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Teachers in conversations with children on difficult topics. Phenomenographic reconstruction

ABSTRACT

The text presents the results of the author's own research, conducted together with the students of the University of Gdansk, as part of a course *Strategies for qualitative research*. The study reconstructs teachers' methods of understanding difficult topics and describes their experience of conversations with children inspired by difficult questions. In the first part, I describe the phenomenography as an accepted strategy of qualitative research. The second part presents research results, or categories of description, and thus teachers' concepts of meanings ascribed to difficult topics as well as a description of their experiences.

Key words: teachers, taboo topics, conversations with children

This paper attempts to reconstruct how teachers understand difficult topics and describe the experiences in talks with children inspired by troublesome questions. Difficult or "taboo" topics are seen as problems (issues) that cause embarrassment, shame, sometimes anxiety and fear, or which are just culturally and politically inconvenient, dangerous, "awkward". Typically, they refer to issues connected with reproduction and sex, politics, poverty, death, disease,

obesity, sexual diversity, violence, pathology, and moral choices, dressing style or money¹.

Teachers of early childhood education are often faced with questions frequently asked by their pupils, and many of them are on difficult topics. I have decided to conduct phenomenographic studies to reveal subjective concepts of meanings assigned by teachers to difficult topics and reconstruct their experience in working with children in the area of public education. I have been guided by the following questions, which took the form of the following research problems:

1. How do teachers understand difficult topics and their sources?
2. How do teachers conceptualise their experiences in conversations with children on difficult topics?

Thus, this text presents the results of my research carried out together with the students of the University of Gdansk as part of a course called Strategies for Qualitative Research. In part 1, I discuss phenomenography as the adopted strategy for qualitative research. Part 2 is a presentation of research results, or selected categories of description, and thus teachers' concepts of meanings ascribed to difficult topics and the description of their experiences.

ABOUT THE RESEARCH METHOD AND ORGANISATION

On the spatial textual map of the representation of theories and paradigms, constructed by R.G. Paulston, phenomenography is included in **idealist-subjectivist orientations** of humanistic nature, aimed at change in awareness and at a desire to balance culture (Paulston, Liebman, 1995, p. 234). It focuses on what is subjective, local, unique, and therefore on the phenomena analysed in the context of the lives of individuals. It is set in the **interpretative paradigm**, in which the individual is not perceived as a social actor, whose actions are ruled by pre-established standards and guidelines without the possibility of creating oneself, but as a participant of interaction, in the course of which the individual creates and gives meanings and through them interprets oneself and the surrounding world. According W.L. Neuman, "system-

¹ More examples of difficult topics can be found in works by: H-L. Freese (2008), R. Heyman (2010), J. Korzeniewska (2009).

atic analysis of social meanings, created by people in their natural conditions, with the aim of understanding and interpreting how people create and understand the world in which they function, is the most important in the interpretative approach” (Neuman, 1994, p. 62). From it, some regularities for conducting research (including phenomenographic studies) in the interpretative paradigm can be drawn:

- social life is nothing external to human beings, but depends on human awareness,
- social reality is based on its definitions created by people,
- facts are not objective and neutral, but depend on their social interpretation (Neuman, 1994, pp. 63–65).

In qualitative research in this tradition, it means that the objectively given world does not exist; instead there is a social world created in everyday social relations in the process of ascribing meanings to the reality within which individuals operate. Social reality is something that people create in the process of communication and negotiation. There is not one objective version of social reality which is waiting to be discovered, but there are multiple subjective worlds whose experience and creation depend on the type of human awareness. Knowledge which is constructed in these studies is not to create laws designed to anticipate and control the world, but to interpret and create meanings and illumination (Jurgiel, 2007, p. 95), and to create a more rational, responsible and subjective being in the world.

The interpretative paradigmatic context locates phenomenography in the area of humanistic studies and affects the way it is defined. F. Marton says that **phenomenography** is “a kind of research whose aim is to describe, analyse and understand experience” (Marton, 1981, p. 180). This means that phenomenography focuses on the reconstruction of different ways of the studying and learning reality, which is done through its direct experiencing by a human being. Individuals understand the world in which they exist, because they experience it subjectively. They are engaged in the creation of a flexible system of meanings through social interaction. In this sense, the main subject of phenomenographic interest is the content of an individual’s awareness (understanding, perception and evaluation of the phenomena in the surrounding world, the content that includes subjective concepts of experienced phenomena). Because of this, the phenomenographic perspective is known as the perspective of the second order (Marton, 1981, p. 178) or the construction of the second order (Urbaniak-Zajac, 2009, p. 27). It focuses on the description

of meanings created by the participants of the study, and not, as it is in the case of the first order studies, the direct description of the aspects of the surrounding world.

There is another definition of phenomenography, with a more in-depth look, in which it is defined as “an **empirical study** of a limited number of qualitatively different ways of conceptualizing, understanding, perceiving and feeling various phenomena and aspects of the surrounding world”². This means that the essence of phenomenographic studies is connected with learning about the subjective senses given to the phenomena of the surrounding world and moving to everyday view, understanding and perception of phenomena at the level of the world lived in the sphere of everyday life. In the light of the cited definition, another fact emerges, i.e. the tendency of phenomenographic researchers to use the following terms synonymously: understanding, experience, perception, evaluation, with the intention of shifting in the direction of the world as somehow considered. At the same time, it is assumed that meanings given to phenomena by individuals are always a consequence of their personal experience of these phenomena.

Hermeneutics and symbolic interactionism can also be found in the theoretical background of phenomenography. Some researchers, including B. Hasselegren and D. Beach, believe that phenomenographic studies are inherently hermeneutic, as the conversation itself between the respondent and the researcher is an act of giving meanings to an experienced phenomenon, which has its own story but told again by the respondent (Jurgiel, 2009, p. 99). Thus, the vision of the social world is just like it is created by individuals in the process of communication and negotiation. This means that there is no single objective version of the world that is waiting to be discovered.

Therefore, it can be said that phenomenographic studies have the hermeneutical potential, but they are not hermeneutical. There is a clear difference between research showing what meaning is given to a studied phenomenon by individuals and how they understand the phenomenon, and research in which the researcher ascribes meanings to concepts formulated by the respondents. The former approach is appropriate for phenomenographic research and the latter is characteristic of hermeneutics. Thus, phenomenography is hermeneutic to some extent, but this mainly occurs in the interpretation of research results, rather than at the level of research procedures.

² According to F. Marton (cited in Męczkowska, 2002, p. 18).

Symbolic interactionism is another phenomenographic context. It is justified paradigmatically (phenomenography fits into the interpretative paradigm), but it also results from the reflection on social reality. As H. Blumer says "(...), people interpret or "define" each other's actions, instead of simply responding to them. Thus, human interaction is mediated by symbols, interpretation, or by ascribing meanings to the actions of other individuals. This mediation denotes an introduction of the process of interpretation between the cause and the reaction in the behaviour of an individual" (Blumer, 1984, pp. 71–72), which is no longer a normal result of forces such as environmental pressures, incentives, motives, attitudes or ideas, but it becomes the result of the way in which the individual interprets and deals with them in the act which one constructs. This means that collecting meanings given to the activities of social actors and providing "images" of various forms of interaction are crucial for phenomenographic studies, rather than determining which phenomenon or factor are quantitatively and statistically dominant, as it happens in quantitative studies. When describing the meaning of phenomenographic studies, the following research areas emerge: 1) it records various ways of perceiving phenomena by individuals, 2) it describes versions of experiencing the world by individuals and 3) it makes it possible to find out what meanings people ascribe to the surrounding world and how they understand the world. Thus, the aim of phenomenographic studies is to describe the nature of human experience³, to describe the ways of understanding, to reconstruct meanings that people give to a specific phenomenon, which is an object of interest to the researcher, to capture differences and similarities in a subjective perception of reality, and finally to give the reality a conceptual character (Szkudlarek, 1995, p. 186).

Phenomenographic studies search for an answer to the question how a given phenomenon is understood, but they are not of explanatory type, because they do not ask questions why this is so. Because of this, it is often maintained that phenomenography only describes different ways of understanding without exploring the foundation for this or asking questions about the reasons for this. M. Hammersley and P. Atkinson do not agree with this accusation and they claim that before one seeks an answer to the question of

³ In this understanding, experience is something more than mere information, it is something more than going through, it includes thinking and intellectual involvement, cf. O.F. Bollow (cited in Ablewicz, 1993, pp. 71–72).

why people do something, one must first realize what people do, and only from this perspective further research steps can be taken (Hammersley, Atkinson, 2000, p. 18). Phenomenographic studies provide this opportunity. In line with A. Schutze, phenomenographic studies provide research material to answer the question: What is it like? What is it sometimes like?, and from this perspective they make it possible to ponder what it might mean.

THE CONCEPT OF OWN RESEARCH

In the project presented in this paper I wanted to examine teachers' understanding of difficult topics and to describe their experiences from conversations with younger pupils. Together with my university students participating in the study, I contacted 50 teachers in the Three Cities and the nearby towns. They were teachers of early childhood education. An individual phenomenographic interview was conducted with each of the teachers. For organisational purposes, it was assumed that the more socially and culturally diversified group, the greater the chance for a diversified way of experiencing the analysed concept. The subject of the research was: teachers' ways of understanding difficult topics and their experience from talks with children on difficult topics.

The search for their experiences was carried out by means of appropriately designed phenomenographic questions, the first being an introductory question, i.e. to encourage conversation. It was about a recently conducted lesson related to social education (subject, course, forms and methods of implementation). Subsequent questions were purely phenomenographic and took the following forms: What topics are you happy to talk about in conversations with children, and which make you resistant, anxious or nervous?, What is behind the term "difficult topics"?, What topics do you consider difficult? Is there a place for them in school education? If so, what topics are difficult? What do you think makes it easier and what makes it more difficult to teach about these topics? What do children ask about most often and how do you respond to their questions, even the most difficult ones? Do you think you can talk to children on any topic? How do you feel talking to children about sex, poverty, death, domestic violence, Islam, homosexuality, etc.? Which of the talks on difficult topics do you treat as your educational success,

and which as your failure? How would you rate your / other teachers' preparation to discuss difficult topics with children? Where do you get topics to discuss with children? Do you think teachers need additional support to discuss difficult topics with children?

A network of concepts was used in constructing these questions. The network contained research areas which I found interesting from the perspective of the research questions : difficult topics, sources of topics to talk with children, teachers' experience from conversations with children, teachers' preparation to discuss difficult topics, ways of implementing difficult topics, the reactions of children and teachers to difficult questions. As it happens in phenomenographic studies, primary questions were selected (those that formed the axis of the interview) and secondary ones – asked when additional information or explanation was needed.

METHOD OF RESEARCH MATERIAL PRESENTATION – INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH

The analysis of the interviews with teachers made it possible to find the subjective concepts of meanings ascribed to difficult topics and to reconstruct teachers' experiences related to talks with early school children on these topics. It was conducted in accordance with the phenomenographic procedure:

1. Reading the texts of the interviews.
2. Condensation – selecting interview extracts that refer to the described phenomenon.
3. Comparison of the extracts selected in the condensation phase.
4. Grouping answers by similarities and differences.
5. Naming the categories, so that the name matches the domain of the described phenomenon and its diverse ways of experiencing (understanding) by individuals.
6. Referring the selected categories of description to theory and meta-perspectives concerning the phenomenon.

Below, their presentation can be found, starting from meanings given to difficult topics, and then reproducing the experience of teachers from the talks.

TEACHERS' UNDERSTANDING OF DIFFICULT TOPICS

Questions included in the plan of the phenomenographic interview (particularly: What do you think is behind the term “difficult topics” / taboo topics? and Which topics do you think are difficult, and which are taboo topics?) make it possible to hear teachers' opinions and understand the meanings they ascribe to difficult topics in conversations with children. Here is a detailed description of categories which emerged on the basis of respondents' statements:

- difficult topics as a “model” definition,
- difficult topics as a task for parents,
- difficult topics as an “important” area,
- difficult topics as a forbidden area for children.

A. Difficult topics as a “model” definition

This category of description appeared when teachers attempted to explain what topics were difficult for them and how they approached them. It could also be found in their reports from social education classes. Here are some excerpts selected from the interviews:

- Difficult topics are those that are hard to get a clear answer for from those who are interested.
- Difficult topics often arouse much controversy, sometimes lead to quarrels, conflicts of views and opinions.
- Taboo topics are those which are not talked openly in a wider circle because of spontaneous and often violent reactions.
- Difficult topics for me include aggression among pupils, different social views, financial position in the family, social status of the family or caretakers, opinions about teachers. And taboo topics include sex, religion, and marital status of parents / caregivers.

Looking at these statements, one can notice the understanding of the defined concept, its clear boundaries and varied examples. It is interesting that the respondents distinguish difficult topics and taboo topics, valuing the importance of the issues. They are so called lighter difficult topics and some particularly troublesome ones. I will elaborate on this in the next categories of description.

But before I move on to them I would like to cite a few comments characteristic of this group of teachers who had some concerns. In addition to a perfect understanding of the concept of difficult topics and the need to analyse them with children, the respondents had objections towards some of the issues. The list of topics which the teachers were afraid of included: sex, crisis situations in the family (violence, addiction, illness, divorce). Here are several statements:

- The topics I avoid are sex, violence, aggression in the family. I am happy to give them to parents.
- Imagine I come to the class and I write sex on the blackboard, and then show posters, photos and explain how it happens. No, Of course you can't do this. In grades 1–3 children are too young. They do not need to know everything. A simple explanation is enough. Or, if I talked longer about refugees, the children would be scared. But you can try to talk about it in grade 5 or 6.
- About sex, for example, you don't talk directly. You say that mum, dad love each other very much and then in mummy's tummy, in a large balloon, where there is water, a baby will grow. With words that are comprehensible for children. It's similar about poverty. Islam and terrorists are also a problem.
- Sex – I'm afraid to talk about it with children. I know it is important, but how to do it?

Difficult topics are well defined. Teachers declare their knowledge, but they have concerns about their implementation, which could mean that in practice they do not discuss them with children, or do it selectively, superficially. This could result in deformation of concepts, their simplification, infantilization, or simply in pretending social education. The subsequent categories of description will complement the problem.

B. Difficult topics as a task for parents

Teachers' concerns are also revealed in the second category of description, which emerged at the condensation of the text. It shows that issues such as sex, reproduction, sexuality should be discussed by parents with children. The teachers representing this way of constructing difficult topics clearly emphasised their reluctance to these conversations or an attitude of shifting the re-

sponsibility to parents. In the background, there were fears of parents' comments and of going into too personal situations or there was parental discontent that issues of that type were discussed with young children. Here are some examples of teachers' statements:

- Many parents do not want their children to be talked to about sex, reproduction, or family situation. They believe “my home, my problems”.
- They are very demanding parents. They don't like it when someone is talking to their children. They think it's meddling with the way they bring up their children.
- Often parents resist. They object to talking with children on such difficult topics.
- Some parents feel offended that an 8-year-old can learn about sex.

To minimise the concerns of the teachers whose statements were given above, it is worth citing A. Gopnik (2010). She emphasises that as for philosophising with children on difficult topics, even the most difficult topics can be discussed, because owing to their unfettered non-stereotypicality and flexibility of thinking, children are capable of understanding many issues. This becomes possible when a child can create the image of the world and oneself through interpretation of relations of people important for the child and various communication behaviour. Talks on difficult topics in school are a perfect opportunity for children to develop social competence and appropriate functioning in the society.

There is another dimension to interpret the above statements. Perhaps they pass their concerns about difficult topics, their lack of competence and knowledge in this field to parents, seeing them as opponents in talks about sex, poverty, family, etc.

C. Difficult topics as an important area

The interviews also revealed radically different views difficult topics. When constructing meanings ascribed to difficult topics, the respondents clearly highlighted their exceptional importance for children's development, their competent preparation for life in the modern world, their relevance to the needs of children and social expectations. Here are some excerpts that make up this category of description:

- Talks with children on difficult topics are very important aspects of their education. I think that the term “difficult topic” refers mainly to adults, for whom the topic is difficult. For children, these are new, interesting, often unknown topics, but definitely not difficult ones. Kids acquire all the information. Thus, it is very important to adapt the information to their age, mental and emotional development. It is important for the teacher to have both knowledge of these issues, but also empathy and sensitivity. Then, no subject will be cumbersome or no issue will be unexplainable.
- I believe that you can’t escape from difficult topics. You know, children may sometimes ask about something that concerns their family. But also in these situations, I never avoid answers. I never answer: do not bother me. I just try to say what’s important. Sometimes I don’t know an answer. Then I look for a solution together with children.
- In education, at every stage there are topics that are reluctantly discussed, which are avoided “like the plague.” Sensitive, as they concern the intimate sphere. They are also difficult for me, but I do not avoid them. Children have plenty of personal experiences, many have already encountered them, and children have different personalities. If they ask questions they should be allowed to find answers

This category of description shows teachers’ willingness to talk with children and their openness to diverse topics. These teachers are aware of their concerns, sometimes lack of knowledge and competence, but they do not negate children’s questions and accompany them in learning the world as it really is: dynamic, conflicted, not always beautiful. Unfortunately, very few teachers represented this way of recognizing difficult topics and conversations with children.

D. Difficult topics as a forbidden area for children

Contrary to the above category of description, there were also statements in which some teachers stressed the need to refrain from conversations with children on difficult issues, because it is not appropriate for their age capabilities. Here are some examples of their statements forming this category of description:

- It's nonsense, who could talk to children on topics like: sex, poverty, disease, refugees, terrorism, wars in the world. That's too much!!! You can't do this. You don't talk to children on these topics.
- I'm going to say straight away that these topics are not discussed in grades 1–3. Refugees, Islam, terrorism – you don't talk to children on these topics. Integrated teaching is about topics related to good behaviour, good manners. They are connected with teaching Polish. It's not that we sit on the carpet and talk about sex. You can't explain it to the little ones.

In the presented statements, appropriation of conversations by adults is clearly visible. Adults are convinced about what and how to talk with children. At the same time, they emphasise the lack of competence in children and deny their cognitive abilities. The quoted statements also reveal the teachers' strategy of escape, as instead of developing their preparation for talks on difficult topics, they see the problem in children themselves. However, children's curiosity refers to many topics, including those described as taboo, and if they do not get answers from adults, they will look for other sources of knowledge and satisfy their curiosity.

SUBJECTIVE CONCEPTS OF MEANINGS ASCRIBED BY TEACHERS TO TALKS ON DIFFICULT TOPICS – CATEGORIES OF DESCRIPTION

In addition to understanding difficult topics, the respondents also reconstructed their experiences of talks with children, i.e. they described their sources, methods of implementation, preparation for these talks, and they gave examples of their successes, which in their opinion occurred more often than failures. The categories of description presented below are very interesting, because first they reveal the multiplicity of teachers' perceptions, their diversity, and secondly, the teachers sometimes contradict themselves and undermine their own statements. Talks to children cease to be dialogues, a real exchange of meanings, and they become one-way messages bearing teachers' views, who sometimes appropriate the right to decide how children should think and act.

A. Talks to children as an area of compulsory education

This category of description is fairly typical for teachers who saw textbooks and teacher's books as the main sources of conversations with children on difficult topics. They usually said there were plenty of difficult issues. They could even give some examples, but when it came to presenting the topics of their talks with children and reporting the talks, they became less ambitious and the topics turned out to be infantile and banal. Here are some statements that fit this category of description:

- Difficult and taboo topics depend on the teacher who teaches a given class. They depend on the syllabus and selection of teaching content. Many of these things can be found in textbooks for children.
- There is the curriculum and everything is written there. Just look in it. In the integrated teaching there isn't time strictly given to this. Everything is woven into the curriculum. We talk a little. It happens that we have talked the whole lesson, but this is rare.
- We have the curriculum and we have to implement it. Everything important can be found in it.
- The textbooks have reading texts and just from them we can start a talk about: safety, about threats. You talk on the basis of special scenarios. Sometimes you invite police officers to conduct these special talks.

In this approach, difficult topics have already been thought over by someone. Unfortunately, their confrontation with the content of the curriculum shows that they were not difficult topics as, for example, they were about fellowship, feelings, place of residence, polite behaviour, etc. And those that could be implemented in a more diverse way (family, crisis situations, disease, divorce, unemployment, etc.) are presented in a way that does not create doubts. In reality, there were no difficult topics, only sometimes their infantilized versions. In addition, the teachers' conviction of the rightness of these thematic suggestions was revealed.

B. Talks with children as an area "usurped" by parents

When describing their talks with children, the teachers often explained that they did not talk on difficult topics because of parents who did not wish their

children to discuss troublesome issues concerning sexuality and family things. They often commented that:

- The main obstacle in our conversations are parents. They do not want their children to know too much on these topics. Besides, there is the curriculum that specifies everything.
- Most often parents stop these topics: sex, drugs, death. They do not want these issues to be discussed at school that don't want their children to learn about sex or contraception. Even in junior secondary schools they were outraged that children talked about contraception on Family Life Education
- Sometimes parents' approach may hinder the implementation of some of the topics. They are not always tolerant, and they do not want their children to know everything. To prevent this you need to work on parent –teacher relations.

I realise that the majority of teachers think of parents in this way and they act towards children to meet parents' demands and expectations. However, in the light of the teachers' opinions about parents and their blocking attitude, it seems surprising that parents are uniquely active on the Internet forums and discussion groups that are about ways of talking to children on difficult topics. Actually, parents are the ones who are looking for ways how to talk to children about difficult topics.

C. Talks with children as an area of uncertainty and lack of competence

In some statements, the respondents clearly emphasised their concerns, lack of preparation for discussions with children on difficult topics, and sometimes need to make the school counsellor or psychologist talk with children on the topics. The teachers said:

- Each teacher has some knowledge learned at university. Sometimes I use books, sometimes the Internet. A support from professionals: a counsellor, a psychologist, a visit at the clinic are very important.
- I can say that I try to talk with children on difficult topics, but it often happens that I am not able to do that myself. So I ask counsellors, psychologists, various specialists to do that.

- We often hold teachers' meetings and we talk about difficult issues. But it would be helpful to have more training on how to work with children, how to talk to them. You don't learn it at university.

For many of the teachers, difficult topics raised by children are serious problems. The respondents are aware of their lack of necessary competence to talk to children. They realise that one needs knowledge and communication skills for this kind of talks, but they believe they did not learn them at university.

D. Conversations with children as an area of (apparent / real) success

One of the questions that the teachers were asked in their interviews was to report and describe their successes / failures in the social education of children. It was surprising that the teachers, despite the dilemmas and concerns described above, described their work with children mainly in terms of success. They claimed that they had achievements in social education as they carried difficult conversations with them. These were usually talks and discussions led by teachers. The examples that they provided would not always be classified as success. This category of description was constructed in the following statements:

- Failure ... Nah ... I don't remember. Certainly there are conversations that are more difficult to run because the topic is more difficult. But then some discussion develops. Sometimes a few sentences and it's over. I don't continue the topic for too long. I do not have failures...
- I will say this: as for success and failure, I don't check it, I don't measure it. It somehow gets balanced. I mean, it does not balance in that way as there are more successes.
- Failures – I don't remember any....

E. Conversations with children as opening new areas and exploring children's potential

Interviews with teachers also revealed the concepts of meanings in which talks with children on difficult topics were actually seen as opening to children, their needs, their social expectations. The teachers showed their courage in choos-

ing difficult topics and their ways of implementing the topics were moving towards the child and the child's development. Here are a few of their statements:

- Children are very intelligent and interested in the world, and only we adults have a strange idea that it is not the time for these conversations, that the child will not understand. You can talk on all these topics, you just need to know how to make the child understand. That is the role of the teacher – to show the child the world as it is, to talk about its standards. Not everything is beautiful and colourful. Hard situations can happen in life.
- Children watch TV, surf the Internet, listen to adult conversations, experience a lot themselves. They have great knowledge and are very interested. You cannot block it.

TEACHERS' EXPERIENCE FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH CHILDREN – INTERPRETATION

The interviews reveal teachers' experiences talking with children and their ways of understanding difficult topics. In researcher's language, their conversations are marked ambiguously. Teachers usually describe them in terms of success, but this is not supported by examples. They often talk about problems with parents, the fact that they are not qualified for the difficult talks and that they are limited by the curriculum, but they are not really able to describe interesting examples of classes related to difficult topics. Besides, many of the respondents are afraid of difficult topics. They do not want to talk about sex, poverty, family problems or addiction. They see parental reluctance and children's young age as reasons for avoiding difficult topics. But rarely do they perceive the problem in inappropriate methods, forms and ways of communicating with children. They do not encourage children to think critically, reflectively. They forget that conversation requires a genuine dialogue and the freedom to express one's own opinion both by the pupil and the teacher.

Taking into account the above categories of the description of difficult topics and experiences of conversations with children, a picture of apparent, non-genuine exchange of opinions emerges. The above phenomenographic reconstruction leads to the conclusion that despite the great importance of

children's social education, it is still poorly implemented, and talk as a way to express own opinions freely and discover children's needs and expectations is still underappreciated.

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