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Researching Children's Perspectives when Norms and Values are in conflict

Conference October 2016 Proceedings

Svensson, Kerstin; Rasmusson, Bodil

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edited by Bodil Rasmusson and Kerstin Svensson

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"Girls with Pink Veil" (Dewi Candraningrum: acrylic on 50x60cm canvas, 2015).

Preface

This Working Paper contains presentations from an international conference, *Researching Children's Perspectives when Norms and Values are in Conflict*, October 12-13, 2016. The purpose of this publication is to give opportunities for a wider audience to get access to some examples of ongoing research on children's rights in Sweden, Indonesia and Denmark. The presentations have different form and shape as they derive from different contexts. By offering this compiled version from the presentations at the conference we make the contributions accessible, even if it in some cases is merely a reference to further reading.

The conference was a consequence of cooperation between Lund University and Muhammadiyah University, Surakarta Indonesia. Contacts between the two universities were at first established through cooperation on implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in schools in Indonesia within the frame of an Advanced International Training Programme (ITP*) Child Rights, Classroom and School Management,* sponsored by Sida and run by Lund University, 2003-2016. (http://portal.research.lu.se/portal/files/15681438/Realising_Child_Rights_in_Education.pdf)

The recently established interdisciplinary Child Rights Institute at Lund University (www.sam.lu.se/en/research/child-rights-institute-at-lund-university) and the matching Center for Child Rights Studies at Muhammadiyah University (http://ccrs.fkip.ums.ac.id) are used as platforms for exchange. The partnership engage in knowledge transfer and research on implementation of the CRC in practice, in higher education and professional development with starting point in education and social work and with further expansion to other disciplines e.g. law and psychology.

The Child Rights Institute (CRi@LU) is an organization within Lund University gathering researchers in this field of knowledge to stimulate and to support new and continued research. Another task is to cooperate to be able to promote and support research recognizing and visualizing the child perspective in different contexts – family, health, schools, and social processes – and bringing together that perspective with our knowledge within child development aiming at promoting well-being of the children. The Center for Child Rights Studies (CCRS) is one of the centers at the Research and Community Service Institute (LPPM) at Universitas Muhammadiyah (UMS) Surakarta, Indonesia. CCRS dedicates itself to supporting child-friendly education that includes promoting the rights of the child in education, safe and child-friendly environment, joyful learning processes, and child-friendly city. Muhammadiyah University and the CCRS arranged *The First International Conference on Child-Friendly Education*, in Surakarta with researchers from Sweden as keynote speakers in May 2016 (https://publikasiilmiah.ums.ac.id/handle/11617/7183).

The exchange could be realised thanks to funding from STINT (The Swedish Foundation for Cooperation in Research and Higher Education). The grant has made it possible for researchers to travel between Sweden and Indonesia with the purpose to develop a network between the two universities.

Lund, december 2016

Bodil Rasmusson och Kerstin Svensson

Conference program

Conference 12-13 October 2016
Venue: Gamla Kirurgen, R148 (ground floor, north wing)
**Researching Children's Perspective when
Norms and Values are in Conflict**

Arranged by Child Rights Institute at Lund University

Taking children's perspective and acknowledging children's rights is easy to agree upon. But scholars tend to put different meanings into the understanding of the concepts. In contexts where norms and values are in conflict different interpretations become more obvious. Working with international comparisons and cooperation highlights the importance of having a clear understanding of central concepts as "children's perspective". What does it mean in the specific contexts? How do researchers work to achieve the children's perspective? The conference, funded by STINT (The Swedish Foundation for Cooperation in Research and Higher Education), is a result of cooperation between researchers at School of Social Work, Lund University and Muhammadiyah University, Surakarta, Indonesia.

Wednesday, October 12

9.15- 9.30 Kerstin Svensson: *Introduction*

9.30 – 10.15 Per Wickenberg: *Child Rights, Classroom and School Management: A Systematic Literature Review*

10.15 – 10.45 Coffee break

10.45 – 11.30 Bodil Rasmusson & Maria Heintz: *Taking Children's Perspectives in Qualitative Research*

11.30 - 12.15 Sara Lenninger: *The Story and the Experience – from a Child's Perspective*

12.15 – 13.15 Lunch at Kulturkrogen

13.15 – 13.30 M. Thoyibi*: Introduction to Muhammadiyah University and Centre for Child Rights Studies*

13.30 – 14.45: Abdul Fattah Santoso: *Islamic Perspective on the Rights of the Child: Their Consequences for the Roles of State and Civil Society (Especially in Education)*

Dewi Candraningrum**:** *Democratizing the Womb: Girls' Human Rights and Failed State*

14. 45 – 15.15: Coffee Break

15.15 – 16.00: Kerstin Svensson (moderator): *Discussion on Interpretations of the Concepts Children's Perspectives and Children's Rights in Different Contexts*

18.30: Conference Dinner at Restaurant Toyo, Skomakaregatan 3

Thursday, October 13

9.15 – 10.00: M. Thoyibi and Dewi Candraningrum: *Children's Perspectives when Values and Norms are in Conflict: Muslim Students on Space Engagement, Leadership & Friendship (Case Study of Muhammadiyah Schools in Scragen Regency)*

10.00 – 10.30 Coffee Break

10.30 – 11.10: M. Thoyibi and Dewi Candraningrum: continued

11.15- 12.00 Mimi Petersen: *Children's Participation in Decision Making in Social Work*

12.00 – 13.00: Lunch in Conference room

13.00 – 13.45: Lina Ponnert: *Article 3 and article 12 in the Convention on the Rights of the Child: Some dilemmas and controversies in Swedish practice*

13.45 – 14.30 Susanna Johansson: *Implementing the Nordic Barnahus Model: Balancing Justice and Welfare when Approaching Child Abuse*

14.30 – 15.00 Coffee break

15.00 – 16.00: Kerstin Svensson(moderator): *Discussion on Implementation of the CRC in Research, Practice and Higher Education*

Participants

Muhammadiyah University, Solo/Surakarta, Indonesia
Dewi Candraningrum, Lecturer, Faculty of Education
Muhammad Thoyibi, Lecturer, Faculty of Education, Head of the Center for Child Right Studies
Abdul Fattah Santoso, Dean and Lecturer, Faculty of Islamic Studies

School of Social Work, Lund University, Sweden
Maria Heintz, Ph.D. student
Susanna Johansson, Senior Lecturer
Norma Montesino, Associate Professor
Lina Ponnert, Senior Lecturer
Bodil Rasmusson, Senior Lecturer
Kerstin Svensson, professor

Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University, Sweden
Sara Lenninger, Researcher

Department of Sociology, Lund University, Sweden
Agneta Wångdahl Flinck, Senior Lecturer

Lund University Commissioned Education, Sweden
Emma Alfredsson, Project Manager

Sociology of Law Department, Lund University, Sweden
Per Wickenberg, professor

Social Science and Educational Faculty, Department of Social Work, Metropolitan University College, Copenhagen, Denmark
Mimi Petersen, Ph.D. Lecturer Senior Lecturer, Ph.D.

Barnfonden (Child Fund), Malmö
Emmi Lind, trainee

Introduction

Kerstin Svensson and Bodil Rasmusson

Participants outside the conference venue at Lund University.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which was ratified by the UN General Assembly in 1989, has been ratified by all countries in the world except USA. The CRC has had significant impact globally in e.g. legislation, policies and curricula and the awareness about children's rights has increased considerably. Children's rights has become a significant field of study among researchers from different disciplines. But there is still a big gap between theory and practice on the ground in schools and in social work. The Convention claims to be universal and valid for children all over the world, independent of culture, religion or other distinctive features, but interpretations of children's rights are contextually bound. There is no universal definition of childhood and expectations on children and following assumptions about their ability vary depending on conditions in the context which they live. The bulk of research proceeds, however, from prevailing European and North American conditions. Further and wider discussions, research and education are needed as children's rights are contextually bound to history, religion, culture, politics etc.

One way to develop and enrich knowledge is through international cooperation. In meeting colleagues from other contexts our perspectives are challenged, and things taken for granted are confronted. In the cooperation between School of Social Work and Child Rights Institute at Lund University and The Center for Child Rights Studies at Universitas Muhammadiyah (UMS) Surakarta, Indonesia this is an ongoing process. The two day conference in Lund that is presented here was very intense and rewarding. To challenge what we take for granted and focus on similarities instead of differences is creative. The situation of children in Sweden and other Nordic countries and in Indonesia is in many ways different. Yet there are major similarities, such as the fact that children have opinions about friends and what goes on at school. Children want to have agency in their situation, but it is up to us, adults, to make it possible. The challenge for research lies in working with methods that enable an understanding of children's thoughts and perspectives.

Even if we see the importance of widening our perspectives through international exchange, it has to be said that values and norms can be in conflict in every situation, also within the same context. Conflicting norms and values can appear between children and adults, between a legal frame and its implementation, between different scientific perspectives, different religions, cultures or many other aspects. To do research is always a question of taking stand points, and in social science it is a question about how to navigate among understanding and constructions of meaning in a diversity of perspectives with contrasting norms and values. By leaving our safe base with the perspectives you normally take, we find out something new. Not only about "the other", but also about ourselves and our context. By including perspectives from religion, politics, gender issues, traditions and legislation, we were able to discuss the researchers' dilemma in balancing perspectives, avoiding being prescriptive and the value of making comparisons between situations which, on superficial consideration, appear to be very different.

Our discussions on the basis of the presentations given evolved around the shared understanding of participation as essential for understanding as well as for change. This statement could be said to make the fundament for our discussions on children's perspective and situation, where we also highlighted our views upon children. It is different to take a perspective of *being a child* or of *becoming a child*, a phase in a development. Taking perspective actively is important, but it is also important to have relevant tools in research. Therefore, some of our discussions concerned methodological issues and we realized that even if we navigate in very different contexts, the methods for taking children's perspective are the same in the end of the day.

The first presentation was given on the basis of a published article. Per Wickenberg presented from the article *Child Rights, Classroom and School Management: A Systematic Literature Review* he has published together with colleagues. In this publication, the abstract is reprinted, as well as the reference to the article and the list of references. Thereafter, Maria Heintz and Bodil Rasmusson present how the child's perspective can be taken into account in ethnographic studies on the basis of their own research in the 1990s and 2010s. In *Taking Children's Perspectives in Qualitative Research* they give examples from their research with children and highlight the differences in child perspective and the child's perspective. The third paper deepens the importance of awareness of the perspectives taken. Sara Lenninger's paper *The Story and the Experience – from a Child's Perspective* elucidates the

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understanding of what it means in practice, when children should express their own views and the complications involved, with a specific focus on migrant children.

The first three presentations gave perspectives on how child rights have been studied in relation to schools, how children's perspective can be taken and what it means to take a perspective. From that we move over to the Islamic perspective and studies from Indonesia

M. Abdul Fattah Santoso gives in *Islamic Perspective on the Rights of the Child and the Roles of Civil Society and State in Indonesia*, a description and analysis of the relationship between the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Islamic values in connection with the responsibility of parents, civil society and state. Dewi Candraningrum adds a gender perspective and presents, in *Democratizing the Womb: Girls' Human Rights and Failed State,* urgent knowledge about child marriages and its consequences as well as the views on girls´ bodies and sexuality in Indonesia, which has the highest number of child brides in Asia after Cambodia. The contribution is presented here on the basis of the power point presentations from the conference. Bodil Rasmusson, Mohammad Thoyibi, Siti Zuhriah, Muhammad Abdul Fattah Santoso and Dewi Candraningrum present some results from a pilot case study on Muslim Students on *Space Engagement, Leadership & Friendship* in a Muhammadiyah School, Central Java. The research provides insight into the relationship between Islamic religiosity, Javanese tradition and gender egalitarianism for youth through voices from boys and girls in a high school.

Finally, we turn to perspectives from the Nordic countries. Mimi Petersen contributes with a study from Denmark: *Children's Participation in Decision Making in Social Work*. Here, we get a presentation from a study showing that children want real involvement and participation when their life situation is discussed. In the presentation *Article 3 and article 12 in the Convention on the Rights of the Child: Some Dilemmas and Controversies in Swedish Practice* Lina Ponnert highlights the complexity in making the international convention into law in Sweden. By pointing at some consequences from two of the articles in the convention, she shows that just the fact that the convention becomes a law does not solve all issues. In the paper *Implementing the Nordic Barnahus Model: Balancing Justice and Welfare when Approaching Child Abuse* Susanna Johansson presents findings and reflects on the implementation of a model of child friendly justice that has been implemented in all Nordic Countries, Barnahus. The presentation is based on a forthcoming book that shows how the same model has come to take different expressions in the different Nordic contexts.

At the conference, the discussions on perspectives were both vivid and educational. We shared and discussed our experiences of research in this area during two days, which gave us new reflections on our "old" perspectives. By publishing of at least a glimpse of what we shared, we hope to inspire to more discussions and reflections in other contexts.

Child Rights, Classroom and School Management:
A Systematic Literature Review

Rustamjon Urinboyev, Per Wickenberg and Ulf Leo

Department of Sociology of Law, Lund University, Sweden

rustamjon.urinboyev@soclaw.lu.se; per.wickenberg@soclaw.lu.se; ulf.leo@soclaw.lu.se

Abstract

This paper provides a systematic review of scholarly literature concerning the enforcement of children's rights in the classroom context and school management. The literature review is based on a systematic review methodology the authors developed drawing on the methods and guidelines used in the medical sciences over the last 15 years. Forty-two articles published between 1990 and 2014 were selected and analysed. The paper presents both a descriptive analysis and a thematic analysis in order to provide the state-of-art of international literature on child rights, classroom and school management. The descriptive analysis highlights the main characteristics of the articles included, such as type of study and methods used, classification of literature based on the geographical and thematic focus, article citation frequency, and chronological development of the subject in question. The thematic analysis synthesises the main findings extracted from the literature and highlights the main trends and gaps in research.

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Taking Children's Perspectives in Qualitative Research

Maria Heintz & Bodil Rasmusson

Introduction

This paper is based on a presentation on the conference "Researching Children's Perspectives when Norms and Values are in Conflict" arranged by the Child Rights Institute at Lund University, October 2016. It takes its point of departure in two studies, one conducted in the middle of the 1990s and the other in the 2010s. Both of them were aiming at involving children, 9-11 years old, as informants about their everyday life, one of them in a suburban area, *Urban Childhood, Children's Everyday Life in Modern Suburb* (Rasmusson, 1998) and the other one in a school, *Symbols of Friendship at School, Rituals, Group Interactions and Emotional Energy* (Heintz, 2016) in Sweden. The two studies have similar starting points in childhood studies, however different purposes and research questions. The purpose of the paper is to give examples of different qualitative methods to be used in research with children as informants. In this regard, research strategies are discussed along with the role of the researcher. It starts with a theoretical background followed by descriptions of the methods used in each of the two studies, ending with a joint discussion on challenges faced while taking children's perspectives in qualitative research.

Childhood studies

Since the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1989 there has been a shift in the view concerning children in research and in the society at large (Rasmusson 2016; Woodhead and Faulkner, 2008). It entails a move away from seeing children as objects of research, which often neglected the children's own experiences, to recognizing that children are active, creative social agents in their own right. Within this paradigm the researcher instead "reflects a direct concern to capture children's voices, perspectives, interests, and rights as citizens" (Corsaro, 2005:45).

Particularly emphasized in childhood studies is the view of childhood as a social construction (James and Prout, 1990; James, Jenks and Prout, 1998; Thorne, 1993). This means that it is impossible to consider childhood as a mere biological phenomenon. Halldén (2007) makes a distinction between children and childhood by pointing out that children is the description of an age group while childhood denotes cultural and social significance. Moreover, the biological traits will have various meaning in different groups, societies and cultures thus childhood is constructed through social arrangements and cultural rules. In research on for example children's friendship formation in school this implies that friendship and peers could be constructed differently within and between different peer groups, in different school classes and in different schools (Heintz, 2012). James and Prout, (1990) likewise argues that childhood is both the same for all children but also very different depending on the diversity of children's different life situations. This implies that children have something important to tell researchers about their everyday life and that they should be aware of the differences existing between children's and adult's social world.

Research with children as informants thus actualizes the meaning of the concepts child perspective or child's/children's perspectives. The concept was first defined in 1991 by the Norwegian social psychologist Per Olav Tiller. According to his definition children's own perspectives are what children

see, hear, experience and feel (Tiller, 1991). The concept has, with time, appeared with some different interpretations and definitions. Arnér and Tellgren (2006) for example discuss the concept child perspective related to the concept of the child's perspective. They argue that the concept child perspective is complex and hard to define but could be explained as the adult trying to view a situation through the child's point of view. The child's perspective on the other hand is the child's own conception of its life. In addition Andersson and Rasmusson (2006) use the concept adult's child perspective referring to how each of us adult's views and interprets children's perspectives individually. Our understanding is connected with the age and maturity of the child and contextual factors like time, place as well as our collected knowledge about children as they are defined and described by the surrounding world expressed in e.g. the CRC, laws and policies – the societal child perspective.

Consequently the researcher has to listen to what children experience and simultaneously be aware of the significance in the different perspectives to explore children's perspectives in research.

Children as Informants in Research
An important idea within childhood studies is that the methods should be constructed for, and even with, the child. The trend in the paradigm for childhood studies has been focusing ethnography as an appropriate method to use since "it allows children a more direct voice and participation in the production of sociological data" (James and Prout, 1990:7-8). Both authors of this paper used an ethnographic approach in their field work inspired by researchers like for example Evaldsson and Corsaro (1998) who vividly describe a stand on how to engage in the lives of children:

> [I]f one really wants to capture the rich social world of children's lives and peercultures it is necessary to do extended fieldwork. Literally this means that one has to enter children's play and be willing to get pants dirty and shoes muddy. (Evaldsson and Corsaro, 1998:381)

In consequence, the role of the researcher becomes of fundamental importance and the position as an adult becomes of concern for the design of the study. The challenge is, according to Evaldsson and Corsaro to get into the children's world to play on their terms and at the same time balance the fact that the researcher is an adult. There is the unbalanced power structure embedded in the relationship between adults and children which has to be considered. Children's participation on their own terms varies in different kinds of methods and the researcher's role is to facilitate the situations according to where the child is found to be. Researchers interested in childhood and the social life of children have, as a result to the unbalance, emphasized the value of taking a research role as an atypical and less power-oriented adult (Corsaro, 2005; Heintz; 2012; Thornberg, 2007). One way of narrowing the power misalignment is to consciously take on the role of an interested adult convinced of the child's autonomy and expertise as an individual, not as a social category or minority group. The variety of methods which characterize ethnographic studies once in the field could also help narrowing the power misalignment (Anderson, 2006; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). An imperative point here is the assumption that children are creative actors in their own environment, which means that their ability might not be any lower than the researchers but put forth in another way.

Both Heintz and Rasmusson used very open attitudes in relation to the children. They let the children understand that they had information and knowledge that an adult do not have. Both had similar paroles which guided them in the two studies; "I don't know" and "I want to understand". This view is supported by Mayall (2008) and Thornberg (2007) who, in their research with children, have presented themselves as a person who, because s/he is an adult, do not have the knowledge the children have on their social worlds.

The methods and research strategies in the two studies are presented in the coming section starting with *Urban Childhood* (Rasmusson 1998).

Urban Childhood: Use of a Multi-Method Strategy
The study Urban Childhood, *Children's Everyday Life in Modern Suburb* (Rasmusson, 1998) was conducted within the frame of a dissertation that dealt with questions of importance for an understanding of modern childhood, confined to urban childhood, that is, the conditions of children in towns and cities. The study was implemented in a suburb similar to many other suburbs of the same size in Sweden. It had about 11.000 inhabitants with about 70 different nationalities and with different kinds of housings (apartment blocks, terrace houses and villas) represented. It had, at the time of the study, a negative reputation. It was viewed as a problem area with many socioeconomic problems.

One of the aims of the study was to test different qualitative methods for gaining insight into children's perspectives on their own immediate environment and everyday life. In the beginning of the 1990s, when the study started, it was still rare that researchers asked children about their views and experiences. But the struggle for children's rights and discussions within childhood studies led to a re-evaluation of children as informants. As stated above it became regarded as a very urgent task within childhood studies to seek knowledge of social phenomena from children's perspectives. However, in the middle of the 1990s researchers were still searching for methods for obtaining this kind of knowledge through children as informants. The research process was therefore about trying to get into the children's world. The empirical study was carried out as a case study, with children as the only informants (28 children from a 4th grade school class). The class selected was composed by children with many different kinds of experiences from living in the selected suburb, in different places in Sweden and in other countries. Selection of the age group, 9-10 years, was based on consideration of their level of development. Children of this age are generally mature enough to express themselves both orally and in written and they were therefore expected to be able to communicate individually with the researcher. They were further on their way to explore their neighbourhood on their own without being accompanied by adults.

The strategy was to give opportunities for the children to express themselves in different ways – *individually, collectively, orally* and in *written, visually* and *through guidance of the researcher* in the environment. Several qualitative methods were used:

> *Compositions about" my housing estate":* The task was formulated as follows: "Make a drawing and write a story about the housing estate where you live. You could for example write it as a letter to a relative who will visit your house for the first time."

Diaries – what did you do yesterday?: Diaries were collected three times. The children were asked to answer the following questions in the diaries: "What did you do yesterday – after school until you want to bed. What did you do? Where were you? Who were you with?"

Drawings of favourite places: The children were asked to make a drawing showing their favourite places in the housing estate. The task was to make a drawing of "where you like to be, where you feel comfortable and like to be during your spare time. It could be both indoors and outdoors. I am interested to learn from you, what you find important and what you appreciate in the environment."

Children photographing: The class was divided into 5 groups (boys and girls mixed) and each group got a camera with 24 pictures[1]. The task was conducted in cooperation with the class teacher and conducted during school time from the following instructions: "Your task is to take photos which can show what children like in the housing estate. Try to spread the motives and search for positive as well as negative sides. It could be e.g. houses, nature, people, traffic, something beautiful, dangerous or exciting".

Individual interviews during walks around the area with children as guides for the researcher: The interviews took its point of departure in what each of the children had written in their compositions, their drawings or photos. They often started at a place that was pointed out as an important place and continued thereafter through a walk around where children guided the researcher along the way to and from school, to favourite places, play grounds, houses of their friends etc. Each interview ended in the child's home and with a summary supported by a map. A transparent film was put on a map in enlarged scale where the places visited and ways connecting them were marked with different colours. It resulted in a picture of the home area, contacts with friends and movement pattern for each child. It was also used as a mean for validation of what the child had said and expressed. The following themes created the structure for the interviews: Experiences from different kinds of housing areas, opinions/ judgements about the housing estate, social environment, meeting points and important places.

Group interviews: The original intention was to stop the data collection after the individual interviews but the children were positive to continue and the group interviews gave an extra opportunity to deepen and validate knowledge within areas that could not be clearly foreseen in the first design of the study. The group interviews touched upon issues which came up in all the other interactions with the children. They gave opportunities to deepen aspects especially on themes concerning excitement, fear, safety and different aspects of the environment in different parts of the housing estate. Children's own photos were used to stimulate and give reminders on what has taken place in other meetings between the children and the researcher. Group interviews gave also opportunities for observing the interaction between the children. Children with difficulties to express themselves orally could in Rasmusson's study compensate by writing, in drawings or photos.

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[1] It should be noted that the new digital tools for photographing were not yet invented.

The different approaches generated different kinds of knowledge which made it possible to construct a more coherent picture of every child's social world compared to just using one single method as for example interviews. The strategy was developed step by step and each new experience gave input to the next coming step. Spaces in between the different steps gave opportunities for preliminary analysis of the material and reflections on experiences from children's ways of expressing themselves and their vocabulary. The research process became in this way a product of the relationships between the researcher and the children, where the children were approached and treated as co-researchers (Alderson, 2008). To be attendant in every moment as researcher learning to know the children in their own concrete environment was of great value. A child's responding and understanding is highly contextual dependant and it was therefore important to let the children guide the researcher in order to bridge the distance between the adult and the children. The multi-method strategy created possibilities to build on strengths and to minimize weaknesses within each of the methods. Every child got different opportunities to express themselves in different ways which meant that each child could contribute to the study with something that was valuable and meaningful. The different methods could be seen as mediators in the communication between the researcher and the children as informants (Christensen and James, 2008b). It was still a challenge for the researcher to see the strange in the familiar and not to extenuate aspects of significant importance for the children. It took some time to for example realize the meaning and significance of small ball on a special climbing frame, the importance of the colour on the door or children's observations of single moments in the social life in the housing area from the perspectives of the children.

Children's Friendship in School: An Ethnographic Journey into the Lives of Children

The study *Symbols of Friendship at School, Rituals, Group Interactions and Emotional Energy* (Heintz 2016) was conducted within the frame of a dissertation that dealt with the children's own experiences and interpretations of friendship formation in a fourth grade school class (23 children aged 9-11). In the 2010s, when the study was conducted, childhood studies was a well-established paradigm for social science research with children. Rasmusson (1998) and researchers such as James and Prout (1990) and Corsaro (2005) had made way for a more coherent view of children's perspectives in research. Children's participation in the research process was rather a precondition in social science than a new way of conducting a study. The focus in Heintz study was on both the child in society, in the group, and on the individual child's unique understanding of these experiences. To get to the knowledge the children have of their friendship formation and of being school children, the children's actions were studied in their social environment in a school context. The viewpoint on children as active agents in their own right was an inherent stance and an essential starting point in the study which was carried out in a Swedish school class during one year. The ethnographic approach involved, as in Rasmusson's study the use of multiple methods once on the field.

The selection of school and school class in this study was aimed at finding an example of a typical school in Sweden to illustrate children's social interactions and friendship making processes in a school context. It was conducted in a county with 11 schools with fourth grade school classes in a school with two classes of fourth graders. Selection of age group, 9-11 years, was based on the literature on friendship relationships between children which state that friends and social relationships outside the

family becomes increasingly important for children in the age of 10-11 (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014; Wrethander, 2004). Also, children in this age has the ability to articulate their thoughts and reason about their reality at the same time as they still are dependent on adults supervision and structure which makes this age group particularly interesting to study from out of children's perspective on friendship in school.

The main method was participating observation and the starting point was to openly and with low structure participate in the children's school days. One of the aims were to get to know the children and to understand how they relate to each other in school, how they view friendship and friendship groups. After a few months in the school class it became apparent that to capture the children's own perspective another method was needed which led to conducting individual interviews with the children. The individual interviews focused on the child's perspective on the school class, on friendship and on break time play activities. In the interviews the children got the opportunity to express their view on situations that had taken place earlier and they got to define what friendship was to them. It is essential to let the children themselves define the terms used and try to get a hold of how they construct for example friendship. To get to the more "natural" talk in the interviews with the children Heintz for example conducted the interviews in a known and familiar place and the children were leading the talk. The interviews also enabled a closeness to the children.

To deepen and validate the knowledge from the participating observations focus groups were conducted. One aim was to study the children's interactions in their friendship groups which focus groups can bring forth. Another aim was to understand group affiliations and how children in a group talked about these issues. Focus groups are a form of group interview in which a group of participants discuss a topic chosen by the researcher. The children were divided into groups emanated from their friendship group belonging. Issues discussed were the friendship groups of the school class, break time play activities and the teacher's role in facilitating/hindering friendship in school. An important reason for the choice of method was that focus groups can lessen the power of the researcher since the children themselves discuss and bring up important issues surrounding the topic. The children could also feel more relaxed when gathered in a group with known others by contrast to the individual interviews. They can choose to partake in the discussion or sit quiet when a topic is discussed. Furthermore, when letting the children talk in smaller groups around a topic, as in the focus groups, the discussions and conversations that took place could become more similar to that of their own natural conversations instead of answering the researcher's questions.

A methodological issue that was raised during the study was the researcher's role as an adult researcher trying to capture children's perspectives which is discussed next.

In a school context it is important to be aware of the role the other adults' play, which often is of authoritarian nature. When Heintz presented herself to the children the first time, they asked her if she was going to be a schoolyard keeper when being out on the playground with them on breaks. When she explained that she would not be a schoolyard keeper and intervene in small disagreements and disputes they were puzzled. They seem to be used to adults intervening in their play when there were disputes. Contrary to other adults in school Heintz used a position as an uninformed adult to lead the

way into the children's perspectives. It is the children in the study who have the experiences being them and to get their perspective the researcher has to be humble, listen and be genuinely interested in them. This *out-of-the-ordinary-adult approach* (Heintz, 2012) was fruitful not only to collect data but made the children want to talk to the researcher sharing their thoughts.

At the same time the researcher has to be aware of the immediate connection to other adults in their position as adult researchers. The difference in approach between the out-of-the-ordinary-adult role and the other adults in school could be shown in small things and details and an example of when Heintz research role collided with the other adults at school was connected to her shoes. The children always took off their shoes when they were indoors at the school while the adults kept their shoes on. In an effort to lessen the power misalignment Heintz also took off her shoes when indoors as the children did. This way something the teacher observed and frequently remarked that Heintz could keep her shoes on. At some occasions, it almost became a power struggle between her and the teacher when she kept taking her shoes off.

The instances with the shoes is just one example which illustrate how significant it is to always be attentive to the position the researcher has as an adult and that details does matter if one wants to be an out-of-the-ordinary-adult. There must be an awareness of the children's representations of themselves in relation to the researcher as an adult in a school setting where children are used to adults telling them what to do hence answer accordingly. In trying to understand children's peer groups in school and their perceptions of friendship groups it is crucial to let the children themselves show how they do friendship and to let them talk about what is important for them. To respond to the differences in communication between adults and children the emphasis is on allowing them to participate on their own terms. The researcher has also to be conscious and sensitive to how the children communicate and relate to their world. This means getting familiarized with the language used; the social actions and meanings they have connected to concepts and words and to be able to make an understanding of the social interactions and relations children are part of.

The role of the researcher in interaction with children is thus complex and some challenges related to children's perspectives and participation in qualitative research will be discussed in the coming section.

Discussion
This paper gives examples from two different qualitative studies with children, 9-10 years old, as informants about their everyday life in school and neighborhood. We argue that it is possible to capture children's perspectives in this kind of research. Yet there are still some challenges exemplified in this paper; to define what children's perspectives really implies in research, to find the appropriate methods to capture children's perspectives, and to navigate the researcher role as an adult trying to connect with the children to get into their lived experiences and thoughts.

Research with children as informants actualizes the meaning of the concepts child's perspective or child perspective and there has been an ongoing discussion about whether an adult researcher has the capacity to really capture children's perspectives through already established qualitative research methods such as interviews. As adult researchers, we interpret what the children express and how they

act and the interpretations are influenced by our theoretical knowledge, lived experience and the surrounding society. Thus, it is important to regard the impact the adult researcher has on the study. We would argue that studying them with specific methods not per se give children their agency. It is the approach of involving the children as participants in the research that in a broader perspective can disclose children's lives through a child's perspective.

Children reside within a larger society where there is a generational power imbalance and the adults direct and determine the children's lives to a large extent. The struggle of being seen as individuals within a social category is not something unique to children; the uniqueness lies within the research society to be interested at all in children's own interpretation of their experiences and thoughts as social actors and analysing these experiences through a societal perspective.

What might be ethically dubious is to regard children as completely different from adults, not subjects in their own rights. One of the basic ideas of ethnographic studies is to really get close to a group and an insight into their lives and cultures. One way to truly get an insight into the children's lives and friendship formations is not to impose an adult perspective on them, but to be a curious "out-of-the-ordinary-adult". Both authors of this paper found that conscious research strategies built on multiple methods, openness, flexibility, reflexivity and closeness to the children in their own environment have opened our opportunities to enter the children's world.

During the time (almost 20 years) passed between the implementation of the two studies, there has been a clear cumulative development of both methodological and theoretical points of departure in childhood studies. In recent research, we find greater theoretical depth and children are now acknowledged as informants in research, compared with the early 1990s when there was still a lot of skepticism in the scientific community towards the knowledge generated in studies with children as informants. But it should be noted that the bulk of childhood research proceeds from prevailing European and North American conditions and are characterized by how those parts of the world view children and childhood. The expectations on children and following assumptions about their ability vary depending on conditions in the context which they live which means that there is no universal definition of childhood (Lansdown 2005). This calls upon international cooperation in research and higher education between countries in different parts of the world. The recently initiated research cooperation between the Child Rights Institute at Lund University and the Center for Child Rights Studies at Muhammadiyah University, Surakarta is, against this background, an urgent attempt to further enrich and develop childhood studies.

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The Story and the Experience – From a Child's Perspective

Sara Lenninger

Introduction

This presentation deals with two commitments that are stated in the internationally ratified Child Rights Convention (CRC, 1989) and the *Handbook for the Rights of the Child Convention* (2007). It is explicitly claimed in CRC that adult society is obliged to take in the perspective of "the best interest of the child" as its ground principle in decisions that affect children's everyday life and their living conditions (Wickenberg & Leo 2016). Moreover, the *Handbook for the Rights of the Child Convention* (2007) states children's right to participate and express their own views in "matters effecting the child" in accordance to the children's age and maturation (Rasmusson et al 2016).

Understanding others, and to be understood by others, are key factors to ensure one's possibilities to participate in decisions that concern oneself. Moreover, joint understanding and sharing meaning with those to whom a decision concerns is a prerequisite to truly make the decision that also recognizes the best interest of them. In judging matters that compromises a child would therefore hearing the children's own stories about the circumstances they are in and have been through be essential. Children's own testimonies about their experiences are thus an important input in decision-making concerning children. A general aim in this presentation is to highlight the relevance to learn more about semiotic development, and especially semiotic development in young children, within the research in children's rights such as in the Convention of the Right of the Child (CRC) and its implementations. The more specific theme in this presentation focused on narratives and preconditions for the young migrant child in producing and understanding narratives. A claim presented here is that when the perspective of semiotic development is considered, it becomes clear that the migrant child must deal with at least a dual circumstance in sharing narratives with a new or mixed adult culture. At first, as any child, the young child has to learn about signs. Further, every child has to learn how to understand the narrative within its sign dimension. In addition, the migrant child also must learn about narrative conventions as the change of culture also brings forth the encounter of new narrative conventions.

Background Theory; semiotics and semiotic development

Meaning making, communication, and the means as part of the meanings are investigated in Semiotics and Cognitive Semiotics. Typically, a semiotic study investigates preconditions and circumstances in order to understand the nature and the qualities of a meaning process. Thus, a semiotic study must not investigate the specific interpretation in a specific utterance – be verbal, visual or else ways. Rather, semiotic theory looks for general models (with different claims on generality) to understand some basic conditions for meaning. Hence a semiotic study may investigate the ingredients, mechanisms and variations in a meaning process (such as an act of construing meaning in art).

The identification of different kinds of meanings is also an assignment in semiotic studies. From a cognitive semiotic perspective, meaning is always understood as meaning for someone. Therefore, to

learn about the child's perspective, the idea of different kinds of meaning must be applied to the study of cognitive development. This is basically the idea of both Piaget's and Vygotsky's studies on cognitive growth when they differentiate the "sign" as a specific kind of meaning. Thus, the sign construction is a specific way of thinking. That is, the "level", "reach" or "type" of thinking affects meaning so that something "given" (could be a verbal utterance, a picture, an object or a gesture) is understood as an expression for something else that also is its content. Or, to put it another way - the content is the conceived meaning of the sign expression, nevertheless, it is not equivalent with the sign expression. Language is typically used to illustrate signs and sign relations. Words are the "given" expressions for what is meant by the utterance etc. In this sense expression and content are like teams - together with its interpreters - in meaning processes. Words and verbal language are however not the only things we use as sign expressions, pictures are also typical signs. The picture that shows a dog also has the animal dog as at least a part of its meaning. This is true although it is showing a fantasy dog or a real-world-experienced dog. The observation of the sign differentiation is simple but the consequences of this line of thinking are immense for both individuals and their culture.

A consequence of the differentiation between expression and content is that in theory different sign expressions can be used to say something about the "same" referent object or put forth different aspects of that object. The reverse however, is also true; the same sign expression can, from point of view of its users, refer to different objects. In everyday life people use this interpretational gap all the time – we are used to it and we even need it in communication. A first premise is of course to understand something *as* a sign (as a sign expression for something) and understand its potential openness related to a presumed content. Piaget (1945), and also Vygotsky (2001), pointed out that this is a process that takes time for the young child to grasp. Piaget, however, also showed that there is a lot of meaning processes going on that antedate the child's conception of the sign relation. Piaget's observations on the development of sensorimotor meanings are, however, not the only theory that takes into account ideas on rich meanings and meaning constructions that can predate and even be independent of the use of sign relations. Although a more thorough examination of such suggestions that have been given in psychology and studies on cognitive evolution is out of the scope here, at least some should be briefly mentioned. Expect for the already implied suggestion on the *sensorimotor meanings* by Piaget, James Gibson's (1979) suggestion on *affordances* and the connection to an ecological niche but also Colwyn Trevarthen's (2015) insistence on *empathy meaning* are important to bring forth here.

Already from the baby's first months of life meanings are constructed as sensorimotor meanings according to Piaget (Piaget 1945, Piaget & Inhelder 1966). The young child's exploring of the bodily senses and responses in interaction with the physical and social environment sets the frames for construing meaning and develop cognitive competences in the growing child. The centre in Piaget's theory is the baby and its active interaction with, and reaction to, the environment. Gibson (1966, 1979) on the other hand, puts his baby, or animal, more tightly within its evolutionary niche. Throughout evolution the senses and the body of an organism is disposed in certain ways to develop information (*ie.* meaning) needed to orientate and survive. Affordances are instances of meaning provided in environment but are as such also always related to the animal within its ecological niche. Hence affordances point always in two directions: to the environment and to the observer. In Gibson's

theory (1979) affordance differs from *referential meaning*. Referential meaning corresponds to what is discussed here as meaning by sign relations. Referential meaning, or the referential dimension of the meaning in something perceived is a part of the meaning that is not offered as a perception but has to be learned (Lenninger 2012). For instance, to recognize a familiar object in a realistically rendered picture surface, *affordance* is enough. The picture as a sign, that is "telling" something about the lived world, or a story, is actually not "shown" in the picture.

Piaget worked a lifetime with investigating children's cognitive growth. Although his influence is not as dominant today as it once was, his studies are still important. Probably the "stage theory" is his most famous suggestion, and as such also probably his most criticized suggestion. According to this idea children's cognitive development occur in pre-set orders, whereas one stage has to be at place in the child's cognitive "schemes" before the next one can start to develop. A lot has been said and can be said about this, but for now it's enough to say that although the "stage theory" needs revision, the observation that there is a lot of meaning processes going on before the onset of handling differentiated sign relations (or referential meanings) in development are still interesting (Bruner 1986, DeLoache 2004, Lenninger 2012). Besides the difficulties concerning the stage theory, however, Piaget seems to neglect emotional meaning and the dimension of empathy in the development of human cognition. In his critique to Piaget, Colwyn Trevarthen (2015), among others, suggests a developmental growth in empathy. The new-born baby is already prepared for creative and empathic communication and thus also perceptive for affectionate and cooperative others. Interestingly, the close connection to communication puts the development of empathy and narratives on the table.

Narratives and a storied world
The purpose above was to clarify distinction between different types of meaning in terms of sign constructions and meanings that do not need the sign construction (such as affordances according to Gibson, or sensorimotor according to Piaget). A thread in the study of meanings, and the implications to "understand the meaning of meanings", is the observation that the *means of expression* also make part of the meaning in a communication (Vygotsky 2001, Wertsch 1991). That is, sign meaning is nevertheless not only a cognitive matter but comes with an "outer package". The means (such as pictorial means, written or spoken language, but also "story telling") are culturally constructed tools and are as such also active parts in meaning making.

Interestingly, studies in children's semiotic development indicate that young children tend to follow meaning within conceived meaning type or dimension of meaning (Lenninger 2012). That is - from the child's point of view - the meaning in a picture belongs to, and is understood within, the picture. The young child can, however, trace the meaning from one picture into another, different, depictions. Nevertheless, to transfer this meaning to be an enunciation about the lived world is quite another thing. Storytelling is also a means of expression. In adult culture, the links between storied worlds and lived worlds are important aspects of how to understand stories. The sense of realism makes a story interpretable as fantasy, or as real world experiences. A feature of the story as a means of expression is, nevertheless, that distinctions between fantasy and realism are not necessarily sharp distinctions but

negotiable within the story frame. This condition of the story as a means of expression must not be clear for the younger children.

Learning from studies in children's semiotic development, a story can be meaningful, elaborated and communicated within its story frame – but this is not equivalent to understand it as connected to a real-life experience. Moreover, the rules in storytelling differ from rules in real world experiences. Storytelling has its own rules and norms that are constructed and practiced in communicative games with others. Narrativity is interwoven in the construction of cultural norms (Sinha 2009). Parents and other adults introduce storytelling and lullabies already during children's first year of life. What is evaluated as worth telling, how to tell it, and who should tell it differ between cultural norms. As a consequence, for the young children who encounter new cultural norms and rules, not only the meaning of the sign relation challenge the child but also the learning of new cultural stories. Clashes of norms challenge anyone who encounter new cultures, and learning about the sign relation is a challenge for every child. Children in migration, however, encounter double challenges having to learn about both sign relations and encountering new cultural norms in storytelling.

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Islamic Perspective on the Rights of the Child and the Roles of Civil Society and State in Indonesia [2]

M. Abdul Fattah Santoso[3]

Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, Indonesia

fattah.santoso@ums.ac.id; fattah.sant@gmail.com

Abstract

Islam as a religion concerned with justice and respect places great emphasis on human rights and responsibility. Child as a small human also has certain rights categorized into social, educational and financial rights. The social rights are divided into two categories: before birth and after birth. The social rights before birth include right to noble parent having character and right to unborn child while the social rights after birth include rights to lineage, suckle and nutrition, and being received by the Muslim society. The educational rights cover rights to life, general care and socialization as well as basic education, just and equal treatment, and physical education. The financial rights encompass rights to livelihood, property and inheritance. Such rights of the child guaranteed by Islam absolutely have congruence with the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989. For enabling children to enjoy their rights guaranteed by Islam, parental care plays role as a main foundation. But state and civil society organization also have key roles to play in this regard. In Indonesia, Aisyiyah as a sister organization of Muhammadiyah—one of largest civil society organizations, launched a movement on the child protection, named GACA (Gerakan Aisyiyah Cinta Anak, Aisyiyah Movement to Love the Child) paying attention to CRC and Islamic values as well as sociological considerations and constitutional bases. Aisyiyah with its programme also concerned with the shift paradigm of child and that of protection approach to the child. Meanwhile, the state played its roles by legislating Law No. 35/2014 on the Child Protection and establishing KPAI (Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia, Indonesian Commission on the Child Protection).

Keywords: The rights of the child, Islamic values, roles of state and civil society

Introduction

Children are great blessings from Allah. At the same time, they are *amana* (or trust) from Him to us (the adults), and, then, should be accepted with joy and gratitude. However, children are not toys or

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[2]This is a revised version of the invited paper presented in *The Conference on Researching Children's Perspective when Norms and Values Are in Conflict*, held by Child Rights Institute at Lund University, Sweden, 12-13 October 2016. The first part of this paper, especially on the rights of the child in Islamic perspective, was also presented in *The 1st International Conference on Child Friendly Education*, held by Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta (UMS), Indonesia, in cooperation with Lund University, Sweden, 11-12 May 2016.

[3]A senior lecturer at and the dean of the Faculty of Islamic Studies, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, Indonesia. Besides, he is a head of Division of Society and Child Study, Central Leadership of Muhammadiyah's Council on *Tarjeeh* (Conscientiousness) and *Tajdeed* (Renewal and Modernization).

possessions. With them comes great responsibility. But, we still expose children to physical, verbal, or psychological violence, carelessness, discrimination and exploitation. Besides, many parents in every society, regardless of creed, origin, social and economic status, have indeed lost their children as a result of their own negligence. They are so careless about the places their children go to, the friends they associate with, the time they spend with no benefit, and so on. This negligence of such parents causes the children to grow up without any responsible adult and without caring guidance and supervision. Such problems could be found in many countries in the world.

A solution for such problems should be made. The solution offered by this paper is just raising awareness of child rights in the Islamic perspective which should be understood and applied by parents, government, and civil society organization, especially in Muslim countries. To implement such a solution, it is important: (1) to know the rights of the child in Islamic perspective, (2) to know their congruence with the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989, and (3) to describe in general the consequence of such rights to the role of state in legislating laws on child protection and establishing a national institute of child protection, and in particular the role of an Indonesian Muslim civil society organization, that is Aisyiyah, in pioneering GACA (Gerakan Aisyiyah Cinta Anak, Aisyiyah Movement to Love the Child). Aisyiyah, a sister organization of Muhammadiyah, a Muslim civil society organization (CSO) established by Ahmad Dahlan in 1912—and now one of the largest CSOs in Indonesia, to improve the quality of Indonesian society through many life aspects, especially in education, healthy, and social welfare.

Study Method

This study is just a literature review, based on documents in gathering data and content analysis in analyzing data. The content analysis is carried out by deductive method to know the congruence of the rights of the child in Islam with those of the CRC, and inductive method to know the fulfillment of the rights of the child implemented by Aisyiyah (the Muslim CSO in Indonesia) and the state (of Indonesia). Some data refer to two main sources of Islamic teachings: Al-Qur'an (Allah's words) and Hadith (words, deeds and approvals of the Prophet Muhammad). Quotations from verses of Al-Qur'an are just their translations in English, not mentioning the verses due to easiness in looking for them. But, quotations from Hadith refer either to their texts in Arabic or their translations in English due to difficulty in looking for the texts of Hadith in Arabic.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in November 1989. The CRC incorporates the full range of human rights for children: civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights. On the 2 September 1990, it came into force after being ratified by the required number of nations. Since then, 196 countries have ratified it. The CRC consists of 54 articles and three Optional Protocols containing the basic human rights that children have (Rasmusson, et.al., 2016: 7-8).

Eugene Verhellen (2000) categorized the content of the CRC into three Ps: *Provision* (access to food, healthcare, education, social security); *Protection* (from maltreatment, abuse, neglect, all forms of exploitation); and *Participation* (having the right to act, be involved in decision-making). Taking the point of departure in the four basic principles, formulated by UNICEF, is another way of

understanding the CRC in its entirety. The principles are: non-discrimination (article 2), the best interest of the child (article 3), right to life and development (article 6), and right to participation (article12), (Rasmusson, et.al., 2016: 19-20).

THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD IN ISLAM

To begin a discourse on the rights of the child in Islamic perspective, the following anecdote must be known:

> "One day a man came to Umar ibn al-Khattab to complain of a disobedient son. So Umar had brought the boy to him and he blamed him for his disobedience. Then the boy addressed Umar by saying 'O Commander of the faithful: Are there no rights for a boy against his father?' Umar said, 'Yes'. Then the boy said, 'What are these rights O Commander of the faithful?' Umar said, 'To choose a good mother for him, to select a good name to him, and to teach him the Quran'. Then the boy said, 'O Commander of the faithful, my father has not accomplished any of these rights. As for my mother, she was a black slave for a Magian; as for my name, he has named me Jual (beetle); and he has not taught me even one letter from the Qur'an'. Then Umar turned round to the man and said, 'You came to me complaining disobedience on the part of your son, whereas you have not given him his rights. So you have made mistakes against him before he has made mistakes against you." (Arfat, 2013: 299)

From such an anecdote, it is very clear that the child has his/her rights which become his/her father's obligations as a family shepherd; to violate child's rights is to disobey Allah. Furthermore, whereby family is the nucleus of society, the last has also responsibility in fulfilling the rights of child. The Prophet Muhammad said, as quoted by Arfat (2013: 299-300), "The Muslim community would earn a name among other communities for its kindness to children."

Besides, it must be recognized from the beginning that the child, in accordance with the Islamic perspective, means both male and female. Although Islam prefers boys over girls in terms of inheritance, *aqeeqa* (slaughter of two lambs upon the birth of a male baby, and one lamb only for a female baby), and other matters—all based on difference of responsibility, but both male and female are alike in the sight of Allah. Both, again, are equal in religious duties, except for certain exceptions that are defined and illustrated by Allah in the Qur'an, or declared and specified by the Prophet Muhammad in his *Hadith*. Each, however, is prepared and equipped physically to perform certain duties and tasks being suitable to his/her nature (Al-Uthaymeen, 2000).

In Islamic perspective, there are many rights of the child. To simplify this study, let me use a categorization introduced by Hasan bin Khalid Hasan Al-Sindy (2008: 437). He categorizes them into three categories: social rights, educational rights, and financial rights. The social rights are divided into two categories: before birth and after birth.

Social Rights (before Birth)
Right to Noble Parent Having Character. In Islam a child's right begins even before birth; in fact it begins before conception, being careful in choice for a spouse. The Prophet Muhammad taught us

to choose righteous spouses. He told a young man to give preference to a woman who is pious[4] and told guardians of young girls to give preference to that young man who is known for his religion and his character.[5] Thus, a man chooses beforehand who shall be the noble mother having character of his children. Otherwise, a woman chooses who shall be the noble father having character of her children. By choosing a noble mother/father for his/her children, both fulfill a right of their children even before they are born (Stacey, 2010; see Al-Anis, 2013:16-18).

If a man and a woman have dedicated their lives to worshipping and pleasing their Creator, then the rights of any children they may have are automatically guaranteed. Worshipping Allah means obeying His commandments which include securing the rights of the child (Stacey, 2010; see Al-Sindy, 2008:444-447).

Right of Unborn Child. After conception, the right that Allah has described for unborn child, then takes effect. Once a child is conceived, he/she has the right to life. It is never permissible to abort the unborn or to terminate a pregnancy because one fears being unable to financially support a child or another child. It is Allah, who is the Provider and Sustainer of all life.[6] The persons who kill their children, prior or after their birth, are prescribed as lost, misguided and ignorant.[7] The killing of the children is even a great sin.[8] Moreover, the father should do everything in his power to preserve the life of the unborn child [9] (Arfat, 2013: 300; Stacey, 2010; see Al-Sindy, 2008:447-452).

Social Rights (after Birth)
Right to Lineage. It is the right of the child to have a legitimate birth (being born from the parents who are legally married). The birth outside of wedlock deprives the child from this right. When the child's parents are unknown, other parents may not claim parenthood of him, by way of direct or indirect adoption. The Qur'an states that the adopted child is not the real offspring of the adopter. He is just the brother in faith and the client of his fellow Muslim.[10] The adopted child must be related to his true procreator when he is known or knowable. An orphan is also never to be denied his original identity. This right includes the need to trace one's genetic lineage for medical purposes, which also forms the basis for the concern associated with incestuous marriages/relationships (Arfat, 2013:302; Stacey, 2010; see Al-Sindy, 2008:444-447, and Al-Anis, 2013:21).

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[4]Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him (PBUH), said, (تُنْكَحُ النَّسَاءُ لِأَرْبَعٍ لِمَالِهَا وَلِحَسَبِهَا وَلِجَمَالِهَا وَلِدِينِهَا فَاظْفَرْ بِذَاتِ الدِّينِ) "A woman may be married for four reasons: her wealth, her lineage, her beauty, and her religious commitment. Marry the one who is religiously committed." This hadith is reported by Ibn Majah (No. 1848, Lidwa Pustaka Software).

[5]Prophet Muhammad, PBUH, said, (إِذَا أَتَاكُمْ مَنْ تَرْضَوْنَ خُلُقَهُ وَدِينَهُ فَزَوِّجُوهُ) "If come to you a man whom you are satisfied with his character and his religion, marry him (with your daughter), …" This hadith is reported by Ibn Majah (No. 1957, Lidwa Pustaka Software).

[6]Allah said, "… kill not your children because of poverty. We provide sustenance for you and for them" (The Noble Qur'an 6:151).

[7]Allah said, "Indeed lost are they who have killed their children, from folly without knowledge, and have forbidden (food) which Allah has provided them, inventing a lie against Allah. They have indeed gone astray and are not rightly guided" (The Noble Qur'an 6:140).

[8]Allah said, "… Surely, the killing of them (the children) is a great sin" (The Noble Qur'an 17:31).

[9]Allah said, "… And if they are pregnant, then spend on them till they deliver" (The Noble Qur'an 65:6)

[10]Allah said, "… nor has He made your adopted sons your real sons … Call them (adopted sons) by (the names of) their fathers, that is more just with Allah. But if you know not their father's (names, call them) your brothers in faith and your freed slaves" (The Noble Qur'an 33:4-5).

Rigth to Suckle and Nutrition. Following birth, a child has the right to be suckled by his/her mother directly until he/she attain his/her full power and strength, for the suckle has a great impact on the growth and development of the child. If the mother dies or suffers from an ailment preventing her suckling, or if the infant refuses to take her suckle, the father has a duty to find someone to suckle his infant even if she has to be paid[11] (Arfat, 2013:301; see Al-Sindy, 2008:453-455, and Al-Anis, 2013:19-21).

Once a child is strong enough and passes the nursing stage, the parent must provide appropriate nutrition to sustain continued growth. It is also the duty of parent to take every protective and precaution treatment, including vaccination, to prevent their child from falling ill. Moreover, if the child is ill, his/her parent should treat him/her medically. Treatment against disease serves the purpose of *sharia* (Islamic law) with regard to preserving life (Al-Azhar University and UNICEF, 2005:6; and Al-Anis, 2013:30).

Right to Being Received by the Muslim Society. In Islam, the birth of a child, male or female, is a cause for great celebration. There is a number of recommended rituals from the authentic traditions of Prophet Muhammad, PBUH, that are to be done to ensure that the newborn child is received properly by the Muslim. However, the absence of any or all of these recommended actions does not negate any child's rights in Islam (Stacey, 2010).

It is recommended that the parents do *tahneek*—putting something sweet such as dates or honey into the child's mouth—and pray for the newborn child.[12] They are also recommended to recite softly *azan* (the call to prayer) into the newborn baby's right ear. The first thing the child hears in this world, are the words of submission to One God. Besides, the newborn child is also recommended to be named on the seventh day after his or her birth. Names are important. Names have meanings and become symbols of persons. These meanings will have an effect on the child for good or for bad. The child, then, should be given a good name, and it is disliked to use names that have bad or distasteful meanings, or sound odd, or which would cause others to mock a person, or cause him embarrassment (Al-Sindy, 2008:455-456; Stacey, 2010).

Together with giving name in the seventh day after birth, it is recommended to held *aqeeqa,* in which the family slaughter one or two sheep and to invite relatives and neighbours to a meal in order to allow the community to share in the happy event. The *aqeeqa* is a sacrifice by which the child is brought close to God soon after he comes into this world. It is a sacrifice by which the newborn is ransomed just as God ransomed Ismail with the ram. In this moment, it is also recommended to shave

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[11]Allah said, "The mothers should suckle their children for two whole years, (that is) for those (parents) who desire to complete the term of suckling, but the father of the child shall bear the cost of the mother's food and clothing on a reasonable basis. No person shall have a burden laid on him greater than he can bear. No mother shall be treated unfairly on account of her child, nor father on account of his child. And on the (father's) heir is incumbent the like of that (which was incumbent on the father). If they both decide on weaning, by mutual consent, and after due consultation, there is no sin on them. And if you decide on a foster suckling-mother for your children, there is no sin on you, provided you pay (the mother) what you agreed (to give her) on reasonable basis. And fear Allah and know that Allah is All-Seer of what you do" (The Noble Qur'an 2:233).

[12]Abu Musa, one of Prophet Muhammad's companions, said, (مَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ سَمَّاهُ فَ سَلَّمَ وَ عَلَيْهِ اللَّهُ صَلَّى النَّبِيَّ بِهِ فَأَتَيْتُ غُلَامٌ لِي) (إِلَيَّ وَدَفَعَهُ بِالْبَرَكَةِ لَهُ وَدَعَا بِتَمْرَةٍ فَحَنَّكَهُ) "I had a baby boy and I brought him to the Prophet. He named him Ibrahem, did *tahneek* with a date and prayed for God to bless him, then he gave him back to me." This hadith is reported by Al-Bukhari (No. 5730, Lidwa Pustaka Software).

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the newborn child's hair and, then, the weight of the hair should be given in gold or silver or the equivalent amount in currency for charity (Al-Sindy, 2008:457-459; Stacey, 2010).

Another ritual pertaining to the newborn child—although after several years—and as a part of the child's rights is circumcision. It is obligatory for a boy to be circumcised. This ritual is related to purity and essential conditions of the prayer, and imply complete submission to the will of God (Al-Sindy, 2008:459-461; Stacey, 2010).

To complete the celebration in welcoming the newborn child, it is recommended that the parents do *hadana* (giving the child his/her room), especially after growing and being circumcised (Al-Sindy, 2008:461-464). Welcoming the newborn child into the family and community is more than a celebration; the rights and rituals performed serve to remind believers that children in Islam have rights. Whether the parents are alive or deceased, known or unknown, present or absent, the child is entitled to be cared for and raised in security, surrounded by good environments and God's love and laws. It is time to prescribe the educational rights of the children.

Educational Rights

Right to Life. To fulfill the child's educational rights, there are some requirements, such as his right to life and general care. Islam has guaranteed the right to life for all human beings except for clearly defined crimes in the *sharia* due to which a person loses his/her right to life.[13] During the days of ignorance, some people used to kill their children due to superstitions and fear of poverty. Female children, especially, were considered a sign of weakness and humiliation for the family, so they used to bury their female children alive. Allah has prohibited and condemned this evil practice[14] (Arfat, 2013:301). Based on social environment wherein bullying, violation, sexual harassment and assault, and other crimes happen, the child's right to life consequently means broader, that is to live in security and peace, and enjoy human dignity and protection under the responsibility of the parents, families, community and state[15] (Al-Azhar University and UNICEF, 2005:2, 8-9).

   Right to General Care. A small child has his/her physical needs as well as emotional and spiritual needs. The parent, guardian and caregiver should bring their child up with good manners in all things, drinking, eating, dressing, sleeping, going out of the house, entering the house, riding in vehicles, etc.[16] They should instill in their child the attributes of a good person, such as love of (personal) sacrifice,

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[13]Allah said, "… If anyone killed a person not in retaliation of murder, or to spread mischief in the land, it would be as if he killed all mankind, and if anyone saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life for all mankind…" (The Noble Qur'an 5:32). Allah also said, "… and kill not anyone whom Allah has forbidden, except for a just cause (according to Islamic law). This He has commanded you that you may understand." (The Noble Qur'an 6:161).

[14]Allah said, "And when the news of (the birth of) a female (child) is brought to any of them, his face becomes dark, and he is filled with inward grief! He hides himself from the people because of the evil of that whereof he has been informed. Shall he keep her with dishonor or bury her in the earth? Certainly, evil is their decision" (The Noble Qur'an 16:58-59).

[15]The Prophet Muhammad PBUH said, (الْمُسْلِمُ أَخُو الْمُسْلِمِ لَا يَخُونُهُ وَلَا يَكْذِبُهُ وَلَا يَخْذُلُهُ، كُلُّ الْمُسْلِمِ عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِ حَرَامٌ عِرْضُهُ وَمَالُهُ

وَدَمُهُ، …), "The Muslim is a brother of the Muslim, he should not betray him nor belie him nor let him down. The whole of the Muslim is forbidden to another Muslim: his honor, his property and his blood, … ." This hadith is reported by Al-Tirmizi (No. 1850, Lidwa Pustaka Software).

[16]Allah said, "… The father of the child shall bear the cost of the mother's food and clothing on a reasonable basis. …" (The Noble Qur'an 2:233).

putting others first, helping others, nobility and generosity. Besides, the child must also be protected from physical harm and bad nutrition. (Stacey, 2010).

Right to Socialization of (Islamic) Values (Religious Training and Spiritual Guidance). This is the first and foremost of the child's rights in Islam. Through religious training and spiritual guidance, the child has to internalize Islamic values and principles to save him/her in entire lives.[17] Socialization primarily means to let the child know his/her Creator, inculcates love for the Prophet Muhammad, faith in Hereafter, angels, divine books, prophets and other important aspects of Islam as a way of life, such as prayer (*salat*)[18] and fasting (in Ramadhan). Besides, the parents and guardians should work to culture within their children the love for praised attribute of character and develop the hatred within them against all aspects of bad character. A natural consequence of such socialization is absolutely purification of the soul (Arfat, 2013:303; see Al-Anis, 2013:27-28).

Right to Basic Education. After the heart of the child being filled with faith, love and compassion, and his/her deeds being attributed with praised characters due to socialization of values, his/her mind should be entertained with proper knowledge and wisdom and his hands should be trained with vocational and practical aspects as — according to Ibn Khaldun — means of existence (quoted by Cheddadi, 2000: 10-11).[19] It is the child's right to basic education. In Islamic society, however, education is not mere right for its individuals, but an Islamic government indeed is required and demanded to prepare and provide all means that help individuals in the Islamic society to earn a better education.[20] Moreover, Islam considers seeking a better education as a type of *jihad* (Islamic strife) that the Allah rewards.[21] Furthermore, Islam considers withholding any useful knowledge that one possesses without sharing with others as unlawful[22] (Arfat, 2013: 304). It is clear, then, that it is the basic right of every child to get better and beneficial education.

Right to Just and Equal Treatment. Children also have the right to be treated justly and equally. No child should be given priority or any type of preference over the others in terms of good behavior

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[17]Allah said, "O you who believe! Ward off your selves and your families against a Fire (Hell) whose fuel is men and stones" (The Noble Qur'an 66:6).

[18]The Prophet Muhammad PBUH said, (مُرُوا أَوْلاَدَكُمْ بِالصَّلاَةِ وَهُمْ أَبْنَاءُ سَبْعِ سِنِينَ وَاضْرِبُوهُمْ عَلَيْهَا وَهُمْ أَبْنَاءُ عَشْرٍ وَفَرِّقُوا بَيْنَهُمْ فِي الْمَضَاجِعِ), "Order your children for *salat* (prayer) when they are seven, discipline them for it when they are ten and separate their bads." This hadith is reported by Abu Dawud (No. 418, Lidwa Pustaka Software).

[19]Allah said, "… Say: 'Are those who know equal to those who know not?' It is only man of understanding who will remember (i.e. get a lesson from Allah's signs and verses." (The Noble Qur'an 39:9); Allah also said, "… And when you are told to rise up (for prayers, or *jihad* –holy fighting in Allah's cause, or for any other good deed), rise up. Allah will exalt in degree those of you who believe, and those who have been granted knowledge. And Allah is Well-Acquainted) with what you do" (The Noble Qur'an 58:11).

[20] That concept is based on what the Prophet Muhammad PBUH said, (طَلَبُ الْعِلْمِ فَرِيضَةٌ عَلَى كُلِّ مُسْلِمٍ), "Seeking knowledge (better education) is an obligatory on every Muslim (male or female). This hadith is reported by Ibn Majah (No. 220, Lidwa Pustaka Software).

[21]The Prophet Muhammad PBUH said, (مَنْ خَرَجَ فِي طَلَبِ الْعِلْمِ كَانَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ حَتَّى يَرْجِعَ), "He who travels to seek any knowledge is considered as a person who is struggling in *jihad* for the cause of Allah until he returns (home)." This hadith is reported by Al-Tirmizi (No. 2571, Lidwa Pustaka Software).

[22]The Prophet Muhammad PBUH said, (مَنْ سُئِلَ عَنْ عِلْمٍ فَكَتَمَهُ أُلْجِمَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ بِلِجَامٍ مِنْ نَارٍ), "Whosoever withholds the dissemination of (a beneficial) knowledge (to others who may need or benefit from it) will be tortured with a harness of fire on the Day of Judgment." This hadith is reported by Ibn Majah (No. 260, LidwaPustaka Software).

and kind treatment as well as in terms of gifts, grants, ownership or inheritance.[23] An unfair treatment to children may result in bad behavior towards one another or both parents in the future or old age (Uthaymeen, 2000; and Arfat, 2013:303).

Right to Physical Education. In Islamic perspective, as Ibn Sina — a very distinguished Muslim philosopher — said, education does not neglect physical development and everything implied by it: physical exercise, food and drink, sleep and cleanliness. According to him, the aims of education are the overall growth of the individual: physical, mental and moral, followed by preparation of this individual to live in society through a chosen trade according to his aptitudes (Al-Naqib, 1993:58). Islam, then, empowers physical as well as soul, including both of the child[24] (See Al-Sindy, 2008: 484-487).

Financial Rights

Right to Livelihood (*Nafaqa*). To fulfill the child's rights mentioned above needs for the financial requirements. *Sharia* (Islamic law) has prescribed that the father has responsibility of such financial requirements (*nafaqa*)[25](Al-Azhar University and UNICEF, 2005:8). It is a duty of the parent to spend for their child's welfare and well-being moderately.[26]

Right to Prosperity and Inheritance. It is well-known that shariah (Islamic law) affirms the right of the newborn child to owning property and to inheritance.[27] Moreover, the *sharia* has preserved such a right long before birth while still a fetus. If the father die while the mother is pregnant, the will (or inheritance) cannot be dispensed with until the child is born and its gender is determined (Al-Azhar University and UNICEF, 2005:5).

CONGRUENCE BETWEEN ISLAM AND THE CRC

Paying attention to the rights of the child in Islam described above and compared to 3 Ps of the CRC (Provision, Protection and Participation), it is found that almost all rights — social, educational or financial — relate to the Provision (access to food, healthcare, education, social security). It is just the right to life which relates to the Protection (from maltreatment, abuse, neglect, and all forms of exploitation). The right to life in Islam, even, means broader, that is to live in security and peace, and to enjoy dignity and protection under the responsibility of family, community, and state. Meanwhile,

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[23]The father of al-Nu`man bin Baseer visited the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, saying: (إِنِّي أَعْطَيْتُ ابْنِي مِنْ عَمْرَةَ بِنْتِ) "I have رَوَاحَةَ عَطِيَّةً فَأَمَرَتْنِي أَنْ أُشْهِدَكَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ قَالَ أَعْطَيْتَ سَائِرَ وَلَدِكَ مِثْلَ هَذَا قَالَ لَا قَالَ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَاعْدِلُوا بَيْنَ أَوْلَادِكُمْ قَالَ فَرَجَعَ فَرَدَّ عَطِيَّتَهُ), granted my son (al-Nu`man) something from `Amrah binti Rawahah." Then she commanded me to ask you, o Prophet of Allah, to testify to that gift. But the Prophet asked (him), "Did you grant the same to each child of yours?" The father of al-Nu`man answered, "No." The Prophet commented, "Fear Allah, and be fair and just for all your children." Al-Nu`man said, "(His father) came back," and, (then), he (al-Nu`man) gave the grant back to him (his father). This hadith is reported by Al-Bukhari (No. 2398, Lidwa Pustaka Software) and Muslim (No. 3055, Lidwa Pustaka Software).

[24]The Prophet said, (الْمُؤْمِنُ الْقَوِيُّ خَيْرٌ وَأَحَبُّ إِلَى اللَّهِ مِنْ الْمُؤْمِنِ الضَّعِيفِ), "The strong believer is better and more beloved to Allah than the week believer." This hadith is reported by Muslim (No. 4816, Lidwa Pustaka Software). Moreover, Allah said, "And said one of them (the two women): 'O my father! Hire him! Verily, the best of men for you to hire is the strong, the trustworthy" (The Noble Qur'an 28:26).

[25]The Noble Qur'an 2:233, see footnote 13.

[26]Allah said, "And those who, when they spend, are neither extravagant nor niggardly, but hold a medium (way) between those (extremes)" (The Noble Qur'an 25:67).

[27]Allah said, "Allah commands you as regards your children's (inheritance): to the male, a portion equal to that of two female. …" (The Noble Qur'an 4:11).

the right to socialization of (Islamic) values and the right to basic education relate implicitly to the Participation (having the right to act, be involved in decision-making). In socialization of values, for example, to culture within the children the love for praised attribute of character needs participation of them in purification of the soul. Besides, the rights not mentioned in the CRC — but needed in Islam, are the social rights before birth, such as right to noble parent having character and right of unborn child, and the social right after birth, that is the right to lineage.

Furthermore, the rights of the child guaranteed by Islam have also met four basic principles of the CRC formulated by UNICEF: non-discrimination, the best interest of the child, right to life and development, and right to participation. One principle still requiring discussion is that of non-discrimination. When Islam prefers boys over girls in terms of inheritance, for example, that is based on difference of responsibility. The responsibility of boys or men is bigger than that of girls or women. In the sight of Allah, however, male and female are alike. Both, again, are equal in religious duties. If there are certain exceptions, however, each is prepared and equipped physically to perform certain duties and tasks being suitable to his/her nature.

THE ROLES OF CIVIL SOCIETY AND STATE

For protecting children and enabling them to enjoy their rights guaranteed by Islam, parental care plays role as a main foundation. The roles of parent above are not mentioned explicitly because description of a child's rights should include the obligations of his/her parent. Each of children's rights is actually an obligation of his/her parent and vice versa, and behind each obligation there is implicitly a role.

The Roles of Civil Society: Aisyiyah Case

Civil society also has key roles to play in this regard. In Indonesian case, for example, there is a civil society organization (CSO), that is Aisyiyah, a sister organization of Muhammadiyah. In the middle of its national work meeting, in 23 April 2016, Aisyiyah launched a movement on child protection. In addition to its many kindergartens established to fulfill the right of the child in education, this movement has broadened Aisyiyah participation in developing/educating people. Such a movement is GACA (GerakanAisyiyahCintaAnak, Aisyiyah Movement to Love the Child), developing a system for child protection. As prerequisites of developing the system, Aisyiyah, in cooperation with Central Leadership of Muhammadiyah's Council on *Tarjeeh* (Conscientiousness) and *Tajdeed* (Renewal and Modernization), has recognized the rights of the child, and drawn up religious-philosophical base, as well as sociological consideration and constitutional bases. To recognize the rights of the child, Aisyiyah has studied, and found that the organization connects the initiatives to the four categories of the rights of the child earlier mentioned: (1) the survival rights (the right to live, the right for basic needs, and the right of child survival); (2) the rights of development (the right to develop fully all child potentials); (3) the rights of protection (from harassment, neglect and exploitation); and (4) the rights of participation (all rights enabling the child to participate in all matters influencing their life (Ro'fah, 2016).

GACA has religious-philosophical base assuming that(1) the child is a trust that should be cared and treated as good as possible;[28] (2) the child is a next generation of family, nation and civilization, and an owner as well as a determinant of the nation's future;[29](3) to care the trust is a *fitna* (an exam/a trial),[30] if it can be carried out successfully, the child should be *qurrata a'yun* (the comfort of eyes),[31]not merely as *zînatul ḥayâtid dunyâ* (ornament of the world life),[32] and if it cannot be carried out successfully, the child should be *'aduw* (an enemy) of his/her parent.[33]

GACA has sociological considerations: (1) children in Indonesia amount to 85 million, about one third of the Indonesian population; (2)the child, in the perspective of parent, is an investment for the world and the hereafter; (3) the perception about child — like small adult, social prestige, economic resources, productive worker, or good citizen — is a social construction; and (4) several policies of the child protection are not yet in the perspective of child protection — the rights relating to the best interest of the child and appreciation to the child opinions, for example, are still neglected (Pranawati, 2016).

GACA also has constitutional bases: (1) Undang-undang Dasar 1945 (1945 Indonesian Republic Constitution), article 28 B, paragraph 2, stating that "every child has rights of survival, grow and develop, and those of protection from violence and discrimination", (2) Law No. 35/2014 on the amendment of Law No. 23/2002 on the Child Protection; and (3) Law No. 11/2012 on the System of Juvenile Justice (Pranawati, 2016).

Futhermore, Aisyiyah with its programme GACA is also concerned with the shifting paradigm of childhood and that of protection approach to the child. The paradigm of childhood is shifting from "becoming" to "being". In the paradigm of "becoming", the child is a future creature and child period is that of socialization and development, while in the paradigm of "being", the child is an integrated individual, and what child experiences, feels, hopes and conducts should be a focus of society attention and treatment to the child. The protection approach to the child is also shifting from curative or problem solving approach to preventive one (Ro'fah, 2016).

Aisyiyah with its programme GACA, also tries to collaborate with KPAI (Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia, Indonesian Commission on the Child Protection), the institute established by the state to protect the rights of the child. The establishment of KPAI is based on Law No. 35/2014 on Child Protection. The institute has mandate to improve the effectiveness of implementation of supervision of child right fulfillment. The KPAI supervision covers eight issues: gathering data and info, serving

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[28]Allah said, "O you who believe! Betray not Allah and His Messenger, nor betray knowingly your *amânât* (the things entrusted to you, and all the duties which Allah has ordained for you" (The Noble Qur'an 8:27).

[29]Allah said, "And verily, I fear my relatives after me, and my wife is barren. So give me from yourself an heir. Who shall inherit me, and inherit (also) the posterity of Ya'cub (Jacob) (inheritance of the religious knowledge and Prophethood, not of wealth). And make him, my Lord, one with whom You are Well-Pleased" (The Noble Qur'an 19:5-6).

[30]Allah said, "And know that your possessions and your children are but a trial and that surely, with Allah is a mighty reward" (The Noble Qur'an 8:28).

[31]Allah said, "And those who say: 'Our Lord! Bestow on us from our wives and our offspring the comfort of our eyes, and make leaders of the *Muttaqin* (the pious)" (The Noble Qur'an 25:74).

[32]Allah said, "Beautified for men is the love of things they covet: women, children, much of gold and silver (wealth), …" (The Noble Qur'an 3:14).

[33]Allah said, "O you who believe! Verily, among your wives and your children there are enemies for you (who may stop you from the obedience of Allah); therefore beware of them! But if you pardon (them) and overlook, and forgive (their faults), then verily, Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful" (The Noble Qur'an 64:14).

society complaint, mediating conflict, studying problem, reporting violation, collaboration, control, and inputting and proposing policies on child protection. Meanwhile, child protection conducted by KPAI covers some areas: family and care, education, religion, health and narcotics (including psychotropic and addictive substances), social and emergency, civil rights and participation, violence, trafficking, and pornography and cyber crime (Pranawati, 2016).

The Roles of State

From above description, can be explored the roles of state: (1) stating the rights of the child in 1945 (Indonesian Republic) Constitution; (2) legislating laws of the child, Law No. 23/2002 on the Child Protection which has amended by Law No. 35/2014, and Law No. 11/2012 on the System of Juvenile Justice; and (3) establishing and funding KPAI (Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia, Indonesian Commission on the Child Protection),

Conclusion and Suggestion

Islam as a holistic religion gives children many rights concerned with physical, emotional, social and spiritual well-being. The child is a trust given to parent by God Allah. The child is to be well-fed, well-groomed, properly dressed for seasons and appearance. The child is entitled to religious learning, education and spiritual guidance. His mind must be entertained with knowledge and wisdom while his heart must be filled with faith and love. These child-rights in Islam have good congruence with those of the CRC adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989.

Not just do parent play role due to their obligations, but state and civil society also play roles due to their social responsibility. In Indonesian case, Aisyiyah, a sister organization of Muhammadiyah, one of civil society organizations, in addition to its many kindergartens established to fulfill the rights of the child, has launched a program: GACA (GerakanAisyiyahCintaAnak, Aisyiyah Movement to Love the Child) in April 2016. Meanwhile, the state has paid attention to state the rights of the child in its constitution, and also has legislated laws on the child as well as established the Indonesian Commission on the Child Protection.

Besides, it is recommended to build a network between state and civil society organizations and between civil society organizations themselves in supporting and protecting the rights of the child.

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Democratizing the Womb: Girls' Human Rights and Failed State
Dewi Candraningrum

Denied Rights

Indonesia's commitment to the rights and protection of children is reflected in the passing of a range of legislations such as Law No. 23/2002 regarding the Protection of Children and Law No.39/1999 regarding Human Rights. Children threatened by the practice of child marriage are being denied their rights. As a country, which has ratified the international conventions noted above, Indonesia is obliged to ensure the rights of children as set out by the Convention on the Rights of the Child are fulfilled. These rights include: 1) The right to be heard, 2) The right to freedom from discrimination 3) The right to protection against all forms of violence and behavior which compromises the health of a child, 4) The right to protection from exploitation which disturbs schooling or endangers physical, mental, spiritual or social health and wellbeing.

Law No.1, 1974, Article 7 Paragraph 1 Regarding Marriage states that the minimum legal age for girls to marry is 16 years old, in direct contradiction with the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The contradiction between these laws creates legal uncertainty, misalignment and imbalance of the law and

has the potential to create injustice for sexual reproductive health rights of girls under the age of 18 years.

Failed Law, Failed Social Engineering, Failed State

The request for a judicial review of Law No. 1/1974 regarding Marriage, especially Article 7 Paragraphs 1 and 2 outlining the age limits for marriage of women was refused by the Constitutional Court on August 2015. Allowing girls to be married at the age of 16 means that Indonesia is consenting to child marriage. Decision of the constitutional court MK No 18/6/2015 raises implications about the legalization of child marriage in Indonesia in the midst of a global campaign to #EndChildMarriage.

1. Social development has failed in Indonesia as there is no correlation between economic growth and social welfare. Indonesia's economy is the 16th largest in the world, however, based on the Human Development Index Indonesia is ranked 121st out of 187 countries in the world (UNDP 2013).

2. Denial of girls' basic human rights because of marriage before the ages of 15-18 has the potential to increase the incidence of maternal deaths (359/100.000 births), infant deaths (32/1000) and the incidence of children born with malnutrition (4,500,500 annually). This denial of human rights and the resulting increased instances of maternal and infant mortality will result in a "lost generation" in the future of Indonesia, or the impoverishment of girls through an increased likelihood of their involvement in prostitution, slavery, drug peddling and human trafficking.

3. Legal inconsistencies arise from a lack of alignment of the various instruments of child protection law, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child (ratified by way of Presidential Decree No 36/1990), Law No 35/2014 related to the protection of children, CEDAW [1] (ratified by way of Law No 7/1984) and the Law 23/2004 regarding the Eradication of Domestic Violence.

4. A picture emerges of Indonesian judges who, as proponents of the laws, sit within a 'safe zone' because they treat the law texts without logic or conscience even when gambling with the lives of many. Moreover, judges ignore expert advice based on extensive academic research.

5. Judges of the Constitutional Court have passed the moral responsibility for revising the marriage laws to the House of Representatives. This is despite their having full autonomy as a secondary legislature to push for positive social change. The judges have ignored a golden opportunity to make a decision as an instrument of social engineering in line with the noble ideals of the nation's founders.

Why Sukabumi?

West Java (52.26%) has become the province with the third highest instance of child marriage behind South Kalimantan (53.71%) and East Java (52.89%) based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics

2011. Based on data from the Indonesian Ministry of Health, in 2014 West Java had the highest maternal mortality rate making up 50 % of all maternal mortality in Indonesia. Based on the Profile of Health for the Province of West Java in 2012, the number of maternal deaths was as high as 804 and the rate of maternal mortality (AKI) was 86.3 to 100,000 live births. Sukabumi constitutes the district with the highest rate of maternal mortality compared to the other 26 districts and cities within West Java.

Number of Maternal Deaths According to Age Groups in the Areas of the West Java Province, 2012

Number of Maternal Deaths According to Age Groups in the Areas of the West Java Province, 2012
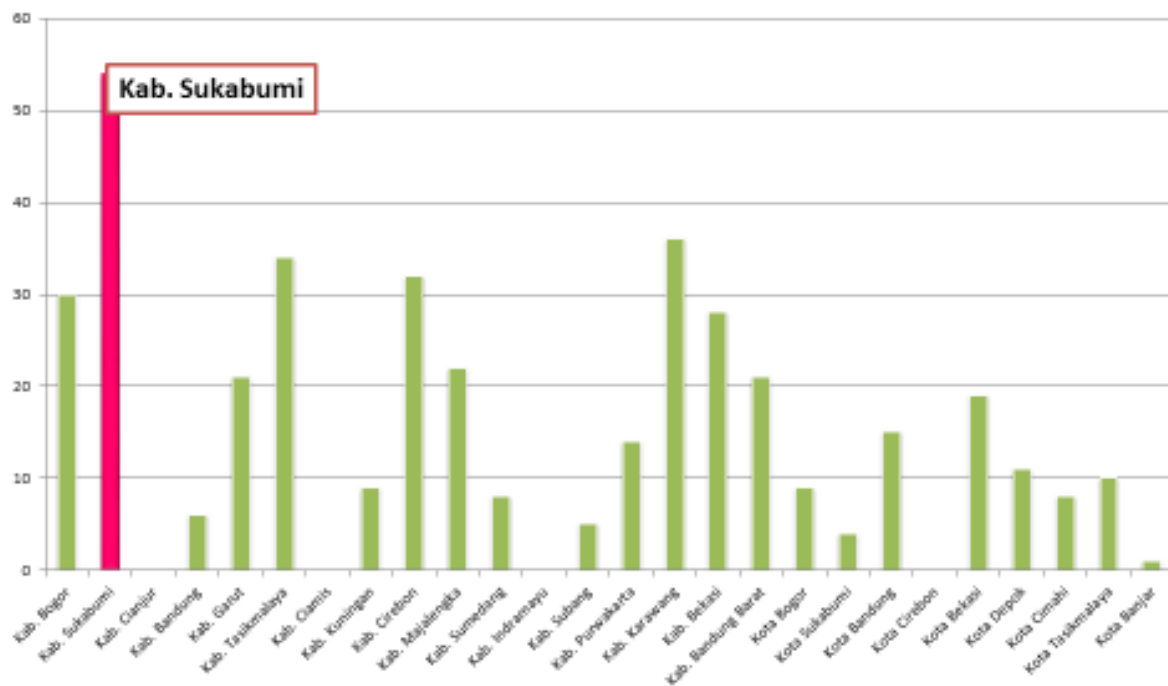
Failing Girls' Human Rights

Based on data published by the National Department of Health, in West Java the incidence of maternal deaths in 2009 was as high as 49, in 2010, 40, in 2011, 70, and in 2012, 76. For 5 years maternal mortality rates in West Java have steadily risen. In 2012, the majority of maternal deaths occurred bellow the age of 20. There were 23 deaths of child brides and 18 girls died in child birth, this is a number with frightening connotations. Remembering that in South East Asia, Indonesia occupies the top rank for maternal mortality brings realization that children who become mothers can suffer from life threatening reproductive health issues. Within the 26 districts and cities within West Java, the district of Sukabumi contributes the highest rate of maternal mortality for girls. In the year 2012, 23 women

died during their pregnancy and a further 31 died whilst in labour. Based on, an in depth interview with PEKKA (The Women-Headed Household Empowerment Program) on the 14th November 2015, the village of Cikidang held focus group discussions with multiple stakeholders which resulted in a shocking disclosure of information; that the highest prevalence of maternal mortality occurred in the location of South Sukabumi (the location which is also furthest from the capital city and suffers from poor infrastructure and badly maintained roads). This location is thought to have an extremely high instance of human trafficking.
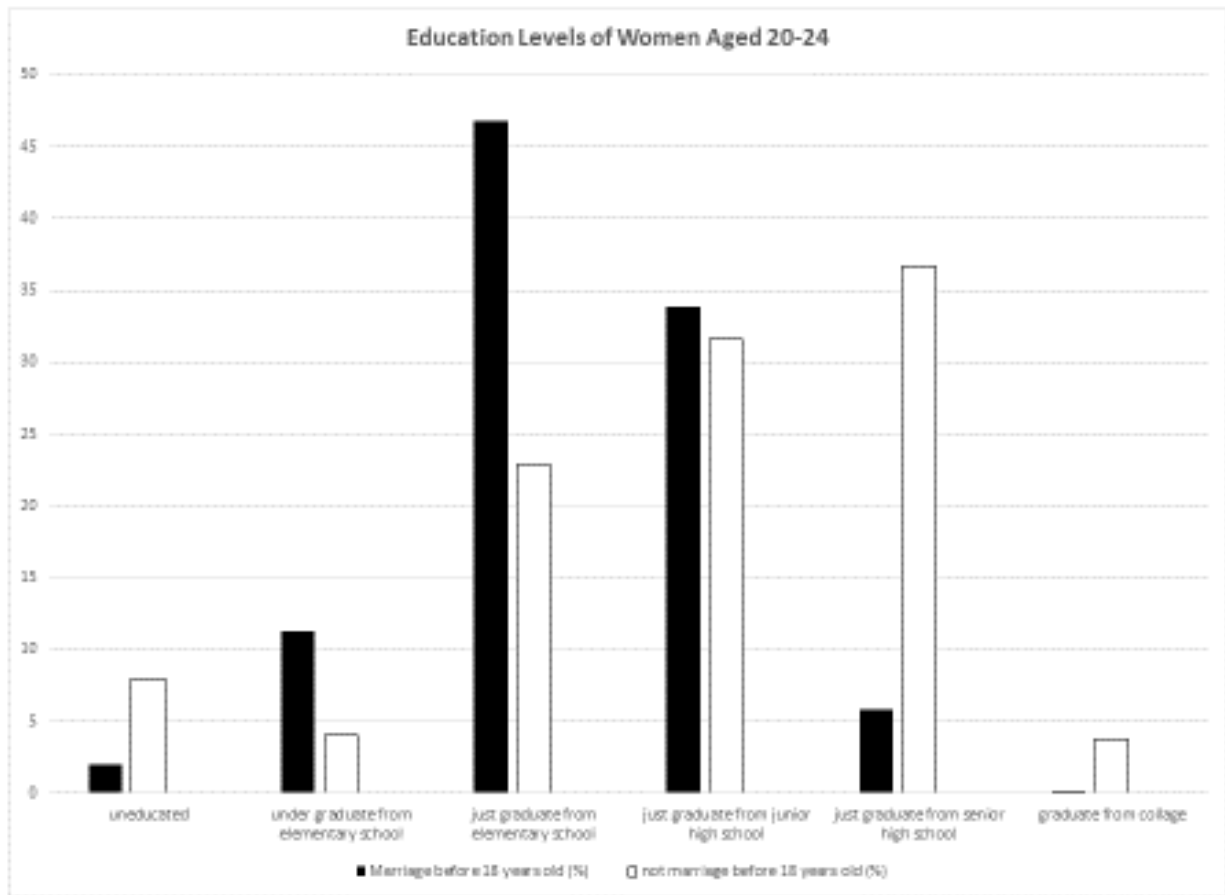
Fear of *Zina*

> "In Cikidang, marriages like this usually occur in the remote areas, not in urban environments. Why does it happen? Usually because parents only consider their religion, for example if a child of 15 is already allowed to marry then they are married. The majority of these people think that marrying above the age of 17 runs the risk of an extramarital pregnancy and they don't want this. For example, if a 15-year-old already has a boyfriend, then they are married off rather than risk anything".
> (Neighbourhood leader, Suherman, FGD, Village of Cikidang Sukabumi 13 November 2015)

Drop-outs

On a national basis, girls completing primary school are more susceptible to child marriage (46.8%) compared to those who graduate high school (5.8%) and higher education (0.2%) according to the data of the SUSENAS 2012. Those who finish school at middle high school level are also susceptible to becoming victims of child marriage 33.9% compared to graduates of high school and higher education. Findings from Sukabumi also confirm that the majority of girls who are involved in child marriages have only schooled until primary school or middle high school. Low education contributes to the high rate of child marriage in this district.

Education Levels of Women Aged 20-24

(bar chart)

Legend: ■ Marriage before 18 years old (%)   □ not marriage before 18 years old (%)

Categories along x-axis: uneducated; under graduate from elementary school; just graduate from elementary school; just graduate from junior high school; just graduate from senior high school; graduate from collage

Broken-Home

"Yes their educational backgrounds are normally poor, only as far as Primary School or middle high school. In villages in that area there is not much that can be done to raise the work ethic, are they going to work as a Civil Servant (PNS) or what other work opportunities are there? So many parents marry their children off at a young age. But take the case I heard the other day involving a family from a broken home. The parents were divorced and their girl was out of control playing around with boys. Eventually they took her somewhere and it happened".
(interview with Chair of the Religious Court in Cibadak, Drs. Cece Rukmana Ibrahim,SH.MH.)

Skyrocketing Divorce Rate

Child marriage contributes to domestic violence. The Department of Religion reports that in the last five years divorce rate have risen from 59 to 80 percent. This phenomenon is triggered by the lack of

maturity of couples starting a family, mostly in child marriages. The major cause of conflict in the households of child marriage is economic factors. In a number of interviews and FGD's in Cikidang Village it was discovered that quarrels and domestic violence are triggered by household needs not being met and the low economic position of the wife.

Wombs of the Nation

"When I was married I was 16 years old, I did not continue high school, (laughing) at the request of my husband and parents in law. My parents in law wanted to have grandchildren. Because their son had married they were waiting for their grandchild. I had been married 1 year and 3 months when I fell pregnant. This was while I was working. Maybe I was tired or something but when I went for a check-up at the midwife she said my womb was weak because I was still young. I miscarried my baby at 4 weeks pregnant. After the miscarriage I was shocked. It was only four weeks old, when I went to urinate there was blood and abdominal pain. I went to the midwife but it turns out the foetus was already destroyed and not able to be saved. I was recommended to abort the foetus but I was scared. In the end I just went back to the village and had some traditional medicine. Thanks be to God when I had another ultrasound I was already clear, I didn't need to have an abortion". (interview with Siti—not her real name—in Cikidang Village)

Jumlah Kehamilah Berisiko dan Tidak per Desa di Kecamatan Cikidang
Sumber: diolah dari UPT BKKBD Kec. Cikidang
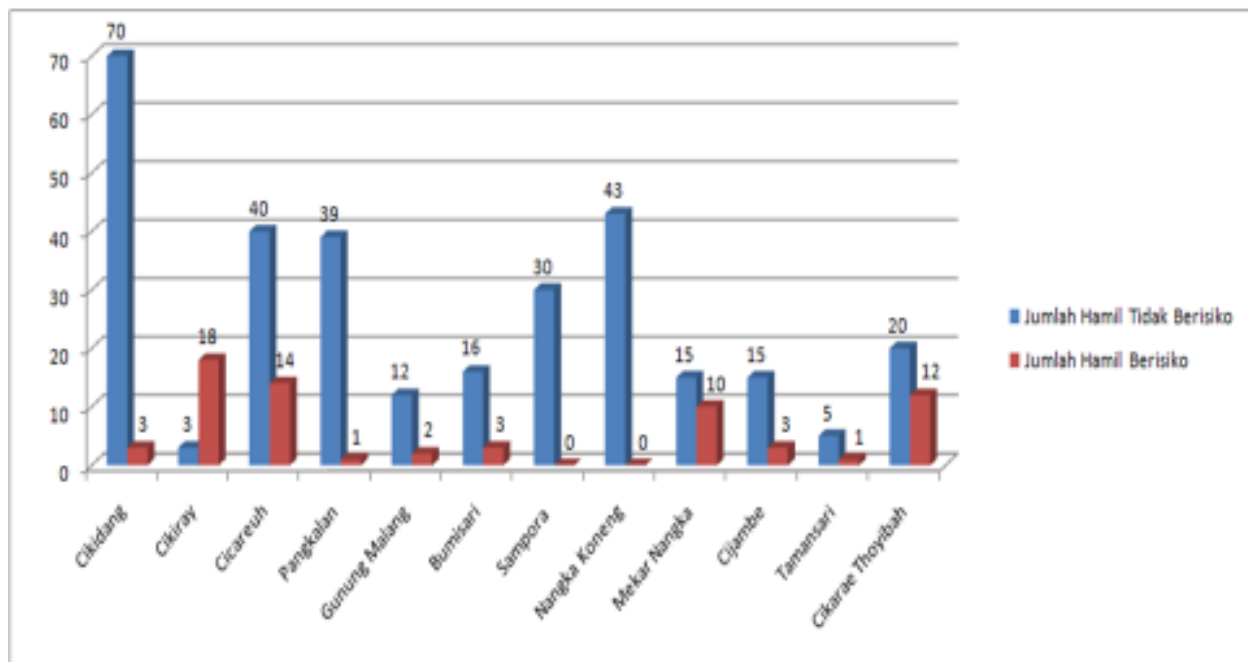
Girls' Human Rights

Girls' human rights are simply ignored in building Indonesian's democracy. They are seen as object of 'pembangunan' (development). Placing too much fear against girls' bodies and sexuality has discouraged their agency and politics in dealing with child marriage. There is no democracy in the politic of womb at all. Girls, thus, lose their chance in participating and voicing democracy.

Muslim Students on Space Engagement, Leadership & Friendship:

Case study of Muhammadiyah Schools in Sragen Regency, Central Java

Bodil Rasmusson, Mohammad Thoyibi, Siti Zuhriah, Muhammad Abdul Fattah Santoso, Dewi Candraningrum

Lund University & Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta
dewiahmad@yahoo.com.au

Abstract

No child should be treated unfairly in any circumstance. The best interests of children must be the primary concern in making decisions that may affect them. All adults should do what is best for children. When adults make decisions, they should think about how their decisions will affect children. This research focuses on the dynamics of conflicting norms and values and how the interests of children in Sragen are catered for by the institutions of the family, the school, the community and the state in the context of such conflict. The vision of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is, at the very least, to help children make more informed and confident choices related to the norms and values that are in their best interests. The main purpose of this project is to contribute to the development of child-friendly institutions and schools through empowering the perspectives of children when norms and values are in conflict. This research highlights Muslim students' views toward space engagement, leadership and friendship when values and norms are in conflict.

Keywords: children, values, norms, space engagement, leadership, friendship, Muhammadiyah, Sragen Regency.

Introduction

The 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), accepted by United Nations in November 1989, was ratified in Indonesia in 1990. The implementation of this convention is urgent and still very relevant, especially for developing countries like Indonesia because students are not actually participating in decision making within the framework of school management. The guiding principles of the CRC are the following: (1) Definition of the child (Article 1): The Convention defines a 'child' as a person below the age of 18, unless the laws of a particular country set the legal age for adulthood younger. The Committee on the Rights of the Child, the monitoring body for the Convention, has encouraged States to review the age of majority if it is set below 18 and to increase the level of protection for all children under 18. (2) Non-discrimination (Article 2): The Convention applies to all children, whatever their race, religion or abilities; whatever they think or say, and whatever type of family they come from. It doesn't matter where children live, what language they speak, what their parents do, whether they are boys or girls, what their culture is, whether they have a disability or whether they are rich or poor. No child should be treated unfairly on any basis. (3) Best interests of

the child (Article 3): The best interests of children must be the primary concern in making decisions that may affect them. All adults should do what is best for children. When adults make decisions, they should think about how their decisions will affect children. This particularly applies to budget, policy and law makers. In the implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child (2007: 149-172), UNICEF delivered Article 2, 3, 6 and Article 12 specifically concerning children's participation. Article 12 states that (1) State 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 to weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child (2007: 149). (2) For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law (ibid).

The Islamic institution of Muhammadiyah was established in Jogjakarta in 1912 by Ahmad Dahlan and has a predominantly urban, middle-class base. Dahlan's concern with the high level of poverty among the peoples of the Netherlands East Indies – the majority of whom were Muslims – led him to found the organization which was active in the fields of education and health. The ethos of Muhammadiyah lies in propagating Islam, empowering the Islamic community (*ummah*) and improving the social conditions of Muslims. Dahlan opted for a combination of Western and Islamic reformist ideas. Today, Muhammadiyah is a well-stablished Indonesian Islamic social organization, the second largest Islamic organization in the country, and is renowned for providing education and health services. The number of Muhammadiyah schools has rapidly increased since the early days. Besides schools, Muhammadiyah began establishing higher education institutions in 1958. By 2005, Muhammadiyah had established 36 universities, 74 high schools, 52 higher education facilities and 4 polytechnics. The number of Muhammadiyah educational institutions is far beyond other private ones. Muhammadiyah also provides the majority of pre-school (kindergarden) level education centers.

Within Muhammadiyah, two sister organizations, Aisyiyah and Nasyiatul Aisyiyah, have played an important progressive role at the civil and social cultural levels. They have been active in transforming the meaning of womanhood since the fall of Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, in 1965. Through their activities, they have enabled women to extend their role from the domestic sphere into the public sphere. In practice, many women in Muhammadiyah organizations have been self-empowered to transform and negotiate the Islamic ideology they profess and the values they receive outside of Islamic teaching.

Sragen Muhammadiyah Senior High School (SMAM 2 Sragen), the location of the CRC project, is the second largest Muhammadiyah Senior High School of a total of 24 in Sragen. SMAM 2 Sragen is located in Gemolong, 25 kms from the center of Sragen and has 9 classes comprising three classes of grade X, a grade XI Natural Science class, two Social Science classes, one Grade XII natural science class, and two social science classes. The school is an A-accredited school which means it meets the 8 national standards of education. One of its important indicators is the existence of norms and values when they are in conflict. This research aims to explore children's perspectives when norms and values are in conflict.

Urgency of the Research

How do Indonesians raise good children? How do Muslims make moral citizens? Most Indonesians find themselves drawn to traditional or liberal beliefs when it comes to moral education. Most progressive Indonesian Muslims do not support the notion of authoritarian education but in practice it is still widespread. A good moral education, according to the more traditional view, involves getting the young to defer to a higher authority that can determine right and wrong for them. The other tradition, which Muslims call the liberal tradition, insists that people should ultimately make up their own minds about morality. A good moral education, from this view, involves making sure new citizens have the skills they need to discharge that responsibility properly. Of course, moral education can be more or less liberal and in fact there tends to be a sliding scale between the liberal and authoritarian extremes. It is the difference between these two polar extremes that creates conflict in terms of consistency in understandings of norms and values, and the ways in which the dynamics of these relations impact on what is considered the best interests of the child. Indonesian Muslims are made up of diverse individuals with diverse Muslim norms and values. To reiterate, this research focuses on the dynamic of norms and values when in conflict and on how the interests of children are catered for by the institutions of Indonesian society. The vision of CRC is, at the very least, to help children make a far more informed and confident choices on those norms and values that are in their best interests.

Objectives of the Research

The main purpose of this project is to contribute to the development of child-friendly institutions and schools through empowering children's perspectives when norms and values are in conflict. The specific objectives of the project are as follows:

a. To assist the children of Sragen to identify and exercise their perspective when values and norms are in conflict.
b. To strengthen the role of children's perspectives when values and norms are in conflict.

Literature Review

Indonesia ratified the CRC through Presidential Decision No. 36/1990, and later enacted the Child Protection Law through the passage of the Republic of Indonesia Law No. 23, 2002, on Child Protection (*Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 23 tahun 2002 tentang Perlindungan Anak*). Both the ratification of the convention and the passing of the Child Protection Law show that the Indonesian government appear to be committed to implementing the CRC. Actually, Indonesian government has taken concerted steps to realize the 3Ps (Provision, Protection, and Participation) of child rights.

Access to primary needs, such as food, shelter, health, and education, are basic to the provisions on child rights. In terms of provision, the Indonesian government implements several programs, such as: (1) Additional Food Program for School Children (*Program Makanan Tambahan Anak Sekolah*), (2) Milk Drinking Movement (*Gerakan Minum Susu*), (3) School Doctor (*Dokter Sekolah*), (4) Act of the Education System, no. 20/2003, where 9 years of education is compulsory for all children, (5) Financial Assistance for School Operations (*Bantuan Operasional Sekolah*), and (6) Financial Assistance for Poor Students (*Bantuan Siswa Miskin*). Efforts to prevent maltreatment, ignorance, and all forms of

exploitation of children are deemed *protection* needs, and children are encouraged to take part in decision making to fulfill their right to participation.

With regard to *participation,* Indonesia promotes many programs related to the rights of the child to freedom of conscience expression. In the educational context, the government implements many programs intended to encourage students to be active in the classroom and at school. Through the 1984 curriculum, teachers were urged to implement the Active Ways of Student Learning (*Cara Belajar Siswa Aktif*/CBSA) program, and with the 1996 curriculum teachers and teacher candidates were encouraged to implement Active, Innovative, Creative, and Enjoyable Learning (*Pembelajaran Aktif, Inovatif, Kreatif dan Menyenangkan*/ PAIKEM). Participation involves children in decision making when there is relevant knowledge, a personal stake and trustworthy (Hoy & Miskel, 2013: 349).

The new 2013 national curriculum is still in the process of being rolled out. This new curriculum addresses and promotes children's core competences. In-service training has been conducted to facilitate teachers to implement the program. As such, teacher training colleges are also invited by the municipality to coach local teachers, such as the MGMP (Teachers Grouped by Subject) which are held every week. Training and coaching usually focuses on the optimal standards in terms of content, processes, operations, and evaluation, and how these are included in lesson plans and implemented in the learning process.

Sragen, has ratified the Unit for Integrated Countermeasures to Poverty of the Regency of Sragen (Unit Pelayanan Terpadu Penanggulangan Kemiskinan Pemerintah Kabupaten Sragen/UPTPKPK) for Education and Economy with Regency Regulation, 2013. The regency shall pay the operational costs for the education of poor students and each school shall provide 20 percent of their students with a scholarship for the poor. Any students accepted by state-owned universities in Java but unable to pay their tuition fees will be fully supported by the government to undertake their studies to completion.

With regard to participation of girls in Indonesia, girls tend to perform far behind their male contemporaries – their drop-out rate is high and many poor girls go on to work in factories. Working in factories is greatly valued by girls yet they have few choices in their lives; this in turn, decreases girls' participation in schools (Bessell, 2009: 536). One important indicator in measuring children's participation is girls' participation in leadership. Girls participation in school from elementary to secondary level in the period from 2006 to 2010 was 12,76% lower than that of boys (Candraningrum, 2010: 43). Participative leadership involves the use of various decision making procedures that allow students to participate in school leadership. Yukl has provided a continuum illustrating how this works by including consultation, joint decision making, power sharing, decentralization, empowerment, and democratic management (2013: 115). National policies exist to promote gender equality in education but there are few programs that directly address inequalities in education, such as by increasing the access and participation of disadvantaged children, including poor and marginalized girls. Inadequate gender awareness and expertise persist despite the gender mainstreaming mandate—this is in part a result of the deep-rooted problem of inadequate contextualization of gender concepts in a way that

makes sense within existing Indonesian socio-cultural and religious beliefs and traditions (UNICEF FACTSHEET, 2013).

Previously, similar projects have been implemented at Sragen Muhammadiyah High School, which focused on students' participation in school management decision-making and empowerment of principals to involve students' participation[34]. The dissemination of CRC to the administrative board of Muhammadiyah was carried out by the team of batch 19 and so far, there has been no resistance. This project focuses on "empowering students when values and norms are in conflict". It is expected that via this method of empowerment, students can develop their potential in character building, leadership and life-skills, and in their specific interests. In Indonesia, in many cases, students are objects in the enforcement of values and norms. Values and norms serve as an extension of parental or institutional ideology, especially regarding fashion-codes, friendship, space of engagement, gender equality, and other principal matters in children's lives. From the previous baseline, this project will approach and map how students respond when values and norms are in conflict.

Theoretical Framework
This paper will draw on the following keywords. This will then lead to a discussion of norms and values when they are in conflict in relation to the best interests of the children. The discussion will elaborate on the importance of critical and democratic learning, space engagement, leadership and friendship among children. The best interests of children are of foremost importance in the building of this theoretical framework.

Classes that encourage philosophical discussion
Classes with open philosophical discussion of important moral, cultural, political and religious questions that emphasize the notions of true-engagement, leadership and friendship. These can be run by religious teachers or character education teachers to ensure children and students are not subtly and psychologically under any pressure that may disturb the individual at the core level of their psyche or conscience. For Muslim students, a Quranic approach that incorporates a more philosophical approach that strengthens respect, love and compassion may be encouraged in the development of their basic character in support of an equal and just society.

Critical and democratic education
The importance of encouraging independent critical thought and judgment rather than uncritical deference to authority is frequently suggested as a means by which to overcome problems relating to

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[34] A project for change, Empowering Student Organization (OSIS) for Child-Friendly School Management, was implemented in Scragen (2013-15) within the frame of the international training programme Child Rights, Classroom and School Management, funded by Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) and run by Lund University 2003-2016. Bodil Rasmusson has been the mentor for Indonesian teams of change agents, 2006-2016. (http://portal.research.lu.se/portal/files/15681438/Realising_Child_Rights_in_Education.pdf)

values and norms in conflict. Children and students are encouraged to embrace the kind of philosophical and moral education that involves intelligence and emotional and social maturity (Stephen, 2006). Furthermore, Stephen suggests that a healthy democracy needs to raise new citizens (its children) to think and judge independently. It needs to ensure children have intellectual, social, and emotional maturity to exercise their democratic responsibility in school, the family or in their public engagement so that they are not easily psychologically manipulated. Space engagement, leadership and friendship among differently gendered children are encouraged under the framework of democracy and the full-participation of children themselves, without any interference from authorities that may bias the building of children's confidence. Confidence among Muslim students is built upon the Islamic notion of *jihad* – the personal quest for becoming a better person – through education and learning, rather than the notion of *jihad* that is tainted with the negative 'us versus them' (Islam verses non-Muslims) mentality, which has political connotations that have led to brainwashing, manipulation and extreme fundamentalist acts of suicide bombing. This is particularly in the case that acts of violence are justified in the name of Islam. Re-narrating and rearticulating different conceptions of jihad will help students understand the notion of compassion (*rahmat*) according to Islamic values and norms.

A Space in which to be listened to and be heard
Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 clearly states that children and young people have the right to be involved in decisions which affect them. This right extends from decisions affecting them as individuals, to decisions which affect them as a collective–an acknowledgement that they are social actors in their own lives (Christensen & James, 2000). In this paper, it is assumed that it is important to embrace this challenge to create space in which children and young people are listened to and heard and, as this project has advocated, to use participatory techniques to facilitate such a task. If understanding children requires listening attentively to their agendas, and participating with them in the research process, then participatory techniques provide a framework which is responsive (Hood et al. 1996: 118). Furthermore, these methods can be adapted to suit work across a wide age range of children and young people, and can be used in various settings. The information gathered from among children through the use of participatory techniques in this study has drawn attention to a wide range of matters which concern children while also highlighting a range of contemporary theoretical issues concerning the nature of childhood and adult-child relations (Thomas and O'Kane 1999).

Encouraging diversity rather than commonality
The use of visual media in introducing values and norms is increasingly common (Prosser 1998) and, in work with children, is now a recognized way with which to engage effectively with children. Pictures, photographs, film and other visual media have been used to spark children's enthusiasm and interest in relation to certain values, for example, their attitudes to friendships (Hallinan 1981), or disabilities (Richardson et al. 1961). Although, when used as stand alone techniques such methods can be roundly critiqued – for children's comments about photographs may simply be just that – when combined with other methods, such as participant observation, they have much to offer. This confirms that one of the most important features of these is that they work to mediate communication between values and norms when they are in conflict. As the children in this study show, it is out of this commonality that

the diversities which exist between them are revealed. Use of this tool gave children the opportunity to offer a commentary on, not only the final image on the page as they might do with a photograph or a picture, but also the process of producing it. These visual tools provide, therefore, a rich, multilayered and mediated form of communication which is facilitated both by the image and by its very process of production regarding values and norms of friendship, leadership and space engagement.

Authentic engagement

Religious education is not a form of indoctrination instead of education (Stephen, 2006). It encourages students to delve into the substance of religious belief and texts rather than interpret them literally. It encourages discussion and authentic engagement with values and norms that are universal across different religious and cultural backgrounds. Through this they may understand the meaning of intercultural communication. Students are encouraged to examine values and norms and judge them independently based on the values of compassion and love that have been previously discussed.

Children as reflexive interpreters

This study highlights the importance of seeing children as competent interpretive social actors when values and norms are in conflict, a point which can be exemplified further through an analysis of the content which reveals children's conceptions of time and their social experience of time use. The consequences of the dominant ideology, which sometimes privileges commonality above diversity, may turn out to be potentially detrimental and lead to the social exclusion of some children. This then reduces students' and children's capacity for reflexivity. Callaway (1992) suggests that reflexivity opens the way to a more radical consciousness of self, that it is a mode of self-analysis and political awareness. In agreement, Hertz (1997) adds that reflexivity is achieved 'through detachment, internal dialogue and constant (and intensive) scrutiny' of the processes through which children construct and question their interpretations (Hertz 1997: vii). This approach requires that they put their preconceptions and prejudices to fruitful use (Okely 1975; Campbell 1995), and leads to universal values and norms of compassion and love in the space of engagement, in leadership and in friendships.

Research Methodology

This project employs a series of interviews with children in Sragen. What follows are the activities carried out from May 2016 until October 2016 to achieve the project objectives. The expected outcomes are as follows: the authorities, stake-holders, and students of SMAM 2 Gemolong Sragen are aware of the need to listen to children regarding Children´s Rights and students' perspectives when values and norms are in conflict. Interviews are charted on the following sub-themes:

1. Values and norms on gender and space engagement (seating arrangement in class, ie. whether girls and boys could sit together or be rigidly segregated).
2. Values and norms on leadership (whether girls' leadership is acceptable or not).
3. Values and norms on friendship (what is the meaning of friendship. What the children deem to be good or bad friendships).

Preliminary Finding
This study departs from the previous project conducted at SMAM Muhammadiyah Gemolong. The findings of the study showed that students' participation increased dramatically after being granted the opportunity to voice their assessment and evaluation of their teachers. Students' evaluation of teachers led to an increase in their tendency to voice their ideas, and express their creativity and thoughts regarding their rights in school management. The present study will examine how students' engagement with teachers may influence their engagement with other students, and with a particular focus on gender in relation to the three issues of space engagement, leadership and friendship. We conducted preliminary interviews among students of the School-based Student Organization (*Organisasi Siswa Intra-Sekolah*/OSIS). Ten students, five boys and five girls, were interviewed through focus group discussions, three times in mixed groups. Students' attitudes toward space engagement, leadership and friendship were mostly influenced by practicality, and Islamic norms and myths. Practicality means that both boys and girls reject intermingling in class due to a fear of being unable to concentrate on their work. They considered that the opposite sex only distracts them and diminishes their ability to concentrate. The views on space engagement, however, were not as rigid as students were willing to play sport and engage in outdoor orienteering activities with opposite sex students.

Mutual Space
A girl may sit with a boy if they are not disturbing each other or interfering with one another's ability to focus on their school work. Mutual and positive engagement may be derived from having students of the opposite sex sharing tasks. Islamic norms and values, however, act as a boundary by which they do not interact other than when studying collaboratively or cooperating in a class-project.

> *Cewek-cowok duduk dalam satu bangku, tergantung, kalau misalnya mereka bisa jaga sikap, itu saya setuju, tapi jaraknya juga harus diatur. Tapi kalau pelajaran biasa, saya kurang setuju. Kalau dalam tugas kelompok, saya ngalamin sendiri, itu bisa diterapkan, si cowok bisa ngerjain tugas, yang cewek juga bisa ngerjain. Sama-sama ada enaknya. Kalo sama cewek, itu bisa lebih nyambung, tapi kerjanya agak lama. Kalo diskusi, cewek kadang males, nah kalau cowok, gampang. Untuk pemimpin perempuan, kalau adanya perempuan, kenapa enggak. Tapi kalau ada cowok yang mumpuni ya gakpapa, atau buat formalitas gitu. Misalkan gak ada calon pemimpin yang berkualitas, adanya cewek, seandainya dicalonkan, nanti yang bekerja dibalik pemimpin itu ada cewek, itu juga gakpapa. Soalnya ada yang itu, karena kadang kan ada yang ngelarang, kalau ada yang cowok, ya pemimpinnya harus cowok.*
> (Wawancara dengan AW, XII IPA 1/Sekretaris II, pada 8 Agustus 2016).

> Girls and boys sit at one desk together, but it depends, if, for example, they can control themselves, if they can, then I agree its ok, but their interactions and closeness must be monitored. In regular classes, I don't agree. In group activities, I have experienced that it can work, with the boy doing his bit and the girl doing hers. If it's like that it's good. When working with girls, there is more connection, but the work can take longer to finish. In discussion, girls are sometimes lazy, but with boys it's easy. In relation to girl leaders, if one can lead, then why not? If there's a boy who takes over, it's ok, it's just a formality. If say, there is no viable leader, and a girl is selected, it is usually a girl who does all the work for the leader anyway, so it doesn't matter. The problem is that sometimes girl leaders are not allowed, and if there is a boy around, well, he should lead. (Interview with AW, female, XII IPA 1/Secretary II, 8 August 2016).

Segregate Space

Islamic norms and values are used to justify that boys and girls should not intermingle or interact. The reason is that it is not good for them unless they are married. It is believed that involvement, other than when studying, may lead to sexual misconduct which is strictly prohibited.

Menurut saya kalau di kelas itu, perempuan dan laki-laki itu terpisah, karena tempat di kelas saya itu, laki-laki sendiri, perempuan sendiri. dan di dalam kegiatan HW, kan disini ada ekstra kurikulernya Hizbul Wathon, itu untuk laki-lakinya juga sendiri, perempuannya juga sendiri. dan dalam kegiatan seperti outbound, perempuan dikelompokkan sendiri, laki-laki juga sendiri. Ya kalau naik bis itu kadang juga bisa bareng-bareng, kadang juga bisa sendiri, itu menurut pribadinya orang sendiri. Untuk itu yang ngajarkan adalah dari guru Agama. Kan kata guru Agama; laki-laki dan perempuan yang bukan mahrom itu kan tidak boleh bersamaan. Tidak bisa bersentuhan, karena bukan muhrim. Kalau untuk bapak-ibu itu juga sama, kalau masih sekolah itu tidak boleh berduaan sama lawan jenis. Ya, anak laki laki dan perempuan tidak boleh pacaran. Karena takutnya orang tua itu, kan di luar tidak tahu pergaulannya di luar, jadi kalau di luar itu orang tua selalu khawatir, jadinya kalau di rumah itu diperingatkan kalau di luar tidak boleh bergaul sama lawan jenis, berdua-duaan atau jalan/main berdua itu tidak boleh. Kalau menurut saya, untuk perempuan menjadi pemimpin sangatlah tidak baik, karena kita mencontohkan khalifah pada jaman dulu. Khalifah adalah seorang laki-laki. jika seorang pemimpin itu perempuan, pasti akan disepelekan leh laki-laki. jadinya pemimpin itu harus tegas, dan intinya adalah seorang laki-laki. Ya dari teman-teman juga ada, dari guru-guru juga ada. Kan dulu itu, untuk calon ketua OSIS kan ada 5, dan salah satunya ada perempuan. Kalau saya pandang kalau yang jadi pemimpin itu perempuan, gimana gitu kalau dipandang. Menurut saya ya tidak masalah, karena ibu saya sendiri juga seorang guru TK. Jadi, di dalam keluarga itu sudah mempercayakan ibu saya bekerja di luar. Jadinya kalau kita percaya, pasti ibu akan menjalankan amanahnya yang dipercayakan dari keluarga. Ya kalau saya pikir-pikir, seorang suami itu kan mencari nafkah untuk keluarganya. Dan jika seorang suami itu tidak bisa mencukupi harta/nafkah keluarganya, istri bisa bekerja. Tapi yang saya inginkan itu istri di rumah, dan suami bekerja. Tapi suami itu bisa bekerja dengan maksimal dan dapat mencukupi keluarganya. Kalau disini kan ada rapat, itu ada yang bentuk pendapat perempuan, ada yang pendapat laki-laki. Kalau yang berpendapat perempuan itu saya ambil, dan yang laki-laki juga saya ambil. Jadi laki-laki dan perempuan itu tidak ada perselisihan. Jadi semua itu saya anggap sama, dan tidak ada yang saya beda-bedakan.

(Wawancara dengan WJM, XII IPA 2/Ketua Umum, pada 8 Agustus 2016).

In my view, in class, girls and boys are split up, for example in my class, the boys are on one side, the girls on the other. Also in other activities, including extra curricula activities such as Hizbul Wathon and outbound, they are split up. Sometimes we go on the bus together, sometimes separately, it is up to the student. The main advisor on this matter is the religion teacher, who says that girls and boys who are not eligible for marriage cannot be together or touch each other. It was the same for my parents when they were young – they couldn't be alone with the opposite sex. Young people cannot have boyfriends/girlfriends. Parents are always afraid of what may happen outside the home, so at home we are always reminded not to socialize with the opposite sex, be alone with them or go out with them. In my opinion, for girls to be leaders is a bad thing, since we have been advised on this by Islamic leaders of the

past. They were male. If a leader is female, she will be seen as insignificant by males, so a leader must be assertive, that is, male. Yes, among the students and the teachers it's like that. In the past, there were five potential leaders of OSIS, one of which was a girl. In my view, if a girl becomes leader how would that be seen? I suppose it wouldn't be a problem, since my mum is a kindergarten teacher, so in my family it's ok that she works outside the home. So, it's fine if we believe that she can carry out the responsibilities the family holds for her. For me, a husband is meant to support the family, and if he cannot do it fully, his wife can work too. I prefer that the wife is at home, and the husband works. He can do everything he can to make sure the family has enough. If there is a meeting here, girls and boys have a say. I go along with both boys and girls, so there is no conflict. I consider them all the same, there's no difference. (Interview with WJM, XII IPA 2/Leader, 8 August 2016).

Kalau menurut saya sendiri, kalau duduk bersama di kelas itu tidak boleh, karena bisa mengganggu konsentrasi. Kalau olah raga itu gak ada masalah, karena bisa.... Mengapa? Iya, karena olah raga itu kan biasanya kalau bulu tangkis itu kan berjauhan, gak berdekatan. Kalau naik bis, piknik gitu, dipisah atau bersama gak papa duduk bareng gitu? Menurut saya, jika lebih dari 24 jam atau di bis malam hari itu, lebih baik dipisah. Ya kalau mengajukan pendapat, itu dimusyawarahkan lagi laki-laki dan perempuan.
(Wawancara dengan AS, XI IPA1/ Seksi Kesegaran Jasmani dan Daya Kreasi, pada 8 Agustus 2016).

In my view students cannot sit together in class as it disturbs concentration. In the case of sport it's not a problem. Why? Because when we play badminton, for example, we are not that close to each other. When we catch the bus or go on an outing whether we sit together or apart it doesn't matter. If the outing or bus trip is for more than a day then I think it better that boys and girls are split up. In my opinion, it is agreed on that that is the way it should be for girls and boys.
(Interview with AS, XI IPA1/ Health & Recreation Section, 8 August 2016).

Gak setuju kalau duduk dicampur cewek-cowok, soalnya pengalaman waktu kecil kan duduk cewek-cowok. Kita kan gak tau kalau cowok itu kadang kalo lagi baik ya baik sama kita, enak diajak omongan, tapi kalau lagi sensi, kita takut juga, takut diisengin. Iya khawatir, soalnya SD udah ngalamin gak enaknya. Kalau satu grup cewek-cowok, gak masalah, selagi masih enak diajak diskusi, gak neko-neko gitu. Bisa diajak kerjasama. Saya setuju sama pemimpin perempuan selagi dia bisa lebih tegas dari laki-laki, saya setuju.(Wawancara dengan SAJ, XI IPA 2/Seksi Bela Negara, pada 8 Agustus 2016).

I don't agree that girls and boys should sit together, the reason is that when I was small we sat together, and well we don't know whether the boys, who sometimes are well behaved, and nice to us, good to talk to, are feeling sensitive. Then they can be unpredictable, we fear being jeered at. It's a worry. In primary school it wasn't pleasant. If there was a mixed group of students, it wasn't a problem, talking, not argumentative, just talking together. I think that girls can be leaders, as long as they can be more assertive than boys.
(Interview with SAJ, XI IPA 2/National Defence Section, 8 August 2016).

Girl Leaders?

Both boys and girls rejected the idea of women's leadership in interview, yet many agreed to have female leaders. Their views on women's leadership are not only influenced by Islamic norms and values but also by the myth that girls are basically incapable of leading. The perceived weakness of girls is not rooted in Islamic faith, but in the traditional Javanese myths that girls are too emotional, too weak, and not knowledgeable or respectable enough to be leaders. In the context of Islamic culture, female modesty is highly prized. Within the Muhammadiyah tradition, it has been important to campaign for girls' education and leadership at all times. In an effort to ensure women and girls maintain their modesty, the *hijab* (women's head covering) is recommended. Muhammadiyah, as an Islamic foundation, encourages women and girls to be educated and to become professionals, such as doctors and professors, yet the debate on whether or not women can be leaders is dynamic and opinions oscillate.

> *Ya sebaiknya, kalau berduaan sama cewek-cowok kan gak boleh, kalau menurut agama Islam juga melarang. Kalau menurut saya juga tidak boleh, karena kalau berduaan tempat duduknya itu bisa mengganggu konsentrasi belajar juga, terus pikirannya kemana-mana. Ya menurut saya perempuan jadi pemimpin boleh-boleh saja, yang penting kemampuannya itu bisa sama laki-laki, ya itu boleh-boleh saja. Kalau menurut saya ya sama dengan tadi, pacaran boleh, tapi bisa menjaga, gak boleh neko-neko lah istilahnya. Ada satu ketua kelas di SMAM Gemolong ini. Dan dia memimpin dengan bagus.*
> (Wawancara dengan TJA, XI IPA 2/ Seksi Persepsi Apresiasi dan Kreasi Seni, pada 8 Agustus 2016).

> Yes, it is best that girls and boys are not alone together – in Islam it is forbidden. I believe that they shouldn't as it disturbs concentration and one's thoughts run rampant. In my view, girls can be leaders, if they can match the abilities of boys. Boyfriend/girlfriend relations are also ok, but they must be careful, to not go too far. There is a girl head of class here and she does it well.
> (Interview with TJA, XI IPA 2/Art Perception, Appreciation and Creation Section, 8 August 2016).

> *Ya kalau menurut saya duduknya laki-laki dan perempuan dipisahkan, karena dari pandangan Islam sendiri, perempuan sama laki-laki harus dipisahkan. Mengapa? Ya gini, kadang ada lah ya seseorang itu kadang kalau dekat perempuan itu ada perasaan tersendiri, atau pikirannya itu bisa kemana-mana. Remaja gak boleh. Gini ya, kalau boleh pacaran atau tidaknya itu, kalau menurut saya sendiri, itu tergantung orangnya itu sendiri, kalau mereka berpacaran dengan cara yang baik, tidak neko-neko, dan dalam hal positif, contohnya, untuk penyemangat kita belajar, penyemangat kita untuk melakukan hal positif, itu kalau menurut saya boleh, tetapi tidak melampaui batas. Kalau pemimpin laki-laki atau perempuan, kita gak usah melihat dari laki-laki atau perempuan, tapi dilihat dari kualitas orang itu. Jadi anak perempuan boleh jadi ketua kelas. Ya kalau mereka mampu, kalau mereka bisa, kenapa tidak? Tetapi kadang kalau anak perempuan itu diremehkan, terus kalau jadi ketua kurang tegas. Jadi kalau menurut saya gakpapa, tapi kalau bisa itu anak laki-laki. Kalau menurut saya gak masalah kalau untuk membantu perekonomian keluarga, membantu suami dalam menghidupi keluarga, saya kira gak masalah kalau suami mengijinkan atau merelakan istrinya bekerja. Ya kalau disini kita bareng-bareng, karena semua permasalahan kita*

selesaikan bersama, antara yang perempuan atau laki-laki perlakukan sama, jadi semua pendapat itu yang dari laki-laki maupun perempuan, kita tampung bersama, lalu kita pecahkan permasalahan itu mathuk'e gimana gitu.
(Wawancara dengan DS, XII IPA 1/Ketua 1, pada 8 Agustus 2016).

In my view boys and girls should sit apart as in Islam that is the view. Why? Sometimes if a boy sits next to a girl his feelings or thoughts wander. Teenagers are not allowed to do it. In terms of whether they can have boyfriends or girlfriends, well, in my opinion, it depends on the person, if they can be responsible, not irresponsible, and keep it positive, for example, encourage us to study and to do positive things, then it's fine, as long as it is within boundaries. In terms of leadership, there is no point looking at whether the person is male or female, but rather at their personal qualities. Girls can become class leaders, if they are capable, if they can, then why not? But sometimes girls are undermined, and as heads of class they are not assertive enough. It's ok if they do become leaders but it is better if the leader is male. In my view, it is fine that females help with family income, if the husband permits (or relinquishes) his wife to work. Here we do things together, since we deal with our problems together, males and females work together, all views are considered, and if the problem is split up it is only if that is suitable in that instance.
 (Interview with DS, XII IPA 1/Leader 1, 8 August 2016).

Kalau satu kelas ada cewek ada cowok ya setuju, tapi kalau duduk satu bangku, ya kurang setuju. Kan takutnya terjadi hal-hal yang buruk kalau seandainya cowok-cewek disatukan. Kalau kerja kelompok cewek-cowok saya setuju. Karena biasanya kalau kita satu grup sama cewek-cowok itu yang saya rasakan itu lebih asyik. Biasanya kan cowok-cowok itu kan pada bisa bikin suasana jadi beda. Jadi kita gak terlalu tertekan, jadi kita refreshing nya ada becandaannya gitu. Biasanya kalau kita kerja sama cewek semua itu terkadang yang mikirin itu cuma satu, biasanya yang pinter aja, tapi kalau cewek-cowok, kita dapat suasana ceria. Jadi misalnya yang mikir hanya satu, itu gak kebawa suasana yang tertekan itu tadi. Kalau misalkan cuman pas istirahat, kalau duduk bareng gitu, mungkin kita mandangnya masih biasa, tapi kalau pas pelajaran kan terkadang gurunya ngelarang. Kalau pandangan soal pemimpin; ketua kelas atau ketua OSIS itu. Sebetulnya dalam langkah nyata sih cowok sama cewek itu sih, misal dalam pelajaran aja kecerdesannya itu banyak yang ceweknya. Tapi kalau pemimpin cewek, cewek itukan mementingkan perasaan, jadi kalau jadi pemimpin terlalu menekankan perasaan itu justru gak baik. Jadi kalau saya sendiri berpendapat bahwa yang namanya pemimpin itu lebih ke cowok, cowok menggunakan logika. Kalau pemimpin perempuan, saya enggak setuju. Ya gini ya, meskipun ketuanya itu cowok, misalnya cowok itu kaya cuma sebagai nama, nanti banyak mikirnya itu yang cewek. Tapi kalau saya sendiri, tetep yang cowok. Soalnya kan di agama Islam itu juga menyarankan bahwa pemimpin itu lebih baik laki-laki. Ya kalau di sini modelnya gini, untuk ketua umumnya itu laki-laki, tapi ketua 1 nya bisa perempuan, atau wakilnya itu perempuan.
(Wawancara dengan HPA, XII IPA 1/Bendahara 1, pada 8 Agustus 2016).

If boys are girls share a class, yes I agree, but to sit at the same desk, I don't agree with that for fear of something going on, for example, if a boy and a girl are put together. If they are just working in groups, ok. Usually when they work together in a group it's great. If it's just boys

the atmosphere is different. So (when we sit together) there is less pressure, we are relaxed and joke. If the girls work together in a group, often one of them does all the thinking, usually the clever one, but if it's boys and girls, the atmosphere is happy. During breaks, sitting together is quite normal, but when we are in class, sometimes the teacher prohibits it. In terms of class leaders or heads of OSIS, the reality is that, between girls and boys, for example, in terms of our studies, it is the girls who are the cleverest. But if a girl is a leader, she will tend to put her feelings first, and if a leader does that it is not good. In my view, it is better that boys lead, they use their logic. I don't agree to female leaders. It's like this, although the leader may be male, it's a title only, it is actually the girls who do the thinking. For me personally, I prefer males since in Islam it is advised that it is best that leaders are male. Here, it's generally males who are the senior leaders, while the next level leaders and assistant leaders are female.
(Interview with HPA, XII IPA 1/Treasurer 1, 8 August 2016).

Many students also expressed the view that women's leadership was exemplified in Islamic texts through the historical role models of Aisyah (the third wife of the Prophet Muhammad) and Kartini (considered Indonesia's first feminist nationalist). For them, Islam allows women to be leaders, and as such leadership should be defined by an individual's capacities and not by their biological sex. Girls and boys should be judged based on their work, dedication, capacities and achievements in class. Aisyah, has become an important role model for Muslim girls. She championed women's rights, was a military commander who rode camels, and was a fatwa-issuing jurist of intellectual standing. Muhammad's first wife, Khadijah, was a twice-widowed single mother, and fifteen years older than Muhammad. She was wealthy and a successful trader who ran a caravan business in Mecca. She, was also Muhammad's boss and mentor. Among the students interviewed, Aisyah is known as the Beloved of the Beloved of Allah.

> *Perempuan boleh duduk bersama laki-laki. Asal nggak mengakibatkan yang... ya intinya boleh. Boleh, karena untuk berdiskusi juga boleh, karena saya sering gitu juga. Ketua perempuan ya menurut saya sih juga boleh, karena kan pemimpin kita, presiden kita dulu kan juga perempuan. Dilihat dari kepemimpinannya juga bagus, kenapa gak boleh? Yang menginspirasi guru di kelas. Kan dilihat dari prestasinya juga kan, bisa membawa sekolahnya lebih baik. Aisyah, ya itu juga jadi inspirasi. R.A. Kartini juga kan, yang memperjuangkan hak/derajat sama dengan laki-laki. Jadi, ya boleh-boleh aja.*
> (Wawancara dengan WW, XI IPS3/Seksi Berorganisasi Diklat Politik dan Kepemimpinan, pada 8 Agustus 2016).

> Girls can sit with boys, as long as it doesn't lead to…essentially they can, especially if it's for the purpose of discussion. Female leaders, in my view it's ok, our former President was a woman! If their leadership is good, then why not? Our teachers are inspiring. We can see from what they have achieved in making the school a better place. Aisyah is another inspirational figure as is Kartini, who fought for women to gain equal status to males. So yes, women can be leaders.
> (Interview with WW, XI IPS3/Section for the Organization of Political and Leadership Education and Practice, 8 August 2016).

Girls' Voices

Ironically, girls disagreed the loudest with the notion that women or girls can become leaders. This perception is not rooted in Islamic norms and values but more so in traditional norms in which girls are simply not good enough to be leaders. Their perspectives on space engagement are mostly influenced by Islamic norms and values that prohibit any sexual contact with boys before marriage. Their perspectives on leadership are influenced by their (received) interpretation of Islamic norms in which boys are destined to be leaders whereas girls are not. Despite the influence of Islamic values, traditional Javanese values in which girls are deemed too emotional and too weak to be leaders play a significant role in shaping girls' attitudes towards the capacities of girls and women to perform leadership roles.

Enggak setuju kalau cewek-cowok duduknya dalam satu meja. Karena bukan mahromnya, nanti ada pertentangan, ruang diskusinya nanti kalau sama laki-laki kan ada gengsi atau takut gitu. Lebih suka kerja satu grup dengan cewek-cowok, karena cowok itu kadang juga dibutuhkan. Kurang setuju sama pemimpin perempuan, kalau masih ada laki-laki. Tapi kalau lebih bagus perempuannya ya gakpapa. Yang saya lihat misalnya ketua kelas perempuan, itu kelasnya lebih bagus dari yang lain, kelasnya lebih diperindah, lebih rapih, banyak kreasi-kreasi yang lebih bagus. Ya kalau laki-laki nya bertanggungjawab, ya laki-laki, tapi kalau kurang, ya perempuan.
(Wawancara dengan ID LW, XI IPA 1/Seksi Ketaqwaan, pada 8 Agustus 2016).

I don't agree that boys and girls should sit at one table together because they can be potential suitors, there can be challenges or conflicts, and in discussions if males are present, pride and fear can play a part. I prefer co-ed group work, 'cos boys' input is sometimes needed. I don't really agree that females should be leaders, if males are available but if there is no alternative, its fine. Of the classes I have seen with female heads of class, they are better than others – cleaner, tidier, and more creative. If it is boys who are responsible, yeh ok, but if they are not capable, girls can. (Interview with ID LW, XI IPA 1/Section of Religious Piety, 8 August 2016).

Kalo cewek-cowok duduk jadi satu, kurang setuju. Karena kita masih remaja kan, itu pasti ada perasaan kaya gitu. kalau satu meja berdua cewek-cowok, nanti takutnya menimbulkan rasa cinta. Nanti bisa mempengaruhi prestasi kita juga. Karena dari sekolah, peraturannya juga ada kalau cewek-cowok harus dipisah. Kalau kerja kelompok cewek-cowok, gak papa. Misal gini, satu grup ada 5 orang misalnya, nanti kan ada cowoknya 1, disitu kan kita, kalau cowok, menurut saya mereka itu berpikir terus, jadi bikin semangat kita juga, kita jadi lebih kreatif, kadang cowok juga bisa asyik, jadi kita bisa selalu serius gitu. Ada bedanya. Enak dicampur cewek-cowok. Kalo cewek doang, kan mereka suka menggunakan perasaan ya, nanti timbul rasa gak enak kalau pendapatnya gak dipakai. Kalau sama cowok itu kan menggunakan pikiran; oh iya, pendapat saya kurang gini-gini. Gak setuju ketua OSIS perempuan, karena kalau dipandang kan juga gak enak. Kalau perempuan kan menggunakan perasaan. Misal pemimpin perempuan menggunakan perasaan, dia suka sama satu orang, nanti dia akan tertuju pada orang itu.
(Wawancara dengan AY, XII IPA 1/Sekretaris 1, pada 8 Agustus 2016).

If boys and girls sit together, no I don't agree. They are still teenagers, with feelings that if they sit together may turn into feelings of love. This can affect their standing at school, where the rule is that we must be separated. If it's during group work though it's ok. For example, if a group has five people in it, if one is male (in my view they think all the time), it makes us more engaged and creative. Sometimes the boys are also having a great time. We can be too serious at times. We differ, so it is fun to work together. If the group is all girls, they tend to focus too much on feelings, and its can feel bad if later someone's ideas are not used. Boys, however, use thought – well, I think this or I think that. I don't think girls should lead OSIS, it doesn't look good. They use their feelings more, for example, if a female leader uses her feelings, and likes a person, she may become fixated on that person.

(Interview with AY, XII IPA 1/Secretary 1, 8 August 2016).

Other girls interviewed expressed the view that women could be leaders, exemplifying Siti Khadijah, Aisyah, and Kartini as smart women able to lead their communities. Girls' voices, however, varied based on the interpretations of certain stories and narratives of leadership within Muslim communities. What is worrying is that girls' experiences of Javanese female leadership do not draw on the history of Java, for example, the heroic Queen Kalinyamat, admiral of the fleet who fought off the Portuguese in the 16th century, or other queens and female heroines. This case showed that students perceptions of the roles are women and girls are deeply uprooted in Javanese narratives regarding female leadership.

Conclusion

The participation and voices of children and youth in schools and the broader public realm is important in determining future trends in women's advancement in the predominantly Muslim countries of South East Asia, specifically Indonesia. The relationship between Islamic religiosity, Javanese tradition and gender egalitarianism for youth in Sragen, Central Java, is the focus of this project. Space engagement, leadership and friendship are issues being investigated and it is hoped that this work will act as a gateway to understanding the particular dimensions of how a Muslim society grows and invests in children's best interests. For young students and children in this context, orthodoxy and mosque attendance is associated with values of egalitarianism, engagement and views on gender leadership. Muhammadiyah positively supports gender egalitarianism despite growing criticism and dynamic of its backlash. The preliminary findings here suggest that further critical investigation be applied in a follow up project.

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Children's Participation in Decision Making in Social Work

Mimi Petersen

Every day eight children and young people in Denmark are put in out of home placement. The past five years have shown an increase in the proportion of coercive placements (Appeals Board, 2010/2011/2012). The focal point of this study (2011-2014) is Roskilde municipality's work with Safety Plans as measures and alternative placement for children and families in vulnerable positions. During this period the child welfare department in the municipality used *Safety plan* as an alternative to out of home replacement for vulnerable children. The purpose for the Safety plan is to ensure the child's safety and well-being in the family. The primary topic of the research project was to investigate how useful safety plan could be as an alternative to out of home replacement for vulnerable children.

A part of the qualitative research focused on investigating the children´s participation in decision-making concerning their safety, also, how the children are involved in decision making regarding their own safety and well-being and how the children look upon their own role in decision making. The theoretical framework is developed on the concept of *participation* (Hart 1992, Shier 2001), the concept of *intersectionality* (Crenshaw 1989, 1991) and theory of *recognition* (Honneth 1995).

The empirical basis includes several groups of children, 3 to 15 years of age, and different research methods, such as dialogue meeting with children and case material developed together with the children and students. Many students from social work education in Copenhagen, children, and social workers from child welfare have been involved in the process of collecting data.

Along the way, we involved 20 undergraduate students who have contributed to the study while they have implemented excellent graduation projects. In total 86 children, boys and girls, from ages 3 to 15 years, were distributed in three groups:

> 19 children recruited from the student's family and network.

> 4 children with a Safety plan.

> 63 children from fifth grade from whom 50% had been in contact with the child welfare department/social services concerning their own safety and well-being.

Since the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the consideration for children as citizens regarding equality and participation has been a growing challenge to our societies and in practical social work research. The concept of childhood has been linked to the protection of children. But the children seem to be objects of rights more than subjects of these rights.

Children in vulnerable positions have a strong desire to be consulted and involved in the processes and decisions about the safety and well-being of their family. But the road to children's influence is long. All the adults referred to children's young age and vulnerability as an argument not to involve them. The parents felt uncertain about the purpose of the participation of their children. The professionals expressed the lack of knowledge of the families as a reason not to involve the children.

Another discussion is the perspective of a child as Being or becoming and ethical considerations regarding protection. Is participation a burden for the child or a protection?

There are many adult voices, each with different views and perspective on children. The unequal distribution of power between the adult world and the child world appears clearly. The children would like to be equal actors in the solution of family problems and want to be involved in decision-making about their own life and the family life (illustrated in the figure below).

Child directed Social Work

- Figur 2

Researching children's Perspective...Lund
12-13 October 2016- Mimi petersen,Senior
Lecturer, Ph.D-

Children's involvement means more than interviewing the children. Involving children in vulnerable positions requires a paradigm shift on many levels - Professionally compared to the professional competencies. Organizationally, children's involvement and the involvement must be rethought. At the political level, the children's influence strengthened and clarified. For the children themselves, the case is clear: They want real involvement and participation. Children want to be heard and respected.

The obvious question is therefore whether the professionals, parents, and other adults are prepared to consider sharing their decision-making power with the children? If the answer is "yes", what about the responsibility - how it is placed - who must carry it? If the answer is "no", what adjustments are then required to create the necessary change?

Participation is defined as taking part and the sense of knowing that one's actions are taken note of and may be acted upon (Boyden & Ennew Powell & Smith 2009.s.124). Participation in decisions

about one's welfare is in my view, the foundation of a democratic society. But the degree of participation or involvement can vary from child to child depending on the child's age, gender, socioeconomic background, housing, disability, ethnicity, upbringing, etc. In other words, the crossings of the various social categories have a crucial impact on the child's experience, understanding of themselves and the world around us and the terms and motivation for participation in their own lives. These factors may also affect the professional behaviour, explanation and willingness to get involved or not involve the child. Intersectionality as an analytical tool will highlight the importance of the various social categories the child belongs, with the aim to produce and illustrate the complexity in terms of children's voice and their opportunities to participate in decision-making by social services.

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Article 3 and article 12 in the Convention on the Rights of the Child: Some Dilemmas and Controversies in Swedish Practice

Lina Ponnert

Background

Sweden has historically been described as a welfare state, and for having a family service perspective on child welfare (Gilbert et al. 2011), signifying that early and preventive interventions to families are stressed as important and provided by authorities. Children's rights and a child perspective are also increasingly stressed on a national level. Sweden ratified the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990 and in this process it was assessed that Swedish law complied with the CRC. Sweden has also transformed national laws to correspond with the CRC, but the CRC has not been incorporated and given the status of national law yet in Sweden, even if this has previously been discussed. Many other Scandinavian countries as Norway, Finland and Island have incorporated the CRC, and the Committee on the Rights of the Child has recommended that Sweden turn the CRC into Swedish law (Committee on the Rights of the Child 2015).

The Swedish government has now also declared an ambition to turn CRC into Swedish law, and recently a new proposal to incorporate CRC in Swedish law (SOU 2016:19) was presented. In this process, studies have also been made of how Swedish law complies with the CRC within four areas where children are considered to be especially vulnerable and where decisions have a major impact on children's lives; children in the migration process, support and service to children with impairments, children who have witnessed domestic violence and children who are victims of domestic violence. The studies covered different empirical material and had a special attention of how Swedish law in practice complied with the four general principles in CRC, the principle of non-discrimination (article 2), the principle of the best interests of the child (article 3), the right to life, survival and development (article 6), respect for the child's view (article 12) (SOU 2016:1 pp. 137-345). The studies revealed several shortcomings in practice and concluded that children were not seen as holders of rights. The principle of the best interests of the child (article 3) was used in a general way and was not always connected to the individual child in authorities' decision, the best interests of the child was not used as a way of procedure in decision making (a.a.). The principle of the best interests of the child could also be used in a negative way in decisions by authorities ("this is not in conflict with article 3") (a.a). In addition, conflicts between the best interests of the child and other articles in the CRC or laws were not always described (a.a.). Children's opinions were not always gathered to inform decisions and it was unclear what influence children's opinions were given in decision-making. The studies also indicated that conversations with children might focus on irrelevant things (a.a.).

In the light of these limitations in practice regarding article 3 and 12, I will highlight some dilemmas and controversies in Swedish practice related to article 3 and article 12 in CRC, and in the context of the new proposal to turn CRC into Swedish law.

Article 3 - the best interests of the child

Article 3.1 states that: "In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration". Article 3 is one of four general principles in the CRC, and it has been frequently discussed and analyzed by researchers and other professionals, due to its special position and complexity. Article 3 is built upon a threefold concept (see Committee on the Rights of Children 2013 pp.3-4):

- It is a substantive right for children to have their best interests assessed and given a primary consideration.

- It is an interpretative legal principle: If more than one interpretation is possible in a legal provision, the interpretation which most effectively serves the best interests of the child should be chosen. It shall thus guide the interpretation of the other articles in the CRC when different values are in conflict. But at the same time, the values and rights in other articles in the CRC forms a frame for interpreting the best interests of the child on a general level.

- It is a rule of procedure, meaning that authorities and decision-makers shall evaluate possible consequences for a child/or children, whenever a decision is made that will impact a specific child or children in general.

The "best interests of the child" is related to children as a group and how they are affected by decisions, but the concept shall also be applied to individual children and in decisions concerning only one child (Committee on the Rights of Children 2013). This means that the concept is invoked with general assumptions of what is in general or usually in the best interests of children, but at the same time an individual assessment shall always be made if a decision concerns a specific child. This balance between normative assumptions related to children "in general" and individual assessments in relation to a specific child has proven to be difficult in practice, and will be discussed further on in the paper.

Article 3 as an interpretative legal principle is also complex since it shall guide decision making when values/articles are in conflict, but at the same time the CRC as a whole provides the basic values for what is important when assessing the best interests of the child. In the General comments (no 14 p.13-17) the following elements are listed as aspects that need to be taken into account when assessing the child's best interests:

- The child's views

- The child's identity

- Preservation of the family environment and maintaining relations

- Care, protection and safety of the child

- Situation of vulnerability

- The child's right to health

- The child's right to education

However it is up to professionals to assess and decide what the best interest of the child is when different interests or aspects collide. When children need protection from abusive parents, to safeguard the care, protection and safety of the child and simultaneously persevere the family environment might not be possible, which means that different perspectives and aspects must be weighed and given different priority when assessing the best interests of the child, depending on the child and his or her unique situation.

The studies made within the legal proposal in Sweden (SOU 2016:19), as well as research has shown that an individual assessment of what is in the best interest of a child is not always done in practice. For example, Nordic research shows that a general assumption that it is best for children to have contact with both its parents, guides decision making even when children have witnessed or experienced violence at home (see for example Bruno 2014; Eriksson 2007; Eriksson 2010; Forssell & Cater 2016; Ottossen 2006). According to researchers, a contact-presumption, stressing the child's right to contact to both its parents (including the violent parent) often overrides the protection of the child in Sweden in practice, since shared custody is highly recommended (Bruno 2014; Eriksson 2010). Maintaining relations and family preservation thus seem to be factors that have significant impact when the best interests of the child are assessed by professionals in Sweden.

From a Swedish perspective, the translation of article 3 might also be discussed since the pluralistic "the best interests of the child" in Swedish laws have been translated into "the best of the child" (see for example 1:2 social services act), signifying that there is one or a specific "best" thing for the child, losing the complexity. In the Swedish social services act 1:2, article 3 is formulated as follows: "When interventions concern children, the best of the child shall be a special consideration. In decisions and interventions regarding care - or treatment for children, what´s best for the child shall be decisive. A child is a person below 18 years old". In the proposal to turn CRC into Swedish law, it is suggested that the Swedish translation of the CRC is looked into.

Article 12 - respect for the views of the child

Article 3 is also closely related to article 12, meaning that to assess what is in the best interests of the child, it is usually necessary to get the child's own perspective. Article 12.1 states that: "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."

A study that was made within the proposal to turn CRC into Swedish law (SOU 2016:19) showed that not enough effort is made to get the opinion from children with specific functional disabilities, since communication tools/aid is not always used. Another study on children who had witnessed violence showed that the information from children in written assessments tended to focus and inform about irrelevant things and not the violence, which means that professionals within the social services might not always ask the children about relevant or difficult things (a.a.).

Although children have the right to express his or her views, children also have the right to privacy and integrity, which means that there needs to be a respect for children's right not participate when professionals ask for children's opinions and experiences. This might be regarded as a dilemma since the child's experiences and views are often needed and seen as important to determine what is in the best interests of the child. Another dilemma with article 12 is that the child has a right to express his or her view, but the right to influence is related to the child's age and maturity, which is assessed by adult professionals. This involves a risk that children are given a formal voice, but that they do not feel heard or listened to in decisions regarding them. One example of this is children in foster care and residential care, were several studies indicate that children feel that they lack influence in practice (see for example Child ombudsman 2010; Enell 2015; Skoog 2013).

Another area that has recently been debated in Sweden, that relates to both article 3 and article 12, is how authorities shall assess asylum-seeking children that are married when they arrive to Sweden. In Sweden marriage is not allowed before the age of 18, meaning that these marriages are not necessarily legal in Sweden. A debate has thus been if married children should be separated from their husband/wife when the social services look for a suitable out- of home placement, and to what extent the child's wishes can be taken as an account for how to act in practice. The Migration Agency (2015) estimated that 132 children (mostly girls) in Sweden are known to be married, and the number of unreported cases is estimated to be high. This question of married children was dealt with differently in Swedish municipalities, but the social services in some municipalities claimed that an individual assessment of what's in the best interests of the child was needed in these cases, and that it was not possible to strictly forbid young people from living together, if they wished to remain living together and if they were older than 15 years. The Swedish child ombudsman is however very critical to how this has been handled by municipalities and suggests that more information (a national survey) and knowledge is needed, but also more strict rules, laws and guidelines and that marriage below 18 shall not be accepted (Child ombudsman 2016).

Concluding discussion

To incorporate CRC into Swedish law might be a political and pedagogical tool since it puts focus on children and children's rights. In the proposal an incorporation is presented as something that might increase the knowledge about the CRC as a whole amongst professionals, and in doing so it is argued that an incorporation will strengthen children's right in practice (SOU 2016:19). However, it is also mentioned that a further transformation of national laws is also necessary, and that many articles in the CRC are vaguely formulated (a.a.). Swedish law is in comparison to many countries quite child welfare oriented, and previously one fear has been that an incorporation of the CRC might decrease

children's rights in practice. In the proposal the CRC is suggested to get the similar status as national law, and the CRC will thus get stronger influence in practice if the CRC is in conflict with regulations of lower degree (SOU 2016:19). However, it is not clear what influence the CRC will have when it is in conflict with national laws. Since no international court and no traditional interpretation tools exists, (only general comments from the Committee on the Rights of the Child), increased power will be given to national courts in decision making, and to interpret the best interests of the child if the CRC is in conflict with national laws.

Different authorities that have looked into the proposal also have different views about turning CRC into Swedish law. The Child ombudsman (2016) stresses that CRC as a Swedish law is an important tool to increase children's rights in practice and to highlight legal conflict areas that need further guidelines. The Administrative court of appeals in Stockholm (2016) claims that it will increase the burden on authorities and courts, and give them increased power to make political judgments of how the CRC and the best interests of the child shall be assessed in relation to other national laws and interests. Regardless of whether CRC is incorporated and turned into Swedish law or not, Swedish law and practice already needs to correspond with the CRC. The international Convention is ambitious and, like many national laws, carries some vague formulations that need to be interpreted in practice, and in relation to what´s best for each child (article 3). This remains to be a complex task for professionals. However, increased professional knowledge about the best interests of the child as an interpretation principle seems to be called for. Adequate resources and enough time for professionals to actually meet and assess individual children, is also needed to increase children's rights and welfare in practice.

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Implementing the Nordic Barnahus Model:

Balancing Justice and Welfare when Approaching Child Abuse

Susanna Johansson

This presentation is based on the introductory chapter of a forthcoming research anthology on the Nordic "Barnahus" model, *Collaborating Against Child Abuse: Exploring the Nordic Barnahus Model.*, and will subsequently summarize central ideas and arguments presented in this chapter (see Johansson et al., forthcoming 2017). The background and implementation of the Barnahus model within the Nordic countries is outlined, and it is shown how the model is shaped by the legal and institutional context in which it has been introduced. The specifics of the Nordic welfare state context are also introduced by relating to characteristics of the child welfare and criminal justice systems. The diffusion and establishment of the Barnahus model in the Nordic countries is interpreted as a result of a long process of cultural change in the recognition of violence and sexual abuse against children as real and widespread phenomena – and as a violation of children's basic human rights in accordance with the CRC. The background is also described as a shift in the view on parent's right to discipline their children, which has become redefined as illegitimate acts of power and thus as violence (reflected in e.g. laws forbidding corporal punishment since the 1970s and new amendments setting a very low bar for what is considered violence) (ibid.).

The Barnahus model is a multi-professional approach to child abuse, which attempts to meet victimized children's needs by offering multiple investigative as well as supportive services in child-friendly premises and "under one roof". Even though all Nordic Barnahus model(s) reflect this same basic idea, the implementation and organization (as well as services offered at Barnahus) vary between the Nordic countries, as is shown in the chapter. Barnahus is here presented and discussed as a service at the intersection of the child welfare system and the criminal justice system, thus permeated by an institutional tension between 'welfare' and 'justice'. This is also reflected as a professional tension in balancing the child welfare investigation and the criminal investigation, or in offering support to children and caregivers on the one hand and facilitating the forensic child investigative interviews on the other hand. Moreover, the Barnahus model is strongly referred to as an example of child-friendly-justice and promoted at the European level by the Council of Europe (see, for example the Guidelines of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on child friendly justice, 2010). However, there are also tensions and dilemmas connected to the balancing between child friendly justice on the one hand and children's access to justice as well as safeguarding the right to a fair trial on the other hand (Johansson et al., forthcoming 2017).

The chapter shows that, during the last two decades, the Barnahus model has been implemented in practically[35] all Nordic countries and autonomous regions, however, in significantly varied ways and forms. In some Nordic countries the model is strongly connected to the child welfare services, in

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[35] In Finland, there is a regional pilot project on-going since 2014.

others mainly associated as a service for the police, while at yet others characterized by coordinating both the child welfare investigations and the criminal investigations (Johansson et al., forthcoming 2017).

Subsequently, the chapter analyses the conflicting norms of welfare and justice by addressing the permeating questions;

- Could the widespread Nordic implementation of Barnahus be interpreted as a move from a focus on welfare towards increased focus on justice, or is the model rather well balanced?
- Does Barnahus reflect a move from a traditional family-service orientation towards a child-protection orientation, or rather as a move towards a child-focused or child-centered (cf. Gilbert et al., 2011) way of approaching child abuse?

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