to demonstrate that while children are present in all cultures their presence has been and still is differently regarded' (Jenks, 1996: 121). However, it is interesting to note that within both the universal account of childhood and within Ariès' historical account, the focus is on structure rather than agency. This has been challenged, with the rise in the recognition of children as social agents being formulated into a 'new paradigm' in sociology (Prout and James, 1997: 21). As Prout and James highlight:

> *'The immaturity of children is a biological fact of life but the ways in which this immaturity is understood and made meaningful is a fact of culture.' (1997: 7).*

Although this acknowledges that some biological characteristics of childhood are the same, and are therefore universal (Jans, 2004), it highlights that the way in which immaturity is 'understood and made meaningful' is due to culture. This results in a number of fundamental shifts in thinking. First, it challenges the validity of the ontological position of the universal model of childhood. If childhood is only made meaningful through the locating of the child within their wider economic, social and cultural context then a universal model of a single 'childhood' is rendered meaningless. Children do not live as one cultural group, and therefore there is no single concept of childhood, just as there is no single concept of 'woman' (Hardman, 1973). Second, within this view it can be argued that children have, theoretically at least, regained their agency. It is now possible to think of children as 'active social beings, constructing and creating social relationships, rather than as the 'cultural dopes' of socialization theory' (Prout and James, 1997: 23). This not only highlights children's competency, but it also begins to break down the divide between adults and children. Children are not asocial, external to the influences of their surrounding environment, but are just as influenced by the context in which they live as adults:

'… childhood and the living conditions of children are fundamentally influenced by the same economic, political and social powers that constitute the context of adults' lives.' (Jans, 2004: 28)

This brings us to a third shift in thinking, that of the relationship between children and adults. By highlighting the cultural construction of childhood, and the fact that current constructions place children as weak, vulnerable and powerless, theorists demonstrate how this perception has also influenced the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of adults towards children (Theis, 2001: 101). This is fundamentally linked to power: through the construction of children as weak and denying their agency, adults place themselves in the position of powerful and the child in the position of powerless. Therefore through highlighting children's agency, the powerful / powerless dichotomy is being challenged. One of the major obstacles to this however is the 'zero-sum assumption' of power, in that to give power to children is to take something away from adults (Hill et al., 2004). This results in adults maintaining the perception of children as helpless in order to hold on to their power over them. As noted by Archard:

'The innocence and incompetence of children is not a biological fact, but a projection onto young humans of our own adult needs. We want children to be helpless so that we can help them; we need them to be dependent so that we can exercise authority over them.' (1993: 49)

Through the recognition of children's agency the solid wall that previously separated the adults' world from that of the child has begun, at least in theoretical terms, to break down. A final shift in thinking is that attention has increased to the idea that children, both globally and within their local context, do not have a homogenous voice. In reality, there are no authentic voices of children to be discovered, only different versions of childhood (Ritala-Koskinen, 1994 cited in Davis, 1998). For example the homogenising of 'street children' into one globally recognisable group has been severely criticised, and is at best analytically unhelpful (Panter-Brick, 2004) and lacking in operational value (Glauser, 1997: 150) and at worst perpetuating the status quo of social inequality (Moura, 2002).

These shifts in thinking can be identified within the debates of children as 'being or becoming'. The 'being' child is based upon the view that childhood is socially constructed and the recognition of children as social actors in their own right, active in the construction of their own 'childhood'. In contrast, the 'becoming' child is essentially seen as an 'adult in

the making' (Uprichard, 2008). However, whilst useful in highlighting the need to recognise children as they are rather than whom they will become, this oppositional construction has more recently been challenged as producing a limited and one-sided conception of children and childhood (Prout, 2005: 66). Whilst the 'becoming child' is denied a present, the 'being child', through the almost exclusive focus upon the present, is argued to be denied a future. Instead, in order to recognise temporality it is necessary to see children and childhood as 'always and necessarily 'being and becoming'' (Uprichard, 2008: 303), indeed it has been argued that adults, too, should be thought of as both becomings and beings (Lee, 2001 cited in Prout, 2005: 66):

> *'…we are all – children and adults – interdependent beings who are also always in the process of 'being' and 'becoming' with on another, who are more or less competent at doing certain things throughout our lives.'* (Uprichard, 2008: 307)

However, despite these shifts in thinking socialisation theory and the universal model of childhood have proved 'extraordinarily resistant to criticism' (Prout and James, 1997: 22) and continue to exert a strong influence (Theis, 2001). Despite the challenges to the view of children as adult 'becomings', childhood still tends to be viewed as a permanent social structure rather than as fluid and complex. One of the reasons for this was that the sociology of childhood came about during the crisis of social theory within modernity discourses, whereby the 'proliferation of dichotomies' and neat separation of social life into oppositional categories was no longer seen as able to adequately represent modern social life (Prout, 2005: 62). However, these ideas failed to impact upon discourses on children and childhood. As Prout succinctly puts it: 'at the very time that sociological assumptions about modernity were being eroded they arrived, late, to childhood' (2005: 62), resulting in thinking around childhood remaining relatively static (Prout and James, 1997). For example, despite the recognition of childhood as socially constructed amongst theorists and researchers, there has been a continued use of the 'Western' model of childhood as a conceptual lens by which to judge childhood experiences. As noted previously, notions of innocence and passivity continue to permeate discourse, with adult-centred interpretations of childhood experiences defining what constitutes the 'norm'.

One of the potential reasons for the continuity of the universal model is that adults remain central to the challenging of societal perceptions. Children's position as children means that they are less able to independently develop a voice for themselves. This results in the

potential for manipulation of the agenda by adults as the 'supposed interests of children and young people are used by adults with their own separate agendas', and yet it is also 'very often adults who are the most determined campaigners and fighters for children's rights, be it over their education, health or welfare rights.' (Roche, 2004: 42) Roche goes on to highlight how as a result of this, children's rights should be viewed as a challenge not for children, but for adults:

> *'From this standpoint the language of children's rights is the beginning not the end …, it is about respecting and valuing the contribution children make and have to make to the world children and adults share: a world hitherto defined and imagined primarily in adult terms – it is about power.' (1999: 487)*

2.4.3 The role of adults in children and young people's participation

As demonstrated within this review, power has begun to occupy an increasingly central position within the international development sector. However, with regards to work with children there is still a tendency by international development NGOs to think of children's rights from a protectionist perspective. As noted by Skelton in her analysis of the UNICEF's State of the World's Children report (2003), the 'persuasive perspective of children as 'adults in waiting' is still very much predominant even in UN discourses about children.' (2007: 177) The continued focus on adult-designed services and solutions to children's needs has also been argued to indicate that there has been a failure to recognise that to adopt a child's rights perspective means to accept that children are capable of having opinions and that these should be listened to and taken seriously (Miljeteig, 2000). One possible explanation offered by Johnson and Scott is that this poses a 'fundamental threat to adult-child power relationships' (1998: 254). This has a fundamental impact on the potential for children and young people's participation, as it 'makes institutionalizing children's participation an even greater challenge than institutionalizing other types of stakeholder participation' (Johnson and Scott, 1998: 254).

The role of adults has been identified as a central factor in the effective development of children and young people's participation. Participation is a process of change, however key to this is the recognition that this is a process for *all involved*, not just the children and young people. As argued by Freire, we are all 'unfinished' and as a result participation should be viewed as 'a partial, situated and contestable work-in-progress subject to future challenge and transformation of *all* parties involved, with effects felt both locally and in more distant contexts.' (Mannion, 2010: 338 [emphasis in original]) This takes on the view

that both adults and children need to be considered as 'becomings' (Uprichard, 2008) and therefore theoretical approaches to participation need to recognise the relational dimension of participation to overcome the currently limited versions of children and young people's participation that fail to incorporate how 'participants and spaces reciprocally trigger changes in each other' (Mannion, 2010: 338). Instead, there is now a call to go beyond participation and for children to be empowered as 'fellow citizens' (Theis, 2010) that involves more 'intrinsically relational ways of thinking and being that move beyond rules and rights and emphasise the importance of mutual interdependence and inter-subjective understanding.' (Prout and Tisdall, 2006: 243)

2.5 Fitting It All Together: research aims and research questions

It is the recognition of the relational aspect within children and young people's participation that was one of the motivating factors behind this research. Participatory practice within the development sector is complex, however participatory practice with children and young people has an extra layer of difficulty due to the continuing influence of the universal model of childhood as well as the challenge of adult-child relations. Not only do (adult-designed) institutional structures tend to counter the realities of children's participatory projects and limit young people's capacity for participation (Kaspar, 1998: 180), but as argued by O'Kane: 'Our perception of children influences the way we talk to them, explain things to them, and choose to include or exclude them from decision-making' (1998: 37). This highlights the centrality of the need for adults to understand their own views and perceptions in order to be able to not only facilitate the development of children's skills, but to honestly and effectively challenge the ongoing influence of the universal ontological model of childhood.

A principle motivating factor, therefore, for the focus on the practice of children and young people's participation within this research is the belief that the extra layer of barriers as a result of adult-child relations can be utilised as a positive, as a way to help us learn about the practice of participation with all. The aim is to respond to the call to 'shift attention from children *per* se to children in relation to others, suggesting that children's participation cannot be understood outside of the set of relationships that constitute all the actors.' (Prout and Tisdall, 2006: 243 [emphasis in original]). The research sets out to explore the practice of participation with children and young people by working alongside adults involved in the process in order to provide an opportunity for deeper reflection about the

relational aspect of participatory practice. Not only is this reflection essential for developing participatory practice with children and young people but it is also essential in order to begin to understand the complexity of participatory practice for all of us.

In order to achieve this aim, I set out to work alongside small community-based NGOs to explore the practice of developing children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes. By focusing specifically on the development of children and young people's participation, I aimed to begin to unravel the complexities of participation through adopting an inductive approach that took practice as its starting point for theory development. Specifically, the research set out to explore the following five research questions:

1. How do staff perceptions, preconceptions and individual understandings impact upon the process of developing children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes?
2. Does the process of developing children and young people's participation impact upon staff perceptions, preconceptions and behaviours? If so, how does this relate to organisational change?
3. What are the biggest challenges of developing children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes in community based NGOs? How can these challenges be overcome?
4. What is the relationship between power and the development of children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes?
5. How can Northern-based funding organisations improve their practices to support the development of children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes within community based NGOs?

Summary

Within this review I provided an overview of the discourses within four key areas: i) international development, focusing particularly on the recognition of the value of local knowledge through poststructural views of the socially constructed nature of knowledge; ii) power via an overview of the work of Foucault, Lukes, Freire and Sen; iii) a more detailed exploration of the main discourses within participatory development; and iv) a detailed look at children and young people's participation within the arena of international development

including a critical analysis of the concept of childhood. I finalised the review by identifying how the present research builds upon current knowledge before setting out the aim of the research and relating this to the identified priorities within recent literature. I will now move on to discuss the methodological approach undertaken within the research, including an exploration of the research strategy, the research design, including discussion of the research process, sampling strategies utilised and methods for data collection, and the process undertaken for data analysis and research dissemination.

Research Strategy and Research Design

Introduction

In this chapter I will set out the strategic approach adopted during the research process, including an explanation of the research framework and an overview of the debates regarding participatory action research. This will be followed by a description of the research design, including the research process, sampling strategies utilised and methods for data collection. Due to the nature of the research a wide variety of participatory methods were used during the research process and therefore I also provide more detailed descriptions of six of the participatory methods utilised. I then move on to describe the theoretical approach to the data analysis, including a brief discussion of participant involvement in data analysis and dissemination. I close the chapter with a reflection on some of the ethical dilemmas encountered during the research process.

3.1 Research Strategy

This section describes the research strategy, including the theoretical framework and an overview of key debates regarding participatory action research, before moving on to set out the research design in the following section.

3.1.1 Research framework: participatory action research

Within the research I adopted a participatory action research (PAR) epistemological framework. PAR is part of a wider collection of participatory approaches to research that aim to challenge hierarchical practices through involving those conventionally 'researched' in some or all stages of the research process (Pain, 2004). Participation as an epistemological approach developed particularly strongly throughout the 1970s within Latin America through the writings of Freire (1996[1970], Fals-Borda (1987) and Brandão (2001; 1991[1981]). These authors challenged top-down processes of change through the explicit recognition of the socially constructed nature of the world and the ensuing need to develop dialogical approaches to both research and social development that value individual knowledge. As Fals-Borda eloquently summarises:

'Interest in Participatory Action-Research (PAR) has grown worldwide due to its pertinence to the initiation and promotion of radical changes at the grassroots level where unsolved economic, political and social problems have been accumulating a dangerous potential. PAR claims to further change processes in constructive non-violent ways due to its emphases on awareness-building processes… Such processes of radical change include scientific research, adult education and political action combined.' (1987: 329)

PAR involves three key components: learning (and I would argue that this is joint learning for all involved in the research process), research and, crucially, *action*. Reason and Bradbury provide a useful definition of PAR describing it as:

'…a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview… It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and communities.' (Reason and Bradbury, 2001: 1)

Therefore whilst all qualitative research recognises the need to adopt a reflexive approach of 'self-questioning' through 'thinking critically about what you are doing and why' (Mason, 2002: 5), PAR takes this further through recognising the need to combine the three elements of learning, research and action to form an 'experiential methodology'. This implies the 'acquisition of serious and reliable knowledge upon which to construct power for the poor and exploited social groups' enabling them 'to articulate and systematise knowledge (both their own and that which comes from outside) in such a way that they can become protagonists in the advancement of their society and in defence of their own class and group interests.' (Fals-Borda, 1987: 330) The foundation of PAR epistemology is through the fundamental recognition of the connection between knowledge and power; that the circularity of power means that power cannot be given from one to the other through the giving of knowledge; rather it must be created through the process of individual learning.

In this research I set out to explore the reality of developing and implementing children and young people's participation in organisational decision-making processes through the act of 'doing' participation alongside practitioners and then undertaking a joint reflection upon the processes undertaken. There were two key factors for adopting a PAR approach within the research. First, I have a personal belief that ethical social research must ensure that the research is both relevant and useful to research participants. As someone who classifies herself as a practitioner with an interest in theory rather than a theorist with an interest in practice, I felt a deep obligation to conduct an inductive research project that remained as closely integrated with practice as possible. Second, the need to unpack the dynamics of participation in practice has already been identified (Cornwall, 2002b) whereby 'strikingly few accounts of participatory mechanisms in practice give us any idea about who actually participates' resulting in a call for more micro-level research in order 'to understand which forms of participation work in which kinds of spaces' (Cornwall, 2002b: 28). Logically, if we are going to try to improve our understanding of practice, then the place to start is with practitioners.

3.1.2 Participatory action research: an overview of debates

Broader debates regarding participation, including children and young people's participation and participatory development were explored in chapter two. However here it is important to acknowledge the criticism that has been levelled at both participation in general and all forms of participatory research in particular with regards to ontological and epistemological grounding. As noted above power is central to PAR, yet the proponents of participatory research have been accused of being 'naïve about the complexities of power and power relations' particularly regarding how power itself has 'varied and subtle manifestations in the very discourse of participation.' (Cooke and Kothari, 2001: 14) Ironically, the poststructuralist foundations upon which participation was developed, that 'there are no depths to plumb for the subject's true essence or identity; rather the subject is understood as always in the process of becoming, of being shaped in a multitude of ways by various discourses and practices' (Cameron and Gibson, 2005: 317), have also formed the foundation upon which critics of participation have based a central aspect of their claims. For example, as was noted in section 2.3.4, Kapoor (2002) breaks down the participatory approach of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) as advocated by Robert Chambers (see Chambers, 1997; 2005; 2007; 2008) and effectively demonstrates how the negative conception of power within the PRA approach results in significant shift away from Foucault's conception of both power and knowledge. For Kapoor, participatory methodologies in themselves, if embedded purely in empiricism without a sufficient

theoretical framework, result in inadequate conceptualisations of power that leaves PRA 'open to misuse and abuse because it provides too clean a depiction of practice' (2002). This argument has been reiterated elsewhere, particularly strongly by Cooke and Kothari (2001) in their edited book 'Participation: the new tyranny?'. Whilst later responses to Cooke and Kothari have pointed to their overly negative and oppositional conceptualisation of poststructuralism and participation (see for example Kesby, 2005), their reflections upon the misconceptions and misinterpretations of power within participation are particularly relevant to PAR and are therefore worthy of further discussion.

There are three points in particular that are necessary to briefly explore: the argument that 'power is everywhere' and therefore 'both participants and participatory development practitioners are themselves conduits of power' (Kothari, 2001: 141-2); the lack of recognition given to everyday power in people's lives; and the tendency of participatory methodologies to focus on the building of consensus.

Criticism One: practitioners as 'conduits of power'

The criticism that the simplistic conceptualisation of power and the ignoring of the practitioner as a 'conduit of power' has been argued to have resulted in a continuation of rather than a challenging of domination, as 'Pretending to step down from power and privilege … is a reinforcement, not a diminishment, of such power and privilege' (Kapoor, 2005). This is highlighted particularly clearly within the idea that the 'facilitator' can be outside of the participatory process – that they can 'hand over the stick' (see Chambers 1997; 2005; 2007; 2008). This is a simplistic notion which fails to take into account the historical and relational aspects of power. Essentially, it implies that it is the facilitator who *decides* to step back, to adopt the philosophy that 'they can do it' (Chambers, 2008: 147), therefore reinforcing the power of the facilitator rather than overcoming it. The facilitator of the participatory process, whilst recognising the legitimacy of the participant's knowledge, overrides the legitimacy of their choice through 'stepping back' and allowing the participant to occupy the space rather than allowing the participant to create their own space or to even decide if they want to do so. It reinforces the paternalistic idea of empowerment whereby it 'suggests a passivity on the part of the participant – it is something that happens to him/her.' (Cahill, 2007: 274)

However I argue that these criticisms, whilst valid for specific conceptualisations and practices within participation, do not invalidate participation as a concept in itself. I argue

that it is not participation *per se* that requires rethinking, but rather how the participatory process is conducted in order to remain as faithful as possible the original premise of PAR that is grounded in the power and knowledge of the participants (Cahill, 2007). It requires an explicit acknowledgement of our own agency within the participatory process through recognising the centrality of self-reflexivity (Spivak, 1990 cited in Kapoor, 2004). However this needs to be intertwined with an acceptance that 'while conscious and reflexive, agency is also partial, positioned, and informed by a situated consciousness of one's location and interests within an evolving constellation of powers.' (Kesby, 2005: 2046)

Criticism Two: the everyday nature of power

Despite the poststructualist roots of PAR there has been a lack of attention paid to wider societal structures through the tendency to focus upon the micro-level relationships of facilitator-participant, participant-facilitator and participant-participant whilst overlooking wider and 'everyday power in people's lives' (Kothari, 2001: 144). Once more this directly contradicts Foucault's perception of power:

> *'The exercise of power is not simply a relationship between 'partners', individual or collective; it is a way in which some act on others. Which is to say, of course, that there is no such entity as power, with or without a capital letter; global, massive, or diffused; concentrated or distributed. Power exists only as exercised by some on others, only when it is put into action, even though, of course, it is inscribed in a field of sparse available possibilities underpinned by permanent structures.' (Foucault, 2002: 340)*

Power is not just about relationships between people, but instead *the way that these relationships are enacted*. This enactment is fundamentally affected by the wider mechanisms of power:

> *'In thinking of the mechanisms of power, I am thinking rather of its capillary forms of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies, and inserts itself into their very actions and attitudes, their discourse, learning processes, and everyday lives' (Foucault, 1980 cited in Lukes, 2005: 88-9)*

The reductionist conceptualisation of power has been criticised as being 'at odds with the increasingly globalizing tendencies of many economic and social processes' (Mohan,

2001: 162). However there is now a growing recognition of the need to understand the way that participation relates to existing power structures and political systems (Hickey and Mohan, 2004) that goes beyond the populist form of participation based upon 'a narrow focus on development interventions and experts' (Hickey and Mohan, 2004: 11). The intricate nature of power relations and the interconnectedness with wider mechanisms of power has started to be recognised within academic debates, for example Cornwall argues:

'*The mutual impingement of relations of power and difference within and across different arenas conditions possibilities for agency and voice. For no matter how equitable the intentions that inform the creation of an arena for participation might be, existing relationships cannot be simply left at its boundary; rather, the traces of these relationships, and of previous experiences in other spaces, continue to exert an influence on what is said, and what is sayable, within any given space.' (Cornwall, 2004: 80)*

This leaves us with the inevitable question of how to overcome the all-encompassing nature of power. Kesby highlights how a reconceptualisation of the relationship between poststructuralism and participation is necessary that explicitly recognises the unavoidable nature of power:

'If there is no escape from power, we have no choice but to draw upon less dominating forms of power to destabilise and transform more dominating frameworks of power. Hence for me, the key issue is not whether participation is a form of power and hence should be resisted, but whether participation is a form of power that might also be able to frame and organise resistance.' (Kesby, 2003: 15)

This means accepting that participation is about conflict (Florisbelo and Guijt, 2004: 203), that it requires us to ruffle feathers and enter into 'the messy territory of politics.' (Kapoor, 2002: 115)

Criticism Three: the problem of consensus

This brings us to the final area for discussion regarding the tendency of participatory methodologies to emphasise mutual consensus as the sought outcome. The methodologies advocated in PAR largely focus upon the visual through advocating

methods such as diagramming, photography, video, art or drama. These methods are usually advocated as best used with small groups and the sought outcome is generally the production of one final 'product', be that in the form of a diagram, a map, a matrix chart, timeline or piece of drama. This characteristic of PAR had been criticised as being a way to further mask the power structure of the community (Kothari, 2001: 146) through creating a uni-dimensional representation that whilst facilitating 'the task of achieving results and solutions … may also silence or exclude some community voices' as 'the very exercise of seeking consensus risks using coercion and simplifying diversity.' (Kapoor, 2002: 109) While I acknowledge that participatory methodologies run the risk of prioritising the group over the individual, this does not mean that they will inevitably do so. As Kapoor argues in his critique of Chambers' methodological approach, the requirement for consensus does not automatically result in the silencing of voices, but rather it is the lack of attention paid to the process of deliberation by which the consensus is reached that has resulted in it 'being unclear how PRA moves anywhere beyond 'mere agreement'.' (Kapoor, 2002: 109) Essentially, for PAR to remain true to the principles upon which it is based, it needs to allow for disagreement as well as agreement within the participatory process. As highlighted by Scott-Villiers in her analysis of organisational change: 'While misalignment may generate confusion, alignment generates complacency and dominance.' (2002: 434) Returning to Freire, central to his pedagogy of adult learning was open dialogue and recognition of dialogue as an 'act of creation' (Freire, 1996[1970]: 70) that values difference:

> *'In my relations with others, those who may not have made the same political, ethical, aesthetic, or pedagogical choices as myself, I cannot begin from the standpoint that I have to conquer them at any cost or from the fear that they may conquer me. On the contrary, the basis of our encounter ought to be respect for the differences between us…' (Freire, 2001: 120)*

Whilst recognising the limits of PAR and accepting that it is an imperfect science I, like others (Cahill, 2007; Cameron and Gibson, 2005; Kesby, 2000; 2003; 2005; Pettit, 2006), still believe that it has the potential to challenge and transform if used within a poststructuralist framework that recognises and explicitly addresses the power/knowledge connection. Through recognising that PAR is more than a set of participatory methodologies, but rather a participatory approach that relies upon critical reflection in order to transform, I set out within this research to try to fulfil the 'role of the action researcher/teacher… to explore with others… as to how power can be harnessed for

change and to work alongside them in tracing and learning from the myriad of micro level efforts, successes and failures.' (Eyben et al., 2006: 9)

3.2 Research Design and Overall Research Process

In this section I explain the design of the research and provide an outline of the research process. I explain the research 'space' and three-phase research process, timeframes at the three research sites, explanations of the sampling and selection strategies utilised and overall description of the research participants.

3.2.1 The research design

The aim of this research was to address the challenges surrounding the practical implications of children and young people's participation through working alongside staff in three small community-based NGOs to explore the practice of developing children and young people's participation in decision-making processes. I adopted a case study approach to the research design in order to analyse the 'particular in context rather than the common or consistent' (Mason, 2002: 165). This allowed for a more holistic approach to both data collection and analysis that reflected the complex social processes within which participatory practices occur. The research was exploratory in nature, seeking to improve understanding of participatory practices with children and young people and adopted an inductive approach to theory development, making it suitable for an exploratory case study research design. Inevitably the research design impacts upon the generalisability of the research findings as the data is intrinsically interwoven with the organisational practices of each research site. However, while the research findings are particular to the research sites, and therefore cannot be directly 'applied' to other settings, it is possible to begin to explore the transferability of the research findings through reflexive testing of the theory developed as a result of the inductive research design. As noted by Eisenhardt and Graebner: 'inductive and deductive logics are mirrors of one another, with inductive theory building from cases producing new theory from data and deductive theory testing completing the cycle by using data to test theory.' (2007: 25) Therefore while this research adopted the approach advocated by Yin for researchers conducting case studies to be 'driven to theory' as opposed to 'theory driven' (Yin, 1999: 1212) through seeking to develop theory from particular cases, the resulting theory can then be tested through further research to explore the possibility of generalisation.

3.2.2 The research process

Throughout the research process I worked with staff, children and young people to develop children and young people's participation. Rather than having one defined research population the 'research space' was located *between* the two population groups of 'adults' and 'children and young people' (see Figure 3.1). Central to the research process, therefore, was the analysis of the interaction between adults and children and young people, as it was through analysing interaction that I hoped to gain a clearer understanding of participation *in practice*. To achieve this I adopted a flexible approach to the research so that although the final 'destination' of the research, in other words the research aims and specific research questions, had already been decided, the route by which we arrived at the destination was decided jointly with staff at the three participating organisations. This meant that the specific nature of the research process at each NGO, in terms of what was done, how it was done, with whom and when, was decided jointly with the staff teams during the first phase of the research process. Therefore whilst the research adopted a broad three-phase approach that can be roughly defined as 'Introduction', 'Implementation' and 'Evaluation' with a series of key objectives for each phase (see Table 3.1), the specific actions by which the key objectives would be achieved were decided in conjunction with the NGO staff.

Figure 3.1: The research 'space'

LEVEL 2
'Adult' staff members

RESEARCH SPACE

LEVEL 1
Children and young people attending NGO activities
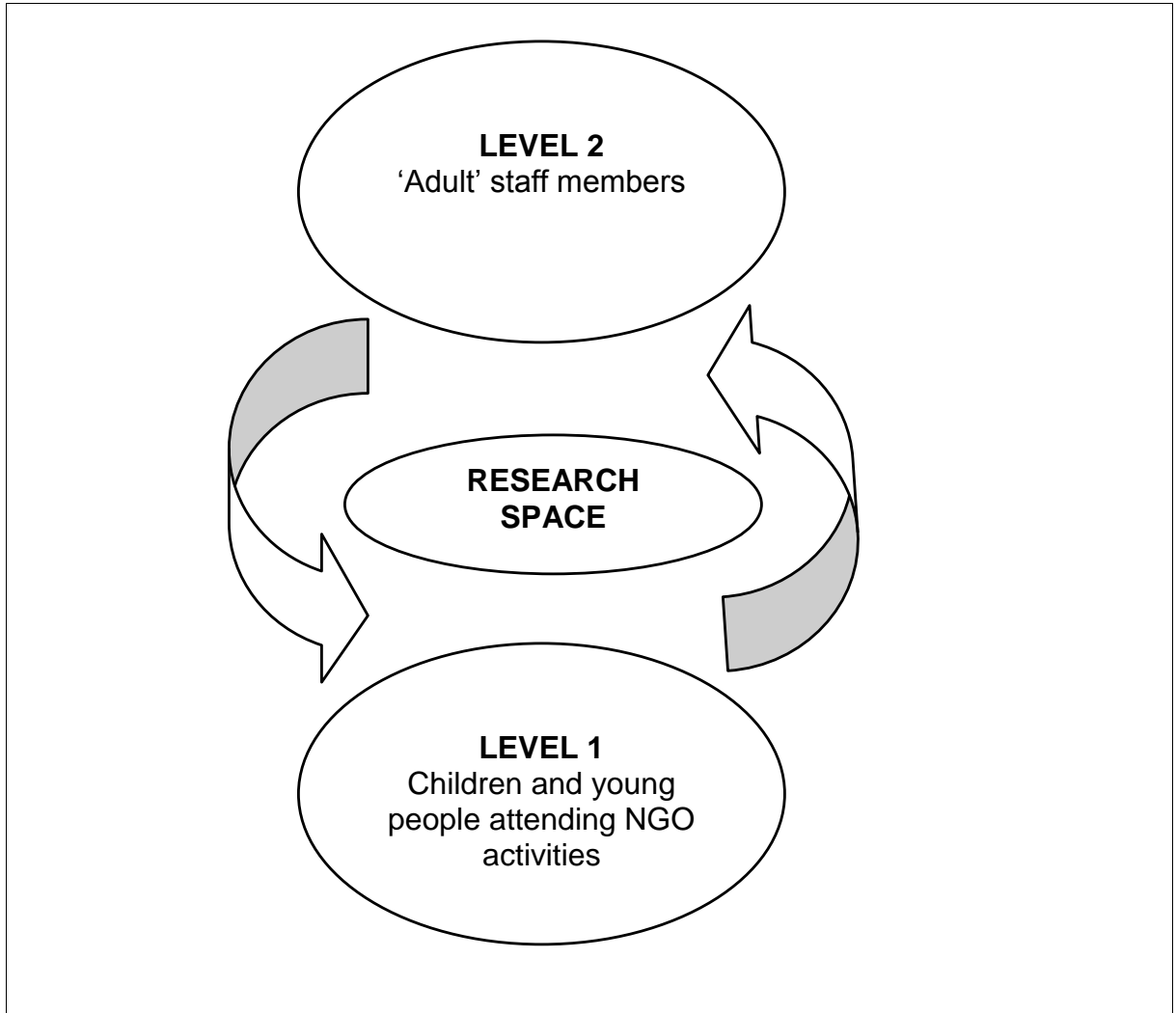
3.2.3 Sampling strategy and participant selection

Research site selection

In order to select the NGOs for the research I undertook a survey of eleven NGOs based in various rural and urban locations across Brazil as part of my MA in Social Research Methods. The aim of the survey was to analyse current knowledge of children and young people's participation and attitudes to children and childhood amongst the staff teams at each NGO (Jupp, 2006). This informed the purposive selection of the three NGOs invited to participate in the doctoral research. The choice of NGOs was based on organisational size, range and type of funding sources, target population type, current staff knowledge with regards to children and young people's participation and staff attitudes towards

children and childhood in order to facilitate a comparative study to develop and test arguments or hypotheses within the research findings (Mason, 2002: 125).

Table 3.1: Phases of the research process

	Objectives
Phase 1: Introduction	Introduction to the research to both staff and children and young people attending activities; Observation of day-to-day activities; Discussions with the staff team to decide on organisational priorities and the specific focus of the research process.
Phase 2: Implementation	Individual semi-structured interviews with staff members; Workshops with staff to discuss children and young people's participation; Joint planning with staff regarding the use of participatory methods within workshops with children and young people; Joint facilitation with staff of workshops with children and young people utilising the participatory methods; Ongoing evaluation of the methods utilised with the children and young people participating in the workshops.
Phase 3: Evaluation	Individual semi-structured interviews with staff members to evaluate and reflect upon the research process, the participatory methods utilised and wider issues regarding the development of children and young people's participation within their organisation.

Description of research sites

São Paulo is the largest city in Brazil, with over 10.4 million inhabitants, 6.14 percent of the total Brazilian population, 645 different municipal councils and 1022 districts (IBGE, 2000). The research sites were in three different locations: Project A and Project B are both located in São Paulo city although each works in a different neighbourhood[4]. Project C is located in a municipality on the periphery of São Paulo city.

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[4] It is important to note that Project A and Project B work under the same umbrella organisation, sharing the same management committee and director, but each organisation has separate coordinators and staff teams.

Project A

Project A is located in the centre of the city of São Paulo in a neighbourhood characterised by a predominance of commercial outlets, for example shops, offices and restaurants, and collective accommodation known as '*cortiços*' where various families divide the same physical space with little privacy and poor living conditions. The area also has a large number of people living on the street, including children, young people, adults and families. Project A works primarily with young women who are either pregnant or who already have a child or children with the aim of breaking the cycle of poverty through encouraging autonomy and the exercising of citizenship. There is a staff team of seven: one project coordinator, two educators, one social worker, one lawyer, one administration assistant and one cook. The team provides social, legal and psychological services to the young people and their families in both group and individual format. See appendix 1a for details of the organisational structure.

Project B

Project B is also located in the centre of São Paulo, in a neighbourhood characterised by the same levels of commercial outlets, sub-standard collective housing and homelessness. Project B works with children and young people between 0 and 18 years of age and their families in situations of risk including children and young people living on, or spending significant amounts of time on, the street. They also work with pregnant women of any age to focus upon their needs for the birth of the child. Project B has a multidisciplinary team and aims to work with this population group to secure the protection and defence of their rights. There is a staff team of eleven (although one post was vacant throughout the period of the research): one coordinator, two social workers, one psychologist, one lawyer, four educators, one administration assistant and one cook. The team provides social, legal and psychological services to the young people and their families in group and individual format as well as undertaking outreach. See appendix 1a for details of the organisational structure.

Project C

Project C is located in a municipality on the periphery of São Paulo city. The area in which Project C is located has the highest population density in São Paulo with 11,626 inhabitants per square kilometre (IBGE, 2000) and both the libraries and the schools use a four-period system (morning, intermediate, afternoon and night) in order to meet demand. The area is characterised by precarious housing conditions, higher levels of violence than

found in other municipalities and low income levels. Neither the municipality nor the neighbourhood in which Project C is based are classified as *favelas* (shantytowns), rather there are smaller *favelas* within the neighbourhood. Project C has a large multidisciplinary team and aims to minimise factors leading to social exclusion in order to restore children and young people's dignity and promote social transformation. There is a staff team of twenty-three (see appendix 1b for complete breakdown of all staff members) providing group and individual support to the children and young people and their families alongside providing community services such as a public library with free internet access and educational and recreational workshops run by young people at various local schools.

Research timeframes

I worked with Projects A and B concurrently for a period of six months between February and August 2008. I then worked with Project C for a period of five months between September 2008 and January 2009. Although Project A and Project B work under the same umbrella organisation, sharing the same management committee and director, each organisation has separate coordinators and staff teams. Whilst planning for the research, I had initially been under the impression that Project A and Project B worked much more closely than they do and had planned the research accordingly, intending to work with both organisations at the same time. It soon became clear that this would not be possible due to an underlying rivalry between the two staff teams that prevented the possibility of joint working. Therefore although I worked with both Project A and Project B concurrently between February and August 2008, the work at each organisation was undertaken separately. See appendix 2 for overall research timeline.

Selection of research participants

Once the research sites had been selected and preliminary agreement from the NGOs gained, a two-level sampling strategy was developed for the selection of potential research participants. Although participatory research commonly has one type of 'target participant', one group of people with whom the research hopes to engage, this research had two different types of target participant: practitioners working in the three participating NGOs and the children and young people attending the NGO programmes. It was through *analysing the interaction* between these two groups of target participant that I hoped to gain a clearer understanding of participation in practice. See Table 3.2 for details of the two 'levels' of research participant and objectives for each target group.

As described above, the aim of the research was to analyse the interaction between the two target groups and therefore it was essential to have a sample of both staff and children and young people in order to analyse their interactions. Therefore I adopted a purposive sampling strategy that would ensure the range and type of participant necessary to build in 'certain characteristics or criteria which help to develop and test your theory or argument.' (Mason, 2002: 124) In selecting Level 2 participants (staff members) I adopted a total sampling strategy. At all three NGOs I invited all staff members to participate in the research and all agreed.

Table 3.2: Two-level sampling strategy with objectives

	Target Group	Objective
Level 1	Children and young people	To conduct participatory workshops with children and young people currently attending activities; To gain the children and young people's views on the participatory methods utilised;
Level 2	Staff members	To conduct participant observation, semi-structured interviews and team workshops with staff members to discuss their understanding of participation, their reactions to the methods utilised at Level 1 and the potential use of these methods within their daily working practices.

In selecting Level 1 participants (children and young people), during the first phase of the research – which was a period of between one or two months at the start of the fieldwork at each NGO – I discussed with the project coordinators and relevant members of staff (for example, staff members who facilitated workshops with children and young people) which groups of children and young people would be appropriate to invite to participate in the research. This depended heavily on the views of the staff on group stability and group size alongside organisational objectives and issues of potential harm (see section 3.6.3 for more detailed discussion of issues of harm). Once potential groups had been identified I worked with the respective staff members to introduce the research and invite the children

and young people to participate in the research. See Table 3.3 for overview of all research participants.

3.3 Research Methods and Data Collection

As noted in section 3.2.1, within this research I utilised an exploratory case study research design and during the research process I adopted a wide range of qualitative methods. Level 2 of the research made use of traditional ethnographic methods of participant observation and semi-structured interviews alongside the use of various diagramming techniques within staff workshops. At Level 1 the specific research design was decided and planned together with staff members at each NGO based upon the identified priorities at each organisation. The flexible approach to the research design at this level resulted in the use of an extensive range of participatory methods. Table 3.4 provides an overview of the methods used at both Levels 1 and 2 of the research process.   Table 3.5 - 3.13 provide a more detailed breakdown of all methods used at each NGO with all participant groups detailing the number of participants and the aims and objectives for each session.

3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

Introductory and exit interviews were conducted with all 'adult'[5] staff members at all three NGOs. Exit interviews were also conducted with young staff members. Introductory semi-structured interviews were conducted during Phase 1 with the objective to gain understanding of: organisational structure and current decision making processes; current attitudes to and understanding of children and young people's participation; current participatory practices within the organisation; and expectations for the research (see appendix 3a for interview schedules). The interviews also provided a valuable individual space with each staff member to build a relationship and clarify the aims and objectives of the research. Exit interviews were conducted during Phase 3 of the research process with the objective of reflecting on: the participatory methodologies used; any changes in attitudes or understanding of children and young people's participation; the possible use of children and young people's participation within organisational processes; and the research process (see appendix 3b for interview schedules). All interviews were conducted and transcribed in Portuguese (see section 3.4.1 for discussion of issues regarding language and translation).

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[5] As highlighted in Table 3.3, Project C also employed young people, however only individual exit interviews were conducted with this group.

3.3.2 Participant observation

Participant observation constituted one of the central methods used during the research. The exploratory case study design meant that the research was grounded in a commitment to first-hand experience and exploration of participatory practice at the three research sites, and as highlighted by Atkinson et al. (2007) participant observation is a characteristic method for this type of ethnographic research. Participant observation can be defined as 'establishing a place in some natural setting on a relatively long-term basis in order to investigate, experience and represent the social life and social processes that occur in that setting' (Emerson et al., 2007: 352). Through the combining of interviews and observation, it is argued that a holistic approach to data collection and interpretation can be established whereby events can be both observed and retrospectively described (Atkinson et al. 2003). However participant observation is far from unproblematic as it 'involves not only gaining access to and immersing oneself in new social worlds, but also producing *written accounts and descriptions* that bring versions of these worlds to others.' (Emerson et al., 2007: 352 [emphasis in original]) Furthermore, while participant observation aims to observe events, as noted by Atkinson et al. 'Events are far from things that just happen. They are made to happen. They are enacted.' (2007: 104) Therefore it is important to recognise that observation, and the recording of those observations through fieldnotes, are both interpretive acts. They are selective, whereby the researcher focuses on, and therefore writes about, certain things that seem 'significant', ignoring and therefore leaving out what is not (Emerson et al., 2007: 353). This emphasises the importance of recognising that researchers are 'part of the social events and processes that we observe and help to narrate', pointing to the centrality of active reflexivity (Atkinson et al., 2003: 109) and the recognition that 'the process of undertaking research is suffused with biographical and identity work.' (Coffey, 1999 cited in Atkinson et al., 2003: 109) As highlighted in section 1.2 within this research I attempted to actively engage with my own subjectivity through continual reflection on my own role within the social events and processes that I was observing. I kept a daily fieldwork diary in the form of handwritten notes kept throughout the day that were then transferred into full typed field notes within my fieldwork diary each evening. I also kept a weekly video diary for the first few months of fieldwork to facilitate overall reflection (until my video camera broke!). I actively engaged with my own subjectivity within the fieldnotes, using the process as a means of 'sense-making' (Emerson et al., 2007: 353) and initial data analysis.

Table 3.3: Summary of all research participants

	No. Children (under 10 years)[6]		No. Children and Young People (10-14 years)		No. Young People (15 years +)		No. Adult Participants[7]		No. 'Adult' Staff		No. Young People as Staff[8]	
	M[9]	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Project A	-	-	6	8	1	13	-	-	1	4	-	-
Project B	-	-	6	-	3	-	-	35	3	5	-	-
Project C	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	13	14	5	7

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[6] Categorisations based on age groups of workshops run by NGOs.
[7] At Project B the social work team requested that I also work with a parents' group that they facilitate. The group meets once a month.
[8] At Project C young people were employed as 'Youth Monitors' – although employed, they were not considered to be 'full' staff members and therefore have been categorised separately.
[9] M – Male; F - Female

Table 3.4: Overview of research methods

		Participant Group	Research Method
Project A	Level 1	Young people (aged 10-14 years)	Participatory diagramming; Participatory evaluations; Participant observation.
		Young people (aged 15 years and older)	Participatory diagramming; Participatory evaluations; Participant observation.
	Level 2	'Adult' Staff	Semi-structured interviews; Participatory diagramming; Participant observation.
Project B	Level 1	Children and Young People (aged 10 years and older)	Participatory diagramming; Mapping; Photographic street tour; Participatory evaluations; Participant observation.
		Other Adult	Participatory diagramming; Photovoice; Participant observation.
	Level 2	'Adult' Staff	Semi-structured interviews; Participatory diagramming; Participant observation.
Project C	Level 1	Young people (aged 15 years and over)	A three month participatory evaluation with a group of 5 young people that utilised: Participatory diagramming; Young people-led workshops; A young people-led interview; Participatory evaluations; Participant observation.
	Level 2	Young people as Staff	Focus group discussion; Semi-structured interviews; Participatory diagramming (co-facilitated with the young staff members); Participant observation.
		'Adult' Staff	Semi-structured interviews; Participatory diagramming; Participant observation.

Table 3.5: List of methods used with children and young people aged 10-14 years at Project A

Project A				
Participant Group: Children and Young People 10-14 years (Sexuality and Gender Group)				
Method used	**Number of sessions**	**Number of Participants**	**Specific Objective**	**Overall Aim**
Brainstorming: young people thought about STDs and wrote down their associations with the term	1	11	To assess current knowledge of STDs	To develop a participatory method to monitor levels of knowledge
Party game - 'what am I?': a method I developed based upon the party game 'who am I?' Young people used a question and answer technique to guess the name of an STD	1	13	To assess current knowledge of STDs	To develop a participatory method to monitor levels of knowledge
Ranking: young people wrote down 'things that boys or girls might do for pleasure' and then ranked their answers according to level of risk (using a 'happy', 'serious' and 'sad' face to represent increasing levels of risk)	1	14	To assess current knowledge of and attitudes to different sexual behaviours and their associated risks to sexual health	To develop a participatory method to discuss sensitive subjects
Ranking: young people assessed their own levels of knowledge on topics covered within the group programme by standing along a line marked 0-10 (the higher the number indicating greater level of knowledge)	1	12	To conduct a self-evaluation of current knowledge levels	To develop a participatory method to evaluate current and past levels of knowledge
Ranking: young people assessed how much they liked or disliked the workshops through using sticky dots to score the session from 0-10 and writing reasons for their score (0 indicating did not like at all, 10 indicating liked a lot)	5 (including consent session)	N/A	To gain ongoing feedback about the methods used and the level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction	To develop a participatory monitoring method that could be easily systematised for use in project monitoring and evaluation

Table 3.6: List of methods used with children and young people aged 15-19 years at Project A

Project A				
Participant Group: Young People **15-19 years (Sexuality and Gender Group)**				
Method Used	**Number of sessions**	**Number of Participants**	**Specific Objective**	**Overall Aim**
Diamond Ranking: young people wrote down the topics that they thought were important to be included in the course curriculum and then ranked all topics in order of importance	2	11	To identify group priorities for course content	To develop a participatory method that can be used in project planning
Problem tree: young people thought about, wrote down and discussed the causes and consequences of family difficulties (the topic identified as most important within the diamond ranking exercise)	2	5	To assess current knowledge of and attitudes to a specific social problem	To develop a participatory method to discuss sensitive subjects
Ranking: young people assessed how much they liked or disliked the workshops through scoring the session from 0-10 and writing reasons for their score (0 indicating did not like at all, 10 indicating liked a lot)	4	N/A	To gain ongoing feedback about the methods used and the level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction	To develop a participatory monitoring method that could be easily systematised for use in project monitoring and evaluation

Table 3.7: List of methods used with staff members at Project A

Project A				
Participant Group: **Staff Members**				
Method Used	**Number of sessions**	**Number of Participants**	**Specific Objective**	**Overall Aim**
Matrix: staff were asked to create a monitoring and evaluation matrix	1	3	To assess levels of knowledge about organisational monitoring and evaluation	To co-identify potential areas for the development of children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes
'Snakes and ladders' - method I developed based upon the game of snakes and ladders: staff were asked to think about barriers and benefits of children and young people's participation within their organisation and classify their answers	1	4	To assess current knowledge of and attitudes to children and young people's participation	To co-identify potential areas for the development of children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes
Semi-structured interviews: introductory and exit interviews conducted with all staff	7	5	To assess current knowledge of and attitudes to children and young people's participation and organisational decision-making processes	To improve my understanding of individual perceptions, preconceptions and understanding of children and young people's participation

Table 3.8: List of methods used with children and young people aged 10-18 years at Project B

Project B				
Participant Group: Children and Young People **10-18 years (Drop-in sessions for children and young people currently living on the street)**				
Method Used	**Number of sessions**	**Number of Participants**	**Specific Objective**	**Overall Aim**
Participatory mapping: young people were asked to draw 'my path' or the path that they took to arrive at the project	2	3	To improve understanding of the children and young people's experiences and current lifestyles	To develop a participatory method to encourage more open communication between young people and staff
Participatory mapping: young people were asked to create a 'human map' of the city centre	1	5	To improve understanding of the children and young people's experiences and current lifestyles	To develop a participatory method to encourage more open communication between young people and staff
Walking tour and photovoice: young people acted as guides to the city and took the staff members and myself on a tour of the city centre, taking photos of the places and things that are important to them	2	4	To improve understanding of the children and young people's experiences and current lifestyles	To develop a participatory method to encourage more open communication between young people and staff
Problem tree: young people thought about, wrote down and discussed the causes of, consequences of and solutions to young people living on the street	3	3	To improve understanding of the children and young people's experiences and perspectives	To develop a participatory method to discuss sensitive subjects
Ranking: young people assessed how much they liked or disliked the workshops through using sticky dots to rank the session as good, average or bad (using smiling, serious or sad faces) and writing reasons for their score	9 (including consent session)	N/A	To gain ongoing feedback about the methods used and the level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction	To develop a participatory monitoring method that could be easily systematised for use in project monitoring and evaluation

Table 3.9: List of methods used with other adults at Project B

Project B				
Participant Group: **Adults (Parents' group for children and young people 'at risk')**				
Method Used	**Number of sessions**	**Number of Participants**	**Specific Objective**	**Overall Aim**
Problem wall and solution tree: group members were asked to reflect upon their personal situation at the start and the end of the group programme	2	35	To conduct a participatory evaluation of the 6-month group programme	To develop a participatory method to be used in ongoing project evaluation
Photovoice: women used photography to show different aspects of their lives	4	4	To visualise how the women attending the group programme identify their communities	To develop a participatory method to be used in ongoing project monitoring

Table 3.10: List of methods used with staff members at Project B

Project B				
Participant Group: **Staff Members**				
Method Used	**Number of sessions**	**Number of Participants**	**Specific Objective**	**Overall Aim**
Matrix: staff were asked to create a monitoring and evaluation matrix	1	5	To assess levels of knowledge about organisational monitoring and evaluation	To co-identify potential areas for the development of children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes
'Snakes and ladders' - new method I developed based upon the game of snakes and ladders: staff were asked to think about barriers and benefits of children and young people's participation within their organisation	1	7	To assess current knowledge of and attitudes to children and young people's participation	To co-identify potential areas for the development of children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes
Semi-structured interviews: introductory and exit interviews conducted with all staff	13	8	To assess current knowledge of and attitudes to children and young people's participation and organisational decision-making processes	To improve my understanding of individual perceptions, preconceptions and understanding of children and young people's participation

Table 3.11: List of methods used with young people aged 15-19 years at Project C

Project C				
Participant Group: Young People **15-19 years (Participatory evaluation of youth development programme)**				
Method Used	**Number of sessions**	**Number of Participants**	**Specific Objective**	**Overall Aim**
Group discussion: young people and I set the objectives of the participatory evaluation and developed a set of rights and responsibilities for all group members	2	6	To identify the objective of the evaluation and collectively develop group rights and responsibilities	To provide an introduction to and a sense of ownership over the participatory evaluation process
Timelines: young people were asked to create their personal timelines for their participation in the youth development programme	1	6	To begin an individual and a group reflection on experiences within the youth programme	To provide an introduction to and a sense of ownership over the participatory evaluation process
Timelines: young people were asked to create a timeline for the youth development programme	1	5	To identify current gaps of knowledge amongst the group about the historical development of the youth programme	To begin to jointly plan the participatory evaluation process through identifying priorities
Group discussion and planning: young people worked together to identify potential participants to take part in the programme evaluation	3	6 (on average)	To identify potential participants for the programme evaluation	For the young people to begin to take control over the evaluation process
Group work: young people conducted home visits to other young people in the local community to invite them to participate in the programme evaluation	4	6 (on average)	To extend the evaluation through inviting other young people to take part in workshops to discuss their experiences on the youth programme	For the young people to take further control over the evaluation process

Individual evaluation and reflection: young people and I met individually to discuss difficulties and reflect upon the participatory process	1	5	To address some of the difficulties that had arisen within the group	To assess and reflect upon the participatory process
Group work: young people organised and facilitated evaluation workshops with other young people and project staff members	6 (4 planning sessions and 2 workshops)	5 (on average)	To extend the evaluation through inviting other young people to take part in workshops to discuss their experiences on the youth programme	For the young people to take further control over the evaluation process
Group work: young people organised, planned and conducted an interview with Project C's secretary general	2 (planning session and interview)	2	To extend the evaluation by including and reflecting upon the views of one of the key decision-makers within Project C	To challenge the power hierarchy within Project C
Group work: young people prepared and presented final evaluation and proposed new structure for the youth programme to Project C's management committee	4 (3 planning sessions and the final presentation)	4 (on average)	To analyse the data collected and formulate a new youth programme structure based upon the evaluation findings	To present a proposal for a youth programme developed by young people
Brainstorming: young people asked to think about the positive and negative aspects of the participatory process and form recommendations for a successful participatory process	1	3	To evaluate the participatory process	To improve understanding of the barriers, challenges and benefits within a participatory process with young people and identify essential requirements for a successful participatory process with young people
Ranking: young people asked to reflect upon the level and quality of participation during each workshop through scoring the session from 0-10 and writing reasons for their score (0 indicating did not like at all, 10 indicating liked a lot)	26 (including group objective setting sessions)	N/A	To gain ongoing feedback on the research process and address any potential difficulties or barriers	To encourage a joint and individual reflection on the participatory process

Table 3.12: List of methods used with young staff members aged 16-19 years at Project C

Project C
Participant Group: Young People **16-19 years (Young staff members)**

Method Used	Number of sessions	Number of Participants	Specific Objective	Overall Aim
Focus group: young people thought about and discussed their understandings and experiences of participation	1	6	To assess current knowledge of participation and provide a space for reflection about current participatory practice within Project C	To assess the practice of children and young people's participation at Project C
Problem wall and solution tree: young people planned, facilitated and evaluated a participatory evaluation of the library	5 (including planning sessions, implementation and evaluation)	Unknown	To conduct a participatory evaluation of the library	To develop a participatory method to be used in ongoing project evaluation
Semi-structured interviews: exit interviews conducted with all young staff members		8	To assess knowledge of and attitudes to children and young people's participation and organisational decision-making processes	To improve my understanding of individual perceptions, preconceptions and understanding of children and young people's participation

Table 3.13: List of methods used with staff members at Project C

Project C				
Participant Group: Staff Members				
Method Used	**Number of Sessions**	**Number of Participants**	**Specific Objective of Session**	**Overall Aim**
Ranking: staff members scored the current level of children and young people's participation within the project and discussed in groups the reasons for their score	1	34	To assess current knowledge of and attitudes to children and young people's participation	To co-identify potential areas to develop children and young people's participation
Carousel: staff members discussed the potential development of children and young people's participation within Project C	1	32	To further assess current attitudes to children and young people's participation and reflect upon past experiences	To co-identify potential areas to develop children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes
Participatory power analysis: staff members discussed and analysed current power hierarchies within Project C	1	29	To assess staff perceptions of power within Project C	To reflect upon the impact of power relations on the development of children and young people's participation
Semi-structured interviews: introductory and exit interviews conducted with all staff		27	To assess current knowledge of and attitudes to children and young people's participation and organisational decision-making processes	To improve my understanding of individual perceptions, preconceptions and understanding with regards to children and young people's participation

3.3.3 Participatory methods

A wide range of participatory methods were used throughout the research process (see *Table 3.5*Tables 3.5 – 3.13). These drew on a wide range of sources including: Archer and Cottingham, 1996; Chambers, 2002; Darbyshire et al., 2005; Driskell, 2002; Gabhainn and Sixsmith, 2006; Gordon, 2004; HIV/Aids Alliance, 2008 and 2005; Johnson and Nurick, 2004; Kesby, 2000; Lykes, 2001; McCall et al., 2006; O'Kane, 2000; Punch, 2002; and Wright, 2005. Methods were adapted in accordance with the aim of the research and the context within which the activity was taking place. Of the wide range of methods used six are described in detail here: The Problem Tree; The Problem Wall and Solution Tree; Photovoice; The Mapping/Street Tour; The Carousel; and The Participatory Power Analysis.

Method One: The problem tree (also known as 'the causes and consequences tree')

This is a particularly useful participatory method due to its flexibility as it can be used with all ages and abilities. It is commonly used and has been included in various guides and manuals for participation (see for example HIV/Aids Alliance, 2008; and 2005). The basic premise is to utilise a tree as a way to break a topic, issue or 'problem' into causes and consequences. I also added another aspect to include a discussion on solutions. As Figure 3.2 illustrates, the trunk of the tree represents the issue or 'problem', the roots of the tree represent the causes of the 'problem', the branches the consequences and the leaves represent possible solutions. The method can be used individually or with groups and due to the symbolism it is an easily understandable method that can be used with a wide variety of ages and abilities.

The problem tree in practice

I used the 'Problem Tree' with two groups of young people, one at Project A and one at Project B. In order to reflect upon the use of the 'Problem Tree' as a research method, I provide a brief overview of the use of the method with the young people who were attending the drop-in sessions at Project B. Fortunately, there had been a core group of three young people who had been regularly attending the drop in sessions, which provided a continuity that allowed for us to try out a slightly more complex method. Three separate sessions lasting between 45 minutes to one hour covered: discussion of causes; discussion of consequences; and discussion of possible solutions.

Figure 3.2: The problem tree
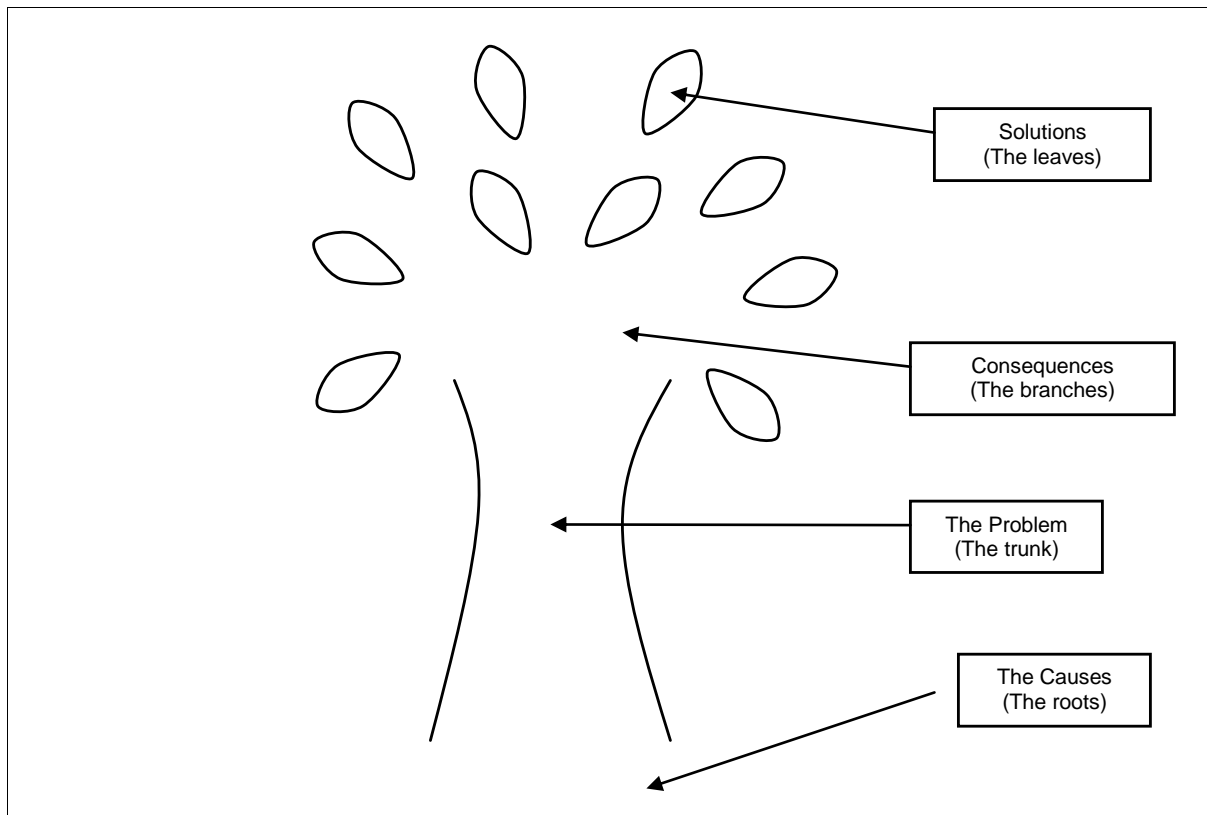
At the start of the first session I asked everyone to sit on the floor around the outline of the 'Problem Tree' that I had pre-drawn onto some large sheets of paper that had been taped together. I explained that the purpose of the activity was to try to think about the reasons that young people might move onto the street[10]. I then explained that the trunk of the tree represents what we want to talk about and stuck a card with the 'issue' pre-written onto the trunk. I then explained that the roots of the tree represent the causes or reasons that young might move to the streets. I had pre-prepared lots of coloured cards that could be stuck onto the roots of the tree and spread pens and the pre-prepared cards all around the floor, making sure that all of the young people had easy access to a pile of cards. The young people had mixed literary skills and I already was aware that one of the young people could not read or write. To try to ensure inclusion, I had asked one of the staff members to sit with the young person and be their 'scribe' during the activity.

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[10] Due to the lack of consistency of young people attending the group and the limited time to conduct the activity problem definition was not conducted with young people.

I began the discussion by asking open-ended questions about possible reasons that young people might come to spend time on the street. I was careful to use the third person, as I did not want force the discussion to be personal, however the difficulties of co-facilitating surfaced as one of the staff members added that they need to talk about why 'you' left home. I interrupted and explained that they can think about reasons why any young person might move towards the street and not just their own reasons. However, inevitably, once this had been said the discussion began with the young people saying their own reasons for leaving home. As each young person began to describe their reasons for leaving home I asked them to write them down. This had the negative impact of breaking the flow of conversation as each young person began to work individually writing down their 'answers'.

After about five reasons had been stuck onto the tree I asked the group to think about the reasons why these things happen. I used the reason *'Lots leave home because of drugs'* as an example and asked whether drugs are what people do when they get to the street, or whether some people leave because of drugs. The young people said that some leave because of drugs. I asked why they leave and they gave various reasons, for example because they steal to get money or because their family wants them to stop but they don't manage to. I asked them why they don't manage to stop, and again they gave various reasons, for example they don't want to stop, or they don't have enough of a reason to stop. The conversation showed that the method was working in terms of exploring causes-of-causes and breaking a problem down, but the difficulty I found was in transferring this conversation onto the tree without losing momentum. This was more difficult because the young people tended to be slow when writing the cards and therefore to try to write down everything would have been both time consuming and dull, and would have disrupted the rhythm of the conversation. After we had gone through various causes I tried to go back over the diagram with them, going through each cause and asking questions about it. However they began to lose interest at this point and were not very responsive so I decided to end the session. The following two sessions – to discuss the 'consequences' and the 'solutions' – followed a similar structure in terms of introducing the activity, discussion and reflection.

Photo 3.1: The young people's 'problem tree' (Project B)

Photo 3.2: The young people's 'problem tree' (Project A)

Text Box 3.1: Reflections on the potential pitfalls of participatory methods

In terms of participation, the 'Problem Tree' worked well. However, as the following excerpts from my fieldwork diary highlight, the strengths of the method rely heavily on the facilitator:

Reflections after the 'Consequences' session:

'Bruno did the same as he did last time, which was to take the cards and write things down on his own without saying them out loud. After about 5-10 minutes, he leant down and picked up a pile of cards and a pen and then sat for the rest of the session solidly writing down ideas and suggestions. In total he wrote out 9 cards, all with a high level of detail and thought. This is what I loved about this activity – it allowed Bruno to work in a way in which he was comfortable. He has not spoken to the educators about his past and he is very closed about his family and the reason he left home. They have both said that their feeling is that something happened, a specific incident or traumatic event, that made him leave and he has not yet told anybody (or any adult or worker anyway) about what happened. During the 'causes' session, he wrote a number of cards saying 'he left home without a reason, just because he wanted to', but then also wrote other cards like 'I went to the street without anywhere to go, but I won't go home'. These, alongside his interactions with the staff and I, gave us the impression that there is something that he is not prepared to talk about yet, but he is building up the confidence or trust to begin to be more open about his past. During this part of the activity the cards he wrote gave more insight into his life, and his personality and strength. For example one of his cards said 'I am free and don't think about returning to my parent's house, I prefer to stay here alone, but I will continue my life in the way that I think'. For me, this is exactly what this kind of activity is for – it is flexible enough to allow people to reveal as much or as little as they want, in a way that they feel comfortable. They can talk in the third person, about problems in general, or they can allow it to be more personal. For me, this activity was good because it was a form of informal planning, of beginning to better understand the individuals that are completing it, which can then help to identify difficulties or plan how to work with them in the future in a way that is helpful to them.'

Reflections after the 'Solutions' session:

'One of the young people immediately looked at the consequence of 'hunger' and said, 'well, the solution for hunger is food!' At this point Adilson sprang forward and sat down next to the tree and said that this is talking about hunger for food, but what about hunger

for other things? Hunger for freedom etc. He basically used the word 'hunger' in the symbolic sense, rather than the literal. Although this was clever and it could be really powerful, he manipulated what they had said to mean something else. They had written hunger to mean hunger, literally. This took the activity off down a different path as they all started to think about their different 'hungers' rather than thinking about solutions. But what I got annoyed about was that he talked, and talked, and talked. He spoke for pretty much all of the session, for periods of 10 minutes or more with no-one else speaking. What he did was clever – he picked up on things, made connections and challenged them using diagrams and drawings, but he did all this from his own viewpoint. He didn't listen. He knew what message he wanted to give them: 'Crime is bad', 'Work is good', 'the solution is to go home', and he baffled them into reaching his conclusion. He missed the point of the activity – the point isn't to tell them your opinion, the point is to listen to theirs. A basic principle that he missed completely – if you're talking, you're not listening. He also didn't allow them to work in a way that they felt comfortable. He asked Bruno direct questions, and even though both Viviane and Edson said that he prefers to write, he continued to force him to talk by asking direct questions. On Tuesday Bruno had written eight or nine cards, today he wrote two. One was (in my opinion) a piss-take of the 'hunger' metaphor, where he said 'I have a hunger to steal that mobile phone'. Adilson took this literally and proceeded to talk for 15 minutes about 'why working is better than stealing', and then Bruno's second card was 'I have a hunger to work for a living'. Adilson also removed his first card from the tree without asking him, which sent the message that his first card was 'wrong' and his second one 'right'. The strength of this activity previously was that it allowed Bruno to take part in a way that he felt comfortable, but that was completely lost this time by Adilson dominating the session… He then turned his attention to the youngest member of the group, who was completely lost with the hunger metaphor. I can't remember how it started, but basically he talked at him until he finally said 'ok, so the solution is to go home'. At this point Adilson grinned like he'd just won his school relay race, and said 'He got there!' and turned to me grinning. He looked like the cat who got the cream and I felt like he was proud because he had got the young person to give the 'right' answer. I replied 'No, you got there. He didn't'…'

Method Two: The problem wall and solution tree

This is a simple and flexible community evaluation method (HIV/Aids Alliance, 2005: 204). The basic principle of the method is to use the image of a 'Wall' and a 'Tree' to create a discussion, debate or to invite comments on a particular issue. It can be used as an open

evaluation, for example left in a public space like a reception area of an organisation to encourage feedback or problem identification. It could be used to discuss an open question like 'What do you think are the most important difficulties for this community?', and the 'Wall' represents the difficulties and the 'Tree' can be used to represent possible solutions. Each person can write their suggestions, ideas or feedback onto 'bricks' and 'leaves' made out of coloured card which they can then stick onto the wall and tree. Again, it is useful as it is a flexible method that can be used in a closed group setting or used as an open public evaluation. It is also useful as for open evaluation it can be a (relatively) anonymous way for people to express their thoughts and ideas.

Figure 3.3: Programme evaluation with the problem wall and solution tree
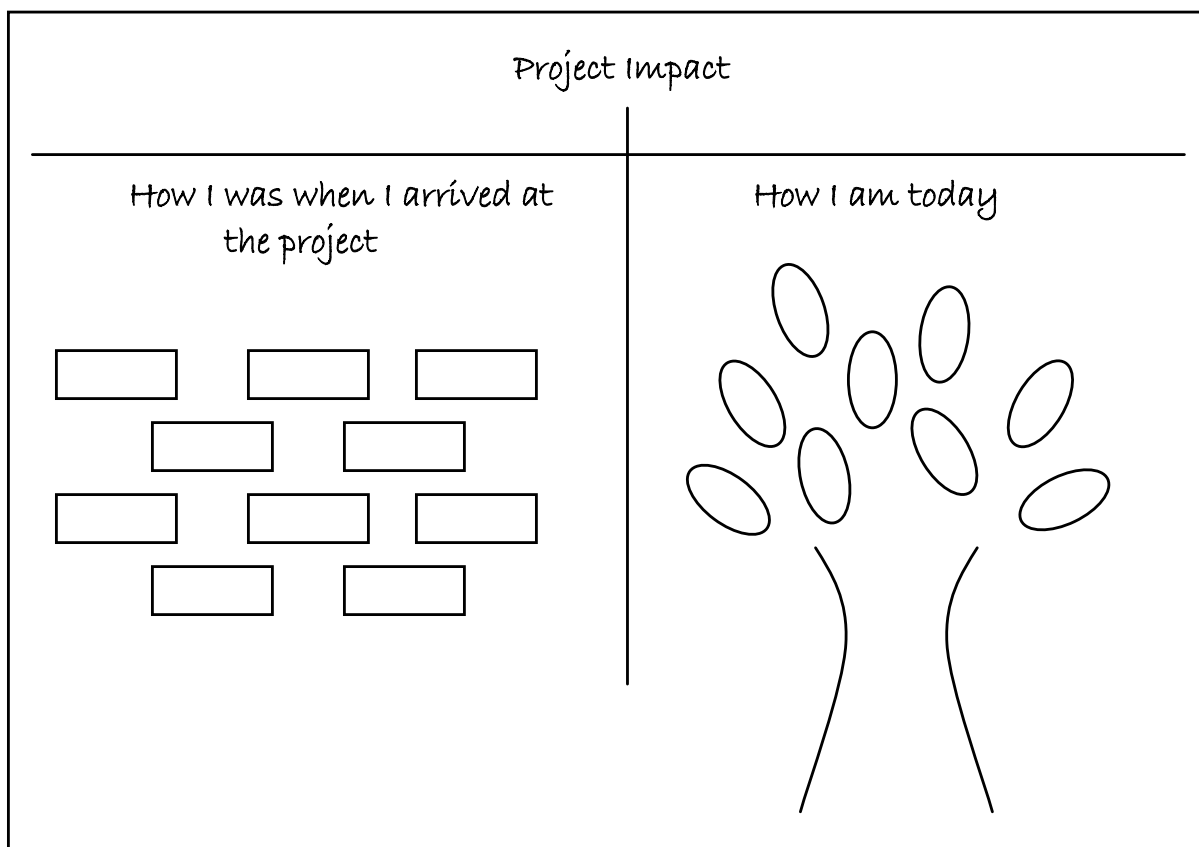
The problem wall and solution tree in practice

I used this method at Project B and at Project C, although for different objectives. First it was adapted for a programme evaluation at the end of a six-month programme cycle consisting of monthly workshops with parents of children and young people who are classed as 'at risk' due to precarious and/or unstable living conditions facilitated by the social work team at Project B. It was also used at Project C as part of a young people-led

evaluation of the project's library, the users of which are primarily children and young people from the age of 3 years upwards. I will briefly outline the process undertaken at both Project B and Project C.

The problem wall and solution tree in practice: Project B

During discussions with the social work team at Project B they identified that one of the most challenging aspects of developing participatory practice was related to evaluation of their six-month 'Quality of Life' programme for parents with children at risk. This programme had recently been reformulated and therefore the team felt that evaluation was particularly important. The first six-month cycle was due to finish during the time that the research was taking place and therefore although this group is for adults (primarily women) rather than children or young people, it was agreed that this was a valuable opportunity to experiment with a participatory evaluation. I then met with one of the social work team to plan the evaluation. Together, we planned the method as shown in Figure 3.3.

The workshop was led by Rita, a member of the social work team, and I co-facilitated. The workshop began with a warm-up and then Rita explained that they would like to know about how the last six months had been for each member of the group. She explained that each person would get two pieces of card: one square yellow card and one green card in the shape of a leaf. She then explained that the yellow card represents a 'brick' and that we would like to understand how each person was when they began coming to the group and asked everyone to write this onto the yellow 'brick'. She then explained that we would also like to understand how each person feels today and asked everyone to write this on the green 'leaf'. She then explained that we would use everyone's 'bricks' and 'leaves' we would build our own 'wall' and 'tree'.

I then gave out the 'bricks', 'leaves' and pens. There were a number of group members who had limited literacy. Rita was aware of which group members would require help, and we ensured that anyone requiring help to write was either working with another group member, Rita or myself. The 'writing time' was also used to clear up any questions or misunderstandings about the activity. Once everyone had written on both their 'brick' and

'leaf', Rita invited each member to present their 'bricks' and stick them onto the group 'wall'. Once the group 'wall' was complete each member then presented their 'leaf'[11].

Photo 3.3: *Problem wall and solution tree workshop (Project B)*

Photo 3.4: Problem wall and solution tree (Project B)

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[11] It is important to note that this was an established group and members were comfortable to present in this way. This approach would need to be adapted with less well established groups.

Text Box 3.2: Reflections on the benefits of participatory methods

What was so interesting about the Problem Wall and Solution Tree method at Project B was that, as the following excerpt from my fieldwork diary illustrates, it went beyond evaluation for the sake of evaluating and provided a space for reflection for the group members:

'The [name of programme] workshop was wonderful beyond words. The atmosphere was great, and the activity seemed to have the right effect – Rita said that she definitely thought it was useful for them, but the women seemed to enjoy it too. It wasn't an evaluation for the sake of evaluating; it was a productive process for them too. People could take out of it different aspects – for those leaving the programme it provided space for reflection about the last six months, but it also didn't exclude the people who were new to the programme as they were able to say how they were feeling now and about their hopes for the programme. The flexibility of the method was its strength. It could be adapted by the participants themselves and they could say as little or as much as they liked.'

The problem wall and solution tree in practice: Project C

This method was also used for a community evaluation of the library at Project C where the day to day running of the library is undertaken by a group of young staff members, all between 16 and 19 years of age, who are employed as 'Reading Monitors'. The vast majority of the library users are children and young people from 3 years upwards. Therefore I worked with the young staff members who facilitated the evaluation to gain the opinions and ideas all of the library users, including the youngest children.

I met with the reading monitors twice prior to the evaluation to plan the activity. I brought the suggestion of the 'Problem Wall and Solution Tree' as a possible method of evaluation and gave a rough outline of the approach. They were interested in trying the method and so we discussed time schedules and the specific questions to be used. After much debate, it was agreed to conduct the evaluation for one week and that the specific questions would be: *'What difficulties do you run into in the library?'* (Problem Wall) and *'What could we do to get better?'* (Solution Tree)

We then discussed potential difficulties and possible ways to overcome them, including how to include the younger children and make the evaluation interesting. We decided to combine the evaluation with an art project with the theme 'The library today' and 'The library in the future'. The reading monitors then worked together to decide on materials that would be required and to organise the wall display. We then met once more before the evaluation to decide on the daily timetabling of the activity and how it would fit in with existing activities, responsibilities for 'running' the evaluation and to discuss issues of confidentiality, free choice, equality of opportunity to participate and the right to feedback. The young people requested that I accompany them during the first day of the evaluation, which I agreed to do, but they then ran the evaluation for the rest of the week.

The evaluation ran into a number of difficulties. First, the reading monitors had a difficult relationship with the library manager which created communication difficulties and confusion. Second, it was challenging to find a balance between stepping back enough to let the reading monitors organise and lead the activity and stepping back too much resulting in a lack of guidance. Third, I encountered difficulties with the nucleus coordinator as although he had requested the library evaluation his presence was minimal whilst the evaluation was actually taking place. Although the evaluation had been planned to take place for one week, due to the difficulties we organised a review meeting in which the reading monitors, the library manager and the nucleus coordinator – who was in overall charge of the library – all attended. During the meeting the reading monitors said that they felt it would be better to continue the activity as they did not feel that it had yet achieved the expected results. They identified difficulties in talking to and knowing how to include the younger children, and they also felt that the art project had been a distraction to the actual evaluation as there had not been a strong enough connection between the art activity and the problem tree/solution wall evaluation. We discussed how to overcome the difficulties and the evaluation continued for one further week.

Photo 3.5: Problem wall and solution tree (Project C)

Method Three: Photovoice

Photovoice is now a well established and well documented participatory method (see Brewer and Winpenny 2005; Carlson et al. 2006; Driskell 2002; Gabhainn and Sixsmith 2005; Lykes 2001; McIntyre 2003; Wang 1999). The actual process for photovoice varies depending on the objective and type of participant, however for a good example of photovoice as a method for PAR see Lykes (2001). Photovoice was used at Project B as an evaluation technique with the parents' group facilitated by the social work team. I now provide a brief overview of the process undertaken.

Photovoice in practice

The social work team at Project B identified that one of the key challenges in terms of developing participatory practices within monitoring and evaluation was the difficulty in showing the context within which they work. The majority of the population with whom they work are from 'vulnerable' population groups and the hidden nature of many of the difficulties these populations face result in it being difficult for the team to monitor and evaluate the impact of two key areas of work: home visits and the 'Quality of Life' programme for parents with children at risk. The team highlighted the subjective nature of these areas of their work and consequently the challenge of documenting positive or negative impacts. I suggested that photography could be a useful means by which to address the subjective nature of these two areas of their work and a joint photovoice

project was developed as a result. The team purposively selected six potential participants who were all attending the Quality of Life programme based upon eleven selection criteria to ensure a broadly representative sample of the population with whom they work. Of the six selected, four women agreed to participate in the photovoice project. In order to set the scene and help to explain the objective of the project – 'To visualise how the service users of the Quality of Life programme and [name of project] identify their community' – a trip to a local photography exhibition on urban life was organised. This proved to be an essential element to the project as it encouraged discussion on representation and also on the use of images to convey messages. After the trip, the women were each given one film camera (after detailed discussion and research into various options, we decided to use simple film cameras with flash) and we discussed how to use them, including how and when to use the flash. Elsa, one of the social work team, also explained issues of confidentiality and the potential risks of taking photos without permission. This was particularly important due to the situation in which some of the women lived and/or worked, which could mean that they were exposed to illicit or illegal activity. Each of the women then kept the camera for one week.

The films from each of the cameras were then developed and three sets of photos from each film were printed – one set for the participant, one for the social work team, and one for me. This had been explained prior to the women agreeing to participate in the project (see appendix 4d for consent forms). Each of the women was then invited to come to Project B to meet individually with a member of the social work team and myself to see and discuss their photos. During the meeting we asked the women to tell us the 'story' behind each photo. We then asked them to select between eight and ten photos that they would like to be registered in the photography project through a wall-mounted display. For each of the selected photos the women gave a title to explain the story behind the photo. All of the photos were then mounted onto coloured card (one display for each of the women who had taken part) and all four of the women were invited to present their photos at the next Quality of Life meeting. Of the four women who participated, three came to the Quality of Life meeting and presented their photos to the rest of the group.

Photo 3.6: *Final presentation of the photovoice project (Project B)*

Photo 3.7: *Final presentation of the photovoice project (Project B)*

Text Box 3.3: Reflections on the benefits of participatory practice

What was interesting about the photovoice project was that it worked well on many different levels. Although the objective was to see how the women viewed their own communities, and their own lives within these, and to think about how photography could be used as a way to understand and document any changes, the social work team highlighted how it also created new channels of communication between the women and themselves. Furthermore, as the following fieldwork diary excerpts highlight, each of the women who participated in the project were able to gain something different out of the experience:

Reflections after the photo selection sessions:

'Gloria… was less confident and often asked for our advice about choosing photos. She didn't seem as clear about the concept of showing her life through the photos, and it took longer to choose them. I offered my opinion and Rita also guided her a bit, explaining what we saw as the most interesting photos and why…But it was interesting that although she seemed to have the most difficulty in understanding the objective of the project, and need the most guidance in selecting the photos and putting titles on them, she seemed to get the most out of taking part. She repeatedly thanked us, and said that she had never taken a photo before in her life. She said that she had been really down (although she demonstrated this by a gesture, where she kind of slumped her head and shoulders a little

– she said 'I'd been feeling really …' and slumped her shoulders, 'but now I'm …' and lifted her head and shoulders back up again and smiled) and thanked us again. I had given everyone a photo album as a present to say thank you, and she also seemed to appreciate this too.

Dona was great – it was obvious from looking at her photos that she had understood the project really well, but as she went through her photos she explained why she had taken each photo, and it was also clear that she had thought about each one. For example, there was a photo of her fridge with the door open, and she said that some people think that because they pay so little in rent that they must have a lot of money to buy stuff, but she had taken this photo to say that sometimes they really don't have anything and the fridge is literally bare. We could probably have used every single one of her photos, as they all showed something and had a story behind them.'

Reflections after the presentation of photos:

'I spoke to both Emília and Dona individually at the end of the session [to present their photos], and asked them what they thought about the project. Emília's immediate response was 'I liked it'. When I asked Emília why she had liked it, she said 'It was good because I'm a very closed person' and she said that it made it easier to talk about her life. This fits with what Elsa had said too, that Emília and spoken more about her life in the one session discussing the photos than she had said during the last six months that she had been working with her. I asked Emília how she is now, and she said that she is looking towards the future as her children are not going to stay young forever. She said that the project was also good as her children are growing and changing, so it was good to be able to take photos of them now. When I spoke to Dona, she said that it is good to show their lives to other people and said that she thinks it's important to show the reality and not just to take pretty pictures. My general impression was that all three of the women[12] had enjoyed the experience of taking part in the project and that they felt like they had been able to express themselves through the photos. The motives may have been different – for example, I think Dona really wanted to show the reality of her life and the lives of people like her, whereas for Emília the photos had made it easier for her to talk about her life with the social workers, and for Flávia it was proof to herself that her life had got better and will continue to do so – but I do believe that the experience itself had been a positive one for all of them.'

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[12] Only three of the four women who took part in the photovoice project came to the final presentation.

Method Four: Mapping/Photographic street tour

The use of mapping has become a popular participatory diagramming technique particularly for community planning. A useful overview of the wide variety of different ways that mapping can be used can be found in Archer and Cottingham (1996). The street tour, also referred to as the guided tour or transect walk (see for example Driskell, 2002: 127-9) is another method that has become popular particularly when working with children and young people as a means by which to understand their perspectives on their local environment. Whilst working at Project B with the drop-in session group we combined these two elements through a photographic street tour.

Mapping/Photographic street tour in practice

One of the first methods that we tried during the drop-in sessions at Project B was participatory mapping. However this had limited success as some of the young people found it difficult to transfer roads, buildings and what they see around them into map format. To try to overcome this staff at Project B suggested using the idea of 'my path', whereby the young people would draw the route by which they had arrived at the project. Although this worked well and through the maps the staff were able to gather more detailed information about where the young people slept and ate, for example, the maps themselves tended to be very personal (see Photo 3.8 and Photo 3.9 for two examples of the 'My Path' maps) and were therefore of limited use for ongoing monitoring. To overcome this, we used a photographic street tour whereby a group of young people guided us around the city centre and took photos of things that were important to them. These photos were then developed and the young people made a map out of the photos during the following drop-in session. This proved to be a more productive approach to mapping, as all of the young people were able to relate to photos of buildings and roads and the conceptualisation of a 'map' was somewhat easier. All of the young people who took part in the street tour were given a group photo as a thank you.

Photo 3.8: *'My Path' map drawn by a young person at Project B*

Photo 3.9: *'My Path' map drawn by a young person at Project B*
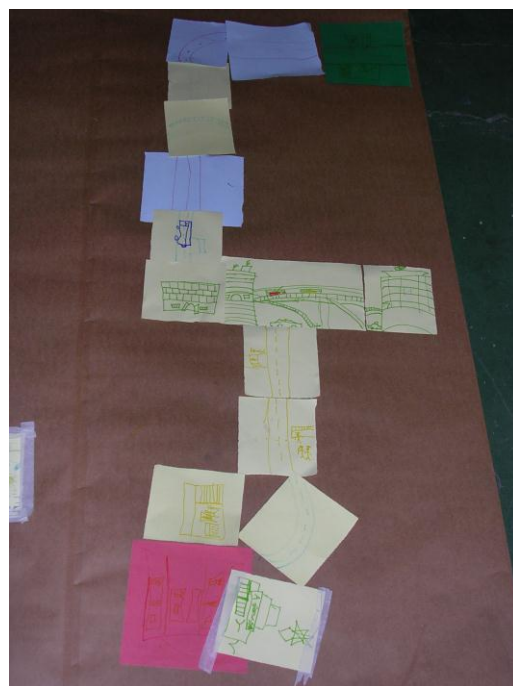
Method Five: The 'carousel' (a method for group analysis and planning)

I adapted this workshop method from the 'carousel' active learning method described by Chambers (2002:148). The basic idea is to have separate 'stations' which groups rotate around in order to discuss a specific subject or issue. The method as described by Chambers has one 'resource' person that stays at each station. I adapted this idea to create a more dynamic method that ensures the participation of all participants in an ongoing cycle of discussion.

The 'carousel' in practice

I used this method for a staff workshop at Project C. The staff workshop included the whole staff team of roughly thirty-five people, including young people, administration staff and the management committee. The workshop lasted for one and a half hours.

Before the start of the workshop six 'stations' were prepared within the room that the workshop would take place, ensuring that there was sufficient room for a group of 5-6 people to sit comfortably at each station. At each station each of the following five headings were stuck onto the wall: What? Who? For whom? When? and Where? There were also two further cards – one with a question mark and another with the phrase 'Don't

agree? Write it and justify it!'. A selection of blank cards and marker pens were also provided at each station.

At the start of the workshop I explained that I felt that during the previous workshop two important issues had been raised that were necessary to discuss in more detail, which were the different perceptions within the staff team about what participation is and the different visions regarding how participation could happen at Project C. As a result, the objective of this workshop was to clarify the concept of 'participation' and discuss how participation could happen at Project C. I then divided the staff team into six groups (this activity works well with groups of between 5 or 6 people) and requested that the members of the management committee split themselves evenly between all of the groups. Each group sat together at one of the pre-prepared 'stations'. I explained to the group as a whole that they need to discuss the five questions and write their answers, thoughts and comments on the cards provided and stick them on the wall underneath the relevant heading. Using an overhead projector (although this could easily just have been written on a flipchart) I explained each of the five questions as follows:

- **Why?** What is the purpose of participation? Why do it at [Project C]?
- **Who?** Who should participate?
- **For whom?** Who is participation for? Who benefits?
- **When?** When could participation happen? How often?
- **Where?** In what spaces could participation happen? Do we need new spaces?

The groups had forty-five minutes to discuss these questions and place their thoughts and answers on the wall. Importantly, each group also had some blank pieces of red card on which they could write down any questions or areas that they felt needed to be discussed in more detail, or that they felt that they could not answer, which could be stuck on the wall underneath the heading with the question mark. After forty-five minutes each group moved onto the next 'station', but one person from the group stayed behind to explain the group's answers to the incoming group. The new group were then able to add to the answers and thoughts of the previous group by adding more cards under the relevant questions. The new group could also highlight any confusion or further questions by placing a card under the question mark heading, or if they didn't agree with what had been written they could explain what they disagreed with and why by placing a card under the 'Don't agree? Write it and justify it!' heading. Each group had ten minutes for this discussion. After ten minutes each group then moved again onto the next station, except this time a different person

remained behind to explain the answers to the new incoming group. Again, this new group had ten minutes to discuss and write their answers, questions and disagreements and place them on the wall. This pattern was repeated until each group had returned to their original station. It is important to explain that each person can only stay behind once to explain to the incoming group (this ensures that everyone has the opportunity to explain to an incoming group and prevents the 'dominant' people from dominating discussions). Once each group had returned to their original station I allowed fifteen minutes for discussion and reflection on any changes, comments or questions that had been raised by the other groups.

After group discussion, each group elected one person to form a new group whose task was to compare all of the groups' answers and compile a list of 'final' responses to be presented to the whole staff team. To finalise, I then put the mission statement of Project C on the projector screen with the question 'How can participation help us to achieve this mission?' and explained that I hoped that during the following workshop we could begin to answer this question (see section 6.1.2 for reflections and discussion on the impact of this method).

Photo 3.10: Group discussion during the 'Carousel' workshop (Project C)
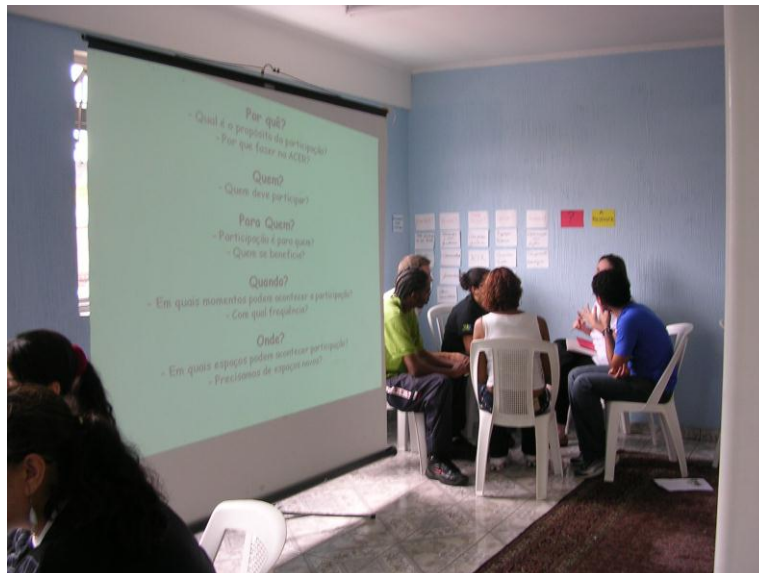
Photo 3.11: Final results at one 'Carousel' workshop station (Project C)
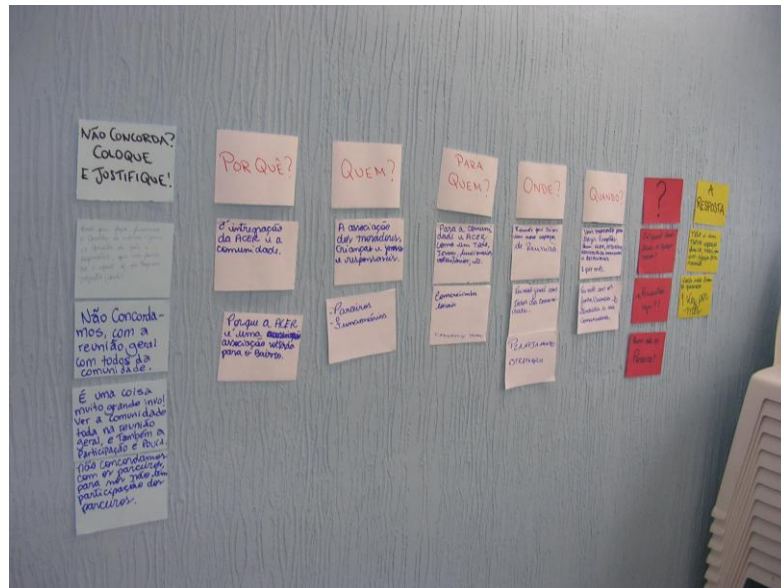
Method Six: The participatory power analysis

This method was adapted from a combination of the Venn or Chapati diagramming methodology (see Archer and Cottingham, 1996). The basic principle was to use circles to represent level of influences within the organisation. The method was used during a staff workshop at Project C. The workshop had roughly thirty-five participants including young people, administrative staff and members of the management committee. The workshop lasted for two hours.

The participatory power analysis in practice

Before the start of the activity I placed a ceramic pot in the centre of the room. I explained that the pot is the 'Pot of Power' and asked everyone to think about how much influence they have within Project C. I then asked everyone to stand where they think represents the level of influence that they have in relation to the 'Pot of Power'. The closer the person stands to the pot the more influence they think that they have. This was a useful way to introduce the topic of influence and also very visual for all the participants as people squeezed themselves into corners, hid behind doors (or other colleagues) or reluctantly crept up to stand nearer to the pot. I had previously asked everyone to write their name on a large sticker, and I now asked each person to stick their name on the floor where they were standing.

The team was then divided according to role, so for example the administration nucleus formed one group, the educators formed another group, the young staff members formed another and the coordinators and project director, who together make up the project's management committee, formed a fourth group. The decision to separate the team in this way was deliberate in order to try to highlight the differing visions and perspectives held by those in different roles within the organisation. Each group was given a large piece of paper with a large circle pre-drawn in the centre. I explained that this circle represented Project C. I then asked the groups to think about the person or group of people who have the most voice or level of influence within decision-making processes within the organisation and to cut out a circle from the pieces of card that had been provided to represent the size of voice of this person or group relative to the size of the organisation as a whole (as represented by the pre-drawn circle). In other words, the larger the voice or influence the larger the circle. The groups were then asked to think about all of the different people and groups within the organisation and to place circles within the pre-drawn circle to represent their relative influence in decision-making processes. They were then asked to draw lines between the circles to represent how this influence flows, so to think about who has influence with who and to represent these connections through drawing lines between the circles. Once completed, I then asked the groups to repeat the exercise but this time to think about the people or groups who have a voice or influence within the project's decision-making processes but who are from outside of the organisation. These circles were then placed outside of the pre-drawn circle with lines drawn to represent the flow of influence. At the end of the activity each group placed their completed diagram on the wall and time allowed for reflection and group discussion of the various perspectives and visions of voice and influence.

To finalise, I had planned to ask all participants to find the sticker with their name on that they had stuck onto the floor at the start of the workshop and ask them whether they still agree with where they placed themselves. Unfortunately, we ran out of time and therefore this final reflection did not take place.

Photo 3.12: Group work during the participatory power analysis workshop (Project C)

Photo 3.13: Group work during the participatory power analysis workshop (Project C)

3.3.4 Methodology booklet: a resource for participatory monitoring and evaluation

During my time working at Project A it became clear that a barrier to successful co-working with staff was the lack of available information regarding participatory methodologies in Portuguese. Despite my intentions of working with staff in the planning and facilitation of participatory workshops with the children and young people attending the project, the fact that all information was only available in English resulted in me remaining in control of choosing possible methods and then explaining them to staff. In an attempt to try to overcome this, I translated twenty participatory methods into Portuguese and created a step-by-step guide for how to use the methods within organisational planning, monitoring and evaluation. This proved to be a useful resource at all three of the NGOs to minimise power differentials and create discussion in the planning of workshops both within and outside of the research. The full methodology booklet is in appendix 5.

3.4 Data Analysis

All interviews were transcribed by a professional transcription service. They were transcribed in Portuguese and in order to remain as faithful to the original data as possible, all data analysis was also undertaken in Portuguese. All written materials were imported into the Nvivo qualitative analysis computer software to facilitate analysis.

3.4.1 Researching in international settings: the issue of language

Before I move on to describe the process of data analysis, it is necessary to reflect upon the issue of language. As noted by Dominelli in her analysis of language in international settings, language is 'a means of communication, a way of structuring our understanding of our role in the world or situations, the social relations that we are positioned within and the power relations elaborated in and through our interaction with each other.' (2004: 516) This reflects the poststructuralist position regarding the socially constructed nature of language. The work of Foucault is once again influential in this respect through his development of the concept of discourse which moved beyond the idea of language as a means of expression through arguing that knowledge is produced through language (Hall, 2001: 72). In other words, 'people live in and through language' (Dominelli, 2004: 517). This highlights the complexities of conducting research in international settings and in a language other than your own. In particular it points to the need to consider communication as more than just speaking and listening, but as a process of interpretation that includes social, cultural and historical influence. For example, it is argued that the act

of translation needs to be regarded as a form of interpretation based upon a process of negotiation between the original and destination texts that prioritises the conveying of the *intention of the text*, in other words 'the interpretative effort on the part of the reader' (Eco, 2003: 4-5), rather than producing a direct translation of words. This highlights two key issues regarding the issue of language within this research: communication with research participants in a language other than my own and interpretation and translation of research findings.

My native language is English and upon starting this research I had only a very basic understanding of Brazilian Portuguese. Despite having individual Portuguese classes in the UK throughout the first year of the PhD and undertaking three months of intensive language training in Brazil prior to the start of the fieldwork, effective communication between the research participants and myself during the first few months of the fieldwork proved difficult. However, after extensive reflection I decided to not use a translator or research assistant to help with language. The nature of the research meant that I needed to develop close working relationships with the staff members with whom I was working and I decided that the use of a third person would impact negatively upon the development of such relationships. Whilst I was aware that the issue of language would inevitably impact upon the quality of the research, I felt that the introduction of a third person would have an even more negative effect through increasing the distance between the research participants and myself. I recognise that the issue of language had a particularly negative impact on the research at Project A and was highlighted as problematic during final reflections on the research process with staff members. However whilst problematic at Project A, the decision to not use a translator proved to be extremely positive at Projects B and C, where I was able to develop close working relationships with all members of the staff teams, and at Project C also with a number of young people. Further to this, my own level of Portuguese, as well as my confidence, improved dramatically through daily use. This meant that by the time I began working at Project C I was able to facilitate workshops with up to thirty-five participants in Portuguese with no significant communication difficulties.

However conducting research in a language other than my own also raises the issue of interpretation and translation. As noted above, language is socially constructed and embedded in relations of power. Whilst the research was conducted primarily in Portuguese, the final thesis is in English. This raises two issues. First, it means that for the majority of research participants the final 'product' of the research process is inaccessible.

106

Whilst I will write, and have professionally translated, summaries of the thesis the fact that it is written in a language other than in which the research was conducted highlights the potential for abuse of power, whereby I risk reinforcing existing relations in the process of knowledge production. The PAR framework reduces this risk through the focus upon co-construction of knowledge during the research process, and I will further address this potential imbalance through presenting the research findings at each of the participating NGOs. Second, it raises the issue of representation, whereby there is a risk of misunderstandings and misinterpretations within the research process, and the data analysis process in particular, with regards to the social, cultural and political implications of the language used. All translations within the final thesis are my own however in order to minimise the possibility of misinterpretations, as well as preventing the masking of the participants' original voices, all quotes throughout the thesis will be give in both the original Portuguese and the translated English.

3.4.2 Social divisions and data analysis

As noted in section 1.3, I did not set out to explicitly examine political, social or cultural issues particular to Brazil. Therefore whilst it is important to acknowledge that social divisions exist across gender, ethnicity, (dis)ability and wealth these were not explored during the data analysis stage. This was for two main reasons. First, none of these issues were identified by those participating in the research and as such were not explored in detail by the participants themselves. The research adopted an inductive research strategy and as such the fact that social divisions did not emerge as key concerns of research participants limited the possibility of extensive analysis. Second, while I am aware of social structures and social divisions within Brazil, this is a complex area of debate both academically and politically. Due to my own positionality as a non-Brazilian I felt uncomfortable in analysing social divisions independently, particularly as this had not emerged as a key area by the research participants. I acknowledge that divisions and differences exist within Brazil and that the analysis could potentially be enriched through inclusion of a social divisions agenda, however I argue that the risk of bias outweighed any potential gains and for this reason social divisions were not explored within data analysis.

3.4.3 Grounded theory: a reflexive approach to data analysis

Due to the PAR approach adopted within the research that takes lived experience as a starting point for investigation (Cahill, 2007) and valorises the knowledge and experience of the research participants alongside recognising and actively encouraging their individual agency (Kesby, 2000), the use of grounded theory with its 'flexible strategies for collecting

107

and analysing data' (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2007: 160) was both an appropriate and necessary approach to data analysis. Furthermore, as an inductive approach to theory development, it also aligns itself with the exploratory nature of the research whereby the aim was to explore the practice of participation rather than to test a specific theory or hypothesis (Mason, 2002: 180). As highlighted by Glaser (1965) although grounded theory, or the 'Constant Comparative Method', is an inductive approach to data analysis, it differs from the alternative inductive approach of analytic induction in a number of key ways:

> *'Analytic induction is concerned with generating and proving an integrated, limited, precise, universally applicable theory of causes accounting for a specific phenomenon, e.g., drug addiction or embezzlement… In contrast to analytic induction, the constant comparative method is concerned with generating and plausibly suggesting (not provisionally testing) many properties and hypotheses about a general phenomenon, e.g., the distribution of services according to the social value of clients. Some of these properties may be causes; but unlike analytic induction others are conditions, consequences, dimensions, types, processes, etc., and, like analytic induction, they should result in an integrated theory. Further, no attempt is made to ascertain either the universality or the proof of suggested causes or other properties. Since no proof is involved, the constant comparative method, in contrast to analytic induction, does not, as will be seen, require consideration of all available data, nor is the data restricted to one kind of clearly defined case.' (Glaser, 1965: 438)*

Therefore grounded theory does not seek to form a 'universally applicable theory of causes' but rather 'generating and plausibly suggesting' hypotheses about a general phenomenon. Instead, the idea relates to the dialectic between data, ideas, and research strategies (Atkinson et al., 2003: 159). It recognises that we are not passive receptacles into which data are poured (Glaser and Strauss, 1967 cited in Charmaz and Mitchell, 2007: 162) and therefore not only embraces but requires reflexivity on the part of the researcher about 'what they see and how they see it' (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2007: 162). For these reasons, the use of grounded theory fits well with a PAR project. Furthermore, grounded theory is a particularly useful strategy when conducting ethnographic research as it provides a way to overcome the problem of 'seeing data everywhere and nowhere'

(Charmaz and Mitchell, 2007: 161) by encouraging theorists to 'select the scenes they observe and direct their gaze within them' (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2007: 162).

However it is important to highlight that grounded theory is not, rather ironically given the name, a theory. Rather it is 'a description of how ideas can be generated from the practical and systematic engagement of the researcher with the social world at hand.' (Atkinson et al., 2003: 159). Grounded theory consists of five overall strategies:

1. Simultaneous data collection and analysis;
2. Pursuit of emergent themes through early data analysis;
3. Discovery of basic social processes within the data;
4. Inductive construction of abstract categories that explain and synthesise these processes; and,
5. Integration of categories into a theoretical framework that specifies causes, conditions and consequences of the process(es).

(taken from Charmaz and Mitchell, 2007: 160)

These strategies combine particularly effectively with the use of participatory methodologies due to the focus on tangible, and often visual, 'products' in the form of diagrams, charts or photos, as well as the focus on immediate participatory analysis through techniques such as 'interviewing the diagram' (Kesby et al., 2003). The immediate nature of the analysis obviously lends itself to the idea of simultaneous data collection and analysis and the flexibility within the grounded theory approach also allows for the pursuit of themes that may arise during the ongoing reflection and analysis, which is a central aspect to any participatory process. However within this research, there were two clear processes within the analysis of data: the analysis conducted by participants utilising the participatory methodologies within the various workshop settings and my own analysis of the data gathered through semi-structured interviews with staff, participant observation and my own reflections documented within my fieldwork diary. The immediate analyses by participants were not systematised however they impacted upon my own thinking and later analysis. As previously highlighted, the research 'space' was located between the groups at Levels 1 and 2 of the research – the children and young people and the 'adult' staff members – and it was through analysing the interactions between these two groups that the research aimed to improve understanding of the practice of participation. Consequently the immediate analyses by the groups at both Level 1 and Level 2, their reactions to and

reflections on participatory methodologies and the participatory approach to practice formed a central and invaluable aspect to the research process. All reactions were documented via evaluations in either verbal, written or visual format (for example, through diagramming techniques such as ranking and scoring) by research participants and/or via field notes within my fieldwork diary. I also photographed any visual data produced. However, as Geer (1964) noted in her reflections on working 'in the field':

> '… working hypotheses are a product of the field data itself and of whatever ideas the fieldworker can summon. The initial stimulus may come from repetition or anomalies in the data which catch the observer's attention so that he [sic] searches his mind for explanations…' (cited in Atkinson et al., 2003: 27)

Therefore data analysis starts in the field, in the observations of the researcher of the events, reactions and interactions that 'catch the observer's attention'. I will now move on to discuss the specific data analysis processes undertaken.

3.4.4 Grounded theory in practice: the process of analysis

The anomalies, the questions that sprung to my mind through observation and reflexive interaction with the research participants as a result of their own reflections and evaluations of the participatory methodologies, were documented throughout the research process within my fieldwork diary. This formed the initial stage of data analysis through transforming observations, thoughts and ideas into written data that created a way to compare incidents and write 'memos' to be returned to later during more formal data analysis. Therefore although the research did not fully adopt grounded theory as a research approach, as for example I utilised a total sampling strategy for participant selection and did not try to reach 'saturation' through seeking out more participants as theories emerged, I adopted a modified grounded theory approach. For example, although I did not adopt the 'line-by-line' approach to data anlaysis advocated by Glaser whereby the analyst 'codes each incident in his [sic] data in as many categories of analysis as possible' (1965: 439), my approach to data analysis did remain faithful to the importance of tapping into 'the initial freshness of the analyst's theoretical notions' through the creation of 'memos' that could be returned to at a later point (1965: 440). Essentially, I sought to create a dialectic between data, ideas and research strategies that valued the 'emergent nature of ideas as the researcher engages with the social world.' (Atkinson et al., 2003: 160) Importantly, the fact that I worked with Project C *after* working with Projects A and B

110

was also a central aspect of theory development. The questions that had already been raised within my own thinking as a result of documentation of and reflections upon the research with Projects A and B informed my approach whilst planning for and undertaking the research at Project C and allowed for testing of emerging ideas in another setting. This cumulative aspect of the research is important as the impact of my own learning as a result my time working with the staff and young people at Project A and Project B, combined with the high level of pre-existing knowledge and a culture of reflexive practice amongst the staff team at Project C, facilitated a much deeper research process at Project C. Reflections and analysis by the research participants at Project C, as well as the close working relationships that I developed with both staff and young people, created a much deeper process than had been developed at either Project A and Project B. Inevitably, this has resulted in the analysis being heavily weighted towards the analysis and reflections of staff and young people at Project C within the analysis chapters.

Categorisation of data

Based upon the ideas that emerged during the fieldwork, I created eleven very broad coding categories to help make the data collected more manageable during data analysis. Using the Nvivo qualitative data analysis computer software, I then systematically coded all data utilising the broad categories and then sub-coded the data within each of the broad categories into 'as many categories of analysis as possible' (Glaser, 1965: 439) using the 'Tree Node' function. The eleven broad categories for analysis were: Attitudes to / opinions about children and childhood; Attitudes to / opinions about participation; Behaviour, perceptions and preconceptions; Decision making / monitoring and evaluation / organisational processes / organisational structure; Power; Funding / funders; Participatory methodologies; Challenges and difficulties – participation; Challenges and difficulties – other; Suggestions / Recommendations; and Opinions about / reflections on the research process.

During data analysis it became clear that the broad categories were still too narrow to capture connections within the data. For example, in order to contextualise staff attitudes to participation it was necessary to interconnect this with organisational decision making, and organisational decision making was inevitably interconnected with issues of power and organisational hierarchy. Therefore constant comparison was not only necessary within the categories, but also between the broader categories in order to ensure that 'the accumulated knowledge on a property of the category … readily starts to become integrated; that is, related in many diverse ways, resulting in a unified whole.' (Glaser,

1965: 440) Through the constant comparison of categories it became clear that it was the personal processes of each individual staff member that impacted upon participatory practice and that these could be categorised in three distinct ways, resulting in re-categorisation of the data into three categories or 'processes':

Table 3.14: Revised categories during data analysis

Category	Properties
The intellectual process	What a person understands by participation (in other words, what they think participation 'is'); Attitude to children and childhood; Organisational structure; and, Current practice within the organisation.
The emotional process	Previous experiences of participation (both as a 'participant' and as a 'facilitator'); Previous experiences of power; Organisational culture; and, Self-confidence.
The moral process	Level of professional and personal reflexivity; Continuity or contradictions between words and practice; and, Level of transparency.

This reduction of categories through the discovering of 'underlying uniformities in the original set of categories' (Glaser, 1965: 441) clarified the data and facilitated a movement from the specific, in terms of specific aspects of the data, to the general, in terms of theory generation. At this point, it was also necessary to return to the literature on participation to see if the categories held true within wider academic discussion and debate. Through a reading of the literature alongside the recoding of the data into the newly developed categories, it became clear that whilst the 'intellectual' category held true, the distinction between the 'emotional' and the 'moral' processes was blurred as it was possible to code the same property into each category. It was therefore necessary to collapse the three

categories into just the two main categories of 'intellectual' and 'emotional'. Therefore all the properties within the moral process category were duly recoded (see appendix 6 for example of Nvivo categorisation).

Theory development

In terms of theory development, what became clear was that whilst distinct categories, the intellectual and the emotional processes also had a dialogical relationship with one another. Although it was possible to differentiate between the two aspects within the data in terms of lived experience the two processes interacted and it was this *interaction* that impacted upon the practice of participation. Through tracing specific participants' 'stories' throughout the data it was possible to see how individual emotional and intellectual processes related to how the individual practised participation. It was this aspect that became central within the research findings.

As highlighted by Fals-Borda in his analysis of PAR, the aims of PAR 'go beyond the academic traditions which have emphasised neutrality and a positivist objectivity as prerequisites for 'serious science'' (1987: 330). Although the demands for demonstrating quality in qualitative data analysis have been criticised as irrelevant due to their roots in the positivist tradition (Stanley and Wise, 1983 cited in Silverman, 2006: 274), others warn against 'abandoning the ideas which lie behind concepts of validity, generalizability and reliability' (Mason, 2002: 40) Instead, 'they have a usefulness which is expressed in the broad message that qualitative researchers should be accountable, and their research should be rigorous and of high quality.' (Mason, 2002: 40) This involves transparency of process alongside 'critical and reflexive practice' (Mason, 2002: 40). The detailed explanations of the research design and the research strategy throughout this chapter have ensured a transparent research process, and the use of grounded theory, or the constant comparative method, in data analysis further ensured the reflexivity required both within PAR and within qualitative data analysis for the formulation of 'credible' research (Silverman, 2006: 296-7).

3.5 Level of Participant Involvement in the Research Process

3.5.1 Staff participation in the research process

The research did not aim to be a 'deep' participatory research process (Kesby, 2000; Kesby et al., 2003) that involved research participants in all stages of the research process – from research design, data collection and data analysis to writing up and dissemination – but rather a participatory process of experimentation and reflection. I worked with staff to identify priorities within the development of participatory practice with children and young people within their particular organisation and then designed Level 1 of the research process to fit in with the identified priorities. In other words, although the final destination of the research had been decided, the route by which we arrived there was, as far as possible, decided with the NGO staff. I worked with staff to identify priorities within the development of participatory practice with children and young people within their particular organisation and then designed Level 1 of the research process to fit in with the identified priorities. Therefore staff involvement was both high and ongoing in the planning and execution of Level 1 of the research process at their particular organisation.

3.5.2 Children and young people's participation in the research process

The involvement of the children and young people in decision-making within the research process was extremely limited. The aim of the research was to work alongside NGO staff in the development of children and young people's participation. Therefore the research did not set out to be a participatory research project with children and young people. Instead, the research set out to work with the staff at all three organisations in the development and implementation of children and young people's participation *within* the current organisational structure. This was a conscious decision to try to ensure that the research had an impact beyond the research process itself through influencing working practices. It is important to highlight that the aim of the research was to develop children and young people's participation within *the organisation* and not to develop children and young people's participation within the research. By concentrating on working alongside staff in the development of children and young people's participation, both through the use of participatory methodologies within workshop settings and as an approach within organisational decision-making, the research aimed to create participatory 'spaces' that would extend beyond the limits of the research in order to create a more effective and potentially sustainable approach.

3.5.3 Participation in data analysis and dissemination

At Project C I continued to have regular contact with the whole staff team throughout the data analysis and writing up stages of the research. During final interviews with both 'adult' and young staff members at Project C there was a consistent view that the work regarding children and young people's participation should continue. This resulted in discussions with the secretary general regarding continuation and an agreement that I would continue to work with the staff team to run a series of workshops throughout 2009 as an independent consultant. I ran four bi-monthly workshops with the staff team throughout the data analysis and writing up stages of the research. Although the aim of these workshops was to continue to discuss, reflect upon and plan for children and young people's participation within Project C rather than as a space for data analysis and dissemination, as a result of my positive working relationship with the staff team alongside the ongoing use of participatory methods that explicitly encourage joint reflection and analysis, I was able to work with the staff team to discuss key emerging themes. These workshops impacted upon my own thinking during the analysis of the research data. I continue to have a positive relationship with both the management and the staff at Project C and I plan to conduct dissemination workshops with both staff and young people during 2010 to complement the written report and research summary[13].

The inclusion of staff at Projects A and B during data analysis and research dissemination was minimal. Although I originally planned to return to all three organisations during the data analysis and writing up stages of the research process, my difficult relationship with the management team at both Project A and Project B alongside significant organisational changes since the end of the fieldwork meant that this was not possible. At Project A the coordinator and one staff member left the organisation resulting in two new staff members being employed to fill the two vacant posts. Due to the small size of the staff team – the team has four full-time members and one part-time member of staff – these changes significantly affected the possibility of creating ongoing discussion. Project B was undergoing serious financial difficulties, resulting in the coordinator and two members of the administrative staff leaving and two vacant posts within the team of educators not being advertised. Consequently, the overall director of the 'umbrella' NGO under which both Projects A and B function also took on the role of coordinator for Project B. Although the changes within both staff teams inevitably had an impact upon the possibility of ongoing analysis and discussion, I also felt that there was a resistance within the

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[13] I have applied for a post-doctoral fellowship that, if approved, will finance further dissemination workshops.

management committee and some staff members, particularly at Project A, to ongoing involvement within the research. Understandably, the financial difficulties at Project B and consequently the overall director taking on the double role of director and coordinator meant that there were other, more pressing, priorities for the management. I felt that requests for further meetings with the staff at both Projects A and B were fulfilled to a certain extent out of a sense of obligation on the part of the management team rather than interest in the ongoing research process. Consequently, I revised my intention to try to create a joint analysis of findings and have now stated that I will present the final conclusions of the research in the form of a written reports and summary of the research and will offer to return to both Project A and Project B to present and discuss the final report to the staff teams[14].

3.6 Ethics in Participatory Action Research: A Series of Dilemmas

Although the research underwent full ethical review by the School of Applied Social Science's ethics committee and gained full approval, including later being used as an example for subsequent researchers, the nature of all social research raises ethical questions and dilemmas that extend far beyond the requirements of any research ethics committee. As highlighted by Small (2001) ethical frameworks typically consist of codes of ethics in the form of general principles which must be applied to particular cases, which raises questions about how ethical principles translate during the process of making ethical decisions about research. Consequently, I felt that an essential element in describing this PAR project working with children and young people and in a country other than my own was to trace the ethical dilemmas encountered during the research process. I now provide an overview of those ethical dilemmas.

3.6.1 Research ethics: a balance between scrutiny and reflexivity

Research ethics are rooted in development of medical ethics in the United States in the 1970s (Alderson, 2004). The resulting formation of ethics committees has been criticised as institutionalising ethics through adopting the medical research ethics approach focusing on ethical frameworks, which are argued to not easily translate to social research (Goodwin et al., 2003; Small, 2001). Yet the recent development of the Economic and Social Research Council's (ESRC) Research Ethics Framework (2005) has been argued to have recognised that social science 'has paid less attention to ethical scrutiny than

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[14] I currently live in Brazil which enables ongoing dissemination.

health and seeks to cover the range of epistemological and ethical paradigms operating across medical and social sciences.' (Dominelli and Holloway, 2008: 1011) However whilst the key interest of the ESRC is the development of robust structures to improve research quality and safeguard the public (Dominelli and Holloway, 2008: 1011), the British Sociological Association's Statement of Ethical Practice also highlights the importance of implementing ethical frameworks within a reflexive approach rather than adopting frameworks and guidelines as 'recipes' for ethical practice (British Sociological Association, 2002: 1).

A reflexive approach is central to all qualitative research (Mason, 2002). Reflexivity is defined as 'a critical approach to professional practice that questions how knowledge is generated and, further, how relations of power influence the processes of knowledge generation.' (D'Cruz et al., 2007: 77). Indeed when discussing reflexivity within her research Cocks (2006: 263) notes: 'It is not possible to extract reflexivity… as it is intertwined with, and has seeped into, the very fabric of the research.' A reflexive approach is particularly important when utilising PAR in order to ensure that the research remains as faithful as possible to the principles of valuing the knowledge and experience of the research participants. Participatory approaches to research are argued to take standard understandings about qualitative research further through 'participatory ethics' whereby there is a recognition that 'ethical concepts and issues are socio-culturally and contextually specific' and that there is an ethical priority for action (Pain, 2008: 11). Therefore although ethical approval was an essential element of the research process, I adopted a 'self-questioning' approach of critical thinking about what I was doing and why. This helped to recognise 'the extent to which [my] thoughts, actions and decisions shape how [I] research and what [I] see' (Mason, 2002: 5) and it was in this way that I worked towards ensuring an ethical research process.

Reflexivity is particularly important within a PAR project due to the centrality of issues of power. Therefore rather than viewing research ethics as the holding of researchers accountable for their work, it is important to view ethics as a '*process of engaging with those who have an interest* in research' in order to foreground power relations within research (Dominelli and Holloway, 2008: 1010-11 [emphasis in original]). This was particularly important within this research, as the issue of power was clearly demonstrated as a complex and challenging issue to overcome. For example, at all three NGOs there were specific challenges regarding ensuring participation free from coercion. The notion of voluntary consent, free from any form of coercion, is one of the four core principles of

informed consent (Gallagher, 2009); however the process of ensuring this is complex and challenging, particularly with regard to children and young people whose decisions are often shaped by their peers and adult gatekeepers (Gallagher, 2009). Within this research, whilst all participants, including staff, children, young people and parents or guardians, were assured that the choice to participate was entirely their own and that there would be no negative consequences if they decided against participating, it is almost impossible to know if all consent was completely voluntary. In final reflections on the research process staff at Project A indicated that they had been concerned about the amount of time that they would be required to dedicate to the research and the impact that this would have on their workloads. However, whilst discussing and planning the research during the first month of fieldwork the issue of time constraints had not been raised. This raises questions regarding the 'freedom' of staff members to choose to participate when the process for starting research initially lies with gaining permission from the organisation's management. This raises difficult ethical questions regarding the perception of 'free choice' amongst individual staff members. Although I emphasised that participation in the research was not obligatory it is difficult to ascertain, particularly at Project A, whether the staff felt that this was truly the case.

There was also another layer of complexity regarding freedom of choice relating to my position as an 'outsider'. Throughout the fieldwork my nationality was often a point of discussion by both staff members and young people. From one-off comments by staff members to young people emphasising how I had 'come all the way from England to talk to you', to adults, young people and children alike asking me about life in my country, from favourite bands, typical food, what snow is like, poverty, or the social care system, my position as an outsider was always present in my interactions with everyone throughout the research process. This inevitably impacted upon the decision of some of the potential participants whether or not to participate in the research process. For example, my position as an outsider made me more 'exciting' for some young people, who would fight to sit next to me in groups or run to give me a hug as a greeting. For others, my position as an outsider may have been a cause of distrust, which I felt was particularly the case with some of the young people at Projects B and C. Positionality is a particularly difficult aspect of power relations to overcome as it often is based upon the personal characteristics of the researcher (Young and Barrett, 2001), however it is now being recognised that the oppositional model of power that has characterised debates regarding the researcher/researched relationship 'tend to obscure the complex multivalency of power as it is exercised within the spaces where research is carried out' (Gallagher, 2008: 137) and

can indeed disempower the 'researched' through encouraging the idea of 'fixed, stereotypical roles where only the researcher exercise[s] power over the researched' (Thaper-Björkert and Henry, 2004: 364). In terms of this research, it was certainly the case that power relations were dynamic and did not reflect the uni-dimensional understanding of power. Although my position as an 'outsider' impacted upon my relationship with the participants – both in the positive and negative sense – through adopting a reflexive approach that acknowledged my position and engaged in open dialogue alongside the use of participatory methodologies that explicitly encouraged the equalising of power I aimed to minimise the potential negative power relations between the research participants and myself. In doing so, I aimed to create an ethical approach to the research by viewing it as 'an ongoing process of questioning, acting and reflecting, rather than a straightforward application of general rules of conduct.' (Gallagher, 2009: 26)

3.6.2 (Mis)informed consent?

Deeply interconnected to power and power relations is the issue of informed consent. This is another complex issue that is often misreported as a straightforward process. Informed consent is generally held to rest on four core principles: an explicit act of consent, for example verbal agreement or a written signature; that participants can only consent if they are informed about, and they fully understand, the nature, purpose and likely consequences of the research; that consent is given voluntarily, free from coercion; and that consent is renegotiable throughout the research process. (Gallagher, 2009: 15-6) Furthermore there are issues of confidentiality and potential harm. Whilst the standard procedure of providing written and/or verbal explanations of the research (see appendices 4a-4c for examples of information and consent booklets) and then gaining written permission from adults, children and young people (and guardians where possible) participating in the research was followed, this proved to be problematic in a number of ways.

Gaining informed consent with children and young people

The process of explaining the research and gaining informed consent differed significantly at Projects A, B and C. As Wiles et al. argue, it is important to recognise the information needs of the group with whom the researcher would like to work and to utilise this knowledge to provide information in a way that will enable potential research participants to understand what participation will involve (Wiles et al., 2005: section 4.1). The wide range of children and young people that took part in this research meant that a pre-defined approach to informed consent was not appropriate. Instead I sought to ensure that I

followed a process of informed consent, of presentation of information, understanding and a response (Cocks, 2006), that was based in the core value of respect for the child as a social actor. As Christensen and Prout (2002: 482) argue: an 'ethical symmetry' is necessary when undertaking research with children, whereby 'researchers do not have to use particular methods or, indeed, work with a different set of ethical standards when working with children. Rather it means that the practices employed in the research have to be in line with children's experiences, interests, values and everyday routines.' In this research I adopted a flexible approach to gaining consent in line with the experiences, interests, values and everyday routines of the children and young people with whom I hoped to work.

At Projects A and C I initially spent time observing the various groups being held at each of the projects and allowing the children and young people attending the groups to get used to my presence and ask any questions about who I was and why I was there. I then formally explained the research verbally to the groups of young people that I had co-identified with the staff as potential groups to take part in the research process, clarifying who I was and my role as a researcher. I developed a more informal layout for the children and young people's information and consent booklets and I gave a booklet to each of the young people within the groups (see appendix 4a for an example information and consent booklet). I then discussed the information presented in an age- and ability-appropriate manner. For example, with the 10-14 year old age groups I developed the 'Rights Game', which utilised a game format to explain the research verbally and in a way that held their interest and created discussion (see Text Box 3.4 for step-by-step explanation of the 'Rights Game').

At Project B the process of explaining the research and gaining informed consent was significantly different. This was for a number of reasons. First, Project B worked primarily with children and young people who are currently living on the street in and around central São Paulo through offering twice-weekly workshops on a drop-in basis. This resulted in a lack of continuity of young people attending the sessions, inevitably impacting upon the ethics of conducting an ongoing research project. The ethical dilemmas of conducting research with this group were further deepened due to the level of understanding amongst some of the young people attending the drop-in sessions, a number of whom had limited or no formal education meaning that a high proportion of the young people were not able to read or write. Although I was aware of this before starting work at Project B and had discussed how to approach the issue of consent of the young people attending this group

with the staff, and had therefore developed the 'Rights Game' as a way to introduce the idea of the research and discuss rights verbally, I still overestimated the level of understanding within the group. Although the young people present at the 'consent' session appeared to enjoy the 'Rights Game', it was clear to both myself and the staff member co-facilitating the session that for the young people this had simply been a game and the concept of my role as a researcher and the notion of research or their rights within this had not been understood. After reflecting upon the session with the staff team at Project B, I decided that a more appropriate approach whilst working with this group would be to shift from the idea of gaining written consent towards the use of verbal consent and adopting some of the principles of 'assent'.

Text Box 3.4: Gaining informed consent: the 'Rights Game'

The aim of this activity was to create a less formal atmosphere whilst introducing the research to a group of young people between 10 – 14 years of age. Through adopting a game-based format I aimed to ensure discussion and reflection of the young people's rights as potential research participants but in a more interesting and understandable manner than by just reading through the information and consent booklets.

First, I split the group into two smaller groups using a number clusters ice-breaker, ensuring that there was a mixture of age, gender and reading and writing abilities in each group. I asked the two groups to sit on the floor at either end of the room. I then asked each 'team' to think of a team name, and wrote both team names on a piece of flipchart paper. Prior to the session I had written out two sets of 'Rights', as written in the information and consent booklets, on large pieces of card. I placed one set of the 'Rights' cards in the middle of each group face-down on the floor. I explained that I would read out a 'Right' and they needed to find the matching 'Right' from their set of cards in the centre of the circle. One person from each team would then need to run to me and give me the card. The first team to find and give me the correct card would then win one point. It was nice to see how all of the group members got really into it immediately and all eyes were looking at me expectantly before I read out the first 'Right'.

We then went through the list of 'Rights' and I stuck each 'winning' card onto the wall before moving onto the next 'Right' on the list. At the end, when all of the 'Rights' were stuck on the wall (and, of course, after celebrations by the winning team!) I asked

everyone to sit back on their chairs, and then asked for volunteers to read out each 'Right' from the list on the wall. Three people volunteered, including one of the generally more reluctant among the young boys and one of the quieter girls. After each of the 'Rights' was read out I asked the group if they understood and if any of them said that they did I asked them to explain it. If I felt that there were confused faces or silences, I explained the right verbally using different words. When we had gone through the whole list, I asked if there were any questions. I then gave out the consent booklets and asked everyone to sit together on the floor to read them. Again, the same three young people offered to read the booklets out loud. We went through the booklet as a group and then I asked them if they wanted to work with me. All of them said they did. So we then went through the consent form and one of the group read out each of the sentences and I explained the choice of ticking the 'yes' or the 'no' box. I was surprised by how much attention they seemed to be giving this discussion and how seriously they seemed to be taking it – even the two younger boys who I had often seen being disruptive in other sessions were concentrating.

Overall I was really happy with the way the session had gone as I felt that it introduced them to the kind of things we might be doing but it also created an interactive way to introduce something that would otherwise have been quite dull. Although the game relied upon a certain level of reading and writing, I did not feel that the younger group members or the members with lower literacy levels were excluded from the game, as all were able to participate by running up to me with the 'correct' card. The game can also be adapted for a group with more limited literacy levels by writing a third set of cards and using colour-coding or matching pictures for the groups to match up, rather than having to rely on reading or writing.

Although 'assent' has not been formally defined, Cocks (2006) adopted the following understanding of assent whilst undertaking research with children with learning impairments:

> *'Assent is represented within the relationship between the researched and the researcher, by trust within that relationship and acceptance of the researcher's presence. It removes the reliance on the child demonstrating adult-centric attributes such as maturity, competence and completeness; rather, it accepts the child's state of being.' (2006: 257)*

However Cocks also highlights how assent cannot in itself be sufficient in ensuring ethical integrity and requires the researcher to operate reflexively and within a framework of ethical reflection. This is a 'precarious and uncertain' approach as there remains a risk that the researcher will misinterpret the child's actions (Gallagher, 2009: 18), however after discussion with the staff team at Project B we decided that a more appropriate and ethical approach would be to move away from the notion of informed consent via written consent forms and to adopt a more informal approach whereby at the start of each session I would briefly explain individually to any young person who I had not previously met that I was not a staff member and that I was at Project B to try out different ways of working and talk to people about what they think about the activities that we might do. I then explained that they did not have to take part in the activity if they did not want to and that I would like to write about the things we do together, but I would only do this with their agreement. This approach was much more effective as it avoided the problem of repetition at the start of each session for the young people that I had already met, and the ensuing 'boredom factor' as a result of the young people having to hear the same explanation over and over again, but it was also effective as through talking individually with the young people I was able to get an idea of their level of understanding and interest.

There were obvious difficulties with this approach. First, the drop-in basis of the groups meant that I was not always able to build a relationship with a young person prior to introducing the research. This lack of relationship obviously impacted upon my ability to interpret the young people's actions. In order to overcome this, I worked closely with the staff team who had ongoing and long-term relationships with the majority of the young people who came to the groups. Second, as another 'adult', it was difficult to ensure that the young people did not view me as another staff member. Being English actually helped in this regard, as the young people saw me as 'different' and often asked me why I was there, which provided an opportunity to explain my different role. Although problematic, shifting to the notion of verbal consent and moving away from the reliance upon 'adult-centric' attitudes such as maturity and competence through utilising the principle of 'assent' minimised the potential risks of gaining 'uninformed' consent, whereby the young people signed the consent forms with little understanding of the significance of what they were signing.

Gaining informed consent with parents or guardians

The question of gaining consent of parents or guardians presented a further challenge at Project B. On arrival at the drop-in sessions, the staff sat with any new young person with

whom they had not had previous contact and completed a form with basic personal information, including home address and names of parents or guardians. But it was rare for the staff to have any direct contact with the families of the young people attending these sessions. First, the information provided by the young people was often incorrect or missing, either because the young person did not know the information requested or chose not to say it. Second, many of the young people attending the drop-in sessions had come from other cities or neighbourhoods on the outskirts of São Paulo. As highlighted in chapter 2, São Paulo is a vast city, and in some cases it would take an entire day to undertake one home visit. Due to financial constraints and limits on staff time, conducting home visits to make contact with the family of the young person was, in the majority of cases, not possible. Contact via telephone was also rare. For these two reasons, Project B generally did not have contact with the parents or guardians of the young people who attended the drop-in sessions, severely limiting the possibility of gaining parental or guardian consent to participate.

This raised the issue of children and young people's competence. In England and Wales, competence is based upon the idea of 'sufficient understanding', which is rooted in the test case ruling by the House of Lords in 1985 which held that a child who has sufficient understanding could consent to medical treatment and the parent of such a child has no right to override the child's consent (Masson, 2004: 48). However the notion of 'sufficient understanding' is problematic, particularly as 'those working with children are likely to make different decisions about a child's capacity dependent not only on their assessment of the child but also on their attitudes to childhood and to treating children as autonomous.' (Masson, 2004: 48) My approach within the research was in line with the view of Thomas and O'Kane (1998: 338) to approach the children and young people 'as social actors with their own distinctive abilities to understand and explain the world.' Whilst essential to maintain a 'reflexive ethical framework' (Cocks, 2006: 249) the lack of parental consent should not automatically prevent the ethical participation of children and young people in research.

> *'Requiring high levels of understanding for valid consent could operate to exclude research with children unless an adult has consented on their behalf. Where children can understand enough to distinguish research from other interventions, and to understand the impact on them of participating, it may be more ethical to act on their consent than to require the fully informed consent of a parent.' (Masson, 2004: 50)*

Masson argues that for a child to give 'valid consent' s/he needs to understand the nature of engagement with the researcher and that it differs from that of other adults who may seek information in order to take decisions about or for him or her. S/he must also understand that the information provided will only be used in order to understand the topic better and that the researcher cannot take any action that makes a difference to his or her life. Through ensuring close dialogue with the staff team throughout the research process and conducting individual conversations with each child or young person to explain my role, the reason for my presence and to differentiate myself from the staff as clearly as possible, I ensured an ethical framework that overcame the potential barrier of lack of parental consent. Also see section 3.6.3 for discussion of issues of child protection and confidentiality.

At Projects A and C I attempted to talk directly to the parents and guardians of the children and young people attending activities to explain my presence and their children's rights within the research. However this proved to be a difficult task. Both projects had monthly meetings with the parents or guardians of the children and young people attending activities, however the meetings were generally poorly attended. I presented the research at the parent and guardian meetings but this did not guarantee the inclusion of all parents and guardians. Where possible, I also spoke individually with parents and guardians. When this was not possible and if a young person to whose parent or guardian I had not spoken decided that they wanted to participate in the research, I gave them a parental information and consent booklet and requested that they discuss the research with their parent or guardian. In all cases where this occurred I emphasised the times that I would be available to discuss the research with their parent or guardian if they had any questions or concerns. I was aware of the imperfect nature of this approach (see Text Box 3.5 for some reflections on the potential ethical pitfalls). However I decided to adopt a research approach that prioritised the decision of the child or young person. Therefore whilst aware that there was a risk that the parent or guardian may give consent that is not fully informed, I sought to ensure that the child or young person was able to give their informed consent based upon full and complete information presented in an understandable age- and ability-appropriate format.

Text Box 3.5: Potential ethical pitfalls in gaining parental consent

There were two incidents that highlighted the ethical pitfalls in gaining parental consent. The first incident occurred at Project A. One of the young people returned her parental consent form with all of the 'No' boxes crossed in response to the four permission statements, but the form was signed indicating consent. Whilst chatting to the young person it became clear that her mother had not understood the form. I spoke to her mother the following week and she told me that she had not understood the booklet and so had not wanted to cross the 'Yes' boxes as she did not understand what she was signing but that her daughter had cried when she said she did not want to sign the form. I went through the information booklet with her and she was then happy to give consent for her daughter to participate. She repeatedly apologised for not understanding the form and despite repeated reassurances that she had done exactly the right thing, as that what the form is for, she kept apologising. Although the incident showed that in this case the use of the four statements and the 'Yes' / 'No' boxes worked well to indicate that the young person's mother had not understood the information provided, it also highlighted not only the risk of relying upon written parental consent forms but also the potential distress caused by requiring people to sign forms.

Another incident at Project C highlighted an ethical dilemma regarding the practicalities of combining the need for parental consent with respect for the lived experiences of the young people. I facilitated a three-month participatory evaluation with a group of young people who had participated in a youth programme. One of the young people who took part in this evaluation was a 16 year old young woman, Adriana. Like all of the young people whose parents I had been unable to meet in person, I had requested that Adriana take a parental consent form and to return it to me prior to the start of the research. Adriana duly returned the form to me. However whilst chatting to Adriana after she had returned the form, she told me that she had signed the consent form herself. When I questioned this Adriana explained that she lives alone with her mother who has learning difficulties and that she is used to signing documents on her mother's behalf, including official documents such as forms for the bank. Although the signing of the form on her mother's behalf might have been considered unethical, I felt that to insist on getting Adriana's mother's signature would also be unethical as it would undermine the level of responsibility and decision making that Adriana was used to. I felt that in this situation the

more ethical decision would be to respect Adriana's lived experience and 'everyday routine' (Christensen and Prout, 2002).

3.6.3 Confidentiality, child protection and the concept of 'harm'

Within all consent forms for staff, children and young people I included a statement regarding confidentiality that explained that I would write about what we have done after the research has finished, but that all names and identifying characteristics would be changed to ensure anonymity (see appendices 4a-4c for information consent booklets). I also emphasised this verbally with all participants whilst explaining the research. However it was also important to highlight the reasons why this confidentiality may be breached, particularly with regards to child protection. Practitioner guidelines and good practice require that professionals who have concerns about the existence of abuse disclose such information to a third party (Williamson et al., 2005). Gallagher has argued that although breaching of confidentiality is often seen by practitioners and researchers as 'an ethical necessity to prevent further harm', it might be seen as a betrayal of trust by the child or young person (2009: 20). As such it was essential to explain the limitations to confidentiality to staff, to children and young people and to their parents or guardians. Therefore within the 'Things to think about' section of the information booklets I included the following sentence:

> *'Não vou falar com ninguém sobre o que você falar para mim, a menos que você me diga que você ou alguém está em perigo ou que podem ser prejudicados. Mas vou falar com você e o pessoal do (Nome do Projeto) sobre o que poderá ser feito para ajudar antes de falar com outra pessoa.'*

> *'I won't talk to anybody about what you say to me, unless you tell me that you or someone else is in danger or could be at risk. But I will talk to you and to the people at (Name of Project) about what could be done to help before talking to anybody else.'*

I then reinforced this verbally with all groups and individually whilst discussing the research. There are difficulties regarding the use of terminology such as 'danger' and 'at risk' as the child or young person may interpret these terms very differently. As highlighted by Williamson et al.:

*'Without an understanding of the meanings children attach to the words that
we, as adults, use to communicate potential harm and/or abuse; [sic] it is
difficult to argue that we can adequately protect them when discussing the
limitations of confidentiality and child protection.' (2005: 401)*

However through stating that I would discuss the matter with the child or young person
before informing anyone else limits the possible risk of misunderstanding and, crucially,
places the child or young person within the decision to breach confidentiality. A situation
did occur at Project A whilst I was alone with a group of young people in which a member
of the group disclosed physical abuse by their step father. I was able to follow the
procedure outlined here, whereby I explained that I would not be able to help with the
situation and asked the young person if they would like to discuss the situation with a
member of staff at Project A. The young person said that they would like to do so and so I
asked if they would prefer to talk directly to one of the staff members or if they would prefer
for me to talk to one of the staff members on their behalf and request that the staff member
contact the young person. The young person chose the latter option.

3.6.4 The issue of payment: to pay or not to pay?
There is considerable debate and 'little consensus about the appropriateness of payments
or other rewards being offered to research participants' (Wiles et al., 2005), with some
authors arguing that it is ethically necessary to reward participants for their time, whilst
others argue that this would encourage more 'vulnerable' or 'impoverished' groups to
participate for the wrong reasons (Ensign, 2003). The issue of payment is even more
complex with regards to the participation of children and young people due to child labour
laws, which forbid payment to children below a certain age. For example, in Brazil it is
illegal to employ a child or young person below the age of 16 years unless participating in
an educational training programme, in which a young person can participate at the age of
14 years (Governo do Brasil, 1990: Articles 60-65). Although researchers often choose to
give rewards in kind, for example by offering refreshments, there is no clear ethical
consensus amongst childhood researchers on what kinds of rewards are appropriate
(Gallagher, 2009).

At Projects A and B, I did not provide payment or incentives to the children and young
people who participated in the research, which was a decision taken after discussions with
the staff teams and primarily due to the fact that the research was taking place within the
existing groups in which the young people were participating. At Project C, I conducted a

three-month participatory evaluation with a group of young people who were participating in a government sponsored youth development programme run by the project. The young people, who were all between 15–18 years of age, were provided with a monthly stipend for participating in the programme and were expected to participate every afternoon between 2pm and 5pm from Monday to Friday. The participatory evaluation took place within the programme schedule, however the young people also conducted one focus group on a Saturday afternoon and presented the final proposal to the project's management committee on one weekday morning. After discussions with the programme's coordinator before the start of the participatory evaluation it was decided that the young people would not receive any extra payment for taking part in the evaluation as this contradicted Project C's organisational policy regarding the use of incentives, however at the end of the three month evaluation I took the young people on an outing to a place of their choosing as a thank you for their participation and hard work.

Summary

In this chapter I described the research strategy, including an explanation of the research framework and an overview of the debates regarding participatory action research. I then described the research design, including a detailed description of the research process, the sampling strategies utilised the methods adopted for data collection. I moved on to describe the theoretical approach utilised within the data analysis and a brief discussion regarding participant involvement in data analysis and dissemination. In then closed the chapter with some reflections on the ethical challenges that I encountered during the research process. I now move forward to discuss the research findings. These are presented in a series of three chapters, interweaving current literature with the empirical data to reflect the iterative approach to data analysis.

A Two-Dimensional Framework for Participatory Practice: representing the *relational* in the participatory process

Introduction

This is the first in a set of three results chapters. The chapters represent my own unfolding process of learning during the research process. Whilst each chapter has a different focus, they interconnect to form one coherent whole interweaving empirical data with current theoretical insights. In this, the first in the set of results chapters, I discuss the challenges of developing children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making in community based NGOs (Research Question 3) focusing specifically on the relationship between the process of developing children and young people's participation and staff perceptions, preconceptions and individual understandings (Research Question 1). I show that participation is a fluid and continual learning process, but centrally, that this process is a relational process undertaken by all involved in participatory practice, whether 'participant' and 'facilitator'. Adopting the Freirian social constructionist view of humans as unfinished, I propose a new two-dimensional framework for participatory practice that not only recognises children and young people's participation as a *relational process* but that also explicitly challenges current dualisms within theoretical approaches to participation by recognising the subjectivity of *all* involved in the participatory process.

4.1 Children and Young People's Participation: a conceptual vacuum

'… eu acho que é uma palavra que a gente usa muito mas não tem noção da dimensão do que ela significa. Eu acho que conversando com você, conversando com as pessoas nas oficinas, a gente percebe o quanto é ampla e o quanto significa várias coisas dependendo daquilo que você quer trabalhar. Eu acho que é legal quando você fala em participação, tentar estabelecer o que significa.'

'… I think it's a word we use a lot but we don't have any idea of the dimension of what it means. I think talking to you, talking to people in the workshops, we realise how broad it is and how it means various things depending on what it is that you want to do. I think it's good that when you talk about participation to try to establish what it means.'

(Carla, staff member, Project C)

As highlighted in section 2.4, children and young people's participation is in somewhat of a conceptual vacuum. Widely used yet ill-defined, particularly within English-speaking world (Lansdown, 2010: 11), it can refer to anything from a physical presence in a specific space to autonomous decision making. Although there have been numerous attempts at definition (see for example, Hart, 1992; Fajerman and Treseder, 1997; Shier, 2001) these have had little impact on language, whereby the word 'participation' continues to be widely used in reference to distinctly differing situations. As highlighted by Thomas and Percy-Smith in their edited collection on children and young people's participation, there is a wide variety of activities that take place under the 'umbrella' of children and young people's participation yet it is still a field 'in search of definition' (2010: 1). However within Brazil and Latin America more generally, there has been an arguably deeper and more effective debate regarding the meaning of participation. This is heavily linked to the increasingly politicised nature of the social work profession over the last three decades. A brief look at the historical development of the legal frameworks within social work highlights the deepening of awareness regarding the complexity of participatory practice, whereby the *Lei Orgânica de Assistência Social* (LOAS), introduced in 1993, marked a move away from the *'assistencialismo'* of the previous decades (the idea that the role of the social worker is to provide for the dependent, and invariably poor, population) towards a more politicised position, viewing the role of the social worker as working with the population to claim and defend the right to citizenship, rather than as a form of help or favour (Paz, 2009). The more profound debates resulted in the emergence of a new term: protagonism. Participation was viewed as an insufficient concept to incorporate the idea of the right to citizenship, as it failed to move away from the idea of *'assistencialismo'* through still focusing on the idea of 'giving a voice'. Within the concept of protagonism, the individual is seen as being a protagonist within his or her own life and community, whereby rather than waiting to be given a chance to be heard he or she creates their own voice and demands to be heard. In particular *'protagonismo juvenil'*, or youth protagonism, emerged as a leader within the development of the concept of protagonism (for more detailed discussion of 'youth protagonism' see section 2.4.1).

It is interesting to note that despite numerous attempts to differentiate between the many forms of participation, the vast majority of definitions within Northern literature still come under the unifying banner of 'participation'. For example, Lansdown argues that children's participation can be broadly classified at three levels – consultative participation, collaborative participation and child-led participation (2010: 20). Undoubtedly these classifications are valuable and aid in the analysis of current participatory practice. However, the continued use of the word participation, albeit within different classifications, can be argued to contribute to confusion amongst those working on the ground. It creates a pressure amongst practitioners who are left trying to 'do' something that is extremely difficult to classify, primarily due to the ongoing lack of clarity within academic debates. It is through an analysis of research participants' different understandings of both participation and protagonism that this chapter will add significantly to current Northern debates through proposing a new theoretical approach to participatory practice.

Text Box 4.1: *Reflecting on personal learning*

At this point it might be useful to briefly reflect upon my own learning throughout the research process, as I feel this is indicative of the potential enrichment that Brazilian and Latin American debates could provide for Northern literature. At the start of the fieldwork, I arrived full of the knowledge and understanding I had gained during the first year of my doctorate, which, given my limited ability to read Portuguese, had been gained primarily from my reading of Northern, and primarily British, literature. As a result, when designing my interview schedule and introducing the research to staff and young people in the first few weeks of the fieldwork I used the term participation ('*participação*'). Although one of my objectives was to gain an insight into what this word meant to the staff and young people, I was unaware of the range of language that had developed within Brazilian academia and practice. The term *'protagonismo juvenil'* was first mentioned by Viviane, a psychologist working at Project B, during her introductory interview. When asked if she had heard of the term 'children and young people's participation' previously, Viviane responded:

'Ah, sim, já, já ouvi falar sim. Tem até um termo, que estou me lembrando agora, protagonismo juvenil. Que é assim, um espaço onde a criança e o adolescente possam ser protagonistas, possam participar efetivamente, dar opiniões, não só se submeter às oficinas e aos atendimentos, mas onde ela possa opinar, e dizer isso é bom, isso não é

132

bom. Isso é o que eu entendo de participação das crianças e adolescentes, ou protagonismo juvenil.'

'Ah, yes, I've already heard it, yes. There's even a term, which I'm remembering now, youth protagonism. Which is like this, a space where a child or an adolescent can be protagonists, they can participate effectively, give opinions, not be passive recipients of care, but where they can give their opinion, and say that this is good, this isn't good. This is what I understand by the participation of children and adolescents, or youth protagonism.'

My reaction was notably naïve, reflecting my own limited understanding of the context within which the research was taking place. However, I believe that this evolved into a positive as the research progressed, as my lack of understanding meant that I asked participants to define their own understandings of the two terms, participation (*'participação'*) and protagonism (*'protagonismo'*), and it is primarily the answers to this question that has provided the data upon which this chapter is based.

4.2 Participant or Protagonist: what differentiates participation and protagonism?

'Participação é bem abrangente, né. Participação em que? Protagonismo juvenil... protagonismo estão participando efetivamente de alguma coisa. Eles participam, porém não é protagonismo.'

'Participation is really broad, isn't it. Participation in what? Youth protagonism… protagonism they are participating effectively in something. They participate, but it's not protagonism.'

(Jorge, staff member, Project C)

As Jorge highlights, the first key difference between protagonism and participation is that protagonism is more defined. It is when someone participates *effectively* in something. However, this raises the question of what constitutes 'effective' participation? At the most basic level, the majority of responses from staff members at Project C indicate that they interpret this to mean when the young people are doing things for themselves without the

interference of adults, or using the metaphor given by Thaís, an administration assistant at Project C, when they are the 'principal actor or actress'. However, what does this mean in practice? What is the process behind becoming the principal actor or actress?

4.2.1 The first differentiation: the development of autonomy

The idea of control and autonomy as a central differentiating factor between participation and protagonism emerged explicitly in the reply of Tânia, a nucleus coordinator at Project C, when asked to define the difference between participation and protagonism in her introductory interview:

> **Tânia:** 'Não sou muito craque sobre isso, não tenho muita propriedade sobre isso mas... Eu acho que basicamente protagonismo está muito ligado a busca por garantia de direitos, envolver o jovem nessa busca, tem tudo a ver com autonomia desse jovem. A participação como definir? ... É poder dar idéias, debate de idéias para uma tomada de uma decisão, mais ou menos isso.'
>
> **Victoria:** 'Qual é o propósito de participação e de protagonismo juvenil na sua opinião?'
>
> **Tânia:** 'Propósito do protagonismo juvenil é impulsionar o jovem para essa autonomia, para essa busca. A participação é poder você realmente ouvir o que a criança tem a dizer, o que a família tem, não é só uma, ouvir por ouvir não, é uma real escuta e dar importância que cada um traz é muito rico. Como você escuta isso e o que faz com essa informação.'

> **Tânia:** 'I'm not exactly the expert on this, I don't have much understanding about this, but… I think basically protagonism is closely linked to the search to guarantee rights, to involve the young person in this search, it has everything to do with the autonomy of this young person. How to define participation? ... It's to be able to give ideas, to debate ideas in order to make a decision, it's more or less that.'
>
> **Victoria:** 'What is the purpose of participation and youth protagonism in your opinion?'
>
> **Tânia:** 'The purpose of youth protagonism is to stimulate the young person towards this autonomy, to this search. Participation is to be able to really hear what the child has to say, what the family has [to say], it's not just listening for the sake of listening, it's to really listen and to give importance that what each

person brings is really rich. How you listen and what you do with the information.'

Tânia clearly differentiates between participation as a process in which the child or young person plays a passive part and the adult assumes the responsibility for hearing what the child or young person has to say and acting upon the information, and protagonism as a process whereby the young person is actively involved in the search for guaranteeing of their rights. Consequently, the role of the 'adult' changes significantly, as do the required skills. This was further elaborated upon by João, another coordinator at Project C:

'Mas se na participação você abriu para eles estarem dentro, aqui no protagonismo eles estão dentro e agem sobre. Então, é soberano. O seu papel é muito mais incentivador ou mediador, um termo assim. Mas são propósitos diferentes, talvez a participação como o início de um protagonismo.'

'But if within participation you opened up for them to be inside, here with protagonism they are inside and act on [what happens]. So it's sovereign. Your role is much more to provide incentive or as a mediator, something like that. But they are different objectives, maybe participation as the start of a protagonism.'

(João, coordinator, Project C)

Both Tânia and João view participation as being when the role of the adult remains central – 'you open for them to be inside' – whereas with protagonism the aim is for the young person to have autonomy or to be 'sovereign'. As a consequence, the responsibility of the 'adult' moves from hearing the child and acting upon what they say to one of mediator or the provider of incentives. What Tânia's and João's responses highlight is that whilst the aim of protagonism may be the development of autonomy, the developing of autonomy is reliant upon those facilitating the participatory process. As Freire argues, we are able to 'to learn and to teach so much better for being subjects and not simply objects of the process we are engaged in' (2001: 58) and with regards to participation I would take this argument further. It is not that we would create better participatory practices if we were to place ourselves as subjects of the process, I would argue that unless we do so, unless we include ourselves within the process of learning, participation will always remain

135

superficial. It will remain a false generosity (Freire, 1970: 26). The argument that we are all subjects within participatory processes forms the foundation upon which the theoretical framework that will be proposed within the remaining sections of the thesis will be based. However before moving onto this, a further exploration of the differentiation between participation and protagonism will be developed.

4.2.2 The second differentiation: developing a 'critical spirit'

A further aspect raised within Tânia's definition of participation and protagonism is that she effectively combines the role of the young person with the overall aim of the action. For example, whilst the aim of participation is limited to the specific action, for example involvement in the taking of a specific decision, the aim of protagonism is broader and connected to the guaranteeing of rights. Protagonism has a wider and more politicised aim, which goes beyond involvement in specific decisions or discussions. If we briefly return to Northern literature, the distinction between active and passive is a key aspect of the various definitions of levels of participation, whereby passive consultation is seen as the most basic level of participation, and child-led participation as the highest (although not necessarily the 'best'). However, the wider and more politicised aim implied within the term protagonism is missing from the Northern definitions of participation. Children and young people may be participating, but the question of why still remains broadly unanswered. Although there is often mention of advocacy or awareness raising, for example, the explicit reference to children and young people being actively involved in the search for the guaranteeing of human rights is often lacking within theoretical debates (see for example Francis and Lorenzo, 2002 cited in Malone and Hartung, 2010: 29). I argue that participation has an explicit political aim, and the term protagonism, as defined by Tânia, embraces this.

The idea of participation having an aim beyond the immediate action was also raised by Eduardo, another nucleus coordinator at Project C. For Eduardo, the important aspect of participation is not necessarily the active participation of someone in a decision-making process or discussion. Instead, what is most important is the internal learning and personal development of the individual:

> **Eduardo:** *'Eu vejo uma coisa mais interna que comunitária, é uma ética liberal, de individuo. Eu acho que é mais importante fazer o processo todo dentro dela do que vamos mobilizar o bairro inteiro para votar no orçamento*

participativo. Eu acho que eu vejo mais relevante o jovem fazer todo pensamento critico dentro dele do que uma mobilização física de pessoas.

Victoria: '*Então, é mais sobre o processo do que o resultado?'*

Eduardo: '*É, mais o processo do que o resultado. E o processo interno, as pessoas tendem a avaliar o orçamento participativo pela quantidade de pessoas que votaram, que é legal, claro, mas se o jovem tiver espírito critico, mesmo que não vote eu acho que é mais importante. Lógico que manifestação do voto é objetivo final mas vejo uma falta de espírito critico. Me incomoda se for processo de orçamento participativo que 2, 3 falam o que uma massa tem que votar. Eu acho que é tão anti democrático quanto não ter orçamento participativo. Eu acho que é mais importante despertar o espírito critico, capacidade de pensar do que processo em si, do que o resultado final em si, é mais importante o processo de cada jovem.'*

Eduardo: *'I see something more internal than communitarian, it's a liberal ethic, of the individual. I think it's more important to make a process completely within the person than mobilising the whole neighbourhood to vote in participatory budgeting[15]. I think I see it being more relevant that the young person does all the critical thinking within themselves than a physical mobilisation of people.'*

Victoria: *'So it's more about the process than the result?'*

Eduardo: *'Yes, it's more about the process than the result. It's an internal process, people tend to evaluate participatory budgeting by the amount of people who voted, which is good, of course, but if the young person has a critical spirit, even if they didn't vote I think this is more important. Of course, voting is the final objective but I see a lack of critical spirit. I am uncomfortable if there is a participatory budget process where two or three say what the masses have to vote for. I think this is just as undemocratic as if there was no participatory budget. I think it's more important to arouse a critical spirit, the capacity to think about the process itself than the final result, it's more important the process of each young person.'*

(Nucleus coordinator, Project C)

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[15] See section 1.3.2 for an explanation of participatory budgeting

What is most interesting about Eduardo's point of view is that the focus on internal learning and the development of the 'critical spirit' means that a decision *not to participate* can be essentially more participatory than such 'active' participation as voting on a particular issue. What is important is *the way in which this decision is made.* The final action, or non-action, may be more visible, but what is more important is the internal processes of learning upon which the final action is based. The lack of attention paid to non-participation is another area that has been identified as lacking within Northern literature. As Cornwall highlighted in her extensive review of participation: 'Indeed, participatory initiatives tend to be premised on the idea that everyone would want to participate if only they could. The active choice *not* to participate is barely recognised.' (2002a: 56 [emphasis in original]) This is an example of the focus within existing theoretical frameworks on action rather than process. Assumptions about participation being morally right and positive for all (if only society would allow it) have resulted in a failure to include individual processes, and individual benefits, as these have been drowned out by the hailing of participation as the holy grail for a better society. The lack of an agreed definition and the tendency to focus on the overall goal, to 'get them participating', has left the processes by which this goal is achieved on the sidelines. This is a key failure, as it is only by addressing the internal learning and development of each person that participation can insure itself against becoming the false generosity the Freire warned us about. If the focus remains on the end result, then there will be no mechanisms to prevent, or at the very least minimise, manipulation of the very processes that are meant to lead to participatory 'freedom'.

4.3 Participant *and* Protagonist: recognising participation as a *process of learning*

The majority of participants' responses reflected more recent thinking within Northern literature that participation is a process that involves learning as well as the idea of making a difference (Percy-Smith and Thomas, 2010: 361). Within participants' definitions of participation and protagonism it became clear that whilst the two terms are viewed as being representative of different actions, they are not seen as being independent of one another. The consistent view, particularly amongst staff members at Project C, was the idea of a process, the idea that participation *leads to* protagonism. Participants at Project C consistently stated that in their view there is a connection, whereby participation is a fundamental element in the development of youth protagonism. As highlighted by Carla *'… eles caminham juntos. São palavras diferentes, mas as ações são... não tem como o*

jovem ser protagonista se ele não for participativo.' [*'… they go together. They are different words, but the actions are… there's no way for a young person to be a protagonist if s/he doesn't participate.'*] In other words, there is a process whereby participation comes before protagonism; to be a 'protagonist' you need to have experienced participation. The idea of participation being the first stage in developing youth protagonism was further elaborated by Beatriz, another staff member at Project C, when asked to define the purpose of participation and youth protagonism:

> **Beatriz:** *'A participação é a ideia de desenvolver o jovem, buscar o desejo dele, ajudar nisso de alguma forma dependendo da proposta. Mas despertar o desejo do jovem. O protagonismo juvenil seria um planejamento, orientar o jovem para que ele consiga planejar tanto coisas pequenas dentro do grupo, quanto conseguir projetar pensamentos para a sua vida mesmo.'*
> **Victoria:** *'Você acha que são duas coisas diferentes ou elas tem um link?'*
> **Beatriz:** *'Estão totalmente ligadas porque através de despertar o desejo dele, no jovem, despertar o desejo dele participar, ele consegue planejar, organizar as suas ideias.'*

> **Beatriz:** *'Participation is the idea of developing the young person, to bring out his/her desire, to help with this [process] in some way depending on what is proposed. But to wake up the young person's desire. Youth protagonism would be planning, to help direct the young person so s/he can plan both small things within the group and manage to express his/her thinking about his/her own life.'*
> **Victoria:** *'Do you think that they are two different things or are they linked?'*
> **Beatriz:** *'They're completely connected because by waking up the young person's desire, you wake up the desire to participate, so [the young person] is able to plan, to organise his/her ideas.'*
>
> *(Staff member, Project C)*

For Beatriz, participation is waking the desire in the young person and it is this that is the foundation upon which to build youth protagonism. But this raises the question of 'how'? What is the connection between a young person working out what it is that he or she wants and then acting to achieve that end? What are the elements that move someone along the scale from participation to protagonism?

4.3.1 Experiencing *participation: the role of confidence and self-esteem*

One fundamental aspect that was raised by Paulo, the secretary general at Project C, in his introductory interview is that of confidence. Project C has an 'open-door' policy, whereby everyone, including children, young people and community members, are free to enter all buildings and offices within the building. Essentially, Project C had opened up the 'space' for children and young people through the institutional decision to invite them 'in' and throughout the fieldwork I noticed the impact that this appeared to have on the sense of ownership and confidence of many of the children and young people who spend time 'hanging out' at the project. Crucially, it appeared that the children and young people gained skills and experiences through their engagement with this 'space' (Gaventa, 2006; Cornwall, 2004). During his interview, Paulo highlighted his view that the 'open-door' policy has an impact on both participation and protagonism through the development of self confidence:

> **Paulo:** 'I wouldn't say they're the same thing, but having children and young people participate, as participators or whatever is a fertile field to have protagonismo juvenil really strong actions, people are ready for it, basically.'
> **Victoria:** 'So when you say fertile field you mean it's growing…?'
> **Paulo:** 'Being confident. Yeah, it's things, people are confident, they build up confidence because they're allowed to. It's a little difficult to explain, like these children who come in here, just the fact that they can come in and talk builds confidence and then they can say I want to do this, I want to do that, all the rest of it. What I think is that it's rather organic…'

Fabio, another nucleus coordinator, also spoke about the connection between confidence and the process of developing protagonism. Fabio viewed protagonism in the same way as Tânia, believing that protagonism comes through autonomy. However he highlighted the process that needs to be undertaken in order to achieve this:

> '… E pelo acompanhamento social, que ao meu ver o grande objetivo do acompanhamento social é isso, não você deixar a vida da criança perfeita, do jeito que a gente acha que tem que ser, mas trabalhar com ela e tentar promover isso nela, esse protagonismo, essa autonomia. Depois disso acho que vem o protagonismo talvez. O acompanhamento social que é mais focado no individual, … sempre teve esse foco, essa autonomia.'

'… And for social accompaniment[16] [the nucleus that Fabio coordinates], I see the main objective of social accompaniment as this, to not make the child's life perfect, the way that we think it should be, but to work with the child and to try to encourage this in him or her, this protagonism, this autonomy. I think that maybe it's after this that protagonism comes. Social accompaniment is more focused on the individual, … it always had that focus, that autonomy.'

(Fabio, nucleus coordinator, Project C)

'No ponto de vista de desenvolver a autonomia acho que é isso, ela identificar primeiro o que ela não gosta e o que ela gosta, e pensar o que pode fazer para mudar isso, quais as alternativas. Muitas vezes é o que ela precisa antes de enxergar essas alternativas, é desenvolver auto-estima, auto-consciência.'

'From the point of view of developing autonomy I think that it's this, the child identifying first what he or she doesn't like or and what he or she does like, and thinking what he or she can do to change this, what are the alternatives. Very often it's what he or she needs before being able to see the alternatives, it's developing self-esteem, self-awareness.'

(Fabio, nucleus coordinator, Project C)

This appears to be the key link between participation and protagonism. It is through the *experience* of participation, through building the self-esteem and self-awareness necessary to be able to 'see the alternatives' that facilitates protagonist action. The experience of learning and personal development facilitates the development of autonomy, which, for Tânia and Fabio, is the objective of protagonism.

Theoretical frameworks of participation in Northern literature are curiously silent on the processual nature of the participatory relationship and how the experience of participation facilitates learning and development that moves an individual towards protagonism. For

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[16] There is no literal translation for 'acompanhamento social' into English. A direct translation of 'social accompaniment' broadly refers to what would come under the title of social work within the English language, however it signifies a broader concept of working alongside another person rather than the more limited professionalised term of social work.

141

example Hart's 'ladder of children's participation' (1992), which remains the most influential model within the field (Malone and Hartung, 2010: 27), utilises a categorisation approach to distinguish between possible types of adult-child interaction. This approach, while useful in the analysis of past actions, fails to incorporate the processual nature of participatory practice. It focuses on *what* was done rather than *how* it was done. The static nature of the categorisation approach implies that the adult needs to decide the level of participation that they would like to aim for, which then sets out the amount of 'space' the adult will need to provide. The 'adult' remains in control of the process. For a framework of participatory practice to be truly representative of reality it must, at the very minimum, represent the processual nature of participation. Instead of focusing on the categorisation of participatory practice, I argue that a more effective approach would be to aim to represent the *experience* of participation. To focus on what each individual within a participatory process, 'adult' and 'child', 'facilitator and 'participant', needs to understand and experience in order to *develop* participation. As highlighted by Paulo, participation is an organic process, it is not just 'done' but is developed, and it is through focusing on how this process is developed that will provide a more effective and representative framework for participatory practice.

4.3.2 'It's about living that': participation as a value

The argument for viewing participation as a process rather than an action was effectively highlighted by Paulo, the secretary general at Project C. In his introductory interview, Paulo highlighted how for him, participation is much more than a specific action:

> **Victoria:** *'And what's the purpose of participation and also protagonismo juvenil in your opinion?'*
> **Paulo:** *'That to me is a very funny question.'*
> **Victoria:** *'Why?'*
> **Paulo:** *'Well, it's funny because I mean it's, as far as I'm concerned it's a value, it's not a sort-of… yep, that's the answer, because it's a value, it's not…'*
> **Victoria:** *'How does the value translate into action?'*
> **Paulo:** *'It's comprehended by our value, which is respect for all. So children respect children, children-adults, adults-adults, adults-children. So that means you see the person as a whole, a human being, with all their potential. And unless you are dealing with a sort-of, an under one-year old, people have desires and needs and opinions.'*

> *Victoria:* 'So it's about adopting that…'
> *Paulo:* 'It's about living that.'

Taking the idea of participation as a value further, Paulo went on to say:

> *Paulo:* 'I think it needs to be organic because when I said that I believe it's a value that means that it's something that people have, and have to practice as a value. It's not something that you introduce, a new line of work as such. I think it has to do with the organisation, it has to do with people being autonomous, having autonomy in their area and so on, that builds, that's a value. I mean if we have it for adults, why not for children sort of thing. Though funnily enough I think a lot of staff don't see the opportunities…'
> *Victoria:* 'To include…?'
> *Paulo:* 'To include, to involve, to listen to, and so on. There are many opportunities the whole time.'

Paulo effectively highlights how the opinions, perceptions and preconceptions of adults are central to the effective implementation of participatory practice and how their experiences directly relate to its development. For example, it is through staff members' experience of autonomy within their own area that helps to develop participation as a value, and it is through viewing participation as a value that ensures that it is seen as something more than an action or 'new line of work'. Paulo indicates that it is only through assuring autonomy of adults that we can start to work towards autonomy of children and young people and to start to develop participation as a value for all – and to begin to move away from 'doing' participation towards 'living it'. It is this aspect, the role of adults in children and young people's participation, that I now explore through proposing that participation is more than just a process, but is in fact a *relational* process between all actors.

4.4 Moving Beyond the Process: recognising participation as a *relational* process

> *Paulo:* 'I still think there's a question of understanding that participation is basically mediated by adults, and often the initiative comes from adults because you have to open up the space for participation, it doesn't just

happen by itself. And that goes for all levels of participation: political, community participation, adult participation at [Project C] of other community members. I think it's quite clear that you need to be proactive if you want to have participation, participation doesn't 'happen', so I would say that the biggest challenge now is for us to become proactive, to make participation happen at [Project C].'

***Victoria:** 'And that's a challenge how?'*

***Paulo:** 'I would say it's a challenge for the management committee to understand that it's something we have to do if we want, if we are constantly saying that we want participation, well that means we actually have to take actions, and that participation, my understanding of participation is that it develops, it doesn't just appear. But once you have, as with most processes, once you have a critical mass it does have the possibility to take on its own life, so back to the old 'catalisar', the catalyst, we actually have to provide the catalyst to have participation and if we can work well and the organisation is prepared for participation it will be that, because then it will develop a life with less and less need for input, or planned input.'*

***Victoria:** 'And is that, is that a challenge because of the structure of [Project C] or is it a personal challenge…?'*

***Paulo:** 'I think it's far more people. I'd say structurally, we are probably quite well adapted because we have a lot of discussion about decisions and so forth. Yeah, I'd say it's more people getting their heads around it…'*

As highlighted in the previous section, children and young people's participation does not just happen but is a process both initiated and mediated by adults. As Paulo indicates, organisational structures are not enough – in order for participation to happen, in order for the catalyst to be effective, people need to 'get their heads around' participation. However this raises a key question: what exactly is it that people need to 'get their heads around'?

4.4.1 Recognising the 'originating subject': the adult in the participatory process

'Eu percebi que tenho um pouco mais de consciência nas horas que sou participativo e nas horas que não, que eu sou autoritário. E por que, né? Para mim essa é uma grande questão que eu refleti sobre durante o processo, com a equipe mesmo. Não sei, pelo menos eu consigo pensar em alguns momentos e ter um pouco mais de consciência que eu estou sendo

144

extremamente autoritário, ou não estou nem querendo ouvir o que a pessoa está dizendo, estou seguindo onda de autoritarismo, uma onda que está vindo de lá que estou reproduzindo aqui. É isso mesmo ou não, né? Eu acho que a intenção é ser participativo mesmo, eu acho que não acontece no trabalho de coordenador, acabar sendo mediador de tudo menos coordenador. Mas pelo menos saber que horas posso ser, que horas que não posso ser, que horas que tenho que ser participativo, que tem que ter abertura maior. As vezes ao contrário, alguns acham que sou muito democrático e acaba gerando, e as vezes não é a expectativa que as pessoas tem de um coordenador, de abrir para discussão coisas que elas esperam que alguém fale por elas como tem que ser feito. Tem coisas que é legal e coisas que não. Eu acho que tem a ver com segurança das pessoas, não sei, estou ainda aprendendo isso.'

'I've noticed that I have a bit more awareness about when I'm being participative and when I'm not, that I'm being authoritarian. And why, huh? For me this is the biggest question that I reflected upon during the process [of the research], with the team itself. I don't know, at least I was able to think in some moments and have a little more awareness that I'm being extremely authoritarian, or I'm not even wanting to hear what the person is saying, I'm just following the wave of authoritarianism, a wave that's coming from there that I'm reproducing here. Is it this or not, huh? I think the intention is to be participatory, I think that it doesn't happen in the work of a coordinator, you end up doing everything except coordinating. But at least to know the moments I can be, the moments I can't be, the moments that I have to be participatory, that I have to be more open. Sometimes it's the opposite, some people think that I'm too democratic and end up creating problems, and sometimes it's not the expectation that people have of a coordinator, to open for discussion things that they hope that someone would say to them how it needs to be done. There are things that are good and things that aren't. I think that it has something to do with people's sense of security, I don't know, I'm still learning this.'

(Fabio, nucleus coordinator, Project C)

Fabio's comment in his exit interview at the end of the research period highlights the importance of self-reflection, the complexity of trying to 'be' participatory when you are limited by your role and by the expectations of those around you and the need to know the moments when participation is appropriate and when it is not. It shows how the participatory process occurs within a context and that that context is a complex one. However the key aspect that Fabio raises is the necessity of understanding why it is that you do what you do. It is neither possible nor desirable to be participatory at all times and in all places. As Freire highlighted: 'Here in Brazil, our authoritarian past is now being challenged by ambiguous modernity, with the result that we oscillate between authoritarianism and boundless freedom. Between two types of tyranny: *the tyranny of freedom and the tyranny of exacerbated authority.*' (2001: 83 [emphasis added]) Participation is not about the removal of hierarchies or everyone having equal say in all decisions. It is not about absolute freedom or the abolition of leadership. As Fabio pointed out, there are times when you can be participatory and times when you cannot. What is most important is not necessarily whether you are or are not participatory but rather understanding *why* you have decided to act in the way you have. What became clear during the research process is that although it is now widely recognised that children and young people should be viewed as subjects rather than objects of a participatory process, this in itself is not sufficient in the development of a participatory process. This reflects the importance of recent calls to recognise the subjectivity of the adult in a participatory process by placing ourselves as subjects of the participatory process alongside children and young people (Mannion, 2010; Theis, 2010; Prout and Tisdall, 2006).

An example of the need to move beyond seeing the child or young person as a subject of the process was clearly illustrated during my time working with João, a nucleus coordinator at Project C. João told me during his introductory interview about a situation when a Scottish band had visited the project. The band performed and afterwards the children and young people had been able to ask them questions. João explains how uncomfortable he felt as he heard some staff members commenting about the questions that were being asked. João explains:

> '… *Mas, por vezes, eles não enxergam a criança como sujeito. 'Por que ele está perguntando se tem bicicleta na Escócia? Por que estão perguntando se tem chinelo? Para que perguntar essas coisas', eu ouvi isso. Se o jovem perguntar se o jovem de lá é mais rebelde do que aqui, eu entendo. Mas se a criança pergunta se tem chinelo lá... Vamos tentar pensar como a criança*

está pensando, onde fica a Escócia? É um outro planeta para ela … Eu fiquei muito incomodado com isso. Como eu abro para uma participação da criança se não procura pelo menos entender o que ela está perguntando, né?'

'… But, sometimes, they don't view the child as a subject. 'Why is he asking if they have bikes in Scotland? Why are they asking if they have flip-flops? Why are you asking these things', I heard this. If a young person asks if young people there are more rebellious than here, I understand. But if a child asks if they have flip-flops there… Let's try to think how a child is thinking, where is Scotland? It's another planet for him or her … I was very uncomfortable with this. How can I open up for a child to participate if I don't try at least to understand what they're asking, huh?'

<div align="right">

(João, nucleus coordinator, Project C)

</div>

The situation demonstrates the need to try to understand where each child is coming from and to put their words and actions into the context of their lives and experiences, in other words to see the children and young people as subjects in their own lives. João's comments show that he is very aware of issues such as the need to understand where the other person is coming from and indeed during both his introductory and exit interviews he expressed frustration at what he perceived as colleagues' failure to do so. However, whilst working with João in designing and implementing a community evaluation of the library (a service provided by the nucelus that João coordinates), I was able to identify that seeing the children and young people as subjects is not sufficient in itself to ensure a participatory process.

The day-to-day running of the library is organised by Fabiana, a young woman who attended Project C as a teenager, and a team of eight Reading Monitors, who are all young people from the local community. The library is open to all members of the local community but is primarily accessed by children and young people. João requested that we design and implement a participatory community evaluation of the library, as this is something that they had been thinking about for a while but were unsure of how to go about it. During the planning and execution of this evaluation I was able to observe concrete examples of the impact of failing to include yourself as a subject of the participatory process. The following two abstracts from my fieldwork diary highlight how despite João's enthusiasm for conducting a participatory evaluation, his enthusiasm and understanding of the principles of participation were not sufficient in and of themselves:

'Almost lost my temper with João *today – he has shown his face once for five minutes during the library evaluation, during which he sat next to me and didn't speak to any of the reading monitors or the children. But this lack of information didn't stop him saying that his impression is that the reading monitors haven't taken 'ownership' over the activity. Bloody right they haven't. When he was there it was Deina on the activity with me, and this is her second week working there. He asked for my opinion when he was there and I said that I felt she had been watching me and copying what I was doing, and so my impression was that they needed someone to work with them in order to show them how to work with the kids. It's not that they haven't taken ownership, it's that they don't know how, and the guidance to show them how is completely lacking. That's not their fault, that's his. But he passed the blame onto them, without stopping to look at the root cause.'*

'But what was most interesting for me was João*'s body language during the meeting. As the meeting progressed, he sat further forward in his chair and really seemed to be watching me and my interaction with the group. I can't say exactly how or why, but my feeling was that something changed in him during that meeting. He saw a different way of working, and a different group of young people as a result of that way of working, and I think this had a pretty big impact on him. I was leading the meeting, but I put all of the decisions out for everyone to make and they made them, one by one. Not only agreeing or not, but justifying their opinions and putting their views across. For example, at the end when I asked them if they wanted a fixed time period for the evaluation or to re-evaluate every week whether to keep going with it or not, Deina said she thought it better to re-evaluate each week because otherwise the same thing as this week could happen again and they decide to extend it anyway, so it's better to just keep it open-ended. Couldn't agree more, and her view and her justification of her view came directly from her with no prodding required. There was no pulling of teeth or force-feeding them with the decisions, and no reluctance to make the decisions. When given the chance they make the choice, and whether it is the right or the wrong one in my view is irrelevant, what is important is that they make the decision, they take responsibility for it and for the consequences. It's an essential part of learning, but it's also about treating them as professionals*

and allowing for that learning to take place. I felt that for the first time João saw that this is really, truly possible.'

For João, his initial reaction to the lack of success with the library evaluation was to blame the young people. He felt that they had not take ownership over the activity, but failed to ask himself why. The deeper reflection and evaluation of the situation was lacking as his focus remained on the situation rather than the *causes* of that situation. However his reaction during the evaluation meeting also indicates that his reaction was not necessarily a result of an unwillingness to look towards the causes, but rather that he had not thought to do so. For me, this is an example of the impact of looking towards 'them' without first including yourself as a subject within the process. Rather than asking what you could have done to have improved the outcome, the reaction is to blame 'them' for not acting in the way you would have liked.

4.4.2 A frustrating process: the negative consequences of failure to recognise subjectivity

The issue of staff members not placing themselves as subjects of the participatory process is one that regularly emerged during the research. There was a tendency to look towards the child or the young person and to blame them for not participating rather than seeing the non-participation or non-cooperation as a statement in itself. For example one day, whilst working with the team of reading monitors, I had a focus group meeting with the team in the morning to discuss their ideas about, and experiences of, participation and I then had another meeting with the same team in the afternoon to discuss and plan the library evaluation. In the morning I met with the monitors on their own and in the afternoon I met with them and Fabiana, the library manager. I was shocked by the complete change in the atmosphere of the two meetings, as the following abstract from my fieldwork diary highlights:

'This afternoon I felt like I was working with a completely different group of young people. As soon as we sat down I knew it was going to be a difficult meeting and I was surprised by just how different their body language was. Thiago sat physically turned away from the group, and he was emanating 'not gonna cooperate' vibes. Edilson sat and immediately slid down in his chair in the classic bored teenager pose, and Leandro then followed suit. Both Edilson and Leandro had the heads of the table at various points throughout the meeting, and when they were upright they were either playing with a

149

mobile phone or signalling to each other and giggling. In the morning I'd had a meeting with a group of young adults, in the afternoon I was meeting with a group of classic 'bored teenagers'. And the only difference between the two groups was the presence of Fabiana. I was shocked by just how much difference her presence seemed to make, as although I had been talking freely and easily with them only a couple of hours earlier, it was hard, hard work to get any form of discussion going with them in the afternoon… But what I found interesting, thinking about this afterwards, was that Fabiana made some comments very similar to comments that I heard Fernando [the coordinator of the youth protagonism nucleus] making, saying things like 'look, this is your opportunity to speak and give your opinion, so you need to make the most of it because I don't want to hear you complaining later that you didn't know anything about it, or didn't get to say your opinion' – for me, if you have to tell people to 'make the most of the opportunity' it means that something isn't right. If it was, people would make the most it because they want to and feel able to, if they don't it's because they don't want to or don't feel able to and telling them to do it isn't going to change it. If people aren't talking the first thing to do is to ask why, and the first place you need to look is at yourself…. However what was most interesting today was the drastic change of behaviour among the reading monitors. Their reactions this afternoon were immature – Edilson transformed from an articulate, reasonable and mature young man to the classroom joker, including pulling faces at Leandro, picking holes in what Fabiana was saying and in the end encouraging Leandro to throw Fabiana's shoe across the room. And their behaviour only served to reinforce perceptions that they're not as capable as they had demonstrated to me in the morning, and this perception then impacts on how they're treated by Fabiana, who then continues to underestimate them, which then impacts on how she talks to them and interacts with them, which then reinforces their immature reactive behaviour, and the cycle of communication breakdown begins. I was talking to Eduardo afterwards and I decided to talk about this with them during my next meeting with them and challenge them on their behaviour. Their biggest complaint is that they are not seen or treated like they are part of [Project C], that they're not seen or treated like staff members, but I want to question this and ask them whether they think their behaviour today is the behaviour of staff members. They want to be respected and they don't feel that they are. But is

the kind of behaviour that they showed this afternoon going to increase the respect that they receive? They are capable of so much better, but they are reacting to a situation that they are unfamiliar with and seem to be resorting to the only behaviour that they know in order to deal with it and no-one seems to be there to provide the guiding hand to challenge this behaviour and teach them new strategies.'

The lack of a 'guiding hand' was also raised by Beatriz during her introductory interview. Beatriz works as an educator at Project C and her role is to build up relationships with children and young people who are classed as 'at risk' and accompany them in the process of improving their own lives. During her interview, Beatriz expressed frustration that she had felt whilst working with young people attending the youth programme within the youth protagonism nucleus as she felt that the needs of the young people with whom she was working were not addressed:

> ***Beatriz:*** *'Já tiveram vários jovens que eu atendi, que estão em acompanhamento social comigo e que estavam no [nome do programa juventude]. E por esses núcleos acontecerem aqui dentro tinha que saber que essas crianças que estão no [nome do programa juventude], se elas estão no acompanhamento social é porque algo diferente acontece com elas. Então, elas teriam que ter um outro olhar dentro do [nome do programa juventude]. Todos esses adolescentes que passaram comigo e que participaram do [nome do programa juventude], eles não tiveram o posicionamento, eles não se mostraram, eles não se desenvolveram junto com os outros adolescentes. Tanto pela situação que eles estão e mesmo assim não tiveram um olhar diferente.'*
>
> ***Victoria:*** *'Eles não desenvolveram como os outros adolescentes que estavam no [nome do programa juventude]?'*
>
> ***Beatriz:*** *'Que estavam no [nome do programa juventude] mas tambem no acompanhamento social. Não demorou muito para eles saírem, todos.'*
>
> ***Victoria:*** *'Você tem alguma ideia por que tem essa diferença?'*
>
> ***Beatriz:*** *'Teve insistência para que eles ficassem porque eu fiquei pentelhando neles, para que eles continuassem, tanto o coordenador quanto a Juana. Mas eles colocaram isso 'as coisas são assim que funcionam', 'agente tem que seguir um cronograma' e tal.'*

Beatriz: 'They had already had various young people that I've worked with, that are in the social support programme with me and that were in [name of youth programme]. And for these nuclei to happen here it was necessary to know that these children that are in [name of youth programme], if they are in the social support programme it's because something different happens with them. So, they had to have a different vision in the [name of youth programme]. All these adolescents that I worked with and that took part in [name of youth programme], they didn't have the right frame of mind, they didn't express themselves, they didn't develop with the other adolescents. Even with the situation that they're in and even then they [the staff] didn't have a different vision.'

Victoria: 'They didn't develop with the other adolescents that were in [name of youth programme]?

Beatriz: 'That were in [name of youth programme] but as well in the social support programme. It wasn't long before they left, all of them.'

Victoria: 'Do you have any idea about why there is this difference?'

Beatriz: 'There was an insistence that they stay because I kept nagging them [the staff], for the young people to continue, both the coordinator and Juana. But they just said 'things work like this', 'we have to follow the timetable' etc'

(Staff member, Project C)

Beatriz then explained that when a young person was encountering difficulties within the programme, an evaluation was undertaken. However whilst the evaluation identified how the young people were expected to change, the guidance for this change to occur was lacking:

'E sempre deu negativo, que eles nenhum estavam atendendo a demanda do programa. Aí houve uma insistência desses jovens continuarem a participar, mas não houve um trabalho para que eles continuassem a trabalhar, trabalho da maneira que tinha que ser. Tinha prazo assim 'ele vai continuar por mais um mês, se ele não mudar, ele sai', mas não teve nenhum trabalho para que ele mudasse, tinha que partir dele mesmo.'

'And it always went wrong, none of them were meeting the demands of the programme. And so there was an insistence that these young people

152

continue to take part, but didn't have the work for them to continue to work, work in the way that had to be. There was a timeframe like 'he will continue for one more month, if he doesn't change, he leaves', but there wasn't any work done for him to change, it had to be from himself.'

(Beatriz, staff member, Project C)

Importantly, Beatriz points to the negative impact that this had on the young people with whom she had worked and highlights the responsibility that comes with encouraging participation:

Beatriz: *'Até uma forma de analisar se isso é possível, se é possível ter esse olhar diferente dentro de um grupo. Se não for, entao não colocar adolescentes nesse perfil de acompanhamento social. As vezes não atende a demanda desses adolescentes e acaba causando algum incomodo, alguma frustração para eles próprios, os adolescentes.'*
Victoria: *'Essa frustração tem impacto no seu trabalho também?'*
Beatriz: *'Sim.'*
Victoria: *'E o olhar deles sobre a [Project C] em geral, a relação que eles tem...'*
Beatriz: *'O adolescente com a [Project C] tem bastante, ele sai daqui magoado. Até aqueles que não saíram brigados com nenhum jovem, com nenhum monitor, de ter um incomodo porque não conseguiu fazer parte desse grupo. Não tem nem essa consciência de que não foi dado uma atenção maior a ele e tal. Conseguem compreender que tinha um grupo funcionando, as regras eram iguais para todos, mas com o sentimento dele não ter conseguido.'*

Beatriz: *'Even the way to analyse if this is possible, if it's possible to have this different view inside of the group. If it's not, then don't put the adolescents with this profile from social accompaniment. Sometimes it doesn't meet the demand of these adolescents and it ends up causing some discomfort, some frustration for them, the adolescents.'*
Victoria: *'Does this frustration have an impact on your work too?'*
Beatriz: *'Yes'*
Victoria: *'And their view of [Project C] in general, the relation that they*

153

have…'

Beatriz: *'The adolescents with [Project C], you have a lot, they leave here hurt. Even those that don't leave fighting with any other young person, with any monitor, were uncomfortable because they weren't able to be part of this group. They aren't aware that they weren't given more attention etc. They are able to understand that there was a functioning group, the rules were the same for everyone, but with the feeling that they hadn't been able to do it.'*

The lack of understanding of participation as a complex process of learning, and the responsibility of those facilitating the process to provide the guidance to facilitate that learning can, as Beatriz points out, potentially have the opposite effect and create a negative and frustrating experience. Frustration was one of the aspects that also came up whilst I was observing, and later working with, the youth protagonism nucleus at Project C. At the start of my time working at Project C I spent the first month observing sessions and meetings of the youth protagonism nucleus. The nucleus is coordinated by Fernando with Juana, who is in charge of the day-to-day running of the programme. The nucleus has five main activities and each activity is run by a youth monitor. When I first began observing the groups and activities I was appalled by the behaviour of the young people. Sessions were dominated by arguments which more often than not descended into shouting matches and refusals to cooperate. However after more prolonged observations, and through building up relationships with some of the young people throughout the research process, I was able to begin to identify causes behind the young people's behaviour. For example, the following abstract from my field diary was made after observing an evaluation session of the past month's activities:

'Juana organised this along with the monitors. Everyone was given an A4 paper split into two sides. One side was for a self-evaluation, the other for the evaluation of another group member. There were six categories for evaluating: group work; organisation; participation; respect; responsibility; e cooperation. Each category had three faces next to it – one happy, one serious and one sad. They had to evaluate themselves and cross one of the faces depending on how they think they have been over the past month and then write a sentence to evidence why they think they deserve this score. They then got into pairs and evaluated the other person using the same categories. The papers were then collected, and the monitors and Juana added together the scores. I was sat in the office while they did this, and it

was completely haphazard – one team had one person more than the other, so they just scrapped one of the people and didn't count their scores. It was also completely hidden – they did it in the office and then just went out to announce the results. Juana didn't manage to explain it well, and it inevitably degenerated into a shouting match and stomping of feet. The young people said that it wasn't a fair evaluation as people were evaluating themselves and so to then put this into a competition format was unfair. They also were objecting to there being one prize and the winning team having the right to decide if the other team share it with them, as the previous month there had been two prizes (two tins of sweets) as it had been said that it wasn't a competition. I felt they were both valid points, but the way in which they made their complaints was completely unacceptable. Shouting, stomping feet and slumping into chairs with arms firmly folded and bottom lip sticking out. I have no patience for it. Whether they have a valid point or not, the important thing to learn is how to put your point across and allow yourself to be heard. Shouting doesn't mean you're being heard, it just means you're shouting. But Juana didn't listen to anything they had to say – she didn't ask them to explain their complaint, and she certainly didn't respond to it. She talked and talked and talked and didn't hear a thing. She manipulated what the young people said when they did speak, interrupted them when they said something she didn't agree with, and took their 'whatever' responses as agreements. I'm actually surprised it didn't get worse than it was as I was getting frustrated just watching it, so I'm surprised the group didn't just tell her where to go.'

During the research process at Project C I worked closely with some of the young people both from the youth protagonist nucleus and the library reading monitors. During this time I was able to put my initial observations into a context and begin to unpack the young people's behaviour. For example, whilst introducing the research to the young people attending the youth protagonism nucleus one of the young people, who was one of the more vocal members of the group, challenged me directly when I explained that participation in the research was voluntary. Replying to this, she stated that I may say that participation is voluntary now, but soon they will be told that they have to take part. Through later conversations with the nucleus coordinator, it became clear that there had been previous incidents when the young people had been told about an event or a meeting and been invited to participate, but due to some meetings or events having 'requirements' of the presence of young people as representatives of the programme, if

not enough young people volunteered to attend the coordinator had chosen people who were then told that they must go. This then had a negative impact on the perspectives of the young people and the level of trust between themselves and the coordinator. This highlights one of the ironies of participation. Trying to 'be participatory' by making the presence of young people's representatives in events or meetings a formal requirement effectively loses the essence of participation. Essentially, it highlights the potential damage that can be done by regarding participation as an event rather than a process.

Through discussions with the young people participating in the youth protagonism nucleus and the reading monitors working in the library, I began to understand the causes of their frustrations more deeply. During the focus group discussion with the reading monitors it was clear that the young people had a very good level of understanding of what participation is. They came up with comprehensive definitions of participation including:

- *'Participação é uma maneira de se interagir com as coisas, estar por dentro, ajudando e aprendendo. Participação é um interesse em ser útil e ajudar.'* [*'Participation is a way of integrating with things, being inside, helping and learning. Participation is an interest in being useful and helping.'*];
- *'Participação – Aprender, troca de experiência, aprendizado tanto instituição como pessoal.'* [*'Participation – To learn, exchange experience, learning for the institution as well as personally.'*];
- *'Participação – ato de participar, dar opinão, falar o que pensa, ser participativo, não guardar as informações, mas compartilhar com os outros o que sabe.'* [*'Participation – the act of participating, to give your opinion, to say what you think, to be participatory, to not keep information to yourself, but to share with others what you know.'*]; and, simply:
- *'Proatividade'* [*'Being proactive'*]

However, the reading monitors did not feel like they were able to participate within the daily activities and decisions within Project C. For example, when discussing their own participation within Project C they highlighted how they only felt that were able to participate at the strategic planning meeting (a meeting held twice a year whereby the project closes for one day and the team evaluates and plans the next six months work) and when asked why, the immediate reaction from one of the young people was *'Porque a gente quase não sabe de nada!'* [*'Because we hardly know anything!'*] and another

156

responded *'É, nos somos os últimos de saber as coisas'* [*'Yeah, we're the last to know about things'*]. I asked them what kind of things they were referring to and one of the young people replied that it was day-to-day things. I then asked them what the impact of this is, and one young person, Thiago, immediately replied *'Somos excluídos, né?'* [*'We're excluded, huh?'*].

As the conversation developed it became clear that there were a number of reasons why the young people felt that they could not participate in the decision-making processes at Project C. As the discussion progressed, Edilson explained that they do not have job contracts and as a result not only are they unsure about their responsibilities, but they feel that their jobs are insecure. When I questioned this, they said that they are often told by Fabiana that *'um monte de gente está querendo estar no seu lugar'* [*'loads of people are wanting to be in your place'*] and therefore the young people said that they keep quiet because they believe that they might lose their position if they are seen as causing trouble. The discussion continued, and other factors arose varying from basic issues like not having access to a work email, resulting in them not receiving information, to how the reading monitors are perceived within the wider staff team. For example, another of the young people highlighted that some staff members view the reading monitors as 'atendidos' (loosely translated as clients or service users) of Project C rather than staff members. I asked how they felt about this and the immediate response from the same young person was: *'Toda vez que você ouve 'atendido'… doi'* [*'Everytime you hear 'atendido'… it hurts'*]. Essentially, during this group conversation it became clear that the message the reading monitors were receiving was an inconsistent one and it appeared that they did not know where they stood as a consequence. This discussion shed some initial light on the behaviour of the young people at Project C. They seemed to be frustrated as a result of not feeling they were being listened to, they felt they were not seen as equal team members, and they felt insecure within their roles. Fundamentally, the frustrations appeared to be a consequence of contradictions between words and actions and the young people not knowing where they stood. However, after observing the interaction between the young people and Fabiana I began to see the complexity of the cycle of communication breakdown. It was not because Fabiana did not want to hear the young people, it was that she did not know how. Both Fabiana and João viewed the reading monitors' reactions in an isolated way and their interpretation of the young people's behaviour failed to incorporate the relational aspect of the participatory process. They failed to see how the young people's behaviour was behaviour *towards them*. In other words, they failed to include themselves within the process. It is this, the willingness

and ability to include the relational aspect within participatory work that emerged as a key differentiating factor throughout the research process.

4.5 A Two-Dimensional Framework for Participatory Practice: representing the relational aspect of the participatory process

As highlighted throughout this chapter there appear to be two distinctive contradictions in theoretical approaches within Northern literature to children and young people's participation. First, despite the acknowledgement of the positive impact that participation can have on children and young people, particularly in relation to personal development and skills enhancement, these impacts are rarely absorbed into the various definitions and categorisations of participation. It is now largely accepted that participation should be regarded as a process, yet the theoretical categories remain fairly static. Although there is a recognition that actions rarely fit seamlessly into one category, the dominant theoretical approaches largely fail to reflect this fluidity. Second, of the many barriers to participation that have been and continue to be identified, adults are viewed as the biggest challenge. Adults are crucial to children and young people's participation (Percy-Smith and Thomas, 2010: 362), highlighting how the practices, perceptions and preconceptions of adults constitute one of the key aspects to the effective development and implementation of children and young people's participation. But despite this recognition, theoretical frameworks for children and young people's participation focus on defining the act between adult and child through a categorisation of the level or 'degree' of participation. This fails to incorporate the relational aspect of participation, as the focus is on the final result rather than the interrelationships that were a necessary part of achieving that result. Essentially, we currently have one-dimensional theoretical frameworks trying to describe multidimensional processes. Consequently, the process itself is perceived narrowly with no account taken of the adult's subjective role. As Mohan (2001: 164) has argued, a key criticism of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is that it never really overcame the dualisms of self/other and insider/outsider as 'while 'they' may become subjects we never lose our grip of being the originating subject.' I argue that the same criticism can be applied to current frameworks for children and young people's participation, whereby the frameworks build upon rather than challenge such dualisms as adult/child and authority/freedom. The child remains the subject, and there is no explicit acknowledgement of the adult as the 'originating subject'.

158

I now address these two contradictions by proposing a new two-dimensional framework that recognises fluidity and the continual learning of all involved in the participatory process alongside explicitly challenging current dualisms by placing the adult alongside the child as a subject of the participatory process.

Figure 4.1: *A two-dimensional framework for participatory practice*
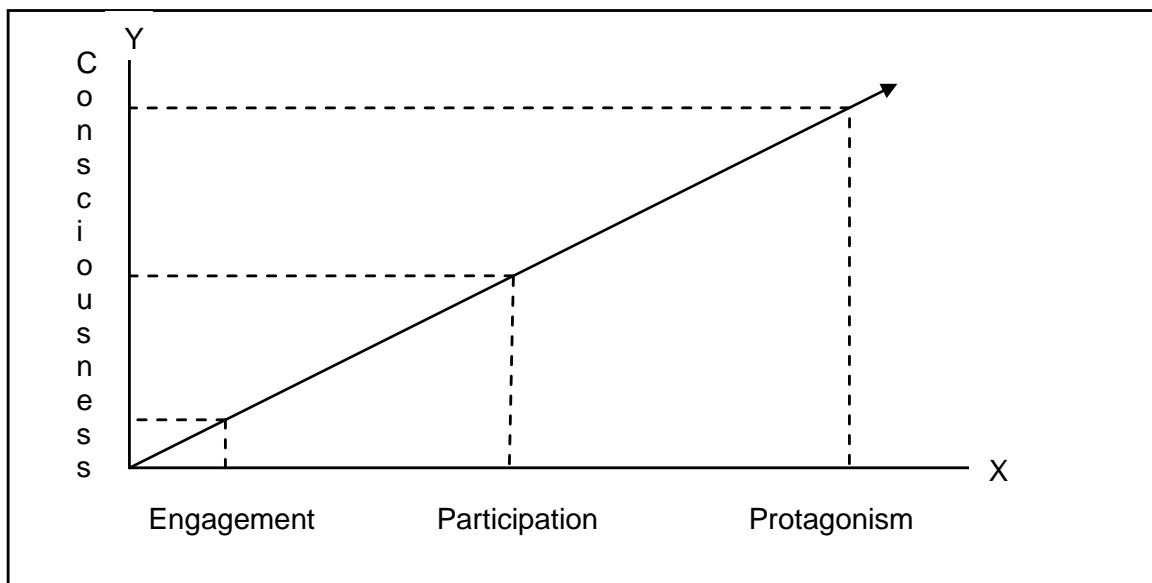
The proposed theoretical framework has two axes. The X axis represents the discussion in the first section of this chapter regarding participation as a process, moving from engagement along a progressive scale through participation towards protagonism. This utilises the theoretical approach adopted by Barrientos and Lascano (2000) to define youth protagonism (see section 2.4.1 for discussion of this approach). The Y axis represents consciousness, which I broadly define as representing the notions of autonomy, self-esteem, self-awareness and self-confidence. For example, autonomy indicates that you are, using Fabio's words, able to both see the alternative choices (in other words, you have all of the necessary information) and have the emotional understanding (through self-esteem and self-awareness) to make those choices. Broadly, the Y axis of 'consciousness' is representative of Freire's concept of the process of *conscientização*, or changing consciousness, and the recognition of the 'unfinishedness' of the human condition (see section 2.2.3 for more detailed discussion). The central aspect of this framework however is that the axes are interdependent; they are *relational to one another*. As the directional arrow illustrates, a move along the scale towards protagonism involves a move up the Y axis, in other words, protagonism is only possible with increasing consciousness. Although

as I have illustrated in this chapter this is far from a smooth process. Progress is likely to be stilted, erratic and unsteady. But whilst acknowledging this, the framework also illustrates that progress can only be unsteady within specific boundaries. So, for example, it is impossible to arrive at protagonism with only mid-level consciousness. In order to be a protagonist it is essential to have high level consciousness, in other words, to know what you are doing and why, and, as argued by Sen (see section 2.2.4 for more detailed discussion), to have the free choice to be doing it. Conversely, within this framework it is also impossible to only be 'participating' if your level of consciousness is high. Crucially, the framework embraces the idea of non-action, in that whilst someone may choose not to participate, or, returning to Thaís's definition of a protagonist, may choose to remain 'behind the scenes' rather than being the principal actor or actress, if this decision is made based upon full awareness, and the person has all the correct information and a full and free choice in their decision, then they are still protagonists in that decision. Therefore within this framework what counts is not the action, but the *reason* for that action.

As a consequence of focusing upon the reason for the action rather than the action itself, the framework has a flexibility that previous participatory typologies have failed to capture. So while the framework can be applied to participatory processes with a group of young people with the aim of facilitating their development as protagonists within their own lives and communities, it can also be applied to specific situations or decisions. For example, whilst a young person might require an understanding of human rights and social structures to become protagonists within their own lives and communities, the framework is not limited to this level of broad-scale personal development. It can also apply to a specific decision-making process, whereby someone can be a protagonist in a specific decision. This is particularly important within children and young people's participation, as the abilities of children vary significantly, particularly with age. As Paula, a nucleus coordinator at Project C, stated in her introductory interview, the idea of *'protagonismo infantil'*, or child protagonism, is not prohibited by a younger child's more limited ability to understand abstract concepts like the state, but instead the focus should be on the child being a protagonist in the decisions that affect his or her daily life:

> *'Só dá para ter noção dos direitos, de viver esses direitos, reivindicar por eles, ser um cidadão, se você participa ou se você exercitou a participação no seu dia a dia nos processos de decisão. A participação está dentro, está contida no protagonismo, por isso que é um pouco mais complicado falar de protagonismo infantil. Para você ter a noção de estado, de sujeito, de*

direitos, de cidadania, são conceitos muito abstratos. Na adolescência você consegue compreender melhor o que é isso. Na infância é mais difícil compreender um conceito tão abstrato como estado. Não que não dê para trabalhar isso, dá. Mas é micro, é o cotidiano da criança. O cotidiano da criança, o que você vai trabalhar? A participação em processos de decisão. Aí ela consegue porque ela está sempre fazendo escolhas, está sempre tomando decisões. Ela está sempre em lugares que tomam decisão por ela e ela pode participar e perceber isso.'

'It's only possible to have an idea of rights, to live these rights, to demand them, to be a citizen, if you participate or if you exercised participation in your daily decision making. Participation is inside, it's part of protagonism, for this it's a bit more complicated to talk about child protagonism. For you to have an idea of the state, of being the subject, of rights, of citizenship, these are very abstract concepts. In adolescence you can better understand what this is. In childhood it's harder to understand a concept as abstract as the state. Not that it isn't possible to work on this, it is. But it's micro, it's the daily life of the child. The daily life of the child, what are you going to work on? Participation in decision-making. There the child understands because he or she is always making choices, always making decisions. He or she is always in places that make decisions for him or her and he or she can participate and understand this.'

This suggests that the progression along the participatory scale (the X axis) is dependent upon the level of understanding necessary relative to the specific decision or situation. If the situation is the making of a decision, then those involved in the decision-making process can only be protagonists in the process if all the required information is accessible and they feel able and sufficiently confident to express their view. If either of these elements is lacking, then it is impossible for them to be protagonists in that decision as the level of consciousness (the Y axis) will remain low. Similarly, if the aim is broader than making a single decision – for example, a young person developing the skills necessary to become a protagonist in his or her own life and community – then the process is likely to be longer and more complex but the basic principle still remains: he or she can only reach the end of the participatory scale through increasing their level of consciousness by having the necessary information, autonomy and confidence.

Furthermore, the framework is not limited to those 'participating'. It is essential that it applies to everyone involved in the participatory process equally, whether 'adult' or 'child'. In keeping with the argument that participatory processes are relational, the aim of this framework is not to judge or measure the level or 'degree' of participation but instead to act as a means to conceptualise the participatory process as a relational one. As noted by Mannion:

> *'In effective projects, relations between adults and children, their associated identifications and the spaces they inhabit will likely change. Within this view, participants are embodied, spatially located performers of fluid subject positions, rather than independent rational agents with immobile positions.'* (2010: 338)

The framework therefore incorporates the relational aspect of the act of participation through addressing the subjectivity of the adult in the participatory process by applying the analysis to all involved in the participatory process. Although the level of consciousness is representative of individual processes and understanding, it is necessary to acknowledge that the level of consciousness will vary significantly depending on who else is involved in the process. Issues of trust, self-confidence and power will impact upon the level of individual consciousness of each individual involved in the participatory process, be that 'adult' or 'child'. As Prout and Tisdall have highlighted: 'children's participation cannot be understood outside the set of relationships that constitute all the actors' (2006: 243) and therefore this framework, whilst representing an *individual* process must be viewed in the context of the interrelationships within which the individual process occurs. It is this aspect, in terms of the context within which the framework is set, including wider interrelationships and issues such as trust, confidence and power and how these impact upon the level of consciousness to which I now turn.

Summary

In this chapter I have focused on two key points. First, through an analysis of the definitions of participation and protagonism I argued that the terms are inherently interrelated and form a *process of participation* whereby protagonism is essentially unobtainable without first experiencing participation. Second, I took this one stage further and demonstrated that participation is more than just a process for children and young

people, but it is a *relational process* for all involved. I then brought these two key elements of participation together through proposing a new framework for participation that seeks to move beyond simple categorisations and actively incorporate the relational aspect of the participatory process. In the following chapter I move on to break down the concept of 'consciousness' and analyse the interrelationships and issues that both promote and inhibit the increasing of individual 'consciousness'.

CHAPTER 5

Changing Consciousness: coherence between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding

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Introduction

In this chapter I further explore the notion of 'consciousness' introduced in the two-dimensional framework for participatory practice outlined at the end of the previous chapter. Throughout this exploration, I look in more detail at the impact of perceptions, preconceptions and individual understanding of staff members on the development of children and young people's participation (Research Question 1) and relate this discussion to issues of power (Research Question 4). I argue that consciousness is based upon an interaction between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding, with high-level consciousness a result of coherence between the emotional and the intellectual and that a lack of coherence between these different aspects impedes the increasing of consciousness which, using the two-dimensional framework as outlined in the previous chapter, in turn impedes progression along the participatory scale towards protagonism. Using the philosophical ideas of Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) as a starting point, I place participatory practice within a wider philosophical framework that includes analysis of the role that emotions play within the participatory process. By placing discussion within a wider framework, I develop the argument that it is through developing coherence between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding that we can increase our level of consciousness and, in turn, move along the participatory scale towards protagonism.

5.1 Thinking and Feeling: understanding the role of emotions in the participatory process

'What is important in teaching is not the mechanical repetition of this or that gesture but a comprehension of the value of sentiments, emotions, and desires.' (Freire, 2001: 48)

An interesting aspect of the research process at Project C was that in final interviews a significant number of staff members and young people identified the priority for developing and implementing children and young people's participation as working with the staff. From preparing staff for what might come, to understanding that it is up to adults to engage with young people and to create a 'catalyst', to changing the attitudes of staff members, responses in the final interviews indicated that developing children and young people's participation requires a two-pronged approach. As highlighted by Carla:

'Através das oficinas pode trabalhar essa questão de participação, não só oficina com crianças mas trabalhar temas de oficinas com as pessoas que trabalham aqui, acho que tem que ser das duas partes, não adianta trabalhar só crianças e jovens e as pessoas aqui de dentro não estarem preparadas para o que pode vir. Eu acho que é muito impactante.'

'Via the workshops you can work on this question of participation, not only workshops with children but work on themes of the workshops with the people who work here, I think you need to have the two parts, it doesn't help to work only with children and young people if the people here inside aren't prepared for what might come. I think it's very influential.'

(Carla, staff member, Project C)

As highlighted in the previous chapter, participatory processes are relational and consequently the role of adults has been identified as crucial to the development of children and young people's participation (Percy-Smith and Thomas, 2010: 362). Yet not only is the role that adults play in supporting participation relatively overlooked (Wyness, 2009) but the complexity involved in negotiating and managing participation provokes a range of emotions for those involved (Pinkey, 2009). Although the impact of emotions has previously been explored within the literature for organisational change through the development of the notion of 'emotional intelligence' (see for example Goleman, 2001) the role of emotions and emotionality is one of the less considered aspects of participation (Pinkey, 2009). In an attempt to address both of these factors, in this chapter I unpack the key challenges and barriers amongst *adults* in participatory processes utilising the philosophical ideas of Spinoza as interpreted through social psychology regarding the connection between the emotional and the intellectual as a broad framework for discussion. As briefly noted in section 2.2.2, the work of Spinoza is particularly useful

when trying to understand the role of emotions and their relationship with the intellectual. The arguments of Spinoza have been taken forward and developed, alongside the ideas of Vygotsky, by Silvia Lane and Bader Sawaia, two Brazilian psychologists who have applied Spinoza's thinking to their work on emotions and affectivity. I came into contact with this line of thinking during the data analysis and writing up period of the research whilst attending classes taught by Bader Sawaia at the Pontífica Universidade Católica in São Paulo. It is principally through this work that I first began to be able to make sense of the emotional aspect of participatory practice and it is upon this thinking that this chapter is primarily based.

5.1.1 A brief history of emotions in social psychology

> *'Spinoza's account of the passions completely inverts the Cartesian primacy given to mind. For Spinoza the critical task is to formulate an ethics of knowing, which begins with an understanding that body and mind are two attributes of the same substance. Increasing the capacity of the body to both be affected and affect others is the means by which the knowing subject progresses.' (Brown and Stenner, 2001: 81)*

The revolutionary aspect to Spinoza's philosophy was his conceptualisation that the body and the mind are of one substance; that it is through the human body being affected that the human mind is able to recognise the body's existence (Spinoza's original text entitled *'Ethics'* was published in 1677). Crucially, he challenged the previous conceptualisations that valued the primacy of the mind through arguing that the power of thought or action 'emerge from a process of sustained engagement with the world' (Brown and Stenner, 2001: 86). In other words it is through our engagement with the world, and how we are affected as a result of this engagement, upon which thought and action are based. The explicit inclusion of the emotions – the capacity to affect and be affected – in Spinoza's philosophy resulted in Vygotsky exploring his philosophy and introducing his ideas into psychology in order to overcome the negative view that this sector had of the emotions, which were, at the time, considered antagonistic to reason (Sawaia, 2009). For example, Vygotsky argued that 'the separation of the intellectual side of our consciousness from the affective-volitional side constitutes one of the most serious basic defects of all traditional psychology' (Vygotsky 1993 cited in Sawaia, 2009 [my translation]) For Vygotsky, as for Spinoza, thoughts are viewed as being based upon our consciousness which is, in turn, a result of our needs, interests, impulses and emotions. Therefore instead of thinking being

rational, separate from our emotions, emotions are the basis upon which thought is built. At the risk of being simplistic, what we think is essentially inseparable from what we feel. What is so interesting within Spinoza's work is his detailed analysis of human emotion and the development of the idea of *'potentia'*, or potential. It is this concept that I argue can significantly enhance current debates on participation.

For Spinoza, man [*sic*] is born free and to be free is to be potent – *'potentia'* – or to have potential to act. This potential then increases or decreases depending on the experience of meetings with other bodies. For Spinoza, the idea of 'bodies' refers to things, so a meeting of bodies could be a conversation held between two people, or equally the meeting of a person with a cigarette through the act of smoking. Through developing the idea of potential Spinoza develops the argument that we both affect and are affected by these meetings and our *'potentia da ação'*, or potential to act, is either increased or decreased depending on whether these meetings with other bodies are good or bad. In defining what constitutes a good or a bad meeting, Spinoza develops the notion of adequate and inadequate ideas and argues that 'bad' meetings, when our potential decreases, are meetings based upon inadequate ideas. For an idea to be adequate, according to Spinoza, it needs to be something that you truly require. It needs to satisfy not just a physical need, but to satisfy all aspects of you as a human being. Spinoza views human beings as one substance; that God, nature, body and soul are the same thing, that they are one substance (Chaui, 2003). Therefore an inadequate idea is something that fails to satisfy all aspects of this substance. So, whilst the smoking of a cigarette may satisfy a physical need in terms of producing a feeling of calm or an emotional need in terms of reinforcing a fashionable image, the act of smoking is not something that you truly require if the body's physical need is not linked to the need of the soul, for example. Consequently, whilst you may enjoy the act of smoking, it would be, according to Spinoza, an act based upon inadequate ideas. It would be a 'passion', an action based upon passively submitting to a need without the consciousness of the reasons for that need. Conversely, an action based upon adequate ideas is an active action, where you become aware of a need and of the reasons for that need, and therefore instead of being trapped into passively reacting to a need you are actively acting upon it. It is this connecting of adequate and inadequate ideas to the notions of passive and active action that I believe can help to push the participation debate forward.

For example, utilising Spinozian philosophy Sawaia applies this approach to analyse the impact of social inequality. She argues that social inequality is characterised by a

167

permanent threat to existence that limits experience, mobility and desire and imposes different forms of humiliation which in turn produce intense suffering that blocks the ability of the body to affect and to be affected. It is this consequence of suffering, the blocking of the body to affect and be affected, in other words the reducing of an individual's potential that disrupts the link between thought and body. Putting it simply, in situations of inequality our potential is limited as our focus remains on the destroying the reason for the inequality, or to use Spinoza's language, the reason for our sadness. Therefore the individual becomes immobilised as their potential becomes trapped into passively reacting rather actively acting (Sawaia, 2009). I argue that the idea of protagonism is closely related to the idea of development of *'potentia da ação'* or our potential to act, after all protagonism, as argued in the previous chapter, is about maximising the potential of each individual through increasing consciousness rather that specific individual or collective action. Essentially, it is about maximising the 'good meetings' through maximising the opportunities for people to act, to decide for themselves what to do and how to do it. In other words, to allow people to move from the more limited position of passivity to the more fulfilling position of action; being proactive in identifying their own needs and working towards fulfilling them. If this is truly the objective of participation, then the idea of potential and the resulting analysis of the relationship between the emotional and the intellectual can teach us a lot about what it is that can limit, or in some cases prevent, the increasing of consciousness and the resulting movement towards protagonism.

5.2 Changing Consciousness: linking the emotional to the intellectual within the participatory process

'Eu acho que o maior desafio é as pessoas encararem isso, a participação, como estratégias que fazem com que elas aprendam habilidades pessoais. Como essa estratégia é uma estratégia que mobiliza muitos recursos internos, as pessoas não vão querer, elas vão ter mais resistência a criar estratégias ou a melhorar, ou sair do modelo que elas conhecem, porque elas não aguentam o que elas encaram. Eu vou falar de mim, eu não sei agüentar o tempo, não sei não influenciar uma opinião, uma decisão, guardar a minha opinião, tudo isso são coisas que eu tenho que aprender. Um grande desafio é encarar o que eu tenho que aprender, identificar o que tenho que aprender e buscar formas, estratégias para aprender. Eu acho que

não são todas as pessoas que gostam de se sentirem desafiadas para se desenvolver. Acho que isso é um grande desafio, as pessoas acabam voltando para o que elas conhecem, as vezes para um modo autoritário porque elas tem que lidar com distintas características, com os limites do que elas não sabem, que é muito angustiante. Quem topa ser participativo não gosta das coisas que percebe o que são os limites. Eu não gosto de perceber que não sei guardar a minha opinião. Então, o que vou fazer, vou evitar estar em situações onde tenho que guardar a minha opinião, assim não vejo que sou autoritária. Eu acho que essa é a tendência das pessoas, na maioria. São poucos os que falam "ok, não sei guardar a minha opinião então aos poucos, eu preciso dessas situações cada vez mais para aprender guardar a minha opinião". O que eu quero? Guardar a minha opinião, então vamos lá, você consegue guardar a opinião. Não vai ser na primeira e nem na segunda tentativa, mas na terceira em diante vai. Eu acho são poucas pessoas que tem isso interno, que tem essa força. Acho que esse é o grande desafio, as pessoas serem capazes de enfrentar seus próprios limites.'

'I think the biggest challenge is people facing up to this, participation, as strategies that make you learn personal skills. As this strategy is a strategy that mobilises a lot of internal resources, people won't want it, they will have more resistance to create strategies or to improve, or to leave the model that they know, because they won't put up with what they have to face up to. I'll talk about me, I don't know how to put up with [wasting of] time, I don't know how not to influence an opinion, a decision, to keep my opinion to myself, all of these are things that I need to learn. A big challenge is to face up to what I have to learn, to identify what I have to learn and find ways, strategies to learn. I think that it's not everybody that likes to feel challenged to develop themselves. I think this is a big challenge, people end up going back to what they know, sometimes to an authoritarian way because they have to deal with distinctive characteristics, with the limits of what they do not know, which is very distressing. Who wants to be participatory doesn't like things that make them perceive their limits. I don't like to see that I don't know how to keep my opinion to myself. So what will I do, I'll avoid being in situations when I have to keep my opinion to myself, in this way I'll avoid seeing that I'm authoritarian. I think that this is the tendency of people, in the majority. It's few people who say 'ok, I don't know how to keep my opinion to myself so bit by

bit, I need these situations even more to learn how to keep my opinion to myself'. What do I want? To keep my opinion to myself, so let's go, you'll be able to keep your opinion to yourself. It won't be at the first or even the second attempt, but by the third it will. I think few people have this inside, that have this strength. I think this is the big challenge, people being capable to facing up to their own limits.'

(Paula, nucleus coordinator, Project C)

Whilst reflecting on the research process during her exit interview, Paula clearly demonstrates how, for her, participation is a personal process. It involves strategies that utilise 'internal resources' and that focus on developing personal skills and that this involves people being both willing and able to take an honest look at themselves, to not only identify their weaknesses but to acknowledge and seek to challenge them. Reflecting the latest thinking within the development literature, in that policies such as participation, accountability, empowerment and partnership imply 'a need for personal changes in attitudes and behaviour' (Pasteur and Scott-Villiers, 2004: 182), Paula indicates that for her participation is more than an intellectual decision, it is a commitment to personal change. It requires a commitment that goes far beyond believing that participation is a good thing, a way to create positive change or challenge current social structures or inequality. As highlighted by Scott-Villiers, effective participation requires each of us to make an effort to understand what is inside ourselves and to achieve this 'we must start with investigating our own philosophies' (2004: 205). Although the belief in participation as a 'good thing' is clearly a starting point for many people within participatory practice, this remains an intellectual decision – a decision about things external to you. It reinforces the binary distinctions of us/them and self/other as the process continues to be about 'them' rather than you. Using Kapoor's critique of participatory development such dualisms further reinforce privilege as even whilst promoting the 'Other's' empowerment our actions still hinge on '*our* complicity and desire.' (Kapoor, 2005: 1204 [emphasis in original]) As Paula highlights, the biggest challenge for participatory practice is not about how to include 'them', it is about us being prepared to include *ourselves* within the process; being prepared to face up to our own limits. As highlighted in the literature review, the main failure within participation has been the continual insistence of looking towards the 'other' whilst failing to account for ourselves as the 'originating subject' (Mohan 2001: 164). In other words, the *relational* nature of the participatory process has been, until recently, broadly overlooked within participatory discourse.

As highlighted by Mannion: 'Current versions of children and young people's participation offer a limited view of the ways in which participants and spaces reciprocally trigger changes in each other' (2010: 338) and I now propose that this limited view is the result of the decision to 'do' participation remaining an intellectual one. The decision to 'be participatory' whilst failing to move beyond the intellectual and make the commitment to personal change necessary for the development of truly participatory practice results in practitioners being trapped in dangerous territory. Without commitment to personal change, and by this I mean the willingness to actively include yourself as a subject of the participatory process, there remains the risk of reproducing pre-existing relationships rather than challenging them, as indicated by the situation with Fabiana explored in the previsou chapter. After all, 'Political action on the side of the oppressed must be pedagogical action in the authentic sense of the word, and, therefore, action *with* the oppressed.' (Freire, 1996[1970]: 48 [emphasis in original]) And, to take action *with* the oppressed, it is fundamental to place yourself as a subject of the process alongside those with whom you are working. Failing to do so makes the oppressed 'the objects of… humanitarianism' which 'itself maintains and embodies oppression.' (Freire, 1996[1970]: 36) This traps practitioners in acts of false generosity that actually reinforce rather than challenge privilege as 'Pretending to step down from power and privilege… is a reinforcement, not a diminishment, of such power and privilege.' (Kapoor, 2005: 1207) Returning to the ideas of Spinoza that emotions are the basis upon which thought is built, it becomes clear that without understanding why we do what we do or think how we think, in other words how our emotions impact upon our thinking and actions, there remains the risk of incoherence between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding. As noted in section 2.3.4, the basis for anti-oppressive practice within social work is to understand our biography – our *experience* of oppression – in order to understand our value base as it is our value base that becomes the basis upon which we seek knowledge and develop skills (Dalrymple and Burke, 1995).

Building upon Dalrymple and Burke's (1995) use the three levels of feelings, ideas and action to describe the process of empowerment (see section 2.3.1) and the two dimensional framework for participatory practice described in the previous chapter, I propose that the increasing of consciousness – and therefore movement along the participatory scale towards protagonism – requires coherence between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding. To illustrate my thinking it is useful to use the metaphor of the ocean. As Figure 5.1 illustrates, the ocean surface represents our actions, it represents the visible aspect of participatory practice – what we do. Underneath the

ocean surface there are two currents. The top current represents our intellectual level of understanding – the way we think and the decisions we make. This level clearly impacts upon what we see up at the ocean's surface. However there is another current below the top current at the ocean bed representing our emotional level of understanding – what we feel. This current is harder to see at the ocean surface, sometimes it can be seen but sometimes its influence can be blocked by the stronger current above it. However, even if the impact of this current cannot be seen on the ocean's surface it does not mean that the current is not there. I argue that the longer the current at the ocean bed – the emotional level – is blocked by the current above it – the intellectual level – the more unsettled the ocean surface will appear, in other words the more unpredictable will be our actions. And it is this, the unpredictability of the ocean surface as a result of the lack of coherence between the two currents underneath it, that I believe can help us to understand the difficulties of the participatory process.

Figure 5.1: The dialogical relationship between emotional and intellectual levels of understanding
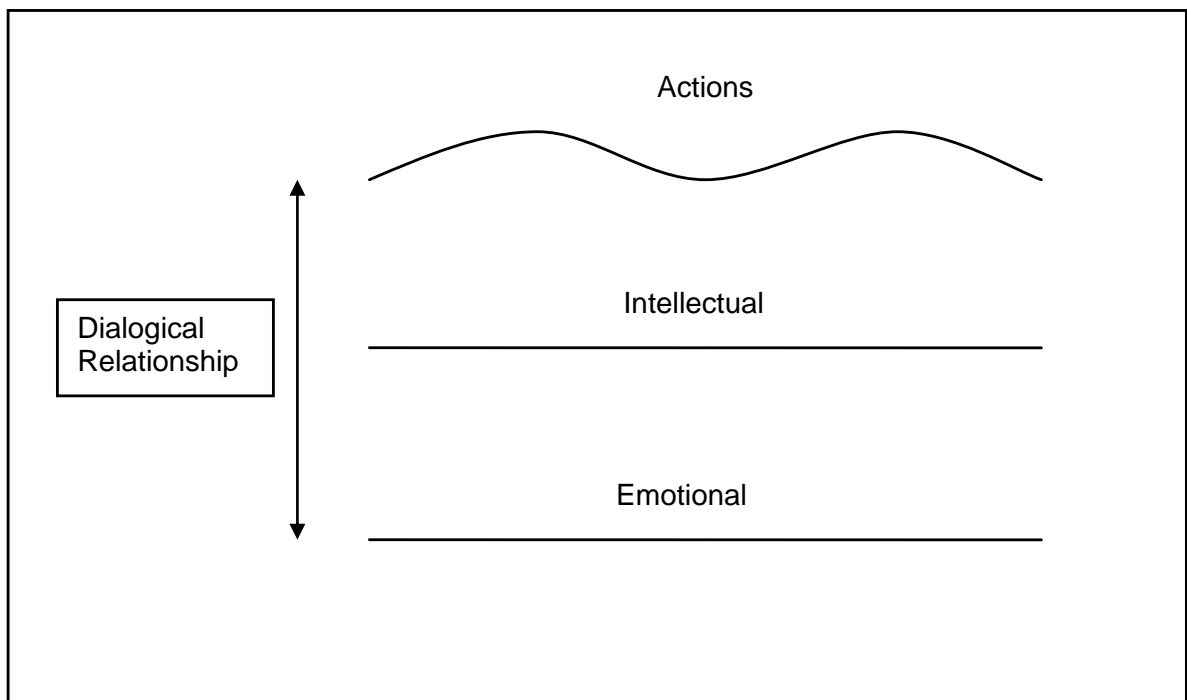
For example, a well worn phrase within participatory discourses, particularly within participatory development, is that participatory processes need to start from where 'they' are (see for example Chambers' writing on 'Putting the First Last', 1997). I would argue that this thinking, that 'we' need to start from where 'they' are, is trapped at the intellectual level of understanding. The focus remains on 'them' whilst failing to take into account the

172

fact that my understanding of 'them' is first and foremost relational to my understanding of me. As Scott-Villiers highlights in her reflections on her time working within the development sector in Africa:

> *'I thought that if I listened, looked and learned more and more about them, I would eventually be able to come up with a way of doing development that actually worked. I just forgot one thing – to look at myself and what it was about my worldview, my culture and my organizations that made things happen as they did. I had been watching Africa through my particular pair of glasses without even realizing that I was wearing them.' (2004: 205)*

As Scott-Villiers points out, in order to understand 'them' it is first necessary to understand your own 'worldview' and identify your own particular pair of glasses. In order to do this I argue that it is necessary to move beyond the intellectual level of understanding and try to begin to understand how what we think is affected by what we feel. In other words, it is necessary to understand how our emotional and intellectual currents interact with one another and how this interaction, in turn, affects the ocean surface. However, as was highlighted in the previous chapter, the participatory process is relational – it is a process that requires recognition that we are all subjects of the process in which we are engaged. Therefore even though the currents are personal they need to be understood in relation to the context in which they occur. Whilst individual, the levels of understanding are not independent but rather intimately connected to the understandings of others. As Freire argued, we are all 'unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality' (1996[1970]: 65) and it is through the recognition of 'the unfinishedness of the human condition' (Freire, 2001: 66) that means we need to engage with the participatory process as a means for producing new subjectivities. However, subjectivity is itself argued to be a relational construct and therefore it is necessary to recognise that subjectivity is always mediated and partial (Cahill, 2007). Therefore whilst the participatory process may require each person to understand their own particular pair of glasses through reflecting upon how the emotional interacts with the intellectual, or in other words to reflect upon their own subjectivities, crucially this can only occur if those involved in the participatory process wish to do so. Essentially, before new subjectivities can be produced those involved in the participatory process need to be prepared to place themselves as subjects of that process. So whilst participation has been recognised as a potential process of transformation (Kesby, 2005), crucially this can only occur if all those involved in the process *wish to be transformed.*

I argue that the failure to explicitly include your own experiences and the impact of these experiences on how you think and what you do – in other words, the failure of those facilitating the participatory process to include themselves as subjects of the process and recognise their own processes of transformation – has created something of a vacuum within current participatory practice. The idea of the impact of lived experience and subjectivity was an issue that I began to reflect upon throughout my time working with Projects A and B, but it remained somewhat intangible, a feeling or instinct that I was unable to really put my finger on. It was during the second half of the fieldwork, whilst working with the staff and young people at Project C that I was really able to begin to explore how the emotional and the intellectual interact and impact upon the participatory process.

5.3 Adult Resistance to Being the Subject in the Participatory Process: the impact on reflective practice

During the first six months of the fieldwork I worked with staff and young people at Project A and Project B. As noted in section 3.2.2, the NGOs worked under the same umbrella organisation, sharing the same management committee and director, but each organisation had a separate coordinator and staff team. There were monthly meetings attended by both staff teams, but apart from distinct moments such as these meetings the teams worked independently from one another. Soon after the start of fieldwork it became clear that joint working with both organisations would not be possible due to an underlying rivalry between the two staff teams. However, although this created challenges, particularly in terms of my own time and workload, it also created a valuable opportunity for reflection and analysis as the staff reactions to the participatory process differed enormously at each organisation.

Throughout my time working with the staff at Project A it was clear that they were uncomfortable with the concept of joint learning, of not knowing and not having a concrete plan. As the following abstract from my fieldwork diary highlights, at Project A there was confusion about the research process and what I felt was a resistance to the idea of a joint planning process. This was confirmed during final reflections on the research by Natália, a social worker at Project A, when she said that her initial reaction to the idea of a joint planning process had been a concern for the amount of time that this would take up and

how much this would add to her already high workload. However, the reaction from the staff at Project B had been completely different:

'As I was explaining the research, I felt like they [the staff at Project B] all 'got' the research much more than the staff at [Project A] had. Maybe it is because of me, because I explained it more clearly and learned from my previous mistakes – I used 'monitoramento' rather than 'monitoração' (which I've now discovered is the continental Portuguese translation) for a start – but I honestly feel that there is a fundamental difference between the type of understanding between the staff at the two projects. When I explained that I didn't know exactly what it was that I was going to do, because I wanted to discuss and plan the research with them rather than have it all set out and planned already, the staff at [Project B] immediately saw this as a positive – I said that this was very different to normal research, where a researcher comes and knows what questions they have and what information they need and before I could finish the sentence Viviane finished it for me by saying 'e levar' – and take it away. I didn't end up in the knots that I seemed to end up in trying to explain why I couldn't say exactly what I was going to do when I was introducing the research to [Project A]. When I had tried to explain the same notion of planning the research with the staff during the session at [Project A] I had had a row of blank and very confused faces in front of me. I can't say exactly why, but I don't feel the same pressure at [Project B] for needing to 'bring' anything – the concept of me being there to learn with them rather than to teach them seems accepted at [Project B], whereas I still feel that the staff at [Project A] expect me to run sessions and implement the methods.'

My attempts at joint planning and execution of activities continuously failed throughout the six months that I worked at Project A. The research process created frustration amongst the team, who I felt were looking for answers and therefore the focus on reflection within the research essentially felt pointless to them. This feeling was confirmed during one of the meetings I held with the staff towards the end of my time working with them. The meeting had, putting it mildly, not gone well. The staff were clearly frustrated and losing patience with the research process and my continual insistence in asking more questions rather than bringing any answers. Midway through the meeting the coordinator stopped the

activity and explained her frustration, however within her response there is a clear indication of her deep resistance to professional reflection:

'Sabe o que é muito cansativo, Victoria? Porque talvez não está numa forma que você quer trabalhar com a gente, porque por exemplo a gente senta, todos nos, e a gente fala de novo sobre os objetivos que a gente faz, nao sei se você consegue entender, mas é muito cansativo. Pelo menos pra mim, entendeu? É muito cansativo… a gente faz, ah, meu Deus, a gente passa tanto tempo fazendo isso, a gente tira planejamento estratégico no início do ano, a gente fica, nossa, um tempão fazendo isso, depois a gente faz um genereciamento em cima disso, a gente faz a supervisão a cada quinze dias para pensar as coisas... não sei se você consegue entender, é muito cansativo. Depois a gente senta toda semana a gente pensa em todos os casos, eles preparam toda semana… não sei se você tem noção, é muito chato toda hora fazendo essas coisas, entendeu?'

'You know what's really tiring, Victoria? Because maybe it's not in a form that you want to work with us, because for example we sit, all of us, and we talk yet again about the objectives that we do, I don't know if you are able to understand, but it's really tiring. At least for me, you see? It's really tiring… we do, ah, my god, we spend so much time doing this, we do strategic planning at the start of the year, we spend, dear lord, such a long time doing this, after this we do monitoring on top of this, we have supervision [this is a team supervision session with a psychologist] every fortnight to think about things… I don't know if you are able to understand, it's really tiring. After we sit every week and we think about all the cases, they [the staff] prepare every week… I don't know if you have any notion, it's really boring doing these things all the time, you see?'

(Maria, project coordinator, Project A)

What I found most impressive upon starting work at both Projects A and B was the space for discussion and reflection within their work through the fortnightly team supervision sessions with a psychologist external to the projects and the weekly team meetings to discuss cases. However, Maria clearly indicates that in her experience these aspects increase their workload without being hugely beneficial. This incident reflected an uncomfortable feeling that had constantly stayed with me during my time working with the

176

staff at Project A which, upon reflection, centred upon issues of hierarchy and control. I had a difficult relationship with all of the staff at Project A, but particularly so with Maria, the project coordinator. It was during later reflections, once I had stopped working at Projects A and B that I was able to start to connect incidents, conversations and relationships and put my feelings of discomfort into a wider context. There was a clear power hierarchy at Project A, as highlighted in the following diary excerpt about Priscila, the project's cook. However, it was not until much later that I began to connect this to my other observations regarding lack of reflective practice within the staff team and identify possible causes.

'I also asked Priscila if she would like to come to the meeting but she just looked blank as if to say, 'Why on earth would I do that?' and said no, she had lots of other work to do. Although everyone is very nice to her, there are small things that mean she is treated differently – she always sits on the sofa and eats her dinner on her lap rather than eating at the table, even if there's a space at the table. No-one ever seems to say thank you for dinner. If she doesn't make the coffee, someone will notice and ask her to make it, rather than just doing it themselves. There is a clear hierarchy – and Priscila is most definitely at the bottom, and Maria most definitely at the top.'

The hierarchical nature of Project A meant that although the spaces for discussion and reflection were in place, the staff did not fully occupy them. Spaces for reflection instead had the characteristic of information-giving sessions, whereby the staff 'informed' the coordinator of developments or changes within their work and she then directed them as to what actions to take. However, what was interesting was that although this was also a characteristic of team meetings at Project B, whereby staff commented that team meetings had lost the reflective element since the coordinator had started a year or so previously, the staff still undertook reflective practice within the spaces available to them. For example, both the social workers at Project B had a clear sense of ownership over their work and a mutual respect for one another that enabled them to discuss and reflect upon their work openly. So although they were unable to discuss and reflect upon their experiences openly in the 'official' spaces made available to them by the organisation, they created their own spaces to compensate.

177

'There also seemed to be a genuine mutual respect and honesty between them – they told me how they differ in opinion re. helping out their colleagues within the project – that Elsa will automatically say yes if another staff member or someone from another organisation asks for a favour, but that Rita is more strict, that she won't necessarily agree to something, as she sees them as already having a heavy workload and so prioritises this. But they discussed this openly in front of me, and each other, which is quite a rare thing between colleagues. They both seem to have a strong ability to reflect and separate the personal from the professional, particularly in terms of discussing differences in opinion in a constructive way. I'm not quite sure how to describe it, it was something fundamentally different about they way they interacted with one another and the way they expressed their views about their work – essentially, it wasn't about them, it was about the people and the wider community. I haven't felt or got this sense from anyone from [Project A] yet – Natália and Alexandro, and Maria, have all said some of the 'right' things, but I haven't got the sense of the political aspect from them yet – the idea that their role is to start social movements, to facilitate people accessing their own rights, rather than just being the provider of information. For example, the sessions I've seen on contraception at [Project A] have been on providing information on all the different types of contraception, but there's been no discussion on why people do or don't use the different methods, or on how they can access them, or on campaigning to be able to access them if they're not available at the moment. I've heard Luisa say 'Oh, you can't really get these at the hospital posts' or 'Oh, these are expensive' – but there being no 'action' part, no conversation saying 'Ok, so it's difficult to get these, but you have the right to them, so how can we change that?' The 'political' part, as Rita put it, seems to be missing at [Project A].'

What began to emerge during my time at Projects A and B, although I was only able to really solidify these feelings as a result of the later work with Project C, was the connection between the staff's lack of reflective practice and the potential for the development of effective children and young people's participation. For example, the aim of the research at Projects A and B was to try out a variety of participatory methods within the groups run by the staff and to then reflect upon the methods, and on participation itself, in order to begin to develop a plan for the development of participatory monitoring and evaluation within

organisational processes. However, although I had worked with three staff members at Project A to plan and execute nine different participatory workshops with young people ranging from 10 to 21 years of age, final reflections by the staff indicated that the lack of reflective practice within the project severely limited the effectiveness of the methods. As the following extract from my fieldwork diary highlights, the lack of reflection returns us to the issue of blame:

'Whilst Maria was out of the room I asked Alexandro and Luisa what they thought of the methods that we have been using in the groups and whether they think they'll be useful to them in the future. They both said they thought they were useful, but Luisa made a series of interesting comments about the ranking exercise and justified why the children ranked themselves as 0 or 1 [in this group the young people had used ranking techniques to rate their own level of knowledge about subjects that had been discussed throughout the programme, with 0 being the lowest score] – it's their fault, basically. They might remember one or two things, but they're too young to remember more. And she also said that they might remember something later on that might be useful, even if they can't remember it now. She said it's a game to them, to get the fake penis out is just a game, so they can't learn anything. But you can a) learn from games if they're done in the right way, and b) you have to give them time. The session on contraception was ridiculous – she got the fake penis out and let them wave it around and then put it away because they were waving it around. But if you get it out every session, then the fun in waving it around goes away, they get used to seeing it, are less embarrassed about touching it and it's then that you can start working with them to learn how to put on a condom. Their age is not their problem. It's yours. If you choose to work with this age group, then it's up to you to find ways to work effectively with them. They're there, they come every week, they do their part. It's your responsibility to live up to your part – to work with them in ways that are appropriate for them and meet their needs, not the needs of the project. The outlook permanently seems to be 'Yes, but…', 'Yes, we need to teach them, but they're too young to learn'. Well if that's the case, if that's what you believe, then why are they there? If you don't believe that what you do can be effective, then why are you doing it? There just seems to be a complete lack of reflective learning.'

The comments made by Luisa indicate that she does not include herself as a subject within the reflective process. Her reasoning and justification for lack of success remain firmly at the intellectual level – it is about 'them' and there is a failure to recognise the relational aspect of the process. This contrasts significantly to comments made by Elsa, one of the social workers at Project B, regarding her role as facilitator in a parents' group run by herself and Rita. Rather than using the behaviour of the group members as a justification for the relative success or failure of the group, Elsa utilised the behaviour of group members to increase her understanding of the person. Essentially, the key difference was that she viewed it as her responsibility to understand and interpret behaviour in order to improve the quality of her work:

'Tem uma da geléia que a gente usa muito que é o meu nome é tal, e eu procuro uma geléia para mim, geléia significaria ùma forma. Entao ela monstra uma forma, ela bate palma, ela mostra um beijo, uma coisa mais triste, eu dormindo e tal, daí fala idade, de que lugar que é, quantos filhos tem, por exemplo. E pela forma que ela faz você já percebe mais ou menos como é essa pessoa, se ela é triste ou se ela não é, se ela é retraída se ela não é. É uma dinâmica engraçada, vira um pouco de vergonha mas ao mesmo tempo o corpo não mente nunca, ela não sabe a forma mas já fez, essa é sua forma. Essa dinâmica usa bastante.'

'There's an exercise that we use a lot, which is My Name Is, and I try to find a jelly for me, jelly meaning a form. So she shows a form, her clapping hands, her blowing a kiss, something more sad, me sleeping or whatever, and then they say their name, where they're from, how many children they have, for example. And by the form that she uses you can already tell more or less how this person is, if she's sad or not, if she's withdrawn or not. It's a funny exercise, takes away a bit of shyness but at the same time the body never lies, she doesn't know the form that she has just done, but it's her form. We use this exercise a lot.'

(Elsa, social worker, Project B)

'Eu observo tudo, tudo, tudo, as que chegam sempre atrasadas, o café, as que vão 1º se servir, as que não vão, umas comem um monte e outras nada, tudo diz, todo movimento.'

180

'I observe everything, everything, everything, those that always arrive late, the coffee, those that serve themselves first, those that won't, those that eat a lot and others nothing, everything speaks, every movement.'

(Elsa, social worker, Project B)

Elsa uses her observations as a means of trying to better understand the women with whom she is working. This highlights the key difference between Luisa and Elsa's perspectives in that Elsa is willing to move beyond the 'intellectual' and include herself as a subject of the participatory process. In other words, she recognises the *relational* aspect of the process. Rather than blame the other person if something does not go well, both Elsa and Rita were aware of their own role within these relationships, and consequently their responsibility in creating the opportunities whereby people felt comfortable enough to learn:

'… depende do movimento do grupo, porque eles são novos e muitas vezes ficam muito quietos, muito tímidos. Faz uma dinâmica, relatar do que está falando, como eram as reuniões para terem idéia e terem propostas para os próximos. E nesse 1º encontro as vezes não desloca, as vezes só trazem idéia no 2º encontro quando vão para casa, pensam, falamos com eles para entregar cesta, marcamos uma coisa individual, eles trazem sugestão no outro encontro.'

'… it depends on the atmosphere of the group, because they're new and a lot of the time they keep really quiet, are very timid. We do an activity, related to what we're saying, how the [previous] meetings were to give an idea and they give ideas for the next ones [meetings]. And in this first meeting sometimes it doesn't go anywhere, sometimes they only suggest something in the second meeting, when they go home, think, we talk to them in order to give them the food basket, we set an individual meeting with them, and they bring a suggestion to the next meeting.'

(Elsa, social worker, Project B)

The key difference between the two staff teams was that although the staff at both Project A and Project B did not fully utilise the existing spaces available to them within the organisation to reflect on their work, the social workers at Project B identified this and

developed alternative spaces within what was available to them. In contrast, the staff at Project A neither identified the lack of reflection as a difficulty nor made any attempt to address it. Although I occasionally caught glimpses of frustration, for example during one workshop with the staff team at Project A when the coordinator was not present and the staff utilised this space as an opportunity to create a discussion about aspects of their work that they felt frustrated with, particularly regarding management decisions and lack of feedback to them regarding their work, they did not do anything, at least during my time working with them, to change the situation. Although the social workers at Project B felt frustrated by the power hierarchy, they had identified it as a difficulty and actively sought to minimise their frustration. In contrast, whilst the staff at Project A may have felt frustrated by specific difficulties the hierarchy itself was not identified as a problem and consequently despite utilising opportunities that arose, such as the staff workshop, to air their frustrations they did not actively seek ways to minimise their own frustrations. Utilising Spinoza's philosophy, the staff at Project A remained trapped into passivity whilst the social work team at Project B, although faced with a similar situation, were active in the search for a solution.

If we return to the metaphor of the ocean, through placing themselves within the participatory process Elsa and Rita were able to minimise their frustrations through increasing coherence between their emotional and intellectual levels of understanding, resulting in more consistent actions and a smoother ocean surface. Through including themselves in the active search for a solution they moved from passivity to action; their *'potentia da ação', or* potential to act, increased through having awareness of their needs and, importantly, *the reasons* for that need. In contrast, the staff at Project A through failing to include themselves as subjects lacked the reflective practice essential to a participatory process. After all, as Cahill points out: 'A starting point for 'education as a practice of freedom' (Freire, 1997[1970]) is the critical reflection upon one's everyday life.' (Cahill, 2007: 273) Consequently, at Project A the staff's failure to include themselves as subjects, and consequent failure to critically reflect upon the *relational* nature of their actions, created an incoherence between their emotional and intellectual levels of understanding. They felt the frustrations of the participatory process – the children and young people being too young to learn, for example – but remained unaware of the reasons for their frustration. This incoherence then resulted in a more unsettled, and therefore less predictable, ocean surface.

This aspect of placing yourself within the equation and actively involving yourself in the search for a solution is an aspect that clearly arose throughout the research process at Project C. The high level of pre-existing knowledge alongside the culture of reflective practice within the staff team at Project C provided a base upon which we were able to work together to really start to reflect upon and understand the reality of developing children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making. There was an obvious difference in terms of organisational culture compared with Projects A and B, whereby there was an explicit recognition that all staff members, independent of role, make an active and valuable contribution towards the mission of project. For example, all staff members, whether working in the kitchen, as the project driver, as an educator or coordinator attended the monthly team meetings and all staff members were given the same opportunities to develop their own ideas and projects. So for example the project's cook also trained local women who volunteered in the kitchen and had recently started her own cookery training course. There was an explicit acceptance of the relationship between developing a culture of inclusion of those within the organisation and the development of inclusion of those outside of the organisation. Flexibility was viewed as an essential personal requirement for all staff within Project C, as stated by Paulo, the secretary general, in his introductory interview:

> *'That's right. I peel potatoes. No, that's important, it's part of what I understand to be an [Project C] ethos is that people should always be looking to be involved in things that are not their direct job, also to benefit from that in a way, not to get stuck into a role which 'oh, I only do this' because I think to work in the situations we work in with the people, especially the children, you need to be very flexible. So having a professional who is very straight, I do this, I do not do that, signifies that they are not the right kind of professional to work at [Project C].'*

However what became clear during my time working at Project C was that despite the explicit recognition and importance placed upon inclusion of staff, there was still a distinct separation between 'young people', 'staff' and 'management' whereby decision-making was still viewed as something done by the management committee, made up of the nucleus coordinators and secretary general. Despite the recognition of the importance of inclusion, there remained a barrier between young people, staff and management that inhibited communication and consequently reduced effective staff participation. This is an aspect that emerged particularly clearly during the series of workshops I conducted with

the staff team at Project C, whereby although the objective of the series was to analyse and reflect upon children and young people's participation within the project, as the workshops progressed it became clear that a major barrier to the development of children and young people's participation was the perceived separation of 'them' and 'us' *within* the team; between young people, staff and managers. What became clear as discussions progressed was that this separation facilitated a passivity within a large number of members of the team, whereby the 'problem' was consistently identified as laying somewhere else, with other people, processes or organisational structures. Inevitably, this raises the question of why: why, despite an explicit recognition of the need for inclusion, did separation still occur within the staff team?

5.4 Accepting Power, Accepting Responsibility: the negative connection between power and responsibility

> **Paulo:** *'I don't think that most people are prepared for the level of power that they have. It's very worrying for most people.'*
> **Victoria:** *'The level of power is in itself worrying for them…?'*
> **Paulo:** *'I think it would worry most people, because it, if you accept that you are that powerful it means that you have that much responsibility. So I think that a lot of people, often subconsciously, before even thinking about it… and therefore not have the responsibility.'*
>
> *(Secretary general, Project C)*

Paulo indicates that one of the possible answers to the separation within the staff team is related to responsibility. The recognition of power, and particularly a critical reflection upon your own position and worldview, is essential to participatory practice (Scott-Villiers, 2004). However as Paulo highlights, with power comes responsibility, and, as Lukes points out: 'The connection between power and responsibility is 'essentially negative: you can deny all responsibility by demonstrating lack of power'.' (Morriss, 2002: 39 cited in Lukes, 2005: 66) Returning to the ideas of Arendt, whereby power lies in the legitimising of power rather than any action that may follow (Arendt, 1970: 52), Lukes argues that 'The powerful are those whom we judge or can hold to be responsible for significant outcomes.' (Lukes, 2005: 66) However, the research process illustrated that this is a complex process, as one person's judgement of who is responsible may not correspond to my own. So whilst I may
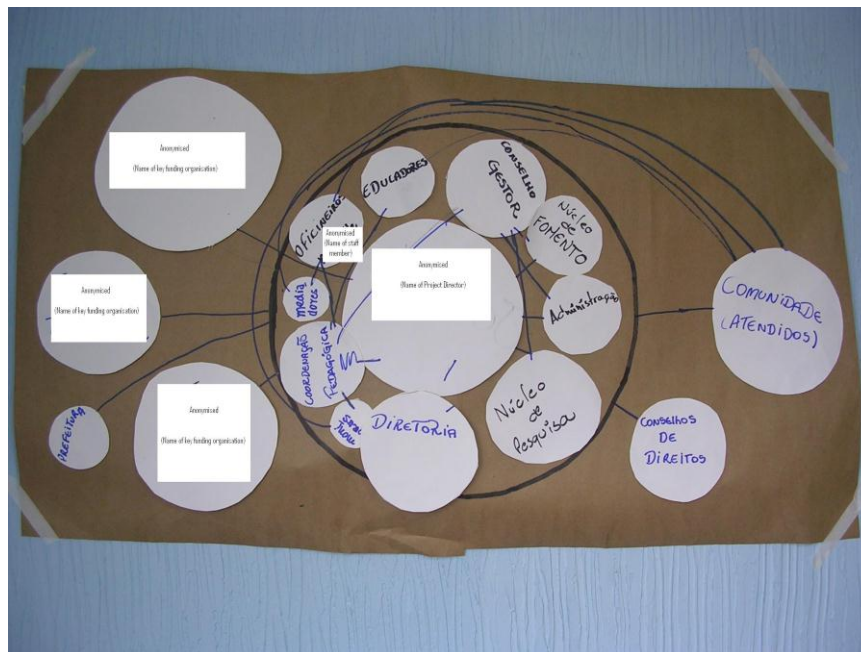
feel powerless and unable to bring about a certain outcome, this does not mean that others will share my view. Essentially, the *perception of power* is not consistent; whilst I may feel powerless, others may view me as powerful and, consequently, hold me responsible for bringing about a change. Crucially, whilst I may deny my power, it does not mean that others will not hold me responsible.

Within the literature on children and young people's participation one of the main foci of debates has been how to overcome the zero-sum assumption of power in that to increase the power of children and young people is to take power away from adults (Hill et al., 2004) towards the realisation that participation might be a way to create 'mutually beneficial outcomes in which both increase their power.' (Prout and Tisdall, 2006: 245) However, this research highlighted that there is a missing element to this equation, as it is not just about overcoming assumptions about power but it is also about overcoming *perceptions* of power and, consequently, perceptions of responsibility. For example, although power and hierarchy emerged as key barriers to children and young people's participation at Project C, there was a tendency amongst the staff team to look towards the 'other', whereby the power always lay with other people and there was a failure to recognise their own role and relationships of power with those around them. Using the poststructural conceptualisation of power as being socially constructed, and therefore analysis needing to focus upon analysis of power relations rather than power itself (Foucault, 2002: 339), the objective of the final workshop that I conducted with the staff team was to explore this 'passivity' and address the 'paranoid fallacy' of assuming that powerlessness results from domination (Lukes, 2005: 68). The staff team, including young staff members, administration staff and the management committee, analysed and reflected upon power relations within the staff team through discussing the varying levels of voice or influence that people or groups had within the decision-making processes of the project (see section 3.3.3 for full description of method).

At Project C there is a nucleus that works with children and young people who are classified as being in need of special protection and the multidisciplinary team of educators works individually with the children and young people and their families to identify and address the young person's needs and accompany them in the process of improving their own lives. This nucleus has a team of eight educators, and within this workshop they worked together to discuss the varying levels of voice and influence of people, groups of people and organisations both within and outside of Project C. What was fascinating and also very revealing, for both myself and for the educators in later discussions, was the

view that the educators had of themselves in terms of influence within the organisation compared to the view of the young staff members, who also worked together in a group to complete the activity. Although the size of the circles representing the educators did not differ significantly within the two diagrams, what was significantly different was the flow of influence. The educators made only two connections to represent the flow of influence – internally, within the project, they made only one connection, with the coordination team via their nucleus coordinator, and externally with the community via the children and young people with whom they work. In contrast, the young people connected the circle representing the educators to well over half of the people and groups of people external to the project as well as connecting them to other people and groups internally (see Photos 5.1 and 5.2). This highlights the complex relationship between power and responsibility as whilst the educators perceived their own power as limited, the young people at Project C perceived them as having far more influence than the educators believed that they had. This was further highlighted in a later session with the team of educators to 'interview the diagram' (Kesby et al., 2003) whereby one of the educators highlighted how she found this difference concerning as it confirmed her feeling that the young people with whom she works viewed her as having much more power to make decisions than she feels she has.

Photo 5.1: *Educators' diagram analysing levels of voice and influence at Project C*

5.4.1 Denying power: the breakdown of coherence between the intellectual and emotional levels of understanding

The results of this activity, particularly in terms of how the educators viewed their own position within the organisation, reflected my observations during the previous three months working alongside the staff and young people at Project C. I felt that despite overt efforts for inclusion there was a sense of exclusion from decision-making processes amongst both young people and staff members resulting in a passive acceptance of decisions. As highlighted by Beatriz whilst reflecting upon participation during her exit interview:

> *Victoria: 'Quais são os maiores desafios da participação na [Project C] para você?'*
>
> *Beatriz: 'Desafio? Desafio é hierarquia. Porque isso... as vezes para expor suas idéias, acho que é o maior desafio.'*
>
> *Victoria: 'E como esse desafio podia ser superado?'*
>
> *Beatriz: 'Superado? Eu acho que persistir na sua idéia, desde que seja coerente, né, unir pensamentos com as outras pessoas, persistir até que fique claro caso não seja aceito ou tenha alguma coisa que vá contra isso,*

que você persista até que fique claro, e você entenda como coerente isso não acontecer. Não deixa passar, não ficar engolindo sapo à-toa. Já que tem espaço para falar, para articular com outras pessoas, então vamos fazer isso, no fim todos nós temos o mesmo objetivo de atender a comunidade e tem empecilhos que aparecem que são desnecessários e a gente acaba desistindo porque é uma pessoa que está a mais tempo falando sobre isso, tem mais poder de decisão que você e então você acaba desistindo mas acho que não vale a pena desistir assim tão fácil.'

__Victoria:__ 'What for you are the biggest challenges of participation in [Project C]?'
__Beatriz:__ 'Challenges? A challenge is hierarchy. Because this… sometimes to express your ideas, I think this is the biggest challenge.'
__Victoria:__ 'And how could this challenge be overcome?'
__Beatriz:__ 'Overcome? I think to persist in your idea, in order to be consistent unify thinking with other people, persist until it's clear, if it's not accepted or has something against it, that you persist until it's clear, and you understand the reason why it won't happen. Don't let it go, don't keep swallowing the same line. Already there is space to speak, to talk with other people, so let's do it, in the end all of us have the same objective to work with the community and there are obstacles that appear that are unnecessary and we end up giving up because someone that has more time [at the organisation] is talking about this, who has more power to make decisions than you and therefore you end up giving up but I think that it's not worth giving up so easily.'

(Staff member, Project C)

Beatriz indicates that she feels that there is a tendency within the staff team to give up because someone may have more time working at the project or power to make the decision and even though the spaces for debate and discussion already existed within the organisation, staff members tended not to use them. Although I observed numerous incidents of frustration and anger over decisions that had been taken or issues that arose during my time at Project C, people tended to express these frustrations during informal conversations with colleagues at a similar 'level' in the organisational hierarchy. However the purpose of these conversations was to air frustration and, like at Project A, the staff failed to include themselves in the search for a solution. Reflecting similar issues to the

staff team at Project A, the young people and staff at Project C did not feel able to express their views and did not include themselves in the search for a solution; in other words, they did not include themselves as subjects of the process. I argue that the exclusion of yourself within the search for a solution – returning to the metaphor of the ocean – creates a disjuncture between the emotional and intellectual currents and the ocean surface. As Figure 5.2 illustrates, this creates a cyclical effect, whereby the discomfort or insecurity that the person feels at the ocean floor (due to feelings of exclusion from the decision-making process through feelings of insecurity, for example) is blocked by the intellectual current through the decision to not express their view. However, the decision to not express the view increases the feeling of discomfort through feelings of frustration. Consequently the disjuncture between the two currents increases and the ocean surface becomes more unsettled as a result. However as shown by the social work team at Project B, this disjuncture could be minimised through the active search for an alternative solution, as instead of blocking the current at the ocean floor the intellectual current acknowledges the influence of the one below it. Essentially, through including yourself as a subject of the process the individual is able to move from passivity to action through recognising the dialogical relationship between the two currents. Instead of blocking the emotional current to try to prevent it from influencing the ocean surface, the intellectual level works with the emotional level to try to find a way the two currents can work together to ensure a more settled ocean surface; in other words, more predictable and consistent actions. It is through recognising the dialogical relationship between the emotional and the intellectual levels of understanding and our actions and attempting to increase coherence between the different levels that, I argue, increases the level of consciousness. And, as highlighted within the two-dimensional framework, it is through increasing consciousness that we can move along the participatory scale towards protagonism.

It is the active involvement of ourselves in what occurs around us, in other words the active search to minimise incoherence between the emotional and intellectual currents, that I argue is the key to increasing the level of consciousness and consequently develop more effective participatory practices. However this must be founded upon a willingness and ability of each of us to undertake a 'constant vigilance over ourselves' (Freire, 2001: 51) or, returning to the ideas put forward by Paula, being able and willing to both face up to our own limits, accepting our own power, and consequently accepting our own responsibility. However, this raises more questions than answers. Are we all able and willing to undertake 'constant vigilance over ourselves'? And even if we are, do we know how?

Figure 5.2: *The disjuncture in the dialogical relationship between emotional and intellectual levels of understanding*
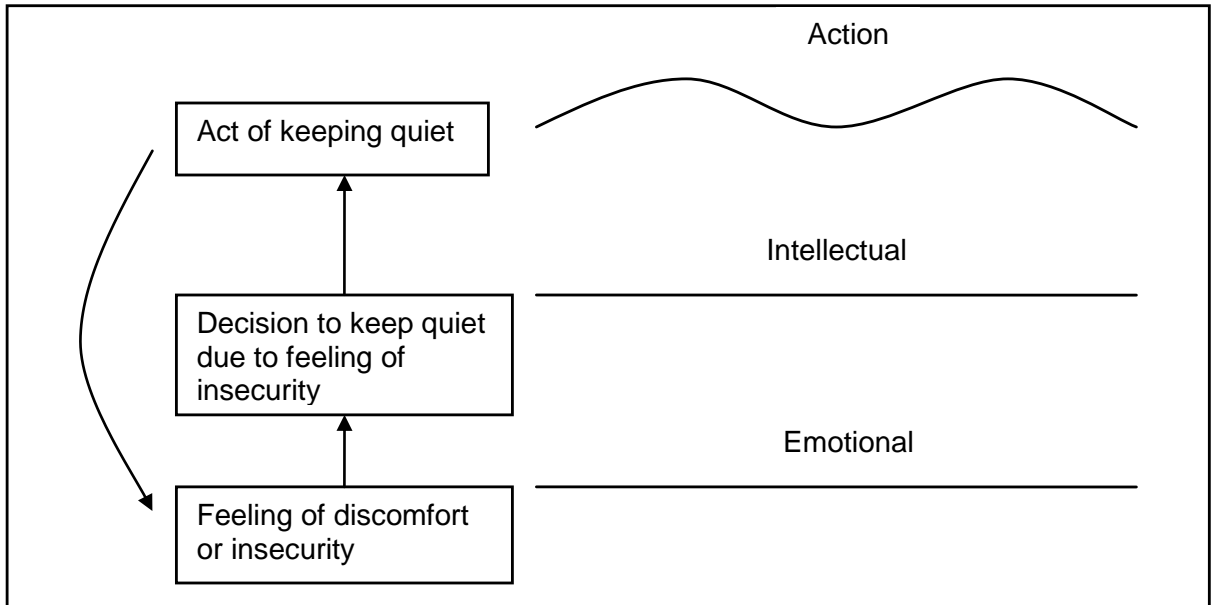
5.5 Making the Invisible Visible: the role of the participatory process in changing consciousness

Throughout the research process it became clear that constant vigilance over ourselves is not possible for everyone. It is a challenging process, as Paula highlighted at the start of this chapter. It is also not possible at all times and in all places. Everyone gets trapped into reacting sometimes, when tired, nervous, excited, stressed, disappointed or angry. However what became clear throughout the research, and particularly during the research at Project C, was that the use of a participatory process to develop children and young people's participation created an opportunity to make the invisible visible, in other words to move below the top current towards the ocean floor; to get beyond the intellectual level of what we think and recognise our own subjectivity in order to begin to discuss not just what we think, but why we think it.

For example, during the research process at Project C it became clear that the act of discussing children and young people's participation, and the use of a participatory approach within these discussions, created an opportunity for self-reflection and participants began to connect their own inconsistencies and the inconsistencies of other people to the development of children and young people's participation. For example,

during his final reflections, Fabio identified how the research process affected people both professionally and personally and how people reacted in different ways to this process:

'Muitos extremamente interessados, interesse não só profissional mas também pessoal assim, em relação com a vida, com o que acha que tem que ser, como a própria vida tem que ser. E outras incomodadas, incomodadas no mesmo sentido que tem a ver consigo, com a instituição, com a vida e tudo mais. São as coisas que não dá para ver, não dá para sentir, mas que mexeu bastante… na pesquisa teve essa influência que eu vejo como positiva. Sei lá, não acho que vai resolver o problema mas deu uma, transpareceu, apareceu algumas coisas de algumas pessoas, de alguns grupos que fazem as outras pessoas entenderem melhor o que é real mesmo.'

'Many were extremely interested, not just a professional interest but a personal one as well, in relation to life, with what I think has to be, how my own life has to be. And others were uncomfortable, uncomfortable in the same meaning that it has to do with you, with the institution, with life and all that. They're the things that you can't see, can't feel, but that mess with you a lot… the research had this influence that I see as a positive. I don't know, I don't think it'll resolve the problem but it gave a, transparency, a few things appeared in a few people, in a few groups that made other people understand better what is actually real.'

(Fabio, nucleus coordinator, Project C)

For Fabio, independent of how people reacted to the process, he regarded the process itself as positive as it gave a 'transparency'. This was also highlighted by Beatriz during her exit interview:

Beatriz: *'Negativo? As vezes as coisas não ficam tão claras, trazem mais bagagem para a gente resolver, na verdade é ponto positivo mas é mais trabalhoso. De negativo de fato é ver a posição de algumas pessoas aqui dentro...'*
Victoria: *'Como?'*
Beatriz: *'De barreiras que pode encontrar, que não deveriam ser assim e hoje estão mais esclarecidas, essas opiniões.'*

191

Victoria: 'E negativo porque agora as pessoas podem ver, e antes estava escondido?'

Beatriz: 'Negativo de saber que tem isso mas no fim das contas é melhor a gente saber e tentar trabalhar para que isso mude mas é ruim ver que as coisas são assim.'

Beatriz: 'Negative? Sometimes things weren't all that clear, it brought more baggage for us to resolve, in truth this is a positive point but it's harder work. What's really negative is to see the position of some people here…'

Victoria: 'How?'

Beatriz: 'The barriers that you can meet, that shouldn't be that way and today they are clearer, these opinions.'

Victoria: 'It's negative because now people can see and before they were hidden?'

Beatriz: 'Negative to know you have this but at the end of the day it's better we know and try to work to change this but it's rubbish to see that things are this way.'

(Staff member, Project C)

For both Fabio and Beatriz, they felt that the participatory process had made some of the hidden barriers to the development of children and young people's participation more visible and whilst recognising that this can be a difficult process, they felt that it had helped them to 'better understand what is real' in order to try to change. However, what is the 'baggage' to which Beatriz refers, and what is the impact of this on the participatory process?

5.5.1 The issue of 'baggage': the negative impact of incoherence between emotional and intellectual levels of understanding

An example of the 'baggage' to which Beatriz refers in her interview was demonstrated during a three month participatory evaluation project that I facilitated with a group of five young people who were participating, or had participated, in the youth protagonism nucleus at Project C. When I began the research at Project C the nucleus was in the process of closing down as the government funding had been withdrawn. The staff were in the process of planning how the nucleus was going to continue the following year and so it was suggested that I conduct a participatory evaluation with the young people who had taken part in the programme to develop recommendations for the new programme

structure. It was during discussions with the secretary general planning the evaluation that a clear incoherence emerged. As the following excerpt from my fieldwork diary illustrates, although Paulo stated that the young people would have complete freedom to plan the new programme, his feelings about the programme meant that he clearly had a view about what should or should not be included:

'When we moved on to talk about the research, I said I had two questions. I asked the first one, asking what's possible in terms of the young people deciding the form of the new programme. Jonathon's initial reaction was saying 'well, there are no limits, they can do whatever they want', but as we were talking he began to talk quite passionately about the history of the programmes within [name of programme] – for example, about [name of actvity] and how it started as an attempt to bring the two drugs factions together, and that it was successful in doing this without ever using any form of security. And he spoke about the difficulties of starting to work with the schools, and how it took a long time to build up a working relationship with the various schools, and also about how [name of activity] and [name of activity] work on various levels – it's not only about the development of the young person, but also the development of the teachers and challenging their perceptions of young people, and the development of the children through the activity itself. He said that this is what [Project C] is about, that its focus is not just with the young people coming to its activities, but about the community as a whole and he made a comment that maybe the young people don't see this. It was clear to me that this is a warning sign of a potential clash of interests – that the young people may see the priority as being one thing, but Jonathon may not see this as ticking enough of [Project C]'s objective boxes and overrule it, or at least influence it... My concern is that although Jonathon is saying that this is a wonderful opportunity to really listen to the young people and that he won't put down any barriers or limits on their ideas, what he then said afterwards seemed to contradict this. There are boundaries, of course there are, but these need to be clear from the start in order to allow the young people the freedom to think within the space that is allowed, rather than saying they have complete freedom and then afterwards telling them they went off in the wrong direction.'

Whilst saying that the young people would have complete freedom to design a new youth programme with 'no limits', Paulo's emotional connection to the youth programme through feelings of pride about past work and a belief in the effectiveness of current ways of working indicated an inconsistency within what Paulo was saying. However what turned out to be damaging to the participatory process was not necessarily Paulo's emotional connection to past projects, but rather his failure to recognise this. Whilst he supported the idea of a participatory evaluation, this remained at the intellectual level – a belief in the value of children and young people's participation – and by not including himself as a subject of this process and trying to understand how his own emotional level of understanding would impact upon his actions, an incoherence was formed by which what Paulo said did not match up with what he did.

Initial suspicions about Paulo influencing the evaluation turned out to be justified. At the end of the evaluation process the young people put together a proposal for a new programme structure based upon the information they had gathered through a series of informal conversations, focus groups with both other young people and with some of the project's staff members and an interview with the Paulo, the secretary general. The culmination of the evaluation was a presentation of the final proposal for the new programme structure to Project C's management committee. The presentation went well, with the young people answering questions that were raised and the members of the committee listening to the presentation and seeming to take the young people's proposal extremely seriously. We then left the meeting, but the meeting continued as the committee also had other matters to discuss. I sat with the young people and we had a brief reflection about how they felt the meeting had gone, and they were happy with it and felt that they had been listened to. However what was interesting was that, as I later found out through an informal conversation with one of the committee members, after we had left the meeting the discussion about the young people's proposal had continued, with Paulo wanting one thing and one of the coordinators wanting another. They had then had a detailed debate about how the programme structure should be and had come to a compromise. All of this was done without either the presence or knowledge of the young people and apparently no discussion about how to include them in any ongoing discussions. There were no future meetings or discussions between the young people and the management committee and only one meeting between the young people and Paulo that was held at my request after the decision for the programme structure had already been taken. This highlights one of the challenges of participation, as someone can think that they are listening and the other person can think that they are being listened to, but

sometimes neither is actually the case. The young people left the meeting and felt satisfied that they had been listened to, yet when the door closed behind them a subtle manipulation began whereby the management committee began to reinterpret what had been proposed to suit their own interests. This raises a key issue: if both parties can think they are both listening and being listened to, how do we know if this is actually the case?

5.5.2 Listening or listening: connecting listening to the increasing of consciousness

'It is not sufficient to listen to children. It is also necessary to give their views serious consideration when making decisions.' (Lansdown, 2010: 12)

The issue of people thinking that they are listening is an aspect that became clear during the final meeting of the management committee to discuss the young people's proposal. I had been invited to observe the meeting, although had been told that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the financial situation of the project in order to then have more clarity regarding the possibility of implementing the young people's proposal and for this reason the young people had not been invited to attend. However, as the meeting progressed it became clear that purpose of the meeting was to discuss the proposal itself. As the following excerpt from my fieldwork diary highlights, I was deeply concerned about the way the proposal was discussed:

'I am so, so fundamentally disappointed with the committee. And shocked about the level of manipulation that went on within the meeting to ensure that the decision went the way Paulo wanted it to. A decision was made and yet I have no recollection of what point this decision was actually taken. The conversation was confused and going off in all directions, but thinking about it now I think that Paulo actually wanted this, encouraged it even, as it meant that the confusion increased, and as the confusion increased the likelihood of being able to 'hide' the decision increased also. But what it truly concerning is that I don't think Paulo even knows he's doing it. If it was overt manipulation, if it was a planned and strategic decision then this is one thing – it's a controlling boss. But if this isn't an overt strategy, if the manipulation is so subtle and so subconscious that he genuinely thinks that he is listening, then this is another thing entirely. Overt manipulation can be overtly challenged, but when the manipulation is so sub-conscious that the person isn't even aware that they're doing it, a whole new stage of

195

psychology is introduced into the equation... At one point Eduardo said 'ok, so basically we're ignoring the proposal from the young people' and Paulo reacted defensively to this and said 'no, we're taking three things from it' (referring to [name of activity], [name of activity] and professional training). But he has missed the whole point – they're not separate entities, you can't just separate them out and pick and choose which bits you're going to listen to. The young people put together a proposal, a complete package with beginning, middle and end. To pick out three of the suggestions (and the third I wouldn't even count as the 'decision' re. professional training was to refer people to outside agencies) and to claim that you're 'listening' is a lie and just condescending. It's treating the young people, the staff, and me, like fools. If you can't do the proposal because of whatever reason, fine. But you damn well say that and don't tart up the response to make it seem like you're listening when you're not. That's the bit that does the harm, that's the bit that destroys the trust.'

Despite my initial anger about the way the young people's proposal was dissected and changed, alongside the complete exclusion of the young people from this process, the incident was useful to improve my understanding of the sense of exclusion from decision-making processes felt by both young people and staff members at Project C. Although there was an explicit effort for inclusion within Project C, incidents like this are counterproductive as what was said initially was not representative of what was done in the end. Coherence is an 'indispensable virtue' of ethical practice (Freire, 2001: 63) and when what someone says does not appear to add up with what they are doing, this has an impact upon trust and communication. Yet what was so interesting about this incident was that it was not the young people who felt frustrated or excluded by the lack of coherence between what was said and what was done as their awareness of their own exclusion was relatively limited. During the final meeting with Paulo they accepted the explanations for the decision to adopt only certain parts of their proposal and although they said they felt sad that the whole proposal had not been adopted, and the youth programme would in effect not continue, they did not express any disappointment or frustration about not being involved in this decision as, crucially, they did not *expect* to be involved. The disappointment and frustration was felt by myself and by other staff members who had had the expectation that the young people would be involved in the complete process. What this experience highlighted was that in order to critically assess the act of listening and understand when someone is listening and another being listened to, it is necessary to

return to the idea of consciousness. It is through the increasing of consciousness that current expectations are challenged and the risk of reinforcing rather than challenging power relations lowered.

For example, for the young people the experience of taking part in the participatory evaluation reinforced existing power relationships rather than challenging them. They did not expect to be involved in the final decision-making process and so when this turned out to be true their position in the hierarchy was reinforced. Whilst this was not frustrating for them, it also did nothing to push them along the participatory scale towards protagonism as their level of consciousness remained the same. Returning to Freire, the first step towards challenging oppression is for the oppressed to become aware of their oppression and the young people, judging by their ready acceptance of the final decision, did not have this awareness. The experience did not raise their level of consciousness and did not, therefore, move them further along the participatory scale but instead reinforced their current position through an act of false generosity that reinforced the position of both the young people (the 'oppressed') and the management committee (the 'oppressors') (Freire, 1996[1970]: 26).

5.5.3 The participatory process: a means of (re)building trust?

In terms of wider consequences this experience also highlighted how those outside a situation are also affected. So for example, although the young people involved in the participatory evaluation showed no signs of obvious frustration with how the process had been conducted, the process did not happen in isolation and other people also observed the process and were affected by it. Essentially, people stop believing what they hear. For example, Susana, a young staff member at Project C, felt that what some of the members of the management committee said could not be trusted as she felt that what was said failed to match up with their actions:

> *'O que eles pregam tanto não é verdade. Isso só está no papel, na prática não existe. Você percebe quando uma pessoa vem com uma opinião diferente, logo já é descarada.'*

> *'What they preach so much isn't true. It's just on paper, in practice it doesn't exist. You can see when someone comes with a different opinion, it's quickly discarded.'*

> *(Susana, young staff member, Project C)*

Trust, alongside transparency, has been identified as a 'critical precursor' to the building of professional relationships (Pasteur and Scott-Villiers, 2004a: 9) and as the key to altering power relations (Taylor and Boser, 2006: 116). It is the basis on which honest reflection is built whereby people feel able to admit to themselves, as well as others, that things are not necessarily going to plan which, according to Pasteur and Scott-Villiers, implies 'honesty and freedom from fear of negative consequences.' (2004b: 194-5) Within Project C the inconsistency between what was said and people's actions had had a clear impact upon relationships of trust. This was particularly problematic with regards to one of the nucleus coordinators as numerous members of the staff team reported that they felt they could not trust her due to inconsistency between her words and actions. However, during the research process this member of staff, Paula, also began to perceive her own inconsistencies. As can be seen in the quote used at the start of this chapter, it was during the research process that Paula began to identify her own limits with regards to the practice of participation. I worked particularly closely with Paula during my time at Project C and I often heard her make remarks about people not wanting to participate, particularly regarding staff participation during team meetings or training workshops. Although she had believed in the value of participation, the participatory process had remained something external to her; it had been about 'them'. What was so interesting about the research was that the use of participatory methods within the staff team workshops challenged Paula to move beyond the intellectual level of understanding and include herself in the equation through recognising the relational nature of the process. It was not that 'they' did not want to participate; rather it was that people were reluctant to participate *with her*. She began to see the relational aspect of the participatory process, whereby people felt uncomfortable with her and inhibited to express their views. A clear example is that Paula often left the group with whom she was working to come and talk with me during the staff workshops explaining that her presence in the group prevented people from expressing their opinion and so she removed herself from the situation. This was clearly a difficult and challenging time for Paula, as her reflections in her exit interview highlight, however through recognising the relational nature of the participatory process she was able to move beyond the intellectual level of understanding and include herself as a subject of the process. Whilst deeply challenging, this was a key development, and I would argue a key step forward, through making the previously invisible barriers to the participatory process visible.

Although I have argued throughout this chapter that coherence between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding is a prerequisite for the increasing of consciousness, and therefore progress along the participatory scale towards protagonism, the research process at Project C demonstrated how a participatory process can also facilitate the development of this coherence. As has been identified elsewhere whereby 'the process of interaction itself within a participatory process played a key role in changing constructions and exercise of power' (Taylor and Boser, 2006: 116), the research process highlighted how the participatory process can help to make the invisible barriers to participation visible. Whilst participation is not a perfect science and there are no laws to follow, the happy irony of participation is that the process itself can not only provide a transparency, a way to make the invisible visible, but it can also be a way to overcome the barrier of incoherence between what we say and what we do. It is this aspect, in terms of the participatory process and the use of participatory methodologies as potential facilitators of the dialogical relationship between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding that will be explored in the following chapter.

Summary

Throughout this chapter I examined the role of emotions within the participatory process. Focusing upon the role of adults, I utilised Spinoza's philosophical conceptualisation of the emotions whereby rather than thought being a rational process, it is through our engagement with the world, and our emotional reactions to that engagement, that thought and actions are based. I then developed the argument that the increasing of 'consciousness' is based upon the increased coherence between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding; in other words that we move beyond the intellectual decision to 'do' participation and actively include ourselves in the process of transforming subjectivities. I also proposed that the participatory process has the potential to make the invisible visible through creating transparency, and that this is a potential avenue to rebuild trust. I will now move on to explore this idea in more detail through an examination of the role of participatory methodologies as a potential facilitator of the relational participatory process.

Participatory Methods: facilitators of the relational participatory process?

'And I think it's a question that when people experience it they tend to believe in it, then it will grow by itself and you can change things.'

(Paulo, secretary general, Project C)

Introduction

In the previous chapter I examined the role of emotions in the participatory process and developed the argument that the increasing of 'consciousness' is based upon the increased coherence between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding; in other words that we move beyond the intellectual decision to 'do' participation and actively include ourselves in the process of creating new subjectivities. In this chapter I move the discussion forward to explore the relational aspect of the participatory process through analysing the impact that a participatory process and the use of participatory methods can have on perceptions, preconceptions and behaviours of staff (Research Question 2). I also take this one stage further exploring how these two aspects relate to organisational change (Research Question 2.1). I propose that whilst participatory methods can facilitate our internal coherence and consequently improve our relationships with others, they can also be a means to improve coherence *within an organisation* and, as a result, be a means by which to facilitate organisational change. Directly addressing the recent 'tyranny of techniques' critiques within participatory debates (Cooke and Kothari, 2001: 38), I propose that whilst participatory methods alone cannot create a participatory process, their role is to facilitate the personal and relational aspects of the participatory process in order to maximise the level of consciousness of all involved and consequently facilitate both individual and institutional movement along the participatory scale towards protagonist action.

6.1 Participatory Methods: facilitators of the dialogical and relational aspects of the participatory process?

The gap between theory and practice was an aspect of children and young people's participation that was raised during introductory interviews with the staff at Project C. Despite a good understanding of the principles of participation, Project C continued to encounter difficulties in developing children and young people's participation. As Fernando, a nucleus coordinator, pointed out in his introductory interview when asked about the main challenges for participation, he felt that there is a 'gap' between knowing and doing:

> *'Eu acho que primeiro, acima de tudo, é o entendimento mesmo. Por mais que a gente... por exemplo eu li a respeito, na hora de executar tem um buraco, tem um vão, tem um espaço, uma distância muito longa entre o que se entende e na hora de fazer.'*

> *'I think first, above everything, it's really understanding. For all that we… for example I've read about it, but when it comes to doing it there's a hole, there's a gap, there's a space, a long distance between what is understood and when you do it.'*

> *(Fernando, nucleus coordinator, Project C)*

The existence of 'huge gaps… between our learning and our behaviour or practice' (Roper and Pettit, 2002: 263) is a key difficulty that has become the focus of discussions by practitioners and academics alike. Numerous books, manuals and guides have been written and published by a wide variety of people and organisations all with the aim of addressing the gap between the theory and the reality of 'doing' participation (see for example Chambers 2002; Driskell 2002; Fajerman and Treseder 1997; Hart et al. 2004; Lansdown 2001; Percy-Smith and Thomas 2010; Save the Children 2005; Tisdall et al. 2009). However despite this attention the difficulty in transforming theory into practice continues. The continued reliance upon categorisations within present theoretical frameworks fails to reflect the fluidity of the participatory process and it is now argued that 'in some ways, practice has outstripped theory.' (Thomas and Percy-Smith, 2010: 3) As argued in the previous chapter, participation is a deeply personal process and therefore to

be done effectively it is also a deeply personal, as well as professional, challenge. This in itself is not new and has been argued effectively elsewhere (see for example the conclusions to the report compiled by Hart et al. [2004] on behalf of Plan UK). But what this research process demonstrated was how the use of participatory methods and the *experience of participating* in a participatory process can offer insights into some of these challenges of personal development and change. Returning to the idea of emotions and emotionality within the participatory process, the irony of developing 'emotional intelligence' is that it can only really be learnt in action (Pasteur and Scott-Villiers, 2004a: 17). Whilst this is a potential stumbling block, as a lack of emotional understanding, as argued in the previous chapter, can result in incoherence between words and actions which can damage the participatory process, the research process demonstrated that the use of participatory methods within the process of preparing for children and young people's participation can provide a means for personal change. Certainly at Project C during final reflections both young people and staff reported personal changes that had helped them to address some of the inconsistencies within themselves that had previously prevented them from participating within organisational decision-making. It was as a result of these final reflections, combined with my own observations of changes in behaviour amongst young people and staff at Project C, that I began to explore how the use of participatory methods can act not only as a facilitator of the dialogical relationship between our own internal intellectual and emotional levels of understanding, in other words the personal within the participatory process, but how they can also facilitate the relational aspect of the participatory process through the facilitation of our dialogical relationships with others.

6.1.1 The role of participatory methods in facilitating the personal in the participatory process

> 'While most of the benefits of PAR are identified in terms of its potential as a vehicle for social change and action, its role in personal change is less understood.' (Cahill, 2007: 269)

As argued in the previous two chapters, the participatory process is a personal process that requires the recognition of the subjectivity of all involved. In this section I will explore the role that participatory methods can play in the recognition of this subjectivity through facilitating the dialogical relationship between the emotional and the intellectual. As argued in the previous chapter, the intellectual and emotional levels of understanding interact with

one another, in other words they have a dialogical relationship whereby each influences and is influenced by the other. In this section I will argue that a participatory process can act as a facilitator of this dialogical relationship and thereby improving coherence between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding. Consequently, this section will explore the idea that the use of participatory methods and the subsequent *experience of participating* can provide some insights into the personal and interpersonal barriers of effective participatory practice and therefore facilitate movement along the participatory scale towards protagonism.

What emerged during final reflections at Project C was that the research process had influenced coherence between the emotional and intellectual levels of understanding amongst some participants. Although the objective of the research process had been to reflect upon and discuss children and young people's participation with staff members and young people at Project C, it gradually became clear that the research had also had an extremely personal impact on some of the participants. This was particularly true for some of the young staff members. For example, during final reflections on the research process one of the young staff members, Thiago, describes a process of personal 'unblocking' whereby he overcame previous a lack of confidence to say his opinion. In other words, he indicates that the research process helped him to reflect on his own behaviour, transforming his previous insecurity at the emotional level and begin to find ways to participate more actively than previously:

> *'Eu me sentia bloqueado antes. Eu acho que não conseguia expressar tudo que eu pensava e falava 'ai, você vai falar besteira, por que eu vou falar? Deixa eu ficar calado porque ganho mais e aprendo mais ouvindo mesmo'. Mas não, entendi que é falando que a gente aprende mesmo, que é participando que a gente aprende, né? E é isso que eu estou tentando fazer até hoje.'*

> *'I felt blocked before. I think that I wasn't able to express all that I thought and I said [to myself] 'ah, you'll talk crap, why say anything? Keep quiet because I'll get more [out of it] and learn more just from listening.' But no, I understood that it's through speaking that we learn, that it's through participating that we learn, isn't it? And it's this that I'm trying to do today.'*

> *(Thiago, young staff member, Project C)*

What was so interesting about Thiago's reflections was that he states that he felt he had been blocked 'before', meaning before he participated in the research. Thiago relates this unblocking to his participation in the staff workshops. When asked what he had felt was positive about the research, Thiago responded:

> **Thiago:** *'Acho que foi bom porque comecei a ter umas ideias que pude usar não só na biblioteca, mas para mim, para os meus próprios conhecimentos. Eu acho que me ajudou bastante.'*
> **Victoria:** *'Como ajudou você? Fora do seu trabalho?'*
> **Thiago:** *'Isso. Nos meus estudos. O meu quarto é a minha biblioteca, fico lá estudando, pesquisando alguma coisa e a participação me ajuda de uma forma não... Não vai ter ninguém para participar junto, mas participando comigo mesmo. Não sei se você consegue entender, mas acho que me ajuda um pouco esse negócio de poder expressar o que eu sinto. Antes eu não me expressava, depois da primeira oficina que a gente teve com você comecei a ter um pouquinho mais de ideias, tenho participado. Eu acho parte de uma equipe. Eu acho que me ajudou bastante.'*

> **Thiago:** *'I think it was good because I started to have ideas that I could use not just in the library but for me, for my own knowledge. I think it helped me a lot.'*
> **Victoria:** *'How did it help you? Outside of your work?'*
> **Thiago:** *'That's it. In my studies. My bedroom is my study, I stay there studying, researching something and participation helps me in a way not... there won't be anyone to participate with, but participating with myself. I don't know if you're able to understand, but I think it helped me a little with this thing of being able to express what I feel. Before I didn't express myself, after the first workshop that we had with you I started to have a few more ideas, having participated. I felt part of the team. I think it helped me a lot.'*

> (Young staff member, Project C)

If we briefly return to the metaphor of the ocean, in essence what Thiago is highlighting is that through his participation in the staff workshops his intellectual and emotional levels became more coherent, creating a smoother ocean surface that allowed him to express

what he felt. This does not mean that he suddenly felt able to express himself at all times in all places, but he had noticed a subtle change within himself in that he had started participating 'with himself'. In other words, he had begun to put himself into the equation and become active in his own participation. In Spinoza's terms, Thiago feels that he moved from passivity to action. This move from passivity to action was also clearly highlighted during final reflections with Susana, another young staff member at Project C. When asked if her understanding of participation had changed during the research, Susana replied:

> *'Sim. Porque o meu pensamento a respeito de participação era completamente diferente. Para mim, participação só era quando uma pessoa falava ou como... mas com essas oficinas percebi que participação vai muito além do que falar, mas traduzida em palavras escritas, gestos e até mesmo símbolos.'*

> *'Yes. Because my thinking with regards to participation was completely different. For me, participation was only when a person spoke or how... but with these workshops I realised that participation goes much further than speaking, but translates into written words, gestures and even symbols.'*

> *(Susana, young staff member, Project C)*

As the interview progressed, it became clear how this change in her understanding of participation had also influenced Susana to change her behaviour and develop new ways of communicating with people. When asked if the research had had an impact upon her work, Susana responded:

> *'Eu vou participar do meu jeito agora. Eu vou escrever, ficar mandando para as pessoas o que estou escrevendo, até me desenvolver totalmente para falar em público.'*

> *'I'll participate my way now, I'll write, keep sending people what I'm writing, until I completely develop [have enough confidence] to speak in public.'*

> *(Susana, young staff member, Project C)*

This highlights the fundamental connection between what we think and what we feel. Susana' improved understanding of what participation involves helped her to participate in 'her way'. I worked closely with Susana during the research process and although at 19 years of age she was one of the older 'young people' working at Project C, she was one of the shyer members of the younger staff. Although Susana recognised her own personal development since she had started working at Project C and her increased confidence, she was still extremely nervous when talking in front of groups of people or with people with whom she did not feel comfortable. On two occasions during the research process, Susana wrote down her opinions and reflections in the form of a letter in order to express her frustration about certain events that had occurred. She recognised that she is both more comfortable and expresses herself better through the written word rather than verbal dialogue, but she had never previously expressed her views in this form. This form of expression had come completely from Susana – I had made no requests for any form of written feedback nor explicitly stated writing as an alternative option. The fact that Susana had found an alternative way to express herself indicates that she, like Thiago, had also become more active in her own participation. But this raises the question of why: why did their participation in a participatory action research project encourage both Susana and Thiago to become more active in their own participation?

According to the final reflections and feedback from the staff and young people at Project C, one possible answer to this question is participatory methods. The objective of each of the three staff workshops undertaken at Project C was to use a variety of participatory methods to maximise open communication and joint reflection on children and young people's participation across the entire staff team. However what became clear as the research progressed was that the use of the participatory methods helped to address two of the factors identified as requirements for the development of protagonism, namely autonomy and the developing of 'critical spirit'. A 'critical spirit' implies judgement or, returning to Eduardo's interpretation, that the person has the capacity to think critically about a process. However in order to think critically it is necessary to have a measure against which we are able to judge the process; in other words, we need to know what is possible. Returning to Freire, the difficulty in perceiving oppression is the submersion of the oppressed in the reality of oppression (Freire, 1996[1970]: 27), in other words our idea of what is possible is limited by our previous experiences. It is this aspect that I argue is one of the key contributions of participatory methods to the participatory process.

For example, both Thiago and Susana were able to progress further along the participatory scale as a consequence of their level of consciousness increasing due to their improved levels of understanding regarding both what participation is and their own role within the participatory process. Susana realised that a lack of confidence to speak in front of people did not prevent her participation, as participation involved more than 'just speaking'. And Thiago became aware that participation is essential to his own learning. According to Thiago's own feedback after the end of the third workshop, the workshops series had, for him, been 'an evolution' [*'foi uma evolução'*]. Their improved understanding of participation facilitated the development of their 'critical spirit' through enabling them to see what participation *could be*. It gave them a normative marker by which to assess the nature of participation in Project C, which in turn gave them a base upon which to critically analyse current practice and adjust their own behaviour accordingly.

I argue that Thiago's and Susana' personal changes during the research process highlight the role that participatory methods can play in the facilitation of the dialogical relationship between the emotional and intellectual levels of understanding. As argued in the previous chapter, the level of consciousness is based upon the level of coherence between our emotional and intellectual levels of understanding, which is in turn relational to our position on the participatory scale. What the research process highlighted was that participatory methods can act as a facilitator of the dialogical relationship between the emotional and the intellectual through providing 'new forms of knowledge and ways of knowing' (Kesby, 2005: 2042) *for the individual*. Whilst the objective of the research was to improve understanding of the reality of developing children and young people's participation in small community-based NGOs, rather than explicitly setting out to achieve personal transformation through a PAR approach that aimed to produce new subjectivities (Cahill, 2007), the use of participatory methods within the research process provided spaces within which the participants could critically reflect upon their own experiences and assess their own subjectivities. Essentially, the use of participatory methods appeared to facilitate the dialogical relationship between the emotional and the intellectual levels of understanding through providing the space for the participants to become subjects within their own processes of learning.

6.1.2 The role of participatory methods in facilitating the relational in the participatory process

Further to the impact on internal coherence between the emotional and the intellectual levels of understanding, the research process highlighted how the use of participatory

methods also facilitated the second key aspect of a participatory process: participation as a *relational* process. The following quote refers to the second workshop held with the staff team at Project C. In this workshop I used a variation on Chambers' 'carousel' method (Chambers, 2002: 148) to discuss children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes (see section 3.3.3 for full description of method). In his reflections, João highlights how the method made him understand how hearing other people impacted upon his own thinking. In other words, he began to see the relational nature of the participatory process; that it is not just about giving the space for the other person to speak, but it is about listening to what the other person has to say and absorbing that, and allowing your own thinking to 'mature' as a result:

> *'Quando você olha para a experiência que você tem, a forma que você faz, você possa olhar para a sua própria atuação e poder identificar 'isso fazemos dessa maneira, mas as pessoas trazem como contribuição outras questões que não havíamos pensado', porque para mim ficou muito forte quando você dividiu o grupo da [Project C] toda em grupos e todos puderam dizer, falar um pouco sobre a participação e quando você faz esse rodízio. Quando eu passei por cada um desses pontos, o meu pensamento foi maturando. Ele foi se construindo de uma outra maneira porque foi trazendo questões que eu não havia parado para pensar ainda. O que fica muito forte para mim do propósito da pesquisa foi de poder olhar para gente mesmo, poder se enxergar nessas questões.'*

> *'When you look at the experience that you have, the way that you did it, you can look at your own performance and you can identify 'this we did in this way, but people bring as their contribution other questions that we hadn't thought of', because for me this was what was really strong when you divided the whole group of [Project C] in groups and everyone could say, talk a little about participation and when you did this rotation. When I passed through each of these points [stations], my thinking was maturing. It was constructing itself in a different way because it brought questions that I hadn't stopped to think about yet. What stayed really strongly with me about the purpose of the research was to be able to look at ourselves, to be able to see these questions.'*

> (João*, nucleus coordinator, Project C*)

Paula also highlighted how in a participatory process *'todos amadurecem'* [*'everyone matures'*] but during her final reflections she also spoke about the profound challenge involved in *really* listening to the other person:

'Eu vou falar dos três ingredientes que acho fundamentais quando eu estou num processo participativo. Uma eu já falei que é a escuta. Que e, e escutar mas o problema nao e, o ingrediente não é so escutar, ele é mais do que isso, mais do que você querer saber do que o outro fala. Acho que isso é fundamental, você ter curiosidade do que o outro fala, a opinião do outro. Mas uma que eu acho que ja falei que e a minha dificuldade que eu acho somado a escuta é você quieto. Não é só ficar quieto, ficar em silencio, é quando a pessoa está falando o que ela pensa e que é absolutamente contrário ao que eu penso, eu ficar quieta inclusive de pensamento e me manter sereno para poder entender o que ela está falando e dar espaço, não, não dar, respeitar o espaço dela de pensar assim. O que eu acho, nao e, o equivoco não é dar o espaço para ela, ela tem o espaço, ela ocupa aquele espaço. Por isso que falo que é mais do que ficar quieto, ficar em silencio de voz assim, ficar de pensamento. Tudo bem, ela pensa assim e você não tem que fazer ela pensar diferente, ne... voce tem que perguntar no sentido de esclarecer um pensamento.'

'I'm going to talk about three ingredients that I think are fundamental when I am in a participatory process. One I've already said that's to listen. That is, it's to listen but the problem isn't, the ingredient isn't just to listen, it's more than this, more than you wanting to know what the other says. I think this is fundamental, you to have the curiosity about what the other says, the opinion of the other. But one that I've already said is my difficulty that I think is an added difficulty to listening is you keeping quiet. It's not just keeping quiet, to stay in silence, it's when someone is saying what they think and it's absolutely contrary to what I think, I need to keep quiet including thoughts and keep calm to be able to understand what they are saying and to give space, no, not give, respect their space to think like that. I think that, it's not, the mistake is to not give the space to them, that they have the space, they occupy that space. What I'm talking about is more than keeping quiet, staying silent and just thinking. It's ok, they think like that and you don't have to make

them think differently… you have to ask questions in a way that clarifies the thought.'

(Paula, nucleus coordinator, Project C)

Listening, therefore, whilst being central to the development of children and young people's participation is also a complex and deeply challenging process. It is 'a permanent attitude on the part of the subject who is listening, of being open to the word of the other, to the gesture of the other, to the differences of the other.' (Freire, 2001: 107) However as Freire goes on to highlight, listening is not a passive action of acceptance but rather encompasses disagreement: 'True listening does not diminish in me the exercise of my right to disagree, to oppose, to take a position… good listeners can speak engagedly and passionately about their own ideas and conditions precisely because they are able to listen.' (2001: 107) As João's comments indicate, the participatory method within the workshop overcame some of the complexities in listening through allowing space for reflection on new questions. However final reflections by Beatriz, a staff member at Project C, highlight how further to the raising of new questions, the workshops provided a reflection upon the responsibility of each person to utilise the spaces available to them, including to air disagreement or frustration. This is a central aspect with regards to the use of participatory methods, as the focus upon consensus within participatory methods has been criticised as creating uni-dimensional representations that risk erasing or repressing difference (Kapoor, 2002). However Beatriz felt that there had been a change within the team, whereby there was a realisation that if there is a space available in which to be heard, it is the responsibility of each member of the team to make sure that they fully utilise that space. As discussed in section 5.4.1 of the previous chapter, Beatriz felt that there had been a tendency within the staff team to give up because someone may have more time working at the organisation or power to make a decision, yet when asked why she felt that the research process had created the sense of responsibility to fully utilise the spaces available to them, Beatriz associated this change with the method that had been used during the staff workshop:

Victoria: *'A pesquisa teve ou vai ter um impacto ou efeito no seu trabalho?'*
Beatriz: *'Ah, muito grande...'*
Victoria: *'Teve ou vai ter? Ou os dois?'*
Beatriz: *'Acho que está tendo, né? Essa posição da gente não desistir das coisas eu tenho isso devido a pesquisa. Tem várias vezes já ouvi "não" e tudo bem, e não digeri essa idéia mas hoje eu vejo que a gente…se tem o*

210

espaço para te escutar, que esse espaço faça, responda as tuas perguntas, tanto do funcionário quanto de quem é atendido.'

Victoria: 'Como a pesquisa criou esse pensamento para não desistir?'

Beatriz: 'A metodologia que você usou, os exercícios que nos fez pensar nisso e colocar todos os funcionários na mesma posição para responder, para fazer a pesquisa... Eu acho que é isso que ajuda.'

Victoria: 'The research had or will have an impact or effect on your work?'

Beatriz: 'Ah, very big…'

Victoria: 'Had or will have? Or both?'

Beatriz: 'I think it's having [an impact], isn't it? This position of us not giving up on things, I have this due to the research. Various times already I heard "no" and ok, and I didn't digest this idea but today I see that we… if you have the space to be heard, that this space does, responds to your questions, whether member of staff or service user.'

Victoria: 'How did the research create this thinking of not giving up?'

Beatriz: 'The methodology that you used, the exercises that made us think about this and putting all of the staff in the same position to answer, to do the research… I think that this is what helps.'

(Staff member, Project C)

This is an important consequence, as it highlights how the use of participatory methods and the explicit challenging of power hierarchy through 'putting all of the staff in the same position to answer' can have an impact beyond the workshop space. As João highlighted when asked what was positive about the research, the valuing of each individual voice can have a deeply personal impact:

'A forma como ela foi conduzida porque eu vi muitas pessoas na equipe se sentindo valorizadas por estar presente, de se sentir tão importantes quanto outras pessoas, de voluntário dizendo isso num grupo que eu estava 'que legal, a [Project C] dá espaço para gente falar e eu nem sou funcionário aqui. Ela dá espaço para que eu possa falar o que eu penso e isso ajuda na minha vida'. Ela vê a [Project C] contribuindo para a vida pessoal dela. Isso para mim foi muito positivo. O que eu falo tem o mesmo peso da outra pessoa, do que o coordenador. Isso para mim foi muito positivo nessa condução, as pessoas não estavam se... Eu não senti obrigado 'tenho que ir', como tarefa.'

'The way it was facilitated because I saw many people in the team feeling valued by being included, feeling as important as other people, from the volunteer saying this in a group that I was in 'how cool, [Project C] gives space for us to speak and I'm not even a staff member here. It gives space so that I can say what I think and this helps in my life'. She saw [Project C] as contributing to her personal life. This for me was really positive. What I say has the same weight as the other person, as a coordinator. This for me was really positive in this facilitation, people weren't… I didn't feel obliged 'I have to go', like a duty.'

(João, nucleus coordinator, Project C)

This indicates that valuing of individual voice within the workshops through the provision of a space which challenges current accepted relationships and power hierarchies can have both a personal and a professional impact. For Beatriz, everyone being put in the same position to answer created a reflection on her responsibility to utilise the space available to her for discussion rather than giving up due to her perception of her 'place' in the organisational hierarchy, whilst João points to both the personal impact that this can have through the contribution to the personal life of the participants and the impact that the act of listening to other points of view had on his own thinking. However, whilst arguing that participatory methods can have a personal impact that goes beyond the workshop space, I would be extremely cautious in exalting the more radical claims that participatory methods can 'facilitate transformations in power' (Chambers, 2008: 178). Whilst I agree that they can be drivers for change (Chambers, 2008: 167-191), to claim that the use of a specific method can bring about transformation is overly simplistic. It returns us to the potential danger of 'tyranny of method' (Cooke and Kothari, 2001: 8), whereby participatory methods are viewed as outside of the wider social, political and historical constructions of society. Participatory methods are not a solution but a starting point for social change and, as has been argued throughout the previous two chapters, participatory processes are fundamentally *personal* and *relational* processes. Whilst participatory methods may be a potential 'driver for change', they can only fulfil this role if those involved in the process, as noted in the previous chapter, *want to be transformed*. This returns us to the issue of subjectivity. Crucially, participatory methods can only become drivers for change if the conditions already exist whereby change can occur. As explored in the previous chapter, this requires a personal reflexivity that is based upon going beyond the intellectual and placing yourself as a subject; it requires a 'constant vigilance over ourselves' (Freire 2001:

51). Whilst participatory methods can facilitate the dialogical relationships both within ourselves and with others, they cannot create a process of transformation. They cannot force learning and change where the conditions for learning and change do not exist. For example, in order for the listening to other people's views to have an impact on João's thinking he needed to be open to hear other people's views. Without this openness, the use of a participatory method would have little or no impact on João's thinking.

Therefore whilst I am advocating that participatory methods can have a personal and a professional impact, there are certain preconditions that need to be in place in order for this to happen. If these preconditions are not in place, then the use of participatory methods will be limited to the making of the invisible visible through the highlighting not only of what is possible, but also what is not. So for example, the successful implementation of participatory methods at Project A was limited primarily due to the lack of reflective practice amongst the staff team. Therefore the lack of reflective practice needs to be addressed prior to any 'transformation' can take place and, crucially, this is not something that a participatory methodology can resolve; this is an institutional barrier that requires an institutional decision in order to be overcome. Whilst the use of participatory methods made the issue visible, they cannot provide the answer. This highlights the need to place the use of participatory methods in their personal and relational contexts; whilst they can be a potential driver for change, it must be remembered that change can never come about through a method. Change, whether institutional or personal, can only ever come through the openness and willingness of the people involved in the process to recognise themselves as human beings in the process of becoming, to recognise the 'unfinishedness of the human condition' as it is through this consciousness that the possibility of learning, and I would argue therefore the possibility of change, resides (Freire, 2001: 66).

6.2 More Than a Technique: the impact of the relationship between 'facilitator' and 'participant' in the participatory process

Taking this argument forward, whilst the role of the facilitator has also been recognised as 'at the core of participatory methods as potential drivers for change' (Chambers, 2008: 179), I argue that this has also been conceptualised somewhat simplistically. Whilst skilled facilitation is, as will be explored below, central to any participatory method, it is like the participatory process itself; it is relational. Whilst personality is important, it cannot, just like

the participatory method cannot, create transformation. This was clearly demonstrated within this research, as my role as the facilitator both of the participatory research process and the individual participatory methods used within the process was only successful if the preconditions for participation were already in place. For example, reflections from some staff members at Project C highlighted that the movement towards more open dialogue during the research process was due to the way the participatory methods and the research process itself had been facilitated. As Suelita, a staff member at Project C, highlighted there is a huge difference between presence and participation. For her, the most important factor in her own participation is the skills of the facilitator:

Victoria: 'Vocês acham que esse trabalho deve continuar depois? Vocês querem fazer mais reuniões assim?'

Suelita: 'Fazer mais, mas que tenha uma pessoa que explique direito e tenha paciência. Tem tudo isso, não adianta querer fazer uma coisa que você não tem paciência de ensinar, que não gosta que a gente pergunte. Aí não adianta, nem precisa continuar.'

Victoria: 'Tem gente que não gosta de perguntar?'

Suelita: 'Aí não precisa continuar, deixa como está. Se vir uma pessoa legal, que ensine, que explique, que a gente possa entender, que a gente possa perguntar, pode ter bastante. Quanto mais melhor. Mas uma pessoa que não vai ensinar direito, que não vai ter paciência e que não fica claro, nem adianta continuar porque não estou nessa, entende?'

Victoria: 'Para vocês uma das coisas mais importante é a pessoa, o jeito da pessoa que está fazendo, para ter essas qualidades que vocês falaram?'

Suelita: 'Que tenha paciência, o respeito, entendeu? Não ter você que está explicando e a Tanda que é uma voluntaria perguntar para você, e você não dar atenção porque a Tanda é voluntaria 'não vai entender nada'. Não vai adiantar, aí é melhor nem me por nos grupos porque vou participar e não vou participar de corpo e alma, vai participar só o espírito e uma obrigação. Eu não vou me interessar. Eu sou muito assim, se vejo que aquela pessoa não me dá bola, eu também não dou bola para ela. Pode ser o rei da Inglaterra, se eu vejo que não me respeita, eu também não respeito. Eu não vou desrespeitar com palavras, falar 'oi, tudo bem', tenho que fazer as minhas obrigações, faço e pronto, mas só por obrigação.'

214

Victoria: 'Do you think that this work should continue? Do you want to have more meetings like this?'

Suelita: 'Do more, but when there is someone who explains clearly and has patience. You have all this, but it doesn't help wanting to do something if you don't have the patience to teach, if you don't like that we ask questions. It doesn't help, there's no need to continue.'

Victoria: 'There are people that don't like to ask questions?'

Suelita: 'There's no need to continue, leave it as it is. If someone cool comes, that teaches, that explains, that we can understand, who we can ask questions, you can have loads. More the better. But someone that won't teach properly, that won't have the patience and that isn't clear, it doesn't help to continue because I'm not in this, you see?'

Victoria: So for you, one of the most important things is the person, the skill of the person that's facilitating, to have these qualities that you spoke of?'

Suelita: 'That has patience, respect, understand? Not you explaining and Tanda who is a volunteer asking you something, and you don't pay attention because Tanda is a volunteer 'she won't understand anything'. It won't help, it's better to not put me in the groups because I'll participate and I won't participate with body and soul, I'll participate only in spirit as an obligation. I won't be interested. I'm very much like that, if I see that someone doesn't give me the ball, I also won't give the ball to them. It could be the Queen of England, if I see that she doesn't respect me, I also won't respect her. I won't disrespect with words, I say 'hi, how are you', I have to meet my obligations, I'll meet them and done, but only as an obligation.'

(Staff member, Project C)

Yet what the research process at all three of the participating NGOs demonstrated was that the feeling of being respected and consequently being able to occupy the space made available is not the same with all people at all times and in all places. The effective use of participatory methods is dependent upon the reflective practice of the facilitator; however what the research demonstrated was that this is a relational process. Whilst the young people and staff at Project C may have felt respected as a result of the research process and how it was facilitated, the contrasting outcome of the research process at Project A highlights that the feeling of being respected, and consequently of being able to occupy

the space provided, is also dependent on the quality of the relationship between 'facilitator' and 'participant'.

For example, my preoccupation with providing a space for discussion and reflection contrasted significantly with Project A staff team's preoccupation with concrete planning and so consequently the 'space' within the research process essentially just caused frustration for all involved. The space that I hoped to provide was neither the space that the staff expected nor were particularly comfortable in occupying. Essentially, my decision to 'be participatory' had been just that – my decision. I had neither asked the staff team if they wanted to work in this way, nor changed my approach when it became clear that the current approach was not working. My apparent commitment to conduct a participatory research process meant that I spent six months trying to create a space without actually asking the team whether they wanted such a space. Ironically, by trying so hard to 'be participatory' I completely failed to respect the staff's choice to *not* be participatory. I had, on reflection, committed the most basic mistake – I had assumed that everyone thought the same way that I did. I had remained firmly trapped at the intellectual level desperately trying to get 'them' to participate whilst failing to allow my own assumptions to be challenged. This highlights the limits of the potential of participatory methods to facilitate the dialogical relationships both within ourselves and with others. Whilst aiming to be inclusive, they cannot create common ground either where no common ground exists or the people involved in the process are not prepared to find it. In an analysis of what makes successful relationships within development, Pasteur and Scott-Villiers conclude the first element in the development of institutional reflexivity, in other words the looking at one's own organisation in order to learn, is the building of common interest between the parties (2004a: 18), and the deeply frustrating research process at Project A indicates that in this instance such common interest was not found.

However when there is an element of common ground upon which to build, I argue that the use of participatory methods can address some of the personal and relational barriers to an effective participatory process. Through the acts of listening, being heard, finding alternative ways to communicate, challenging hierarchy (even if this may only be within the participatory 'space' itself and not beyond it) and realising your own responsibility within all of this, it is possible to begin to increase each individual level of consciousness through developing more coherence between thoughts, feelings and actions. Returning to the poststructuralist defence of participation as set out by Kesby, I argue that participatory methods can be one means by which to 'achieve the strategic agency necessary to

216

deconstruct, resist, and outflank the most domineering powers' (2005: 2060). Whilst participatory methods form just one element of a participatory process that requires skilled facilitation and recognition of the relations of power within which participatory processes occur, they are a means by which to begin to address the specific personal and relational barriers amongst all involved in the participatory process that can prevent the development of children and young people's participation.

Text Box 6.1 Reflections on the research process

Whilst reflecting upon the research process at Project A over the last year or so, it has become clear to me that my own ability to perceive and reflect upon difference, as well as learning to trust my own instincts, were key factors in the difficulties encountered throughout the research process at Project A. I was uncomfortable working at Project A throughout the six months of research, yet I failed to fully reflect upon why. Crucially, although the process was clearly not working, neither the staff nor the coordinator at Project A nor myself wanted to admit that it might be better to walk away. As the quotes below highlight there was a clear 'assistencial' approach amongst the staff team at Project A which meant that the possibility of finding common ground between their perspectives and mine was severely limited. Instead of acknowledging this and respecting their different viewpoints through admitting that the research may not be appropriate for this particular organisation, I tried to change their views. The result, inevitably, was a difficult and frustrating process for all involved.

'Então é um trabalho desenvolvido por profissionais, que vai ser ofertado para eles se eles gostarem, se eles tiverem interesse. Porque são assuntos interessantes, são assuntos bons pra eles. É educação que está sendo ofertada pra eles. Se eles tiverem vontade de participar, ótimo.'

'So it's work developed by professionals, that will be offered to them if they like, if they're interested. Because they are interesting subjects, they are good subjects for them. It's education that is being offered to them. If they feel like participating, great.'

(Amanda, staff member, Project A)

'Eu acho que isso é uma das coisas que eles acabam gostando. Porque eles sabem que eles têm a participação deles, então muitas vezes quando a gente chega até a família,

que tem algum problema grave na família, a gente chega a partir deles. Então eles estão participando o tempo inteiro. Eles vêm, eles contam, eles trazem os problemas, então a gente, às vezes conversa com ele antes de falar com a família. Olha, a gente está preocupado com você com isso, com isso, a gente vai fazer isso...'

'I think that this is one of the things that they end up liking. Because they know that they have their participation, so often when we arrive at the family, that they have some serious problem in the family, we arrive because of them. So they are participating the whole time. They come, they tell us, they bring the problems, so we, sometimes we talk with them before talking with the family. Look, we're worried about you, about this, about that, we will do this…'

(Maria, project coordinator, Project A)

6.3 Linking the Participatory Process to Organisational Change: participatory methods as a means of increasing coherence within the organisation?

During final reflections some staff members at Project C took the idea of personal and relational barriers one stage further through connecting this with organisational structures. For example, Eduardo felt that although Project C encouraged the participation of children and young people, the lack of knowledge amongst the young people regarding organisational structures and processes and an institutional expectation that proposals for new ideas should fit into these structures resulted in a feeling amongst young people that their ideas rarely get listened to:

> **Eduardo:** *'Por que considero baixo? Porque não sei, nunca vi uma ação de jovens sendo uma propósta, também sou novo aqui, mas nunca vi uma ação de jovem sendo uma proposta estruturadamente, porque estou falando que espero como a participação de um jovem do conselho gestor seja... Porque vejo que são duas coisas, a imaturidade de certas propostas e talvez a entidade não abra as portas também para trabalhar com uma proposta imatura.'*
> **Victoria:** *'Como assim? Como trabalhar...?'*
> **Eduardo:** *'Pode vir idéias que eu posso considerar absurdas. Por exemplo, queremos ter aulas de balé aqui, mudando o contexto, e não tem o menor preocupação com de onde veio o dinheiro e todo mundo fala 'ah, que lindo'.*

Se a entidade veta a entidade é ruim, entendeu? Se a entidade veta porque não tem recursos. Não é assim que se faz propostas de atividades. Em vez da gente pegar essa idéia que parece absurda e trabalhar nesse fortalecimento com compreensão, que é um processo lento e que muitas vezes vai haver desistência da idéia porque se você dar muita responsabilidade para o autor da idéia ele pode até desistir. O que eu sinto na fala dos jovens é que as idéias são simplesmente vetadas, desconsideradas. O que não acho que seja verdade mas na fala deles é, é 'quando a gente dá uma idéia nova não é aplicada'.'

__Eduardo:__ 'Why do consider it low? Because, I don't know, I've never seen an action of the young people as a proposal, I'm also new here, but I've never seen an action of a young person being a structured proposal, because I'm saying how I hope the participation of a young person in the management committee would be… Because I see two things, the immaturity of some proposals and maybe the institution doesn't open it's doors as well to work with an immature proposal.'
__Victoria:__ 'How's that? How to work…?'
__Eduardo:__ 'Ideas that I consider absurd could come up. For example, we want to have ballet lessons here, changing the context, and they don't have the least concern about where the money comes from and everybody says 'ah, how wonderful'. If the institution vetoes the institution's bad, you see? If the institution vetoes because they don't have the funding. You don't make proposals like that. Instead of us taking the idea that appears absurd and to work on it by strengthening understanding, which is a slow process and that often will have desistance on the idea because if you give a lot of responsibility to the author of the idea, they could even give up. What I feel in what the young people say is that the ideas are simply vetoed, not considered. I don't think it's the truth, but according to what they say it is, it's 'when we give a new idea it's not put into practice'.'

(Nucleus coordinator, Project C)

Eduardo highlights how the young people's lack of understanding of the institutional processes leads to the young people feeling that their ideas are just 'vetoed'. However the real barrier is not the young people's lack of knowledge regarding the institutional

processes involved in the development of a new proposal but rather the *expectation* that they will already have this knowledge. In other words, the barrier is when there is an expectation that the people being 'invited' to participate will do so without any attention being paid to either the skills and knowledge that they need in order to fulfil this role or the changes that need to take place within the space that they are being invited into. Returning to the two-dimensional framework for participatory practice, the focus remains on the 'X' axis – the participatory scale – without paying attention to where the person is on the 'Y' axis – their level of consciousness. As Eduardo went on to highlight, this is not a particularly difficult barrier to overcome, but it is one that is often overlooked:

> *Eduardo: 'Por exemplo trabalhei com um menino na biblioteca que se sentiu frustrado pelo trabalho que não estava realizando, que gostaria de fazer. Daí eu trabalhei com ele para fazer proposta de trabalho para o Ari que é coordenador dele e o Ari adorou a idéia. Eu não fiz nada mas ajudei a estruturar a idéia, para levar uma idéia não finalizada mas estruturadinha, pensada como seria. Eu acho que falta acolhimento de idéias.'*
> *Victoria: 'Ele tinha uma idéia, ele já falou essa idéia ou não se sentiu...?'*
> *Eduardo: 'Não estava confortável para falar, ele sentia que não ia ser ouvido mas não sei se tinha manifestado. Eu imagino, não posso dizer, se manifestou de forma, de maneira errada. Quando ele levou uma idéia finalizada, foi recebido de braços abertos pelo coordenador dele. Eu acho que falta isso, a responsabilidade da entidade seria ajudar a estruturar as idéias.'*

> *Eduardo: 'For example I worked with a lad in the library who felt frustrated with the work that wasn't being done, that he would like to do. So I worked with him to make a work proposal to* João*, who is his coordinator, and* João *loved the idea. I didn't do anything but I helped to structure the idea, to take an idea not finalised but a little bit structured, thinking how it would be. I think there's a lack of reception for ideas.'*
> *Victoria: 'He had an idea, he had already said this idea or he didn't feel…?'*
> *Eduardo: 'He wasn't comfortable to say, he felt that he wouldn't be heard but I don't know if he had already put his idea forward. I imagine, I can't say, that if he did put his idea forward it was in the wrong way. When he took the finalised idea, it was received with open arms by his coordinator. I think*

there's a lack of this, the responsibility of the institution should be to help to structure the ideas.'

Eduardo brings us to a key point: responsibility of the institution. When a decision is made for an organisation to 'be participatory' it is not enough to look out towards the people who are currently 'outside' and invite them in. To return to the metaphor of the ocean, this is the organisation remaining at the intellectual level of understanding. Prior to this the organisation needs to include itself as a subject of the process through looking in at itself and understanding its own functioning, its own limits and potential, in order to understand how and to what extent it is prepared to 'be participatory'. Just like people, organisations have their inconsistencies, as illustrated by Eduardo's example of the young person not feeling comfortable to suggest his idea despite the overt focus and value placed upon children and young people's participation within Project C. The issue of institutional inconsistency was also highlighted by Carla, a new staff member who, joining Project C mid-way through the research process, had missed the first staff team workshop. However during her final reflections Carla saw this as a positive, as it meant that she soon was able to identify a subtle inconsistency within Project C:

'Também foi interessante não ter participado da 1ª, teve o lado positivo porque quem estava participando já sabia. Eu acho que deu para fazer uma leitura, a gente que estava chegando e não tinha noção do que estava acontecendo, no 1º momento eu senti, particularmente na 1ª oficina que eu participei que foi a 2ª de vocês, 'Nossa, que coisa legal, instituição está bem aberta, mudanças, transformações, que coisa inovadora'. Na ultima não senti que era tanto assim, eu senti as questões institucionais.'

'It was also interesting not to have participated in the first [workshop], it had a positive side because those who participated already knew. I think it allowed a reading, for us who were arriving we didn't have any notion of what was happening, in the first instance I felt, particularly in the first workshop that I participated, which was the second for all of you, 'wow, how cool, the institution is really open, changes, transformations, how innovative'. In the last [workshop] I didn't feel that is was as much like that, I felt the institutional issues.'

(Carla, staff member, Project C)

Carla's reflections highlight two key things. First, the fact that she uses the term 'sentir' – to feel – when explaining her changing experience during the second workshop that she attended indicates the subtlety of the inconsistencies. It is not as clear as an organisation saying one thing and doing another, the complexity of inconsistency is equally as complex for an institution as it is for each of us. However, what her reflections also indicate is that it was through the workshops that she was able to begin to sense these inconsistencies. This was an idea also expressed by Fabio, a nucleus coordinator at Project C, however he took this a stage further and argued that participation also helped to bring coherence within the institution in very much the same way as it can be a process by which to bring coherence within individuals:

> **Fabio:** *'Eu acho que uma instituição igual a [Project C] que cuida de pessoas tem que ter conexão bem ética, uma linha ética bem definida. Mas eu acho que isso tem muito a ver com… Eu acho que se for comparar a instituição com uma pessoa, vou fazer essa comparação, você está conectado o sentimento com o que você pensa com o que você faz. É uma linha única, não pode ter várias linhas dentro disso. Eu acho que a participação traz isso, você consegue ter homogeneidade de pensamentos, sentimentos e cria uma linha única e real, sincera mesmo do que a instituição tem que ser para comunidade, para quem está aqui dentro, para todo mundo conseguir fazer isso.'*
>
> **Victoria:** *'Por que a participação cria isso? Porque é possível atraves a participação?'*
>
> **Fabio:** *'Porque você tem que ter, antes de tudo, ter clima favorável para todo mundo expor o que é invisível, tem que ter isso, para todo mundo oferecer o que tem para fazer o suco. Se a gente vai fazer um suco com várias frutas, todo mundo tem que pôr a fruta em cima da mesa 1º para depois ver como faz com cada fruta para depois pôr no suco. Eu acho que é isso, fazendo uma metáfora, 1º tem que ter condições para todo mundo colocar sua fruta e depois pensar como vai ser feito o suco. Depois todo mundo fazer o suco, não precisa todo mundo fazendo suco, pode ser uma comissão, um grupo fazendo suco mas depois todo mundo bebendo junto o suco. Eu acho que é assim.'*
>
> **Fabio:** *'I think that an institution like [Project C] that cares for people has to have a very ethical connection, a well defined ethical line. But I think that this*

222

has a lot to do with… I think that if I was to compare the institution with a person, I'll make this comparison, you are connecting the feeling with what you think with what you do. It's one single line, you can't have various lines within this. I think participation brings this, you are able to have homogeneity of thoughts, feelings and create a single and real line, truly what the institution has to be for the community, for who is here inside, for everybody to be able to do this.'

Victoria: *'Why does participation create this? Why is it possible via participation?'*

Fabio: *'Because you have to have, before anything, to have a favourable environment for everybody to display what's invisible, you have to have this, for everybody to offer what they have to make the juice. If we're going to make a juice with different fruits, everybody needs to put their fruit on the table first to then afterwards see what we need to do with each fruit to then put in the juice. I think that it's this, using this metaphor, first you need to have the conditions for everybody to put their fruit and afterwards to think about how the juice will be made. After everybody makes the juice, it doesn't need everybody making the juice, it could be a committee, a group making the juice, but afterwards everybody drinking the juice together. I think it's like that.'*

(Nucleus coordinator, Project C)

What Fabio suggests is that as a result of creating the conditions for people to feel able to 'put their fruit on the table' an organisation can start to develop an 'ethical line' by developing coherence between what the organisation says and what it does. Fabio suggests that not only can the participatory process facilitate our own internal dialogical processes that can create the conditions for people to put their fruit on the table, but that it is through the creation of these conditions that coherence within the organisation is improved. Fabio's views closely reflect the ideas expressed within the literature on 'learning organisations', whereby organisational learning is argued to be a personal process that requires 'human beings to learn and change.' (Hailey and James, 2002: 405) Through linking the personal processes of each individual with the collective processes of the organisation, Fabio highlights the intimate connection between the learning and development of the individual and the learning and development of the organisation. This once again closely reflects the literature:

> *'When it comes to improving development policy and practice, individual learning and change is as important as organizational learning and change, and the organization depends upon the individual.' (Scott-Villiers, 2004b: 199)*

However it is also important to note that whilst Fabio points to the importance of homogeneity within the organisation, he goes on to classify this through discussing the notion of autonomy:

> *'Porque na instituição a autonomia, a gente costumava trabalhar autonomia meio engessada; você é livre dentro da prisão de pensamento. Isso que me, que realmente me mudou bastante, o grau de autonomia que tem que promover para conseguir isso [participação].'*

> *'Because in the institution autonomy, we're used to working with autonomy within a cast; you're free within the prison of thought. It's this that I, that really changed me a lot, the degree of autonomy that you have to have to achieve this [participation].'*

> *(Fabio, nucleus coordinator, Project C)*

Here Fabio highlights that whilst the aim may be to produce an ethical line through homogeneity of thoughts and feelings this does not signify homogeneity through suppression of autonomy. Instead, the notion of autonomy needs to be expanded to recognise the 'prison' within which our own thinking exists. This returns us to the issue of personal development and the need for a normative marker by which to judge what is possible, as it is through challenging normative perceptions and encouraging people to think beyond the prison walls and look to what is possible that consciousness is increased. Fabio highlights that it is through individual autonomy that participation is achieved, and it is through this form of participation that you can achieve organisational homogeneity. This is particularly important within organisations working within the field of development, as most people join the development field because they want to change the status quo meaning that 'for the development practitioner, change is both desirable and necessary' (Roper and Pettit, 2002: 262), and, as Scott-Villiers highlights in her analysis of the Accountability, Learning and Planning System (ALPS) within Action Aid, in order for an organisation to become a 'learning organisation' it is necessary to ensure that its staff and partners 'thrive on change'. (2002: 435) And the key to thriving on change, as Hailey and James highlight in their analysis of learning organisations, is learning:

'Organisational learning cannot happen without individual learning… A crucial characteristic of such learning organisations is that their leadership and senior management team are willing to invest in developing the organisation's learning, and recognise its role as a catalyst for change. But more that being committed to organisational learning, they have to be committed to their personal learning.' (Hailey and James, 2002: 406)

This in essence brings us back full circle. The aim of this research was to respond to the call to 'shift attention from children *per se* to children in relation to others, suggesting that children's participation cannot be understood outside of the set of relationships that constitute all the actors' (Prout and Tisdall, 2006: 243) through working alongside staff in small community-based NGOs to explore the practice of developing children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making. The explicit recognition of the relational nature of children and young people's participation alongside the personal change necessary for *all actors*, whether 'adult', 'child', 'facilitator' or 'participant', have been highlighted as central to the participatory process, yet Fabio's reflections indicate this can be taken one stage further. Not only are these two aspects central to a successful participatory process, but they are central to development itself. As Scott-Villiers notes: 'Development is about change' (2002: 434) yet what is needed before institutional change can take place 'is a profound shift in the personal practices of individual development actors' (Hinton and Groves, 2004: 14). Whilst this would require further investigation, Fabio's reflections appear to indicate that participatory methods, when used within a participatory framework, are one means by which we can begin this shift.

Summary

In this chapter I explored the role that participatory methods can play in facilitating the personal and the relational aspects of the participatory process. I argued that whilst participatory methods alone cannot create a participatory process, they can have an impact on the personal and relational aspects of the participatory process through increasing the level of consciousness of all involved and consequently facilitating both individual and institutional movement along the participatory scale towards protagonism. In the following chapter I provide an overview of the main arguments developed throughout the thesis and make recommendations for practices to support the development of children and young people's participation in organisational decision-making.

CHAPTER 7
Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Overview of the Research

This research aimed to respond to the recent shifts in thinking around children and young people's participation by exploring participatory practice in three community-based NGOs in São Paulo, Brazil. Throughout this thesis I have highlighted the profound confusion within children and young people's participation both in theory and in practice. Despite advances in practice, a credible and coherent body of theory to inform practice is still lacking (Thomas and Percy-Smith, 2010) and consequently wide variations in the quality of participatory practice have been identified. Current theoretical frameworks for children and young people's participation within Northern literature rely upon sequential and hierarchical models of participation which is argued to reflect 'a limited and fragmented conceptualisation of children's participation' (Malone and Hartung, 2010: 28) and largely fail to incorporate the fluidity of participatory practice. This has led to calls to shift attention towards the relational dimension of participation in order to recognise 'ways of thinking and being that move beyond rules and rights and emphasise the importance of mutual interdependence and inter-subjective understanding.' (Prout and Tisdall, 2006: 243) Therefore whilst children and young people's participation is now widely regarded as a relational process for all involved (Mannion, 2010: 338), resulting in the re-emergence of the role of the adult in the participatory process, as yet theoretical frameworks have failed to incorporate this perspective.

By working in three small community-based NGOs in São Paulo, Brazil, I set out to explore the reality of children and young people's participation through tracing the attitudes and practices of the adults involved in developing children and young people's participation in organisational decision-making processes. Adopting a participatory action research approach, I set out to work alongside staff members to develop, plan, facilitate and reflect upon a range of participatory methods with children and young people attending NGO activities in order to try to unravel current attitudes to and understandings of children and young people's participation amongst the adults involved in the participatory process. I aimed to address the identified limitations of current theoretical approaches and confusion within participatory practice by utilising an inductive research strategy that took practice as

its starting point for theory development. In order to achieve this, I set out to explore five specific research questions:

1. How do staff perceptions, preconceptions and individual understandings impact upon the process of developing children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes?

2. Does the process of developing children and young people's participation impact upon staff perceptions, preconceptions and behaviours? If so, how does this relate to organisational change?

3. What are the biggest challenges of developing children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes in community based NGOs? How can these challenges be overcome?

4. What is the relationship between power and the development of children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes?

5. How can Northern-based funding organisations improve their practices to support the development of children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes within community based NGOs?

7.2 Overview of the Research Findings

The findings of this research are founded upon two key points. First, that participation should be viewed as a *process* rather than an event. Second, that participation should be viewed as a *relational* process between all involved. In chapter five, I explored the challenges of developing children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making in community based NGOs (Research Question 3) focusing specifically on the relationship between the process of developing children and young people's participation and staff perceptions, preconceptions and individual understandings (Research Question 1). I explored the concepts of participation and protagonism, highlighting that whilst having different objectives, the concepts are intrinsically interrelated with participation being viewed as *leading to* protagonism. In other words, they form a process whereby it is through *experiencing* participation and the impact that this has on self-confidence and self-esteem that forms a fundamental part in the development of protagonism. I then developed this further through proposing that more than a process for children and young people, participation is a relational process that requires the recognition by the adult of their own subjectivity within the participatory process. I

highlighted the negative impact that a failure to recognise subjectivity can have through producing a culture of blame and creating frustration through contradictions between words and practice. I then introduced a two-dimensional framework for participatory practice that recognises the fluidity of the participatory process and the continual learning of all involved through conceptualising participation as a scale that is directly related to the notion of consciousness. Building upon Freire's concept of *conscientização*, or changing consciousness, the central aspect of the framework is that the two axes are *interdependent*; that movement along the participatory scale towards protagonism is dependent upon increasing consciousness, which I broadly define as representing the notions of autonomy, self-esteem, self-awareness and self-confidence. Crucially, the framework embraces the idea of non-action as whilst someone may choose *not* to participate, if the person making the decision is aware of the reasons for their choice and they are freely able to make that choice, then they are still protagonists in the decision. Therefore a key aspect of this framework is that what counts is not the action, but the *reason* for that action. As highlighted by Percy-Smith and Malone (2001) the challenge is now identified as moving beyond the success or failure model of children and young people's participation towards a model that critically reflects upon whether a culture of children's participation has become more realisable (cited in Malone and Hartung, 2010: 33) and the proposed framework is a first step towards meeting this challenge.

In chapter six I further explored the notion of 'consciousness' as introduced in the two-dimensional framework for participatory practice through looking in more detail at the impact of perceptions, preconceptions and individual understandings of staff members on the development of children and young people's participation (Research Question 1) and relating this discussion to issues of power (Research Question 4). In this chapter I examined the role of emotions within the participatory process, focusing specifically on the key challenges and barriers amongst *adults* in the participatory process. I explicitly addressed the lack of attention that has been paid to the supporting role that adults play in children and young people's participation (Wyness, 2009) despite the role of adults being identified as crucial (Percy-Smith and Thomas, 2010: 362). I also examined the influence of emotions on this process as this is another less considered aspect of participatory practice despite the recognition that the process of negotiating and managing participation provokes a range of emotions for those involved (Pinkey, 2009). I utilised the philosophical conceptualisations of Spinoza as a broad framework for discussion through recognising that thought and actions are based upon our emotional reactions to our engagement with the world. I developed the argument that increasing 'consciousness' is based upon

increasing coherence between emotional and intellectual levels of understanding; in other words that we move beyond the intellectual decision to 'do' participation and actively include ourselves in the process of transforming subjectivities. This recognises the deeply personal nature of the participatory process; that it requires not only the intellectual decision but also a commitment to personal change. I argued that in order for participation to be truly effective it is necessary to break down the binary distinctions of us/them and self/other through recognising our own subjectivity and moving beyond the idea that the challenge of participatory practice is how to include 'them' to being prepared to include *ourselves* within the process. In other words, that participation requires the recognition that we are 'subjects and not simply objects of the process we are engaged in' (Freire, 2001: 58). Centrally, I argued that it is the active involvement of ourselves in what occurs around us through the active search to minimise incoherence between the emotional and the intellectual that forms the key to increasing 'consciousness' and therefore develop more effective participatory practices. As highlighted in the literature review, the main weakness within participation has been the continual insistence of looking towards the 'other' whilst failing to account for ourselves as the 'originating subject' (Mohan 2001: 164) alongside a failure to recognise how participants and spaces 'reciprocally trigger changes in each other' (Mannion, 2010: 338). In this chapter I explored the notion of subjectivity and argued that recognition of our own subjectivity forms the basis for reflective practice, which in turn forms a foundation upon which the participatory process is built.

In chapter seven I further explored the relational aspect of participation through examining the reciprocal nature of the participatory process, focusing specifically on the use of participatory methods. Here I examined the relational aspect of participation through analysing the impact that a participatory process and the use of participatory methods can have on perceptions, preconceptions and behaviours of staff (Research Question 2). I also took this one stage further and explored how this relates to organisational change (Research Question 2.1). I explicitly addressed the 'tyranny of techniques' critiques (Cooke and Kothari, 2001: 38) through proposing that whilst participatory methods cannot create a participatory process, their role is to facilitate the personal and relational aspects of the participatory process in order to maximise the level of consciousness of all involved and consequently facilitate both individual and institutional movement along the participatory scale towards protagonism. Whilst recognising that participatory methods can be potential 'drivers for change' (Chambers, 2008: 167) I argued that they can only fulfil this role if those involved in the process actively include themselves as subjects of the participatory process. Crucially, I argued that participatory methods can only become drivers for change

where they are accompanied by personal reflexivity that is based upon going beyond the intellectual and placing yourself as a subject of the process. Whilst participatory methods can facilitate the dialogical relationships both within ourselves and with others, I argued for a more realistic vision of their potential; that participatory methods *cannot* create a process of transformation as they cannot force learning and change where the conditions for learning and change do not exist. Rather, the use of participatory methods needs to be placed in the personal and relational contexts; that whilst they can be a potential driver for change, change can never come about through a method alone. Instead I argued that change, whether institutional or personal, can only ever come through the openness and willingness of the people involved in the process to recognise themselves as human beings in the process of becoming, to recognise the 'unfinishedness of the human condition' as it is through this consciousness that the possibility of learning resides (Freire, 2001: 66).

However this leaves research question five – *How can Northern-based funding organisations improve their practices to support the development of children and young people's participation within organisational decision-making processes within community based NGOs?* – unanswered. Whilst I have identified some of the key challenges within children and young people's participation and explored the relationship between adults' perceptions, preconceptions and understandings and the development of children and young people's participation, the question of what this means in practice remains largely unanswered. However before moving on the discuss the broad implications of the research findings for practice, it is necessary to briefly reflect upon how the case study research design impacts upon possible transferability of the research findings. As noted in section 3.2.1, the research sought to analyse the 'particular in context rather than the common or consistent' (Mason, 2002: 165) through adopting a more holistic approach that reflected the complex social processes within which participatory practices occur. Inevitably this means that the research findings are embedded in the organisational practices of each research site, restricting the possibility of generalisation. However, whilst the findings cannot be argued to be directly transferable I argue that it is possible to utilise the research to think about implications for practice. The three research sites were selected based upon specific selection criteria (see section 3.2.2) to facilitate a comparative study which further strengthens the argument that broad implications can be inferred from the themes common to the findings at each NGO. I now move on to discuss the broad implications of the research findings in terms of both practice and theoretical development.

7.3 Recognising Children and Young People's Participation as a Relational Process: implications for practice and theory

In this section I discuss the implications of this research for both practice and theory. For practice, I focus on the implications for the policies and practices of Northern-based funding organisations that aspire to encourage the development and implementation of children and young people's participation. In terms of theoretical developments, I focus particularly on how the research findings can be utilised to further current debates with regards to both children and young people's participation in the UK and current theorisations about power and power relations.

7.3.1 Research findings: implications for practice

The recognition of participation as a relational process has a number of key implications for all involved in the development and implementation of children and young people's participation. Central to this is the need to recognise that participation is not an event – something that you 'do' – but a process based upon certain values; it is a way of viewing the world that requires more than an examination of practices. The findings of this research illustrate that for participation to be successful in creating change it is essential to examine our way of looking at the world and, crucially, how we include *ourselves* within this vision. This has a number of implications not only for practitioners and community-based organisations but also for Northern-based funding organisations which place children and young people's participation as a central aspect of their work. Any organisation that wishes to support children and young people's participation should recognise that participation requires investment in the creation of the *preconditions* for the participatory process. These preconditions are based upon the following key recognitions:

1. Children and young people's participation is about *everyone* involved in the participatory process:
   - As has been illustrated throughout this thesis, participation is a relational process and therefore before looking towards how to include others, it is necessary to examine how your own beliefs, values and experiences impact upon how you view the other person or organisation. Therefore this research adds to the more recent calls within the development literature that before looking 'out' it is essential to look 'in', both in terms of the individual and the organisation (Scott-Villiers, 2004).

231

2. Children and young people's participation is about *individual* processes of learning and change:

   - Crucially, I have argued throughout this thesis that participation is about each individual involved in the participatory process. Building on Dalrymple and Burke's ideas for the process of empowerment (1995: 54) and Friere's concept of *'conscientização'* (1996[1970]: 49), this research has pointed to the necessity to look beyond the collective actions and towards the individual processes of each person involved in the participatory process in order to judge the effectiveness of the participatory process.

3. Children and young people's participation as an organisational value:

   - As has been highlighted within the research findings, participation is not an event but a process and therefore it is necessary to recognise that participation cannot be measured on a results-based system of evaluation. Instead, this research reinforces the argument to move beyond the 'success or failure' model within children and young people's participation and towards a model that critically reflects upon whether a culture of children's participation has become more realisable (Percy-Smith and Malone, 2001 cited in Malone and Hartung, 2010: 33). Crucially, this research points to the importance of viewing participation as an organisational value upon which *all* actions are based.

4. Participation must be continuously 'fed':

   - Feedback from staff at the end of the research process indicated that for children and young people's participation to succeed the process must be continuously 'fed', with investment made in the provision of space and time for individual and group reflection and discussion that can help maintain motivation and focus upon the task. This demonstrates how providing organisational space and time is necessary not just for reflection and analysis of power relationships (Action Aid, 2001) but also is fundamental to ensuring the maintenance of motivational levels amongst staff.

5. Autonomy of staff is integral to developing autonomy of children and young people:

   - Further reinforcing the view that promoting change for others first requires a changing of ourselves (Action Aid, 2001), staff identified the need for investment in the personal development of *all* staff members, independent of role, through regular in-depth individual supervision, preferably be undertaken by someone external to the organisation.

6. Participatory mechanisms are not sufficient to ensure a participatory process:

   - Whilst tools and mechanisms, for example participatory methods or participatory budgeting, can be a potential 'drivers for change' (Chambers, 2008: 167-191) they do not on their own *create* a participatory process. Unless tools and mechanisms are used within a participatory value framework that addresses institutional barriers they may lead to other, potentially more profound, forms of manipulation.

7. Failure, disagreement and frustration form a fundamental part of the learning process:

   - Whilst recognising the need to move beyond the 'success or failure' model for evaluating the participatory process (Percy-Smith and Malone, 2001 cited in Malone and Hartung, 2010: 33), it is essential to also recognise that developing children and young people's participation *will* involve failure. However a participatory process requires an evaluative model that looks beyond the result towards the process; a model that recognises that a participatory process is not about not making mistakes, but rather making sure you learn from them through personal and organisational reflection. Furthermore, a central aspect of participation is conflict (Florisbelo and Guijt, 2004: 203). As argued by Scott-Villiers: 'While misalignment may generate confusion, alignment generates complacency and dominance' (2002: 434) and the research findings reinforce the view that a successful participatory process requires recognition that disagreement and frustration form a central aspect of the process.

8. When to *not* be participatory:

   - As concluded by Hart et al. in their study of children's participation in development, participation 'is not simply a new manner of working. It is… a value and a way of perceiving ourselves in relation to others' (2004: 59) and the findings of this research point to the importance of ensuring that certain preconditions, for example a culture of reflective practice, are in place in order for children and young people's participation to be effective. Therefore it is important to identify whether or not the necessary preconditions are in place; if they are not then the focus of work should be on *creating the conditions* for participation rather than *doing* participation. In other words, it is important to recognise the difference between thinking that you *must* have participation (at all costs) and that you *should* have participation and working towards developing it (when the conditions permit).

9. Power and recognition of difference:
   - In order to build upon the poststructuralist roots of participation and recognise the socially constructed nature of knowledge, it is crucial to recognise that effective participatory processes require the development of mutual values and co-creation of knowledge. Therefore it is essential to move beyond top-down processes that impose requirements for participation and towards the recognition that all organisations, whether funder or funded, will 'exercise [their] capacity to learn… so much better for being subjects and not simply objects of the process [they] are engaged in' (Freire, 2001: 58).

10. The importance of being idealistic:
    - Children and young people's participation not only requires the fundamental belief in the ability of children and young people but also the belief in the possibility for a better world. As concluded by Percy-Smith and Thomas in their edited collection of children's participation: 'We hope that this Handbook is able to contribute to a shift in thinking about how children's participation can contribute, not only to improving the situation of children, but also to a more healthy, just and democratic world for all.' (2010: 366) It is this underlying belief that will create the energy, determination and willpower to keep the participatory process alive, overcome the challenges and motivate personal learning and change. A key finding, therefore, within this research process is that whilst it is necessary to work *within what is possible now*, it is important to always remember the ideal through working towards *what might be possible in the future.*

7.3.2 Research findings: implications for theoretical development
In terms of theory, the research findings have implications for two key areas of theoretical debate: children and young people's participation and power. I now briefly explore each of these areas in turn.

Implications for theoretical debates: children and young people's participation
As has been highlighted throughout this thesis, participation needs to be conceptualised as a process, however I have also argued that a participatory process must recognise the centrality of the *individual* processes of learning and development. As explored in section 4.5, the concept of child and youth protagonism is a useful tool to move beyond the hierarchical and generally static categorisations of participation found in Northern literature and recognise the fluidity of children and young people's participation. Through

differentiating between participation and protagonism it begins to be possible to represent the *experience* of participation and to understand how this experience connects to personal change. It moves us beyond the current tendency to focus on the overall goal – to 'get them participating' – and towards a recognition of the need to look towards the processes by which this goal is achieved. The two-dimensional framework for participatory practice (see Figure 4.1) attempts to reconceptualise the participatory process and shift away from the categorical approach. This helps to move beyond current frameworks which build upon rather than challenge dualisms such as adult/child and authority/freedom through capturing the relational aspect of the participatory process. This has three key consequences. First, it shifts attention towards the individual *experience* of participation rather than attempting to classify the type or 'level' of participation achieved. This helps to overcome the somewhat simplified differentiations between 'adult' and 'child' created spaces through recognising the fluidity of a participatory process whereby one type of space can then lead towards another. So for example, whilst the research centred on the creation of participatory spaces *for* children and young people rather than encouraging children and young people to create their 'own' spaces, after the end of the research some of the young people from Project C went on to create their own performing arts group, including performing plays written and performed exclusively by themselves in local theatres.

A second key consequence of the reconceptualised view of participation is that it helps to break down the adult/child dualism through the explicit recognition of the adult's subjective role. The participatory process becomes a process about each and every person involved be they child, young person or adult. It is through this broader conceptualisation of the participatory process through both differentiating between and recognising the interrelated nature of the concepts of participation and protagonism that can help to extend current thinking about children and young people's participation within current Northern debates. Finally, a third consequence is that the inclusion of the concept of protagonism helps move beyond the current focus on active participation, whereby there is an implicit assumption that 'everyone would want to participate if only they could.' (Cornwall, 2002a: 56) Instead, the reconceptualised view through the inclusion of protagonism helps to shift attention away from the act of participation and towards the way in which the decision to participate or not is made. Returning to the arguments put forward by Sen in his 'capability approach': 'the real issue is not so much what people actually choose, but what they have reason to choose' (Sen, 2001: 148). Through focusing on process rather than categorical classification of the type of participation undertaken, the reconceptualised framework for

participatory practice expands current thinking through the embracing not only of action but also of non-action.

Implications for theoretical debates: power

The issue of power was central throughout the research process and was raised particularly frequently at Project C by both young people and staff members as a barrier to a successful participatory process. As explored in section 2.2, power is a complex phenomenon which has yet to be defined. However throughout this research the ideas of Foucault and Lukes provided a useful framework to think about and reflect upon the issues of power that emerged during the research process. Particularly useful was Foucault's argument that the object of analysis should be power relations rather than power itself (Foucault, 2002) and the need to try to understand how these are manifested in everyday experience (see section 2.2.1 for more detailed discussion), alongside the ideas of Lukes in his latest thinking that power should be seen as a 'dispositional concept' rather than his earlier zero-sum conceptualisation (see section 2.2.2). This was particularly important to try to analyse the structural and interpersonal dynamics within each of the participating NGOs and to begin to understand the dynamics of everyday power relations. This helped not only to avoid further reinforcing the perceptions of the powerful/powerless dichotomy amongst some research participants but also to break down the false divide between the participation of children and young people and the participation of adults. As discussed in section 4.3.2, staff members' experiences of autonomy within their own area of work were identified as being central to the shifting away from participation being viewed as an action, something to be 'done', and towards the development of participation as a value. In other words, by looking towards power relations and people's *experiences* of power the research was able to move beyond the dualisms of powerful/powerless and adult/child. Instead, through adopting the Freirian view of human beings as 'unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality' (Freire, 1996[1970]: 65), the research places everyone, whether 'adult' or 'child', within the same processes of learning and development. It is this, the recognition of the subjectivity of each individual involved in a participatory process and the focus on analysing the everyday nature of power withi participatory processes, which has provided a significantly new approach to exploring children and young people's participation.

7.4 Research Gaps and Priority Areas for Further Investigation

The research findings have raised a number of areas that require further investigation in order to deepen understanding of the realities of developing children and young people's participation in the decision-making processes of community-based NGOs.

The relationship between funding structures and the process of developing children and young people's participation

Within this research I set out to explore the realities of developing children and young people's participation within decision-making processes of community-based organisations. Whilst I originally planned to analyse the relationship between funding organisations and the community-based organisations that they fund, I shifted the focus towards looking specifically at the development of children and young people's participation. However, an unexplored area within this research is how factors such as financial (in)stability, financial autonomy and financial dependence on a limited number of sources influence the development of a participatory process with children and young people. Whilst a number of studies, books and edited collections have examined this area in relation to participation in general (see for example, Brehm, 2004; Earle, 2004; Eriksson Baaz, 2005; Groves and Hinton, 2004; and Mawdsley et al. 2002), an examination of how wider structural factors impact specifically upon the development of children and young people's participation is lacking. Rather ironically, given that this aspect was the initial aim of the research, it is precisely an analysis of how the structural processes and top-down influences affect the development of children and young people's participation that is lacking within this research and is, therefore, a key area for future exploration.

How individual processes fit in with, affect and are affected by wider institutional, socio-economic, historical, political and cultural factors.

This research did not set out to examine the wider context within which the community-based NGOs work. Although the research was undertaken in São Paulo, Brazil, the interrelationship between participatory practice and the localised context was not examined. Whilst the research paid attention to the participatory process *within* the community-based NGOs, it fell short of analysing the internal dynamics of the NGOs in relation to the wider context in which they function. As effectively argued by Kesby, participation should be conceived as being embedded in space, particularly due to participatory space being 'paradoxical' in that 'while it is brought into being by performances that can facilitate empowerment, relations constituted elsewhere may curtail

empowered performances within it' (2005: 2056). The impact of space has been argued as central to a comprehensive understanding of participatory processes (see for example Cornwall, 2004; Gallagher, 2006), and therefore an underdeveloped area within this research is the localised context, resulting in a lack of understanding of the dynamics and interrelationships between the individuals and the institutions and the socio-economic, historical, political and cultural context within which they exist.

The need to explore the role of PAR in the development of children and young people's participation within NGOs

The research process indicated that PAR has a potentially valuable role in the development of children and young people's participation within community-based NGOs. A deeper understanding is therefore required of the role that participatory research can play in aiding the development of children and young people's participation amongst practitioners. Whilst there is extensive literature looking at the role of action research in the creation of change (see for example Brandão, 2001; Cahill, 2007; Fals-Borda, 1987; Kesby, 2005; Pain, 2004; Scott-Villiers, 2004), this research pointed to the need to look more specifically at the role that action research can play in acting as the 'catalysts' or the external source to 'feed' the participatory process within community-based NGOs. This is currently an underexplored area and improved understanding of whether and how participatory research can take on such a role as well as the ethical implications of undertaking this task is required.

7.5 Critical Reflections on the Research

7.5.1 Positionality and structural context

As I highlighted in section 1.2 while the aim of this thesis was to tell a story of multiple dimensions and multiple voices, the clearest of all the voices has been my own. Through actively engaging with my own subjectivity throughout the research process I went beyond the bounds of the traditional role of a researcher by recognising and valuing my own emotional engagement with the research participants. One of the central research methods utilised was participant observation and, as discussed in section 3.3.2, this is an interpretive and selective act that requires the recognition that researchers are 'part of the social events and processes that we observe and help to narrate' (Atkinson et al., 2003: 109). Clearly, participant observation is not a neutral act. For example, my more

challenging relationship with the staff team at Project A not only impacted upon my interpretation of what I observed, but it also impacted on what spaces were available to observe due to my own discomfort and a sense of being unwelcome in certain spaces. In contrast, my positive working relationships with the whole staff team at Project C, including both the management committee and young people attending activites, meant that I was able to develop a more complex understanding of organisational, structural and interpersonal dynamics within the organisation as a whole. This then impacted on the research findings, as the fact that I was able to build a more complete picture through more in-depth conversations and reflections with the staff team and young people at Project C meant that my final conclusions were heavily weighted towards the experiences at this research site. Furthermore, this also impacted on the research experience for the research participants. As reflected upon in Text Box 6.1, the differing perspectives between the staff team at Project A and my own views meant that joint working would inevitably be fraught, yet during the research process at Project A I failed to fully reflect on these differences. This not only led to frustration amongst the staff and management but also meant that the research essentially had little impact beyond the research period. Whilst feedback from the young people who took part in the workshops as part of the research at Project A indicated that they enjoyed taking part, the research had no impact beyond the chance to do something 'different' for a few weeks. At Project B final reflections from staff demonstrated that while they had found the research process positive, particularly due to my involvement with their day-to-day work, the lack of support from the management again limited the possibility of long-term change.

On reflection however, I argue that the differing experiences of the research process at the three research sites was not only inevitable but also formed a valuable aspect to the research process. Central to this research process was the inclusion of my own position as researcher in a participatory action research project. While the research may not have been as 'successful' at Project A and Project B in terms of gaining in-depth understanding of organisation and structural issues, on reflection it was through my own experience of conducting the research at the first two research sites which then allowed me to learn the lessons that then helped in the development of positive relationships at Project C. Whilst I have reflected on how the research could have been potentially more productive if I had worked with just one organisation instead of three, through the possibility working for a longer period of time to gain a more complete picture of organisational dynamics, for example, this may or may not have been successful depending on which organisation I chose to work with. Whilst this could have been productive at Project C, it could have been

disastrous at Project A and Project B. Therefore while the research may not necessarily have the depth that I would have hoped for at each research site, on reflection the breadth of the research was more valuable as it allowed myself as a researcher to gain a wider picture that can, I hope, then be narrowed down to look in more depth in the future.

7.5.2 Personal challenges, personal learning

The research process has been one of continuous reflection and consequently continuous learning. Whilst this is integral to any PAR project, the experience of undertaking this research process highlighted four key areas that are worthy of further reflection.

The importance of ethics

Ethical practice is more than following guidelines or minimising harm. I argue that it is about ensuring that each situation is approached with the same amount of commitment, energy and enthusiasm and treating each person with respect. Further to this, the research process taught me the value and positive impact of demonstrating my own commitment to the research process. It was through my willingness to go beyond the bounds of my role through taking my turn in the cleaning rota, coming in on the weekends or evenings to attend events, translating for overseas visitors, or something as simple as saying thank you for lunch, that made a real impact on how the people with whom I was working viewed me, and consequently, how they viewed the research. Crucially, after reflecting upon the research process and hearing the feedback from those who took part, it was through my own behaviour that the research gained legitimacy. The quality of my work was only one aspect upon which I was judged; rather it was through my daily interactions that formed the foundation upon which the possibility of a joint process of learning was formed.

The importance of regular re-evaluation

Quality of work is also related to willingness to regularly re-evaluate the research process. This requires honest reflection on your own actions, relationships and processes of learning. As has been highlighted throughout this thesis, a participatory process is a complex process that requires a willingness to learn and change amongst all those involved. A key aspect that the research process taught me is that if those involved are not prepared to include themselves within the processes of learning and change than the participatory experience will always be a fraught one. Therefore it is important to try to establish whether this willingness exists before embarking on the research, and if it becomes clear that the necessary conditions for reflection and joint learning do not exist

once the research is already in process, then it is essential to consider whether participation is an appropriate approach and if not it is essential to be prepared to bring the process to an end.

The importance of clarifying hopes and expectations

I have used the terms 'hopes and expectations' as I argue that it is necessary to move beyond the idea that it is sufficient to clarify aims and objectives of a research process. Hopes and expectations are the underlying, often unspoken, aspects that all those involved in the research process have. However, central to a PAR project is the recognition that hopes and expectations cannot be just about research outcomes. Whilst research outcomes should be valuable and relevant to those who participated, the hopes and expectations cannot be based solely upon how research outcomes can be used. An agreement to participate in a participatory research process must recognise the value of the learning opportunities provided by the *process itself*, on the learning that can come through reflection and the trying out of new things. A key lesson that I have learnt from this research is that central to any PAR project are the detailed discussions and negotiations required *before* the start of the research process in order to clarify the hopes and expectations of potential participants in order to prevent misunderstandings, confusion and frustration for all involved.

The importance of 'talking the same language'

Although somewhat obvious, a key lesson of this research is the importance of language. While this research had the extra challenge of working in a language other than my own, the issue of talking the same language goes beyond differences between working in English or working in Portuguese. Whilst language was identified as a difficulty at one of the research sites (Project A), this was also the research site in which staff were most uncomfortable with the participatory approach to the research. The same language barriers existed at Project B, for example, however language was not identified as a difficulty and I argue that this is principally due to the staff having a better understanding of the *purpose* of the research. Therefore whilst I recognise, and am deeply grateful for, the commitment and patience of all of those who participated in the research to overcome the language barrier, communication appeared to go beyond the issue of the speaking of a different language. Rather it highlighted how effective communication requires not necessarily the 'speaking of the same language' but rather the 'speaking of the same *participatory* language'.

7.6 A Story of Emotions: working with the emotions in the research process
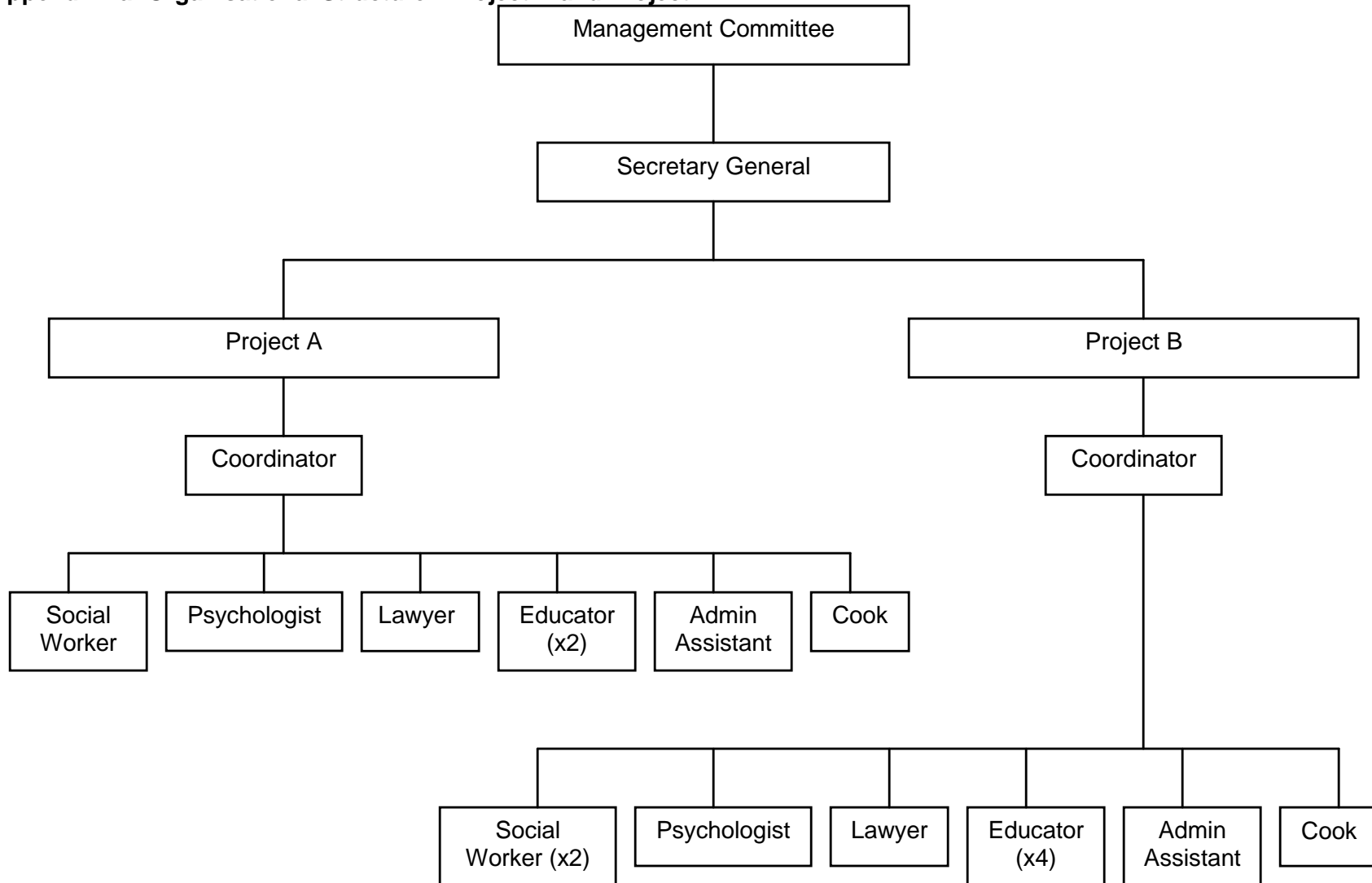
This research was a complex process of personal engagement. I went beyond what are seen as the traditional bounds of a research process through actively engaging with my own subjectivity; I sought to analyse not just what was happening 'out there' but also to recognise how my understanding of what was happening throughout the research process was influenced with my own emotional reactions, understandings and viewpoints. However I also attempted to move beyond mere recognition of my own subjectivity to actively incorporate it in the process of analysis. At the start of this thesis I highlighted how I aimed to tell a story of multiple voices, the strongest of which would be my own. Yet throughout the thesis I have attempted not just to engage with my voice but to trace my own personal learning and my own emotional reactions to situations that arose during the research process in order to highlight the central role that my emotions played within the process of unravelling the complexities of developing children and young people's participation within an institutional environment. My personal belief in the value of children and young people's participation, my disappointment when people with whom I was working did not appear to share this belief despite words to the contrary, my frustration at seeing potential opportunities for engagement missed, my anger when people said one thing whilst doing another and my pride when people told me how the research had changed them all worked together to build an understanding of the realities of developing children and young people's participation in the complex and often contradictory environments in which professionals live and work. It was through engaging with my emotional reactions that I was able to reflect on the realities of participatory practice. As clearly argued by Freire:

> *'… the more I acknowledge my own process and attitudes and perceive the reasons behind these, the more I am capable of changing and advancing from the stage of ingenuous curiosity to epistemological curiosity.' (Freire, 2001: 44)*
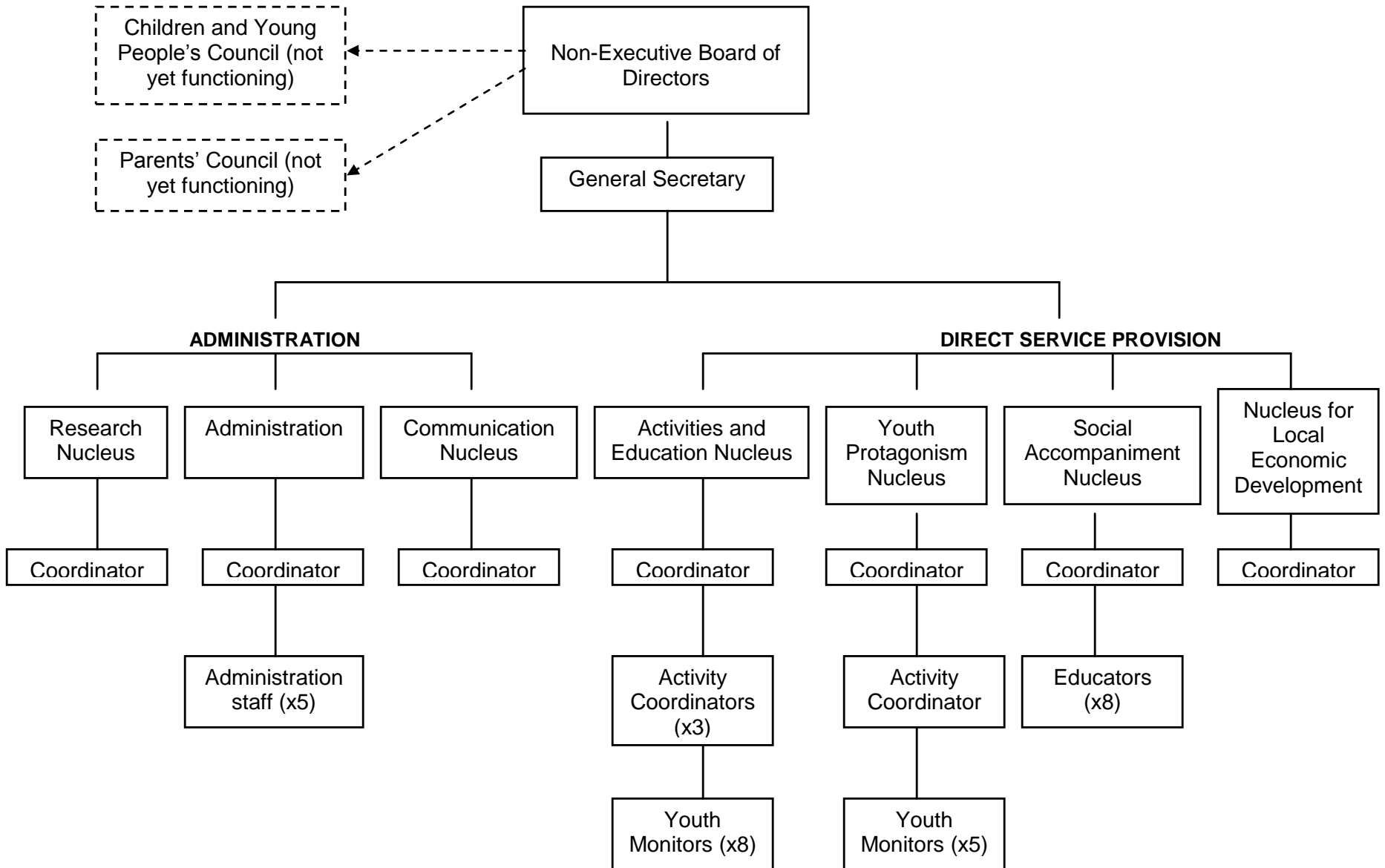
For Freire ingenuous curiosity is the knowledge extracted from pure experience, it is 'common sense knowing' (Freire, 2001: 36), however it is through building upon and submitting our intuitions, emotions, sensibilities and affections to rigorous methodological analysis that we are able to move beyond 'pure experience' towards the 'epistemological curiosity' essential to the production of knowledge (Freire, 2001: 48). So while my emotions played a central role throughout the research, through active engagement I

aimed to submit them to the form of rigorous analysis necessary to inform learning. Whilst I acknowledge that I am opening myself up to scrutiny, that I am exposing myself and my role as a researcher to potential criticism, this has been a conscious decision on my part. After all, as so poignantly articulated by Freire (2001: 87) 'I cannot be a teacher without exposing who I am' and I argue that this also holds true for academic researchers.
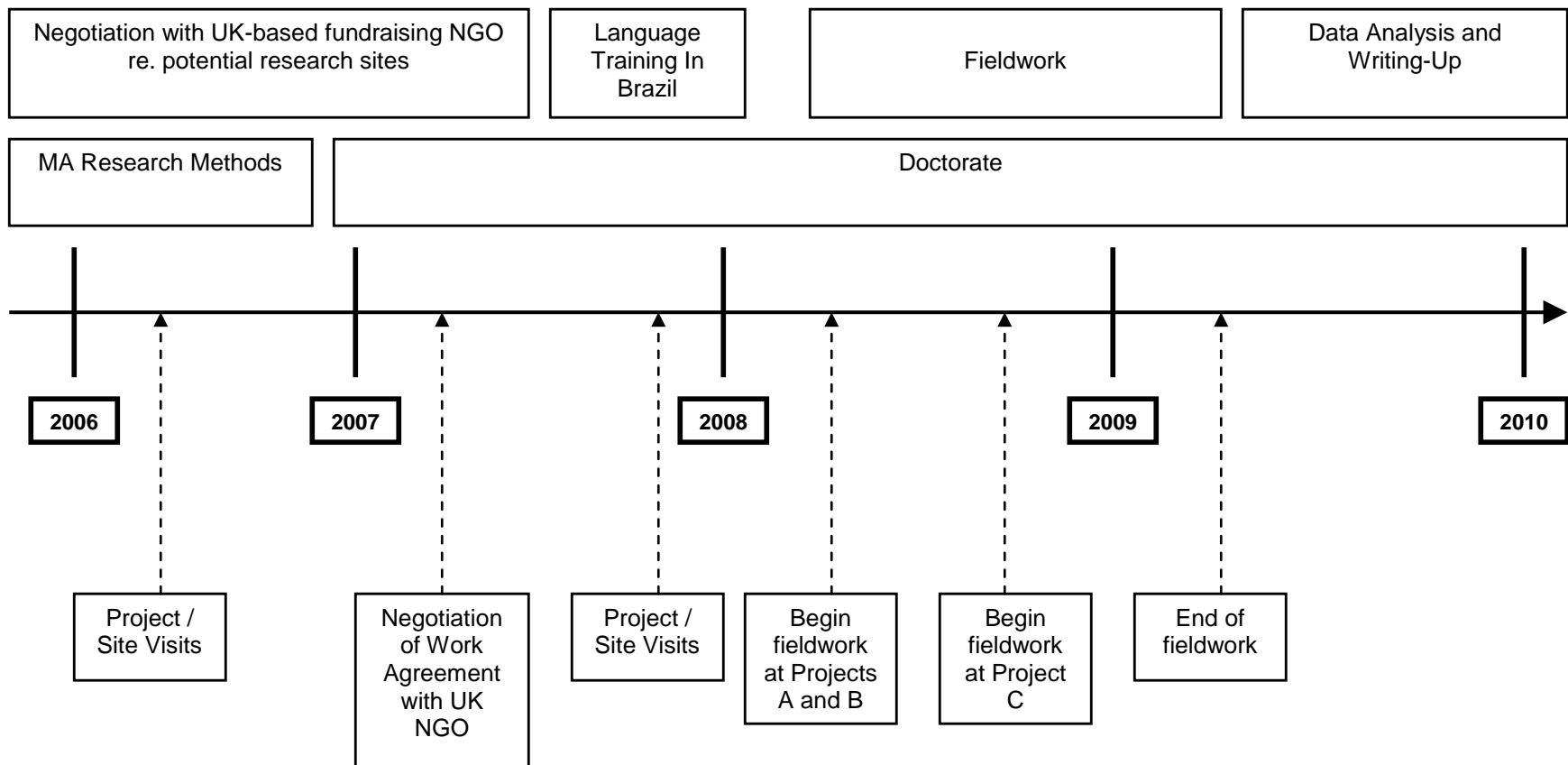
Appendix 1a: Organisational Structure - Project A and Project B

Appendix 1b: Organisational Structure - Project C

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┌─────────────────────┐                    ┌─────────────────────┐
│ Children and Young  │ ◄------------------│ Non-Executive Board │
│ People's Council (not│                   │   of Directors      │
│  yet functioning)   │ ◄──┐               └─────────────────────┘
└─────────────────────┘    │                          │
                           │               ┌─────────────────────┐
┌─────────────────────┐    │               │  General Secretary  │
│ Parents' Council (not│ ◄─┘               └─────────────────────┘
│  yet functioning)   │
└─────────────────────┘
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ADMINISTRATION			**DIRECT SERVICE PROVISION**			
Research Nucleus	Administration	Communication Nucleus	Activities and Education Nucleus	Youth Protagonism Nucleus	Social Accompaniment Nucleus	Nucleus for Local Economic Development
Coordinator	Coordinator	Coordinator	Coordinator	Coordinator	Coordinator	Coordinator
	Administration staff (x5)		Activity Coordinators (x3)	Activity Coordinator	Educators (x8)	
			Youth Monitors (x8)	Youth Monitors (x5)		

Appendix 2: Research Timeline

Negotiation with UK-based fundraising NGO re. potential research sites	Language Training In Brazil	Fieldwork	Data Analysis and Writing-Up

MA Research Methods	Doctorate

2006   **2007**   **2008**   **2009**   **2010**

Project / Site Visits	Negotiation of Work Agreement with UK NGO	Project / Site Visits	Begin fieldwork at Projects A and B	Begin fieldwork at Project C	End of fieldwork

Appendix 3a: Interview Schedule for Introductory Interviews

1. Informação Pessoal *[Personal Information]*

1. O que é seu emprego no [nome do projeto]?
   What is your job in [name of project]?
2. Você há quanto tempo no [nome do projeto]?
   How long have you worked at [name of project]?
3. Quais são seus papéis e responsabilidades principais no [nome do projeto]?
   What are your main roles and responsibilities at [name of project]?
4. Você tem algums qualificações profisionais? Se sim, o que são?
   Do you have any professional qualifications? If yes, what are they?
5. Você trabalhava na área de trabalho social antes de começar no [nome do projeto]? Poderia descrever sua experiência precedente, em breve?
   Had you already worked in the social work area before starting at [name of project]? Could you briefly describe your previous experience?

2. Conhecimento de Monitoramento e Avaliação *[Knowledge of monitoring and evaluation]*

1. Você ja ouviu os termos 'monitoramento' e 'avaliação'?
   Have you heard of the terms 'monitoring' and 'evaluation'?
2. O que é o propósito de monitoramento e avaliação, na sua opinão?
   What is the purpose of monitoring and evaluation in your opinion?
3. Na sua opinão, quem é responsável para a monitoramento e a avaliação no [nome do projeto]?
   In your opinion, who is responsible for monitoring and evaluation in [name of project]?
4. O monitoramento e avaliação fazem parte de seu trabalho no [nome do projeto]? Se sim, como?
   Is monitoring and evaluation part of your work at [name of project]? If yes, how?

3. Participação das Crianças e dos Adolescentes *[Children and Young People's Participation]*

1. Você já ouviu sobre 'participação' ou 'protagonismo juvenil' anteriormente? Se sim, lembra onde você estava quando você ouviu na primeira vez?

Have you heard about 'participation' or 'youth protagonism' previously? If yes, do you remember where you were when you heard about them for the first time?

2. O que é o propósito da participação das crianças e dos adolescentes na sua opinão?

   What is the purpose of children and young people's participation in your opinion?

3. O que você acha sobre a participação das crianças e dos adolescents no [nome do projeto]? Qual nível da participação tem?

   What do you think about the participation of the children and young people at [name of project]? What level of participation is there?

4. Pensando em suas experiências no [nome do projeto], o que sao os benefícios da participação das crianças e dos adolescentes?

   Thinking about your experiences at [name of project], what are the benefits of participation of children and young people?

5. Na sua opinão, o que são as dificuldades de ser participativa no [nome do projeto]?

   In your opinion, what are the difficulties of being participative at [name of project]?

6. Se você pode escolher uma área de fortalecer em relação de participação das crianças e dos adolescentes no [nome do projeto], o que será?

   If you could choose one area to strengthen in relation to children and young people's participation at [name of project], what would it be?

Appendix 3b: Interview Schedule for Exit Interviews

1. Qual foi o propósito dessa pesquisa na sua opinão?
   What was the purpose of this research in your opinion?
2. O que foi positivo sobre a pesquisa na sua opinão?
   What was positive about the research in your opinion?
3. O que foi negativo sobre a pesquisa na sua opinão?
   What was negative about the research in your opinion?
4. O que poderia melhorar nessa pesquisa no futuro?
   What could improve the research in the future?
5. Sua opinão sobre a participação mudou durante a pesquisa? Se sim, o que mudou?
   Did your opinion about participation change during the research? If yes, what changed?
6. Quais são os maiores desafios da participação no [name do projeto] na sua opinão?
   What are the biggest challenges for participation at [name of project] in your opinion?
7. Como estes desafios podem ser superados?
   How can these challenges be overcome?
8. Quais são os benefícios maiores da participação no [nome do projeto] na sua opinão?
   What are the biggest benefits of participation at [name of project] in your opinion?
9. A pesquisa teve, ou vai ter, um impacto ou efeito no seu trabalho? Se sim, como? Se não, por quê?
   Did the research have, or will it have, an impact or effect on your work? If yes, how? If not, why?
10. O trabalho sobre participação deve continuar depois da pesquisa terminar? Por quê?
    Do you think that the work about participation should continue after the research has ended? Why?

What do you think about [PROJECT NAME]?

How can the adults in this project best listen to you and the other young people who come here?

Hi,
My name is Victoria and I am from a university in England. I am going to be staying in São Paulo for the next few months.

I'd like to hear about what young people like you think about this project because you are the most important people to talk to about how to improve what the project does.

I want to learn from you, and other young people who come to the project, about how you can be involved in making sure that the project helps you as much as possible. I hope that we can work together to find ways that allow you and the other young people who come to the project to say what you think about the project now and how you think it could be better in the future.

Would you be interested in helping me find out how the project might be improved?

If you aren't interested in joining in, there's no problem. You will still be able to come to the project as usual.

If you are interested, that's great! But before you decide for sure, I want you to think about a few things:

- Before you say 'yes' you might like to talk about this with someone you trust, like a friend or a family member.

- Remember, you do not have to say 'yes'. It is your choice. No one will think any differently of you if you decide that you don't want to.

- If you do say 'yes' you can stop joining in at any time you want to. Just because you say 'yes' at the beginning does not mean that you have to join in until the end.

- If you do stop joining in but you change your mind and want to come back, I will be happy to see you!

- If you ever feel uncomfortable and do not want to join in an activity for any reason, that's no problem. You won't have to do anything that you feel uncomfortable with.

- I may keep notes about the work that we are doing. I will always keep these in a safe place. I won't show them to anybody else.

- If I ever write about the work that we have done, I will always change your name so that no one else will know what it is you said when you talked to me.

- I will not talk to anyone else about what you say to me, unless you tell me that you or someone else is in danger or could be at risk. But I will talk to you and to the people at [name of project] about what could be done to help before talking to anyone else.

Do you have any questions?

If you have some questions then I will try to answer them. I will be at (project name) on (date and time) to tell you more about this work and I will be happy to answer any of your questions or worries. If you can't come then, you could tell a staff member that you want to talk to me and I will come and speak to you at a better time.

I hope to talk to you soon!

Victoria Jupp

Agreement Form
What do you think about [name of project]?

If you would like to join in with this project please put a cross in ONE of the boxes for EACH question (1 to 4) to let me know that you understand the following sentences:

1. I have read the booklet about this project and I understand what it is about (or someone else has explained it to me).

    Yes ☐   No ☐

2. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project if there was anything I was not sure about.

    Yes ☐   No ☐

3. I understand that I do not have to join in and that I can stop joining in at any time.

    Yes ☐   No ☐

4. I understand that what I say or the work that I do may be used by Victoria after the work is finished but she will not use my name.

    Yes ☐   No ☐

Your Name: …………………………………………

Date: ………………………………………………………

Children and young people's participation in [PROJECT NAME]

Research Project

Victoria Jupp
Durham University, England

My name is Victoria Jupp and I am a researcher from Durham University in England. I am studying children and young people's participation in community projects. I will be working with (project name) for the next five months. I will work with the children and young people who attend the project to find out what they think about the project and to develop ways in which project staff can involve children and young people in monitoring and evaluating the project continually.

I believe it is important to listen to what the children and young people think about what happens there because it can make the project more effective.   I also believe that involving children and young people in this way can help to improve their skills and abilities in planning and developing project activities.

I am aware that your son/daughter attends (project name). S/he has said s/he would like to be involved in working with me. But I also need your permission to work with your son/daughter. To help you decide, on the following page there is some information about the rules and guidelines for researchers. I will follow these at all times.

Your rights and your son/daughter's rights when taking part in my research:

• It is your choice and your son/daughter's choice whether to take part in this research. There will be no negative consequences if you or your son/daughter does not want to take part.

• If both you and your son/daughter agree to take part then you are free to withdraw this agreement at any time during the research.

• If either you or your son/daughter ever feel uncomfortable about the research, or you do not want your child to take part in an activity for any reason then that is fine. Your son/daughter will not be required to take part in anything that s/he or you feel uncomfortable with.

• I will keep notes about the work that I do within the research, but I will always keep them in a secure place so no one else can see them.

• When I talk or write about the research, I will never use your son/daughter's name. His/her views will always be anonymous.

• I will not talk to anyone else about what your son/daughter has said to me, unless they tell me that either they or someone else is in danger or might be harmed. If this

happens, I will talk to your son/daughter about what could be done to help before I tell anyone else.

Do you have any questions?

If you do, then I will try to answer them. I will be holding an information session on (date) at (project name) where I will tell you more about this work. If you cannot attend this session and would like more information then please leave a message at (project name) and I will contact you to discuss your questions or concerns as soon as possible.

Thanking you in advance for your time.

Yours truly,

Victoria Jupp

Parental Agreement Form
Children and Young People's Participation in [PROJECT NAME]

This form shows that you have given permission for your son/daughter to take part in this research. Please put a cross in ONE of the boxes for EACH question (1 to 4) to let me know that you understand the following sentences:

1. I have read the booklet about this research and I understand what this research is about.

    Yes ☐   No ☐

2. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research if there was anything I was not sure about.

    Yes ☐   No ☐

3. I understand that my son/daughter does not have to take part and I can withdraw my permission for them to take part at any time.

    Yes ☐   No ☐

4. I understand that the information provided by my son/daughter may be used by Victoria Jupp after the research has finished but that she will not use my son/daughter's name.

    Yes ☐   No ☐

Your Name: …………………………………………

Date:…………………………………………………………….

257

Research Project:
Children and young people's participation in [PROJECT NAME]

Victoria Jupp
Durham University, England

Introduction
My name is Victoria Jupp and I am a researcher from Durham University in England. I am currently studying children and young people's participation in community projects. I have asked for and been granted permission from the project manager(s) to work with the staff and the children and young people at (project name) for the next five months. This booklet is to give you some information about what I hope to do while I am here.

Background
As you may be aware, many project funders/donors now expect children and young people to be involved in project monitoring and evaluation. But this can be a complex and difficult process for both staff and the young people.

Aims
The aim of the research is to look at the ways that the children and young people who attend your project are currently involved in decision-making processes. I want to work with project staff and the children and young people to understand how children and young people's involvement works in this project and how it affects the organisation. I also aim to work with staff and the young people who attend the project to understand different ways in which children and young people can participate in monitoring and evaluation processes and to try out and develop alternative ways for them to participate in the organisation.

As a staff member at (project name), I would like to invite you to take part in this research. I would like to talk to staff members to get a clearer understanding of the organisation, its structure, the different roles and responsibilities of staff and the decision making processes. The details of the different stages of the research are on page 5 of this booklet.

Before you agree to take part, I would like to highlight your rights:

- It is your choice whether to take part in this research and you are not obliged to take part. If you decide not to participate, there will be no negative consequences.

- If you agree to take part, you are free to change your mind and withdraw at any time.

- If you ever feel uncomfortable about any part of this research and do not wish to take part in a certain aspect of the research then you are free to withdraw.

- I will keep field notes throughout the research but these will always be kept in a secure, lockable place and no one else will see them.

- I may present my research in reports, journal articles and presentations after it is completed.   All names and identifying characteristics will be changed to maintain anonymity.

- I will not talk to anyone else about what you tell me during the research, unless you disclose information that indicates a serious risk of harm or danger to a child. If this happens, I will talk to you to find out what could be done to help before I discuss this with anyone else.

Do you have any questions?

If you do then I will try to answer them. Please feel free to ask me questions in person when I am at the project, or alternatively you can either call me or email me:

Tel: (Brazilian contact number)
Email: v.k.jupp@durham.ac.uk

Thanking you in advance for your time.

Yours truly,

Victoria Jupp

Details of the Research

Phase 1 (First month)
- Introduction to the research – information sessions for staff, young people and parents explaining aims and methods of research.

Phase 2 (Second month)
- Discussion sessions with staff and with young people about structure of the organisation and current organisational process and decision making.
- Interviews with staff members for more detailed discussion of issues raised during discussion sessions.

Phase 3 (Third and fourth month)
- Development of participatory research methods with young people attending (project name) to build on issues raised during discussion session in phase one and to increase understanding of what the young people think about (project name) and how they think it could be improved.

Phase 4 (Fifth month)
- Discussions with staff and young people about how the methods developed for the research could be used or adapted for ongoing use within project monitoring and evaluation.

Staff Consent Form
Children and Young People's Participation in [PROJECT NAME]

This form is to show that you agree to participate in this research. Please put a cross in ONE of the boxes for EACH question (1 to 4) to let me know that you understand the following sentences:

1. I have read the booklet about this research and I understand what this research is about.

   Yes   No
   ☐   ☐

2. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research if there was anything I was not sure about.

   Yes   No
   ☐   ☐

3. I understand that I do not have to take part and I can withdraw from this research at any time.

   Yes   No
   ☐   ☐

4. I understand that the information I provide may be used by Victoria Jupp after the research has finished but that all names will be changed to maintain anonymity.

   Yes   No
   ☐   ☐

Your Name: …………………………………………

Date:………………………………………………………….

Appendix 4d: Consent Form for Photovoice Project (English Version)

Photography Project

This form shows that you would like to take part in this photography project. Please put a cross in each box to EACH question (1 to 4) to let me know that you agree to the following sentences:

1. I took part in the information session about this project and I understand what this project will do.

   Sim Não
   □   □

2. I had the chance to ask questions about this project and about anything that I didn't understand.

   Sim Não
   □   □

3. I understand that I do not have to take part in this project and I can stop taking part at any time.

   Sim Não
   □   □

4. I understand that the information collected in this project might be used by Victoria Jupp in the work that she will write after the project has finished, but she will not use my name or the name of the people in the photos.

   Sim Não
   □   □

Seu nome completa:

....

A Data:

....

20 Métodos Participativos para Usar no

Planejamento, Monitoramento e Avaliação

Métodos para Planejar

Os métodos seguintes são úteis para se usar dentro do planejamento a fim de identificar as prioridades dos atendidos e assegurar que os objetivos do projeto estejam apropriados às necessidades da comunidade.

Atvidade 1:
A Classificação das Prioridades

Propósito:
Para descobrir quais assuntos são importantes para os adolesentes ou os responsavéis. Essas informações podem ser usadas para planejar a programação.

Metodologia:
- Pedir que o grupo pense nos assuntos que eles gostariam de fazer durante o curso (ou quais assuntos que eles gostariam que seus filhos fizessem)
- Escrever cada sugestão num pedaço de cartão e colocar no chão
- Explicar da necessidade de se saber quais são os assuntos mais importantes para eles e pedir que eles coloquem os cartões da seguinte maneira: o assunto mais importante em cima e o menos importante em baixo. Pode-se utilizar a forma de um diamante, por exemplo:

Mais Importante

Menos Importante
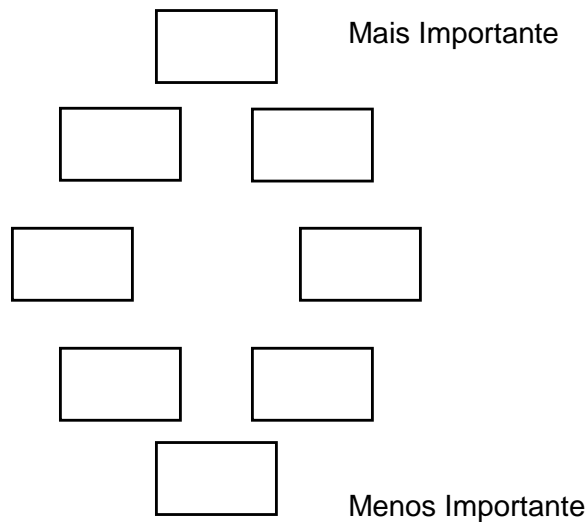
- Depois da dinâmica que foi feita como grupo, fazer uma cópia para utilizar no planejamento do projeto.

Propósito:
Um método para analisar um problema em detalhe e discutir as causas, as conseqüências e as soluções possíveis. Ao utilizar este método pode-se entender melhor as dificuldades e os riscos nas vidas dos atendidos. Ele é útil para se usar no planejamento da programação, para se assegurar a relevância do programa.

Metodologia:
- Pedir ao grupo para pensar sobre os problemas mais importantes que os atendidos estão enfrentando hoje (qualquer outro assunto pode ser usado, por exemplo, especificamente sobre a saúde sexual) e fazer uma lista de todas as respostas.
- Se tiver número suficiente, dividir o grupo e dar um pedaço grande de papel cartão com o desenho duma árvore para cada grupo;
- Alocar um dos problemas da lista para cada grupo e pedir que cada grupo escreva o problema no tronco da árvore;
- Explicar que essa atividade é para fazer uma análise detalhada das causas e das conseqüências dos problemas.
- Explicar que as raízes da árvore representam as causas do problema.
- Pedir para cada grupo pensar sobre as causas de seu problema. Para cada causa, perguntar 'Porque isso aconteceu?' Por exemplo, para problema 'Um alta índice de gravidez na adolescência', uma causa poderia ser 'Falta do uso de camisinhas', mas a causa mais profunda poderia ser 'Vergonha para obter as camisinhas', 'Falta de conhecimento sobre como usá-las', 'Meninos não querem usar' e 'Falta de informações e orientações'. Colocar todas as causas nas raízes da árvore.
- Quando os grupos não tiverem mais causas para relatar, explicar que os ramos representam as conseqüências do problema.
- Pedir para cada grupo pensar sobre as conseqüências do problema. Para cada conseqüência, perguntar se tem mais conseqüências, por exemplo uma conseqüência poderia ser 'Deixar a escola' e a conseqüência desta poderia ser 'Não conseguir um emprego' e uma conseqüência seguinte 'Menos dinheiro'. Colocar todas as conseqüências nos ramos da árvore.
- Também podem ser adicionadas frutas ou folhas para representar as soluções do problema. Tentar fazer um vínculo entre as causas e as soluções, por exemplo para o problema 'Vergonha para obter as camisinhas', a solução poderia ser 'Aumentar a auto-estima dos atendidos'
- Depois do trabalho do grupo, essas árvores poderiam ser usadas para identificar os objetivos do projeto.

As Soluções
(As folhas)

As Consequências
(Os ramos)

O Problema
(O tronco)

As Causas
(As raízes)
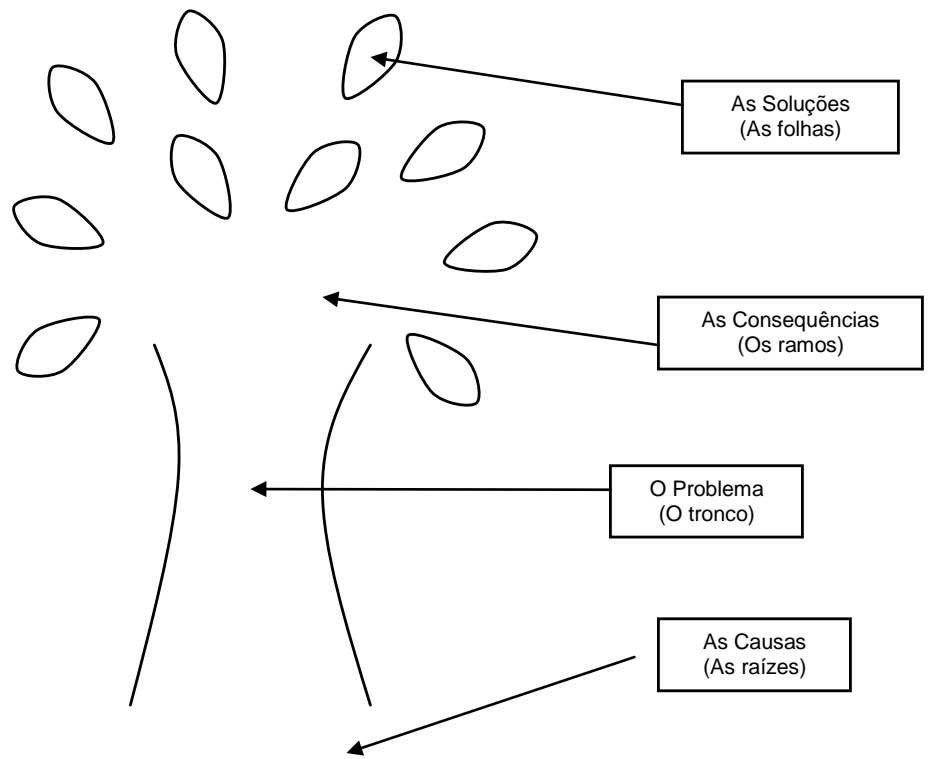
Atividade 3:
Mapas das comunidades

Propósito:
Esse método poderia se adaptado a propósitos diferentes. Por exemplo, poderia ser usado com os atendidos (ou os responsavéis) para entender quem está utilizando o projeto e onde eles moram. Isso é útil para se descobrir o alcance do projeto e para identificar quais pessoas e quais grupos não estão participando dele. Poderia usar essa informação dentro de seu planejamento estratégico para ampliar ou diminuir o alcance do projeto. Também, poderia se fazer essa atividade com níveis de participação diferentes. Por exemplo, a equipe poderia fazer, ou poderia fazer com os atendidos para facilitar uma discussão e aproveitar suas idéias.

Caso o projeto esteja sendo feito com os atendidos, a metodologia é a seguinte:

- Pedir ao(s) grupo(s) que façam um mapa de suas commindades.
- Explicar que esses mapas podem ser bem simples, eles não precisam ser artistas! Um mapa simples já preparado anteriormente pode ser usado, caso o grupo tenha dificuldade de desenhar ou caso não tenha muito tempo para fazer a atividade.
- Pedir ao grupo para desenhar os lugares ou prédios mais importantes, por exemplo, a casa deles, a escola, os parques e as ruas principais.
- Quando o grupo tiver um mapa básico, pedir ao(s) grupo(s) para marcar os lugares especificos, de acordo com o objetivo da atividade. Por exemplo:
    - Onde eles moram
    - Lugares seguros e lugares perigosos
    - Outros serviços ou projetos que eles usem

- Esse método pode ser usado também para identificar outras pessoas que ainda não estejam participando do projeto, mas que podem estar interessados em participar.
- Depois do trabalho do grupo, tirar uma foto ou fazer uma cópia simples do mapa para registro do projeto.

Métodos para Monitorar

Os métodos seguintes são três formas de monitoramento do impacto de seu trabalho. A primeira forma está monitorando as mudanças no conhecimento dos atendidos. A segunda forma está monitorando as mudanças no comportamento dos atendidos. A última forma está monitorando as mudanças na comunidade. Também tem algumas atividades para monitorar a qualidade das oficinas durante do curso.

Objetivo 1: Saber as Mudanças de Conhecimento

As atividades seguintes podem ser feitas no início do curso e novamente no final do curso para saber o aumento do conhecimento. Essas infomações podem ser usadas para mostrar se os objetivos dos grupos foram alcançados ou não.

Atividade 1:
Conhecimento da Terminologia

Propósito:
Para saber o nível de informação que os atendidos já têm e quais palavras eles conhecem.

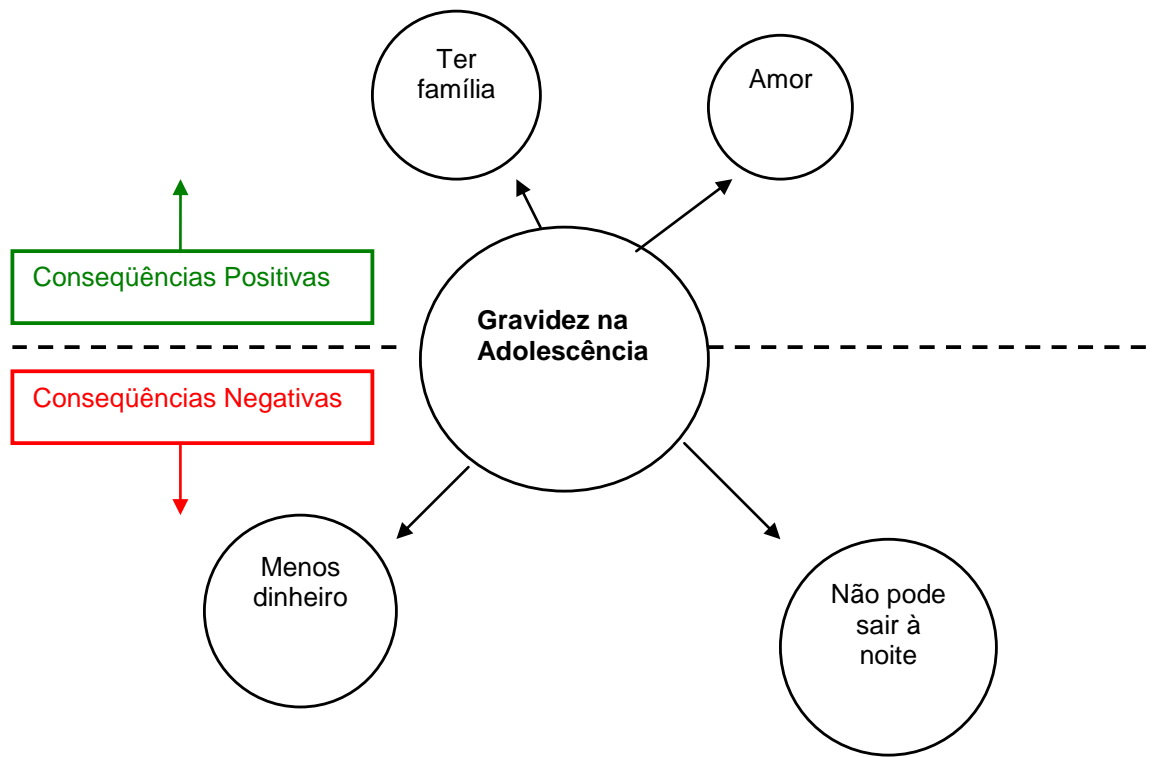
Metodologia:
- Todo mundo se senta em círculo no chão.
- Colocar um grande pedaço de cartão com 'DST' ou 'HIV' ou 'Gravidez' no centro do círculo.
- Perguntar quais palavras eles pensam quando eles olham esta sigla (ou palavra).
- Se eles tiverem dificuldades de pensar em algumas palavras, você pode perguntar questões chaves, por exemplo para DST pode perguntar:
    o como você sabe que você tem uma DST?
    o como pode pegar uma DST?
    o quais são as conseqüências das DSTs?
    o caso você tenha uma DST, o que você vai fazer?

- Quando um deles disser uma palavra ou frase, ele poderá escrever essa palavra num pedaço de cartão e colocá-lo no centro do círculo (se não puder, um/a outro/a colega pode escrever).
- Assegurar-se que todas as palavras ou frases que eles digam sejam escritas e colocadas no centro do círculo.
- Quando não tiver mais palavras, começar a classificar as já existentes, por exemplo:
    o sintomas
    o como pegar
    o conseqüências

- Fazer uma lista de cada categoria.
- Depois do grupo, fazer uma cópia dessas listas numa ficha para registros do projeto.

Propósito:
Esse é um método alternativo para saber o nível de informação que os atendidos já têm e as palavras eles conhecem sobre DST.

Metodologia:
- Preparar pedacinhos de cartolina com os nomes dos DST diferentes.
- Tudo mundo se senta em círculo.
- Pedir por um(a) voluntário(a) para começar a brincadeira.
- O(a) voluntário(a) se senta no meio do círculo.
- Explicar que vai colocar um nome de uma DST na testa do(a) voluntário(a) e ele(a) precisará fazer perguntas para o grupo para descobrir "o que" ele é.
- Explicar que o grupo só pode responder com 'sim' ou 'não' às questões.
- Se eles precisarem de ajuda para entender, alguns exemplos podem ser ditos:
    - É só através do sexo que você me "pega" ?
    - Eu estou com sintomas?
    - Você sabe se você me "pegou"?
    - Você pode morrer por minha causa?
- Quando o(a) voluntário(a) adivinhar que DST ele(a) é, ele(a) pode escolher outro para ser a próxima DST.
- No final, pode-se discutir o que foi dificil e quais áreas ele(a)s ainda não sabem, ou que não estão claras.

Propósito:
Para entender as percepções que os atendidos têm sobre as conseqüências de DST, HIV
ou gravidez.

Metodologia:

- Tudo mundo se senta em círculo no chão.
- Colocar um grande pedaço de cartão com 'DST's', 'HIV' ou 'gravidez na adolescência'
  no centro do círculo.
- Explicar que o propósito dessa atividade é para discutir as conseqüências negativas
  de DSTs, HIV ou gravidez na adolescência.
- Perguntar para eles por uma sugestão da conseqüência   egative.
- Esse menino(a) pode escrever essa conseqüência num pedaço de cartão (ou um(a)
  colega pode escrever).
- Perguntar se essa conseqüência tem mais conseqüências – por exemplo 'estar
  doente' levaria a 'não poder trabalhar', ou 'uma briga com seu companheiro(a)' levaria
  à 'separação'.
- Por todas as sugestões, perguntar se há mais conseqüências negativas e colocar
  essas respostas no chão, fazendo vínculos entre elas.

As Variações des ... **ade:**

Facilitar um Del ...
Pod ... ar es ... de para discutir as razões ... o de co ... amento
e ... r exemplo Por que as meninas fazem s ... O grupo pode discutir
... s no mesmo jeito, fazendo vínculos entre ... ões diferentes, e colocar
... chão.

Dis ... **s Conseqüências Positivas e Negativas:**

270
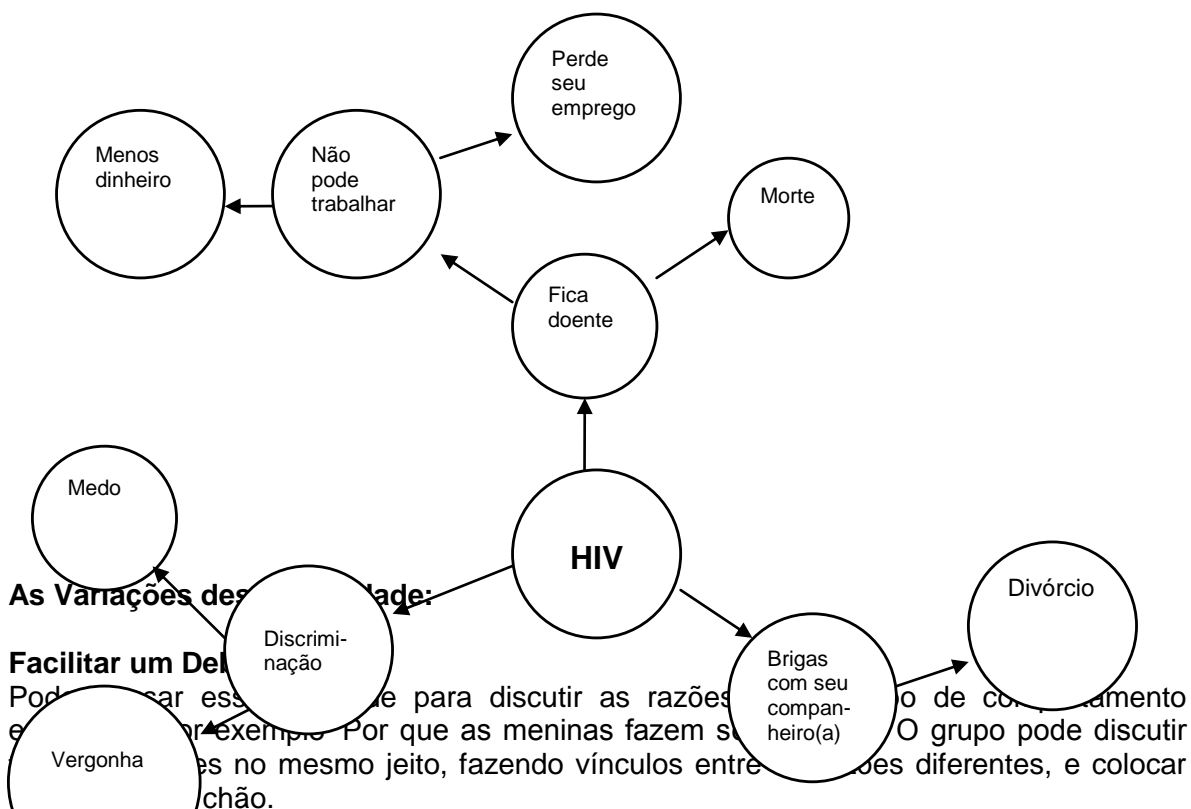
Pode adotar essa atividade para mostrar conseqüências positivas e negativas (por exemplo, quando discutindo gravidez). As conseqüências negativas podem ser em baixo e as conseqüeências positivas em cima. Por exemplo:

Atividade 4:
Níveis do Risco

Propósito:
Para descobrir os níveis do risco que os atendidos associam com as atividades sexuais.

Metodologia:

- Dividir o grupo entre meninos e meninas (pode ser junto se não tiver a mesma quantidade).
- Pedir-lhes para pensar sobre todas as atividades sexuais que meninos e meninas podem fazer por prazer. Dar alguns exemplos para ajudá-los a entender.
- Cada atividade deverá ser escrita num pedaço de cartão.
- Fazer uma linha no chão. Num ponto, escrever 'Alto Risco' (ou colocar um desenho para representar alto risco, por exemplo um rosto infeliz) e no outro ponto escrever 'Sem Risco' (ou colocar um rosto feliz). No meio da linha, escrever 'Baixo Risco'.
- O grupo precisa pensar sobre todas as atividades e colocar o cartão no lugar que eles achem representar o nível do risco de cada atividade.
- Uma outra opção é que cada pessoa fique em pé no lugar que eles achem representar o nível do risco e cada pessoa pode falar sobre as razões que os levaram a escolher essa posição. Perguntar se as outras pessoas concordam, e se não, por quê. Fazer uma discussão até todo mundo concordar, e depois colocar o cartão com essa atividade na linha.
- Anotar todas as atividades, e repetir no final do curso para fazer uma comparação.

| Sem Risco | Baixo Risco | Alto Risco |
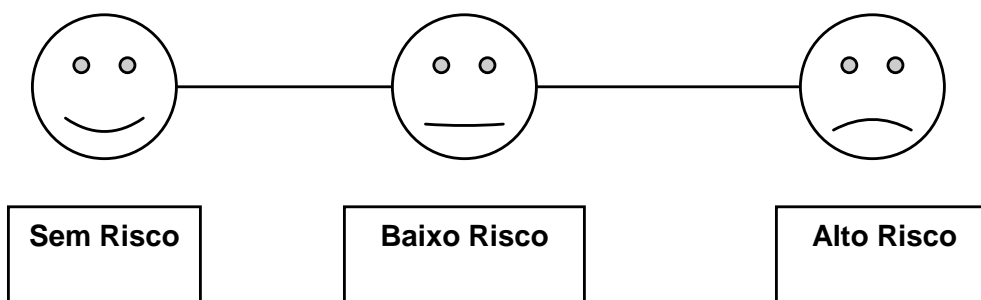
Atividade 5:
Onde pode conseguir tratamento?

Propósito:
Para descobrir os lugares que os atendidos conhecem para conseguir tratamento ou métodos contraceptivos. Isto é útil para descobrir o nível de conhecimento que eles têm sobre onde podem ir quando eles precisam de conselho ou tratamento, mas também para saber sobre a falta de serviços ou as dificuldades que eles têm para conseguir tratamento.

Metodologia:

- Fazer um mapa da área local. Poderia preparar um mapa antes do grupo, ou fazer com o grupo. Também poderia usar um mapa normal.
- Pedir que o grupo faça marcas no mapa os lugares onde atendidos podem conseguir tratamento para DST, ou podem receber orientações sobre métodos contraceptivos
- Para cada lugar, discutir as coisas positivas e negativas sobre o serviço – por exemplo:
  - a qualidade e disponibilidade
  - o custo
  - a distância
  - a atitude dos funcionários (se eles são bem atendidos)
  - a privacidade
  - se eles têm confiança no serviço

- Anotar os lugares que eles marcam e suas opinões sobre o serviço.
- Retornar ao mapa durante o curso para saber se eles têm mais conhecimento sobre onde eles podem conseguir tratamento e orientação, como resultado do curso.

Atividade 1:
Um Levantamento Anônimo e Participativo

Propósito:
O objetivo dessa abordagem é garantir a privacidade de cada adolescente e assim aumentar a chance de respostas honestas. Poderia ser feita no início e no final do curso, para fazer uma comparação e saber sobre algumas mudanças no comportamento sexual dos atendidos.

Metodologia:

- Explicar que o propóstio do levantamento é para melhorar nosso entendimento sobre as vidas deles e assim fortalecer o trabalho do projeto.
- Explicar que todas as respostas serão confidenciais e para garantir isso, todos os atendidos precisam:
    - Sentar distantes uns dos outros para que ninguém veja o que outro está escrevendo.
    - Utilizar uma caneta da mesma cor.
    - Sempre escrever alguma coisa no papel como resposta.

- Dar para cada adolescente pedaços de papéis relativo ao número de questões. Explicar que eles precisam escrever sua resposta por cada questão num novo pedaço de papel
- Caso o grupo tenha número suficiente para garantir a privacidade das respostas, pode-se usar papéis com cores diferentes para as meninas e os meninos.
- Perguntar a primeira questão. Para responder, cada adolescente deve marcar:

$\sqrt{}$ - se sua resposta for 'sim'

X – se sua resposta for 'não'

1, 2, 3 etc – um número (por exemplo, sua idade)

? – se não quiser responder a questão ou se a questão não for aplicável

- Explicar que o educador(a) vai misturar e jogar os papéis no lixo depois de cada resposta e ningúem vai saber de quem foi a resposta.
- Quando todo mundo responder a questão, pedir que eles dobrem o papel e coloquem todos os papéis numa caixa (usar caixas diferentes para as meninas e os meninos se tiver número suficiente).
- Agitar a(s) caixa(s) para misturar os papéis
- Contar as respostas e colocar os resultados num pedação de papel na parede. Por exemplo:

Número da Questão	'Sim' √	'Não' X	'Não quer responder' ?	Número
1	7	4	2	-
2	-	-	-	15, 12, 17, 11, 13, 15, 16, 11...
3	3	9	1	

- Depois de todas as respostas ser contado, destruir todos os pedaços de papéis em frente do grupo. O propósito disto, é para demonstrar que as respostas são anônimas, e para encorajar os adolesentes a serem honestos nas respostas.
- Continuar a perguntar as questões, uma para cada uma, destruindo os papéis quando as respostas tiveram sido contadas e escritas no mural.
- Quando tiver todas as respostas, discutir os resultados com o grupo. Assegurar-se para manter a privacidade. Caso haja respostas diferentes ou estranhas não pedir para os adolesentes se identificarem.
- Para facilitar uma discussão, pedir que o grupo pense em questões chaves, por exemplo:
  - O que estamos fazendo que aumentam os riscos de gravidez / DST / HIV?
  - O que estamos fazendo para nos protegermos?
  - O que nós precisamos fazer para melhorar nossa saúde sexual e para minimizar os riscos?

- Depois da atividade, anotar os resultados numa ficha para os registros do projeto. Perguntar se os atendidos gostariam de uma cópia dos resultados e se sim, fornecer uma cópia para eles também.
- Para fazer essa atividade, duas pessoas (no mínimo) serão necessárias – uma para perguntar as questões e a outra para coletar os papéis e escrever as respostas no papel que estará fixado na parede.

Exemplos de questões que poderiam / podem ser incluindas:

1. Você já teve experiências sexuais?
2. Você já fez sexo?
3. Quantos anos você tinha quando você fez sexo pela primeira vez?
4. Você estava à vontade quando fez sexo pela primeira vez?
5. Você fez sexo quando estava bêbado?
6. Você fez sexo quando tinha usado drogas?
7. Você já teve um DST?
8. Na última vez que você fez sexo, você usou uma camisinha?
9. Na última vez que você fez sexo, você usou alguma forma de contracepção?
10. Você fez sexo com quantas pessoas durante os últimos 12 meses?

Objetivo 3: Saber as Mudanças na Comunidade

O propósito dos métodos seguintes é fazer vínculos entre o trabalho do projeto e as mudanças na comunidade.

**Atividade 1:
Mapas das comunidades**

Propóstio:
Esse método é similar ao mapa do planejamento. Poderia ser adaptado à atividade pelos propósitos diferentes. Poder-se-ia usar mapas para entender como os atendidos olham suas comunidades, por exemplo, para discutir onde eles ficam e o que eles fazem nesses lugares, ou para discutir os lugares seguros e perigosos. Esta atividade poderia ser feita, com todo o grupo ou dividir o grupo por sexo ou por idade, para ganhar persectivas diferentes. Isso é útil para entender os riscos diferentes nas suas vidas.

Metodologia:

- Pedir ao(s) grupo(s) para fazerem um mapa de suas comunidades (se eles são de lugares diferentes, pode-se formar grupos de acordo com as áreas diferentes)
- Explicar que esses mapas podem ser bem simples, eles não precisam ser artistas! Pode-se usar um mapa simples já preparado se o grupo tiver dificuldades para desenhá-lo ou se não tiver muito tempo para fazer a atividade.
- Pedir ao grupo para desenhar os lugares ou prédios mais importantes, por exemplo, a casa deles, a escola, os parques e as ruas maiores.
- Quando o grupo tiver um mapa básico, pedir-lhes que marquem lugares especificos, de acordo com o objetivo da atividade. Por exemplo:
  - Lugares seguros e lugares perigosos
  - Onde eles ficam com seus amigos e o que eles fazem nesses lugares
  - Outros serviços ou projetos que eles usem

- Esse método pode ser usado também para identificar os atendidos que ainda não estão participando, que talvez estejam interessados em participar.
- Depois do grupo, tirar uma foto ou fazer uma cópia simples do mapa para os registros do projeto.

Atividade 2:
Excursão com Guia

Propósito:
O propósito desse método é fortalecer o entendimento dos profissionais sobre as perspectivas de vida dos atendidos. Esta atividade vai criar oportunidades para os atendidos mostrarem como eles olham suas próprias vidas e a comunidade em que vivem.

Metodologia:

- Decidir o propósito da atividade. Por exemplo, para saber da vida cotidiana dos atendidos, ou se os lugares são seguros ou perigosos, ou onde eles conseguem comida, remédios, atendimento médico etc.
- Explicar para o grupo que gostaria de saber mais sobre suas vidas, e que eles vão ser seus guias.
- Explicar o assunto da excursão, por exemplo: sua vida cotidiana.
- Pedir ao grupo para discutir e decidir os lugares que ele acha que são importantes e incluir na excursão.
- Sair com o grupo e durante a excursão, pedir que eles expliquem o significado de cada lugar. Fotos dos lugares mais significativos podem ser tiradas durante a excursão.
- Depois da excursão, os lugares visitados poderiam ser marcados num mapa para registros do projeto.

Atividade 3:
Fotografia

Propósito:
Essa metodologia é para fortalecer o entendimento sobre o olhar dos atendidos sobre suas comunidades e vidas, e também para tentar mostrar a realidade e complexidade do trabalho para as pessoas de fora. Poder-se-ia repetir com freqüência para explorar as mudanças nas vidas dos atendidos e na comunidade em geral. É um caminho alternativo de comunicação que poderia incluir as pessoas que não podem ler ou escrever.

Metodologia:

- Decidir no objetivo da atividade, por exemplo, explorar as perspectivas dos atendidos em suas próprias comunidades, ou para explorar as mudanças nas suas vidas como resultado do projeto.
- Decidir alguns critérios para definir quem é apropriado para ser convidado a participar.
- Convidar as pessoas para participar assegurando que elas entendam o propósito da atividade e os riscos potenciais quando as fotos forem tiradas. Por exemplo, o direito das pessoas à privacidade e a importância de pegarem permissão antes de tirarem uma foto e também a segurança pessoal se tirando fotos de atividades ilegais.
- Se eles concordarem em participar, dar-lhes uma máquina de fotografia e explicar como funciona.
- Marcar uma data para devolverem a máquina.
- Quando todos os filmes forem revelados, entrevistas deverão ser feitas com todos os participantes para discutir as fotos. Eles podem escolher algumas das fotos que eles acharem que representam as coisas mais importantes (um número bom é cinco ou seis fotos por pessoa).
- Poder-se-ia fazer um painel com todas as fotos e apresentar para os outros atendidos, ou para outras instituições. **Contudo, caso essas fotos sejam usadas fora do projeto, é fundamental se assegurar que elas não causem perigo ou mal aos participantes. É importante obter a permissão de todos os participantes**.

Monitoramento de Qualidade das Oficinas

Poderia ser usado feedback para monitorar a qualidade das oficinas no final de cada uma delas: as opiniões dos atendidos sobre o conteúdo, a qualidade da facilitação, nível de aprendizagem etc. Também no final do curso para avaliar as opiniões dos atendidos sobre o curso completo. O método mais simples é usar os números de 0 até 10. Essa abordagem é simples para explicar aos grupos, e também é simples para anotar os registros do projeto. Tem uma variedade de formas que podem ser usadas, dependendo as idades e habilidades dos atendidos.

Métodos para os menores
Os métodos seguintes são úteis para serem usados com os menores ou quando tem uma variação das habilidades dos atendidos.

Atividade 1:
Rostos Felizes e Infelizes (o mais simples)

Esse método é a forma de feedback mais simples. Colocar três caras numa pedaço de cartolina: uma cara feliz, uma cara séria, e uma cara infeliz. No final da oficina, cada participante pode colocar um adesivo, ou fazer uma X com uma caneta, ao lado da cara que representa como eles se sentem sobre o grupo.

Esse método é útil para saber informações básicas, como por exemplo, se os atendidos estão gostando das oficinas. Não dá muitos detalhes, mas é útil, em particular com as crianças mais novas.

Depois da oficina, dar pontos para cada resposta e anotar as notas nos registros do projeto:

 - 10 pontos

 - 5 pontos

 - 0 pontos
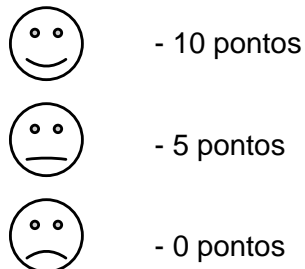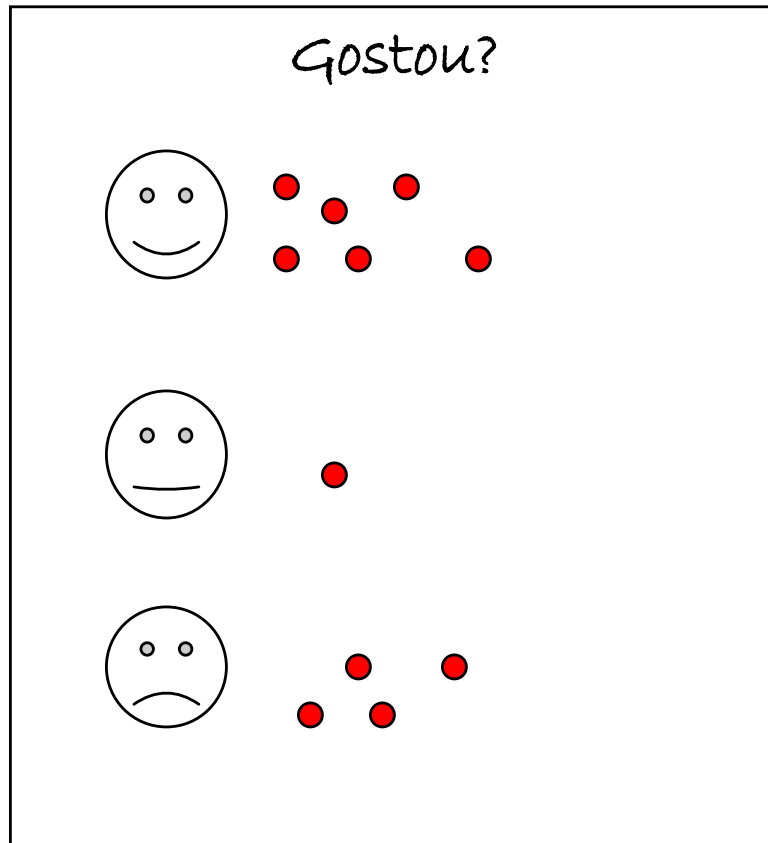
Atividade 2:
Rostos Felizes e Infelizes (mais complexo)

Esse método usa o mesmo princípio que o método anterior, mas esse método pode dar informações mais detalhadas. Desenhar duas caras num pedaço de cartolina, uma cara infeliz e uma outra cara feliz. Desenhar uma linha entre as duas caras e escrever os números de 0 até 10 ao longo da linha. Poder-se-ia usar só uma, com a questão básica 'O que você acha sobre o grupo hoje?', ou usar três ou quatro para ganhar informações mais detalhadas com questões mais específicas, como: 'O que você acha da atividade de hoje?', 'O que você acha sobre a qualidade da facilitação de hoje?', ou 'Quanto você acha que hoje aprendeu no grupo?'.

Dar um adesivo para cada participante na oficina. Explicar que eles precisam colocar o adesivo em cima do número que representa seu nível de satisfação da oficina. Explicar que o número 10 representa que eles gostaram de tudo, 5 representa que eles gostaram de algumas coisas mas não tudo, e que 0 representa que eles não gostaram de nada. Assegurar que eles os coloquem, quando os profissionais não estão olhando para garantir que as respostas sejam anônimas.

Em baixo da linha, colocar algumas pedaços de papel (ou os papeis de 'post-it') e pedir que os atendidos escrevem suas razões pelas notas dadas.

Depois do grupo, anotar as respostas para os registros do projeto.

280
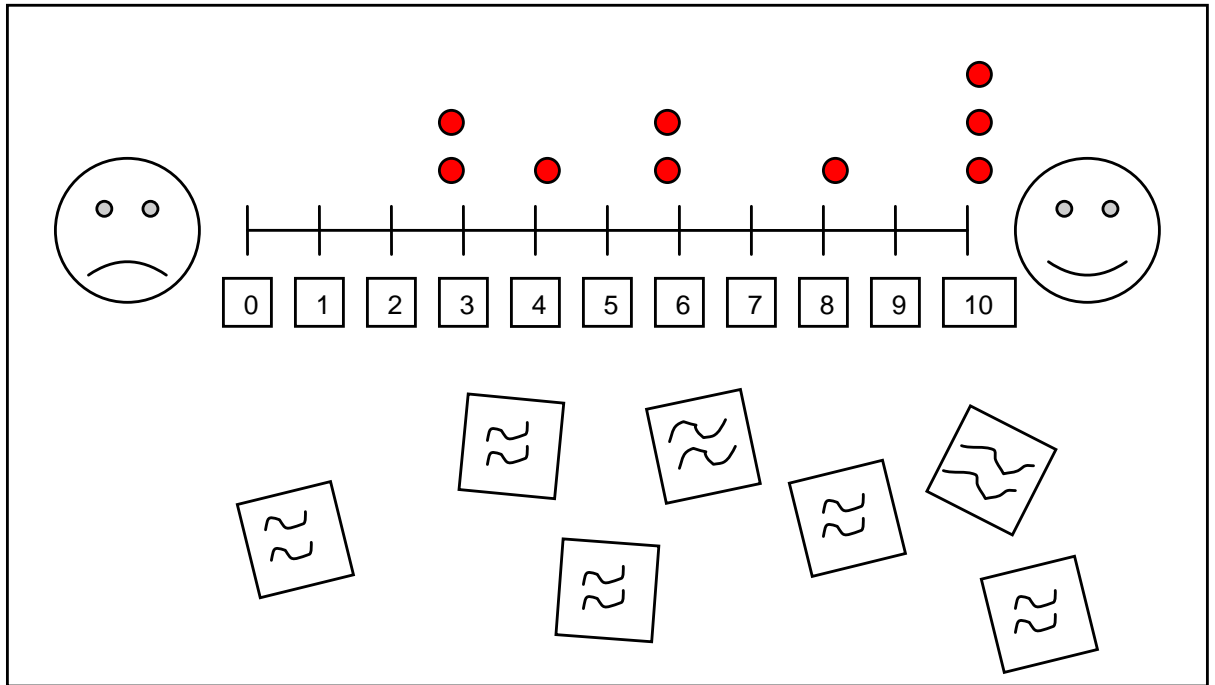
Uma Forma Alternativa

Uma outra forma dessa atividade é colocar os números na parede ou no chão e os atendidos podem ficar em pé ao lado do número que representa o nível de satisfação. Pedir para os atendidos explicarem por que eles deram as notas. Essa forma é mais dinâmica, mas precisar-se-ia assegurar que as respostas sejam anotadas. Há a necessidade de se usar dois profissionais para esta atividade.

O método seguinte é útil para ser usado com os grupos dos maiores

Questionário

Esse é um questionário que utiliza o mesmo princípio das notas de 0 até 10. Pode ser dado a cada participante no final da oficina e um outro no final do curso.

Data do Grupo _____

	Pontos 0-10
Nível do Aprendizagem	
Qualidade da Atividade	
Qualidade da Facilitação	
Nível da Satisfação	

Sugestões ou Dúvidas:

Avaliação

Esses métodos têm três objetivos. As primeiras duas atividades são para tentar avaliar o aumento de conhecimento dos atendidos como resultado das oficinas. O terceiro método é para avaliar o impacto pessoal dos atendidos do trabalho do projeto. O método final é uma avaliação participativa e detalhada sobre o projeto em geral.

Objetivo 1:
O Aumento no Conhecimento
Essas atividades documentam o aumento no conhecimento dos atendidos como resultado das oficinas.

Atividade 1:
Linhas de Classificação

Propósito:
Para anotar o conhecimento que os atendidos ou as famílias deles acham que tinham quando começaram a participar do projeto e o conhecimento que eles acham que têm no final do mesmo.

Metodologia:

- Essa atividade é bem fácil e rápida para se fazer. Pode ser usada no final de um curso para refletir sobre o que os atendidos aprenderam durante o curso (talvez com os maiores), ou pode ser usada no início do grupo e novamente no final para fazer uma comparação (talvez com os menores).
- Explicar para o grupo que o objetivo dessa atividade é para entender o nível de conhecimento que eles acham que tinham no início do grupo e o nível que eles tem no final.
- Pode-se usar essa atividade de duas formas. A primeira forma é mais dinâmica e a segunda é por escrito.

Primeira forma
- Colocar uma linha no chão ou na parede de um lado da sala até o outro. Ao longo da linha colocar os números 0 até 10.
- Explicar que os números significam o nível do conhecimento que eles acham que têm. Por exemplo, 0 significa 'Eu sei / sabia nada' e 10 significa 'Eu sei / sabia tudo'.
- Explicar que você vai dizer alguns assuntos que estavam dentro da programação (ou que estão dentro da programação que está sendo feita no início do grupo)
- Explicar que eles precisam pensar sobre quanto eles sabem sobre cada assunto, e ficar em pé no número que eles acham representar seus níveis de conhecimento. Pode praticar com um exemplo, como 'Quanto você sabe sobre astronomia?' ou 'Quanto você sabe sobre futebol?'

- Quando tudo mundo entender a atividade, começar a dizer assuntos diferentes, por exemplo: 'Quanto você sabe / sabia sobre HIV/Aids?', 'Quanto você sabe / sabia sobre drogas?', 'Quanto você sabe / sabia sobre como se pode pegar um DST?' etc.
- Se estiver usando só no final do grupo pode-se perguntar as questões nas duas formas (passado e presente) e fazer uma discussão sobre por que eles mudaram para um outro número.
- Se estiver usando no início e novamente no final, anotar as respostas do início e se assegurar que vai usar as mesmas questões no final para fazer um comparação.
- Se algumas pessoas acharem que eles já tem um alto nível de conhecimento, pode-se pedir por explanações sobre onde eles conseguiram as informações.

Segunda forma
- Utilizar um grande pedaço de cartolina ou papel por cada assunto. Escrever cada assunto em cima de cada pedaço de cartolina e desenhar uma linha com os números de 0 até 10 em cada pedaço (pode desenhar um rosto infeliz e um rosto feliz para representar 0 e 10 para os grupos dos menores)
- Dar um adesivo por assunto para todo mundo. Explicar que eles precisam colocar a adesivo ao longo da linha para representar seus níveis de conhecimento sobre cada assunto.
- Se estiver usando só no final do grupo, pode-se usar dois pedaços de cartolina, um para representar o conhecimento no início e o outro para representar o conhecimento hoje.
- Depois, fazer uma discussão sobre onde eles colocaram as adesivos.

As Variações dessa Atividade
Essa atividade pode ser adaptada para discutir muitos assuntos diferentes, por exemplo sobre o nível de riqueza e pobreza das comunidades (0 é muito pobre, 10 é muito rico) ou a segurança nas comunidades (0 é muito inseguro, 10 é muito seguro).

Atividade 2:
'Trilha de Pedras'

Propósito:
Para avaliar o que os atendidos podem fazer para se proteger e assegurar os seus próprios futuros. Poder-se-ia usar esse método para discutir assuntos diferentes, por exemplo saúde sexual, perspectivas de trabalho, como se proteger em situações de violência etc. Este método poderia ser usado no final do curso como uma avaliação para entender o que eles aprenderam durante o curso e como eles vão usar essa informação dentro de suas vidas no futuro.

Metodologia:

- Por exemplo, se quer discutir saúde sexual, pode-se fazer uma discussão sobre as esperanças deles no futuro. Pode formar uma lista das esperanças, por exemplo:
  o Para não ter DSTs
  o Para não pegar HIV
  o Para não ter filhos quando não estiver preparado
  o Para ter uma boa vida sexual!

- Escrever todas essas esperanças num pedaço de cartão e colocar no chão
- Depois disso, fazer as 'margens do rio' utilzando barbante, com um lado representando 'Onde nós estamos hoje' e o outro lado representando 'Onde nós gostariamos de estar no futuro'
- Colocar as esperanças deles por saúde sexual no futuro na outra margem e todo mundo fica em pé na margem 'Onde nós estamos hoje'
- Fazer uma discussão sobre o que pode ajudar a atravessar o rio e chegar na outra margem, por exemplo:
  o acesso às informações certos
  o ser fiel
  o usar camisinha
  o não deixar a escola

- Escrever cada resposta num pedaço maior de cartão e colocar no 'rio' para representar 'pedras'.
- Depois, fazer uma discussão sobre o que pode impedir a travessia do rio, por exemplo:
  o não usando contraceptivos
  o violência sexual
  o vergonha de usar camisinhas
  o falta de serviços de saúde

- Escrever cada resposta num pedaço maior de cartão que representa um jacaré.
- Facilitar uma discussão sobre o que eles podem fazer para diminuir o número de 'jacarés' e aumentar o número das 'pedras'.
- Anotar todas as respostas pelos registros do projeto.

Onde nós gostaríamos de estar no futuro
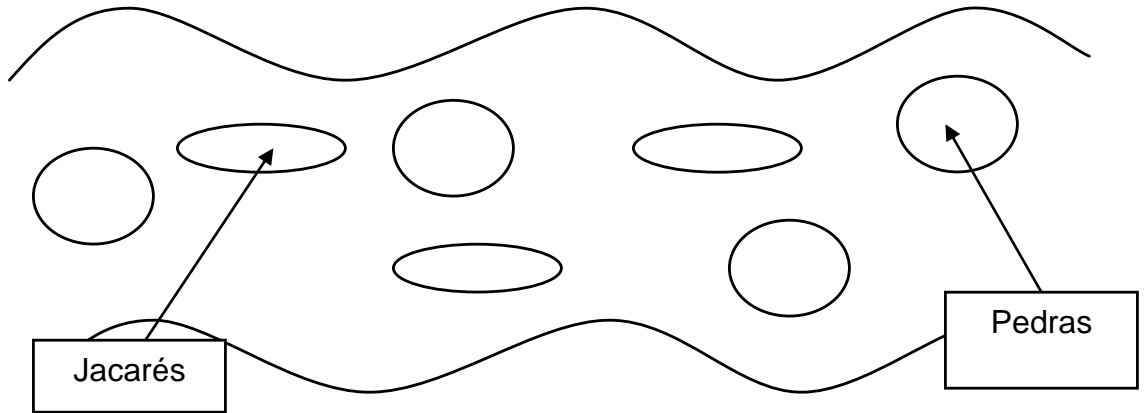
Jacarés

Pedras

Onde nós estamos hoje

Objetivo 2:
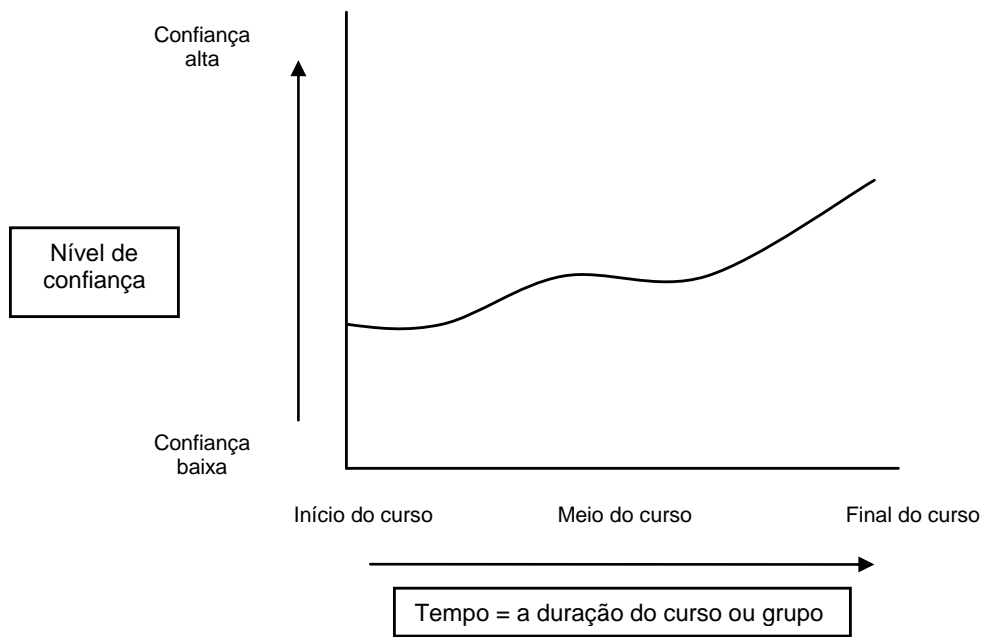**Avaliação do Impacto Pessoal**
O propósito desse método é para saber o impacto pessoal nas individuais participando no projeto. Algumas vezes é difícil para documentar as mudanças mais pessoais e qualitativas, como a confidência de uma pessoa para falar sobre dificuldades pessoais ou para pedir conselho. Esse método está tentando facilitar a documentação dessas mudanças pessoias.

Atividade 1:
Linhas da Confiança

Propósito:
Essa atividade pode ser usada para facilitar uma reflexão com os atendidos sobre o aumento (ou diminuição) de seus níveis de confiança durante o curso. Também, poderia adaptar para discutir um assunto específico, por exemplo, o nível de confiança de se proteger para não adquirir uma DST no futuro, ou o nível de confiança de usar camisinhas no futuro.

Metodologia:

- Escolher quais áreas que gostaria de discutir com o grupo. Por exemplo, se quiser discutir mudanças em nível de confiança em geral, ou o nível de confiança de usar camisinhas etc.
- Preparar gráficos (ver em baixo) para cada área que queria discutir com o grupo (só com os eixos). Assegurar-se que você tem suficientes gráficos por cada área que vai ser discutida e por pessoa no grupo.
- Explicar para o grupo que o objetivo da atividade é para saber suas opiniões sobre as mudanças em níveis de confiança durante o curso.
- Dar um pedaço de papel com um gráfico básico para cada membro do grupo.
- Explicar que a linha embaixo do gráfico representa a duração do curso e a linha no lado representa o nível de confiança.
- Dizer a primeira área que vocês vão discutir, por exemplo 'O nível de confiança de se proteger para não adquirir um DST no futuro'.
- Explicar que cada pessoa precisa desenhar uma linha para representar o nível de confiança que tinha no início do curso até o nível que acha ter hoje. Por exemplo, se ele não tinha muito confiança no início do curso sua linha vai começar mais embaixo do eixo vertical, e se ele acha que seu nível de confiança aumentou durante o curso a linha vai ascender.
- Guardar todos os gráficos pelos registros do projeto.

Confiança
alta

Nível de
confiança

Confiança
baixa

Início do curso   Meio do curso   Final do curso

Tempo = a duração do curso ou grupo

Atividade 1:
Parede de problemas e árvore de soluções

Propósito:
Poder-se-ia adaptar essa atividade para propósitos diferentes. Poder-se-ia usar para identificar os problemas ou dificuldades mais importantes para a comunidade e para encorajar as pessoas que estão usando o serviço a dar sugestões sobre o que o projeto pode fazer para ajudar. Também, poder-ser-ia usar para entender as mudanças das vidas dos atendidos como resultado do projeto.

Metodologia:

- Estar de acordo sobre um assunto que a gente gostaria de discutir. Por exemplo:
  - O impacto do trabalho do projeto
  - As dificuldades na comunidade

- Utilizar um espaço maior que seja acessível para todo mundo. Colocar um papel na parede ou no chão e desenhar uma 'parede' num lado e uma 'árvore' no outro.
- Dependendo do assunto da avaliação, a parede e a árvore podem representar assuntos diferentes. Por exemplo, se o propósito da avaliação é para discutir o impacto do projeto, a parede pode representar 'Como eu estava quando eu cheguei no projeto', e a árvore pode representar 'Como estou hoje'. Se o propósito é para avaliar as dificuldades na comunidade e identificar as soluções, a parede pode representar 'As dificuldades' e a árvore 'As soluções'.
- Utilizar pedaços de cartolina para representar os tijolos da parede e as folhas da árvore.
- As pessoas podem escrever suas idéais nos pedaços de cartolina e colocar na parede ou na árvore.
- Encorajar as pessoas a fazer grupos com problemas similares e para pensar sobre soluções possíveis para cada problema.
- Esse método pode ser usado durante uma oficina, ou pode colocar o gráfico na recepção e deixar por uma ou duas semanas para encorajar mais participação.
- Se as pessoas não puderem escrever, pode-se discutir a questão com eles ou encorajá-los a discutir com uma outra pessoa que pode escrever por eles.
- Depois, pode discutir quais resultados são os mais importantes. Se a avaliação for sobre as dificuldades na comunidade, pode-se discutir como incluir as soluções dentro do planejamento do projeto. Se for sobre o impacto do projeto, pode-se anotar as respostas e usar nos relatórios.

Exemplo 1: O impacto do trabalho do projeto

O impacto do projeto

Como eu estava quando eu cheguei no projeto	Como estou hoje
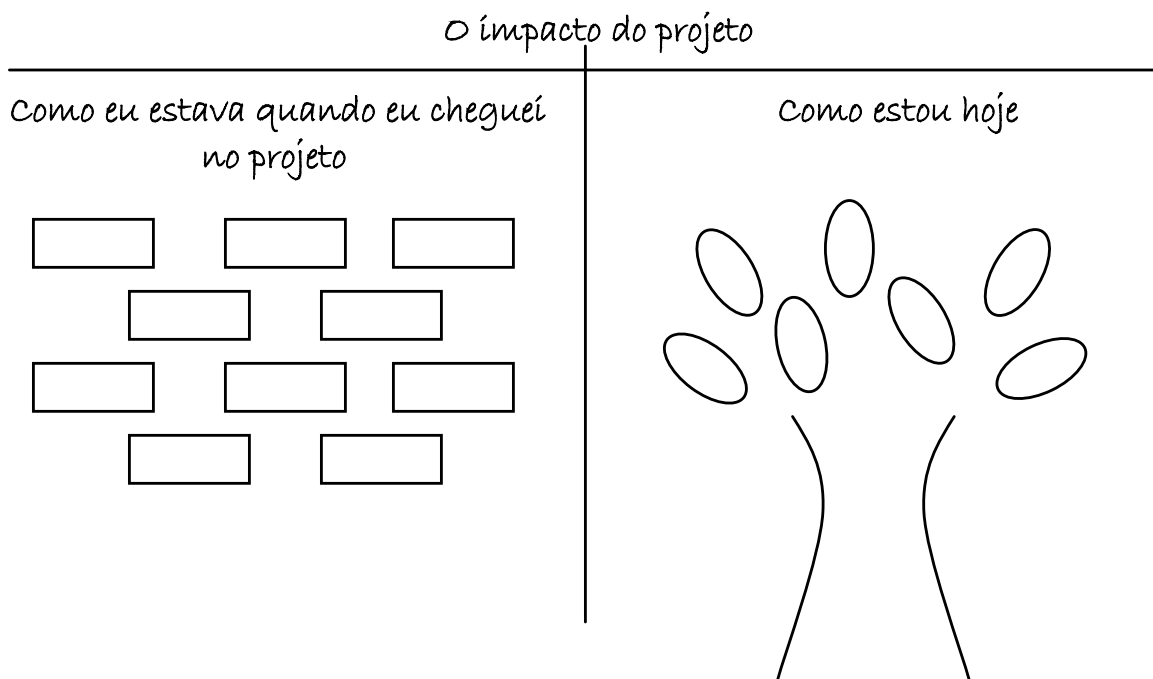
Exemplo 2: As dificuldades na comunidade

As dificuldades na comunidade

Parede das Dificuldades	Árvore das Soluções
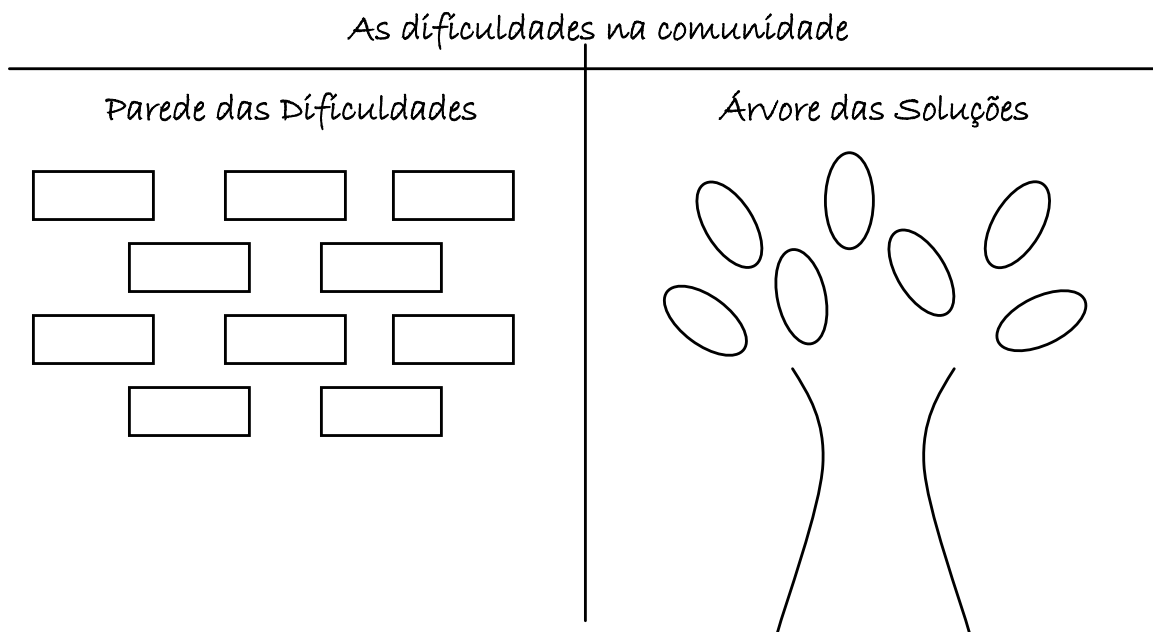
Atividade 2:
Trabalhador(a) Avaliação

Propósito:
Pode-se usar essa atividade para avaliar com os atendidos nos aspectos diferentes do curso ou projeto.

Metodologia:

- Desenhar um(a) trabalhador(a) num "pedação" de papel e colocar no parede. Na cabeça do(a) trabalhador(a) desenhar um chapéu e pedir que o grupo pense no que eles aprenderam durante o curso.
- Desenhar uma caixa de ferramentos na mão do(a) trabalhador(a) e pedir ao grupo que pense em as habilidades, idéias ou coisas boas que eles vão levar depois do curso.
- No peito do(a) trabalhador(a), desenhar uma coração e pedir que o grupo pense no que eles gostaram do curso.
- Também, desenhar uma cesta de lixo ao lado dos pés do(a) trabalhador(a) e pedir que o grupo pense no que eles não vão usar ou o que eles gostariam de alterar sobre o curso.
- Dar pedacinhos de papel (ou os papéis de 'post-it') para cada participante do grupo, e eles podem escrever suas respostas e colocar no(a) trabalhador(a).

Atividade 3:
Parede de Grafite

No final do curso, pode-se fazer um espaço na parede onde os atendidos podem escrever suas opinões sobre o curso e o projeto. Pode-se pedir um feedback geral sobre o projeto, ou feedback mais específico, por exemplo utilizando questões como:

- Quais habilidades você aprendeu durante o curso?
- Qual foi a coisa mais dificil?
- O que você aprendeu sobre (colocar o assunto do grupo)?
- O que você gostou?
- O que você não gostou?

Appendix 6: Example Screen from Nvivo Analysis

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