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The Practice of Mutual Protection in the Care of Children with Palliative Care Needs: A Multiple Qualitative Case Study Approach from Jordan

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: This study explores the experience of disclosing critical information in the care of children with palliative care needs, from the perspective of physicians, nurses, and mothers in Jordan.

Design and Methods: This study employed a qualitative case study approach. It was conducted in three paediatric units in a Jordanian hospital. Each case comprised a child aged 1-12 years with a condition eligible for palliative care who received health care in one of these units, and their most involved carers (e.g. mother, physician and nurse). Two data collection methods were employed: participant observation and semi-structured interviews with three categories of participants: mothers, physicians, and nurses. Ethical approval was obtained from the hospital ethical review board. Written consent was obtained from all participants.

Results: Qualitative case studies were developed around 15 children (aged 1-12 years, nine were boys and six were girls, with varying diagnoses: renal disease, neurological conditions, and congenital heart defects). A total of 197 observational hours and 60 interviews were completed (15 mothers, 12 physicians and 21 nurses). The findings demonstrate that the practice of 'mutual protection' dominated communication between children, parents and clinical staff. Parents protected their children by disclosing only partial information about their disease, and by avoiding any information they thought would cause the child distress or loss of hope. Similarly, children avoided expression to their parents of their anxieties or fears, in order to protect them. In turn, nurses attempted to ensure observance of professional boundaries with children and mother to avoid a sense of loss when a child died.

Conclusion: The findings of the current study indicate that while open and honest communication between parents and children is generally recommended by literature, not all mothers agree with adopting open communication with their children concerning their illnesses. Therefore, any future intervention planned for them should respect parents' autonomy and decisions in addition to their cultural backgrounds.

Practical implications: The provision of ongoing education and specialised training for professionals to provide them with culturally sensitive skills in communication and provision of emotional support for children and parents is needed to improve clinical practice in healthcare settings with limited access to specialist palliative care such as Jordan.

Keywords: Child; life- limiting; communication; mutual protection; palliative care; Jordan; qualitative.

1 **Introduction**

2 Palliative care for children is defined as “The active total care of the child's body, mind
3 and spirit, and also involves giving support to the family. It begins when illness is diagnosed,
4 and continues regardless of whether or not a child receives treatment directed at the disease”
5 (World Health Organisation, 1998, p. 8). Communication is a key component in the field of
6 palliative care. It is vital that professionals working with children with life threatening and
7 life limiting illnesses have effective communications skills for a number of reasons. Firstly,
8 the manner in which a diagnosis or prognosis is delivered to a family can have a profound
9 effect on how they are able to cope in the months or years ahead (Blazin, Cecchini, Habashy,
10 Kaye, & Baker, 2018). Secondly, when therapies have failed and the child moves towards the
11 end of life, the ability to have empathetic and honest conversations with family about
12 palliative options can provide comfort (Sisk, Mack, Ashworth, & DuBois, 2018).
13 Furthermore, when good communication helps to form positive relationships, this can give
14 consolation to grieving family when a child sadly dies (Nyborn, Olcese, Nickerson, & Mack,
15 2016).

16 Informational exchange is a critical element of communication among health professionals
17 and parents (Hsiao, Evan, & Zeltzer, 2007). Receiving and obtaining adequate information is
18 reported by families to be helpful in ameliorating the fears and uncertainties related to their
19 children's illness (Blazin et al., 2018; Freeman, O'Dell, & Meola, 2004; Hsiao et al., 2007;
20 Steele, 2006). Parents who are well informed about their children's illnesses feel safe and
21 secure despite any uncertainty about the prognosis (Ringner, Jansson, & Graneheim, 2011).
22 Further, providing timely accurate information about the child's condition on a regular basis
23 is perceived to be one of the basic rights of the families of critically-ill children (Bartel et al.,
24 2000).

25 However, empirical studies show that parents tend to protect their children when they are
26 discussing their illnesses with them, particularly where they have a life-threatening or life-
27 limiting condition. Often, parents do not wish to discuss forthcoming death with children, and
28 find this topic difficult, painful and hard to address (Dangel, Fowler-Kerry, Karwacki, &
29 Bereda, 2000; Van Der Geest, Heuvel Ebrink, Van Vliet, & Pluijm, 2015).

30 In addition, health professionals report that they have discomfort in speaking with parents.
31 For example, physicians report difficulties in judging how much information should be given
32 to parents (Epstein, 2010), finding it difficult to evaluate how much information each
33 individual family needed. Nurses face several challenges communicating with patients or
34 their families, and in many situations they find themselves being unprepared to act or behave
35 appropriately (Patel, Coad, & Murray, 2012).

36 **Literature Review**

37 Despite the accumulation of evidence that supports the importance and benefits of giving
38 parents detailed information (Freeman et al., 2004; Hsiao et al., 2007; Ringner et al., 2011),
39 there is less evidence to support the notion that providing negative information about a
40 prognosis has a harmful effect on both parents and children (Mack & Joffe, 2014). As
41 highlighted by Stenmarker, Hallberg, Palmerus, and Marky (2010), physicians report that
42 “Being a messenger of life-threatening conditions” (p.483) is a major concern associated with
43 informing patients/families about a recurrent disease and the transition to palliative care.
44 Similarly, a qualitative study conducted with 35 health professionals recruited from a UK
45 children’s hospice reports that health professionals who are involved with treating children
46 with life-limiting diseases find it stressful and difficult to undertake “truth telling” (Price,
47 Jordan, & Prior, 2013, p.75) .

48 There is evidence that families vary in their needs for amount and style of information about
49 their child's serious illness (Kastel, Enskar, & Bjork, 2011; McGrath, Kail-Buckley, &
50 Phillips, 2007). A longitudinal Australian qualitative study conducted by McGrath et al.
51 (2007) investigated experiences related to the treatment of paediatric acute lymphoblastic
52 leukaemia (ALL). Experiences of 62 families from the perspectives of parents, children, and
53 well siblings over a five year period were sought. The findings of the open-ended interviews
54 show that there was considerable variation in the parents' needs for information. While some
55 parents reported that they found detailed information helpful, other parents in the same study
56 reported that that much of the information they received about the child's condition was very
57 challenging to cope with, and could be a source of anxiety, especially with regard to side
58 effects of treatment. Some parents asked for details about the condition of their children, and
59 then found that they regretted it later (McGrath et al., 2007). Some parents coped with
60 information overload by thinking about the information in part and according to the stage of
61 child's illness instead of being overwhelmed by all the details from the beginning; this
62 significantly increased their acceptance than if they received it early (McGrath et al., 2007).

63 • The role of culture

64 Parents' cultural background affects how much information they prefer to share with their
65 children about their serious or terminal illnesses (Papadatou & Bellali, 2002). Conservative
66 cultures demonstrate collusion behaviours in terms of keeping children unaware of their
67 diagnosis, as these cultures often believe that telling the patient the truth will deprive the
68 patient of hope, thereby adding to their distress (Seth, 2010). For example, it is common in
69 Greek culture not to inform children about their diagnosis; rather, information about poor
70 prognoses and the imminent death of children is communicated exclusively between

71 physicians and parents, who usually attempt to adopt a protective approach with their
72 children (Papadatou & Bellali, 2002; Papadatou, Martinson, & Chung, 2001).

73 In contrast, the cultural milieu of some parents may encourage them to initiate open
74 discussions with their children concerning death. For example, as shown by Gaab, Owens,
75 and MacLeod (2013), in a study among indigenous primary caregivers in New Zealand,
76 caregivers reported that they were encouraged to speak with their children with the aim of
77 preparing them for death. This was partly due to the indigenous (Maori) tradition in New
78 Zealand whereby parents are encouraged to explore concepts related to death with their
79 children.

80 In the conservative milieu of Jordan it is not the norm to reveal serious and terminal
81 diagnosis to children (Arabiati, ALQaissi, & Hamdan-Mansour, 2011). Jordanian culture is
82 derived from the Arab-Islamic culture. This paper draws on one aspect of a larger study
83 conducted in Jordan to explore the experience of communication in the care of children with
84 palliative care needs (**Reference removed to avoid authors' identifications**). This paper
85 particularly focuses on the experience of disclosing information between children, mothers
86 and health professionals in Jordan; to identify implications for interdisciplinary palliative care
87 education and practice.

88 **Methods**

89 Study design

90 In this study, we used a collective qualitative approach of the case study which
91 investigated the phenomena of communication by examining several cases rather than
92 focusing on one case. The collective qualitative approach of the case study is a suitable
93 approach to capture the multifaceted nature of the communications between children, their

94 family carers and the health professionals who were the most involved in their care (Lucka,
95 Jacksonb, & Ushera, 2006; Salminen, Harra, & Lautamo, 2006; Stake, 2006; Yin, 2014). A
96 typical case consisted of a child with palliative care needs, one or more family carers (e.g.
97 mother, grandmother), one physician, and one or more nurses. For more details on the study
98 design, refer to the published paper (Reference removed to avoid authors' identifications).

99 Setting

100 This study was conducted at one of the major public hospitals in Jordan located in Amman,
101 which provides health care services for a large and varied proportion of the population. There
102 are three paediatric departments in the hospital: medical floor, surgical floor, paediatric
103 intensive care unit (PICU). In order to ensure that this study comprised the highest variety of
104 children's cases, all three departments were included in its' scope. However, it is important to
105 note that while there is no specialised paediatric palliative care unit in this hospital, the three
106 abovementioned departments admit children with conditions that are suitable for palliative
107 care (Association for Children's Palliative Care, 2009) (Table 1).

108 [Insert Table 1 here]

109 Sampling

110 Sampling strategy

111 In order to find suitable cases to build the data for the study, a purposeful sampling
112 strategy was employed (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The inclusion criteria for the participants
113 of the study were:

- 114 • Children aged between 1-12 years old.

- 115 • Admitted to the hospital's paediatric units diagnosed with a condition eligible for
116 palliative care.
- 117 • Agree to participate in the study and their children give assent for researcher to build
118 up the case around them and to be observed by the researcher where applicable
119 (school age children).

120 As discussed in detail in the section on ethical issues, in order to eliminate any potential harm,
121 the children were not interviewed for this study, despite being the core of each case. Instead,
122 once an appropriate sample of children had been established, the family carers who had been
123 with them at the point of admission were identified and invited to take part in the study in
124 their place. In this study, the primary family carers were the children's mothers. Subsequently,
125 the participating mothers pointed out the healthcare professionals who had been most
126 involved in their child's case.

127 Access and Recruitment

128 In order to actually access the study participants, the initial action was to inform all of the
129 professional gatekeepers about the study. This entailed liaising with the heads of the medical
130 and nursing departments of both floors and placing an announcement on their bulletin boards
131 notifying the healthcare providers about the study. Additionally, an internal memo was issued
132 to the medical and nursing staff on both floors. Finally, leaflets giving a brief description of
133 the study in Arabic were provided to the department heads, which were then distributed to the
134 nurses assigned to the admission rooms in the two departments. The nurses subsequently
135 talked about the study during the routine hospital policy identification sessions usually
136 conducted for all new admissions.

137 Ethical considerations

138 Ethical approval for the research was obtained from the hospitals' ethics committee. The
139 participants' informed written consent for the interviews and observations were also secured.
140 In order to ensure that the participants understood exactly what they were consenting to, the
141 forms were provided with an Arabic translation. For the purpose of maintaining anonymity,
142 the names of participants were removed; instead, a number was assigned to each participant.
143 Moreover, to safeguard the data, it was saved on the principal investigators' personal
144 computer, and could only be accessed with a password.

145 The decision of whether to interview children in the study

146 The decision of whether or not to interview children in the current study was not
147 straightforward. It is essential to weigh up the risks and benefits of interviewing them
148 (Jokinen, Lappalainen, Merilainen, & Pelkonen, 2002) to protect them from any potential
149 harm (Kennan, Fives, & Canavan, 2012). Although currently there is no consensus on
150 including children in research, concerning their health and wellbeing (Helseth & Slettebø,
151 2004; Lambert & Glacken, 2011), according to the declaration of Helsinki, research involving
152 children should be limited, with special justification related to their health (World Medical
153 Association, 2000).

154 In qualitative health studies, participants are usually asked to discuss specific topics, which
155 rarely cause substantial physical harm. However, there is still potential for emotional and
156 psychological risk during the research process (Helseth & Slettebø, 2004; Jokinen et al., 2002;
157 Kankkunen, Vehvilainen-Julkunen, & Pietila, 2002). In the current study, interviewing
158 children would have had the potential to cause them significant emotional harm, as the
159 interviews might force them to recall painful memories and events, or discuss sensitive issues
160 concerning death and end of life issues (Helseth & Slettebø, 2004; Jokinen et al., 2002;
161 Kankkunen et al., 2002). Moreover, the conservative culture of Jordan around care of children

162 with palliative care needs made it imperative that you were not seen to 'interfere' or disrupt the
163 social order by discussing with children their illness or any issues associated with it, but rather
164 took the lead from the children's family carers. Considering all these issues, the research team
165 decided to avoid interviewing children in the current study.

166 Data collection methods

167 Two data collection methods were employed: participant observation and semi-structured
168 interviews with three categories of participants: mothers, physicians, and the nurses who
169 cared for the children who are the centre of each case.

- 170 • *Participant observation*

171 Participant observation is usually used to triangulate the information taken in interviews
172 (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). It is different from the interview, as it presents a first-hand
173 encounter with the phenomenon. This is contrary to the interview, which gives a secondary
174 source of understanding the phenomenon (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). In this study,
175 participant observation was implemented to observe the communication between family
176 carers, nurses, and physicians with each other as well as with the children within the context
177 of the paediatric departments of the recruited hospital.

178 Unstructured observation was employed as this acknowledges the importance of the context
179 in which knowledge is constructed between the researcher and the 'researched' (Mulhall,
180 2003). In the early stages of the research, MA had general ideas of what to observe
181 (communication between the nurses, family carers, and physicians). She tried, therefore, to
182 observe and record as many notes as she could. However, as the study progressed, the
183 observation became more focused (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Schensul & LeCompte,

184 2013; Spradley, 1980). The physical environment and context of the interaction was
185 considered as well.

186 To identify MA role during the research, she introduced herself as a researcher who had
187 clinical experience in paediatric settings. Moreover, she clarified that she currently had no
188 formal nursing role and that her main role was as a researcher. This reduced the power
189 imbalance between her and the participants. Observations were undertaken during the
190 morning or afternoon shifts.¹ The night shift was excluded from the study in order to prevent
191 any sleeping disturbances to the patients and their families. The preliminary observation
192 period (around two weeks) was very helpful in terms of getting her known, building rapport,
193 and gaining broad consent from the health care providers. Informal conversations and
194 socialisation were helpful in this regard (Balsiger & Lambelet, 2014). In addition to the
195 preliminary observation period, MA gained permission to attend some consultations with
196 doctors/residents as well as observing and accompanying the assigned nurses during their
197 work with the participants.

198 MA kept the focus of her observation on the cases that met the study's inclusion criteria and
199 those who agreed to participate in the study and their context. She did not observe any other
200 interactions related to other patients who were not included as cases in the study.

201 • *Observational period*

202 In order to achieve the saturation of the data collected for each case, MA budgeted for the
203 observations to take enough time (i.e. not less than one week per case). Moreover, she
204 planned to join the shift from its beginning, to help her to observe the interaction between

¹ The hospital morning shift runs from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m.; the afternoon shift runs from 2 p.m. to 11 p.m.

205 nurses and other participants during the shift handover. However, she found it difficult
206 pragmatically to observe the same case for one complete shift, for several reasons. For
207 example, the nurse she accompanied during the participant observation was assigned to
208 several patients that were not included in her study.² Therefore, she often became busy
209 performing procedures for them, or even receiving new admissions. She found it difficult to
210 accompany her for the whole shift, because she needed to protect the confidentiality of the
211 other children and their families, so instead she spent this time with the family carers of the
212 participating children. However, it was not appropriate to stay with family carers for long
213 periods (more than three hours) as they could become busy receiving visitors, making phone
214 calls, going to eat, and other activities. Although they did not disclose this to MA due to
215 cultural sensitivities that venerate the rights of the guest (which was how they regarded me),
216 MA was aware that sometimes they wished her to leave. Therefore, she used to stay around
217 2-6 hours per shift, except when she worked with more than one child, when she stayed for a
218 longer period. Further details regarding the length of participant observation for each case are
219 shown in **Table 2 (supplementary file)**

220 • *Field notes*

221 Field notes are a fundamental part of observation. Taking notes is an essential part of
222 connecting the researcher and their subjects in the writing of ethnographic reports
223 (Wolfinger, 2002). During her fieldwork, MA recorded field notes that included verbal
224 interactions and conversations with study participants as well as non-verbal elements of the
225 research settings. Moreover, MA was concerned with developing a reflexive analysis of her
226 role in the data collection and interpretation and considering that as a part of the data. With

² In this hospital, a paediatric nurse is usually assigned to 8-20 patients; the nurse-patient ratio in paediatric ICU is up to 1:4.

227 regard to the suitable time for taking field notes, it is better for them to be taken as soon as
228 the observable event happens (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Mulhall, 2003).

229 Therefore, MA took notes as they occurred in the field. However, sometimes during
230 interactions with patients and health care providers, it was difficult for MA to take notes at
231 the exact time of observation, so this was postponed to the earliest time that she was able to
232 do so. These field notes were preliminary notes that MA expanded at the end of the day
233 (Wolfinger, 2002). Analysis of the observational notes was ongoing, as this helped MA to
234 make sure that the subsequent interviews were used to best effect, as well as giving MA
235 helpful directions related to the next observations. **Box 1 (supplementary file)** gives an
236 example of one field note written during the fieldwork. The focus of the note is usually
237 narrowed over time (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Spradley, 1980).

238 Data analysis

239 **The data were analysed following** the frameworks of data analysis proposed by Stake (2006).
240 Within-case and cross-case analysis was undertaken in accordance with Stake's (2006)
241 recommendations. The within-case analysis focused on establishing the contextual
242 background for every case. This was significant to protect the uniqueness of each case within
243 its context and to be consistent with the case-study approach. The within-case analysis was
244 presented narratively for every case. Then, cross-case analysis was undertaken to
245 systematically extract the themes and subthemes of each case to identify similarities,
246 differences, and contradictions.

247 The process of systematic data analysis: step by step process

248 Once we had amassed all the case data, these documents and data were saved into MA
249 computer and password protected, allowing access to the research team only. Interviews were

250 transcribed by research assistants; this enabled us to make sure that the analysis proceeded
251 parallel to the data collection. In order to avoid any limitation of the analysis that might result
252 from analysing data from a language different to the participants' own (Arabic), we analysed
253 the data in the same language it was given in (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg, 2010). The
254 inductive approach indicates that the themes are derived from the data itself (Patton, 1990).
255 With inductive analysis, data are not derived from the researcher's previous theoretical
256 assumptions. In addition to the thematic analysis of every case, we presented every case
257 individually, using the narrative approach (thick description) in order to give a sense of the
258 detail and context of each. MA sent a few examples of case narratives for the other research
259 team for feedback, which in turn helped us to develop subsequent case narratives (Table 3:
260 supplementary file)

261 Cross-case theme analysis

262 Cross-case analysis includes collecting and analysing data from the within-case analysis.
263 Cross-case analysis seeks to build assertions across all cases (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). We
264 initiated the cross-case analysis once we had gained separate findings in all fifteen cases
265 using the QSR NVivo 10 software. We presented the data in a way that shows the reader the
266 validity of our analysis. This was done by providing sufficient evidence of the themes from
267 the data. The information was presented so that rather than merely describing the data, it was
268 instead presented analytically, producing arguments that related to the research questions
269 (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

270 Study rigour

271 The trustworthiness of the findings was increased through lengthy interactions with the
272 paediatric department which facilitated MA to closely observe each case for an extended

273 duration. This took place over nine months, totalling approximately 197 hours, as it was
274 necessary in order to comprehensively ascertain the intricacies of communication in a
275 paediatric environment. A peer debriefing strategy was employed to enhance the credibility of
276 the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This involved MA sending extracts of the interview
277 transcripts and field notes to the other research team members for them to give their input.
278 Member checking was conducted by requesting that the participants' review their interview
279 transcripts to ensure that the text correctly expresses their intentions (Shenton, 2004). Several
280 methods of enhancing confirmability were utilised including: triangulation, audit trail, and
281 fostering reflexivity throughout the research process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam &
282 Tisdell, 2015).

283 **Findings**

284 **Participant characteristics**

285 This study was comprised of 15 cases (Table 4) and therefore 15 children (Table 5). The
286 demographic breakdown was that eleven of the children were school-aged, one child was
287 preschool-aged, three of the children were toddlers, nine of the children were male, six of the
288 children were female. There were a range of conditions across the children; however the most
289 prevalent was renal disease, followed by neurological conditions, and one child with a
290 congenital heart defect (see Table 5 for further details).

291 Table 6 depicts the characteristics of the participants' groups. As mentioned, the sample was
292 comprised of 15 mothers as the family carers (n=15), however there were three other relatives
293 that helped the mothers care for the children and participated in the joint interview with them.
294 They were a father, maternal grandmother, and sister-in-law. Of the mothers, 12 were stay-at-
295 home parents, two were school teachers, and one was a university student. Most of them had

296 completed their education to primary or secondary school level, leaving to care for their
297 children, whilst three were graduates and two had a higher diploma. Thirty three (33)
298 healthcare providers also took part in the study, 21 of which were nurses (n=21) and 12 were
299 physicians (n=12). With regards to the nurses, they came from a wide variety of work areas,
300 and the group was comprised of one head nurse, two first charge nurses, 17 registered nurses,
301 and one practical nurse. In terms of the group of physicians sampled, seven were specialists
302 and five were residents. Additionally, 17 of the nurses held a bachelor's degree in nursing
303 and three held master's degrees, while one nurse held a two-year higher education diploma.

304 **Themes**

305 Data analysis resulted in one major theme; which is mutual protection with three subthemes;
306 first, protection by children, second, protection by parents and health professionals, finally,
307 maintain professional boundaries.

308 **Mutual protection**

309 The study participants adopted a protective approach when they communicated with each
310 other about their children's care. The children protected their parents from sadness by not
311 discussing their anxieties, and likewise, the parents sought to protect their children by only
312 disclosing partial information to them. Furthermore, they sometimes tried to isolate their
313 children from any environment where sensitive illness-related topics might be discussed. The
314 nurses tried to keep within professional boundaries when they nursed children and parents in
315 order to protect themselves from emotionally demanding situations.

- 316 • Protection by children

317 The majority of children tried to protect their parents from emotional suffering due to their
318 disease. They used several techniques to do this. For example, child #15's mother told MA

319 that he tried to protect her from being sad, especially when she talked negatively about the
320 progression of his condition to her relatives and friends. She said that he became sad and
321 cried when he saw her crying and screaming when she initially found out about his diagnosis.
322 Likewise, child #12's mother mentioned that in spite of being a very nervous child, child #12
323 was demonstrably affectionate towards his mother. She mentioned that one time when she
324 was crying after being informed about the possibility of him needing dialysis, he sat in a
325 corner and started crying as he always did when he felt that she was suffering because of him.
326 Child # 6, child # 8, and child # 9 protected their parents, especially their mothers, by
327 avoiding discussions about their conditions and diseases. Child #8's mother described how
328 her daughter tried to protect her from knowing her suffering. Child # 8's mother reported that
329 when she asked her daughter some questions about her friends with the same disease, Child #
330 8 refused to answer her mother, pretending that she did not know:

331 *Child # 8's* mother told me that she asked her daughter (child # 8) about the
332 progression of her friends with the same condition. Child # 8 refused to answer
333 her mother and pretended that she did not know [I knew that from her mother,
334 who told me that child # 8 did not like to show her awareness as she described her
335 as a secretive person]. I realised that she was trying to protect her mother and to
336 decrease her suffering by avoiding discussing these issues with her (Child #8, a
337 12 years old female child with nephrotic syndrome, Fieldnote 16).

- 338 • Protection by parents and professionals

339 The families played a significant role in terms of controlling how much the children knew
340 about their conditions. The health care providers took the families' wishes into consideration
341 when they initiated discussions with the children about their diseases. During the study,
342 almost all of the participants agreed that their children only needed to know partial

343 information that was appropriate to their age and their cognitive ability. Furthermore the
344 information provided was only to be sufficient to ensure their cooperation with treatment,
345 such as medication compliance and undergoing investigations, as well as ensuring good
346 adaptation to symptoms in terms of life and school. Almost all participants refused to give the
347 children any information that would give them pain about their disease:

348 You know child # 13 *has cerebral palsy ...*³but if the child is at an age and a
349 health status that enables him to understand, we might inform him with as much
350 *information as he needs to reduce pain or complications ... Because we need*
351 *sometimes patient's cooperation ... whether in terms of medication*
352 *administration, lab investigation, or the adaptation of the symptoms in life or*
353 *school ... however, we never give him any painful or hopeless information*
354 (Doctor 1, child # 13, a 9 years old male child with cerebral palsy).

355 As reported by both mothers and staff, there were several reasons behind their avoidance
356 of deep discussions with the children. The first reason was to protect them from the expected
357 emotional suffering that might result from them being informed in comprehensive detail
358 about their conditions. N2C4, for example, did not discuss Child # 4's future expectations in
359 order to avoid increasing her fears:

360 MA: do you think that she could get this information from other resources?

361 N2C4: *yes, she might know from other resources such as friends ... TV ... the*
362 *internet ... but she is still not sure that this will happen to her specifically ... it is*
363 *not like when you told her honestly and ensure and support her fears ... if you*

³ Pauses are presented by three dots (...).

364 support her fears, she *will have a great fear and she will lose trust in herself ... by*
365 *doing this, you've killed her slowly ... it is something like putting poison for her in*
366 *order to die slowly (Nurse 2, child # 4: , a 6 years old female child with ESRD).*

367 Likewise, D1C6 did not involve child # 6 in discussions of sensitive information with her
368 parents. She accepted the need for family approval to involve children in these kinds of
369 conversations. She mentioned that she preferred not to inform children or even teenagers
370 about end of life issues unless they asked about it themselves. From her experience, no child
371 had ever asked for that before, and she thought that this might be related to the protective
372 culture:

373 *Now ... how much children should know about their condition ... it depends on the*
374 *child himself ... now some clever children know and you know that they know ...*
375 *child # 6 is a good example; however, I do not make any type of confrontation to*
376 *go to tell her or to talk with her about death (Doctor 1, child # 6).*

377 *child # 6's mother: when one of her friends was dying, I asked the doctors and*
378 *students to hide this from her ... however she knew, she knew by herself ... she*
379 *was coming and sitting down in the room ... I was telling her "my daughter , go*
380 *out the room go out the room" ... never ... she refused, I tried to prohibit her from*
381 *observing this ... but she was sitting on the bed ... after the dying child was*
382 *transferred, by around two hours, her temperature rose to 40°C ... her blood*
383 *pressure was elevated as well (Child # 6 's mother,; a 10 years old female child*
384 *with ESRD).*

385 The mothers of child # 6, child # 8, child # 9, child #11, and child #12 reported that they
386 were unprepared to answer difficult questions from their children. For example, child # 9's

387 mother mentioned that when he had general oedema in his body, he asked his parents several
388 difficult questions:

389 *He usually had fears about it ... he feels when he sees himself oedematous, he*
390 *fears very very much he says “until when will I stay [like this]? When will I be*
391 *cured? Until when will this disease be with me ... um ...Why me but not my*
392 *friends?” ... this means he asks questions like this.*

393 *I told him “you are not alone ... there are a lot of children like you ... thank God*
394 *your condition is still better than others ...” What to tell him? (Child #9’s*
395 *mother: a 12 years old male child with nephrotic syndrome).*

396 The mother preferred to protect Child #9 rather than talking to him in any depth about his
397 disease. Child # 8’s mother also reported difficulties answering her daughter’s difficult
398 questions, especially when she compared herself to her sisters and peers:

399 *One day she noticed that her [younger] sister is significantly taller than her ...*
400 *you feel that child # 8’s clothes would not fit her sister’s size ... so she usually*
401 *asks me ...”mum, why is my sister growing and gaining weight but I’m not? ... I*
402 *feel that I’m like a boy” ... When I help her during bathing ... she tells me ...*
403 *”mum look at my body ... why do all of my sisters have white skin but I have*
404 *yellow?” ... she keeps asking and asking ... I swear sometimes I cry ... I left her*
405 *... yesterday she asked D1C8 ... ”Doctor ... I do not feel that I become older like*
406 *other girls ... this means that my sister... I feel that she is older than me although*
407 *I’m older” ... D1C8 told her “I told you child # 8 ... that your status is different*
408 *... your disease is systematic ... multiple things will be changed with you ... as*
409 *you have kidney disease” ... she was very honest with her.*

410 MA: *So ... what was child # 8’s reaction?*

411 *child # 8's mother: She cried excessively ... then I knew that her blood pressure*
412 *became very high ... although it was not like this in D1C8's clinic ... when child #*
413 *8 feels annoyed ... her face becomes red and you feel that she is very despondent*
414 *... I felt that she suffered (child # 8's mother: a 12 years old female child with*
415 *nephrotic syndrome).*

- 416 • Maintaining professional boundaries

417 One of the most important techniques the health care providers used to protect themselves
418 from suffering was the creation of emotional boundaries. For instance, a few nurses tried to
419 keep themselves from building close relationships with those children they felt had a high
420 probability of dying, in order to minimise the grief and suffering that would result from their
421 deaths.

422 According to some nurses, the majority of them decided to avoid friendly relationships
423 with children after having painful experiences. N1C8, N1C10a, and N1C11 went through
424 several stages until they became able to prevent themselves from building strong
425 relationships with the children:

426 Nurse N1C10: I had one experience where I liked one child ... *I liked her too*
427 *much and she connected to me emotionally ... day by day I saw her wilt in front of*
428 *my eyes ... my psyche was extremely tired from that day ... I prohibited myself*
429 *from emotionally connecting with any patient ... she came to me at the counter*
430 *and said "good morning, how are you?" ... One time she wrote me memorable*
431 *words on a piece of paper ... and she asked me to share gifts for memory ... I*
432 *protected her memorable words after her death for several years ... when I read*
433 *her memorable words ... I had extreme pain ... I had extreme emotional suffering*

434 ... I spent several years after her death in order to forget her ... now I find myself
435 far away from any patient who I know is going to die ... I cannot tolerate this
436 suffering ... there may be some people stronger than me ... but I cannot tolerate
437 ... I try to keep myself far away from these issues (Nurse 1, child # 10: a 15
438 months old male child with cerebral palsy).

439 **Discussion**

440 The findings of the current study suggest that the study participants adopted a protective
441 approach when they communicated with each other. Children protected their parents from
442 sadness by avoiding discussing their anxieties and concerns and likewise parents did not fully
443 inform their children about illnesses. Sometimes they tried to isolate their children from any
444 environment where sensitive illness-related topics might be discussed to avoid upsetting
445 them. Physicians protected children from discussing sensitive topics regarding the progress of
446 their diseases. Nurses learnt to maintain strict professional boundaries with children to avoid
447 any emotional harm at the time of a child's death.

448 This study demonstrates some issues that have a significant effect in promoting the protective
449 approach for children. For example, the mothers of child #8 and child #9 felt themselves to be
450 lacking the skills to discuss such sensitive issues with their children. Additionally, the
451 mothers of child #6, child #8, child #9, child #11, and child #12 reported that they found
452 themselves unprepared to answer their children's difficult questions. This chimes with a
453 study by Van Der Geest et al. (2015) that showed that parents felt a lack of confidence in
454 their ability to convey the message that their child had a terminal illness.

455 In addition to lacking the skills and abilities to discuss sensitive issues with the children, the
456 current study confirmed previous work (Dangel et al., 2000; Gaab et al., 2013; Van Der Geest

457 et al., 2015; Zelcer, D., Cairney, & Bannister, 2010), which found that parents aimed to
458 protect their children from the emotional suffering they might undergo if they were given
459 comprehensive details about their conditions. This was especially so when they thought that
460 the children were not aware of their prognosis. The majority of health care professionals
461 agreed with those mothers, believing that as long as the children were not aware of the
462 possible complications of their illnesses, there would be no need to expose them to the
463 extreme emotional suffering they might experience from knowing the nature and prognosis of
464 their diseases. For instance, D1C6 preferred not to inform children or even teenagers about
465 end of life issues unless they asked for it themselves.

466 Moreover, the findings of the current study have shown that some mothers (e.g. child #6,
467 child #8, child #9, and child #12's) mothers avoided open discussion with their children, as
468 they perceive the children themselves did not want it. Similarly to previous work (Dangel et
469 al., 2000; Gaab et al., 2013; Van Der Geest et al., 2015), parents and caregivers in the current
470 study avoided discussion with their children about death, as they perceive the children
471 themselves refused to talk about it. The present study added the finding that children used
472 several techniques to express their refusal; some of them became angry and denied having
473 anxieties or concerns (such as child #6, child #8, and child #12's), or felt guilty, as evidenced
474 by crying and isolation (such as child # 9 and child # 12). Although a few mothers tried to
475 initiate such discussions, the children's reactions prevented their parents from talking about
476 such painful topics. Van Der Geest et al. (2015) likewise affirm the children's reluctance to
477 consider matters related to death despite using different approaches. For instance, one child in
478 Van Der Geest et al. (2015) study clearly mentioned his/her preferences to discuss positive
479 things in their life, while another refused to answer their parents' sensitive questions.

480 Moreover, this study has shown that almost all participants, including staff, supported the
481 notion that children only need to know partial information, which is appropriate to their age
482 and their cognitive ability. Information should also be sufficient to ensure their cooperation
483 with treatment, such as medication compliance and the performance of investigations, as well
484 as ensuring good adaptation to symptoms in regard to life and school. The current study adds
485 a new insight, finding that the majority of staff agreed with parents that discussing sensitive
486 issues with children could be harmful to them, but that it could also result in negative
487 psychological complications. However, this is contradictory to recent qualitative studies
488 conducted in the UK and France, which showed that health professionals think that telling
489 children the truth was the most appropriate strategy, as it helped them to alleviate any worries
490 (Price et al., 2013; Sastre, Sorum, & Mullet, 2012). Similarly, as alluded to by Price et al.
491 (2013), there was disagreement between health professionals and parents.

492 This contradictory finding could be explained by the tendency of the majority of staff in
493 this study to distance themselves from children during work, which resulted in less contact
494 with children apart from routine tasks. Although the children became familiar to the staff as a
495 result of being admitted to the same department several times during the period of their
496 illnesses, this study shows that the interaction between children and staff was almost limited
497 to routine tasks, or other general issues far removed from any sensitive topics related to their
498 illnesses. It was clear that staff were very cautious about discussing such matters with the
499 children so as to avoid conflicts with their families, especially if the child had an emotional
500 crisis as a result of discussing such difficult topics. **Reduced interaction between children and**
501 **staff** could greatly reduce the potential for staff to understand how the children think, what
502 they know about their diseases, their awareness of their illness, and their worries and
503 concerns. This could contribute to supporting the traditional view of the child as not being

504 able to understand issues related to death. Therefore, the staff were more inclined towards
505 agreement with the parents to encourage the protective approach for their children.

506 The findings of this study have several implications for clinical practice, education, and
507 future research. First, investigating the reasoning behind parents' decisions to talk (or not) to
508 their children about illness or death is a substantial issue. Although open and honest
509 communication between parents and children is recommended by literature, not all mothers
510 agree with open communication about illness with their children (especially death with those
511 with advanced stage of disease). Therefore, any future intervention planned for them should
512 take their autonomy and decisions into consideration. However, the role of health
513 professionals could be essential, especially for parents who do not realise their children's
514 level of awareness. Hence, increasing the parents' awareness of their children's protective
515 approach and its consequences on their mental and psychological health could be one of the
516 most important interventions to improve mutual communication between parents and
517 children.

518 Second, the findings have significant implications for education. As several of the health
519 professionals in this study underestimated the children's ability to understand death, they
520 supported the parents' avoidance of such discussions with their children. This increased the
521 parents' tendency to avoid initiating open discussions with their children. The findings of the
522 current study can inform the education of health professionals about the ability of children to
523 understand death even if they prefer not to show it to their parents.

524 The findings suggest further research on the following key areas would be beneficial: (1) the
525 issue of children's awareness of death; (2) involving the fathers' experiences. The issue of
526 children's awareness of death requires further investigation. Although the previous discussion
527 about children's awareness of disease and end of life issues gives background information

528 that explains the ways parents and health care providers communicate with the children, this
529 knowledge was gained from secondary sources (mothers and HCPs). Interviewing the
530 children themselves was beyond the scope of this study; we were unable to interview the
531 children for several reasons, such as reducing the expected harm to them, especially if we
532 were to discuss sensitive issues with them. We recommend research where the children are
533 the primary resource, to collect more credible information on their awareness of death.

534 Moreover, the current study explored the communication phenomena from the perspectives
535 of the mothers and health care providers. This was because of the mothers' availability as
536 they were the ones that mainly accompanied their children in hospital. According to hospital
537 policy, fathers are prohibited from accompanying their children in the hospital to protect the
538 other mothers' privacy. Nevertheless, the fathers' experiences of communication with their
539 children would triangulate the findings, and could provide other dimensions that expand on
540 what is already known from this study. Hence, other studies that involve fathers could enrich
541 the analysis of communication and complement the findings of this study.

542 This study has several strengths. Although it was conducted in one hospital, it is one of
543 Jordan's major referral centres, and covers a wide area, even outside the capital city where it
544 is located. Therefore, the children recruited in the study came from different geographical
545 regions in Jordan. This improves the transferability of the findings to another setting.

546 While other studies addressed the experiences of parents at certain stages of their children's
547 illness, they did not address parental insight into their children's experiences in the long run.
548 This study recruited children who were at different stages of their illnesses, as highlighted in
549 the methodology section. Therefore, the study participants' experiences varied according to
550 the different stages of the children's illnesses. Moreover, this study captured the different
551 experiences of mothers in the long run as it recruited mothers with more than one child with

552 the same illness. This gives further depth to their experiences and how their perceptions
553 change over time.

554 This study had several limitations that should be acknowledged. The period of observation
555 varied significantly for each case study. MA spent several weeks performing data collection
556 for some cases (e.g. child # 1, child # 5, child # 6, child # 8, child # 14, and child # 15),
557 which enabled her to collect rich information. However, in other case studies (e.g. child # 2,
558 child # 3, and child # 4), MA spent a relatively short period observing them (a few hours)
559 because of the difficulty of predicting the exact time of discharge, as well as some
560 unexpected events, such as the death of child # 3. Therefore, more attention was given to
561 some case studies (e.g. child # 6, child # 8, and child # 15) than others, which might result in
562 shedding more light on some issues while neglecting others.

563 In addition, as participation in the study was voluntary, some participants may have
564 contributed more than others due to their greater interest in it. Of the 20 mothers who were
565 recruited, five refused to participate, and they could have different perspectives, which were
566 not depicted in the study.

567 Another limitation was that the observational data and interview data were sometimes
568 contradictory. While the analysis stage was difficult for MA because her interpretation and
569 observations differed from the participants' experience, the research team attempted to solve
570 this problem by prioritising the participants themselves, as the aim of this study is to explore
571 their experiences. However, we tried to acknowledge the contradictory findings by referring
572 to the evidence and leaving the reader to accept whatever they think is more credible.
573 Another problem was the differing perspectives between mothers and professionals on certain
574 issues. Again, we acknowledge both perspectives leaving the reader to accept the
575 interpretation they think is more comprehensive. This is congruent with the philosophical

576 approach of interpretative constructivism we adopted for the current study, which
577 acknowledges the presence of more than one reality based on different views and
578 perspectives.

579 The participants, especially the doctors and the head nurse significantly changed some of
580 their behaviours because they were being observed. Despite using several techniques to
581 reduce the effect of MA presence on the findings, this influence could not be completely
582 eliminated. However, we felt that it did not significantly affect the findings, as MA felt that
583 the participants (especially the nurses and carers) behaved in a very natural way, particularly
584 during the middle and end of the study, which indicates that trust had been built up with
585 them.

586 Finally, the study adopted a multiple case-study approach, aiming to provide a thorough
587 understanding of profound experiences (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995, 2006; Yin, 2014).
588 Consequently, the experiences gained from this study were not generalisable beyond the
589 group of study participants from which the information was collected. **However, greater**
590 **insights and understanding were derived from the multimethod approach: allows the findings**
591 **to be transferred to other mothers and professionals who care for ill children in the same**
592 **context**

593 **Conclusion**

594 This study demonstrates that the parents and health care providers adopted a protective
595 approach when they communicated with each other about the children's care. The parents
596 avoided disclosing information to the children about the severity of their illness to protect
597 their feelings. The health professionals maintained some professional boundaries when they
598 cared for children to protect themselves any from emotionally demanding situations. The

599 mothers described their children as feeling guilty and considering themselves responsible for
600 their parents suffering. Health professionals could play a significant role in supporting
601 parents during the process of communicating sensitive issues to their children. The findings
602 of the current study can inform the education of health professionals who reported a lack of
603 supporting skills for parents during difficult situations, such as when they receive difficult
604 questions from their children.

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609 **Conflict of interest**

610 The authors have no conflicts of interests

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614 **Table Footnotes**

1	The hospital morning shift runs from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m.; the afternoon shift runs from 2 p.m. to 11 p.m.
2	Pauses are presented by three dots (...).

List of Tables:

Table 1: Conditions eligible for paediatric palliative care (ACT, 2009, p. 8).

Category 1:

Life-threatening conditions for which curative treatment may be feasible but can fail. Where access to palliative care services may be necessary when treatment fails or during an acute crisis, irrespective of the duration of that threat to life. On reaching long term remission or following successful curative treatment there is no longer a need for palliative care services. For example: cancer, irreversible organ failures of heart, liver, kidney;

Category 2:

Conditions where premature death is inevitable, where there may be long periods of intensive treatment aimed at prolonging life and allowing participation in normal activities. Examples: Cystic Fibrosis, Duchenne Muscular Dystrophy;

Category 3:

Progressive conditions without curative treatment options, where treatment is exclusively palliative and may commonly extend over many years. examples: Batten disease, Mucopolysaccharidoses;

Category 4:

Irreversible but non-progressive conditions causing severe disability leading to susceptibility to health complications and likelihood of premature death. Examples: severe cerebral palsy, multiple disabilities e.g. following brain or spinal cord injury, complex health care needs, and a high risk of an unpredictable life-threatening event or episode”

Table 4: Participants involved in every case yielded in the study

(Child #)	Participants	Child (#)	Participants
Child # 1	Child # 1's mother Child # 1's grandmother D1C1 N1C1 N2C1	Child # 9	Child # 9's mother
			D1C9
			N1C9
Child # 2	Child # 2's mother D1C2 N1C2	Child # 10	Child # 10's mother
			N1C10
			N2C10
Child # 3	Child # 3's father	Child # 11	Child # 11's mother
	Child # 3's mother		D1C11
	D1C3		N1C11
	N1C3		
Child # 4	Child # 4's mother	Child # 12	Child # 12's mother
	D1C4		D1C12
	N1C4		N1C12
	N2C4		
Child # 5	Child # 5's mother	Child # 13	Child # 13's mother
	D1C5		D1C13
	N1C5		N1C13
	N2C5		
	N3C5		
Child # 6	Child # 6's mother	Child # 14	Child # 14's mother
	Child # 6's sister in-law		D1C14
	D1C6		N1C14
	N1C6		
Child # 7	Child 7's mother	Child # 15	Child 15 's mother
	D1C7		D1C15
	N1C7		N1C15
Child # 8	Child 7's mother		N2C15
	D1C8		
	N1C8		

Table 5: Children details (the centres of each case study)

Case no.	Child #	Gender	Age	Diagnosis	Consent taken From
1.	Child # 1	Female	13 Months	Meaningomyelocele hydrocephalus	Mother
2.	Child # 2	Male	10 yrs.	Nephrotic syndrome	Mother
3.	Child # 3	Female	7 yrs.	ESRD	Mother
4.	Child # 4	Female	6 yrs.	ESRD	Mother
5.	Child # 5	Male	2 yrs.	Hydrocephalus	Mother
6.	Child # 6	Female	10 yrs.	ESRD	Mother
7.	Child # 7	Male	9 yrs.	TOF, ICA, Seizure	Mother
8.	Child # 8	Female	12 yrs.	Nephrotic syndrome	Mother
9.	Child # 9	Male	12 yrs.	Nephrotic syndrome	Mother
10.	Child # 10	Male	15 months	Cerebral Palsy	Mother
11.	Child # 11	Male	10 yrs.	Nephrotic syndrome	Mother
12.	Child # 12	Male	11 yrs.	Nephrotic syndrome	Mother
13.	Child # 13	Male	9 yrs.	Cerebral Palsy	Mother
14.	Child # 14	Female	12 Months	Cerebral Palsy	Mother
15.	Child # 15	Male	3 yrs.	ESRD	Mother

Table 6: Characteristics of study participants groups

Category of participants	Characteristics	Number
Family carers	Age group (years)	
	20- 30	3
	31-40	3
	More than 40	9
	Relationship to child	
	Mother	15
	Marital status	
	Married	15
	Widow	
	Divorce	
	Literacy level	
	Primary level	4
	Secondary level	5
	Diploma (2 years)	2
	University student	1
	BS.C	3
Occupation		
Housewife	12	
Teacher	2	
Student	1	
Physicians	Speciality	
	Specialist	7
	Resident	5
Nurses	Level of occupation	
	Head nurse	1
	Charge nurse	2
	Registered Nurse	17
	Practical nurse	1
	Level of education	
	MS.C	2
	BS.C	18
High diploma	1	

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