



the deafening silence

discussing children's drawings for understanding
and addressing marginalization

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ABSTRACT

Researchers who deal with inclusive education have made great efforts to listen to the voices of children in order to understand marginalization. Despite the fact that these efforts take place, the voices of many children fail to be heard and hence many children continue to be marginalized. In this article we will develop and implement a technique in order to understand and address marginalization. We will develop a technique that uses children's drawings and a simultaneous talk with children to reveal voices of marginalization. We first define the technique by presenting its theoretical background and then illustrate how the method has been used. Using evidence from a school in Cyprus, we demonstrate how children's drawings and simultaneous discussion with the creator of the drawing can help us develop a richer understanding of marginalization.

KEYWORDS Cyprus education, early childhood drawings, inclusion, marginalization

'... what children say about teaching, learning and schooling is not only worth listening to but provides an important – perhaps the most important- foundation for thinking about ways of improving schools'

(Rudduck et al., 1996: 1)

dots, dots, dots!

Narrated by A.M.

It was a Wednesday morning in a class with 22 five-year-old children. It was time for free activities and children were sitting around circular tables in groups of four or five. Some of them played table games and the rest drew with colour pencils. George

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was drawing and seemed absorbed in what he was doing. At some point the teacher passed by his desk and she looked at his drawing. 'You are drawing dots! Do you only know how to make dots? Do something sensible so that we can understand it!' 'You don't know what I'm doing', George answered angrily and without looking at his teacher he bent his head sadly towards the floor. The teacher turned towards me and told me: 'From the time he came to our school he only draws lines and makes dots.'

Given my effort to develop a technique for discussing children's drawings in order to locate children who experience marginalization, this episode urged me to observe George more closely and to discuss his drawings with him. Little by little, I managed to develop a good relationship with him. It was a relationship of trust and friendship. Very often he told me that his classmates made fun of him because he drew dots. As time passed he began to talk to me about his 'dots'. Initially he told me: 'This is a broken road' and he showed the circular lines he had drawn on the paper. 'It is

drawing 1 (George) 'The rain breaks the road and goes to the sea'



a road that goes far away, but I broke it' were his next comments. Later I found out that this endless road goes to Paphos (the western-most town of Cyprus). He wanted to break it because on this road, every day, very early in the morning, his father and his older brothers were going to work (from Nicosia where they lived) and coming back late in the evening when George was sleeping. So he did not see them. 'I don't want to sleep so as to see them, but every night I fall asleep and I cannot see them', he told me.

In recent years many researchers in their efforts to improve schools have reached the conclusion that if we are really interested in improving schools then the voices of children who attend those schools should be heard and be taken seriously into account in the discussions for change in education (e.g. Ainscow et al., 1999; Cooper, 1993; Nieto, 1994; Qvortrup, 1994; Rudduck et al., 1996; Wallace, 1996). Now, more specifically, researchers who deal with inclusive education have made many attempts to listen to children's voices in order to spot children who experience marginalization (Messiou, 2002; Rose and Shevlin, 2004). Some of them use particular techniques in order to bring children's voices to the surface for the purpose of locating students who are marginalized (e.g. Ainscow et al., 1999; Allan, 1999; Lewis, 1995; Messiou, 2002, 2006). Despite these efforts it seems that the voices of children do not always come to the surface and consequently many children remain marginalized.

In this article we will try to develop and implement a research programme for understanding and addressing the issue of marginalization. As we have seen in the above vignette, the child's drawing encoded what the student wanted to express. Therefore, we will develop a technique that uses children's drawing and a simultaneous discussion with the creator to try to reveal voices of marginalization. The research question that will guide our investigation is: to what degree can the discussion of a child's drawing bring to the surface voices of marginalization and exclusion?

In what follows we will first discuss the notion of marginalization as we use it in this study and then we will relate it to drawing as a technique for understanding the experience of marginalization. After that, we will present the methodology we followed and then we will develop the cases of four children which demonstrate that the discussion of a child's drawing can help us understand the experience of marginalization.

marginalization and children's drawings

The attempt to define marginalization is a difficult enterprise. In the effort to define something, we create limits and therefore margins. The same happens with marginalization.

In the different social groups those who don't follow the rules of those groups are usually considered to be in the margin or are marginalized. Marginalization

is the act of excluding or ignoring somebody by relegating him/her to the outer edge of a group. Furthermore, marginalization as a term is related to 'othering' as it is approached by post-colonial and feminist studies (e.g. Cahoon, 1996; Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996; Landry and MacLean, 1996; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1987). According to such studies, othering is a way of defining and securing one's own positive identity through the stigmatization of an 'other'. Whatever the markers of social differentiation that shape the meaning of 'us' and 'them', whether they are racial, geographic, ethnic, economic or ideological, there is always the danger that they will become the basis for a self-affirmation that depends upon the denigration of the other group.

According to Dickie-Clark (1966) the marginal situations in the literature are often clearly hierarchical or can be thought of in hierarchical terms. The very notion of 'marginal', Dickie-Clark continues, suggests 'limits or boundaries of some kind as well as the juxtaposition of entities' (p. 28). Generally, though, the definition of marginalization seems to be difficult and very complex. In this article, we use marginalization as that marginal position where a child is marginalized academically (in relation to teaching and participation in the classroom and the curriculum) or socially (in relation to the friendships the child develops and generally with his/her relationships with other children).

Children's drawings have been used by different researchers who aimed at developing a better understanding of children's development, the ways they learn and the ways they construct meanings (Anning and Ring, 2004; Golumb, 1974; Malchiodi, 1998; Matthews, 1999). Pahl (1999) considers children's drawings as one of the different languages that children use in order to 'talk' to the rest or even to themselves about whatever happens in their world. Matthews (1999) and Malchiodi (1998) point out that through drawings children represent their activities, emotions and ideas, as well as their different experiences. In addition, the same authors argue that through drawings children can 'narrate' very complex stories. However, in the literature there is a critique for the work of Malchiodi (1998); for instance, she is criticized in terms of the danger of projecting meaning to the drawings of children from an adult perspective.

Based on the above, therefore, and given that drawings can function as a means of communication for children, in this article we will try to use them, in combination with a discussion about the drawings with their creators, in order to understand and address the experience of marginalization.

methodology

For this research we used qualitative research methods (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Robson, 2002). The research took place in a pre-primary school class with 22 five-year-old children. The particular class was selected because the head-teacher of the school, as well as the teacher of the class, were eager to participate

in this research. We visited the school twice a week for four months and worked *with* teachers and students in order to implement the proposing technique.

first phase

The first phase of this research was a stage of orientation in the school for both researchers who participated and observed the activities of the school. Our aim was to get to know the participants and to develop friendly relationships with children and the school staff. During this stage we had 'unofficial' talks with children, the class-teacher and with other staff.

second phase

In the second phase the researchers began working with children in order to understand marginalization better. During the first two weeks we asked children to draw whatever they wanted, children could also select the material they would use (colour pencils, markers, water paint, etc.). The children were in groups of five or six. For the next two weeks children were given a subject for drawing entitled 'the break'. Children could sketch whatever activities they did during break or whatever came to mind when they heard the word 'break'. We selected this topic because we believed that via it children could express their emotions relating to break time, and the children who experienced exclusion and marginalization could show what they felt during breaks through their drawings. During the period that children drew we encouraged them and tried to boost their self-confidence, without, though, intervening in any way in their drawings (i.e. selection of colours, shapes, etc.).

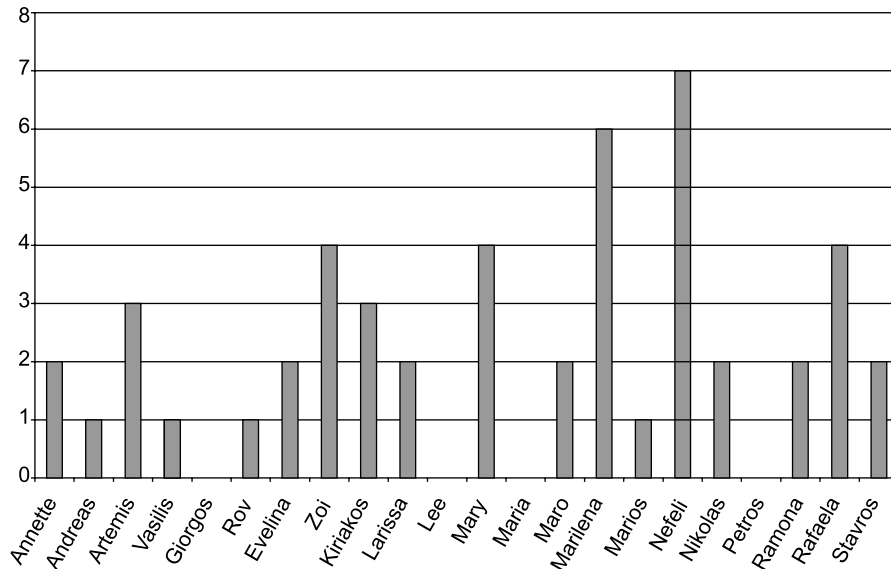
Then we discussed the drawings with the children. In the middle of the group there was a tape recorder which recorded all the conversations between researchers and children. When we wanted to discuss something individually with a child we invited her/him to a separate desk, near to the group, where again we tape-recorded the discussion (Mishler, 1996). Moreover, we kept notes recording any information we considered significant for the procedure of our research (Delamont, 1992).

We would begin our discussion with the children about their drawings with a basic question. We were careful to avoid the question 'what have you drawn', because Malchiodi (1998) argues that we should be careful when we face children's drawings and we should pay particular attention to the sort of questions we ask and to the way we frame them. She notes, in particular, that asking 'why' they had drawn a particular element in their drawing is useless because most children have difficulties explaining why they did something and their usual response to such a question is either 'I don't know' or silence. Malchiodi's suggestion is to describe what is in the drawing. We could refer to the different elements of a

drawing, for example, saying: I can see a man who is looking out of a window, I can see a big circle with blue lines on it, etc. After referring to these elements we then wait for the response of the child. Malchiodi also notes that most of the time children will add further information about their drawing, especially if we omit a detail that they consider important. After that, Malchiodi continues, we can think aloud about the different elements of the drawing (i.e. what is this man thinking about when he looks out of the window?). By showing our interest with open questions we give children the chance to explain the different elements of their drawing from their point of view. The researcher, Malchiodi concludes, can use different techniques according to his/her personal style, such as techniques that are based on problem solving, cognitive, or even behavioural approaches. In our case, we mostly chose the first technique, namely, the description of the elements of the drawing, asking children to comment upon them. Before and during these discussions we always tried to convey the message that what the children drew was important, that we respected them and that they were unique. We discussed the emerging findings from the discussions of children's drawings with the class-teacher in order to hear her views as well.

At the same time, we conducted short interviews with all children. We asked them to name three classmates that they either wanted to play with or who they already played with in the school, we also asked them to justify their answers. After reviewing their answers we developed Figure 1 (see Moreno, 1978).

figure 1 Sociogram of the class



These data were also used as another source for understanding marginalization better. After this, based on the above data and also on our previous observations, we focused our attention on the groups that children made during breaks in order to collect further data. In this phase we interviewed all children, discussing the problems they faced in school and the messages they wanted to send to the headteacher and to their teachers. All children were interviewed because we bore in mind Ainscow's (2000) argument which states that if research is focused only on selected children then the researcher limits his/her agenda.

Interviews with children were a methodological problem that we resolved following the advice of other researchers who had used children's interviews (e.g. Armstrong, 1995; Hopkins, 1993; Pollard, 1996). The first priority for the researchers was to gain the acceptance of children as someone to whom they could talk. Before each interview it was made clear to the children that the interviews were voluntary and that they had the right to terminate them at any time, or to refuse to answer any of the questions. Furthermore, during this phase we interviewed the class teacher and the head of the school, discussing with them the themes that arose regarding children that might have experienced marginalization and also ways that might help them provide more inclusive education.

third phase

Despite the fact that data analysis began from the first day of data collection (Miles and Huberman, 1994), in this phase the data were analysed with the purpose of further focusing on children that might experience marginalization. Through this analysis we spotted six children that seemed to be marginalized.

fourth phase

During this phase we focused our attention on those children whose drawings and comments about themselves indicated that they may experience marginalization. We made a group in the class with these children and for three weeks implemented the proposed method in the same way as we had done in the second phase (see Table 1). Children were free to draw whatever they wanted.

fifth phase

In the fifth phase we analysed our data. We examined our findings, first regarding children who were considered as marginalized and then regarding the reasons that had led us to draw our respective conclusions. We then developed the cases of the children identified as being marginalized.

Our sample, of course, was very limited. Our purpose was not to establish grand theories about marginalization or exclusion nor to formulate predictions

table 1 research phases

1st phase	2 weeks	Participant observation
2nd phase	6 weeks	Children's drawings and discussions <i>83 drawings and 14 hours of discussions</i> <i>(including the interviews with the teacher of the class)</i> + Observations-interviews with children and teachers <i>12 observations and three hours of interviews</i>
3rd phase	1 week	Analysis
4th phase	3 weeks	Children's drawings and discussions Focus on six children <i>31 drawings and four hours of discussions</i>
5th phase		Analysis

across people, time and contexts regarding such issues, but to develop a richer understanding and address marginalization. We considered ourselves as interpreters in the field who observed the workings of the cases, recorded what was happening but simultaneously examined the meanings of the cases, trying to refine or substantiate them (Stake, 1995). The meanings of the cases are a result of a constant negotiation among the researchers, the participants and the setting.

Doing this sort of research we were inevitably the primary data-collection instrument. The human as instrument, according to Lincoln (1985a), is not perfect but infinitely adaptable, and because qualitative researchers deal with multiple realities they require, above all, as she emphasizes, an instrument:

capable of recognizing, sorting, and honouring those multiple realities, one that is capable ... of assessing the role of that meaning in shaping human behaviour ... the human instrument is capable of identifying, taking into account, coping with and ... – unlike computers and paper-and-pencil tests – is capable of understanding the role of the irrational as powerful emotive device. Because human behaviour is rarely rational, the perfect instrument is one that acts in sympathy with the emotional, nonrational, spiritual, and affiliational renderings of its respondents. (p. 142)

Being the only instrument of inquiry, subjectivity is an obvious factor. Lincoln (1985b) argues that in carrying out naturalistic inquiry (or qualitative research) it is impossible to be neutral or objective about your investigations, your experiments, your methods, or your rational processes. We did not, therefore, try to deny our subjectivity. In addition, we were always open to different possibilities by continually seeking alternative explanations of our interpretations. We tried to examine each drawing and each emerging theme from different angles, different perspectives and different points of view for the purpose of developing a richer understanding of it.

marginalization through children's drawings

The technique developed in this study seemed to be effective for understanding and addressing marginalization better. Using this technique we located four children who were considered to be marginalized. Below we present summaries of the cases of those children, using some of their drawings in order to substantiate our arguments. The selection of the drawings was based on choosing those that would allow the reader to understand our arguments most clearly. These children were three boys and one girl who we will refer to under the pseudonyms George, Peter, Lee and Maria.

the case of George

George was a five-year-old boy with dark hair. He came to Cyprus from Russia when he was two years old and he was the youngest child in his family. He was 15 years younger than his brothers. His brothers were all working adults. They worked in another district, as we have mentioned in the initial vignette, which seemed to cause George to draw that big road (dots), which he had severed in his drawings. Through his drawings (i.e. drawings 1 and 2) and the discussions we had about them, George seemed to express indicators of marginalization. His teacher, but also his classmates, considered his drawings to be merely random dots and they were never put on the board. However, it appeared that these drawings had meanings for him and expressed his personal problems. On the other hand, through the discussion stimulated by his drawings, it appeared that George was marginalized at the school, he did not have any friends and the other children did not want his company. As he characteristically pointed out: 'the rest don't play with me'. In discussing drawing No. 2 with him he talked about himself and said that he is 'naughty'. When he was asked 'why' he answered that 'they all say it' and added that everyday he was punished by the teacher, being made to stand in the corner and look at the wall. In the discussion that followed he complained that he was the only one that was punished by the teacher and that many times he was punished without doing anything.

From the data emerging from the discussion around his drawings, George appears to experience marginalization at school. These data seem to be supported by our observations. We found that George was blamed for any mischief that occurred in class, without any inquiry into whether or not he was actually responsible. We often witnessed his classmates calling him 'naughty' simply for drawing dots. In this situation George seemed to be labelled as a naughty child, quite often bothering the other children. He seemed to be defenceless against the exhortations of other children. We believe that the reason underlying his behaviour was that he had tried to temporarily escape his marginal slot and move to the centre of attention.

drawing 2 'A big road that broke down'



When we discussed the story that seemed to be hidden behind George's 'dots' with his teacher, she appeared to be surprised. She pointed out that she had never tried to see George's drawing from his point of view. What she was wanted was for the drawings to be 'nice' in order to put them on the board. And then she asked:

Could George's drawings be put on the board? The dots will create a bad impression for visitors to my class. What will other parents say? What impression will it give of my class and my work?

At the preschool level, Anning and Ring (2004) point out that teachers do not pay much attention to children's drawings. Furthermore, Anning and Ring state that teachers are more interested in children being able to write their names on the drawing rather than in the drawing itself. The criteria as to whether a drawing is 'good' or not depend on whether its content is understood by teachers and whether or not it contains nice colours. This seemed to happen

in George's case. The teacher did not pay the necessary attention to George's drawings because they were not 'good' in the above sense of the word, and her attitude seemed to marginalize the student.

When the discussion with the teacher came to punishments, she highlighted that 'only with punishment can George understand', while to our question as to why she only punishes George, she said that 'when George is in the corner the class is quiet'. These comments, therefore, seem to further support the argument that George experiences marginalization.

the case of Peter

The second case of a student that we considered as being marginalized was that of Peter. Peter usually drew lonely rabbits covering only a small part of the paper. During his first contacts with the researchers he did not talk and did not turn to look at the children of his group when they made a comment about his drawings. Gradually, he began trusting the researchers and made it possible to discuss his drawings. These discussions revealed his emotions regarding the school and his relationships with the other children.

The next two drawings (Nos 3 and 4) belong to Peter and the subject of both is break time. The one researcher's discussion with him and his comments betray elements that support the argument that Peter experienced marginalization at the school.

Here, the one researcher describes the discussion she had with Peter while he was doing drawing No. 3. Peter drew a framework which determined, as he said, the limits of the school yard and then he began drawing lines with yellow colour and to fill-in the paper. 'This is earth', he stated, continuing to be very absorbed in what he was doing and without turning to me. Then, at the left side of the paper he drew a figure that he tried to fill-in with colour, paying particular attention not to go out of his initial framework. After that he chose a brown colour and drew some quick lines at the bottom of the paper.

I tried to involve him in a discussion concerning the elements of his drawing. I began by saying a few things about the 'earth' that he had mentioned while drawing earlier.

Res.: I can see a big yard with a lot of yellow earth.

Peter did not reply but he gestured positively by nodding his head.

Res.: I can also see a heap of brown earth.

Peter: It's not earth. It's a car that comes to school.

Res.: Does it come to pick up a child?

Peter: I don't know, it passes, I don't know.

drawing 3 'The break'



Then I showed him the element at the left hand side of the paper and said:

Res.: What is this thing here thinking about?

Peter: It's a rabbit which is looking at the rest who are playing.

Res.: Why doesn't it play with them?

Peter: It just wants to look.

And after a few seconds he adds, looking at his drawing:

Peter: They don't want it to play with them.

In the next drawing, No. 4, the rabbit is again isolated and plays alone with the yard games because the rest 'do not want it for a friend'. While Peter was drawing we had the following discussion:

Res.: Tell me about your drawing.

Peter: I have drawn a rabbit.

Res.: Why don't you draw more rabbits?

Peter: Because it's alone.

Res.: And why is it alone?

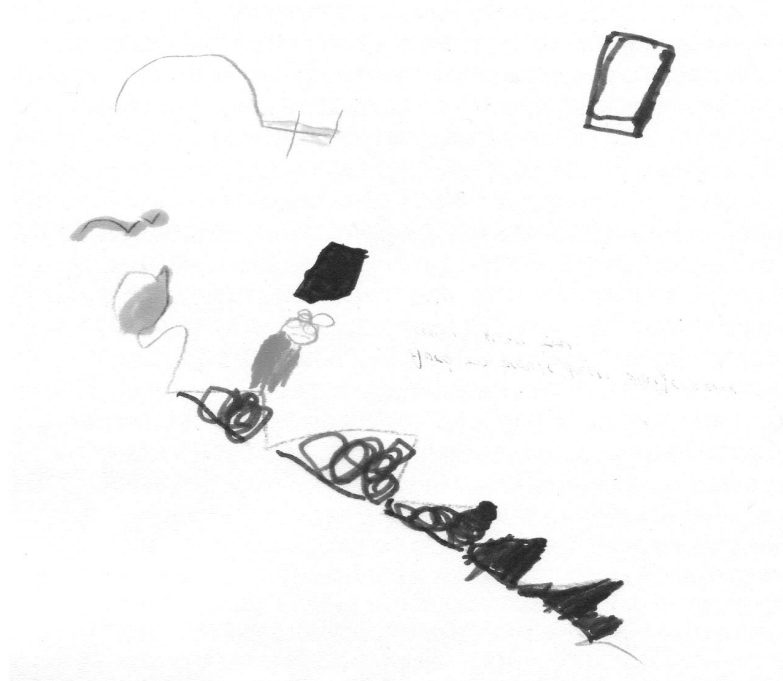
Peter: Because the rest do not want it to be their friend.

Through the drawings and the comments he makes about them, Peter seems to suffer from marginalization. He seems to be alone, without friends, and most of the time he is isolated from the other children. The rabbit he draws may symbolize himself, and possibly that's why it appears to glower in one drawing (No. 3), while in the other (No. 4), it does not have any expressive characteristics. Peter appears to project himself through the rabbit he draws.

The marginalization that arose from the discussion around the drawings was also supported by our observations. Analysing these data, Peter seemed to be the 'covert' student of the class who never talked and was always in the same corner. Very often, other children took the games he was playing with and he did not react. His 'silence' seemed to provoke some of his classmates to bother him quite often. He did not participate in classroom discussions, even if the teacher asked him to. He seemed to be separated from the group and he preferred to play individual games or to watch the other children playing. When discussing this with his teacher she stated that she did not consider him to be experiencing marginalization. She said in particular:

He has a close character and he prefers to play alone. He never disturbs the classroom, he is very quiet.

drawing 4 'It's break time and the rabbit is playing. It is playing with the games ... they do not want it to be their friend'



The fact that he did not talk and did not react seemed to 'simplify' the teacher's job. In two different cases we observed her telling Peter to 'wake up' because he did not follow her instructions. Our impression was that the behaviour of the teacher, as well as that of his classmates, caused Peter to be severely marginalized.

the case of Lee

The third child that appeared from our data to be marginalized was Lee. The parents of Lee were from China and had come to Cyprus to work. Lee had difficulties with the Greek language and despite the fact that he could understand, he could not speak. Thus, most of the time he communicated by using signs.

Lee liked art in particular and this fact helped him to develop a good relationship with the researchers. During our period of research at that school we frequently witnessed the teacher showing Lee's drawings to the other children, encouraging them to draw 'nicely', like Lee. Lee almost always drew ships and airplanes. Discussions about his drawings with the researchers brought to light data that support the argument that Lee experienced marginalization. For example, the ships and airplanes that he drew were always driven by him. In addition, he was always alone in them because according to him he had no friends. An example was the following:

Lee: This is a big ship. It's setting off on a journey.

Res.: Where it will go?

Lee: Far away, very far away! I'm driving! (points at himself)

Res.: Are there any other people with you?

Lee: I am alone, I travel alone! It's starting!

Res.: Why don't you get some other people to come with you?

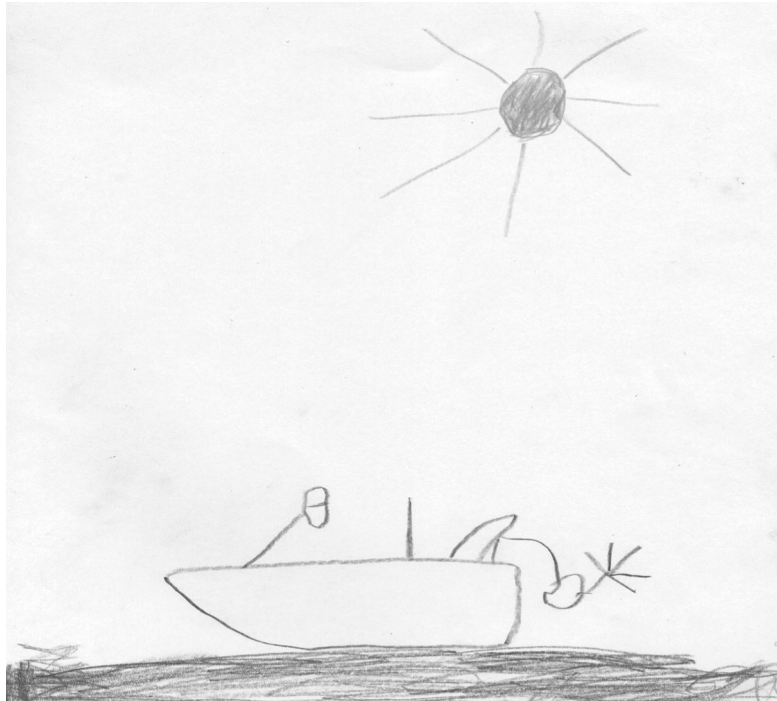
Lee: They are not friends of mine.

Res.: Where are your friends?

Lee: I don't have any friends.

Lee's drawings and the comments he made about them indicate that he experiences marginalization. This marginalization was also supported by our observations. Through these observations he appeared to be very remote from his classmates. Moreover, in different instances we witnessed some children making fun of him because he did not speak Greek very well, while in some others, we observed children laughing because Lee had pronounced a word wrongly. In addition to this, Lee seemed not to receive any support from the school and his

drawing 5 'The ship travels'



teachers. By contrast, some data indicated that the behaviour of his teachers might have reinforced the marginalization he experienced. For example, when discussing Lee with the headteacher she claimed that situations such as his were natural within schools. She also claimed that:

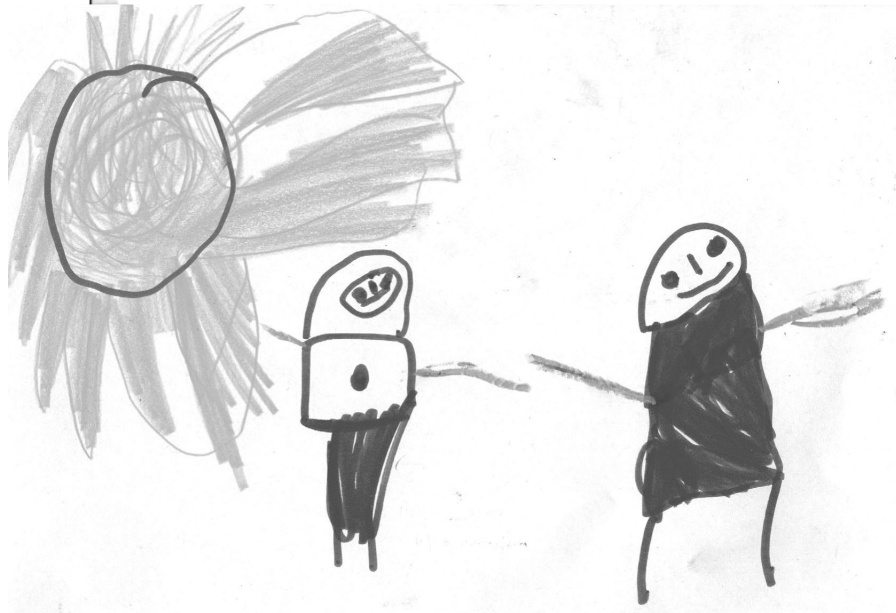
the school does not distinguish between students, it accepts everybody. Now, if some children do not speak the language, or if other children do not play with them, we cannot run behind them, it's their parents' duty to teach them how to speak.

the case of Maria

The fourth child in the class that appeared to experience marginalization was Maria. Maria had come from Greece at the beginning of the academic year but she seemed to have difficulties making friends. Usually, in Maria's drawings there was a sun which played with a girl. Below is one of Maria's drawings with the sun as the leading actor.

Maria took a red marker and confidently drew a circle at the top-left corner of the paper. She then filled in the circle with yellow and then drew the sun's rays. After that she took the same red pen and drew a little girl next to the sun

drawing 6 'The sun plays with Maria'



and another little girl next to the first girl. To begin with, the two girls did not have hands. They were drawn in at the end after having checked the markers for sometime. She chose the pink marker with which to draw the hands. After that the one researcher had the following discussion with her:

Res.: What are these two girls doing?

Maria: This girl is playing with the sun (pointing at the girl who was closer to the sun).

Res.: Is her friend playing with the sun too?

Maria: No, she is Christiana, and she is far away in Greece. Only this girl is playing with her friend the sun (and points again at the girl who was closer to the sun).

Res.: Does this girl play with her other friends?

Maria: No, she doesn't have any other friends; she only plays with the sun.

Res.: Why doesn't she have any other friends?

Maria: Because her friends are in Greece.

Through the above drawing and the discussion that the researcher had with Maria, it appeared that Maria experienced marginalization. She seemed to project herself onto the little child who played with the sun (which was her friend), something she did very often in her drawings. She might consider the sun to be her friend because it was a constant feature in her life in Cyprus, as it had

been in Greece. According to Stern (1992), whatever a child draws is always a projective picture of his/her body. Stern argues that when the child represents a human being, a house, a ship, a tree, or an animal, he/she wants to say 'I'. The child's world in art is a group of points, symbols and laws which are projected according to the needs that are created by his/her emotions.

The fact that Maria experienced marginalization was supported by the data collected by observation. Through our observations in the classroom and the yard, Maria appeared to have no friends and was alone most of the time. When talking to her at different instances she expressed the complaint that she did not have any friends and she very often referred to her only friend who lived in Greece.

discussion – final comments

In this study we have tried to develop and implement a technique, the discussion around drawings, with the purpose of understanding and addressing marginalization. Finally, it appeared that this technique was effective, at least for the purpose of the research that was conducted.

Eisner (1999) claims that the relationship between an artist and his/her creation is not that of a speaker and a listener. It is a conversation between the painting and its creator. Thus, using this technique we managed to 'feel' the emotions of the children. Students used the paper as a background on which the colours and paints moved and represented, almost cinematically, scenes from their everyday life or their imaginations. This 'mystical' conversation of each child with his/her painting was the 'key' to the successfulness of this technique.

Throughout this experience we heard this 'hidden language' and we saw in a clear way the exclusion of some children from school processes. Children's drawings and discussions with their creators revealed many hidden dimensions of children's school life. Playing with the sun which was an only friend, the lonely rabbits which saw the rest playing during breaks with the complaint: 'they don't play with me or they don't want me to be their friend', the ships that embarked for lonely, distant trips, shouted at the top of their voices and asked for some open ears to hear them. This amounted to, in our opinion, a deafening silence.

Of course, we do not claim that the use of this technique can reveal all children who are marginalized. Many children during their school career experience, in one way or another, marginalization. The development of this technique provides one more choice for those interested to listen to children's voices in an effort to make sense of marginalization and to address marginalization within schools. Corbett and Slee (2000) claim that if we try to listen to those people who are marginalized we can learn much about marginalization. Therefore, the use of this technique can help in the effort to understand better the different

dimensions of marginalization and exclusion as well as the wider dimensions of inclusive education. Furthermore, given that in this way we can listen to children and especially to young children who rarely express themselves, this technique can be useful for those who are interested in developing inclusive practices. At the very least it can offer an alternative solution to those who want to communicate with children and to listen to the 'hidden voices' (Ainscow et al., 1999) that exist in schools.

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