INTERVIEWING CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE FOR RESEARCH

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THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERVIEWING CHILDREN FOR RESEARCH

■ LEARNING OUTCOMES ■

By the end of the chapter the reader should be able to:

- Define what constitutes an interview.
- Assess the difference between interviewing adults and interviewing children.
- Describe the rights of children to participate in research.
- Evaluate the necessity for child-centred approaches.
- Recognise why research with children was historically avoided.
- Critically assess the benefits of using interviews with children and young people as a research method.

INTRODUCTION

Involving children in research is a fairly modern endeavour and more recently children's rights to participate in research have been increasingly recognised. This has led to a greater encouragement to include children's voices through research. However, researchers who are new to doing research with children may find it quite daunting, especially if undertaking qualitative research interviews without much experience of either conducting interviews or of doing research with children. Undertaking research interviews with children and young people can be challenging for several reasons, including varying chronological ages, developmental abilities and expectations of the research. This introductory chapter outlines various issues, many of which are explored in greater depth later in the book. This chapter introduces you to the reasons why interviewing children is so important and we benchmark this against the issues of the child's position in society, child-centred practices and children's rights. We introduce you to the notion of child-centred research and the significance of this for interview research. We contextualise this against a discussion of the position of children in society and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. We

conclude the chapter by providing the benefits and limitations of interviewing children and young people to demonstrate the usefulness of the method.

DEFINING AN INTERVIEW

Intuitively most people have some sense of what an interview is like and some of you may have been interviewed in some context, such as for a job or market research. An interview is considered to be a conversation between two or more people, where one party (the interviewer) asks particular questions to elicit responses from the other (the interviewee). There are many different types of interview – consider some examples listed below:

- Job or careers interview
- News interview
- Market research interview
- Health interview
- Psychiatric or clinical diagnostic interview
- Police interrogation interview
- Chat show interview
- Qualitative or quantitative research interview.

Clearly the type of interview we are focusing on in this book is the research interview, with a key focus on interviewing children. However, reflecting on your general knowledge about how interviews work is a useful starting point for any research project. In the research context an interview will be more personal than a questionnaire as the interviewer always works directly with the interviewee and has the opportunity to ask further questions based on the responses given. The common framework for interviewing of any kind is that the interviewer sets an agenda and asks questions, and consenting interviewees provide responses, although the balance of this may be dependent on context and purpose. We provide an example below from our own interview study with children to illustrate what this looks like (see Box 1.1).

━ **Box 1.1** ━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━

Example of research interview

This example is taken from a study with children aged 8–10 years old who had both mental health and educational needs.

Interviewer: Okay. And how were you feeling when you were at school?
Child: Um, okay but upset.
Interviewer: Mmm. Okay, and did you speak to anybody until the day, before the day when you got really upset?
Child: I tried telling mum but mum but I – Mum said something before that she thought it was, um, oh what's it called? Umm [Pause] trying to be noticed.

It is clear from this example that the interview follows a traditional format whereby the interviewer asks the child a question, and the child provides an answer. Notice that the interviewer then follows up the child's answer by latching the next question to the response previously given by the child.

INTERVIEWING ADULTS AND INTERVIEWING CHILDREN

Historically, interviewing children and their families was mostly avoided as there was a general belief that children and young people did not have the social competence to recall credible accounts of their experiences (Fraser et al., 2014). Furthermore, because of the potential complexity of interviewing younger participants some researchers felt uncomfortable as they lacked the necessary skills to engage children and young people in an interview. Over the last few decades however, there has been a growing interest in treating children as a distinctive population that warrants some inquiry in their own right. Initially, child research focused on children's development and their abilities, but this gradually received criticisms for treating children as objects to study.

Contemporary research has an emphasis on doing research *with* children, treating them as agentive subjects in the process and this perspective has led to interviews with children and young people becoming more commonplace (O'Reilly et al., 2013a). This is in part due to changing attitudes regarding children and childhood, and a greater emphasis being placed on child-centred attitudes and children's rights. The objective of this type of research is to include children's voices in decisions that impact on them and their environment.

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

Respecting children's rights is a fundamental attitude in most modern societies. There is now a greater emphasis on recognising children as active participants in their own decision making and this is reflected in a recent report by National Voices (2015). Notably, this new discourse of children's rights is juxtaposed against a pre-existing culture of paternalism towards children that still infiltrates all levels of society and causes tensions between realising children's rights in practice and protecting them from harm. Consequently, the debates around children's rights and voices in practice is nuanced, and also contested in typically subtle ways.

The conceptualisation of children's rights was first recognised internationally by the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1924) when it was adopted by the League of Nations. In 1989, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted and has since been ratified by 195 countries (UN, 1989). The Convention has 54 articles that cover all aspects of a child's life and set out the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights that all children everywhere are entitled to. It also explains how adults

and governments must work together to make sure all children can enjoy all their rights. In 1989, all governments across the world but two promised all children the same rights by adopting the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (aka the CRC or UNCRC). The Convention changed the way children are viewed and treated – in other words, as human beings with a distinct set of rights instead of as passive objects of care and charity.

Four of the 54 articles are known as overarching general principles. These are:

- **Non-discrimination (Article 2):** The Convention applies to all children whatever their ethnicity, gender, religion, language, abilities, whatever they think or say, no matter what type of family they come from, whatever their circumstances.

> For example… A child in care has the same right to an education as a child who lives with his/her parents.

- **Best interest of the child (Article 3):** A child's best interests must be a top priority in all decisions and actions that affect children. All adults should do what is best for children and should think about how their decisions will affect children. Determining what is in children's best interests should take into account children's own views and feelings.

> For example… Children in hospital may need lifesaving treatment, and they should be consulted about the process of the treatment.

- **Right to life, survival and development (Article 6):** Children have the right to life and governments must do all they can to ensure children survive and develop to their fullest potential. The right to life and survival guarantees the most basic needs such as nutrition, shelter or access to healthcare. Development – physical, emotional, educational, social and spiritual – is the goal of many of the rights in the Convention.

> For example… The right to education, access to information, freedom of thought or right to play.

- **Right to be heard (Article 12):** Every child has the right to express their views, feelings and wishes in all matters affecting them, and to have their views considered and taken seriously. This principle recognises children as actors in their own lives and applies at all times, throughout childhood.

> For example… In the research context all children have a right to participate in research and express their views of a subject matter if they choose to. This is regardless of their abilities, age, social circumstances, race, gender, etc.

> Important point: It is important that you respect the rights of the children to participate in your research project and allow them to participate on their terms.

An important article in this convention for researchers was Article 12, which proposed that children and young people have the right to be engaged in decision making and should have their views respected, and Article 13 which stated that children have the right to freedom of expression.

Before you go any further with the chapter we suggest that you try the activity in Box 1.2 so that you can reflect on the nature of children's rights.

■■ **Box 1.2** ■■

Activity on children's rights

Aside from the four overarching rights we have discussed, what civil, political, cultural, social and economic rights do you think children should have in research? What might the challenges be of ensuring those rights are realised in practice in an interview-based study with children? You may find looking at the UNCRC on the UNICEF website helpful in developing your answers: http://www.unicef.org.uk/Documents/Publicationpdfs/ UNCRC_PRESS200910web.pdf.

It is challenging to consider the exact nature of the rights children hold in research as the researcher has to balance including them in the interview and allowing them some agency in directing the trajectory of the interview, against protecting them from possible psychological or physical harm and promoting their best interests. Historically some groups of more vulnerable children have been excluded from research as it was deemed necessary to protect them, but by taking such a position this has excluded their voices and removed participation rights from them. Some examples of groups considered most vulnerable and thus the most likely to be excluded historically (although note that some of these groups have been researched more than others) include:

- Children with physical disabilities or with chronic illness.
- Children with mental health problems or severe mental illness (and in inpatient care).
- Children with speech, language and communication problems and with learning disabilities.
- Children suffering from a terminal illness or young carers caring for parents with chronic or terminal illness.
- Children from ethnic minority groups, including refugees or asylum seekers.
- Children living in poverty or who are homeless.
- Children looked after by the State (in foster care, children's homes or adopted).
- Young offenders and those in young offending institutions.
- Children excluded from school, or at risk of exclusion.
- Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children.
- Teenage parents.
- Children who have been victims of crime or abuse or from families where there was domestic violence.

In contemporary research it is recognised that it is important to sensitively undertake research with these groups and it is, therefore, important not to discriminate against any group of children and to respect their decisions to participate or decline participation in the research. It is through your interview research that different children's voices can be heard. It is arguable that children should at least have the right to consider participating in your interview, even if they require the assistance of a parent or guardian in making that decision.

CHILD-CENTRED APPROACHES

Doing research interviews with children and including young populations in research is part of a broader framework of child-centredness. In most areas of practice in the modern world, those who work with children are guided to practice in a child-centred way and this is also true for researchers. There is no universal definition currently of child-centred practice as this is culturally contextual, but it should be understood as part of the broader discourse of the rights of the child. In other words, in order for society to ensure that children's rights are being recognised and implemented there needs to be directives to ensure that institutions and individuals are adopting a child-centred way of working (UNICEF, n.d.).

Important point: Working and researching in a child-centred way is a truly global initiative, as 195 countries have promised to adopt the UNCRC. This means that research nationally and internationally should respect the child's perspectives.

Making sure that you consider child-centred practice as central to your interviewing of children can be challenging as this is influenced by many factors. The essential tenet of a child-centred interview is to make sure that the children are involved in any decisions that affect them, both in terms of promoting their participation in the interview if they desire it, and in terms of allowing them to lead and develop the research and interview agenda. It is essential that children's viewpoints are represented (Söderback et al., 2011) and respected (Flewitt, 2014), as typically children's best interests have been reflected from an adult perspective (Lansdown, 2000). Despite the enthusiasm in the research community to research in a child-centred way it is easy to slip into more adult-centric ways of interviewing and care needs to be taken. To be child-centred you need to actively consider the role of the child and we provide you with some tips in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1   Tips to be child-centred

Tip	Description
Reflect	Reflect on perspectives about the place of children as this may influence how hard you need to work to ensure that your approaches and behaviours are child-centred.
Certainty	Be certain that the child is willing to participate.
Give information	Inform the child of what is expected and find out what they expect from you.
Focus	Focus your interview on the child.
Control	Offer the child some control over the interview and also offer the child some control over the recording device.
Questions	Provide an opportunity for the child to ask you questions.
Language	Use child-friendly language.

YOUR OWN POSITION ON CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD

Before we start considering the ways in which children have been positioned within society we recommend you start with the activity in Box 1.3. This is useful as it encourages you to think about what you think about children and how this might influence the way you conduct your interviews.

■ Box 1.3 ■

Activity on positioning children

Before you read any further we suggest that you make some attempt to write down what you think about children's position in society.

- Do you think they have rights?
- Do you think those rights have limits?
- Do you think they need to be protected?
- Do you feel they are born innocent and are shaped by their environment?

Just a short general list of points will be sufficient.

The very notions of children and childhood are non-specific and developmentally relate to a range of chronological years typically referring to the period between infancy and adulthood. Arguably childhood is a sociological construct as opposed to being a natural one and over time, our understanding of it has changed considerably. This is because any understanding we have of children and childhood is culturally, politically and historically influenced, and therefore it is useful to consider childhood as a dynamic process. In other words, the ways in which children are viewed and understood will change as the perspectives of society change. Nonetheless, the way in which we view children is important as this has an influence on how they are treated and prioritised by organisations, politicians, policy developers and society. Furthermore, this will also influence how children are viewed and treated in research by us as researchers and by other stakeholders.

In research terms therefore, when beginning your interview project, it is important that you plan carefully, choose a relevant topic, develop a research question, and consider the relevance of theory. Qualitative research specifically requires careful consideration of the research question as this drives the project (see Chapter 2). This is important as the research question reflects the theoretical stance of the researcher and helps to inform choice of methodology and method. This will determine whether interviews are an appropriate data collection tool to address your question. In other words, you need to address your epistemological position, and most specifically your theoretical understanding of children.

Epistemology is a concept that is widely discussed in methods books and we do not want to go into much detail here as you can read about this in many other places (O'Reilly and Kiyimba, 2015; Silverman, 2013). However, what we are referring to in this section is how your world view influences the way you see children and the way you work with them. This relates to your epistemological position, that is, how you can know what you know; it refers to the relationship between you as the researcher and the nature of the knowledge produced by the research. So in other words, the way in which you view children will influence the way in which you go about seeking knowledge about their lives. Thus, your epistemological position will shape the project and therefore it is helpful to be reflexive about your views of children and childhood from early on in your interview research.

The concept of children and childhood in relation to chronological age and developmental age are not universal, and defining childhood and its relative components is dependent upon the changing values, definitions and expectations of any given society. In the contemporary western world children are now considered in terms of social equality and social order, and have been categorised according to their age. As mentioned earlier in the chapter this notion of social equality has led to the idea that children are entitled to socio-cultural and moral rights. Thus, children belong to a group in society with rights and are worthy of moral consideration (Paul, 2007). However, conversely, children are still viewed as in need of protection from a range of social, psychological and physical harms and despite the rights-based framework are still restricted in terms of practising their citizenship. For example, children in most western cultures cannot:

- Vote
- Drive
- Engage in sexual intercourse
- Smoke
- Drink alcohol
- Get married

These activities are restricted until a particular age and vary according to country.

The tension in views of children and childhood, and arguments regarding children's rights inevitably will have an effect on the way in which you carry out your research. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, research involving children tended to be avoided in the past, and when new ideas emerged it was the case that researchers conducted their research *on* children. However, as we have already noted, modern research now considers this a collaborative endeavour, and as we noted earlier, research *with* children is more standard. Notably, this transition from doing research on children, to doing research with children, began toward the latter end of the twentieth century, which marked a period of including children in research design, consulting children on issues that matter to their lives and engaging children more directly in research planning. However, importantly this was also a period that marked a greater concern with protecting children in research. This period saw a tightening of ethical protocols and stricter guidelines in how children should be treated in research (we return to this issue later in Chapter 8).

When you engage children in your interview research therefore, it is important that you are reflexively aware of how you view children and childhood. This is because your views have potential to shape and direct your interviews. It will be important that you engage in the children's cultures so as to represent their views as accurately as possible and do some work to manage the inherent power relationship that exists (Holt, 2004). There are many different ways in which you might view children and the common ways of conceptualising them was offered by Alderson (2005) which we outline in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Views of children and childhood (Alderson, 2005)

Views of children

1. The child as innocent and needing protection.
2. The child as criminal and needing control.
3. The child as ignorant and requiring education.
4. The child as disabled and a victim of a rejecting society.
5. The child as deprived or disadvantaged and needing resources.
6. The child as resourceful.
7. The child as excluded and needing special opportunities.

These different positions on children and childhood have complicated the research picture in terms of how researchers should approach and engage children in interviews. From these positions three key ideas to researching children have emerged and these were described by Punch (2002):

• when researchers interview children they should use the same methods and approaches as interviewing adults.
• children are different from adults and therefore require a different style and method to engage them.
• children are similar to adults but have different competences and therefore the typical adult strategies require some modification and adaptation to be effective.

To help you think about this further we provide a vignette exercise in Box 1.4. We suggest you look at this now.

━━ **Box 1.4** ━━

Vignette – Adam

Adam is training to be a teacher and is specialising in arts and crafts. He plans to teach young children aged between 4 and 11 years old. As part of his training course he is required to undertake a small scale research project with children and he has decided to interview six children aged 5 years old about their opinions of art in school. He thinks that children should help shape the curriculum and that their views are

(Continued)

(Continued)

important to the methods used to teach them arts and crafts. He therefore thinks their opinions are very important to teaching delivery.

- What position on children and childhood does Adam seem to have?

Take a few moments to write down what you think Adam's perspective is on children. Does he take a paternalistic view of protecting children or a rights-based view?

For a response to this question please refer to the answer pages at the end of the book. There we provide some suggestions about Adam's perspective on children.

BENEFITS OF INTERVIEWING CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Arguably interviewing children and young people can yield a great deal of rich and interesting information. There are many benefits to using interviews as a data collection technique with children and young people. Indeed, this form of data collection has been very popular with researchers and the number of research studies that report on interview data with children of all ages has increased. This literature has proven important in a range of areas including health, education, social care, social policy and so forth and has had some impact in terms of how we view children and childhood.

Thus in terms of using interviews with children and young people for your own project you might want to consider how and why they are a useful form of data collection.

- Interviews are a flexible method of data collection and there are various different types of interview you can undertake. They are flexible in the sense that you are able to decide which questions you ask, what order you ask those questions in, which lines of inquiry you pursue in more detail, and you can change the wording of the questions to suit the individual child or young person.
- Interviews provide data that is rich and interesting. The data obtained has depth and allows you to explore things in more detail than quantitative methods (such as questionnaires) might allow. The use of interviews allows you to probe further into areas of interest and you can prompt children to expand on their answers.

> For example… You may be interviewing children across a wide age range. While your research agenda and topic may remain the same, the nature of the questions may need to change to reflect the developmental and chronological age of each child interviewed.

For example… A questionnaire might ask children about their weight and exercise. It might ask the child how many times per week they engage in sporting activities, to which a child may reply '0'. However, if interviewing the child, you may find out that the child had experienced significant bullying during sporting activities in school and thus steps had been taken to ameliorate this by allowing the child to abstain from sports. Alternatively, you might find out that the child has a particular disability which prevents him/her from participating. Alternatively, you may find that the child takes dancing classes on a weekend but does not see that as exercise and therefore misinterpreted the question. By interviewing the child, you can establish that the child does not play sport, the reasons for that and also find out how the child feels about it. The data is likely to be richer than if obtained through a written questionnaire.

- Interviewing as a technique provides you with a means to engage the child directly and gives you some opportunities to check that the child has understood the question. Interviews give you the flexibility to build a rapport with the child and follow-up interesting or important issues that the child raises during the interview. This will also be relevant if the topic is sensitive or difficult.

- The use of interviews with children provides an opportunity (if needed) to explore more sensitive issues and topics with the child as they provide a context whereby these issues can be carefully managed. The interaction between researcher and child means that the interviewer can be sensitive to verbal and non-verbal cues from the child for any distress or anger.

For example… If you are interviewing children and young people about their feelings and experiences of being in a family where there is domestic violence, then you can be sensitive to their body language and any distress. This means you can phrase your questions carefully, ensure that they have the opportunity not to answer any questions they find too difficult, and provide them with a safe space to express their views.

For example… You may be interviewing children about their relationships with their friends and a child may talk about the fact that he thinks he has not got any friends and is lonely. This might be something you had not considered in your interview schedule, but because of the rapport you have built with the child the topic may be appropriate to pursue if the child is comfortable with doing so.

CRITIQUES OF THE INTERVIEW METHOD

Although you may have chosen to conduct interviews with children and young people for your project, it is important to be aware of the limitations of this method of data collection. If you are writing up your research for a proposal, thesis, dissertation or even a journal article, you will need a rationale for your choices and an awareness of the limitations of your research. Often the use of interviewing as a technique, particularly in qualitative approaches, is taken-for-granted and interviews are especially popular. Problematically,

the idea that an interviewee can 'tell it like it is', that he or she is the incontrovertible expert on his or her own experiences, that respondents are transparent to themselves, still remains the unchallenged starting point for most of this qualitative, interview-based research. (Hollway and Jefferson, 2008: 298)

There are several limitations to interviewing and some of these can be overcome with some effort from you and others are inherent to the method. We begin with those that you have some control over.

- The interview context can be quite a formal situation for some children and younger children particularly may be anxious about participating.

You can play an important role in helping to overcome this limitation. You will need to be sure that the children are well aware of what the interview will entail and what to expect. You will also need to spend some time getting to know your participants and building rapport. In practice this means that some of the time you have with the child will need to be spent on the two of you getting to know one another. You can tell the child about yourself, who you are, where you are from and so on but ensuring you share only age and context appropriate information. You can ask the child simple questions about their favourite colour, what school subjects they like, about their pets and so on. This will help the child to feel more relaxed. We return to this issue again later in the book.

- Interviews may not be the most suitable mode of inquiry for children or young people who find verbal communication difficult.

This will partly depend on the topic you are exploring and which children you include to be interviewed. If it is just one child with communication difficulties, then you may want to adapt the interview to suit. If all children have communication difficulties, then you may want to think of ways to do text-based interviews or use a different method. Alternatively, you may need an interpreter or someone who speaks sign language for example.

- It may be the case that you have little experience conversing with children or little training in this respect. Additionally, even if you have experience with children you may have little experience of research interviewing and this particular modality of communication.

The planning stage of your research will be essential in overcoming this limitation if this is the case. You will want your interview to be as relaxed and natural as possible so practice talking with children in other contexts where possible. One option is to do some volunteer work with children or meet up with friends who have children of their own. Remember it is easy to slip into using adult-centred language and you need to make the interview child-friendly.

- Some children will be reluctant to share their experiences with you or may be too shy to open up.

You need to ascertain whether the child truly wants to participate or not, and provide them with the opportunity to withdraw in case this is their preference. There are different ways of ensuring this, for example, if possible you can check with the parents/guardian and make sure that they have consulted with the child (they know them best), you can ask them directly, you can look for signs that they are uncomfortable, distressed, or reluctant to answer questions, or offer them the opportunity to stop at fairly regular intervals.

However, if you are certain that the child is happy to participate then there are things you can do to encourage them to feel more relaxed. While these will be discussed later in the book (see Chapter 6), you may want to use arts and crafts or toys to help them to feel more relaxed. You can also spend time getting to know the child and reschedule the interview for another day, giving the child an opportunity to get to know you a bit better first (if time permits).

Of course there are some limitations that are inherent to the method itself and difficult to counter through active strategies. This relates mostly to the theoretical assumptions of the research. Thus there have been challenges to the taken-for-granted assumption that qualitative interviews should be the first choice of method (Potter and Hepburn, 2005). The data collection method of interviewing should be congruent with your own theoretical assumptions (as we mentioned earlier in the chapter). However, quite often researchers fail to make clear the relationship between their method of data collection and their underpinning framework and this can result in their interview being treated as a generic research tool (Wimpenny and Gass, 2000).

Potentially problematically, it is the researcher that sets the agenda and directs the conversation (Brinkman and Kvale, 2005) and it is therefore necessary to consider the role of the researcher in the production of the data (Potter, 2002). In other words, it is you as the interviewer who will shape and direct the interview and it is you that will determine what gets asked and

> Important point: It is important to remember that interviews are not neutral tools for gathering data; rather they are active interactions (Fontana and Frey, 2003).

what does not. It is necessary to remember this as you develop your project and to consider the ways in which the questions you ask shape the responses you get. Thus the methodological perspective that is guiding the interview will have an impact on the questions that are addressed, the nature of the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, and the ways in which the questions are delivered (O'Reilly and Kiyimba, 2015).

SUMMARY

From reading this chapter you should now be able to appreciate that there is value in conducting interviews with children and young people. We have illustrated that the interview method allows the researcher to explore in depth the interests, opinions, views, experiences and feelings of children and young people which can have an impact in many different disciplines. We have demonstrated that there are some important issues to account for when thinking about engaging children in interviews. We have shown that contemporary views on children and childhood, discussions of children's rights, and the concept of child-centredness play an

important role in how research is shaped and how your interview is conducted. We have encouraged you to reflect on your own views and positions, and given you some useful information to consider. We concluded the chapter with a more critical discussion of the general benefits and limitations of the method as a benchmark to consider as you progress through the book.

RECOMMENDED READING

Qualitative research generally

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., McNaughton-Nicholls, C. and Ormston, R. (eds) (2014) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers.* London: Sage.

Silverman, D. (2013) *Doing Qualitative Research* (4th edn). London: Sage.

Research with children generally

Clark, A., Flewitt, R., Hammersley, M. and Robb, M. (eds) (2014) *Understanding Research with Children and Young People.* London: Sage.

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O'Reilly, M., Ronzoni, P. and Dogra, N. (2013) *Research with Children: Theory and Practice.* London: Sage.

Interviewing

Flewitt, R. (2014) 'Interviews', in A. Clark, R. Flewitt, M. Hammersley and M. Robb (eds), *Understanding Research with Children and Young People.* London: Sage. pp. 136–153.

Potter, J. and Hepburn, A. (2005) 'Qualitative interviews in psychology: Problems and possibilities', *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 2: 1–27.

Understanding theory

O'Reilly, M. and Kiyimba, N. (2015) *Advanced Qualitative Research: A Guide to Contemporary Theoretical Debates.* London: Sage.

Ravitch, S. and Riggan, M. (2012) *Reason and Rigour: How Conceptual Frameworks Guide Research.* California: Sage.