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Each perspective is equally valid. Maria Reimann's methodological approach in research with children

Introduction

Maria Reimann was an anthropologist who initiated conducting research with children in the spirit of 'new childhood studies' in Poland. In 2012, Maria co-founded – together with Magdalena Radkowska-Walkowicz, Ewa Maciejewska-Mroczek, and Anna Krawczak – the Childhood Studies Interdisciplinary Research Team at the University of Warsaw (Interdyscyplinarny Zespół Badań nad Dzieciństwem, IZBnD)[1]. In 2016, Maria and Ewa Maciejewska-Mroczek

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[1] More information about the research team is available at: www.childhoods.uw.edu.pl.

co-authored an article about the importance of informed consent from children in social research (Maciejewska-Mroczek, Reimann 2016). It was then, with this article and research she conducted at the time, that Maria sparked a long-term interest and reflection on research about and with children.

The basic premise of the research approach adopted by Maria Reimann and the entire IZBnD team concerns recognizing children's agency and and their influence on social reality and the need to take their voices and perspectives into account within the research process. Earlier, research on children and childhood in Poland had been primarily the domain of psychology and pedagogy. The establishment of IZBnD was a response to the lack of research in the anthropology and sociology of childhood, or more broadly childhood studies, in Poland.

In her research, Maria focused on studying the changing family relationships in the broader political and social context of Poland. She was interested in the relationship between parents and children. Her doctoral dissertation examined the processes through which people became parents and the division of care work in couples that declared gender equality, both in Poland and in the context of other European countries (Reimann 2020a). Her most recent, unfinished research project focused on the shared custody of and care for children following parental separation. Maria was also particularly interested in the role and perspective of fathers, with whom she conducted research, among others, on in vitro fertilization and adoption. Above all, however, she was involved in research with children.

Maria had been passionate about researching, recognizing, and strengthening children's voices. In the last few years, such an approach led her to focus solely on research with children and not with their parents. She listed two reasons for such a decision. First, in previous studies, parents revealed some details of their children's lives that the children themselves did not talk about. Second, having conversations with both parents and children can be seen as a desire to verify or back children's statements with those of adults. Maria wished to avoid such situations and had decided that talking to children was a sufficient and key source of knowledge about their lives and experiences during her research.

In this article, we discuss Maria Reimann's research and the specific character of her methodology, to show her insightful, reflective approach to working with children. Throughout her work, Maria focused on listening carefully to her interlocutors and created an exceptionally safe space within which different people could feel particularly noticed and heard. She combined her skills of making people feel seen and heard with insightful analysis and careful scientific reflection. Her methodological sensitivity and the way she practiced anthropology were truly exceptional.

The In vitro project

The beginning of the Childhood Studies Interdisciplinary Research Team dates back to 2012, when we launched the project "New reproductive technologies – perspective of childhood studies." The project coincided with a period of intense media coverage of public debates around the in vitro procedures that involved politicians, bioethicists, and priests. Presidential candidates also spoke about the right to or ban such procedures, and the patient association "Nasz Bocian" advocated reimbursement of in-vitro treatments (successfully, albeit the success was temporary). The legal Act on infertility treatment was also passed around that time, and for the first time, Polish law regulated and legitimized infertility treatment.

As a research team, we asked ourselves: what is it like, in this context, to be a child born via an in vitro procedure in Poland? We interviewed representatives of different groups, including parents and doctors. However, the most important thing for us was to get to know the opinions of people born due to assisted reproduction technologies. It was a scientific decision, dictated by ethical considerations. Considerations that marked all of Maria's later scientific activity: to engage in what is socially important, so that science can contribute not only to further understanding but also to improving the world.

The social background was particularly salient for our research project. The situation kept changing rapidly, and more and more social actors entered the discussions, however, the voice of the subjects of all these debates – people born via in vitro procedures – was hardly ever heard. It has not been an easy task to include young people's voices in the discussion. Of course, we intended to only talk to children and young people who had known they were born using the in vitro treatment (this may have been related either to themselves or their siblings). Recruitment was difficult, precisely because of the discriminatory narrative dominating the public sphere. We knew that our desire to obtain data must not obscure the ethical issues related, primarily, to the informed consent of the study participants (see e.g. Alderson, Morrow 2011). Anthropological research with children had previously not been conducted in Poland, so we created standards relevant to our local context. In this work, we relied on foreign literature (e.g., Christensen, Prout 2002; James 2007; Gallacher, Gallagher 2008), consultations with representatives of other disciplines, international collaborations, as well as our recognition that decisions are situated in a specific context, and we should be paying attention to situational ethics. Together with Ewa Maciejewska-Mroczek, Maria Reimann wrote an article on informed consent in research with children (2016). The authors highlighted the processual nature of consent, the importance of non-verbal signals, and the role of the child's written consent – not necessary for formal reasons, but important for developing a good rapport with the researchers.

Methodological issues proved challenging as choosing a research methodology is also an ethical choice. In the in vitro project, we wished to adapt the project methodology to the needs and capabilities of very different groups of participants (see Christensen, James 2008). We conducted classic ethnographic interviews with older participants. With the younger, we created scenes and videos using Lego blocks, made drawings, and created collages (see e.g., Greene, Hogan 2005). Through the use of a variety of methods tailored to the participants, we were able to find out how children and young people understand what 'the in vitro' is, how they relate to public discourses and private family stories (Krawczak, Maciejewska-Mroczek, Radkowska-Walkowicz 2018).

In her research, Maria Reimann emphasized the areas that were not obvious, less visible, and marginalized. Therefore, in her work on in vitro procedures, she conducted not only in-depth research with children, absent subjects of public discourses but also engaged with a less prominent group, also having a stake in infertility treatment: men experiencing infertility (see Reimann 2018).

One of the project outcomes was a short text addressed to children and posted on the Team's website. We strived to communicate understandably and synthetically what in vitro is, why we looked into it as a research topic, and above all – what the children who took part in the study told us:

> In Poland, people often say that in vitro is a miraculous technology that helps people make their dreams come true. But it is also seen by some as something dangerous because it is not entirely 'natural.' (…) "They talk about us, but not to us," said one of the children. We decided to change that. [Excerpt from the children's brochure.]

In the next research projects, we created more and more data presented in a way suitable for children, and their forms have been changing. In Maria's latest project, described below, a book co-authored by children was planned as a separate and important research outcome.

The Health project

The "Health in the opinion of children – a perspective of childhood studies" project, funded by the Polish National Science Centre, was conducted in 2015–2018. Maria Reimann was one of its principal investigators. For the three of us involved in the project (also Magdalena Radkowska-Walkowicz and Ewa Maciejewska-Mroczek), it has been the first study entirely planned and implemented using the methodology of childhood studies. We already had a code of good practices in research with children (Maciejewska-Mroczek, Reimann 2017; Maciejewska-Mroczek et al. 2018), so we needed to adapt the methodology to the research questions in the spirit of the new childhood studies (James, Jenks, Prout 1998; Christensen, James 2008). Maria Reimann's contribution was vital to that process.

The project aimed to ask children what they think about health, what it is, and how it relates to disease or lack of health (Radkowska-Walkowicz, Reimann 2018). Our main research tool was group interviews. Our discussions with children, always led by two researchers, lasted about two hours. We asked children to perform several tasks, such as drawing a plan of the house and marking "healthy" and "unhealthy" places; or completing a table, in which they indicated what they think is both healthy and liked by them, what is healthy and disliked, unhealthy and liked, unhealthy and disliked. The task that most inspired Maria, and on which she based her article *Gruby i chudy, czyli o tym, jak dzieci wyobrażają sobie* *zdrowego i niezdrowego człowieka* ("Fat and skinny, or how children imagine a healthy and unhealthy person", Reimann 2018), was drawing a healthy and unhealthy person. This is how she summarized the research:

> Children treat health as an issue that goes far beyond the bodily condition. In their statements, categories concerning the health of the body are mixed with aesthetic and moral ones. A healthy character is smiling, pretty, smart, slim, and responsible. An unhealthy character is fat, ugly, disobedient, stupid, and guilty of all their failures. Children laugh at the unhealthy character, giving them caricatural and grotesque features. However, underneath this laughter there is also the fear and belief that you are responsible for your health (and therefore everything that is related to it in the children's stories: beauty, happiness, goodness, and nobility) and you have to be vigilant, responsible and disciplined, so as not to lose it (Reimann 2018: 148).

In her research, Maria Reimann was vigilant in noticing cracks, fears, and inconsistencies. She refused to accept a rather optimistic and lighthearted vision that emerged in our initial focus groups, where children's stories seemed to represent a middle-class dream of a rational, balanced, "healthy" life. Maria, more than any of us, was also sensitive to injustice towards children and insisted they should be treated seriously. This is what she wrote in a report from one of the focus group interviews:

> The children were sitting in the dining room (…). The teacher started asking who had the consent forms, and when it turned out that one girl did not because she forgot [to bring it] from home, the teacher started shouting that she did not have a brain, and whether she could remember anything at all. Another girl said that her dad read the leaflet and said that he did not consent, because one cannot understand what it was about, as "it is weirdly phrased".

A boy approached us (…). He said that he had the consent form, and wanted to talk. We told him to eat first. He went to the dining room, but after a while, he came back again. "Did you eat?" we asked. "No." "Well, go back and eat, we will wait." This boy wanted to talk to us (project archive).

Taking children's voices seriously had been Maria's fundamental ethical and methodological choice. A choice that aligns with the methodology and ideology of childhood studies (James, Jenks, Prout 1998). In her case, it amounted to an imperative entirely consistent with the practice and relationships within the research field. Therefore, as part of the „Health project", in addition to focus group interviews, Maria also conducted several individual, very moving, informative, and valuable, in-depth interviews with children. She saw no reason to treat children as less competent participants than adults, a reflection and research practice she was to develop in her last project, discussed below.

As part of our common vision, a child is not only a competent producer of ethnographic data but also their recipient. This premise gave rise to the idea

(Maria was one of its two creators) that the books published in the series "dzieci/granice/etnografie" (children/borders/ethnographies) (Oficyna Naukowa publishing house), which we launched in 2018, should be written in two versions: for adult readers and children. The first children's book accompanying the "adult" one was written by Maria Reimann and Magda Radkowska-Walkowicz and stemmed from our health-related project. This is how the authors explained the idea to their readers in the introduction:

> The purpose of our adult book is to tell adults what we have learned from children about their world. The purpose of the book you are holding in your hands now is to show children what we have told adults about the world of children. It sounds a bit funny, but that is how it is (Radkowska-Walkowicz, Reimann 2018: 6).

Autoethnography of Disability

Another collaborative project we conducted was "Turner syndrome. Patterns of socialization and management of the body in the situation of chronic disease. An interdisciplinary approach" carried out by Anna Krawczak, Ewa Maciejewska-Mroczek, Małgorzata Rajtar, Maria Reimann, and Magda Radkowska-Walkowicz, and funded by the National Programme for the Development of Humanities. Maria talked to women who received their diagnosis as girls. Once again, she did not want to combine this work with conversations with their mothers. In addition to individual interviews with adult women, Maria participated, together with other colleagues from the team, in a summer camp for children with Turner Syndrome. Maria saw them not as children, but as teenagers. Above all, she saw the problem of people diagnosed with Turner syndrome being denied adult treatment, and treated as little children. The teenage participants of the summer camp, it seemed to Maria, should have already been more independent and perhaps even rebellious. Maria was irritated by the camp staff's expectations that the girls should be polite, the scolding they received, and the persistent emphasis on their childlike nature. These encounters provoked her to self-reflect on her disability and the reactions it may evoke in her environment.

It was more or less at that time, that Maria and Anna Witeska-Młynarczyk co-taught a course on autoethnographic methods at the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Warsaw. This course opened up space for thinking about a different way of writing. Maria wanted her perspective to become more visible. She wanted to have room for doubts and questions. She had a great writing talent and often the academic 'corset' seemed too tight for her way of formulating thoughts and sentences. Autoethnography promised more leeway and freedom while enabling scientific reflection. Since Maria was visually impaired, the category of "disability" took center stage in her autoethnographic work. An exercise leading to a deeper work was the essay titled "O (nie)zwyczajnym życiu z niepełnosprawnością. Esej autoetnograficzny" ("On (un)ordinary life with disability. An autoethnographic essay", Reimann 2019a). In the same year, the Czarne publishing house published Maria's book *Nie przywitam się z państwem na ulicy. Szkic o doświadczeniu niepełnosprawności* („I will not greet you on the street. A sketch on the experience of disability", Reimann 2019b). Well received by critics and readers, the book is where we find Maria's most original voice, the least mediated by academic conventions.

Maria's narrative about the experience of disability seems to be a conversation with herself about the world. In the book, she builds on her own experiences and her research on Turner syndrome. There is attentiveness to the other person, but understanding always happens within an internal dialogue. Maria keeps checking how she feels, whether her world is arranged in a similar or completely different way than that of her interlocutors with Turner syndrome. She has a specific way of formulating questions, that marks both her thinking and her writing.

> Why do I feel like I know this sadness well? After all, I am different from Ms Wanda – I come from a privileged world, I have educated parents, I graduated from good schools in Warsaw, I went abroad not to work, but to study, I have never had problems with finding a job or a boyfriend. I have a child, all my life I have heard "you are talented, you can cope with anything". But maybe it is all about "coping"? Wanda uses this phrase several times, as do several other women I talked to. I also often hear when it comes to my eyesight that I "coped", that "I'm doing great". Perhaps the need to cope connects me with Wanda. We are missing something, something is not quite right with us, we have to make up for something (2019b: 140).

When writing about disability, Maria distinguishes between impairment and disability. The distinction is made in disability studies and has been adopted by the World Health Organization. According to Maria, such an approach posits impairments as "a biological fact related to the functioning or absence of an organ. Disability, in turn, is a limitation resulting from the way society functions, by discriminating and excluding people whose bodies deviate from the norm of behavior set by the society" (Reimann 2019b: 17). The distinction becomes the starting point for the most important question that Maria asks in her book: "How does disability arise?".

> Was I born disabled? Did I become disabled when, as a sixteen-year-old, I appeared before the medical committee of the social insurance institution and received a certificate of "total inability to work" due to damage to my eyesight? Am I disabled, even though I work, raise a child, ride a bike, travel? Or maybe I'm just disabled when I can't drive, I can't see the lights on the other side of the street, or the captions in the cinema? (…) Although I have a certificate and the right to a disability pension, disability is not part of my identity – or maybe it is only on occasion. When I feel like I'm deprived of something, when I am having a hard time (Reimann 2019b: 17–18).

Maria captured this specific movement perfectly, she called it navigating between the sense of "uniqueness" – exceptional bravery, but also injustice – and the "ordinariness" that distinguishes the experience of impairment immersed in a diversely organized social world. Building a story about herself is a constant dialogue with her closer and more distant environment. That is why Maria was so irritated by the overprotective and infantilizing attitudes towards girls diagnosed with Turner syndrome. Sometimes, however, someone will say "Let them use a stool if they can't reach" (Reimann 2019b: 64), and someone else will say "Don't focus on the lack, don't think all the time about what you don't have" and these words will give rise to a better story, which in turn will translate into experience.

Although Maria emphasized that her story is "incoherent, interrupted and uncertain," like her experience of living with disability (Reimann 2019b: 28), her anthropology was deeply engaged, and aimed at building a better world.

The Pandemic project

An important feature of Maria Reimann's research was that she wanted her work not only to generate academic knowledge, but also to deal with current issues, to react to what was happening in the world, to relate to the social situation of children. Hence Maria's quick reaction to the rapid changes brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic. Immediately after the outbreak, Maria drew attention to the fact that the crisis was presented and discussed in the public space almost exclusively by adults, even though it affected children to a large extent. Maria wanted to know the children's point of view. She saw it as a commitment to young people, often overlooked, and left to fend for themselves during this difficult time. She described them as follows:

> Young people found themselves in many new predicaments, isolated from friends, in an online learning system unlike anything they had ever known. Our role is to find out what has been happening to them all this time (Reimann 2020b).

Maria, along with several other team members and collaborators, undertook various research activities to understand the pandemic experiences of young people, gather knowledge, and tell other adults about what we learned from children. In the first stage, we announced the creation of an online Children's Pandemic Archive and collected drawings, photographs, collages, song lyrics, letters, etc. We gathered a diverse collection, which is a unique testimony to the beginnings of the pandemic in Poland, all the more valuable, as it shows the reality of children, created in private spaces and about which the wider public knew little.

It was an ad hoc action, in specific lockdown circumstances. This meant that we received information from those children whose parents or teachers decided to contact us. Therefore, it was the knowledge that was to some extent filtered through an adult perspective. Adults assessed whether it is worth getting involved or what was worth uploading, etc. This also caused difficulties in interpretation – we could not talk to the authors of the works we were gathering. Maria discussed this difficulty in the following way:

> You can't help but try. Even if we are not able to interpret these works well enough. If we resigned, it would be as if we said that the experience of children and adolescents is not important, and that only what adults think and feel is important (Reimann 2020b).

Therefore, the most important thing was to immediately try to record and archive this huge change in the children's lives, even at the expense of the data being different from those we were used to. Maria also spoke about the lack of distance when we undertake such research:

> On the one hand, we can describe this on an ongoing basis and observe the change; on the other hand, it is still difficult to talk about it. We do not have the distance vis-a-vis this experience and ourselves. This is a time of great uncertainty about how things are and where things are going. One has reasons to be anxious. I do not believe that the fear that adults feel does not pass on to children (Reimann 2020b).

In August 2020, Maria began interviewing people aged 14–20 about their experiences of the pandemic. This was yet another way to learn about the experience of people who were ignored, and whose voice was not taken into account in shaping the public debate and policies. The goal was to gain a preliminary view of the problem rather than to make it into a coherent academic project. Maria talked to the media about her research with young people (e.g. Reimann 2021; Reimann, Radkowska-Walkowicz 2021). She knew that further, in-depth analysis would require expanding such research activities and gaining more distance to the topic.

Maria's research on young people and the pandemic also involved interviewing experts who worked with children and young people at the time. In order to get a better understanding of young people's situation, and look at it from different angles, she interviewed a psychiatrist, a pedagogue, and a person working in a non-governmental organization focusing on young people.

A practical tool for organizing knowledge about the situation of children during the pandemic was a calendar in which we recorded changes and events that were important from the point of view of their impact on children and young people: new legal acts, regulations on the functioning of educational and care facilities, social campaigns, etc. The ongoing work on the calendar prompted us to reflect on the important framework in which the pandemic reality of children was organized and to keep track of changes in this area. Today, it can be useful for all those involved in the research on the pandemic.

In addition to gathering knowledge, it was important to share it with the public. Maria was one of the main people responsible for the creation of the "Youth and the Pandemic" website (www.mip.uw.edu.pl), which became an online site where we collected knowledge gathered by the researchers during our various activities, but where we also created a database of knowledge generated in public discourse or other research centers on young people and the pandemic. As a result, it now contains the resources of the Children's Pandemic Archive, Maria's expert interviews and the calendar, numerous academic or press articles, publications for children, and links to various cultural texts. It was largely Maria's contribution to make the website clear, coherent, and aesthetically pleasing and an important contribution to the collection and development of knowledge about the pandemic.

Pandemic-related activities were multidirectional, they had diverse characters and were not part of a single project (although they later facilitated the design of the academic project "Pandemic and post-pandemic children's worlds," led by Ewa Maciejewska-Mroczek without Maria's participation). This does not mean, however, that they were not coherent. They were connected, on the one hand, by the need for knowledge, and on the other hand, grounded in ethics, or even in the ethos of a researcher whose work is to benefit other people.

Care after separation

Maria Reimann's last research on "Childhood after divorce. Joint physical custody in anthropological perspective", funded by the National Science Centre, was her first independent project.

The project started in March 2021 and was supposed to end in February 2024. Maria studied the experiences of Polish children who lived in two houses following their parents' separation. In this project, she consistently refused to juxtapose the children's opinions with their parents' narratives. She also interviewed psychologists and family court judges to understand the broader context of the research participants' situation. However, she focused almost entirely on children's experiences of living in alternating custody, or shared custody – the term she proposed as more adequately describing the reality of children whose parents, following their separation (divorce), equally share the duty and right to custody over their children. Maria not only wished to listen to and convey children's voices. Children were also to become experts. During her research, she asked interviewees not only to share their family history, but also to formulate advice for parents who are getting divorced and for other children who are facing this situation through adults' decisions. On this basis, she planned to create a guide for adults on how to help children when parents break up.

Maria's research shows that children living in two houses think about home and family differently than many adults, including adults recognized as experts. It demonstrates that children's lives can be a good example of building respectful family relationships. And that the child in this relationship can be an important actor with their own agency. In her texts and conference presentations, Maria argued that studying the experiences of children going through the separation of their parents and living in reorganized families is extremely important in contemporary Poland. At a time of changing ideals and practices, including those related to family life, family formation, and kinship, understanding young people's experiences is highly important. Political decision-makers, judges adjudicating in family-related cases, family mediators, journalists, and parents were seeking out Maria's opinions. They wanted to know what is best for children when parents separate. Maria argued, based on that, that some moderate optimism was possible about the position of children and the recognition of their voices within Polish families, public debate, and policymaking.

The image of children that emerges from Maria Reimann's research is not one of victims harmed by the separation of parents, but of individuals with agency, capable of caring for themselves and others, reflectively interpreting their own experience. In one of her articles, she wrote:

> Divorce is a situation in which a child is thought of as particularly vulnerable to harm. Such thinking, although not unfounded, can cause adults, who are focused on protecting children, to disregard their right to speak up and be heard. In Poland, shared care is a new model of looking after children following separation, and perhaps this is also why it arouses a lot of emotions and controversy. Listening to the voices of children who live in shared care, and have experiential knowledge on this matter that most adults lack, allows us to see several important things. First, a person – contrary to a deeply ingrained common belief – can have two homes. All the children and teenagers I talked to said so, and I think we should believe them. Second, the family is a network of mutual relations that must be taken care of by all the members. If all family members make an effort to care for one another, children and adolescents feel that their families are good enough and happy. This does not mean that it is always easy for them. Frequent moves are difficult and the people I talked to spoke about it quite openly. However, the possibility of maintaining a close relationship with each of the two parents – who, for their part, also make an effort to maintain proper contact with each other, listen to the needs of their children, and respond to them flexibly – is, in the eyes of my interlocutors, a superior value, in the name of which they agree to the inconvenience of often moving from house to house. Third, the children and adolescents I have talked to – perhaps also thanks to the awareness of their contribution to the functioning of the family – believe that parents should inform their children about their decisions regarding family life and consult with them. Although children do not speak the language of conventions and laws, it is clear from these conversations that they do not want to be perceived as helpless and vulnerable beings who should only be protected, and at all costs, but as active partners engaged in building the network of mutual relations that is a family (Reimann 2023: 115).

As in all of our childhood studies research, in that project, ethical considerations largely dictated how the study and its methodology were designed. From the start, Maria assumed that both parents would have to consent to participate in research (legally, the consent of one of them would probably be sufficient), which, as she later noted, meant that she did not talk to children whose parents were involved in a big conflict with one another. She recognized this situation as excluding children for whom the separation process was much more troublesome, so the study likely omitted the saddest stories. In June 2023, Maria submitted another research project proposal to the National Science Centre, which was to be a continuation of the earlier one, but included a wider group of children. The study "Children at the transition from nuclear to reorganized family: Parental separation in the anthropological perspective" was to enable the capturing of more diverse stories, including those in which things went wrong, i.e. when parents were unable to separate in a way that could be considered safe for the child. Maria could not carry out this research. However, we hope that her ethnographic work will remain a source of inspiration for other researchers who, like her, would want to ask children how they see their place within the family, what the family means to them, and what it should look like.

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The passing of Maria Reimann (in July 2023) greatly impoverished the landscape of Polish anthropological scholarship, just as her life greatly enriched the discipline. Her fieldwork skills – a refined ethical sense, the ability to identify socially unnoticed, neglected, or undervalued topics, and the courage to ask new questions and formulate new perspectives – were unique. So were her excellent writing skills, which allowed her to disseminate academic knowledge, and give it an open, inclusive character, thus attracting new, committed advocates for children and people with disabilities within the public space. Maria Reimann was able to listen carefully and skillfully to both her child and adult interlocutors – listen in a way that valued each perspective and gave it an individualized touch, quite at odds with journalistic generalizations and stereotypes, and which inspired people to build new social policies. In her writing, she was able to render both her voice and the voice of her interlocutors in a way that fully resonated with the complex and heterogeneous human experience, and which was, frankly, very moving. Her work connects to the best traditions of engaged anthropology, boldly intervening in the social world to open new perspectives of looking at people's experiences, motivations, and aspirations, which are so often accepted without reflection. At the same time, she consistently refused the role of an overbearing expert explaining to others how to live or raise children. This made her anthropology an extremely original project, and her humanistic stance an unprecedented event in Polish academia. It affected our own anthropological theory and practice, as well as the broader academic and non-academic fields.

Tłum. Marta Krokoszyńska

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SUMMARY

Each perspective is equally valid. Maria Reimann's methodological approach in research with children

The article presents the work of Maria Reimann – an anthropologist and childhood studies researcher, a founding member of the Childhood Studies Interdisciplinary Research Team at the University of Warsaw. Maria died tragically in 2023. The article is written by her colleagues, who present Maria's work in the context of the projects conducted by the Team. In particular, they shed light on the themes and unique features of Maria Reimann's approach to conducting research with children.

Keywords: childhood, research ethics, childhood studies, disability, Maria Reimann