

# Evaluating the current status of child participation in community development

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### **Abstract**

*Background:* Community development (CD) aims at tackling local issues to improve quality of life and thrives on participation of community members (Phillips & Pittman, 2015). While continuously developing since the 1960's, the relevance of child participation (CP) for CD has only recently been acknowledged (Stein, 2014). *Problem:* Existing studies of CP and CD (e.g. Hart, 1997), have not evaluated the relationship of CP to levels of participation and community asset areas. *Aim:* This thesis evaluates levels of CP present in different community asset areas and identifies related benefits and difficulties. *Method:* The ladder of participation (LoP) is employed to categorise levels of participation and the community capitals framework (CCF) to categorise asset areas. Data was derived from a systematic literature review and a series of semi-structured interviews with members of a CD-project. *Results:* In more than one third of cases, CP in CD takes place at non-participative levels. Overall, CP in CD and its specific benefits and difficulties, most frequently relate to human and social capital. The highest levels of participation relate to natural capital. Political capital poses a discrepancy across methods, being the most frequently coded capital in the literature, but not coded at all in the interviews. Adults' attitudinal barriers towards children pose various difficulties for CP. *Discussion:* The prevalence of non-participative levels of CP in CD may indicate that these low levels are considered 'participation', which may be related to attitudinal barriers of adults.

*Keywords:* Child participation, community development, community capitals framework, ladder of participation.

## Evaluating the current Status of Child Participation in Community Development

Many western communities face local issues impacting quality of life, such as social disorder, depopulation or crime. Tackling such issues *locally* can positively influence individual and community well-being (Gutierrez-Montes, Emery, & Fernandez-Baca, 2009). Community development (CD) is a systematic approach to address such issues *locally*, based on the substantive aim of improving quality of life and the procedural aim of having communities tackle issues themselves, usually via participative processes (Frank & Smith, 1999). Participation in such processes by different groups, and specifically of children, reflecting the diversity of communities, has been recognised as crucial (UNICEF, 2017), even indispensable (Burns, Heywood, Taylor, Wilde & Wilson, 2004) to the success of CD-projects (Frank & Smith, 1999). Consequently, many *different* CD-projects strive for the active and diversity-encompassing participation of the greatest possible number of community members and many now routinely implement child participation (CP) (O'Kane & Dolan, 2008; UNICEF, 2017).

CP gained academic and policy attention in the last few decades, particularly since the Convention on the Rights of the Child went into force in 1990 (De Winter, 1997), as children were increasingly acknowledged as beneficial contributors to community life (Hart, 1992). While the literature provides no general definition of the term child, a much-used UN-definition refers to children as 'all human beings younger than 18 years' (United Nations, 1989). In turn, 'child participation' not only refers to a fundamental right of children (United Nations, 1989, Weijers, 2017), but also to a process of active decision-making and involvement of children according to their individual capabilities in different contexts and on different levels (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006; Hart, 1992; United Nations, 1989).

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Consequently, given the breadth and complexity of the term and the concept, existing research on CP in CD has produced a range of findings.

### **Previous and Current State of Research: Central Findings of CP in CD**

Research on CD shows several positive effects of CP for participating children and entire communities (e.g. De Winter, 1997; Hart 1997; Percy-Smith & Nigel, 2010). Recently interest in CP has increased, as (high levels of) CP in CD were shown to improve the sustainability of CD-projects (Hart, 1992; Olukotun, 2008) and children were shown to positively impact their communities (Hart, 1992). The self-organisation and participation occurring in CD-projects impacts communities in the long-term, as it equips participants with ‘tools’ to solve issues independently and in consonance with their own expertise (Craig & Mayo, 1995). For example, studies found that children’s self-confidence, communication- and coping-skills increased after participating in CD-projects (Checkoway, 2011; Hart, 1992; O’Kane & Dolan, 2008). More generally, as children participate, they develop problem-solving skills and make formative childhood experiences, which subsequently empower them to take collective action for the good of the whole community (Biggs & Carr, 2015; Hart, 1992; Olukotun, 2008). Additionally, communities also benefit indirectly. For example, CP may increase high school graduation rates and decreases youth unemployment rates (Green & Haines, 2016) or through the effects of knowledge-exchange that are fostered by intergenerational collaborations during CD-projects (Kaplan, 2008).

### **Previous and Current State of Research: Challenges of CP in CD**

Most challenges of CP in CD reported in the literature concern specific aspects of implementation. Frequently, engaging different age groups simultaneously (e.g. children, adults, elderly) constitutes a challenge for CD-projects (Biggs & Carr, 2015; Burns et.al., 2004) and CD-specialists report difficulties integrating ideas of adults and children

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simultaneously and equitably (Wyness, 2012). Further, differing skills of participants can make it difficult to develop projects that are equally suitable for all (Biggs & Carr, 2015). Such difficulties often lead to adult-centred CD-projects, which neglect or downplay the positive role children can play by participating (Percy-Smith & Nigel, 2010).

Even more fundamentally, adults frequently are ignorant of potential benefits of CP (Percy-Smith & Nigel, 2010), underestimating children, their skills and the scope for their participation, and leading to very low and sometimes meaningless forms (levels) of participation (Hart, 1992). Such framing of children and their participation often relates to an implicit idea adults have of children as passive recipients, highlighting the role of (adults) attitudes in CD (De Winter, 1997; Hart, 1992, Percy-Smith & Nigel, 2010; Stein, 2014). Consequently, adults' attitudes may lead to low and meaningless forms of CP, which make it unlikely that participating children will identify with and adhere to CD-outcomes, such as established goals and rules (Ansell, 2005).

Although many CD-projects already aim at CP, practice is often unsystematic, with ambiguities regarding implementation of CP and lacking standards confusing practical efforts (Jans, 2004). The resulting diversity of approaches to CP can discourage key actors of CD-projects and create practical difficulties (Percy-Smith & Nigel, 2010; Stein, 2014). Accordingly, a clearer understanding of the role of CP in CD is needed to enable better CD-outcomes (Stein, 2014). Systematically evaluating specific aspects of CP in CD, such as the relation between levels of participation and community asset areas, is a promising step in this direction.

### **Present Study: Aim and Set-Up**

This thesis evaluates the status of CP in CD by looking into the relation between levels of participation and community asset areas, thereby also identifying related difficulties

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and benefits. Specifically, the *ladder of participation* (LoP) is employed to categorise levels of participation and the *community capitals framework* (CCF) to categorise asset areas. The empirical data is derived from a systematic literature review of CD-projects that implement CP and a series of semi-structured expert interviews with project-members of a CD-project. The resulting overview of CP in CD, in terms of levels of participation and their relation to asset areas, informs better practice and facilitates a (more) constructive perspective on children within CD.

This research was exploratory in nature, asking the following overarching question: What is the current status of child participation in community development? This question is further specified in the following two sub-questions: (a) Which levels of CP are found in the context of community development, and which community capitals apply? (b) What are benefits and difficulties attributed to child participation in community development and to which community capitals can these be related to?

The remainder of the thesis is structured as follows: This section continues with the description of the frameworks employed, the LoP and the CCF. The following section describes the methods used for data collection and analysis. The subsequent section presents the results, structured along the two sub-questions. The final section discusses the study's central findings and limitations and presents suggestions for further research.

### **The Ladder of Participation (LoP)**

The ladder of participation (LoP) (Hart, 1992, 2008) is a framework to conceptualise CP, commonly used to measure levels of CP in different contexts, particularly within community settings. While academic studies use the LoP as a framework for CP (e.g. De Winter, 1997; Montgomery & Kellett, 2009), it's also popular to illustrate levels of CP to broader, non-academic audiences (e.g. Fletcher, 2008; KidsRights Foundation, 2014; Unicef,

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n.d.; World Vision, n.d.). The ladder consists of eight consecutive levels, reflecting low to increasingly higher levels of participation (Hart, 1992). Importantly, implementation of participation at lower levels does not necessarily imply a lower quality participation process, as children's developmental status and abilities can limit participation (Hart, 1992).

Nonetheless, implementation at higher levels was shown to lead to better project-outcomes across different contexts (Stein, 2014). Figure 1 illustrates the LoP graphically.

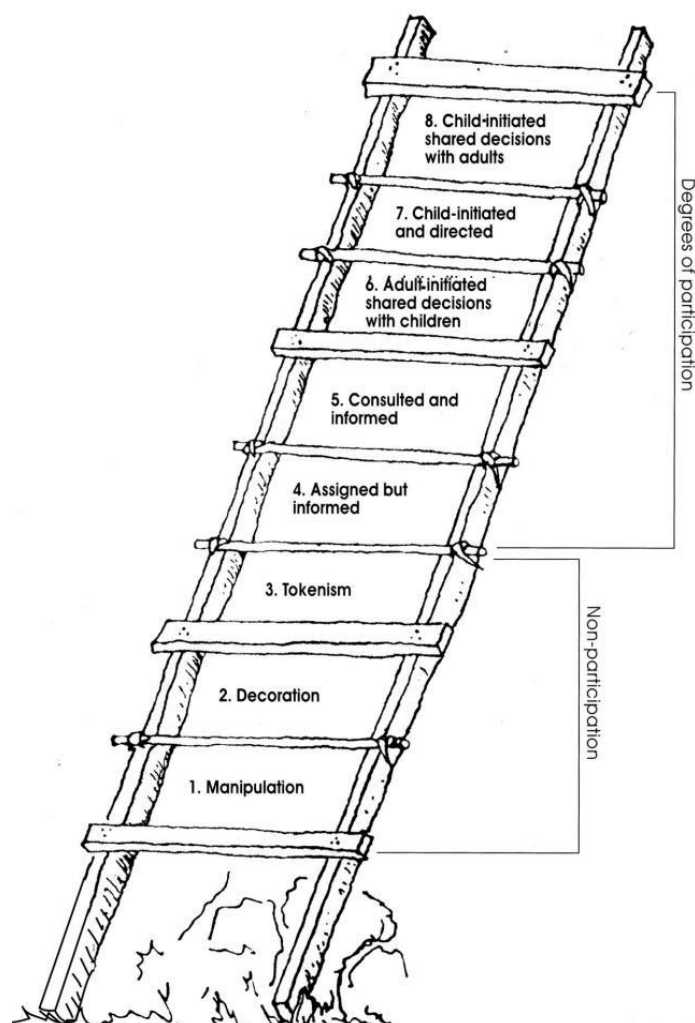


Figure 1. Ladder of participation (LoP), Hart 1992.

Level 1 to 3 of the ladder are considered forms of non-participation, because children are not enabled to participate in meaningful ways. Specifically, at these levels processes may lack awareness of children's fundamental abilities (*manipulation*), may literally use children as decoration (*decoration*) or implement participation that is not chosen freely and not meaningful (*tokenism*). At level 4 (*assigned but informed*) meaningful CP is enabled within a process designed and run by adults. At level 5 (*consulted and informed*) children additionally are asked their opinion on the overall project and its design. At level 6 (*adult-initiated, shared decisions with children*) children co-decide together with adults on project features.



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At level 7 (*child-initiated and directed*) children take the lead and adults do not have a directive role in the processes. At the final level 8 (*child-initiated, shared decisions with adults*), children are practically left on their own and any adult involvement in the process is initiated by the children.

### **Community Capitals Framework (CCF)**

Community development (CD) often lacks a coherent concept for unified implementation (Bhattacharyya, 2004). The community capitals framework (CCF) is a tool that facilitates systematic implementation of CD, designed to be applicable in different settings (Flora, Flora & Fey, 2004). The CCF argues that different community features, summarily referred to as *community assets*, can be categorised into seven types, referred to as *capitals*. These are: natural, social, human, financial, political, built and cultural capital. For example, the community asset ‘available green space’ constitutes a part of natural capital, whereas intergenerational contacts are a part of social capital and, given that such contacts facilitate learning and knowledge-exchange, they are also part of human capital (Flora, Flora & Gasteyer, 2016). Preliminary work found the CCF a suitable tool for analysis and planning of community change, as it helps identification and development of community assets (Emery, Fey & Flora, 2006). The following table (Table 1) summarises the seven capitals of the community capitals framework.

Table 1

*Seven community capitals, as distinguished in the CCF*

Capital	Refers to ...
Human	...skills and abilities of individuals; can include learning from each other and is fostered by participation.
Cultural	...the cultural heritage of a community; can impact how a community views and approaches issues, such as, for instance, CP.
Natural	...natural resources and assets (e.g. geographical conditions, green space) of a community; includes knowledge on how to employ such resources.
Built	...infrastructure and facilities of a community; includes buildings, streets and other man-made structures.
Financial	...financial resources of a community; can impact the economic sustainability of a community.
Political	...political structures of a community; includes empowerment of people through political processes.
Social	...the ‘social glue’ that fosters shared responsibility; includes bonding and bridging capital, between and across individuals and groups.

Importantly, all capitals are present in all communities, but are filled with different assets and to differing degrees (Emery, Fey & Flora, 2006). Specifically, by analysing the quantity and distribution of assets across capitals, the status of communities and their strengths and weaknesses can be described and targeted (Emery & Flora, 2006; Flora, Flora & Gasteyer, 2018).

Existing studies employing the CCF typically focus on *one* community or *one* thematic context (e.g. healthy lifestyle) (Flora & Gillespie, 2009) or on interactions between different capitals (Emery & Flora, 2009; Flora, Emery, Fey, & Bregendahl, n.d.). However, no studies can be found that specifically research CP and employ the CCF, relating levels of participation to asset types, as is done in the present research.

## Methods

This thesis draws on data on CP in CD collected from two sources, a systematic literature review *and* a series of semi-structured interviews with members of the CD-project KRAKE. Both data sources were used to answer both sub-questions. The aim of the analysis was exploratory and interpretative in nature (i.e. not confirmatory or hypothesis testing), open to the emergence of new and unforeseen categories of analysis, thereby broadening the analytic scope (Stebbins, 2001).

### **Literature Review**

A systematic literature review was conducted, based on the procedure of Pont, Ziviani, Wadley, Bennett & Abbott (2009), illustrated in Figure 2.

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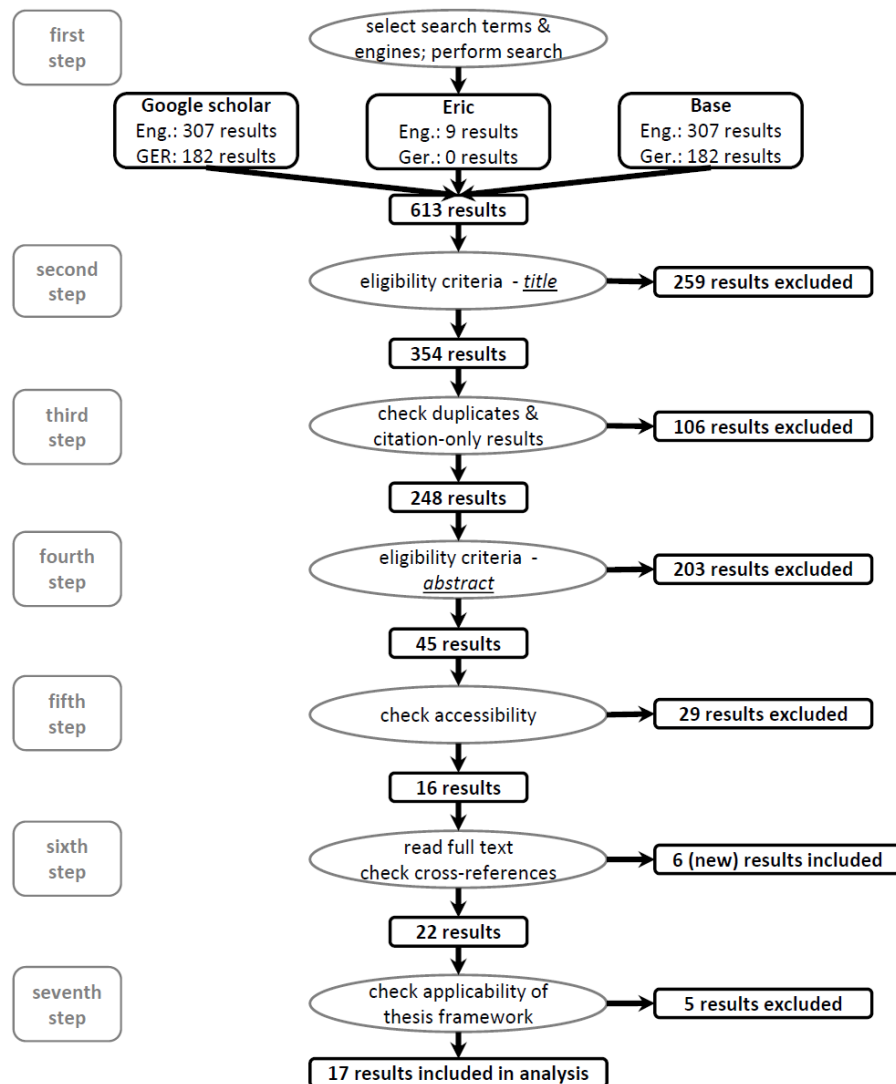


Figure 2. Flow chart of the literature review (adapted from the PRISMA standard).

In the first step, three search engines were selected, and the search was conducted, in German and English, using the following terms as ‘all-in-title’ search requests: ‘children and youth participation’, ‘child and youth participation’, ‘Jugend und Kinderpartizipation’, ‘Partizipation von Kindern und Jugendlichen’. Additional search terms yielding no results (e.g. ‘child and youth participation in community development’) or off-topic results (e.g. ‘young people’s participation’) were discarded. This search was conducted on two consecutive days (18-19.04.2018). In the second step eligibility based on source titles was

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determined using the following criteria: Source (a) refers to a developed country, (b) is a journal article, evaluation or policy report or book chapter (but *not* an entire book), and (c) focuses on the community (*not* on child development). These criteria ensured comparability with the setting of the semi-structured interviews, that search results relate to the focus of the thesis and feasibility within the scope of the thesis (see Appendix A for the detailed list of criteria). Coding of results was discussed between two researchers and differences were resolved. Results explicitly *not* meeting the criteria ('no') were discarded; all others ('yes', 'unsure') were retained. In the third step duplicates, identical sources resulting from different searches, were removed. In the fourth step, the same eligibility procedure as in the second step was applied to the abstracts. In the fifth step, sources that were not accessible due to limited access conditions (e.g. license restrictions, requiring payment, not available at the library) were excluded. In the sixth step, the full texts were evaluated and eligible reference to (new) sources were included. In the final seventh step, sources were checked for descriptions (cases) of CP in CD and to be eligible for analysis, sources needed to provide a detailed description of CP and the specific context, enabling application of the two frameworks (LoP, CCF).

After going through all seven steps, three book chapters, two conference papers, two policy reports, one editorial and nine journal articles remained, available for analysis. Table 2 describes these 17 sources in detail

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Table 2

*Detailed description of the 17 sources derived from the literature review*

Author(s)	Topic(s)	Country	Source type	Age group (years)	Sample size (n)	Method	Used for
Alisch, M. (2007)	Participation in playground design	DE	Book chapter	Children & youth, n.d.	n.d.	Evaluation study (interviews, action- research)	a ; b
Bartscher, M. (2000)	Possibilities & limitations of child & youth participation within a case study	DE	Conference paper	Children & youth, n.d.	n.d.	Conceptual discussion, case study	a ; b ; c
Betz, T., Gaiser, W., & Pluto, L. (2010)	The concept of participation	DE	Policy report	Children & youth, n.d.	n.d.	Review, conceptual discussion	b ; c
Cahill, C., & Hart, R. (2006a)	Concept of child & youth participation	EUR, AUST, NZ	Editorial	Children & youth, n.d.	n.d.	Review, conceptual discussion	b
Cahill, C., & Hart, R. (2006b)	Concept of child & youth participation	U.S.A., CA	Journal article	Children & youth, n.d.	n.d.	Conceptual discussion	a ; b
Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)	Implementation of child & youth participation	UK	Journal article	Children & youth, n.d.	n.d.	Conceptual discussion	b
Eames-Sheavly, M., S Lekies, K., MacDonald, L., & J Wong, K. (2007)	Implementation & evaluation of child participation in gardening project	U.S.A.	Journal article	3 – 18	~ 250	Evaluation study (in-depth interviews)	a ; b ; c

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Harris, A. (2006)	Implementation of child participation	AUST, NZ	Journal article	Children & youth, n.d.	n.d.	Conceptual discussion	c
Marshall, C., Byrne, B., & Lundy, L. (2015)	Children in public decision making	UK	Book chapter	8 - 20	n.d.	Evaluation study (focus groups, interviews)	a ; c
Reitz, S. (2015)	Implementation of the CRC	DE	Policy report	1 - 18	n.d.	Policy Report	a ; b
Rogers, P. (2006)	Policy on young people's participation in use and design of public space	UK	Journal article	12 - 35	225	Conceptual discussion, case study	a
Skivenes, M., & Strandbu, A. (2006)	Child participation in communicative processes & decision making	NO	Journal article	n.d.	n.d.	Conceptual discussion, case study	b ; c
Stevens, I. (2006)	Implementation of Scottish National Care Standards (in care environments) by children	UK	Journal article	15 – 19	24	Evaluation study (focus groups, questionnaires, interviews)	a ; b
Wyness, M. (2009)	Child participation in school- and civic councils	UK	Journal article	Children, n.d.	110	Evaluation study (interviews, non-participating observation)	a ; b ; c
Torres-Harding, S., Baber, A., Hilvers, J., Hobbs, N., & Maly, M. (2018)	School-based child participation in social activism	U.S.A.	Journal article	5 - 14	32	Evaluation study (focus groups)	a ; b
Tóth, E., & Poplin, A. (2013)	Games to increase child participation in the design of living environments	HU	Conference paper	12 - 18	167	Evaluation Study (questionnaires, interviews)	a ; c
Zinser, C. (2001)	Current situation of child & youth participation in municipalities	DE	Book chapter	Children & youth, n.d.	400 communities	Evaluation report (questionnaires, Statements)	b ; c

*Note. DE = Germany; NO = Norway; U.S.A. = United States of America; UK = United Kingdom; HU = Hungary; EUR = Europe; AUST = Australia; NZ = New Zealand; CA = Canada; n.d. = no details available/no definition; a = Classification with respect to LoP and CCF; b = Classification with respect to benefits; c = Classification with respect to difficulties.*

## Interviews

Interviews were conducted with members of KRAKE (Krachtige Kernen), an international, three-year long CD-project aiming to increase the quality of life in villages in the Dutch-German border region by fostering bottom-up approaches towards local issues. With academic support from three Universities of applied-sciences (Hogeschool van Arnhem en Nijmegen, Hochschule Rhein-Waal, FH Münster), issues are addressed in the following seven areas: (a) Local businesses and economies, (b) living facilities and environment, (c) options for healthy lifestyles, (d) living conditions for young families and children, (e) bonding community and villager identity, (f) care facilities and (g) ICT: virtual communication platforms (KRAKE, n.d). In total, 13 separate project-units (six German, seven Dutch) approach these areas – one German and one Dutch project-unit respectively per area, except for ICT, which is only targeted by a Dutch project-unit.

Semi-structured interviews with 11 members of KRAKE were conducted. One project-member of each project-unit of each country was interviewed, with two exceptions: (a) as mentioned, there is no German counterpart to the ICT project-unit and (b) one project-member represented three project-units. Nine interviewees were the respective heads of the project-unit of the executing Universities of applied-sciences, whereas the others were assistant project-unit leaders.

Nine project-members were contacted by email, two in person. All interviewees gave written or verbal consent. Four interviews were held with German (in German) and seven with Dutch project-members (in English). Five interviews were held via telephone and six in person, with an average duration of 28.1 minutes (range: 18.3 – 45.6 minutes). The interviews took place in March and April 2018.



The interview-questions were developed in line with the relevant frameworks (LoP, CCF) to cover and reflect CP, levels thereof and community asset areas related to it (see Appendix B for the list of questions). The following overarching topics were covered in all interviews: (a) introduction and description of the respective project-unit, (b) CP within the respective project-unit (status-quo and potential of CP), (c) concluding questions about CP and summary of interview, and (d) potential questions from the project-member. Interviews were recorded and transcribed according to established guidelines (KFU Graz) (see Appendix C for the guideline) and subsequently anonymised (names and project-unit).

### **Data Format and Analysis**

Data was provided by the literature review and the interviews. Typically, data contained specific descriptions of CP in CD, termed *cases*, such as reports on specific projects. For example, a study on a specific project involving participation in playground design provides a case. Such a case could connect participation to one or several capitals, for instance linking participation in playground design to built *and* human capital. Importantly, while data in the form of cases is needed to answer sub-question one (levels of CP and relation to community capitals), other data, for instance contained in conceptual discussions, is also relevant to sub-question two (benefits and difficulties of CP and relation to community capitals) and accordingly included in analysis.

All data was analysed employing qualitative content analysis based on the framework of Mayring (2003). Here, the iterative development of analytical categories, reflecting the research questions, stands central. Specifically, two approaches towards analysis were taken, one driven by a predetermined coding scheme, the other driven by the data itself. First, a coding scheme reflecting the LoP, the CCF and benefits and difficulties (of CP) was developed and applied to the data, yielding initial results. Second, all data was scanned for

information the respective source (e.g. article, interview partner) itself stressed as being important. For example, if a study or interviewee stressed particular factors as being crucial for successful implementation of CP, adequate categories reflecting that information were developed. Categories gradually emerging from this open approach were then re-applied to the data.

Importantly, whenever descriptions of participation were ambiguous and suggested participation at different levels within the same case, an average level of participation was coded (e.g. 'level 6' instead of 'levels 4 to 8'). This is in contrast to the original LoP. Data management was performed in Excel (see Appendix D for the Excel data-mask).

## Results

### **First Sub-Question: Levels of CP in CD and Related Community Capitals**

Of the 17 sources derived from the literature review, 11 could be analysed in terms of the relation between levels of participation (LoP) and community capitals (CCF). In turn, these 11 sources provided descriptions of 15 cases of CP in CD. As participation in most of these cases was linked to several types of capital, CP in its relation to a specific community capital was coded 43 times in total. In turn, nine of the 11 interviews could be analysed in terms of the relation between levels of participation and community capitals. In turn, these provided 10 cases of CP in CD, for which, CP in its relation to a specific community capital was coded 24 times in total. The following table (Table 3) summarises the data, showing per case (per source) the level of participation and the type of capital they were coded in, both, for the literature (upper part) and for the interviews (lower part). Effectively, every row represents one case. As four sources from the literature review (Alisch 2007, Bartscher, 2000; Marschall 2015, Reitz, 2015) and one interviewee (A) reported several cases, for each of these sources multiple rows are included. Note that the table lists all sources, including those

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that did not provide cases or sufficient information to code them - the corresponding rows are left blank.

Regarding levels of CP and related capitals the following four findings, based on the 24 cases from the literature and the interviews, stand out: First, a broad range of levels of participation, spanning the entire LoP, was found. Second, in more than one third of cases, CP was coded at non-participative levels of the LoP (levels 1 to 3). Third, across data from literature and interviews the highest levels of participation were coded in natural capital. Fourth, while political capital was the most frequently coded capital among cases from the literature, it wasn't coded at all for cases from the interviews.

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Table 3

*Levels of CP and related capitals, cases derived from literature and interviews*

Source including case number	Type of capital (CCF) and respective level of CP (LoP):						
	Cultural	Built	Human	Financial	Natural	Social	Political
<b>Literature</b>							
Alisch, M. (2007) [15]	-	5	-	-	5	-	-
	1	-	1	1	-	1	1
Bartscher, M. (2000) [12, 13, 14]	-	3	-	-	3	-	-
	-	7	-	-	7	-	-
Betz, T., Gaiser, W., & Pluto, L. (2010) [-]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cahill, C., & Hart, R. (2006a) [-]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cahill, C., & Hart, R. (2006b) [6]	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006) [-]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eames-Sheavly, M., et al. (2007) [8]	-	4-8 (6)	-	-	4-8 (6)	-	-
Harris, A. (2006) [-]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	6	-	-	-	6
Marshall, C., et al. (2015) [4]	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Reitz, S. (2015) [9, 10, 11]	-	-	-	7-8 (7.5)	-	-	7-8 (7.5)
Rogers, P. (2006) [3]	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Skivenes, M., & Strandbu, A. (2006) [-]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stevens, I. (2006) [2]	-	4-5 (4.5)	-	-	-	4-5 (4.5)	-
Torres-Harding, S., et al. (2018) [1]	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Tóth, E., & Poplin, A. (2013) [5]	-	4-8 (6)	4-8 (6)	-	4-8 (6)	4-8 (6)	-
Wyness, M. (2009) [7]	-	-	4-5 (4.5)	-	-	-	4-5 (4.5)
Zinser, C. (2001) [-]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Table 3 (*continued*)

<b>Interviews</b>								
	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	
(A)	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	
(B)	-	-	3	3	-	3	-	
(C)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
(D)	-	5	5	-	-	-	-	
(E)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
(F)	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	
(G)	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	
(H)	-	-	7	-	-	7	-	
(I)	-	8	-	-	8		-	
(J)	5	-	5	-		5	-	
(K)	7-8 (7.5)	7-8 (7.5)	7-8 (7.5)	-	7-8 (7.5)	7-8 (7.5)	-	

*Note. Numbers refer to levels of participation; - = blank on purpose, not applicable.*

**Levels of CP in CD.** In total, CP was coded 67 times in its relation to a specific community capital. Specifically, CP was coded 24 times at levels 1 to 3 of the LoP and 43 times at higher levels. Looking at specific levels of participation, across methods level 3 (*tokenism*) was coded most frequently (15 times). In total, for 6 cases of CP in CD it was not possible to determine a single level of participation, but, based on the respective description, a range of levels was determined and an average applied.

As an illustration, participation level 3 was coded for a case described by Rogers (2006), where participation in public space design amounted to tokenism. Specifically, the city council of New Castle (UK) asked young people to participate in the design of public space but had already drawn up a set of criteria these spaces would need to meet. Youth

participants for the design process were then *selected* by adults and asked their opinions, but eventual results were adapted to meet the councils predefined criteria.

The detail of descriptions of CP in CD, given by interview partners, varied in line with the level of participation. Two interviewees provided rich and specific descriptions, including the various project phases, such as that of interviewee I regarding the use of a specific participative method (*Zukunftswerkstatt*) in a school-context, which was coded at participation level 8 (I, personal communication, March, 2018). In contrast, descriptions of participation at lower levels tended to be vague and include little process-related information, such as the following example: “We are doing things that concern the whole family, which [...] includes children. We’ve had an event [...] and there were many children. There was a lady shaping balloons into dinosaurs and clowns. [...] [and] a drawing competition for children [...]. Such projects are for children and families” (A, personal conversation, March 2018).

Some cases of CP reported by interviewees could not be analysed due to insufficient information. For instance, a report on the participative design process of a playground was too vague to allow analysis of CP: “They wanted to redesign the playground around the school [...] and there they involved the needs of the children.” (G, personal communication, April, 2018).

**Types of community capitals related to CP in CD.** In total (across literature- and interview-data), human capital was coded most frequently (14 times) followed by built and social capital (12 times each capital), while cultural capital applied the least (5 times). Human and social capital frequently were coded simultaneously, as in the case described by Marshall, Byrne & Lundy (2015) where meetings between children and political actors enable children direct participation in community life. An exemplary case in which social

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capital was coded was given by interviewee K, who highlighted, that child involvement in CD-projects leads to interactions between various kinds of people, that otherwise don't happen (K, personal communication, March 2018). Built capital was related to social capital in a case described by interviewee C, where the renovation of empty buildings by volunteers of different ages created new meeting points and helped foster intergenerational interactions (C, personal communication, March, 2018).

The highest levels of participation were found for natural capital, within both, literature and interviews. For example, K (personal communication, March 2018) describes a case, coded at level 7, in which preschool children participated in designing a nature playground. While the project was initiated by children, these were too young to take the project lead and therefore adults were involved in a supportive role throughout the process. Mixed working groups and joint decision-making illustrate participation throughout the project.

Political capital was the most frequently coded capital among the literature (9 times) but was not coded among cases from the interviews. An example of how participation and political capital can be linked is given by Wyness (2009), who studied CP in youth councils and their role for CD, finding that giving children a political say improves outcomes. Notably, participation linked to political capital took place at different levels. For instance, Marshall, Byrne, & Lundy (2015) describe adult-facilitated participation of children in public decision-making processes involving political actors. Here participation level 6 applied, with adults initiating the process and participating children not attending some of the official meetings, during which adults represented their views. Throughout the whole process a dedicated participation worker supported participants. In contrast, Reitz (2015) describes a school wide participation process coded at participation level 2, aiming at fostering

democratic structures and competences. In practical terms, children were given the possibility to fulfil defined tasks, which were decorative and aimed at goals set by adults. Effectively, children were given tasks that otherwise adults would need to fulfil.

### **Second Sub-Question: Benefits and difficulties of CP in CD and Related Community Capitals**

In total, 32 *different* benefits and 28 *different* difficulties of CP in CD were identified and coded in their relation to specific community capitals, with four benefits and four difficulties each related to two community capitals. In total, including these ‘double-codings’, benefits were coded 36 times in relation to a specific capital and difficulties 32 times.

The following four main findings stand out. First, based on data from both methods (literature, interviews), more than half of all benefits and of all difficulties were found to relate to a limited number of capitals (particularly human and social capital), while several capitals were either not related to benefits and difficulties of CP or only to a very limited degree (e.g. no benefits were related to built, cultural and financial capital). Second, based on the literature, difficulties of CP relate mainly to human capital, while based on the interviews difficulties mostly relate to social capital. Third, for social capital most benefits were identified in the literature, while most difficulties were identified within the interviews. Fourth, several difficulties emerging within human capital concerned adults’ attitudinal barriers towards children, but also language and communication.

The following table (Table 4) shows benefits and difficulties of CP grouped within the capital(s) they relate to, indicating benefits and difficulties that were coded in two capitals. Table E1 in Appendix E details the source from which each benefit and difficulty was derived.



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Table 4

*Benefits and difficulties of CP in CD, related to community capitals*

Benefit	Capital	Difficulty
Increased...	<b>Social</b>	Understanding children's opinions and interests (Lit)*
... problem-solving skills (Lit)		Misunderstandings (children, adults, stakeholders) (Lit)*
... enjoyment in helping others (Lit)*		Low visibility of children in society (Int)
... sense of community (Lit)		Recruiting children (Int)
... forming of collaborations (children, adults, stakeholders) (Lit)		Obtaining parental consent for child participating (Int)
... social skills in working together (Lit)		Managing participation across project phases (Int)
... visibility of children in society (Lit)		Keeping children interested (Int)
... positive group-dynamics (Lit)		Children lack ability to think feasible (attributed) (Int)
... interest in the larger community (Lit)		Short attention span of children (Int)
... initiation of interaction (children, adults, stakeholders) (Int)		Communication and language difficulties (Int)*
...consideration of children as the future of a community (Int)*		Lack of awareness for children's language skills (Lit)*
Improved...		Adults' perception that children have little to contribute and
... youth-adult relationships and connections (Lit)		necessitate close monitoring (Lit)

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Table 4 (*continued*)

... initiation of creative group-processes (Lit)		Attitude, that adults' participation is more needed than CP (Int)
... understanding of contextual structures (Lit)		Adults' perception that children's interests are fleeting (Int)
	<b>Social</b>	Channeling child participation into project direction (Int)
Increased...		Communication and language difficulties (Int)*
... innovation through child-participation (Int)		Need for a capable person to work with children (Int)
... enjoyment in helping others (Lit)*		Adults lacking pedagogical knowledge (Int)
... empowerment of children (Lit)		Children's unfamiliarity with formal aspects of participation
... pride of achievement (Lit)		(language, setting) (Lit)
... science, literacy and social skills (Lit)	<b>Human</b>	Adult's perception that they lack skills necessary for CP (Lit)
... sense of competence and ownership (Lit)		Adult's perception: children lack ability to consult
... decision-making and critical thinking skills (Lit)		meaningfully (Lit)
... citizenship identity (Lit)		Insecurity on how to involve children at different levels (Lit)
... project-related knowledge (Lit + Int)		Adults lacking awareness for children's language skills (Lit)*
... possibility to <i>form</i> children (Int)		Misunderstandings (children, adults, stakeholders) (Lit)*
... collective problem-solving skills (Lit)		Adults use of language that can confuse children (Lit)

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Table 4 (*continued*)

... sense of ownership (children and youth) (Lit) Understanding of children's opinions and interests (Lit)\*

... education of the public on the topic of CP (Lit)

**Human**

... understanding for systematic, structural exclusion (Lit)\*

... knowledge concerning democracy (Int)\*

... consideration of children as future of a community (Int)\*

... consideration of children as necessity to maintain a healthy  
community (Int)

**Decreased...**

... shyness (Lit)

... anxiety regarding school assessments / tests (Lit)

**Increased...**

Children's skeptical attitude towards own participation (Lit)

... understanding for systematic, structural exclusion (Lit)\*

**Political**

Lacking (public) institutional arrangements for CP (Lit)

... political commitment (Lit)

Politicians manipulating or taking advantage of CP (Lit)

... knowledge concerning democracy (Int)\*

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Table 4 (*continued*)

...positive attitudes toward nature & the environment (Lit)	<b>Natural</b>	
	<b>Financial</b>	Financial motivation as sole motive for CP (Lit)
		Financial and time constraints as impediments for CP (Int)
	<b>Built</b>	
	<b>Cultural</b>	Low status of children in society leads to low levels of participation (Lit)
Total: <b>32 different benefits</b> , coded 36 times in relation to a capital as follows (4 double-codings): Social 13, human 19, political 3, natural 1, financial 0, built 0, cultural 0. <b>28 different difficulties</b> , coded 32 times in relation to a capital as follows (4 double-codings): Social 15, human 11, political 3, natural 0, financial 2, built 0, cultural 1.		

*Note. If not stated otherwise, benefits as well as difficulties relate to children; Lit=Literature; Int=Interviews; \*coded within two capitals.*

**Benefits.** In total 32 *different* benefits of CP in CD were identified and related to a community capital. As 4 benefits were related to two capitals each, in total, benefits were linked to community capitals 36 times, shown Table 4.

Across both methods (literature, interview) and for each separately, most benefits of CP were coded in human capital. These 19 benefits relating to human capital emerged, for example, when it was shown that CP leads to an increase of skills of participating children, as in the case study of Bartscher (2000) on CP in playground design, where participation lead to improved deliberation skills and a better understanding of democratic processes. Similarly, two of the 11 interviewees stated that by participating, children could learn something new, as for example D stated that “young people can learn from [participating], they can develop [...] different kinds of social skills” (D, personal communication, April, 2018).

Many benefits (13) were also found to emerge within social capital. Several authors and interviewees stress the beneficial effect of CP on social capital (see Eames-Sheavly et al., 2007; Skivenes & Strandbu, 2006), mostly relating to individual relationships and community life (Bartscher, 2000). For instance, Marshall, Byrne & Lundy (2015) found a direct association between social relationships being formed and CP in CD efforts. Similarly, an interviewee mentioned, that CP is a key-factor for community cohesion, as children initiate interactions among (adult) community members (K, personal communication, March 2018). Seven project-members stated that because children contribute to local social capital, they are essential in maintaining and improving quality of life within communities.

A closely related finding is, touching on human and social capital, that, as children contribute to information and knowledge sharing within communities, their participation can impact social capital, but also contribute to overall efficacy of CD efforts (I, personal communication, April, 2018). Notably, in this regard the opinions and views voiced by

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children in CD projects are frequently considered particularly innovative and yielding much potential (G, personal communication, April 2018).

Overall, for three capitals (cultural, built, financial) no benefits were identified. For natural capital, a single benefit (positive environmental attitude), closely linked to the project focus, which centred on gardening activities, was found (Eames-Sheavly et al. 2007).

**Difficulties.** In total 28 *different* difficulties of CP in CD were identified and related to a community capital. As 4 difficulties related to two capitals each, in total, difficulties were linked to community capitals 32 times, shown in Table 4.

Based on data from both methods (literature, interviews), most difficulties of CP (15 difficulties) were found to relate to social capital. Weak or lacking social relationships were described as barriers towards maintaining levels of participation - ‘keeping them in the boat’ (C, personal communication, March, 2018) - and to ensure parental agreements regarding CP were met (I, personal communication, April, 2018). Additionally, problems regarding recruitment of children for participation were linked to lacking or weak relationships of community members with each other (A, personal communication, March 2018). Such lacking social capital was described by one interviewee as a ‘major difficulty’ and the most pertinent reason for lacking child-involvement.

Several difficulties emerging within human capital concerned language and communication (e.g. Marshall et al., 2015; Skivenes & Strandbu, 2006; Stevens, 2006; Torres-Harding et al., 2018; Tóth & Poplin, 2013; Wyness, 2009; & Zinser, 2001). For instance, according to Skivenes & Strandbu (2006) adults in CD contexts specifically experience difficulties communicating with children, while Marshall et al. (2015) found that children are often unfamiliar with the (often formal) language being used, which increases feelings of insecurity. Such findings resonate with interviewees stressing, that children and

adults speaking ‘different languages’ makes working together difficult (E, F, G, personal communications, March and April 2018). As a possible remedy an interviewee suggested adults be supported regarding the use of child-friendly language and acknowledge, that it “is not simple language, you don’t want to make it look like simple language, but it should be easily understood, and I think that is a challenge” (K, personal communication, March, 2018).

Other difficulties related to human capital concern adults’ attitudinal barriers towards children. Several authors (Bartscher, 2000; Eames-Sheavly et al., 2007; Marshall et al., 2015) report adult’s negative attitudes towards children’s ability to contribute constructively, for instance framing children as generally being uninterested in structured interaction formats and particularly uninterested in participative processes (Bartscher, 2000). Betz et al. (2010) and Clark & Percy-Smith (2006) stress that such adult expectations can negatively influence the level of (potential) participation and expected knowledge gain. Further, they report that many adults lack skills to involve children and would rather have a dedicated professional take their place and manage CP.

In consequence, lacking or poor communication skills of adults increase the chance that they perceive CP as unproductive, thereby hardening attitudinal barriers. For instance, an interviewee mentioned that children ‘think about what they like but not about what is feasible’ and that ‘they are not at the level to talk with us’ and that it would be difficult to bring them in the ‘direction of the project’, which amounted to a difficulty of ‘understanding participating children’ (G, personal communication, April, 2018). Adults commonly attribute such difficulties regarding communication to childrens’ (lacking) abilities, such as a ‘short attention span’ (K, personal communication, March, 2018). Further, children’s age influences the confidence adults have in them: While Eames-Sheavly et al. (2007) found adults eager to hear inputs from all children, actual participation efforts were biased towards older children

as these were perceived as being more capable (Eames-Sheavly et al., 2007), a finding also supported by Bartscher (2000) and Reitz (2015).

For some capitals a very limited number of difficulties were identified or none at all. Regarding financial capital, Betz, Gaiser & Pluto (2010) report that endorsing CP can increase program-funding, which may turn out the (only) motivation for CP, making it a tool for marketing, rather than serving child interests (Zinser, 2001). Regarding political capital Skivenes & Strandbu (2006) see difficulties of CP as related to overall political arrangements and commitments (e.g. funding-related), that would enable meaningful and effective CP, much as Betz et al. (2010) stress, that participation (always) has a political element. No difficulties were found to emerge within natural and built capital.

### **Discussion and Further Research**

This thesis explored the role of CP within CD, specifically as it relates to community asset areas, termed capitals. By using two complementary methods (literature review; interviews) levels of CP within CP-projects were analysed, as they relate to different community capitals, and specific benefits and difficulties of CP in CD were identified. The resulting findings enrich practice and provide guidance for CD-projects aiming to implement CP, potentially at high participative levels and across different capitals. The following five findings particularly invite discussion and further research.

#### **Participation at Non-Participative Levels**

Notwithstanding that CP within current CD-projects is implemented at all levels of the LoP (from low to high), findings indicate that in more than one third of cases (from both, literature and interviews) participation is implemented at low, non-participative levels. While the literature notes that the young age of participating children may limit participation, almost all cases derived from the literature and the interviews targeted older children, implying that



participant age does not explain the low levels of participation that were found. Given that the literature sees participation at higher levels leading to more positive project outcomes, this finding and the ensuing question, of why participation frequently remains at low levels, become even more relevant, both, from a practical and theoretical perspective, inviting further research.

### **Human and Social Capital**

CP in CD most frequently relates to human and social capital and these also are the capitals most frequently related to benefits and difficulties of CP. This finding fits well earlier studies (Hart, 1992; Olukotun, 2008) which suggest, that human capital may affect social capital, leading to ‘spillovers’: While the immediate effects of participative processes may concern individual participants and relate to human capital, subsequent effects frequently affect the wider community and relate to (aspects of) social capital. Such spillover-mechanisms suggest that focusing on individuals during participative processes can lead to positive community-wide outcomes. In this context it is interesting to note, that most project-members implicitly reported a tendency of participative processes to expand beyond the groups originally addressed: While most project-members claimed not to involve children in their projects, they nevertheless could give examples of CP within their projects. Subsequent research should seek to describe and analyse in detail, under what circumstances such tendencies of participative processes to expand occur, thereby highlighting important aspects of project design.

### **Political Capital**

Political capital poses an interesting discrepancy, frequently relating to participation according to the literature but not at all according to the interviews, which may highlight an important divergence between ‘theory and practice’. Whether this discrepancy relates to the

specific project the interviewees work on (KRAKE), or whether it is systemic, cannot be ascertained and invites further research.

### **Natural Capital**

Very high levels of participation were related to natural capital and none of the difficulties identified were linked to it, promising much potential for CP in CD. Considering, that financial burdens and political considerations were also reported as difficulties of CP in CD, natural capital may hold several advantages, as natural assets often can be used cost-free and are largely a-political. Based on this initial finding, further research could look into the specific aspects of natural capital that encourage high levels of participation.

### **Attitudinal Barriers of Adults**

Major difficulties of CP in CD often concern attitudinal barriers of adults, such as adult's perception that children lack relevant capabilities and that adults lack relevant skills (e.g. regarding communication). As noted by previous studies (e.g. Hart, 1992), adult's attitudinal barriers can lead to lower levels of participation and exert a negative influence on participation processes and the cases reviewed in this study support this finding. While adult attitudes may come to impede participation, findings show that CP in CD can foster intergenerational collaborations and these, it can be argued, may in turn positively affect, even reverse, existing attitudes. Future research could seek to evaluate, which aspects of participative processes encourage adults to adopt constructive attitudes towards CP.

### **Limitations**

The following limitations are noted. First, being qualitative and explorative limits the representativeness of the study: Interviewees reported on their experiences within a specific type of project (KRAKE) and constellation and, accordingly, members of other CD-projects may potentially highlight different aspects. Further, access to some of the literature, identified

during the review, was limited (e.g. publisher restrictions), thereby limiting the literature available and limiting the representativeness of this study.

Another limitation pertains to the coding of the capitals, which was ‘narrow’ in the following sense: For this thesis, capitals were coded only if directly related to participation in a given case. Potentially, more indirect relationships, between participation and community capitals, could be conceptualised and this would accordingly change and increase the coding of the cases. For instance, a gardening-program for children, while directly relating to natural capital, could also indirectly affect built capital. Taking such a ‘broad perspective’ would increase the number of relationships identified, but would also make conceptual and empirical analysis more complex.

Finally, analysis was not age specific, but treated all younger than 18 as a single group. Accordingly, further research could consider age as an additional factor.

In conclusion, subsequent research should aspire to meet these limitations, specifically by increasing representativeness (by studying more and different projects and overcoming access restrictions to literature), experimenting with a broader conceptual approach towards effects of participation and by differentiating among participant age groups.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A

#### Eligibility screening-questions (systematic literature review).

Title \_\_\_\_\_

Criteria 1= Developed country: yes ☐ no ☐ unsure ☐

Criteria 2 = Evaluation, policy report, review, scientific article: yes ☐ no ☐ unsure ☐

Criteria 3 = Focus on community and not child development (e.g. disability\*):  
yes ☐ no ☐ unsure ☐

Include ☐

Exclude ☐

Unsure ☐

\*Notably, many results on child development effectively dealt with disability  
(which is not a focus for this thesis)

## Appendix B

### **Semi-structured interviews: Guiding questions.**

#### Introducing questions

- Could you please give a brief description of your community (project-unit) within the KRAKE project?
- What is the goal of your community (project-unit)?
- Could you give a very short example (case) of how your KRAKE community projects look like (e.g. planning process, contacts, implementations of materials)

#### Main questions: Child participation within KRAKE - project

- Could you give an example of how you define child participation or how it could look like?
- Are children or youth included in your community (project-unit)?
- If so, how?
- If not, why? (E.g. has the project team actively decided against it?)
- Do you think there is space for child participation in your community? (If not, how do you evaluate the relevance?)
- What role do children play in the different villages of your community?
- How are children affected by your project?
- Has (potential) child participation ever been an issue for your community?
- Has (potential) child participation ever been discussed as to be problematic? (If so, how did you deal with it?)
- Did you experience any difficulties or challenges with regards to child participation?
- What went well or was beneficial with regards to child participation?
- In general, can you think of any reason why children shouldn't be included in community development projects?

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- According to your experience, would you consider villagers in community development projects as motivated to include children in this project?
- How and why could it make things more difficult when children are included?
- What could a child's perspective add to your community?
- Which are motivations to include children in your project?

### Concluding questions

- Give a summary (interviewing person)

### Open questions

- Anything you would like to add?

## Appendix C

### Transcription guideline of the 'Institut für Volkskunde und Kulturanthropologie' of the Karl-Franzens-University Graz.

KARL-FRANZENS-UNIVERSITÄT GRAZ  
UNIVERSITY OF GRAZ



#### Regeln zur Transkription qualitativer Interviews

Jedes Interview muss vollständig und wörtlich transkribiert werden (nicht zusammenfassend, lautsprachlich etc.). Eine Ausnahme bilden Textpassagen, die tatsächlich außerhalb des thematischen Zusammenhangs stehen, diese dürfen stichpunktartig wiedergegeben werden.

Das Interview wird mit Namen der Interviewbeteiligten, Datum und Ort gekennzeichnet, außerdem dem in der Arbeit verwendeten Codenamen. Klarnamen der Interviewten dürfen nur intern von den Forschenden selbst verwendet werden, nach außen sind sie zu anonymisieren.

Das Interview wird wörtlich ab Beginn der Aufzeichnung abgetippt (Zeilenabstand 1,5).

Pro Sprechbeitrag beginnt eine neue Zeile (außer bei kurzen Einschüben der/des Interviewenden), außerdem erhöht eine Leerzeile nach jedem Sprecherwechsel die Lesbarkeit deutlich. Von Zeit zu Zeit muss die Zählwerksnummer, eine Zeitmarke o.ä. eingefügt werden, um das Wiederauffinden der Textstelle zu erleichtern. Angebracht sind auch Zeilennummern.

Zur Vereinfachung der Transkription digitaler Sprachdateien wird das Programm f4 empfohlen (für Mac: f5, ggf. auch mit Fußschalter), der kostenlose Download ist möglich unter [www.audiotranskription.de/downloads.html](http://www.audiotranskription.de/downloads.html)

Die Sprechenden werden am Satzanfang mit einem Kürzel gekennzeichnet, z.B. A: , B: , der Abkürzung des Pseudonyms: Herr F., oder: S:, etc.

Der/die Interviewende wird mit I: abgekürzt.

Grammatikalische oder andere sprachliche Besonderheiten sowie Einschübe wie „mhm“, „äh“ werden dann mit erfasst, wenn sie für das Interview von Bedeutung sein könnten (z.B. Stockungen, Versprecher...). Wiederholte oder abgebrochene Wörter und Sätze werden auf jeden Fall notiert. Die Wiedergabe von Dialekt und Umgangssprache richtet sich nach dem Forschungsinteresse. Als Faustregel gilt: keine phonetische Umschrift, sondern eine gemäßigte hochsprachliche Angleichung von Sprache und Interpunktion. Satzbau und Wortfolge werden beibehalten, ebenso Dialektwörter, die ein besonderes Kolorit besitzen und evtl. schwer übersetzbar sind (z.B. „ist“ statt „is“, „so ein Buch“ statt „so'n Buch“, „Stiege“ statt „Schdiang“ – aber nicht: „Treppe“). Die Satzzeichensetzung richtet sich nach den Pausen und Absätzen, die beim Sprechen entstehen, folgt dabei aber trotzdem den grammatikalischen Regeln.

Zusätzlich zum Interviewtranskript werden sachliche Angaben zur Person des/der Interviewten, des Interviewkontexts sowie der vor und nach der Aufzeichnung stattgefundenen Gesprächsabschnitte niedergelegt. Dieses Begleitblatt ist unabhängig von den Forschungstagebuchaufzeichnungen der Teilnehmenden Beobachtungen, die jedes Interview begleiten sollten.

Für die Auswertung des Interviews empfiehlt es sich außerdem, eine Zusammenfassung oder auch eine stichwortartige Kurzfassung des Interviews anzufertigen.

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**Appendix D**

**Method: Adapted coding-scheme for the literature review and interviews based on Mayring (2003).**

*Literature review.*

Number of source	Title of source	Type of source	Country of study	Page number	Case number	Type of quote	Quote	Paraphrase	LoP level	Capital (CCF)	Benefits	Difficulties
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*Interviews.*

Letter of interviewee	Community (project-unit)	Country of project unit	Page number of transcript	Type of quote (G=General; H=Hart; C=CCF)	Case number	Quote	Paraphrase	LoP level	Capital (CCF)	Benefits	Difficulties
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**Appendix E****Table benefits and difficulties of CP in CD, including capitals and source.**

Table E1

*Benefits and difficulties of CP in CD, including capitals and source*

Benefit	Capital	Difficulty
Increased	Social	Understanding children's opinions and interests (Lit)* Alisch, M. (2007)
... problem-solving skills (Lit) Alisch, M. (2007)		Misunderstandings (children, adults, stakeholders) (Lit)* Alisch, M. (2007)
... enjoyment in helping others (Lit)* Bartscher, M. (2000)		Low visibility of children in society (INT) I, J
... sense of community (Lit) Bartscher, M. (2000); Zinser, C. (2001)		recruiting children (INT) A
... forming of collaborations (children, adults, stakeholders) (Lit) Betz, T., Gaiser, W., & Pluto, L. (2010)		Obtaining parental consent regarding children participating (INT) F

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... social skills in working together (Lit) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

... visibility of children in society (Lit) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

... positive group-dynamics (Lit) Wyness, M. (2009)

... interest in the larger community (Lit) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

... initiation of interaction (children, adults, stakeholders) (INT) K

...consideration of children as the future of a community (INT)\* J, K

## Improved

... youth-adult relationships and connections (Lit) Alisch, M. (2007)

## Social

Managing participation across project phases (INT) K

Keeping children interested (INT) C

Children lack ability to think feasible (attributed) (INT) G

Short attention span of kids (INT) K

Problems concerning communication and language (INT)\* F, K, D

Lack of awareness of children's language skills (Lit)\* Alisch, M. (2007)

Adults' perception that children have little to contribute and close monitoring is necessary (Lit) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

Adults' participation is more needed than children's (INT) H

## CHILD PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

... initiation of creative group-processes (Lit) Wyness, M. (2009)

... understanding of contextual structures (Lit) Bartscher, M. (2000)

Changing interest and fleeting life of children (attributed) (INT) F

Channeling child participation into the project direction (INT) J

---

### Increased

... innovation through child-participation (INT) K

... enjoyment in helping others (Lit)\* Bartscher, M. (2000)

... empowerment of children (Lit) Bartscher, M. (2000)

... pride of achievement (Lit) Bartscher, M. (2000)

... science, literacy and social skills (Lit) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

Problems concerning communication and language (INT)\* F, K, D

Need of a capable person to work with children (INT) K

Lack of pedagogical knowledge of adults (INT) D, J

### Human

Children being unfamiliar with language and settings of participation environment (Lit) Torres-Harding, S., Baber, A., Hilvers, J., Hobbs, N., & Maly, M. (2018)

Attitude among adults that they lack skills to work with children (Lit) Torres-Harding, S., Baber, A., Hilvers, J., Hobbs, N., & Maly, M. (2018)

Adult's perception of children to lack ability to consult meaningfully (Lit) Torres-Harding, S., Baber, A., Hilvers, J., Hobbs, N., & Maly, M. (2018)

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## CHILD PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

... feelings of competence and ownership (Lit) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

... decision-making and critical thinking skills (Lit) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

... citizenship identity (Lit) Harris, A. (2006)

... project-related knowledge (Lit + INT) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006), E, J

... possibility to *form* children (INT) E, H, I, K

... collective problem-solving skills (Lit) Alisch, M. (2007)

... sense of ownership (children and youth) (Lit) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

... education of the public on the topic of CP (Lit) Wyness, M. (2009)

Unsure about how to involve children at various levels (Lit) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

Lack of awareness of children's language skills (Lit)\* Alisch, M. (2007)

Misunderstandings between stakeholders, adults and children (Lit)\* Alisch, M. (2007)

Use of language that can be confusing for children (Lit) Alisch, M. (2007)

Understanding of children's opinions and interests (Lit)\* Alisch, M. (2007)

---

**Human**

## CHILD PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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... understanding for systematic, structural exclusion

(Lit)\* Zinser, C. (2001)

... knowledge concerning democracy (INT)\* I, K

... consideration of children as the future of a community

(INT)\* J, K

... consideration of children as a necessity to maintain a

healthy community (INT) A, B, C, D, I

### Decreased

... shyness (Lit) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

... anxiety regarding school assessments / tests (Lit)

Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

---

### Increased

... understanding for systematic, structural exclusion

(Lit)\* Zinser, C. (2001)

Children's skeptical attitude towards own participation (Lit) Reitz, S. (2015)

### Political

Lacking adequate (public) institutional arrangements for CP (Lit) Alisch, M. (2007)

---

## CHILD PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

... political commitment (Lit) Harris, A. (2006)

Politicians taking advantage of CP (image-boost) (Lit) Eames-Sheavly, M., S Lekies, K., MacDonald, L., & J Wong, K. (2007); Reitz, S. (2015); Wyness, M. (2009)

... knowledge concerning democracy (INT)\* I, K

...positive attitudes toward nature & the environment

---

**Natural**

(Lit) Clark, A., & Percy-Smith, B. (2006)

---

**Financial**

Financial motivation as only motive to implement CP (Lit) Wyness, M. (2009)

Financial and time constraints as impediments for CP (INT) D

---

**Built**

---

**Cultural**

Low status of children in society leads to low forms of participation (Lit) Betz, T., Gaiser, W., & Pluto, L. (2010)

---