

UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

Remote Childhoods

Exploring What Matters for Children on St Helena Island



Samantha Phippard

ORCID Number:0000-0003-3673-157X

Educational Doctorate (EdD)

January 2023

This thesis has been completed as part of a requirement for a post graduate research degree of the University of Winchester

Declaration and Copyright Statement

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

I confirm that this thesis is entirely my own work. I confirm that no work previously submitted for credit has been reused verbatim. Any previously submitted work has been revised, development and recontextualised relevant to this thesis. I confirm that no material from the thesis has been published in advance of its submission.

Copyright © [Samantha Phippard] [2023] [Remote Childhoods, Exploring What Matters for Children on St Helena] University of Winchester, EdD Thesis, [1-241]

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement. Copies (by any process) either in full, or of extracts, may be made only in accordance with instructions given by the author. Details may be obtained from the RKE Centre, University of Winchester.

This page must form part of any such copies made. Further copies (by any process) of copies made in accordance with such instructions may not be made without the permission (in writing) of the author. No profit may be made from selling, copying, or licensing the author's work without further agreement

Acknowledgments

Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that at its heart holds principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility, and respect for diversity. It is these ethics, and values which have kept me grounded during my journey through international research and has challenged me to support the voices of the marginalised and oppressed peoples who I have learnt with during this time.

I acknowledge the unique contribution that St Helenian people have had on myself which has driven me to continue to advocate for children's voices in this research. I am especially grateful for children and young people on St Helena whose determination to be heard against the relics of colonialism has impressed upon me the importance of providing them with a platform in research. I am also thankful to several influential St Helenian's who have supported my reflections both on the island and back in the UK. Additionally, I thank the St Helena Research Institute and Dr Rebecca Cairns Wicks. I hope, moving forward, children and young people will be heard and provided with opportunities to develop towards what really matters to them.

Throughout the writing of this thesis, I have received a great deal of support and assistance. I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr L Pagden and Dr K Ball whose expertise and critique have been invaluable in helping come to grips with complexities of researching far from my home. I have learnt so much from you both and your direction and guidance. I also wish to thank Emma Paxton who assisted me in giving illustrations from World Café events to life and The World Café community including, Amy Lenzo.

Alongside me on my journey my family have been my source of strength to keep going when practical and emotional challenges have caused me to stumble. The last three years have brought unprecedented challenges globally and locally and you have encouraged me to be my best self. To my husband, Joe, Anthony, and others, thank you.

UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

ABSTRACT

Remote Childhoods

Exploring What Matters for Children on St Helena Island

Samantha Phippard

ORCID Number:0000-0003-3673-157X

Educational Doctorate (EdD)

January 2023

There are 14 British Overseas Territories with a quarter of a million British citizens dispersed across the world. Each territory has a unique history of development, which can often be seen through textual analysis and the violence of colonialism. Whilst existing knowledge provides a backdrop to understanding the complex governance that exists, there is little research to understand the lives of children and young people on these islands. This matters, because the islanders are British yet are situated far from the mainland, marginalising their voices in research to date. This thesis focuses on the Island of St Helena. This project was completed during four months' fieldwork on St Helena in 2020/2021 and inevitably was impacted by world events, including the global pandemic, which shaped the research structure and interactions with children and families on St Helena Island, providing unique insights into decision-making in a remote island community. Drawing on the works of Paolo Freire, this project edges towards transformative foundations, drawing on constructivist grounded theory analysis, shaped by children's participation. The thesis introduced creative methods to explore the emergence of children's voices in the project through a series of 'World Café' events to support conversation about what matters to children and how children learned what was important to them. Through this approach, a situated understanding emerged to explain how children's future aspirations are realised, alongside what mattered to them in the here and now. This process of discovery evolved as children grew in their awareness as being within or outside of their island context, through a process that is termed within this thesis *learning mattering*.

Key words: World Café, Remote Childhoods, British Overseas Territories, St Helena Island, children's voice

List of contents

	Page Number
Declaration and Copyright Statement	1
Acknowledgements	2
Abstract	3
List of Contents	4
List of Appendices	7
List of Figures	7
List of Photographs	8
List of Tables	8
List of Memos	8
Introduction	9
Chapter One: Literature Review	
Situating childhood on St Helena	14
Prelude: St Helena, the early years	16
Revisiting history through the postcolonial lens	19
Society and education for children on St Helena	26
Disclosing childhood on St Helena	37
Concluding comments	43
Chapter Two: Influence of Critical Pedagogy	
Location of self	48
Critical Pedagogy in context	50
Towards the deconstruction of knowing	52
Banking education	54
Migration to being	59
Education for development	60
Freire into the field	63
Concluding comments	66

List of contents

	Page Number
Chapter Three: Methodology	
Introduction	69
Transformative learning in research	70
Choosing a methodological direction	74
Research aspirations and aims	75
The impact of coronavirus on the study	76
Ethical considerations	77
The World Café as a participatory method	88
Exploring questions that matter	89
The World Café planning	90
Visual data	93
Illustrating impactful conversation	94
Additional data collection methods	95
Focus group data	95
School assembly	96
Field Notes	98
Sampling	99
Theoretical sampling and saturation	102
Concluding comments	104
Chapter Four: The position of Grounded Theory	
Introducing Grounded Theory	108
Critique of Grounded Theory within the project	109
Coding	113
Computer assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS)	113
Axial coding	115
Theoretical coding	118
Conclusion, grounding data in the field	120

List of contents

	Page Number
Chapter Five: Findings	
Introduction	122
Making spaces for children’s play	123
Migrating towards possibilities	137
Desiring equality and fairness	146
Colonial scarring	153
Keeping healthy, staying safe	157
Developing mattering in island situations	165
Concluding comments	171
Chapter Six: Discussion	
Introduction	173
Visualising the unheard	174
The World Café as a method situating learning	177
Learning from others	181
Becoming socially and environmentally aware	184
Mattering	185
Chapter Seven: Reflections and Implications	
Evaluating the study	188
Quality	188
Credibility	189
Originality	189
Resonance	190
Usefulness	191
Limitations of research	192
Further ethical considerations	193
Future research	195
Concluding comments	197

List of contents

	Page Number
Appendices	
Appendix 1: Interactive assembly graphic recording	200
Appendix 2: Primary school graphic recording	201
Appendix 3: Harvesting tablecloths from all three primary schools	202
Appendix 4: The World Café graphic recording	203
Appendix 5: Participant, host, and community information	204
Appendix 6: Invitation to attend the World Café and consent form	209
Appendix 7: ‘What matters to you?’ poster	216
Appendix 8: News article	217
Appendix 9: Our Island Café, main event timetable	218
Appendix 10: Café etiquette	220
Appendix 11: Mini Café tablecloths	221
Appendix 12: Main Café tablecloths	224
Appendix 13: Initial concepts - primary school events	225
List of figures	
Figure 1: Locating St Helena	12
Figure 2: United Nation’s Sustainable Development Goals	97
Figure 3: Example coding	111
Figure 4: Café data analysis in ATLAS.ti 8	114
Figure 5: Mapping emerging categories	115
Figure 6: Mapping relationships between categories	118
Figure 7: Conditional matrix to explore categories and relationships	119
Figure 8: Field notes – extract	127
Figure 9: Learning mattering	176

List of contents

	Page Number
Photographs	
Photo 1: Wanting a voice	78
Photo 2: Demonstrating fear in a community protest November 2020	79
Photo 3: Protesting quarantine November 2020	81
Photo 4: Communicating with the community over the radio	82
Photo 5: Expressing play as mattering most	124
Photo 6: Primary school one, table five, round two	126
Photo 7: Primary two, table five, round one	127
Photo 8: Emptying spaces and emotion	127
Photo 9: Nature consuming play	128
Photo 10: Opening of play 1957	129
Photo 11: Playing in Longwood	132
Photo 12: Playing on Ascension	134
Photo 13: Discovering rights	147
Photo 14: Making connections and exploring possibilities	148
Photo 15: Seeing colonial reminders	154
Photo: 16 Royal play	157
List of tables	
Table 1: Transformative paradigm	71
List of memos included	
Memo 1: False Generosity	154

Introduction

This thesis focuses on the remote island of St Helena in the South Atlantic, where childhood is situated with restricted accessibility both in the real world and online. This project was conceptualised by the researchers own experiences of working alongside communities of the British Overseas Territories, where as an outsider, hidden challenges faced by children and young people began to be seen. Searching for a map to navigate social work practice across the British Overseas islands an uneasy fit between colonial and post-colonial knowledge emerged suggesting a more complex understanding was needed and critical engagement with existing research to support anti-oppressive practice. With little participatory research about St Helena, islander's own perceptions and contribution to understanding how they negotiate these complex spaces, was neither understood nor hardly seen in research, hiding their voices in policy and practice. Although the disclosure of authentic voices is not unproblematic, it was positioned as necessary to support engagement with children's rights.

Returning to the early foundations of social work and educational practice, it became apparent that there was a need to support more reflective practice with action, a balance ethically challenging as a researcher from what is commonly known as the 'global north' crossing into the 'global south'. I realised that my normative social work ethics operated at a level of abstraction, which did not engage sufficiently with the lived experiences of islanders. While cross-cultural research is challenging, to not engage with this, I believed was more harmful to children and young people who have the same rights to participate, despite their marginalisation in location and belonging over the years. Attempting to support understanding alongside islanders participation, this project has evolved to realising a need to integrate existing understanding and knowledge thus supporting a more critical understanding of the past towards bringing forward children and young people's authentic understandings in the here and now.

This thesis journeys through how children's lives and social situations have been shaped by colonialism and how children's and families' perspectives can be seen more critically. The use of the term journey is important to both contextualise and situate the island over the years. This suggests the need to push understanding towards deconstructing

historically presented events. In many ways, children on St Helena have been seen as objects of study by some, or only oppressed through their positioning. Whilst acknowledging that deconstructing historical texts from today's and the researcher's own vantage point has limitations, this thesis allows for dialogue to be opened closer to the islanders own reality. Education and social welfare as tools for development are subsequently critically explored to understand how children's lives have been supported and limited, shaping their lived experiences. Together, this allows understanding of how children on St Helena can be supported in participating about what matters to them and so drive forward their own strengths and potential while upholding their right to participate. Consequently, the central aim through this research was **to further knowledge and insight into the lived experiences of children on St Helena about what matters to them**. In meeting this aim the research explores what voices means to children on St Helena through a series of participatory events and draws on historical and contextual data to understand how their lives are situated towards supporting children's own decision making into the future.

Taking this forward into the research project and building on the method of The World Café refined within the pilot study which ran parallel to this thesis (Dunn, 2021), it was agreed that the secondary aims would include the following:

- **To explore what authentic voice means to children on St Helena Island through analysis of World Café events.**
- **To understand how children's lives are situated on St Helena Island and how they are positioned globally.**
- **To build knowledge on how children can be supported in decision-making through the World Café.**

This research started from the position that without a voice in knowledge, children are not seen or heard, yet understanding what authentic voices mean necessitated an exploration of understanding how there are constructed, gathered, and represented. The pilot study (Dunn, 2021) realised that children's ability to perceive the world depended on their position and the knowledge generation around them. The main sources of knowledge for children on St Helena were family and education (ibid). As a

result, the methodological shape of this study was influenced by the need to support the emergence of authentic voices in learning events, whilst staying close to the participation and development of children's knowing throughout. Therefore, the critical umbrella of a transformative approach is used throughout.

To enable this, the project explored what matters to children on St Helena through utilising a creative methodologies and drew on Constructivist Grounded Theory analysis, which aimed to represent authentic voices through constant comparison and emerging categories closest to children's own dialogue, while being adaptive to emerging understanding of the situation of the research. The research also draws on Paulo Freire's (1970) positioning of oppression and banking education, showing attention to the need to remain both transformative and ethically grounded. Data representation is considered crucial and was developed visually to value voices and participation, whilst supporting children to consider new possibilities.

Critical pedagogy approaches recognising that education can assist learners to 'develop consciousness of freedom, recognise authoritarian tendencies and connect knowledge to power and the ability to take constructive action' (Giroux, 2010: 2). In doing so, knowledge was generated, while children's transformative thinking was encouraged. This allowed continued focus about what mattered to children. In doing so this supported children to have a right to participate in decision-making and to have their voices heard (UN, 1989).

The transformative umbrella, also drew attention to how reflexivity, power, and structural inequalities operated on St Helena, shaping children's understanding. The transformative potential of The World Café, including revolving rounds of dialogue that supported inclusion was identified early as holding potential for future research alongside supporting children's voice to emerge (Dunn, 2021). Using the participatory method of World Café, a series of events took forward early Freirean research of culture circles through this project to new possibilities. The need to stay close to the voices of children on St Helena in the collection of data, shaped not only the analysis, but also the journey of data collection. The challenges of balancing constructivist Grounded Theory with transformative research will be explored within this thesis, moving between data,

codes, concepts, and categories toward new understandings about children's understanding and childhood on St Helena. The collation of data and findings in the complexity of participatory research highlighted limitations and required additional contextual data to situated learning. As such the use of the term sufficiency in data collection as opposed to saturation is recognised.

The first challenge to this project came from the covid-19 pandemic from 2020 where the remote island became further detached from connections to the outside following the airport closure, leaving a six weekly ship as the only consistent arrival. Located remotely in the South Atlantic the island has adapted to a level of isolation, however as part of a global society the limitations to accessibility including news provided a unique situation for this study.

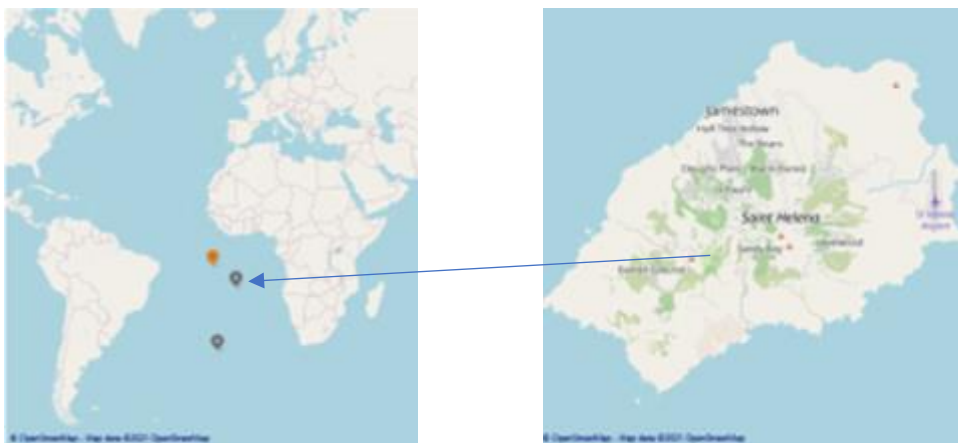


Figure 1: Locating St Helena

In total 215 children participated in this project through focus groups and a series of World Café events across four schools and an interactive assembly in the secondary school. Data findings were reconstructed incorporating field notes and archived materials, towards four areas of what mattered to children including **keeping healthy and staying safe, desiring equality and fairness, migrating towards possibilities, and making space for children**. Alongside this the significance of **colonial scarring**, where remnants of colonialism linger in the islands environment as reminders of islanders colonial ties will be explored. The project demonstrating how children's own desire to promote and meet each other's needs, both on their island and towards their desired

futures holds positive potential, while acknowledging their growing awareness of the limitations of their situation in meeting their futures serves to remind them of the limits of their situation.

The written style of this thesis differs from the objectified discourse found in theses informed by other perspectives and has been shaped by the evolving nature of analysis through interactions in the field and transformative research driven by the contribution of grounded analysis. The overall structure and intended functions of the upcoming chapters proceed from literature and philosophical perspectives towards methodological considerations and the position of grounded theory which supported the exploration of data through the World Café events, alongside a growing understanding of the interplay with other social dynamics where children develop. This shaped the theoretical categories that emerge for discussion in the later chapters towards the central category to understand what matters to children and young people, and more importantly how children decide what matters through the process of ***Learning Mattering***. The final discussion will evaluate the study and consider future possibilities in research and practice.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

Situating Childhood on St Helena

Situated in the middle of the South Atlantic, between South America and South Africa, is the island of St Helena. Here, children and families experience unique childhoods, being British, yet situated far from the mainland. It is this combination that has obscured their understanding of their own childhoods. At the beginning of this project, an initial literature search identified that little research could be found about children's lived experiences on St Helena Island. Children appeared silent or lost within historical, geographical, and anthropological projects. Whilst this literature review initially intended to critically synthesise the available literature (Aveyard *et al.*, 2016) about children's lives on St Helena Island, the limited availability of literature presented a barrier to this. Literature, absorbing prevailing cultural views appeared dated, suggesting the need to deconstruct the colonial history that has shaped the island's development, alongside the production and positioning of knowledge that has shaped how previous projects have represented the island and islanders. This necessitated a more situational and grounded analysis of the presenting phenomena to identify gaps in critical knowing (Clarke *et al.*, 2018) by holistically exploring knowledge about children on St Helena in order to identify how children's lived experiences and social processes are situated, charting a course towards understanding the most suitable way to explore their lives within a research project.

Theoretical sensitivity is the conceptual insight developed throughout a study wherein researchers become attuned to the data and its meanings (Charmaz, 2006). Through developing theoretical sensitivity in the literature, it was intended that the researcher would become familiar with the substantive topic area (Charmaz, 2006; Bryant, 2017; Charmaz and Thornberg, 2020). Whilst some advocate for literature reviews to be completed after the study (Glaser, 1992), this review acknowledges that exposure to previous knowledge is inescapable since we all come to the research field with a level of subject knowledge (Nagel *et al.*, 2015). Therefore, before entering the field, there was a need to ensure that knowledge was critically reflected upon to understand the situation (Clarke *et al.*, 2018). A preliminary review was completed before travelling to the island,

with subsequent interactions and encounters with data through the pilot study influencing the shape of the final literature review.

This review includes historical and theoretical literature, alongside research completed on St Helena, which is positioned as important to critically understand the context of children's lives and society within a British Overseas Territory. Acknowledging that the weight of the present is shaped by the past, there is a need to push interpretation towards more critical understandings to both deconstruct and reconstruct understandings of the situation of interest (Fook, 2012): in this case, children on St Helena. This is more than just understanding the human elements, but also brings into focus the influence of non-human factors, such as symbolic elements and the environment, which linger and shape discourses where childhood is situated (Clarke *et al.*, 2018).

To understand how lives on St Helena have evolved to the present, a broad range of theoretical and historical literature is included alongside empirical studies and reviews. In deciding how to carry out this review, I have drawn upon constructivist and situational grounded theory (Clarke *et al.*, 2018), in which reflection is a core consideration, appraising knowledge throughout. In this position, research, writing, and theoretical frameworks are seen as interlocked ideological sites in which we process prior knowledge (Charmaz, 2006). Understanding children's lives through an analysis of the situation allows us to braid in theoretical foundations (Clarke *et al.*, 2018). In doing so, there is a need to acknowledge the complexity of children's lives in the British Overseas Territories and the challenges of researching the colonial, which requires an anti-oppressive, decolonial and critical lens (Liebel, 2017; Mertens, 2017; Clarke *et al.*, 2018; Spyrou, 2018).

Firstly, to understand the children of St Helena, there is a need to understand what shapes this society's unique social fabric (Wilson, 2011). For St Helena, the impact of the violence of colonialism, slavery, and exploitation cannot be ignored (Laidlaw, 2015). What follows is not a comprehensive account of St Helenian history (see Gosse, 1990;

Schulenburg, 1999) but draws critically on historical literature that includes St Helenian children's and families' lives. Secondly, the review will focus on interpretation of the island through a postcolonial lens, appreciating that in order to understand the postcolonial, it is necessary to deconstruct the historical and reconsider knowledge (Castle, 1996; Young, 2001; Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021). This aims to rework a tendency within some historical accounts to reproduce a 'colonial gaze' (Parker, 2012: 11). Then this thesis turns to critically consider research completed about children's lives on St Helena to consider how children are represented in knowledge to date. Finally, the review will consider how childhood is positioned on St Helena and globally, to build an understanding of how to disclose children's voices from St Helena and beyond in other territories that are identified within colonial and post-colonial literature.

Prelude: St Helena, the early years

St Helena is accepted to have been first discovered by the Portuguese in 1502 (Gosse, 1990; Schulenburg, 1999) and was used by the East Indian Company (EIC) as a trading and refuelling stop from 1603, and later annexed to England through the EIC in 1659. Previously uninhabited, the island was populated by settlers and slaves from many locations, including today's Madagascar, Chinese indentured labourers, and black liberated slaves (Gosse, 1990; Schulenburg, 1999). The island gained military importance and was the location for the imprisonment of Napoleon, Zulu leaders, and prisoners from the Boer War. From 1659, families were sent from England to St Helena, now referred to as 'The Company's Island' (Royle, 2007), and persons were instructed to '*live together in love and amity*' (EIC records, cited in Royle, 2019: 44).

The foundations for new lives were based on laws that originated from the EIC, which used the Magna Carta as a 'portable blueprint' (Laidlaw, 2015) to formulate ordinances to govern the island. As trading and the population grew, attention to the people was an increasing concern. The EIC sent more ordinances to govern the island from 1683 (Gosse, 1990). It was intended that justice flowed from laws (Schulenburg, 1999) and many imperial Britons believed themselves to be duty-bound to export 'civilisation' to create society on St Helena (Wilson, 2011). Significantly, interpretations of laws were

locally filtered through the colonial thinking of those in power (Wilson, 2011). On a small island, this left power in the hands of a few (Laidlaw, 2015), with locally situated interpretations of laws and thus of governance.

Initially, St Helena was viewed by the EIC as an experimental 'utopia' (Schulenburg, 1999; Royle, 2019) where society was relaxed, although following several uprisings due to slaves' building desire for freedom (Royle, 2007), this changed to a harsher regime of governance from the mid-1700s (Schulenburg, 1999; Royle, 2019). Slavery on St Helena was abolished in 1792, with all slaves born free from 1818 (Schulenburg, 1999). Slavery finally ended in 1832. In 1834, the island was transferred to the Crown, leading to the withdrawal of the EIC and, significantly, of its funding (Schulenburg, 1999), resulting in widespread poverty and need, the impact of which on islanders is hard to locate, but can be assumed to be harsh (Parker, 2012).

By the mid-1800s, the island had become a temporary home to Africans 'freed' from slaving vessels, providing a boost to the local economy (Schulenburg, 1999). But liberation did not equate to freedom (Pearson, 2016). In 1836, Charles Darwin, on visiting the island, commented on the severe poverty (Gosse, 1990) and economic depression, exacerbated by a rapid reduction in the number of ships calling at St Helena. With the quarantine of liberated Africans lifted in 1841, African men and boys were set to work in punishing conditions, with payment in tobacco given as '*an incentive to the deserving*' (St Helena Records, cited in Pearson, 2016: 202). Limited attempts were made to integrate Africans into the island through apprenticeships, mostly for boys and girls aged 10-16 (detailed within an Ordinance of 1842, cited in Pearson, 2016). While it intended to bring rights, this approach was lacking in policy to enact or motivation to improve lives of those who were considered 'others' in the face of islanders' own poverty. Thus, it appears, it led to widespread exploitation of Africans, especially children, by natives and settlers (Pearson, 2016). Although most children, once liberated, were dispatched as cargo to other islands, including Jamaica and Trinidad, with colonial powers utilising force or coercion (Schulenburg, 1999; Pearson, 2016),

many remained, and subsequent generations are now an integral part of the fabric of the island.

The above lays the foundations for how race, culture, civilisation, and hybridity developed through the colonialist mindset, which sought to propel an image of England into the South Atlantic (Young, 1995). Bar a few years in the 1960s when flax production increased revenues, St Helena has continued to rely on funding from the UK to maintain the island, linked to its remote location and now to its lack of income, as ships no longer stop there on a frequent basis and no other lasting viable industries have emerged (Schulenberg, 1999).

Due to St Helena's particular history and legal ties to the UK, differences in the constitution and balances of power are not simply explained. Management by the Crown is now generally reserved for defence, external affairs, internal security (including the police) and the public service, while the St Helena Government has control over all aspects of policy that are not overseen by the Crown. However, even when able to assert power in areas of responsibility, UK authorities are now reluctant to do so, relying on consensus and persuasion as the preferred approach (Clegg *et al.*, 2016). But paradoxically, the continued dependency on the UK for funding to meet the majority of government functioning raises the question of how St Helena can develop decision-making independently if it does not accord with UK priorities (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002; C Parker, 2012). Therefore, these internal and external constructions may constitute a significant aspect of lived experiences as relationships function cross-culturally, impacting on islanders' interaction with the institutions of society. Understanding the foundations of the island is significant in understanding how islanders' view of the world has been shaped, and how the world has shaped islanders' perceptions and relationships with locations and social structures far from their own.

Revisiting history through the Postcolonial lens

Ideas, cultures and histories cannot seriously be understood without their force, or more precisely, their configurations of power, also being studied (Said, 1978:33)

Postcolonialism is an umbrella of theory and practices, seeking to attend to the political, economic, and cultural legacy of colonialism (Young, 1995), which has emerged as an intellectual movement that consolidates and develops ideas from Franz Fanon, Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak (Bhambra, 2014). St Helena has a complex and knotted history of experiences, overlapping and interconnected. The history of St Helena can be understood as a product of colonialism linked to the structural and political context of day-to-day life. But how we understand the island is also filtered through literature and research, highlighting the need to deconstruct what is known. Viewing this with historical distance alongside postcolonial and decolonial arguments challenges the insularity of historical narratives and how these historic accounts name and describe the development of the island.

In exploring the culture of the EIC between 1660 and 1720, Winterbottom (2010) drew attention to the connections between non-elite actors in transferring skills between colonies. She demonstrated how culture was transferred in more subtle ways, alongside the value of upskilling slaves and indentured workers to service the company.

Winterbottom demonstrated how skills were encouraged and training promoted, which led to some slaves having more value than others. In doing so, she showed the potential and skills of exploited people and moved the narrative away from them being passive victims. However, Winterbottom (2010) also brought to light the brutal reality of some slaves on St Helena being subject to rape and assaults by plantation owners, often leading to children being born. In some situations, children were 'categorised' as born into slavery, whilst others were 'bought' freedom by plantation owners, who sometimes faced punishments, but at a lesser level than the women themselves. The children Winterbottom (2010) highlighted either remained as part of the latter generation or were exported from St Helena to other colonies with their mothers, seen as items of trade.

Dudley Kidd's ethnographic study in nearby South Africa depicts childhood in 1906 through his book *Savage Childhood*. Encapsulating prevailing evolutionist understandings of anthropology at the time, Kidd posited that both children and society go through different stages of development. Kidd compared children to animals, seeing them as 'savage' objects that need socialisation. Kidd attempted to study and understand child development from the perceived objective Western knowledge of the time. On St Helena, Phillip Gosse continued this ideology whilst representing the history of the island from 1502 to 1938. He concluded:

St Helena is the Cinderella, or shall we say the poor forgotten orphan, of the British Empire. Once upon a time she was the pampered darling of the Honourable East Indian Company. Given just a little help, a little encouragement, and a fair share of their own land to cultivate, and a voice in the government of their native island, the St. Helenians would be the happiest and most contented race in the world. (Gosse, 1938, reprinted 1990: 373)

Whilst Gosse attempted to end his writings on a positive note, his comparison of the island with a fairy tale and the reinforcing of the East Indian Company as 'honourable', alongside his depiction of the islanders as being in need of guidance (one assumes from outside) and of the island as a forgotten 'orphan', can be seen as lacking in critical positioning.

From a Marxist perspective, Fanon (born 1925) analysed the impact of colonialism from his lived experiences within Martinique (Fanon, 1952). Fanon asserted that violence was the defining feature in the dehumanisation of the colonised, and was passed through the generations (Go, 2013). His first text (which was intended to be his doctoral thesis) implied that to liberate themselves, a 'collective catharsis' is required to obliterate the colonial rule (Fanon, 1952). Fanon asserted that oppressed black people navigate the world through a performance of white-ness (ibid.). He drew attention to the colonial vitiation whereby colonised people developed a dependency complex feeling inferior to colonisers, becoming dehumanised (Fanon, 1963). He saw the social movement as

needed and defended the rights of the colonised to use violence towards freedom from oppressed and harsh lived conditions.

Whilst Fanon (1952) positioned the state as central to control, Said (1978) drew attention to how experiences are accessible to analysis and interpretation, so positioning them differently from different perspectives. Consequently, Said (2001) believed that there was a need to critically understand how representations of people are positioned to create a temporally situated truth. Said's *orientalism* (1974) used the concept of colonial discourse to re-order the study of colonialism. Said shifted the study of the colonial culture towards its discursive operations (Castle, 2001). Said (1978) argued that the *West* (referring to the colonising countries) had created the *East* (referring the colonised) through dialogue and representation. This opens the question of knowledge production to a global perspective, highlighting how the construction of knowledge had been imported into colonised settings, creating what was perceived as normal and abnormal, and so *other*. This created a distance and mystification, with the *other* being seen as different, uncivilised, and thus in need of change. Orientalism as a *discourse* allowed the creation of a theoretical paradigm through which cultural forms of colonialism could be analysed (Bhabra, 2014). Said (1978) argued that orientalism was less a body of objective knowledge than a form of ideological fantasy, with little if any relation to the cultures encountered.

Spivak (1988), building on Said's orientalism, also claimed that the colonial subject was seen as *another* due to colonialism. As Schulenburg's (1999) textual research on St Helena shows, this is evidenced throughout historical documents, as Governors struggled to understand the island's context (Schulenberg, 1999) and reverted to referring to islanders through a process Spivak (1988) refers to as 'othering'. Decentred from the reality with which they were familiar, the colonialists balanced what Bhabha extended as *constitutive ambivalence* – an ambivalence whose appearance in a non-European context only accentuated racism and oppressive behaviours (Young, 2001). In this context, authority became hybridised as Governors found themselves in unfamiliar places.

Following Spivak, the postcolonial era, for Bhabha, was not about parallel trajectories but should interrupt the perspectives they engender: '*we must not merely change the narratives of our histories, but transform our sense of what it means to live*' (Bhabha, 1994: 256). As with other new arrivals on St Helena, Chinese indentured labours were brought to St Helena to assist with labour, chosen due to the Chinese people's perceived 'industrial credential' (Schulenburg, 1999). As pointed out by Schulenberg (1999), whilst the Chinese workers remained temporary members of the community, their perceived alien differences in dress and mannerisms were accepted, but as they remained on the island, the sustaining of traditions was subject to continued othering.

These chinamen keep up most of the habits and all the propensities of their countrymen. They wear their tails, or an apology for them, but twisted round their heads under their hats to keep the boys from having a sly tug at them as they pass along. They are great merchants in a small way – know the value of money, love it as their souls – delight in hoarding it in their huts – make its possession the study, and be it said, the labour of their lives; for they are not a lazy people, anything but that. They dabble in everything, from fireworks and crackers...now reduced perhaps to a couple of dozen, mostly old and wrinkled; they have grafted a new breed on the old stock of the Island, and will leave behind them a generation of "china faces" to swell the muddy mixture of the population. (Lockwood, 1851:112)

Following the Chinese, the rapid arrival of African slaves for liberation following the abolishment of slavery also presented continued othering as the islanders struggled to position the new arrivals into their community.

Like Bhabha's concept of hybridity (Bhabha, 1994), mimicry appears when a people takes on the culture of the colonisers and a double vision disrupts its authority. This can be seen in the way in which the health and social welfare of the liberated Africans was attended to by missionary workers on St Helena. Improvements were measured in both health and spiritual wellbeing, with the baptism of hundreds of Africans in Rupert's Bay,

with their questionable agreement (Schulenburg, 1999). Their *transformation* was also described by an anonymous author of 1865 (cited in Schulenberg 1999):

Worn almost to skeletons in the hold of a slave-ship, the horrors of which must be seen to be understood, the poor creatures on landing crouch down in the sitting position to which they have been restricted for weeks; emaciated, dirty, loathsome to the sight and apparently regardless of everything about them, or of what is to be their next charge. They present little more resemblance to human beings than do their own carved fetishes or grigrees. A few weeks of kind and careful treatment, nourishing food, and enforced habits of cleanliness, produce a wonderful change in their appearance and manner; they move with quickness and activity, walk erect, and chatter like their country's parrots. Being excellent imitators, they soon pick up from the assistance superintendents a series of motions in unison, sit down in rows to their meals at a motion of his hand, jump up at another, clap their hands, take off their caps, give three cheers, and replace their caps, all with the alacrity and precision of time of well-trained soldier, or nearly so.

It is apparent that even when Africans followed instructions on how to act, they were still othered as being different and reviled for their non-western otherness. Their appearance as soldiers, commented as 'nearly so', reinforced this. An uprising of these Africans shortly after their arrival demonstrates their continued desires for freedom; yet they continued to be seen as needing improvement (Schulenberg, 1999).

Whilst he has been accused of not directly commenting on colonialism (Said, 1989), Bourdieu's earlier work emphasised the need to rearrange habitus in society and so appears to mediate towards a non-violent view of overcoming colonialism (Go, 2013). Bourdieu saw the need for epistemic reflexivity, in that sociological knowledge must be aware of the conditions of its existence and so understand how categories of thought exist and can be corrupted (Bourdieu, 1990). While somewhat fragmented in his approach to colonialism (Go, 2013), it can be understood that his earlier thoughts lean more towards a southern perspective (Ghandi, 1998), in that the perceived goal should be to wrestle analysis away from economic reduction and towards a more nuanced

understanding of race and power. Bourdieu saw a system of force and viewed colonialism as more of a caste system, as opposed to a Marxist view of class, and thus regarded racism as a built-in 'monopoly of violence'. While agreeing that the field shaped behaviour and interactions, he saw colonialism as violently creating new, conflicted identities (Go, 2013). In doing so, he positioned himself towards a more southern approach to both postcolonialism and development (Go, 2013). Bourdieu's (1990) analysis is significant, as the economic struggle of the island persists, with islanders being assessed by several researchers as having negotiated a complex identity with the outside (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2005; Parker, 2012, 2019). However, their negotiation could be viewed as a response to the continued forced dependency (Cohen, 1983b; Van Hear and Cohen, 2017) and thus not as a choice or negotiation, but rather as evidence of continued oppression through colonial economic control.

Within his textual analysis, Schulenberg (1999) attempted to confront issues of anthropological research, alongside what he believed to be structural weaknesses of postcolonialism, suggesting a localised understanding of colonialism on St Helena. He concluded through his 18 months of fieldwork that documenting an ethnographic project was misguided. He believed that the dialogical process in developing an authentic identity required transcendence of cultural origins and was interpretive and constructed. He did not consider it possible to build an authentic identity portrayal of St Helena. Yet, in analysing text and removing voices gained from his fieldwork, Schulenberg (1999) could also be seen to be removing authenticity, perhaps as a reflection of the challenge he found in interpreting the context he encountered, thus highlighting the need for careful methodological considerations alongside post-colonialist awareness. His considerations are important for this project in guiding the methodological standpoint. The position of authenticity and representation of voice is one which requires critical consideration to support a social justice standpoint (Mertens, 2017) and points to the need to explore the position of the researcher against the children and young people to be researched.

In reviewing literature from a feminist historical perspective, Wilson (2011) brought together the impact of the state and colonialism on family life on St Helena. While her review stretches only between 1660 and 1820, she brought into play the notion of state power, which is performative and organising of social life. Using Michel Foucault's view of the state, she explored how practices and discourse draw together, exercising social order. Wilson highlighted the significance of family in colonialism as an instrument of governance. Unlike Schulenburg (1999), she brought to life the grim reality of the intrusion into family lives on St Helena. She highlighted the link between how power is exercised and denied to groups, including Foucault's definition of 'the deployment of sex' to distinguish between legal and illicit sexual encounters (Foucault, 1978:44).

Drawing on the diaries of colonialists, Wilson (2011) highlighted how the EIC struggled to manage 'civility and self-restraint' (p. 1302) in reconstructing families. While Schulenburg (1999) drew attention to several cases of marital affairs, Wilson (2011) contended that this was an illusion, with women being treated as commodities and the courts frequently citing cases including rape, child abuse, incest, and prostitution. Whereas Schulenburg (1999) saw the riots from 1683 as being due to harsh conditions, Wilson (2011) interpreted them as a desire for rights against building tensions. Like Winterbottom (2010), she used diaries and letters to England to highlight the outcomes of sexual encounters, both consensual (we assume) and non-consensual, and the resulting children. Whilst justice can be seen to develop from blaming victims to punishing offenders, the language of the time struggled to position the children born in this way, and eventually, segregation in birth records was abandoned. Wilson concluded that St Helena provides an example of social and cultural engineering. Spivak (1999) though believed marginalised voices, including women and children, are absent in much of the historical literature (in this case, on St Helena), and that reworkings of historical documents in new contexts would not address this, due to being positioned from western perspectives.

As shown by Royle (2010), small islands have slipped the net of postcolonial theory in the form of 'historical repression' (p. 204), leaving the voices and experiences of many silent and open to others' interpretations, which often remove the violence and brutality of colonial life, most notably the experiences of women and children (Wilson, 2011). Nieuwenhuys (2013) also linked childhood to postcolonialism, encouraging researchers to confront political situations that shaped childhood in previous colonial settings. Balancing the strengths of taking a constructivist approach, Nierwenhuys (2013) believed that Postcolonialism is more than an exercise in taking shifting positions but needs to grasp the world better as seen by those whose voices are seldom heard. Nierwenhuys (2013) saw postcolonialism as a chance to challenge global inequality and enforce social justice from the perspective of the individual into the political realm.

Society and education for children on St Helena

Wilson's (2011) focus on family life draws attention to how the experiences of children and families can be captured in many ways when empirical research is absent, such as from court records and medical records. On St Helena, social welfare emerged through the development of charitable or friendly societies and included the Liberated Africans' education through the Hussey Fund Charity 'for the redemption of slaves' (cited in Schulenberg, 1999). Analysing early medical records and journals of an island surgeon, Royle and Cross (1996) described how the situation on St Helena by the late 1800s was bleak, sanitation was poor, and food was lacking in nutrients. Improving health was a priority against this backdrop, with a focus on addressing the poor survival rates for young children impacted by preventable diseases and contaminated water (Royle and Cross, 1996). It is understandable that the social side of life was underexplored, as the immediacy of survival took priority.

Chinn (1957) provided a window into family lives through a situational analysis and evaluation of Social Welfare on St Helena within the 1950s. He considered that '*western ideas had been introduced with little foundation*' (p. 93). His ideas were progressive in arguing for a more holistic understanding and positioning of services towards three areas: group community efforts (multi-agency working), constructive community involvement, and remedial measures to deal with problems (probation and child welfare). He concluded that community development officers were needed to focus on the family as a unit, with consideration of the values of informal education. Within the annual report of the social welfare officer on St Helena of the same year (St Helena Government, 1957) the contrasting governing values detailed '*problem families, slothfulness and incompetent housekeeping*' as drivers for youth offending and drew attention to a growing social situation whereby a common practice of *foster care* had emerged as mothers left the island for work as domestic servants, leaving their children behind, often with limited provisions made for their wellbeing.

Both Chinn (1957) and the government report highlighted how teenagers were in a difficult position, with restricted employment openings and mostly unskilled apprenticeships, leading to teenage boys moving to Ascension Island to take up unskilled positions but with higher wages, whilst others would '*idle away their time*' (p. 6) on St Helena. Despite Chinn (1957) arguing for a bespoke understanding of the island's emerging culture, it appears that the government's view of the time individualised blame to islanders. Exploring legal structures, it is known that until 1957, penal servitude, hard labour and whipping were common punishments for offending, and unmarried islanders continued to live in barracks-style accommodation – a lingering remnant of earlier colonialism (Wilson, 2011). For teenagers, therefore, the policy of the time provided limited choices, with harsh punishments and restrictions on living arrangements showing a high level of structural control with few individual choices.

In 1959, the first documented evidence of the formation of social services was indicated (as described by Schulenberg, 1999), as a trade union representative fighting for workers' rights was appointed as a 'Social Welfare Officer'. Yet, there is little evidence as

to whether and how this impacted the lives of children and families affected by poverty. A report into the conditions on the island in 1958 (Hughes, 1958) drew more attention to St Helenians as *'law abiding'* but *'beneath the surface real dissatisfaction and resentment'* (p.2). Hughes described living conditions as *'pitiful'*, with the parish home and soup kitchens providing limited support. Homes were described as 'slums', with a 'fairly universal desire to emigrate' amongst young people, who were supported to emigrate through an agency on the island. Significantly, as pointed out by Schulenberg (1999), the report was completed during a period of political unrest and dissatisfaction, with feelings of resentment towards islanders' treatment by the government.

Whilst education was considered important within the island's development (Schulenburg, 1999), Hughes (1958) viewed the standard of teaching to be low, with locally trained workers lacking in skills: *'children of St Helena are thus deprived of the opportunity of advancing to further course of education'* (p. 17). Education had developed with oversight from the church and the Governor, matched to identified needs from the top down. Despite previous attempts to improve quality and availability (Evans, 1994), it was not until a board of education was set up that education was established on a firm footing. Despite attempts to improve quality through advisors being sent to the island and, like nursing staff, teachers being sent to the UK for training, islanders were bound to come back at a lower wage: *'thus a trained St Helenian teacher, having lived in Britain and knowing the salary scales there, will be robbed of the incentive to return to the services of his own community'* (Hughes, 1958: 29). Many St Helenians continued to leave the island. Arrangements for education on St Helena continued to reflect policies and practices within UK education, albeit locally adapted by the island's education board (Charlton and Gunter, 2002).

Robin Cohen presented his research on St Helena from the 1970s in two papers: *Education for Dependency* (Cohen, 1983a) and *Welfare Colonialism in Practice* (Cohen, 1983b). In *Education for Dependency*, Cohen discussed the imposition of identity by significant actors – the British colonial officers on the ground and other white settlers and visitors – alongside the islanders' own internal struggles to form their own identity.

He highlighted the impact of exposure to culture from the nearby Ascension Island (including the American base) on islanders returning. Like Schulenberg (1999) later, he identified that returning islanders had money that they invested in building homes and improving their living conditions, which would not have been possible if they had lived and obtained qualifications on the island.

Cohen (2017) drew overall negative conclusions about the island's future and children's perspectives from interviews and analysis of essays. He saw the island as a '*failure of capitalist development*' (Cohen, 2017: 173). In comparing the island to South Africa, Cohen's research was much contested in subsequent years due to the assertions that the island was dependent on funding and that education supported this dependency (Royle, 1992; Schulenburg, 1999; Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002; Parker, 2012). Cohen (1983b), like Yon (2007), believed that St Helenians needed to fully acknowledge their past as part of their identity. However, in his oversight of the racial foundations (including Asia and Europe), Cohen's earlier research was heavily criticised (Schulenburg, 1999; Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2005; Parker, 2012). The timing of Cohen's publications is significant, as at this time, the islanders' rights were limited through UK legislation denying them free access to the UK, leading to many islanders holding strong emotions about the devaluing of their British nationality because of a change in UK policy. As such, Cohen's assertion that islanders need to acknowledge their African foundations was not positively received (Schulenburg, 1999; Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002).

Despite this, Cohen's research appears to continue to resonate with current island concerns. For example, in exploring development, Cohen (2017) concluded that the island plans lacked any meaningful engagements with the community:

It is perhaps not too grand a generalisation to suggest that colonial governments tend to encourage inertia and the preservation of the status quo and, by their very nature, are incapable of galvanising the social changes necessary to transform society. (2017: 198)

Development, Cohen (2017) reasoned, remained an abstraction, far removed from the needs and wishes of the people in whose name it was propagated. As such, education was not valued, as its future value was not seen. Students were viewed as having '*severe and fantastic distortions*' of the world outside of their island (Cohen, 2017: 14). The contradictory pulls of welfare colonialism from the top and what Cohen saw as passive resistance from below would, he believed, continue to encourage stasis. Cohen (2017) concluded that education '*does not provide...the fostering of the capacity to transform the environment*' (Cohen, 1983: 10) but was seen as '*an education for dependence*' (1983a: 26). If children were to be decisive actors in determining their fates, Cohen asserted, they needed to participate fully, but speaking for St Helenians and identifying them as being of African descent at the time of disputed nationality meant that his studies received critical appraisal.

Royle (1992), following Cohen, explored secondary school children's attitudes and aspirations within a situational analysis of services on St Helena from a geographical and historical perspective. While focusing on describing the basic living conditions, he described the island as a '*a reluctant relict of colonial aid, technical cooperation and grant in aid*' (p. 33). Royle (1992) compared the island to other small islands and asserted that its living conditions were favourable. Yet, he said the domestic economy was '*in a parlous state*' (p. 158), rendering GDP redundant as a measure of living standards. He saw aid dependency as both an economic and a social problem. Searching for solutions to a perceived *intractable* situation (Royle 1992: 34), he saw the new secondary schools as an opportunity for the development of students yet concluded that mindsets had not changed since Cohen's research (Royle, 1992). Like Cohen before him, Royle (1992) concluded like Cohen that there needed to be an acceptance that St Helena would continue its dependency or as Cohen put '*would have to remain a perpetual and ever more costly pensioner tied to the UK standard of living*' (1983b, p.131). This could be explained by citizenship dynamics at the time, which limited access to work in the UK, setting a vision of the island being cast further away from self-improvement. This was partly explained by opportunities to emigrate, which had supported improvements to islanders' living conditions since the 1970s (Royle, 1992) and showed a continued link between the economy and opportunities (Cohen, 1983a;

Royle, 1992, 2001). In exploring the potential for education as a vehicle for change, Royle (1992) saw that children were detached from the education system that was intended to empower them, with little change since the work of Cohen 15 years before.

Looking back on the foundations of educational development, we are reminded of the stark realities of living in remote locations. In recognising the dire situation of poverty on St Helena and the need for labour following the Second World War, the UK government sponsored St Helenian girls to take up employment as ward maids in the UK (HMSO, 1952). The educational system was seen as the generator to mainland employment. Larger-scale emigration from the island for work and education began. Until 1987, education was two-tier, with high academic performers being afforded the opportunity to be educated at a selective school offering O and A levels based on the English educational system (Evans, 1994). Education was later expanded to nursery age, and secondary education was brought together in one establishment: Prince Andrew School (Evans, 1994). Despite the potential for improving education, Royle's analysis (1992) was that the continued top-down focus and the lack of economic opportunities for individuals would continue, thus increasing migration.

Television was not available on St Helena until the early 1990s, which supported naturalist research into the effects of television on children's behaviour before and after television broadcasting (Charlton, 1998). Utilising mixed methods, Charlton *et al.* (1998) concluded that, overall, there were no significant changes in behaviour after the introduction of television, including no increase in violence. Charlton asserted that while television was blamed for many social situations, family and community influences, including exposure to violence and other 'anti-social behaviour' (Charlton, 1998: 171), were more significant. A small group of Year 12 students was invited to discuss television perceptions as part of this study. Changes to leisure were shown, as young people talked about staying at home, whereas they had previously spent nights in the town. What is notable for this review is that young people gravitated to discussing other areas, such as the Governor and recent demonstrations. In suggesting ways forward, Charlton (1998: 173) asserted that:

What might help are educational experiences which help meet personal and social needs. The need to learn good parenting, partnering and citizenship skills immediately springs to mind. Without such skills individuals, families and communities can slip too easily into an abyss of alienation, violence, despair, and decadence.

In coming to this conclusion, Charlton (1998) compared his study to the works of writers on the British underclass of the time. However, experiences, needs, and good parenting were not defined and lacked a local reflective base. The study concluded that home was a principal socialising factor for children, yet a more complex reading into islanders' comments in his data brings more to light. For example, in a collection of essays from the project, Lawrence (2002) acknowledged (from a St Helenian perspective) the challenges of anonymity and balance of the social words: '*even the rocks have eyes, and the winds capture your words and carry them to where you least want them to go*' (p. vii). She pointed to a survivor mentality, which provides a different perspective than the dependency mentality of Cohen (1983b) or the joint researcher perspective of outsiders (from the UK) and insiders (from the island) asserted in Charlton's research.

Lawrence (2002) saw islanders navigating their world of behaviours, demands and expectations and showed how St Helenians present themselves to others, including the research team. This provided layers of understanding, which were subtle and not critiqued by Charlton. The conclusions of Charlton *et al.* (1998) appear to neglect Lawrence's local picture of social conditions, giving weight to the analysis of observations based on tools of measurements brought to the island. The challenge of choosing cross-cultural research methods is a significant one, with reflection on one's positionality and the situation that is encountered (Mertens, 2017). Brian Rourke (2003), in writing about postcolonial culture, stated that:

Cultural imperialism consists of two distinct moments, articulation or attempted imposition on one hand and reception on the other hand. The two moments are equally important. The former provides insight into the interests and strategies of the imperial power, whereas the latter determines whether and to what degree the imposition succeeds or fails. The conditions for success are

determined by the habitus of the members of the audience, which affect whether and how they will recognise or resist an attempted imposition. (pp. 37-38)

Rouke (2003) discussed how the successes of colonialism can be measured by changes that are not seen by the 'natives' (p. 39). St Helena has a history of blending cultures against a dominant colonial government (Schulenberg, 1999). It is significant, therefore, that the main continuity has been government. This questions Royle's (2010) assertion that seeing markers of Britishness (such as a sign welcoming a prince to the island from the 1980s) is evidence of the island's Britishness, asking whether a more complex reading of islanders' cross-cultural relationships and internalised views is required.

From an insider perspective, Essex (2000) explored teachers' attrition. She pointed to what she perceived to be low living standards, although these assertions are challenging to evidence, notably against the findings of Royle (1992). She considered that the island was not protected from *'the evils of colonialism, such as relative poverty, unemployment, and low expectations, which continue to militate against social and economic development'* (Essex, 2000: 44). In analysing reasons for teachers' desires to leave the island, she identified a *'fantastical belief that St Helena's future is beyond its inhabitants' control'* (Essex, 2000: 5). In doing so, she suggested a psychological dependency. The mixed-methods study was completed in 2000 when the island was introducing a revised English national curriculum. In discussing teaching, Essex found evidence that materials and resources within the school indicated that it was better resourced than many in the United Kingdom. Still, the local teachers did not see this. Feelings of inadequacy were uncovered in teachers who had not taught in the UK, suggesting that these teachers had internalised feelings of 'otherness', with most wanting to leave the island.

On returning to St Helena, Schulenberg (2002) considered informal controls in the community. Schulenberg agreed with Charlton that television did not significantly impact children's behaviour due to *'a kind of uncoordinated pastoral network within the community'* (Charlton, 1998: 59). Schulenberg (2002) believed that this provided

evidence that watchfulness encouraged individual and collective accountability. Schulenberg (2002) explored friendliness, community, cooperation, social services, nosiness and gossip, conflict and division, crime, and young people through children's essays. However, on closer examination, these categories themselves are problematic, with conflicting understandings of terminology across jurisdictions and localised cultures, such as 'social services' being used as an umbrella term including social welfare and other areas of social life by young people. Schulenberg continued that 'traditional values' and informal controls were effective (2002: 47).

Returning to Lawrence (2002), islanders have described how failure to follow customs and traditions can lead to long feuds. In contrast, persons who have served prison sentences can be welcomed back into the family fold. This suggests that St Helenians have family disagreements but together can act in the face of the state as a group and indicates that a more complex reading of family is required. In contrast to Schulenberg (2002), Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2002), when researching spatial identities, identified a lack of protection through legislation and social protection structures for families and children on St Helena. They claimed that feelings of Britishness were double-edged, with Britain being seen as the 'oppressor' in that expatriates still occupied the highest positions on the island, whilst they also gatekept social welfare finances, and so priorities. Opportunities for islanders were seen by many as limited, suggesting oppression through governance.

Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2002) found that '*the family is what holds St Helenian society together*' (p. 63); however, unlike Schulenberg (1999), they considered this to have limitations. Interviewing the then social services manager (an expatriate), Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2002) documented concerns about the exploitation of young people – often recorded as 'underage sex', with fines given – not being accepted as abuse, and limited disclosure of worries outside of families. Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2002) highlighted that due to remoteness, even when laws are broken, some victims have limited options to move forward to disclosure or justice (p. 71). In many respects, therefore, while social control was understood as total (Hogenstijn and

van Middelkoop, 2002), it was limited to controlling certain accepted anti-social behaviours at the expense of complex family issues. The population's close proximity to each other and the intertwined relationships between individuals, family and the community made speaking out difficult. This research was critiqued by Parker (2012), who saw limited analysis through the lens of outsiders, and continued to advocate that her own research through an outsider lens was more grounded.

Parker (2012) completed 68 interviews with members of the St Helenian community (2006/2007), but quickly realised that defining a 'St Helenian' or an 'islander' was problematic, as the island is characterised by '*multiple migration processes*' (King, 2009: 68). Whilst acknowledging power as simultaneous with capital (from a Bourdieusian view), Parker (2012) asserted that the islanders are at times controlled by the top-down power of the British State. Like Cohen (1983a, 1983b) and Royle (1992), she uncovered discourses of dependency. Unlike Wilson (2011) or Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2002), she did not draw attention to the lowered position of childhood on the island, focusing instead on identity construction through adult interviews. In later reflections, Parker (2019) believed that her research provided a snapshot in time. Whilst acknowledging the weaknesses of sampling, she continued to assert St Helenians as active, not subservient in their national identity (Parker, 2021), and believed that since the research of Cohen in the 1970s, islanders have formed their own identity.

Within their wider study of ethics, identity, and power, Harmer *et al.* (2015) completed 45 semi-structured interviews with islanders. They found that the challenges of interviewers from the 'north' interviewing participants from the 'south' were compounded by islanders' diversity, which blurred and shifted the islanders' positions. On the surface, St Helenians were found to identify as having a strong sense of Britishness:

We are British entirely. You see, we are just a little piece of land that has slipped away from the UK – that's all. We happened to blow down in the South Atlantic Ocean (Interview, Harmer *et al.*, 2015: 519)

Harmer *et al.* (2015) drew the analogy of a similar relationship between England and Wales, with the diaspora in the UK continuing an emotional and material relationship between the island and the UK. But significantly, they also noted that reference to a material basis for the ongoing local empowerment was linked to greater economic self-sufficiency and separation from the largely expatriate administration on the island. With continued remittances, St Helenians aimed to build homes on St Helena for the future, driving islanders' economy and future goals based on a culture of owning (*ibid.*). But these goals were those of adults, and children and young people were absent from these considerations.

As shown earlier by Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2002) and Parker (2019), the identity with England and Britain was one that was magnified following the removal of citizenship rights in the 1980s, as the law shifted rights following the handing back of Hong Kong. This ended opportunities for migration to work in the UK as a right. These rights were returned after public outcry and campaigns, more notably in South Atlantic Islands, who held a closer allegiance to the UK culturally (Parker, 2012). This happened long before today's children and young people were born, but the impact and feelings of being treated as others is an area for consideration regarding what is important for children's feelings of nationality now.

When identifying research that involved children in partnership, the only project on St Helena with participation within its methodology was completed in 1985 (Bass *et al.*, 1995). Whilst societal factors and social control were not the intended focus of their research, Bass and colleagues quickly recognised a need to engage with the community's own economic, environmental, and social goals. Bass *et al.* (1995), like Chinn (almost 40 years before, in 1957), saw few participation catalysts in the island structure, but the islanders wanted to talk about their feelings of injustice in decision-making, including their family life. As Cohen identified in the 1970s (Cohen, 1983a, 1983b), short-term approaches to developing national strategies, influenced by economic drivers and short-term external expertise, were observed. They found that islanders saw development as something that was done to them, external and outside their control. Control was

perceived to be held by the government and the Governor, leading to British dependency. Through international comparison, Bass *et al.* (1995) recognised that developing countries with stronger participation structures tend to have a slower process and therefore to hold more ownership for change (Midgley, 2014; Bass *et al.*, 1995).

Disclosing childhood on St Helena

The history of childhood is always, in many respects, a history of the ideas and concepts of childhood (Liebel, 2017, 2019). Childhood here is understood as both a form of being children and discourse about this form of being (Liebel, 2019). The colonisation of St Helena, and so childhood, was about forming a culture, and therefore the position of children within this is central (Wilson, 2011a). As colonisation beyond Europe began, so the position of children as incomplete, imperfect and developing emerged. Therefore, the child metaphor was used to describe the 'primitive', perceived as 'uncivilised' (Said, 1978; Freire and Macedo, 1995; Macedo, 2000). Also, 'race' as a category of physical and biological determination can be identified at this time. Just as race cannot exist without racism, the need to establish a hierarchy of difference, alongside the idea of the child diluted, offered a 'natural' justification for imperial dominance (Liebel, 2017; Spyrou, 2018). This is important, as modern childhood can be seen to have been constructed through the development of children as separate to adults. But this separation of children in the global south has compounded their status as 'different' or 'other', making colonial childhoods part of the institution of colonisers and colonised.

Liebel (2019) posits that even though childhood is intended to provide children with their own space and protection and temporarily relieve them of the 'seriousness' of life (UN, 1989), devaluation of their competencies and social status followed. Perhaps this explains how previous failings in children's services in the British Overseas Territories persisted as children's value within the territory was lessened and compounded by their lower social status, being both children and colonised. Developed separately from England, children's lives in these territories lack the policy and legal development to elevate their status.

Today, childhood studies are characterised as a multi- and inter-disciplinary field (Parton, 2014; Spyrou, 2018). However, as children's lives on St Helena are uniquely positioned, these lives, including their welfare, education and society, require careful deconstruction to understand the study situation (Prout and Prout, 1997; Fook, 2012; Spyrou, 2017). By exploring the past lives of families, the importance of history in the present is shown, but the voices and experiences of children are not seen. In the global north, from the late 17th century, a new attitude towards children began to manifest, closely related to social changes and migration as families started to become more individualised, focusing more on work (Parton, 2006, 2014), but prior to this, the community was largely a whole, with little difference between public and private life.

As the global north was propelled into modernity, it appears that St Helena's development proceeded at a slow pace. That is not to say that the majority of children's lives were materially better in the global north, nor worse on St Helena, but that the structures of society on St Helena (Gosse, 1990; Royle, 1996; Schulenburg, 1999) were clearly different through the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries, diverging from those found in England (Parton, 2006, 2014). However, the most significant diversion in policy occurred following the Second World War. In England, the NHS and the formation of local authority children's departments began to bring children into the state's focus, aiming to increase health, safety and education (Parton, 2006, 2014). No such changes in laws or policy can be located for St Helena at this time.

On St Helena in the 1950s, the statutory Poor Relief Board on the island established a broad remit including the care and relief of the 'destitute', maintaining a poor house and a 'mental asylum' with a small budget where cases were assessed to decide whether they were deserving (HMSO, 1952). Alongside this, a network of 'friendly societies' continued to support families with food parcels. Education continued under the oversight of the government and with the church holding a level of power. A lack of national agencies and social catalysts for change arguably left St Helena's development lagging, as evidenced by Chinn (1957) in a review of services which showed continued

oppressive institutional regimes and a lack of person-centred care. However, whilst St Helena is detailed as being underdeveloped, the position of children in the global north also saw entrenched poverty and institutional care delivered through friendly societies, albeit in slightly earlier years (Parton, 2006, 2014).

In *The Sociology of Childhood* (Jenks, 1982), Chris Jenks provided a thorough critique of childhood and suggested a path away from developmental approaches, arguing that children's lives are constructed, not 'natural'. This emerged as a growing dissatisfaction with the notion that children were seen as incomplete in their development (Spyrou, 2018). In 1990, James and Prout published *Constructing and reconstructing childhood*, bringing together a number of scholars to present a new perspective on how to study children and childhood, encouraging a more critical stance. James and Prout (1997) acknowledged that culture, which is an integral part of the social construction of childhood, may differ between societies, including between regions. They asserted that each culture carries its own norms and values, and every child has his or her own experiences, so childhood is not fixed. Seeing childhood as a site of the future society frames the potential of children in the present and future as adults. In effect, this brings development back into the frame, acknowledging that as children grow more aware, they can construct their own understandings. It also draws attention to the impact of poverty internalised by children and how education can encourage or inhibit progression to well-being.

Learning can be seen as a process of gaining knowledge (Pritchard, 2009: 2), and the United Nations (UN, 1989) contends that play and education are basic rights. This refocus towards a rights perspective is detailed within the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC: UN, 1989), which consists of 54 articles and serves as a yardstick for adherence to children's rights. The convention firmly places the responsibility with national governments to respect, protect, and fulfil these rights (Clegg *et al.*, 2016). Governments are meant to ensure that legal and institutional systems and public services are configured to promote the best interests of the child (Article 3), support the right to life and healthy development (Article 6), protect

children's rights (Article 3), protect children from abuse, exploitation, neglect, and violence (Articles 19 and 34), and, importantly for this study, Article 12 stipulates that every child has the right to express their views, feelings and wishes in all matters affecting them, and to have their views considered and treated seriously.

In researching education in former British Colonies, Baldacchino (2018) suggested that even when countries become independent, a colonial influence lingers in childhood education in small island states, including a top-down, exam-driven pedagogy that obliges an early start to schooling and a strong focus on literacy and numeracy. In exploring tools used in education, she found continued restriction of play-based learning, as well as story books, weather charts and alphabet charts that were not culturally relevant to the country's cultures. Baldacchino highlighted the challenges faced by small islands in either following educational systems such as the UK or decentralising, but with limited support, relying on locally trained 'experts' who are rapidly trained but lacking in experience. With governments promoting education for progression, a lack of well-paid work following education inevitably creates a 'brain drain' and so inadvertently supports emigration to support higher education and prospects. This can be identified on St Helena, arguably continuing colonialism, as the brightest and most capable individuals emigrate to support the development of countries in the global north. This would suggest that despite the passage of time, little has changed to equalise opportunities on St Helena, which remains simultaneously colonial and post-colonial (Royle, 2019).

For St Helena, the continued relationship with the UK means continued dependency on a curriculum imported to the island for education and the continued use of educators from the UK employed on different expatriate contracts (Parker, 2012; Middelkoop and Hogenstijn, 2018). This leads us again to consideration of how the culture of the island is considered in learning and the fundamental importance of education in such a context. Mazrui (1995) discussed the magnification of dependency through education being tied to colonialism in Africa. Mazrui concluded that several factors sustain this dependency, including the language of instruction, the cultural background of instructors, the

curricular structure, books, and pedagogic requirements. As St Helena continues as an extension of the English education system, adaptations are only made within the local context (Essex, 2000), whilst measures of progress appear to continue against UK metrics (Charlton and Gunter, 2002).

With no indigenous population, childhood has been formed and reformed, blending different cultures and resulting in what could be understood as a hybrid childhood unique to St Helena. Nieuwenhuys (2013) brings colonialism and childhood together, adding that *'colonialism and childhood are inseparably harnessed together for interpreting human life as a trajectory leading towards increasing and endless perfectibility'* (p. 5). This suggests that studying childhood itself can cause othering which is not dissimilar to colonial othering. Nieuwenhuys goes on to assert that it was only when the child and the colonised are seen as *'vulnerable, passive and irrational beings'* that the educated colonisers can justify the implementation of their noble cause (Nieuwenhuys, 2013:5). Education and socialisation can again be seen as sites of colonisation, imparting preferred culture through limitations on knowledge.

Understanding the development of policy in education is challenged by the absence of government-published reports. The Wass inquiry in 2015 was commissioned following concerns about children's rights, specifically the right to protection. The Inquiry found a plethora of commissioned reports from UK Government experts to the island over the years, from education to social services. These reports expressed concerns about children's welfare and rights, including what they had said to visiting persons from the UK. The Inquiry detailed a starkly different picture of society to that of Schulenberg (2002), Parker (2012) and Royle (1992). In interviewing islanders and expatriates, the report uncovered a history of institutional neglect of the most vulnerable persons on St Helena. It highlighted the role of the Governor and the complex interplay of governing and the government, which were disconnected from children and the community, with little cohesion.

The Wass report (2015) is significant in shifting perspectives from geographical, anthropological, and historical research and provides a level of realism in engaging with the lived experiences of children over time. Against Schulenberg's (2002) assertions, informal social controls had failed to support safeguarding children and families (Wass, 2015). The review found that children's views were not listened to in decision-making, remaining hidden in archived documents. Policy had not improved practice in working with children and thus children's lives (Clegg *et al.*, 2016). Additionally, the most vulnerable had been left in poorly kept or managed institutions, with little local resistance. To understand why this was the case, it is necessary to unpick what drives institutions on the island. St Helena remains dependent on the UK: thus, the UK continues to define its funding (Wass, 2015; Clegg *et al.*, 2016). Whilst internationally, development is understood to support human and children's rights (Midgley, 2014; Parton, 2014; Hugman, 2016), progress is known to be uneven in the British Overseas Territories (Clegg *et al.*, 2016). Some territories continue to be labelled as 'dependent' and are thus politically unpopular in the UK. This belittles St Helenians' rights, given their nationality as being both British and St Helenian (Parker, 2020). But with reports hidden, the views of children and families remain limited to inquiries when things go wrong, neglecting attention to their rights and capacity for their own development.

While the concept of voice is not unproblematic, it does provide a mechanism to better understand childhood and children's lives (Spyrou, 2011). With participation a right in decision making (UN, 1989) and increased focus on rights in children's research (Spyrou, 2018), hidden lives can be unveiled. On St Helena, the lack of empirical participatory research has contributed to the apparent hiding of children's voices or agency on St Helena. Consequently, there is a continued marginalisation and disempowerment of childhood on the island. The Wass Inquiry (2015) recommended swinging the responsibilities towards supporting the islanders' rights and allowing children to have more protection and a voice in decision-making. But as shown by Spyrou (2018) and Clegg *et al.* (2016), social justice does not simply flow from rights and thus is unlikely to flow from increased voice alone. This challenges this project to be mindful of impact and ethics in educational projects.

Investigating the international rights of disabled children, Daelman *et al.* (2020) explored how the way children's agency is negotiated with researchers during the research process influences how children's voices are expressed and genuinely listened to. Daelman *et al.* (2020) agreed with Spyrou's (2017: 433) position that childhood studies need to be less 'child-centred', with a need to accentuate the relationality and the process through which '*entities come into being through their participation and entanglement in emerging phenomena*'. This is important for this project in recognising the complexities of researching across groups and needs. Punch (2002) and Kirk (2007) also described how research with children is different from research with adults, not because children are inherently different as participants, but because we consider them to be *other* and therefore position ourselves as researchers in *other* ways. Recognising the opportunities and limitations of the project, it is necessary to explicitly consider positionality and how this relates to the methodology in order to promote reflexivity and ethically sound research with island children.

Concluding comments

Untangling authentic understandings of children's and young people's lives on St Helena Island is subjective and problematic (Schulenberg, 1999) and can be understood within current research from a constructionist (Parker, 2012) and a structural position (Midgley, 2014). As Jacobs (1996: 14) states,

...the value of new perspectives on imperialism and postcolonialism moves beyond seeing how culture 'becomes' governality through the pragmatic deployment of social constructs...while it is enticing to think of the present as already postcolonial, this post-coloniality, as the term itself suggests, is still deeply entwined with colonial formations.

There is a need to acknowledge how colonialism has shaped St Helena and how the truth is positioned in historical literature and previous research studies, capturing ideologies of their time. The structural foundation of St Helena from an East India Company trading post to a colony and its current continued dependence as a British Overseas Territory are shown throughout prior research to shape islanders' views and

lived experiences. Therefore, there is a need to acknowledge the influence of structure and policy alongside the limitations of taking an interpretive approach.

Researchers have reflected on struggles to reconcile what they have encountered (Schulenburg, 1999; Parker, 2012) in representing the voices of islanders. Whilst Schulenburg (1999) decided to conduct a textual analysis, Parker (2012) instead completed interviews from a constructivist standpoint, although her research drifts into assumptions of the truth from islanders' statements to her, which could be seen as lacking reflexivity. Whilst van Middelkoop and Hogenstijn (2002) attempted to represent islanders' and outsiders' views, they located differences and drew attention to the importance of space on interactions. For an understanding of children's lives to emerge, the contested ownership which has shaped the formation of this society, and hence family life, must be acknowledged (Wilson, 2011), and culture must be understood.

But culture on the island has largely been imposed or brought from the UK or nearby areas. Some aspects have been internalised, such as material items and customs from interactions with others (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2005; Parker, 2012). Within education, children's experiences on St Helena have been influenced by the piecemeal development of structure and learning, attempting to replicate educational establishments and developments in England. Studies have shown this to be rejected at times (Essex, 2000), although, as pointed out by Baldacchino (2008, 2018), education was introduced within colonial control and has continued to impart images of the home nation with little local consideration. This is evidenced to have continued through the 1990s on St Helena (Evans, 1994), and within Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop's (2005) study, pictures from a competition showed that children's images of the future of the island were limited to a retirement home, with limited positives being evidenced. In addition, Parker (2012) described continued contempt towards the system of expatriate teachers. The learning experiences of children and young people are an area of contention, with little evidence of exploration from the children themselves or examination of the impartation of knowledge from an English curriculum.

Whilst Cohen's research was one of the most significant studies for education and welfare (Cohen, 1983a, 1983b), it is often cited as problematic, failing to correctly interpret diversity on the island. It is likely that rejection of Cohen's findings was influenced by the 1981 British Nationality Act, which islanders perceived as taking away their historic rights of citizenship (Royle *et al.*, 1995; Schulenburg, 1999; Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002; Parker, 2012). What is apparent in the works of Cohen and later Royle (1992) is that existing understandings of children's experiences are filtered through adults, and despite the state wanting to develop schooling (Evans, 1994; Essex, 2000), the limited economic opportunities on St Helena have continued to shape young people's aspirations, including their engagement with education. This is driven by a culture of migration, as islanders seek employment on Ascension and in the UK, encouraged by the UK government in the 1950s and continued perceptions evidenced in studies since then.

Moving on to welfare, St Helenian children should have human rights and mechanisms for social justice, from individual to societal rights, but at times, this appears limited due to the lack of ability to speak out in an insular community (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002; Lawrence, 2002). Taking this forward, the state lacks the ability to enact policy and practice to support protection (Wass, 2015; Clegg *et al.*, 2016). Law and policy have continued to be dominated by a few, and so have shaped economic and technical development with limited social development (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002; Parker, 2012). This again highlights the link between structural and constructivist considerations, which cannot be wholly separated. But it is this link, which is underpinned by continual findings of what is termed 'dependency' (Cohen, 1983b; Parker, 2019), that suggests continued colonialist thinking in policy and individual practice and research on the island.

If empowerment is about giving power to powerless groups (Spyrou, 2011, 2018; Fook, 2012), there is a need for the powerless to be identified and their experiences heard. Whilst the UNCRC has been pivotal internationally as a benchmark for children's rights, including the right to participate (UN, 1989: Article, 12), there is no participatory research with children and young people on St Helena to measure how they are included in, or excluded from, decision making. But literature suggests that it is important to recognise how structural, historical, and institutional contexts are constitutive of processes that produce or silence children's voices.

It is within these institutional contexts and the cultural and social norms that regulate social relations within them that children's voices take shape as the respective characteristics (age, gender, ethnicity, race and ability) ... interests and agendas of the researcher meet with those of the child to produce particular voices. (Spyrou, 2018:22)

How children are heard, listened to and positioned is significant for this research, showing both the potential for and limitations of authentic voice and agency (Spyrou, 2011; 2018). To only critique children and families through existing knowledge lacks ownership and participation from the children themselves. Educationally, it is apparent that teachers have felt disconnected from teaching on the island, not seeing the potential in supporting young people to learn, whilst young people are positioned as not wanting to learn (Essex, 2000). Younger children are compared to children in the UK (Charlton, 1998a; Charlton, 1998b) or uniquely cited as protected from harm by informal controls, idealistic forms of family and a community with low crime (Schulenberg, 2002).

Adult researchers' assumptions, use of language (Spyrou, 2011), and attitudes and behaviour towards children assume certain statuses of children and interpretations of childhood (as well as competence, expertise and agency), thus shaping interactions (Punch, 2002). Researching cross-culturally and balancing adult and child roles thus creates further challenges for this project, requiring careful epistemological consideration. Consequently, to address the challenges of doing research with greater understanding of the partialities of our understanding, my research assumptions and processes need enhanced capacities to empirically grasp and interpret the complexities

of social life (Clarke *et al.*, 2018) and work towards decolonising existing knowledge and sharing power with islanders towards a transformative methodology.

Critical approaches challenge these positions, as comparing multiple studies suggests a more complex reading of society, which is disclosed as multifaceted (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002; Wilson, 2011a), responding to different audiences. This draws attention to knowledge as transactional and subjectivist (Fook, 2012), whereby the researcher and islanders can be assumed to be interactively linked (Mertens, 2017). This points to the need for reflexivity in this project, acknowledging the importance of positionality and the limitations in uncovering authenticity from insider or outsider perspectives. To take this critical position forward there is a need to ground oneself, while acknowledging the knowledge taken forward and the limitations of self.

Chapter Two - Locating and grounding my position in critical pedagogy

Location of self

Motivation for this project emerged from my own experiences working outside of my origins in England. The International Federation on Social Workers definition of social work emphasises not only the promotion of social change and justice but also respect for diversity, rooted in the use of relevant theory and 'indigenous knowledge' (IFSW, 2018). However, understanding the limitations of ones worldview was not apparent to me until I practised outside of the United Kingdom. While islanders were British, their experiences and situation was clearly dsitant from my own. To support the ethical need for anti-oppressive practice there also a need consider the position and importance of the culture were practice in.

Culture as pointed out by Azzopardi (2020) can be understood broadly as encompassing many intersecting axes of human identity; historically and contemporary, visual and invisible. But is also contextually and temporary situated and highly influential in shaping peoples worldviews and experiences. Cultural competence is therefore arguably a loaded term. My social worker position was steaming from European constructions of childhoods through learnt appreciation of collective emotions associated with keeping children safe and promoting their wellbeing within the context of English politics and prevailing cultural views (O'Dell, 2010). Working and living on St Helena involved a realisation that and researching in a remote community brought unique challenges which cannot be ignored. As personal and professional spheres of living were closely situated, reflection from day-to-day interactions with islanders and others alongside research activities was shortened. Returning to the islands as a researcher brought similar challenges as daily activities and encounters with islanders. It was impossible not to interact with research participants outside of the research setting. This challenged the scope and boundaries of this project, as encounters were broadened and became significant, both in content and in relationship building and as such, they impacted the understanding presented here of both islanders and their island.

Consequently, the impact of living and researching in the same environment for this project must be discussed to determine the limitations of my ability to process what was encountered in reflections (Ferguson, 2018). On exploring previous studies on St Helena it was apparent that other researchers were also impacted by the embodying experience of practicing in such a close community (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2005; Parker, 2012; Cohen, 2017; van Middelkoop, D., Hogenstijn, 2018) This is significant for this research project, as, while ethics guided the research planning, values were relevant for building constructive relationships in the community towards engagement but that through interactions a unique situation of knowledge construction was created (Dunn, 2021). Throughout the pilot project, knowledge, theory, and practice appeared unfamiliar outside of my own northern location. This required adaptation and negotiation and reflection of my own positionality. It was only when settling and adjusting to the community that it became apparent that the project needed to be further grounded by closer appreciation to 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' (Freire, 1970) and the emergence of critical pedagogy.

The literature provided a backdrop for this project and drew attention to its need to have ethical and transparent foundations. It also pointed towards the challenges that were to be faced completing research in a small community. Alongside the main project I completed a pilot study focusing on the development of methods to support the elicitation of authentic voices (Dunn, 2021). The link between theory and practice through the pilot study inductively pointed towards the work of Paulo Freire where action and reflection are considered of equal weight towards supporting change. As a theorist, Freire was an emancipatory Brazilian philosopher and pedagogue whose focus on theoretical-practical projects was grounded in his own lived experiences of poverty and marginalisation. Freire's connections between theory and action are significant and provide a theoretical grounding. That is not to say this is the only theoretical perspective explored, but the works of Freire offer a framework which predates transformative and social work approaches and therefore warrants further consideration (Fook, 2012; Christian and Ninad Jhala, 2015; Mertens, 2017). This chapter will consider Freirean approaches within this project and the shaping of the project through building dialogue

towards the concepts of conscientisation, banking education and oppression, brought into the here-and-now.

Critical Pedagogy in context

Rooted in his lived experiences of poverty in Brazil, Paulo Freire's classic text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1970) provided a language to understand the tensions, contradictions, fears, doubts, hopes, and dreams of colonised peoples by giving them the strength to transcend colonial existences (Macedo, 2000). Incorporating Marxism and taking forward the developing languages of *othering*, Freire's work has shaped transformative community research (Macedo, 2000; Brown, 2001; Giroux, 2010; Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016). Initially middle class, Freire was thrown into poverty and daily exposure to extreme hunger and subjugation. His work comprehensively explored understandings of oppression, education, and community action, alongside the need to reflect and join knowledge-in-action. Critical pedagogy attempts to understand how power works from conception, production, distribution and consumption of knowledge (Giroux, 2016). Freire believed that education in its broadest sense was part of a freedom project and was political because it shaped students' conditions for self-reflection as informed subjects and social agents (*ibid*). A critical understanding of education as a force for strengthening the imagination and expanding democratic public life (Giroux, 2010) serves to invite possibility through problem posing (Freire, 1970).

In *Pedagogy of Hope* (1994), Freire described that it is our 'reading of the world' that enables our ability to decipher, or more critically, 'position our limit situation' (p. 238). This draws attention to our limitation within contextual factors, which we cannot consider without exposure and thus experience (Carroll and Minkler, 2000). Consequently, how we perceive the world is dependent on our position within it (Jacobson and Mustafa, 2019) and interactions with others near us: this holds importance for this thesis, as the generation of knowledge has the power to influence others' readings of the world. This research is completed by a Social Worker from England. While there has been some exploration of the meaning of social work internationally (Midgley, 2014; Hugman, 2016), the fluidity in understanding what social

workers do compounded my ability to position my role in a community where the scars of colonialism were unfamiliar to me. The issue of what counts as legitimate knowledge and what and whose knowledge is privileged was apparent. Further, the issue of whose perspective dominates in the making of knowledge (as shown through reviewing the literature) invited a level of reflection, which was situated within the island. Marrying the need for reflection within my own positionality, it was apparent that a deeper, more reflexive approach was key to understanding my own actions in thought and practice (Braun and Clarke, 2021).

Reflexivity builds on reflection and involves questioning one's own taken-for-granted assumptions (Fook, 2012). From a post-modern point of view, all experience can be seen as a 'story', in that it is our own perspective on what we encounter (Fook, 2012). To ground this into an understanding, it was evident that there was a need to uncover an appropriate theoretical foundation that allowed reflective practice methods, to reflect on the influence of knowledge and actions that were taken forward in research, and to develop knowledge with islanders. As a social worker, it was acknowledged that this process is a construction of social interactions. Developing this critically allows reflections and deconstructions of these interactions towards a more reflective construction of knowledge. Further development by identifying a more critical positionality opens this research to more reflexive considerations (Flick, 2009; Fook, 2012) towards what could be termed qualitative sensibility (Braun, and Clarke, 2021: 7), and therefore towards preparedness for the uncertainty and uncomfortable nature of messy participatory research (Ingulfsvann, Moe and Engelsrud, 2020; Braun and Clarke, 2021) complicated by the cross-cultural and international elements of this project.

Internationally, social work, defined broadly as a global *activity* (Askeland and Payne, 2001; Midgley, 2014). Broadly this includes social development (Hugman, 2016), but published research about practice and research in overseas territories is scarce. Within the global north or western nations, social work is positioned within the state as a profession or enactor of prevailing social acceptances. As such it is positioned and taught as a *professional occupation* (Askeland and Payne, 2001). For the British Overseas

Territories understanding if social work is a profession or an activity is challenging to locate. Social work activity can be seen within historical accounts of St Helena (Chinn, 1957; Wass, 2015). Early social development was seen as a social welfare activity where Governors wives and friendly societies, underpinned by religious schooling and views on poverty, sought to support those deemed less fortunate (Gosse, 1990; Schulenburg, 1999, 2002; Hugman, 2016). Locating what social work and social development mean from the islanders' perspective is also unclear; social welfare was positioned as something that was done *to* islanders who were considered less fortunate (Hughes, 1958, Hugman, 2016). This paternalistic thread has continued throughout government responses, as detailed in historical and recent practice (Wass, 2015). The state, represented by the Governor, government and social work, is more frequently perceived as separate from the islanders lived experiences (Schulenburg, 1999; Wass, 2015). This is significant as social work operates within prevailing cultural norms, therefore comparisons between two different cultural positions has potential to conflict or cause oppression. This has been seen to cause tensions when cultures clash such as on Pitcairn around the age of consent. Freire saw potential in social workers standing with oppressed people to support the generation of change from persons who were oppressed (Freire, 1990; Benade, 2016). However, this also presents challenges to research if situations are encountered which require a statutory response (child protection) which islanders may not agree with. But there is a need to go deeper into understanding how the influence of the past shapes the political landscape of the present to understand how the politics of location works in the influence of privilege and power, to cross cultural political and contextual borders (Giroux, 1992). There is a need to understand how this project can support the emergence of my authentic voices, without adding further oppression while balancing ethical requirements of practice today (BASW, 2021).

Towards the deconstruction of knowing

Globally, statements on the purpose of social work state that it is both a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people (BASW, 2021). Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility, and respect for

diversities are central to social work and social work research (ibid). Underpinned by theories of social sciences, humanities, and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance well-being (BASW, 2021; IFSW, 2014). Notably, the additional indigenous knowledge is recent (BASW, 2014). For those who have been oppressed by colonisation, research can be seen as a dirty word (Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021). As western knowledge and ideologies have contributed to continued oppression, dehumanising indigenous peoples is a kind of anthropological tourism (Freire, 1985). For persons on St Helena this is further complicated through their complex history. But as Freire goes on to explain:

Any situation in which A objectively exploits B or hinders his and her pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression. Such a situation consists of violence, even when sweetened by false generosity, because it interferes with the individual's ontological and historical vocation to be fully human. (Freire, 1970)

Researchers such as Dudley Kidd (1906) have shown how power and knowledge were inextricably intertwined in blatant ways in colonialism, which claimed ownership of indigenous knowledge while denying self-determination. On St Helena, this is demonstrated by Gosse (1990). This draws attention to the need to decolonise both research and practice. For St Helena, this includes supporting the emergence of islanders' own understanding of what is authentically meaningful alongside challenging my own position in terms of methodological choices and disciplinary location and how this has shaped the process of knowledge production (Braun and Clarke, 2021). Respecting this, the collective goal must be to support peoples to become more fully human (Freire, 1970) through humanistic actions to counter the oppression that Freire saw in colonialism and later neo-liberal thinking (Freire, 1998). Such an approach encourages compassion, understanding, and action.

Decolonising is not about discarding existing knowledge (Farias *et al.*, 2019; Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021). Rather, it is about rejecting uncritical thought and accepting the truth of a theory. The absence of critique is an important consideration to prevent replication of oppressive discourses and hiding of unconscious value

judgements (Fook, 2012; Christian and Jhala, 2015). Encapsulating a Freirean approach throughout recognises the impact of colonialism from a more critical position, which can deconstruct existing discourses toward research *with communities* (Crawford *et al.*, 2017). As a researcher from what is commonly termed the *global north* (Midgley, 2014; Hugman, 2016), I am mindful that this is not without challenge (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016). Schulenberg (1999), in his comprehensive textual analysis, also wrestled with his own positionality as both an outsider and someone with an ongoing relationship with the island. Whilst Essex (2000) believed being an islander helped her position in research, she also acknowledged the challenges of having existing connections to the project. Parker (2012) is critical of Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop's (2002) inclusion of both islanders' and ex-patriates' voices in their project, yet neither takes a participatory approach to consider how islanders voices' are portrayed. This is symptomatic of the challenges of untangling a complex a history from different perspectives. Taking this forward through this project required critical reflection on how theory is understood and positioned in the production of knowledge within the British Overseas Territories while interacting in the field, recognising the privileges of power that a researcher brings to understanding voice (Spencer *et al.*, 2020). Towards transparency in analysis and prior to describing methodologies and methods, a clear critical theoretical foundation is paramount. This must be compatible with indigenous ethics, practice, and knowledge creation for St Helena to bring forward into research practice.

Banking education

In Freire's banking concept of education, knowledge is given by those who are seen as knowledgeable to those who are considered less so (Freire, 1970). This, therefore, is seen as oppressive, negating education and knowledge as a process of enquiry. Education, according to Freire, is seen as a depositing system for domesticating towards society's pre-determined goals. It has been suggested in previous research (Essex, 2000) that factors of a banking educational system are apparent on St Helena, as teachers have been seen to exhibit ambivalence towards possibilities, and at times, resentment (Parker, 2012) towards ex-patriot teachers. At the same time, perceptions of children's behaviours being 'disruptive' (Essex, 2000; Schulenberg, 2002) may mask an undercurrent of silenced, unhappy voices (Bass *et al.*, 1995).

In addition, Cohen (1983) saw the education system on St Helena as a force for continued dependency through what he perceived as an overidentification with British ancestry without knowledge of African heritage. Parker (2020) and Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2002) believed that this neglects appreciation of the complexity of identity or that nationality is a choice for St Helenians (Parker, 2012). However, choice is dependent on a knowledge of options. The student who works at storing deposits entrusted to them could be understood to have been provided with a limited choice and a less critical consciousness, being dependent on the knowledge passed to them (Freire, 1970).

Growing from his movement to increase adult literacy, Freire saw state education as a banking model, where students with no knowledge were seen as needing knowledge by those with knowledge (Macedo, 2000). This reduced students to the position of needing intervention. Freire believed in the need for what he termed 'problem-posing education' to enable people to perceive critically the way they exist in the world (Freire, 1970). His view was that learning alone is not enough, because pedagogy removes identity and experience from the problematics of power, agency, and history. For children on St Helena, this invites us to problematise the influences of ongoing state interventions from outside of the island, and the lived experiences and voices of children from within the island.

Central to supporting a more critical perspective is the use of empowering educational methods. In practice, this translates to the fact that as a social worker and educator, I needed awareness of my own limitations in terms of the amount of knowledge that I held in respect of the islanders' view of the world. As a practitioner on St Helena, this was pointed out to me most notably by a child in 2015, standing next to me in front of a picture of the island. The child named the parts of the island, including Plantation House, the giant tortoise, and the towns that were present in the painting, but then, on seeing the depiction of an airport near to her home, she asked, 'Why has that bus got wings?' At the time, the island did not have an airport. The child knew what an aeroplane looked like from books, but she did not recognise this as part of day-to-day life. She had been

taught that planes fly, but this was far removed from her lived experience. Her learnt knowledge was not valuable in improving her situation, as it lacked relevance. It had, in effect, been 'banked' in her mind (Freire, 1970).

The curriculum that this child had learnt was shaped by what was considered necessary within an educational system that was culturally imported to St Helena from the UK (Cohen, 1983a; Essex, 2000). Linking education to politics, the determination of the curriculum is linked to societal values and perceived needs (Freire, 1985), shaping what is taught. For these reasons, whilst Freire acknowledged other intersectional factors, including race, disability, and gender, as important when considering lived experience and learning, he asserted that politics cannot be ignored as part of a structure of oppression that continues today (Macedo, 2000; Christian and Jhala, 2015). This, Freire asserted, points to the need for a critical pedagogy to understand what is vital within the concrete experiences of marginalised and oppressed peoples, and thus to support their development pathways to free themselves.

Freire's conviction (Freire, 1998) was that every human being can look at the world in a dialogical encounter with others, no matter how submerged in oppression. Given the right tools, he believed that they could become aware of their person and social reality through raising of consciousness towards gaining new power. Freire termed this process 'conscientisation' (Freire, 1970). For St Helenians, their position on St Helena was thrust upon them through slavery and violence. Dehumanisation is a historical reality for St Helenians, which Freire believed creates 'a culture of silence' through unequal social relations (Freire, 2001). Freire also believed that the oppressed are the only ones able to liberate themselves and the oppressors. He asserted that attempts by the oppressors to liberate the oppressed can lead to false generosity as the oppressors create and continue the unjust social order. Yet this approach runs counter to the dominant developmental approaches in governance, which advocate supporting development through the provision of technical support in the form of experts to guide the development of others (Midgley, 2014). More recently momentum for a more indigenous approach to development is emerging (UNICEF, 2021). UNICEF assert that

development should be nurtured and culturally led through childhood to adulthood with appreciation of core capacity to identify the human ability to relate to oneself and others in the environment. By thinking holistically, core capacities can promote child development and well-being within communities (Freire, 1976, 1998; UNICEF, 2021).

As St Helenians are both colonised and post-colonised, they could be positioned by Freire as being in the early stages of change. The islanders, therefore, suffer a duality. If they remain in this duality, a Freirean approach suggests that they continue to attempt to mirror their oppressors. According to Freire, they will believe that to **be** is **to be like** and to **be like** is to **be like the oppressor**. If this is correct, it would suggest that islanders continue to be dehumanised through their positioning. While this could be seen to be against the more complex understanding of identity and agency (Royle, 2010; Parker, 2019, 2020), the continued presence of colonial power suggests the continued transmission of British culture into the island. Being British remains significant and seen as a right (Parker, 2019), although the extent to which this cultural transmission is received or not is of interest (Royle, 2010) in shaping what matters to children and young people.

Freire (1970) believed that knowledge is already present in oppressed peoples, and that the transmission of cultural ideologies from one context to another could be continued violence, even when this is monetary. For example, while St Helena is dependent on overseas funding, the positioning of this funding as 'aid' suggests a forced dependency (Cohen, 1983b; Parker, 2012), as it is the island's creation and history of slavery that has created the lived situation of welfare colonialism (Cohen, 1983). The pedagogy of the oppressed, animated by authentic humanist generosity, is a pedagogy of humankind against humanitarianism, in which St Helenian funding appears to be a kind of 'false generosity'. As Macedo (2000) illustrates in the context of another ex-colony (the French island of Haiti), aid funding can perpetuate further harm through unequal distribution, as workers from the global north attempt to transfer knowledge whilst retaining rights from their home countries for themselves. In effect, their create further inequality, as

they receive higher pay, benefits and accommodation than locals, who are relegated to lower living conditions (Macedo, 2000; Midgley, 2014; Hugman, 2016).

Consequently, a Freirean perspective asserts that humanitarianism is a response to oppression and so is a false generosity (Freire, 1970; Macedo, 2000). This is due to the situation of oppression being shaped by the violence of oppression, such that the response is charitable but necessary. This issue is transferrable to St Helena, which remains subject to external considerations of which areas of the island deserve funding and which do not. Most notably, as detailed within the Wass Inquiry (2015), the needs of the most vulnerable were neglected or hidden in government reports, and thus policy did not result in improved practice or services to support the needs of islanders. Once such a system exists, 'it creates a situation of violence which engenders an entire way of life and behaviour' (Freire, 1970:40). This suggests that development starts with the interests of the oppressors (in this case, with power resting in the UK), cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism, making the islanders objects of its humanitarianism. The UK has a continued obligation to fund St Helena; hence, the positioning of money within overseas 'aid' suggests that a Freirean approach provides an appropriate theoretical framework for more detailed analysis.

But whilst Freire's (1970) experiences emerged from Latin America, an exploration in the British Overseas Territories requires careful contextual understanding. The significance (or not) of Freirean thought to the study will be further discussed within the analysis of the data. However, if authentic dialogues towards possibilities require power, and children and young people lack such power, the question arises of how it can be possible to support a critical pedagogy towards what Freire refers to as **conscientisation**, or **conscientização** (Portuguese). Indeed, Freire acknowledged this, as educators need to enter and re-enter the field following dialogues with the people. Understanding what matters to children and young people on St Helena requires a situated understanding to position their lives within the here-and-now.

For Freire, theory and action cannot exist independently, but exist together, and reality is made and remade, supporting a social constructivist position. Part of this is the

distinction between systematic education, which Freire refers to as *banking education* that benefits the oppressors' system, and *educational projects*, which are carried out with people for their own transformation through dialogue. The process of dialoguing with communities is one that Freire believed should be from the community's position and with the community. Achieving this theory and action needs to be reflected towards a praxis. To reflect in action and on action (Schon, 1983), Freire believed, there is a need for genuine trust towards action *with* the oppressed.

The Freirean use of non-formal education towards raising conscientisation and action orientation to change suggests compatibility with critical social work approaches such as anti-oppressive and anti-racist practice (Carroll and Minkler, 2000; Fook, 2012). Perhaps a key difference is that Freire believed that critical approaches must always take a detour through some kind of class consideration to ensure structural issues are considered (Macedo, 2000). Within his work with marginalised groups through guided dialogue, Freire invited groups to listen for points in their own experiences and dialogue about everyday problems and their root causes, and make connections to change (Freire, 1970; Carroll and Minkler, 2000). For this project, this approach invites consideration of research questions led by participants and could lead to unexpected paths of dialogue away from the research aims.

Migration to being

As Parker (2012) found, the pursuit of the 'St Helenian dream' was symbolised by purchasing material things (p. 19) and consequently a search for employment off the island to fund the building of islanders' own homes back on St Helena. The current education structure enables St Helenian children to leave the island and obtain further education in the form of UK qualifications. For those unable to reach this goal, migration propels islanders to the nearby Ascension Islands or the Falklands, where wages are higher, enabling them to save for the building of a home (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002; Parker, 2012). This points to a capitalist society that provides education as a means of production (Althusser, 2008), enabling those in positions of power to produce workers for perceived political objectives (Freire, 1970): in this case, to enable progression to UK universities or lessen dependency through encouraging

migration. Whilst this appears positive in many ways, it could also be perceived as perpetuating cultural invasion (Freire, 1970), whereby ideology from the UK and for the UK could be seen to subjugate islanders to positions where their learnt island knowledge is seen as inherently inferior and where material belongings are seen as a measure of achievement.

Migration has recently been positioned as the biggest opportunity for children and young people who desire freedom of movement and capital as they look outward (Parker, 2021a). However, this has resulted in a level of so-called 'brain drain', as the island is seen by children and young people as holding few choices for self-development (Cohen, 1983a; Essex, 2000; Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002). The oppressor consciousness, as Freire (1970) pointed out, equates 'being' with 'having' and reduces life to objects existing for profit, but for islanders with limited choices on their island, a desire for capital, including for their island's development, is required to edge towards self-sufficiency and away from financial dependency, although, as Parker (2021) points out, they retain a strong sense of feeling and attachment to the island. To neglect islanders' own desires for capital could, therefore, suppress what is considered essential for them and their children, even if this causes ruptures in the fabric of society on the island. Children's and young people's voices are not static, but are positioned as part of multiple relations through dialogical encounters that produce voice (Spyrou, 2018). When connected to the economic and structural conditions of their birth (which Freire believed was essential), migration supports a critical approach in that identity is a manifestation of underlying material structure (Harmer *et al.*, 2015).

Education for development

According to Freire (1970), liberating education occurs through the act of cognition and development, and therefore, of authentic voice. Through communication, he believed human life holds meaning. This leads to the realisation that all forms of pedagogy represent a particular way of understanding society and a specific commitment to a future state (Giroux, 2010). Critical consciousness, through critical pedagogy (Freire argues), can realise that reality is a process subject to transformation and insists that

educators point the future towards a more socially just (Giroux, 2010) or more round world (Macedo, 2000) as part of a democratic project for change (Freire, 1970, 1998). In practice, this would suggest that supporting the development of children's and young people's voice through dialoguing about what matters to them provides a more authentic voice in the here-and-now. Such a critical stance emphasises moral judgements and social responsibility to address issues of power imbalance (Giroux, 2010). Research in this area cannot be value-free (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016; Fook, 2012). To make knowledge meaningful, a transformative process is required, which is not prescriptive (Freire, 1970) but combines theoretical rigour, social relevance and moral compassion (Giroux, 2010).

But whilst Freire's *pedagogy of the oppressed* describes his work on adult literacy, the positioning of this project with children requires further discussion. Problem-posing education entails the end of the teacher-to-student knowledge transfer, with a shift towards a dialogue that constantly unveils reality (Freire, 1970). In this way, education is seen as freedom, as opposed to domination, but the lack of research with children of the British Overseas Territories means that how this will work on St Helena is an unknown. Freire (1970) advocated that social workers must be part of freedom with people through supporting communities to gain voice. But when considering research with children (Punch, 2002), this requires reflection to ensure that transformation is ethically situated within childhood (Freire, 1985, 1998). Authentic reflection 'considers neither abstract man nor the world without people, but people in their relations with the world' (Freire, 1970: 81). However, there is a problematic aspect to how children are positioned on the islands. Literature suggests that children's position is lesser, with a lack of research into their understanding and so evidence that they have status. Therefore, not unlike research with children in other jurisdictions (Punch, 2002; Kirk, 2007; Spencer *et al.*, 2020), this project aims to support the promotion and development of voice and participation against a backdrop of complexity in representation and position within messy participatory research with children (Punch, 2002; Flick, 2009; Banks, 2016).

This presents a need to untangle children and adults alongside the colonial and social positioning. Through the power difference present in encounters in child-adult research, the concept of the authentic voice is positioned in childhood expectations (Spyrou, 2018). This, therefore, requires a decentring of childhood (Spyrou, 2017), which goes hand-in-hand with dialogical engagement (Spyrou, 2018), requiring a trusting relationship towards empowerment for marginalised peoples (Freire, 1970). Practically, this involves agreeing to the project including children and young people, alongside allowing control to be handed to children within the data collection to ground the data in lived experiences. Problematising the encounter in this project, and the position of children and their position within multiple relationships, has the potential to understand how children see knowledge and what is important to them, contributing towards their active participation within critical pedagogy.

The influence of years of subjugation, exploitation, and manipulation cannot be disregarded. The degree to which children have agency to express themselves and to authentically enact their desired goals will require reflection and analysis. Voice within this interaction is mediated through actors and the situation (Spyrou, 2011, 2018), which has to be mediated throughout the project and can only be understood by reflecting in and on actions (Schon, 1983). Freire (1970) also saw an obstacle in that oppressed people face submersion of their consciousness in oppressive reality: being engulfed in time and space (socio-cultural-historical context), people perceive their conditions as given and so struggle to see their existence in totality. For St Helena, the emergence of the increasing accessibility of the island (Middelkoop and Hogenstijn, 2018) by air and digital channels means that children have increasing access to information to learn about the world from both the outside and within.

Adopting a transformative axiological assumption means that for this project to be ethical, it needs to be designed to promote social justice and further human rights while remaining culturally respectful (Mertens, 2017). The concept of respect provides a platform for examining the intertwining of the person and the social into learning towards transformation. Education can, therefore, be seen as being constantly remade

in the praxis – both objective and subjective. But to support ethical education, the movement of inquiry must be towards the pursuit of full humanity (Freire, 1970). Again, this moves beyond theorising how children's lives have been constructed, which can neglect structural inequalities and problems that exist with the world (Spyrou, 2018), and draws attention to the concrete poverty faced by many children in marginalised communities.

This is demonstrated within the British Overseas Territories as countries attempt to develop and mirror past oppressors' exploitation of their lands themselves. In Turks and Caicos (another BOT), corruption drained large amounts of money from the most vulnerable to the minority in power (Clegg *et al.*, 2016), and in St Helena, the most vulnerable people's needs were seen as separate from the pursuit of material resources (Wass, 2015), leading to marginalisation and compounding the poverty of children and disabled adults. This could be understood as anti-dialogical action, which involves conquest, divide and rule, or manipulation. This, therefore, is not dialogical action. Freire (1970) believed that through dialogical action, the emergence of a critical consciousness is unveiled that can support people to see their position and so increase their power to perceive that their own reality can be transformed. But dialogue, Freire asserted, must be the dialogue of the people. He saw this as the authentic work that required faith in the people (Freire, 1970).

Freire into the field

Freire believed that social workers cannot be neutral towards dehumanisation and humanisation, nor towards the stability of a situation that no longer represents the human way (Freire, 1994). He saw acting and reflecting *with* the people as central to social work (Carroll and Minkler, 2000), and advocated that social workers need permanent critical curiosity. Critical consciousness challenged me to be more cognisant of the power differentiation in the situation I entered as a researcher (Sakamoto and Pitner, 2005) working towards anti-oppressive practice. Taking a community-based participatory approach on the island could support this project to listen to children and young people, facilitate dialogue with and between children, and identify action

(Branom, 2012). However, given the time-limited nature of this project, the ability to resolve problems and promote growth needs to be acknowledged.

Because this project is participatory, it needs to be situated within its limitations to understand the existing power differentiation that exists. To edge towards empowerment and production of voice in how children see the world, the orientation must be from their own positions as much as possible. Therefore, the project must be rooted in a 'present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people' (Freire, 1970: 95). This requires consideration of values, ethics and methods which children lead to discuss what matters to them. The contradictions present in the current situation are to be posed to the people as problems requiring (action-based) solutions. The social worker's role as a facilitator is to create a context and framework for learning, liberation, and change (Christian and Jhala, 2015). This involves inevitably working with uncertainty in the field (Ferguson, 2018), which requires reflection in action (Schon, 1983) to be grounded in emerging situated data (Clarke *et al.*, 2018; Braun and Clarke, 2021). The objective is to discover 'generative themes' (Freire, 1970) with the people and thus to increase the awareness of these (often latent) themes for active participation (Braun and Clarke, 2021). Relationships are fundamental to allow children to tell their stories, allowing their voices to be heard (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016). Daelman *et al.* (2020) agree with Spyrou's (2017: 433) position that childhood studies need to accentuate the relationality and process: 'entities come into being through their participation and entanglement in emerging phenomena'. This recognises the complexities of researching across childhood. While Freire (1970) worked primarily with adults, the ideas of critical pedagogy are clearly transferable and require consideration of positioning. Punch (2002) and Kirk (2007) described how research with children differs from research with adults, not because children are inherently different as participants, but because we consider them to be 'other' and therefore position ourselves as researchers in other ways. Adult researchers' assumptions, use of language (Spyrou, 2011), and attitudes and behaviour towards children assume certain statuses of children and interpretations of childhood (as well as competence, expertise, and agency), which influence choices in research with children (Punch, 2002). This acknowledges that children are embedded in the production of knowledge (Spyrou,

2018). Furthering this into practice and thus research, Freire and Macedo (1995) asserted that:

Curiosity about the object of knowledge and the willingness and openness to engage theoretical readings and discussions is fundamental. However, I am not suggesting an over-celebration of theory. We must not negate practice for the sake of theory. To do so would reduce theory to a pure verbalism. By the same token, to negate theory for the sake of practice as to use dialogue as conversation is to run the risks of losing oneself in the disconnectedness of practice...In order to achieve...unity, one must have an epistemological curiosity (p. 379)

Mannion (2007) pointed out that this goes beyond simply an adult/child construction but needs to incorporate the context of culturally specific spatial practices and the intergenerational relationship between children and adults within actions.

Congruent with a Freirean community approach to research, Daelman *et al.* (2020) made the point that attempting to 'bridge' or manage differences between adults and children creates a further layer of otherness, and in doing so, neglects the role of agency, competence, and expertise in children. Problematising the voice in research with children, they highlighted how different discourses and positions can influence how children are viewed and create many voices. This is significant for this project, as it suggests that careful attention to methodology and methods is required. It points towards Freirean participatory and grounded approaches, with a broader approach to ethics to include interactions throughout this project on St Helena. These 'everyday ethics' (Banks, 2016) go beyond research ethics (BERA, 2018) and encapsulate the small ongoing practices that influence how people treat each other and how they contribute to the well-being of, or harm to, broader society and the environment (Keinemans, 2015; Banks, 2016). As pointed out by Spyrou (2011), to respect the dynamic nature of voices, caution is required when supporting 'absent' voices or when claiming 'authentic voices'. This re-conceptualisation of voice brings ethics to the frontline:

If researchers are part of that which they seek to study, then researchers are never distanced ("objective") nor unproblematically politically aligned with others. (Mayes, 2019, p. 14)

My own voice and position required careful ongoing reflection alongside children and young people within the project. In completing a structured critical conceptual review of selected works concerning the limitations of children's voice in research, Facca *et al.* (2020) showed that claims of 'giving voice' (p. 1) highlight how the majority of research studies have a methodological focus on supporting *access* and *representation* of children's voices, in contrast to interrogating the very process by which they are constructed (Spyrou, 2011). Through this project, it was apparent that voice must not simply reflect the dominant power relations in the society that have produced their oppression through dialogue (Spyrou, 2011), but must critically problematise the presenting concerns. As Spencer *et al.* (2020) discussed, the expansion of forms of qualitative research that aim to give children a voice reflects attempts to be authentic in capturing children's lived experience and sharing agency in research. But there was also a need to expose the tricky epistemological tensions and relations of power with children on St Helena towards informed findings (Horgan, 2016). A starting point, as shown here, was that I had to be aware of the sociological conditions of childhood on St Helena, which render visible the 'unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and pre-determine the thought' (Bourdieu, 1990: 178). Taking this forward invited me to consider how I conceived, included, and represented children and young people alongside my own position, amplifying reflexivity for critical discussion. Freire's (1970) language and emancipatory approach are presented as relevant and appropriate to the situation in this thesis. In practice, this invited me to consider how interactions shape knowledge creation and require a methodological approach that is flexible and with children and young people.

Concluding comments

This thesis began by considering the literature about St Helena. It emerged that knowledge is dependent on production and dissemination, and that this requires a philosophical foundation. Critical pedagogy provides a language and guides methodology and methods towards a transformative axiology. Utilising the concepts of conscientisation, banking and oppression critical issues can be explored against experiences on St Helena. This also acknowledges that students' critical thinking does not take place in a vacuum (Benade, 2016). To reflect and act within a praxis for change

requires learning which is based on the needs identified by children and young people within this project. If limited choices and continued oppression would persist within a banking educational system, a self-managed life and particular notions of critical agency are seen as necessary to enable students to see the world unveiled and dialogue towards authentic change (Giroux, 2010). For children and young people on St Helena, the capacity to reflect critically has been shaped by the passage of history and prevailing expectations and cultural transfers (which Freire termed 'invasions') from the UK. This includes the continued use of the English curriculum and research, which measures children's lives against pre-determined credentials (Charlton, 1998; Charlton and Gunter, 2002), limiting the island's self-development (Cohen, 1983a). Therefore, a Freirean approach to the island is seen as a match to 'make evident the multiplicity and complexity of history' (Said, 1978: 141) whilst remaining respectful to the position of valued identity (Parker, 2012) and the educational system on St Helena.

Against this complexity, St Helenian identity appears as a hybridity with a unique sense of belonging (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2005; Yon, 2007; McDaniel, 2011; Parker, 2012, 2021c). The extent to which development has influenced what matters to children and young people requires exploration. Critical pedagogy provides a theoretical framework to situate oppression on shaping knowledge to encourage the generation of understanding (Freire, 1970). It also suggests that bringing forth an authentic voice requires support for the emergence of critical consciousness in oneself and others (Spyrou, 2011, 2017, 2018; Fook, 2012; Go, 2013). Reflexivity and reflection, which are central to this approach, are essential ongoing considerations to ensure that the project remains ethically grounded (Go, 2013).

While the adaptation of Freire's approach in social work practice outside of Latin America has been limited (Poertner, 1994), the underpinning theoretical approach (including the use of group methods as discussed in the methodology chapter), suggests that the core elements are compatible with social work values, research and ethical practice (Fook, 2012; IFSW, 2014; BASW, 2020). Like social work or education, this project cannot be politically neutral (Benade, 2016; Carroll and Minkler, 2000; Christian

and Jhala, 2015). There is a need to be aware that critical consciousness is not only critical thinking (Benade, 2016). From a Freirean perspective, taking a critical pedagogical approach to consciousness requires ethically grounded and humanist values, congruent with social work. This brings together the personal and the profession. Consequently, recognising ethical conduct in international research and data generation with children is imperative.

Alongside adherence to ethical obligations (BERA, 2018), I have also considered UNICEF guidance on ethical standards (2015), which centres on respect and justice for children. However, the need to position myself in my own ethics and values requires furthering ethics into practice. As a registered social worker, I must follow the British Association of Social Workers' guidance (BASW, 2021) alongside ethical codes and international social work values and ethical principles (IFSW, 2018). Thinking critically about knowledge construction invites us to explore the context of the construction of childhood (Spyrou, 2017) and the limitations of agency and voice that children face (Spyrou, 2011), alongside the structural factors which perpetuate their oppressed status, impacted by the scars of colonialism. The following chapter will discuss how the uniqueness of this situation is an important consideration in considering research methodology and methods to avoid an oversimplification of a method that would be against a Freirean position that knowledge should be positioned from the people and generated in co-construction towards action.

Chapter three -Methodology

Introduction

This chapter will explore the research methodology, which incorporates critical pedagogy into the design of this study. Firstly, it will outline how this project developed methodologically towards a transformative paradigm as an overarching framework for this research, before moving on to discuss the research aims, objectives and the desired beneficial impact of this research to the islanders. The qualitative approach taken within this research, including creative methods as data collection tools, will be explored, recognising that the primary method of data collection can be positioned as both a method and a methodology (Brown, 2005). The challenges faced in conducting participatory and ethical research within complex locations will then be discussed, alongside consent and ethical issues. Methodological considerations for both data collection and analysis in a small British overseas community shaped the choice of methodology for analysis, namely grounded theory, which will be taken forward into the next chapter.

A pilot study was completed simultaneously with this thesis. The pilot study focused on the World Café as both a method and a methodology for research, with one of its aims being to increase the research quality and richness of data to take forward into this thesis. This is a significant consideration, as a further purpose of the pilot study was to identify necessary modifications to questions and procedures to support inclusion for the islanders and increase the validity of the research (Gudmundsdottir and Brock-Utne, 2010; Flick, 2014). Other important areas that arose included research approaches and the management of bias (Gudmundsdottir and Brock-Utne, 2010) when 'mapping the field' (Flick, 2014: 14). This included a growing realisation that it was not only the researcher's own reflections on methodology and methods which shaped the project, but also the situation created by researching cross-culturally, where other persons and

agencies all attempted to shape the project within their own positionalities. This project included research and ethics both in the UK and on St Helena Island. Using consistent and well-tested methods, I strived to increase confidence in the trustworthiness of the data through engaging with multiple agencies, aiming towards high-quality research (Malmqvist *et al.*, 2019).

Being participatory, the pilot study also aimed to support islanders through self-growth (Gudmundsdottir and Brock-Utne, 2010) – a requirement that is implicit within the island's own Research Institute (SHRI, 2021). This also recognised the interpretive turn in qualitative research and the movement towards narrative and emancipatory social action in research (Charmaz, 2004; Clarke *et al.*, 2018) towards more ethically grounded work. This was of central importance following the literature review and theoretical considerations and sat well alongside Freirean approaches (Friere, 1985, 1998; Aldred, 2008; Christian and Ninad Jhala, 2015) and the aims of research for both the University and the Research Institute on St Helena. Taking this forward into the method of analysis, grounded theory was utilised to develop data led by findings in the field. This will be discussed and developed in subsequent chapters in an effort to develop an overall theoretical understanding of children's lives grounded in their own situation whilst exploring ways to support the development of children's voice through dialogical encounters, largely in the World Café.

Transformative learning in research

The transformative paradigm (with its associated philosophical assumptions) provides a framework for addressing inequality and injustice in society through using culturally competent strategies (Mertens, 2007; Romm, 2015). This led to the exploration of how transformative approaches to this study could explicitly bear in mind social justice issues so that the project integrated the historical and the current position of the island people, whilst supporting critical systemic thinking and practice (Mertens, 2007, 2017; Romm, 2015). Mertens (2007) suggested that the transformative paradigm (as she named it) encapsulates the positions of researchers who question positivist/postpositivist- and interpretivist/constructivist-oriented approaches, which to

date have been ascendant in the field of social research (Romm, 2015). Therefore, within this study, a transformative paradigm was taken forwards as a metaphorical umbrella to include critical indigenous and interpretative approaches that support movement (Fook, 2012; Mertens, 2017). The table below takes this forward into this project.

Positivist / Post positivist	Interpretivist / Constructivist	Transformative	Pragmatic
Experimental	Naturalistic	Critical theory	Consequences of actions
Quasi-experimental	Phenomenological	Neo Marxist	Problem centered
Correlational	Hermeneutic	Feminist	Pluralistic
Reductionism	Interpretivist	Freirean	Real work practice
Verification of theory	Ethnographic	Participatory	Mixed methods
Causal comparative	Social and historical construction	Emancipatory	
		Advocacy	
		Narrative	
		Empowerment	
		Change orientated	

Table 1. Transformative paradigm (Developed from Mertens, 1999; Romm, 2015)

The axiological assumption of transformative research holds that ethical research needs to be designed to promote social justice (Mertens, 2017). Methodological implications of such an approach require serious consideration of situatedness, variation, differences of all kinds, positionality, and relationality in all their complexities and contradictions (Clarke *et al.*, 2018). Social justice is a fundamental concept in transformative research, as it is in social work, informing ethics as a philosophy, practice as an encounter, and its research as a methodological framework (Rowe *et al.*, 2015). A limitation of the pilot study was that in attempting to uncover voice, there was an identified need to explore the situation where voices were produced (Dunn, 2021), recognising the many aspects of participatory research (Law, 2004; Clarke *et al.*, 2018). Building on my literature review and pilot study (Dunn, 2021), it was apparent that I needed to consider the situated influences on the children’s lives, including the significance of the colonial past

and the symbolic nature of the remnants of the colonial which linger on the island as memories of a brutal past.

In line with a transformative approach, the international actions of social work and educational research are contextualised by the impact of economic, political and cultural globalisation, which cannot be ignored (Hugman, 2016). A postmodern and critical social work is primarily concerned with practice and research that seek to further a society without domination, exploitation, or oppression, focusing on how structures can dominate and how people construct and are constructed through relations in the here-and-now (Hickson, 2011; Fook, 2012). Whilst social work research must move from positivism to constructionism and postmodern, critical approaches (Azzopardi, 2020), the understanding of what this looks like cross-culturally is less clear in practice. The recent return to the critical methods favoured in the 1970s (Fook, 2012), including the work of Freire (1970), recognises an emerging need to decolonise research approaches (Fook, 2012; Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016; Azzopardi, 2020; Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021). The transformative paradigm focuses on the value of indigenous and non-western knowledge against the need for a critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices (Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021). A critical pedagogy of decolonization consists of transforming our colonized views and holding alternative pieces of knowledge (*ibid*).

Consequently, this research's core purpose influences its methodological 'shape' (Shaw *et al.*, 2010: 14), filtered, in my case, through the lens of critical social work. The transformative ontology assumption holds that there are multiple versions of what is believed to be real, generated by multiple factors (Mertens, 2017). Philosophically, social work research is similar (Sewpaul and Henrickson, 2019), advocating that research needs to be dynamic, critical, and engaged with people in their environment (*ibid*). This draws attention to how social work research interacts with people in their environment with practice and research, embodying the personal and professional values (Banks, 2016) of those researched and the researchers themselves, who transform together (Christian and Ninad Jhala, 2015; Mertens, 2017).

Recognising that the project was time-limited, the ability to support transformation was held within generation of movement through the World Café events. This acknowledged that critical thinking could transform an acquired frame of reference, including worldviews and expectations such as values and beliefs, alongside concepts (Dirkx *et al.*, 2006). Focusing on dialogue as change opens up new valuing of indigenous knowledge and acknowledges that most of the process of learning occurs outside of formal settings, such as school and may include emotional, intuitive, symbolic, imagistic and contextual awareness (Dirkx, Mezirow and Cranton; Ashcroft, 2001; Brookfield, 2012). How we listen, begin to see each other, learn through difference, productively disagree, and develop shared understandings through dialogue are right at the heart of transformative pedagogy, united learning and transformation within this study (Hoggan, 2016). Whilst acknowledging the limitations of time (four months), the lack of consideration of authentic voice in any prior research increases the value of this research in continuing a conversation about the children on St Helena. Whilst limited research exists for children on St Helena, adaptations in transformative learning approaches for British children living away from the mainland have been shown to support empowering and sensitive ways to develop a language of possibility for action where divisions and differences exist (Smith and Neill, 2005).

The transformative epistemological assumption sees knowledge through multiple cultural lenses. It considers the importance of power inequalities (Mertens, 2017) and challenges this research to remain culturally respectful, recognising the researcher's privileged position whilst supporting the generation of authentic participation towards empowering islanders. Seeing research as enabling a site of co-construction can allow researchers to be facilitators and learners (Rowe *et al.*, 2015), but this requires a critical deconstruction of existing frames of knowledge to ensure that anti-oppressive practice is supported throughout (Fook, 2012).

While completing the literature review had supported me towards a level of understanding and a sense of direction (Flick, 2009), as I entered the field within my

pilot project, understanding the context was more challenging than I had envisaged. I concur with Mertens (2017) that transformation within critical approaches requires consideration of one's own transformation process. This includes the many intersecting axes of human identity that are fluidly assigned to us and chosen to shape our worldviews (Mertens, 2017; Azzopardi, 2020). I began to realise that as a person conducts fieldwork with a particular worldview, it can evolve when researching cross-culturally and communicating across multiple divides of power (Crawford *et al.*, 2017). Both I and the islanders shaped the encounters I was constructing (Gergan, 2001; Probst, 2015). This collaborative construction of knowledge required a deeper level of reflection to acknowledge issues of power and cultural sensitivity in the project methodology.

Choosing a methodological direction

The literature review highlighted the need to critically understand the dynamics surrounding the occupation and development of the island through an ongoing dependent relationship with the UK, both limiting and producing opportunities. Theoretically, Freire drew attention to the importance of ethical aims directed towards research that benefits islanders, recognising the oppressions they face and pushing the project towards transformative aspirations. Methodologically transformative approaches aim to collect data from diverse sources in diverse ways that honour the integral knowledge needed for transformation (Mertens, 2017). This complements and enhances traditional or multiple methods (*ibid.*) alongside critical discussions of dialogical construction (including Freirean approaches to learning) within the study (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016).

Taking this further, interpreting data involves a level individual deconstruction and reconstruction to build understanding (Fook, 2012), this creates a layer of interpretation which requires analysis. The position of the researcher into the context creates the situation for this interpretation. Situating interpretation allows the analytical focus to go beyond knowing the subject to centring fully on the inquiry situation (Clarke *et al.*, 2018). This shows the need to consider how to include the participation of islanders

through this study. Participatory knowledge creation aims to enhance our critical consciousness (Freire, 1970) and the collective consciousness (Freire, 2012) through critiquing standpoints, whilst respecting that action, reflection and experiences must be grounded in concrete lived realities. This recognises the importance of involving the islanders themselves within knowledge generation alongside exploring the sites of development and environment that produce and sustain voices and dominant discourse on and about the island and their lives. Although there is acknowledgment that while participation is central, the presentation of this paper is by an individual, always adding a level of limitation.

Research aspirations and aims

While the complexities of voice in research must be recognised (Spyrou, 2011, 2018; Thomas, 2021), children have a right to actively participate in research (UN, 1989). The historical exploitation or neglect of access to children and young people strongly influenced the shape of the pilot study and reinforced the need for a critical research position in the project's methodology. Walton (2014) points to the need to consider that reality comes from recognising feelings, intentions and spirituality, and suggests that we need to identify and appreciate what unifies peoples from a strength's perspective. The World Café was the chosen method for the pilot study due to its participatory shape and foundations in dialogue (Brown and Isaac, 2005) towards change in cross-cultural context, and this method was chosen to take forward into this project. This led to a critical approach towards transformation aspirations that shaped the overall aim:

To further knowledge and insight into the lived experiences of children on St Helena about what matters to them.

Following ethical agreement from the University, negotiations on the aims and objectives required oversight from the St Helenian community. Research on St Helena is regulated and guided by the St Helena Research Policy and other local policies to assure:

- Protection of St Helena's vital interests, including the protection of the Island's peoples, environment, and heritage; and

- Positive development for St Helena through knowledge transfer; equitable benefit-sharing and long-term capacity-building (SHRI, 2021).

Application for a research license required clearance through additional layers. The license requirements included that local islanders must be part of the research through a series of awareness-raising sessions with schools and the community. This research, therefore, moved beyond my own aims and objectives and towards including islanders' own aspirations in the development of this project. This is important in developing the methodological shape of the project, influencing the data gathered. However, for a project which was based upon a transformative approach, this sat comfortably towards ensuring that indigenous knowledge was threaded throughout the planning.

The impact of coronavirus on this study

Fieldwork for the project took place in 2020-2021 whilst a global pandemic gripped most of the world. This delayed the pilot study and data collection for this thesis (Dunn, 2021). Restrictions to access to the island in the pandemic and the island's remote location created logistical challenges to the project's progress.

Conversely, these issues also provided a unique insight into how islanders perceived dangers from outside of the island at the time. Whilst consideration was given to video interviewing or holding events through online platforms, the structure of World Café events without existing relations on the island was perceived to be too great a barrier to this approach. Online events can allow a similar level of flexibility to focus groups (Jesus and Hubbard, 2020), but there are unique challenges to digital access on St Helena. Since 1989, the island has relied on a single 7.6-metre satellite dish to connect islanders to the rest of the world, and whilst the internet is present, it is expensive and slow (Koziol, 2021). With television also being a relatively recent introduction (Charlton *et al.*, 2002), the reliability of digital connections, alongside challenges to arranging such an online group as an outsider, from a distance, was prohibitive to digital data gathering and consequently impacted on the methodological shape of the project.

Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was gained through the university and secondary approval was gained through the St Helena Research Institute (SHRI). These two layers of approval were delayed due to Covid-19 and the need to consider the possibility of completing the project remotely. As this was participatory research supporting collaborative learning (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016) with the islanders, it was inevitable that approval would need to be revisited in the field as the project and sampling developed. Attention was given throughout to ensuring that the project remained theoretically and methodologically grounded, considering democratic, participatory, empowering, and educational ethics (Banks, 2016). This aligned well with professional social work values and ethics (BASW, 2021) and drew attention to the need to reflect on the impact of research in communities (Banks, 2016). The British Educational Research Association (BERA) expects the same ethical principles that are required within the UK to be applied to research conducted outside the UK, but acknowledges that this requires careful negotiation, alongside a 'good conscience and ethical code' (2018: 14) with situated judgements. This quickly materialised as an area that needed attention, most notably due to the impact of Covid-19 on the community and perceptions of outsiders.

Fieldwork began on St Helena following a place on a charter plane being secured on 26th October 2020. Landing on such a remote location involves a realisation, almost immediately, of isolation. Upon arrival, a stay of 10 days in a quarantine camp was required. With the internet frequently not working and being restricted to 30 minutes' use per day (or very costly, slow internet access outside of this), camp residents were required to develop new routines. Undertaking research can become what is termed an embodying experience (Fenge *et al.*, 2019), whereby immersion in both the data and the context becomes close to oneself and all-encompassing. This project began on entering an environment during a time of unprecedented unsettlement and hostility towards allowing entry to outsiders. This showed how socio-political dynamics can quickly change on small islands (Donaldson and Forssman, 2020), as attitudes and beliefs are expressed closely between different groups, and emphasised the need to ensure that researchers make situated adaptations, which, for this project, were ethically essential to respect the islanders' own voices. In such small communities, the distance between

politicians and the community was seen to be narrow; consequently, seeing such perceptions verbalised against outsiders felt immediate and close.



Photo 1: Wanting a voice 12.12.20

In writing about unique challenges through the overseas territories, Harmer *et al.* (2015) described how state identities on islands like St Helena can be constructed and expressed in multiple ways but are commonly detectable in the discourses that state actors use to communicate their norms, ideologies, imaginaries and assumptions (Harmer *et al.*, 2022). Such discourses promote and maintain ideas about different groups, roles, identities, and relations, and about relational power, structuring ‘truths’ and influencing political outcomes (Dryzek, 2013; Harmer *et al.*, 2022). In this case, some politicians wanted the island to close. With a high number of vulnerable adults (SHG, 2021), it was positioned that the island opening, even with vaccines, would lead to widespread death. As pointed out by Harmer *et al.* (2022), constructivist approaches to relations highlight the importance of identity, and also how identities are not always consciously created but emerge from actors' and agencies' positions. They framed how islanders perceived the world and the Covid-19 crisis in 2020. This was an important methodological and ethical area: relationship-building and the introduction of methods from outside needed to be carefully considered and revisited in response to the unique

context on the island at the time. I thus needed to pause and revisit the literature to understand the situation.

Such focuses can also be called 'arenas of concern', which comprise multiple social worlds joining together (Strauss, 1978), with islanders committed to issues and prepared to act in some way together in one arena (Clarke *et al.*, 2018; Strauss, 1978). As will be illustrated, Covid-19 became an area of concern in all World Café events, alongside being actively debated in the community. As such, it joined islanders from different backgrounds towards a central topic of discussion. The debate about this issue is of interest and shaped the presentation and understanding of news and truth that islanders accepted (or rejected). This included the passing and accepting of 'fake news', which sparked anxiety and campaigns against outsiders and focused on Jamestown's government building. Ethically, this is significant. While BERA (2018) guidelines discuss the need to prevent harm in research, as a social worker I am also bound to ensure that anti-oppressive practice is challenged: the impact of my presence on the island at a time of community tensions was therefore a carefully balanced position.



Photo 2: Demonstrating fear in a community protest November 2020

Fake news has been defined as 'information that has been deliberately fabricated and disseminated to deceive and mislead others into believing falsehoods or doubting verifiable facts' (McGonagle, 2017: 203). Whilst fake news is not new, the increase in social media (alongside the proliferation of theories concerning Covid-19 throughout 2020) has resulted in several studies analysing how fake news is constructed and shared, and most notably, how social media impacts individuals' well-being when fear is constructed (Kim *et al.*, 2021). Fake news is presented as news: this is an important consideration on an island where connectivity is limited and both news and opinions are filtered through local channels. The power of misinformation, therefore, is potentially considerable. In modelling the drivers of fake news through Covid-19, Apuke and Omar (2021) found that individuals could hold considerable power in shaping the opinions of others by presenting information as fact. As I was emerged in isolation on arrival on the island, I witnessed how information such as an alleged breach of quarantine was presented as fact to the community within news and when accepted by a few, this resulted in fear as individuals acted to protect their community, accepting information as fact without question. Consequently, for this project on St Helena, I realised that it was more challenging in this situation to locate authentic voices against competing and driving opinions that shape others' thoughts through misinformation. Accepting the islanders' views, which were manipulated by others, was an anomaly I had not envisaged. For children on St Helena, the fallout from such demonstrations and campaigns was that quarantine and Covid-19 was a theme that ran through events.



Photo 3: protesting quarantine November 2020

Family and community have been identified previously as strengths on St Helena, acting to protect and support children's development and safety (Schulenberg, 2002), but filtering through adults' narratives also appeared to constrain children's voice development. As the above photo shows children were perceived as at risk from covid, although the factual basis for this was not clear, and children themselves were not visible in the protests on the island. Children in different social arenas grow into socialised situations (Spencer, Fairbrother and Thompson, 2020). Therefore, children's ability to access knowledge could be manipulated by their social situations (Wood, 2014; Adler, *et al.*, 2019) and in this case also by their geographically remote connected space. Consequently, their reading of the world (Freire, 1970) could be impacted. Their ability to take an active role in shaping their position links their individual status to culturally dominant discourses on the island and structural issues of the time.



Photo 4: Communicating with the community over the radio.

To increase community understanding of the project, the research license introduced a requirement to speak in the schools, which, taken alongside media communications, would lead to the island being identified as the site of the research project. This was not necessarily a concern for a methodology that focuses on positive psychology (Vogt *et al.*, 2003) and the creation of knowledge, but was a careful area for relationship-building while the community debated opening the island to visitors. Whilst research positions confidentiality as important (BERA, 2018), the fact that this was a participatory project made it apparent that there was a need to think differently about what the categories of anonymity, privacy and confidentiality mean and translate in small communities.

The participant information sheet emphasised that participating in the study was entirely voluntary and consent could be withdrawn at any point. However, while the events included drawing anonymously and connecting ideas, alongside rotating tables, if a participant withdrew after the World Café had started, it would have been impossible to remove the data collected and analysed up until that point. The impact of the participants' interactions with others in the event would also, of course, be impossible to withdraw. This illustrated that the event, and interactions beforehand, co-construct meanings of the data between the researcher and the participant (Charmaz, 2014), creating a unique situated understanding (Clarke *et al.*, 2018). Therefore, the data collected and interpreted to the point of withdrawal would need to be considered as part of the study. This was described in the participant information sheet and rechecked verbally with the children at the start of all World Café events, whilst the children and their guardians also provided signed consent prior to participation. The researcher was

fully transparent about the implications for withdrawing consent after events had started and ensured that participants' consent was truly informed.

The pilot study highlighted that the children themselves wanted to shape and to be part of the events, which was positive (Dunn, 2021). Alongside this, children were quick to show interest in what happened to their views. For example, one young person stated,

I don't mean to be rude, but before I start talking with you, I want to know what will happen. I mean, so many people come here, and we talk, but nothing happens. (Focus group four)

From the children's experience, previous visitors had exploited their voice, with no action or reflection on what happened once their views were shared. The impact of the research therefore gains ethical importance. Engaging with young people prior to the events was crucial in deciding how best outcomes from events would be represented following events. Conversely, it was apparent through conversations documented in fieldnotes that islanders perceived the answers to come from the researcher's work, reinforcing earlier research which suggests that islanders perceived change to be outside of their reach (Essex, 2000). Yet perhaps paradoxically, they still desired participation in decision-making (Bass *et al.*, 1995), reflecting the feelings of disempowerment between themselves and those governing them. Therefore, continued attention to power dynamics and social justice *in situ* were essential ethical considerations.

While I perceived the research to be of value and potentially a significant contribution, there was a need for islanders to see an accessible impact of the project, to uphold both BERA (2018) and BASW (2021) guidance alongside their own wishes. This also drew attention to dissemination of findings to the community following the research. The short duration on St Helena created limitations and setting the scope of this project clearly in communication was critical. This involved realising that whilst this study was tilted towards transformation, it would involve dialogue towards action and possibilities with limitations. This was taken forward into methods to ensure that the events themselves had a level of impact which was timely and important for the islanders. This

required a level of discussion and reflection with the islanders in a number of focus groups to ensure participation.

UNICEF's (2021) procedure for ethical standards in research draws attention to ethical reflection as a requisite in an equity-based framework. 'Reflection' is a contested term in the literature (Hickson, 2011) with different interpretations and definitions shifting between research and practice (Miu, 2008). Within social work, reflection was developed through the works of Schon (Schon, 1983) and (Mezirow, 1990), and has become more critical in positioning. This draws on awareness that there is a need to consider the emotional dimensions to reflection (notably, this is also the case in educational learning: see Brookfield, 2012). Expanding this within professional education, Schon (1994) invites consideration of *reflection in action* (how we think on the spot) and *reflection on action* (after interactions). More than reflection alone, critical reflection requires critical thinking, linking personal experiences with social and power arrangements (Hickson, 2011), which requires deconstruction and contextualisation of situations and how we have developed skills and responses to practice (Fook, 2012). But reflection has limitations: specifically, we reflect with our own knowledge and therefore there is a danger that reflection alone is too encompassing a term to capture the complexity of what is occurring in moments of practice (Brookfield, 2012; Ferguson, 2018): in this case, a research project far from the researcher's home and the risk that excessive self-analysis would occur at the expense of focusing on the children's views, which must remain central.

The term 'reflexivity' furthers reflection into an awareness of the research's influence on people or the topic being studied and aims to foster a circular relationship between the researcher and the subject of interest (Probst, 2015). Birks and Mills (2015: 52) defined reflexivity as 'systematically developing insight into your work as a researcher to guide your future actions'. Within this project, it involves showing how decisions were made and how my own positionality influenced the direction of the project. This recognises that research is never a neutral activity and we bring our own biases into the field (Galdas, 2017). Following advice from Straussian grounded theory, I introduced a

reflective journal to ensure that I was aware of myself and that I learned from decisions I made (Charmez, 2006). Practising with reflexivity in education is congruent with Freire's (1970) approach to critical consciousness and expands transformation more holistically to consider our thoughts, including assumptions, beliefs, values and perspectives (Brookfield, 2012; Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016). Reflexivity co-locates researchers as involved in the study and not separated by a perceived level of objectivity (Charmaz, 2006). A liberatory or transformative approach to the inclusion of reflexivity is particularly important to dialogical methodologies to ensure that the researcher remains ethical throughout (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016).

The World Café as a participatory method

For the initial design of this project, a central method was required that supported induction of knowledge whilst remaining true to the transformative pedagogical foundations of the study. Drawing on critical pedagogy, the World Café was chosen: this is a participatory tool that is widely used in community development (Fouché and Light, 2010; Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016; Löhr *et al.*, 2020). The World Café can be understood as both a method and a methodology, involving rounds of questions where participants are invited to dialogue and respond visually on 'tablecloths'. As its possibilities have been recognised, the method has more recently evolved as tool for qualitative research projects (Löhr *et al.*, 2020) and was evaluated within the pilot study that preceded this thesis (included within the next chapter). It was initially intended that a large main event would collect sufficient data for analysis within this thesis.

Whilst the World Café approach to collaborative learning was first 'discovered' in 1995 through a workshop in California, it was consolidated as an innovative methodology for dialogical inquiry within the thesis of Juanita Brown in 2001. Brown (2001) detailed this approach through the metaphor of the Café building on the works of Freire (1970) and cultural circles she had developed with farming communities. She asserted that Café events could illuminate how dynamic and diverse conversation and social learning networks can create 'living knowledge' (Brown, 2001: iii). But whilst the development of the methodological approach could be viewed simply as a discovery, Brown's (2001)

focus on enhancing voices in participation is grounded in her lived experiences, including social movements, where conversations about changes and possibilities led to action, coupled with substantial research on organisational knowledge and dialogue. This has significantly shaped her perspective and thus her approach, drawing upon storytelling as inquiry (Brown and Isaac, 2005); critical pedagogical approaches (such as Freire, 1970); and respect for indigenous knowledge (Rowe *et al.*, 2015), alongside Appreciative Inquiry (AI) (Carter, 2006) to support the structuring of questions towards possibilities within Café events. The potential fit for this project, therefore, is apparent.

Initial studies examined The World Café by comparing it with other research approaches (Lohr *et al.*, 2020), particularly Appreciative Inquiry (AI) (Fouche and Light, 2010) and Participatory Action Research (Aldred, 2011). Both AI and The World Café define community development (Aldred, 2011) as part of a new generation of participatory methods edging towards a more critical stance (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016). Both AI and The World Café are intertwined and create settings where inter-subjectivity can be shared and designed to enable positive responses to problems or challenges (*ibid*). Aldred (2011) pointed out that they are both constructivists. Cooperrider *et al.* (2003) described AI as 'a methodology that takes the idea of the social construction of reality to its positive extreme' (1999:2). AI argues that the most potent vehicle for challenging social order is through the act of dialogue, with generative dialogue enabling growth (Cooperinder *et al.*, 2003). In doing so, dialogue is seen as the vehicle of action. As this research is time-limited, this argument acknowledges that dialogue can continue with the project, starting a transformative conversation.

Tan and Brown (2005) and Brown *et al.* (2005) assert that the World Café 'travels well' through events, encouraging generative dialogue across structures and organisations globally. However, whilst reflection is seen as key within the Café, reflexivity is harder to locate (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016). Lorenzetti *et al.* (2016) argue convincingly that The World Café is limited in effectiveness without considering the power differential between the hosts and the participants. This is significant when holding events cross-culturally. Exploring the transformative ability of the Café, Lorenzetti *et al.* (2016)

believe that it offers distinct emancipatory characteristics and so sits comfortably within the transformative paradigm. Research with social workers asserts that the method can effectively reduce the distance between the powerful and the less influential. However, Lorenzetti *et al.* (2016) highlight the need to address the limited emphasis on reflexivity (especially in the role of the hosts) and the method's limited ability to address structural inequalities. Attention to this area is needed if the project is to support meaningful conversations with the children and young people on St Helena. In that case, Lorenzetti *et al.* (2016) assert that the absence of critique about power differentials within and outside of the Café could also inhibit transformation and propose seven principles as a charter to address the weaknesses of Café events. Adapted from Lorenzetti *et al.* (2016) and developed by Dunn (2021), transformative considerations taken forward into data collection include the following:

- **Recognising people's subjectivity** suggests that it is an ethical responsibility to identify, discuss, and critically reflect on our values, beliefs, and assumptions.
- **Intersectional identities** – recognising the diversity and different identities from which multiple oppressions and privileges exist and emerge. Social location and intersectionality are vital reflections in a transformative process.
- **Reflexivity** – we need to consider how our subjective biases affect every aspect of research and practice.
- **Commitment to liberatory education** – through learning, grounded in participants having wisdom (Brown and Isaac, 2005), but with the awareness that as educators/researchers, we hold privilege and thus social responsibility (Christian and Ninad Jhala, 2015).
- **Addressing barriers to participation** – there is an ethical obligation to ensure that diverse and marginalised voices are heard and accounted for and to advocate for those who experience oppression barriers.
- **Acknowledging power and privilege** – we are all seen as co-learners, and The World Café holds that participants have wisdom, so we need to consider social responsibility and our own positionality and the impact of this on research design and action.
- **Acknowledging that education is activism** – education is action, and thus is neither neutral nor political: it is social change based on social justice

aspirations. We must remain grounded in the positions of marginalised peoples as the concrete reality they position.

These considerations may potentially address perceived power shortfalls by making explicit the exact positions of the host and participants (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016). However, if the design principles are followed and ethics and values engaged (as suggested by Fouché and Light, 2010), an inclusive space should emerge from the context.

As a method, World Café events rely on thought and dialogical action (Brown *et al.*, 2005) in a context in which participants are engaged through conversations and diversity through the rounds of discussion. Participants are invited to encourage more reflective listening and thoughtful consideration of ideas using creative approaches such as stories or talking pieces to listen to for a while to sense patterns, themes, and more in-depth questions (Brown *et al.*, 2005). Still, it is assumed that the method is cross-culturally effective (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016). Whilst the island is English-speaking, its inhabitants' own unique culture, alongside a history of colonialism, adds a layer of consideration for cultural respect, necessitating awareness. Lorenzetti *et al.* (2016) pointed out that there is space to reflect, but there is also a need to discuss how hosts reflect in themselves and with children in supporting their voices to express what matters to them.

Therefore, as previously pointed out by Spyrou (2018), when supporting 'absent' voices or when claiming 'authentic voices', caution is required to respect the dynamic nature of voices. This reconceptualisation of voice brings ethics and politics to the frontline. As Spencer *et al.* (2020) discussed, the expansion of such forms of qualitative research that aim to give children a voice reflects attempts to be authentic in capturing children's lived experiences, giving them agency in research. Still, there is a need to expose the tricky epistemological tensions and relations of power embedded in the production of knowledge.

In discussing the need for further research into The World Café as a method, Lohr *et al.* (2020) discussed how the shift in qualitative research towards narrative approaches (including The World Café) has the potential to bring forward lived experiences. Utilising The World Café within a German-Tanzanian food project, they found that the method was well suited to complement other methods to explore a topic or verify findings. Fewer questions were asked within The World Café event than in focus groups or interviews; the data collection was less time-consuming and provided multiple themes. Interestingly, they found more interaction between tables in The World Café compared to focus groups, suggesting that the method supported greater inclusion. However, as data collection is based on tablecloths, limited analysis was possible, as discussions on tables were not captured. Despite this, participant feedback suggested, in agreement with (Jorgenson and Steier, 2013), that dialogue continued after the event. However, Lohr *et al.* (2020) point to the need to ensure that a limited number of questions is posed to the tables, with appreciative and open questions being more beneficial.

Exploring questions that matter

Questions can describe states or processes and can unpick exciting assumptions or can be aimed at discovering new ones (Flick, 2009). Strauss (1987) refers to these as 'generative questions' that stimulate different lines of directions (p.22). According to both Flick (2009) and Vogt *et al.* (2003), the architecture of powerful questions can improve the quality of insight. Vogt *et al.* (2003) focus on the use of questions referred to as Appreciative Inquiry (AI) to focus on questions that support travel, and so transformation. Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is a model that attempts to engage people in their own identified changes. As Flick (2009) stated, reflecting on and reformulating research questions occurs at several points as we develop an understanding (Cresswell, 2007). Adopting AI in the formulation of questions required me to explore what has deep meaning to children on remote islands, even in times of disruption, alongside their developmental needs to support inclusion alongside a need to be flexible to evolving understanding in the field.

Drawing together AI questions and The World Café, Vogt *et al.* (2003) suggest questions for focusing collective attention (matched to the situation and space), questions for connecting ideas and finding deeper insight (moving to the contribution, diverse perspectives and patterns and insights) and lastly questions that create forward movement (towards collective sharing). Three questions were agreed to deepen reflection in young people prior to discovering the 'big question' through harvesting group feedback at the end of the Café. Recognising the differences in local dialects, questions were agreed and developed with local hosts on the island prior to the event.

The questions to be brought into the World Café were:

- **What matters to children like you on St Helena?**
- **If you could ask one question to someone in a position of power on St Helena about something that matters to you now, what would you ask them?**
- **What needs to happen next to support children like you on St Helena?**

The World Café aims to enable communities to develop their voices and explore what matters to them (Brown *et al.*, 2005), but because such research has not previously been conducted on St Helena, it was apparent early in discussions that knowledge was seen more as something that was exchanged from the outside. Whilst previous research had indicated that islanders felt a lack of control (Harmer *et al.*, 2015; Essex, 1999), I had not fully understood how this would impact on the planning of this project. If a lack of understanding impacts how the Café is viewed, it could impact children's ability to see how their contribution can be meaningful. Leaflets about the main event and local co-hosts were developed to support increased understanding with consideration of local ethnicities and the inclusion of unique factors of the island, such as the endemic plants (Appendix 2).

The World Café planning

The event was to be set in an accessible venue with tables to seat four or five children at each. Each table was set with a material tablecloth, flip chart paper overlaid (referred to as the 'tablecloth'), and paper and pens. An audio recorder was placed in the centre. Drinks and snacks were available. Initial feedback from the research institute on the

island highlighted that what counts as a hospitable space was culturally specific. Therefore, the metaphor of a Café, including how it looks, was reviewed during the preliminary planning meeting with islanders. This recognised that symbolic use of objects (flowers, tablecloths, music) frames the environment and enables or disables potential conversational flow (Steir *et al.*, 2015).

On arrival, children were to be greeted, invited to take a seat at a table, and invited to participate in a discussion about the World Café Etiquette as ground rules for the event. The method applied included three revolving rounds of 15 minutes. Questions were displayed on a menu on the table with a 'starter' question, 'main' question, and 'dessert'. Each round aimed to discuss one question in sequential order. Each child had access to pens to capture conversations and was invited to draw, doodle, or write expressions from the questions. Following each round, the children were invited to change tables and to sit with different children. An audio recorder was to be positioned on each table, and a supporting host monitored the recording device. This aimed to recognise that previous studies suggest that data could lack richness if only tablecloths are retained (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016). This project hoped to delve deeper into both table and whole-group discussions through oral contributions.

It is worth drawing attention to the two kinds of host in World Café events. A hosting team supports the event and table hosts are participants in the event. They will be described as supporting hosts and participant hosts. The supporting hosts in the event are to support children to contribute to the event (Gallagher, 2008; Horgan, 2016). Supporting hosts were recruited through educators on the island and selected following a group invitation to discuss the project. Whilst Lorenzetti *et al.* (2016) and Lohr *et al.* (2020) consider the role of additional hosts as potentially influencing power, advising caution, The World Café (2015) is clear that to support reflection, hosting events should never be alone (Brown *et al.*, 2005). Within this it is intended that by hosting events with others reflection is encouraged, supporting diversity and inclusion.

It was intended that to further diverse responses one participant hosts remain on each table; their role is to summarise the previous conversation to the new arriving participants. A new host is chosen at the end of each round while the other participants move tables. The idea of changing participants and hosts is to circumvent power inequities by ensuring that participants meet other participants with whom they can interact differently (Lohr *et al.*, 2020). By switching tables, group dynamics are mixed, with new groups being formed at each round. Whilst researchers or supporting hosts could observe or steward the tables, this is against the participatory nature of Appreciative Inquiry (The World Café, 2015), although it is something that was detailed within the original approach (Brown, 2001) and is still debated (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016; Lohr *et al.*, 2020).

The last phase is the harvest and involves a significant group discussion and reflection (Brown *et al.*, 2005). Through this group discussion and reflection, themes and deeper questions are encouraged (The World Café, 2015). There are many ways of harvesting these ideas within the World Café, from graphic recorders to sticky notes or gallery tours to view tablecloth visual discussions (Lohr *et al.*, 2020). Harvesting was decided to be a collective 'popcorn' discussion to recognise my position as an outside researcher and the balance with the supporting hosts. The purpose of this was to harvest key learning points, and participants were to be invited to 'post' ideas and comments on large sticky notes placed on a monster sticky wall.

Recognising the emerging challenges to engaging a larger group of children in attending the World Café, negotiations with the St Helenian Research Institute and the islanders educators led to agreement for a series of Mini Café events in the three primary schools with years 5 and 6 children and later the secondary school with year 7 children. As requested by islanders it was agreed that the primary school data would not include audio recordings.

Visual data

Visual images are now widely recognised as having the potential to elicit an understanding of how children and young people see the world (Lomax, 2012; Mannay, 2016). Within World Café events, large sheets of paper are placed on the tables as 'tablecloths'. Children within the events are invited to dialogue and/or draw and connect ideas in rounds. It was hoped that the tablecloth would encourage creativity, recognising that children's vocabulary may be variable even within the same age group. Participatory visual methods cover a diverse range of approaches (Mannay, 2016), and there is limited analysis of tablecloths themselves as tools for data collection (Fouché and Light, 2010; Löhr *et al.*, 2016). In this study, the tablecloths themselves were not intended to be the primary source of data within the Café, but a supporting tool for building conversations.

Just as there is a need to attend to power relations in conversations to support change dialogue, it was realised as the project developed that the same relations might impact on the data captured on the tablecloths. Just as with focus groups (Gibson, 2016), some children could dominate and control access on tables. That said, as there were three rounds to the Café events, with children mixing in each round and building on conversations and data from prior rounds, it was hoped (as indicated by Brown *et al.*, 2005) that diversity would encourage inclusion. After each round, reflection was encouraged by one child acting as the table host and remaining on the table. They then introduce the conversation and drawings from the round before to arriving children. Working towards collective questions in a group, the illustrations on the cloths acted to support the elicitation of children's views and meaning making through dialogue. Whilst symbolic interpretation of images created by children can be analysed (Lowenfeld, 1939; Lowenfeld, 1997), this is not congruent with the ethics of the research or participation, so it will not be furthered in this study. This recognises that whilst reading artwork from other cultures often reveals the connections of our own metaphoric systems, it is filtered through our own understanding, and when presented, others read and interpret it through their own frames of reference.

The pilot study explored the possibility of The World Café as a creative method to question dominant stereotypes and contribute to understanding children's views (Dunn, 2021). But whilst tablecloths were provided to connect written ideas as opposed to writing comments, children drew pictures and scenes of their towns to represent their views. Social work research is often deeply concerned with understanding the contextual and emotional realm of experiences (Jackson Foster *et al.*, 2018), with metaphor mapping supporting children's expression in arts-based projects (Clark and Statham, 2005; Mannay, 2016). Drawing on this, I recognised the potential for new understandings. But ethically, as pointed out by Manney (2016), images can be emotive for children to process, and within the World Café, due to revolving rounds and the movement of children across tables, anonymity is preserved but children's ability to withdraw images they have created is limited, particularly because names are not attributed to images. Consequently, where topics are particularly sensitive and where visual images act to represent and fix them, there is a need to think carefully about whether representation is ethical, both in the moment and beyond the lifetime of the study (Mannay, 2016). For these reasons, children's images were mapped to locate themes and develop categories, but symbolic analysis of children's drawings was not considered.

Illustrating impactful conversation

Realising the potential of the visual alongside the complexities of representation of the data generated, alternatives to support the project's impact were considered. Participatory research produces knowledge for a variety of stakeholders (Banks *et al.*, 2017), and in this study, it was realised early on that understandings shifted across cultures and different audiences, when the English language was used to communicate, and local dialects compounded differences. Whilst academic language provided me with a voice in my research presentation, it also limited accessibility for readers on the island. Plain language (written or performative) could facilitate a more democratic dialogue about issues and meaning making. However, this might also deny important nuances that could help some audiences to think more deeply. The decision was made to support the visual representation of the World Café by adding a graphic recorder (see Appendix 1, 2, 3). This medium was introduced with local support, where it was discussed that

simpler visual representations of research findings were needed and would be more accessible for islanders. Photographs of points of significance were collected, and the visual artist became a co-host. Therefore, whilst I saw potential risks in introducing another layer of analysis, the benefits to islanders of having a visual recording of the World Café, from a person who was neither a researcher nor a participant, was thought to outweigh this and thus was supported.

Additional data collection methods

Focus Group Data

I needed to expand on my collection methods to deepen the richness of data. Whilst the World Café was the central data collection technique, it was not the only one. It was inevitable that living and researching in the same space would encourage the generation of additional data, which influenced the direction of this project through evolving data comparison. The most comparative method to the World Café is focus groups (Fouché and Light, 2010; Löhr, *et al.*). Although developed as a well-known qualitative approach to gathering data with adults as subjects (Flick, 2009; Adler *et al.*, 2019), studies involving children where the methodological considerations are detailed are harder to locate (Gibson, 2016; Jackson Foster *et al.*, 2018; Dos Santos *et al.*, 2021). Layering complexity further, there is even less literature about the effectiveness of completing focus groups cross-culturally between the global north and south (Jakobsen, 2012).

Focus groups data are collected through a semi-structured interview process where several people are interviewed together (Flick, 2009). Using interactional exchange within the group can allow data to emerge that is less accessible in individual interviews (*ibid*). Although research with children is less conclusive, suggesting that each study is unique, producing different data between focus groups than interviews (Heary and Hennessy, 2006; Horgan, 2016), the richness of the data appears to be shaped by the subject matter (*ibid*). The definition of a focus group interview is ‘a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment’ (Krueger and Casey, 2009:2).

Whilst focus groups can avoid some of the power imbalances between the researcher and the participants (Adler *et al.*, 2019), the position of the researcher is a significant one, shaping the conversation, and in research with children, this could impact strongly on the data through imbalances in perceived power (Gibson, 2016; Ingulfsvann *et al.*, 2020). Interviews and focus groups with children require methods that match their developing competencies (Morgan *et al.*, 2016) alongside understandings of their social positioning and the context in which the groups occur (Clark and Statham, 2005; Jakobsen, 2012). It is essential to consider that not all children develop linearly (Gibson, 2016). Despite their popularity (Adler *et al.*, 2019), the involvement of young people and small children is given little attention in the guidance on focus group methods (Krueger and Casey, 2009; Adler *et al.*, 2019). Adler *et al.*'s (2019) review of the literature concerning focus groups suggested that children as young as four to five years can participate, provided that the methodology is adjusted. With play increasing in significance compared to dialogue with younger children (Lowenfield, 1939; Gibson, 2016; Adler *et al.*, 2019), it was expected that children's interactions might differ from those of adults in Café events. As awareness-raising was included as part of the research license, focus groups were held (with consent) with local groups (including older children as part of a youth parliament) and documented within field notes. Questions centred on Appreciative Inquiry and the Café questions as a basis for discussion. These discussions continued to influence the methodological shape of this project, as discussed within the following chapters, but the World Café remained central.

School Assembly

A condition set within my research license was to support knowledge-sharing through an assembly at the secondary school. Critical pedagogy would suggest that such an idea is not congruent with encouraging transformation. The transfer of knowledge by speaking to people appears to be more akin to a banking model of education (Freire, 1970, 1985). Being transformational, this project needed to support reflection and action in a praxis. The department's response resonated with the concerns that Cohen (1983) identified, wherein education has historically been positioned as transferring

knowledge to support a workforce for continued dependency, devaluing choice and internal knowledge. However, an assembly presented an opportunity to engage with young people and with adaptation gain a level of participation. Consequently, it was agreed that the assembly would be more interactive, seeking to encourage the gathering of young people's views and opinions. At the time of the project, the island was exploring future development goals, and therefore this was identified as the topic of the discussion, linking development to choice. Following a short presentation, young people were introduced to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.



Figure 2: United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2015).

They were asked,

'Which sustainable development goals speak loudest to you?'

A follow-up question asked,

'What bold steps need to take place to realise this goal?'

Despite the sustainable development goals being written in government documents, it was apparent through field notes within the pilot study (Dunn, 2021) that the islanders were not aware of them. Development was positioned as something abstract and out of

their reach (Bass *et al.*, 1995; Cohen, 1983a). The children's participation from the assembly was visualised and taken forward to be used into the community (Appendix 1) to support continued conversations prior to subsequent events. While it was not intended that the assembly would form part of this thesis, the significant interaction with 97 children supported a unique window into children's views about their islands development, to be discussed in subsequent chapters, and was influential in building community relations.

Field Notes

Field notes are widely recommended in qualitative research to document contextual information (Phillippi and Lauderdale, 2018) and within a constructivist and situational analysis, are considered essential for reflection and data memoing. Field notes were taken from my arrival on St Helena on 26th October 2020. Daily entries and memoing helped me to discover key lines of enquiry towards emerging categories within the data to inform the analysis, and also prevented the project's scope from becoming too wide, as it was led by the data. Whilst this was not a thematic analysis, data helped to identify patterns, which could assist in developing *themes* whilst looking for *categories* (Braun and Clarke, 2021). Constant data comparison ensured that emerging categories were grounded in sufficient rich data. In reflection and memoing of data, I asked myself the following questions (adapted from Clarke, 2003; Charmaz, 2004):

- Have I collected enough data about the persons, processes and settings to have ready recall and to understand and portray the full range of living experiences for children and young people on the island?
- Have I collected enough data to understand the non-human aspects, including the island's location, relics, buildings, historical events and geographical influence?
- Have I gained detailed descriptions of a range of participants' views and actions?
- Do the data reveal what lies beneath the surface?
- Have I attempted to gain multiple views of a range of actions?
- Have I gathered data that enable me to develop analytical categories?
- What comparisons can I make between data to generate and inform ideas?

- Is the collection of data congruent with the transformative paradigm?

Within field notes, experiences became data, and exploration was enhanced (Birks, Chapman and Francis, 2008). Clarke *et al.* (2018), building on Charmaz's (2006) approach, saw memoing as a relational mode of analysis that supports the guiding of research and theoretical sampling. This process identified early on that the main Café event was unlikely to attract many children, supporting negotiations with islanders to allow access to schools. This also supports that researchers should use their 'own experiences of the phenomena under study and research one among many data sources for mapping this experience' (Clarke *et al.*, 2018: 107). Through field notes, it was apparent that maintaining unconditional positive regard for islanders' subjectivity was crucial to accepting their realities and adapting my method to what mattered in the community and thus socially at the time.

Sampling

The World Café method involves holding an event that allows for both intimacy and scale. This allowed flexibility in terms of numbers from small to large for sampling. The total population of the island in 2021 was 4,439 (SHG, 2021), including 243 children aged between 10 and 16 years old, within three primary schools and one secondary school. Initial sampling was purposeful, inviting all children within the selected age group to participate in the main Café event. This aimed to promote inclusivity and diversity, in line with World Café recommendations (Brown and Isaac, 2005). Invitations and consent forms were sent to all children within the age group through their local schools. This included those with disabilities and cross-culturally those who were visiting the island. Information sheets were developed for children with cognitive limitations before the event in the form of 'social stories', including pictures and texts.

There are limitations to this sampling, alongside planning, in which decisions cannot be taken in isolation (Flick, 2009). Sampling became problematic because the research council requested that the event be held in the community. Being action-orientated with sampling, which is theoretically led, flexibility in arranging Café events was needed, but

access was restricted. Participatory research is notoriously messy, requiring negotiation of positions and adaptations in the field (Law, 2004; Ingulfsvann *et al.*, 2020). Additional layers of observation and compliance had (perhaps inevitably) resulted in additional voices shaping the research. As this study was for an educational doctorate, this required presenting to gatekeepers from afar, which was a challenge and required revisiting in the field as data started to emerge through interactions with islanders, suggesting that a broader inclusion of children was needed.

Whilst focus groups can be rearranged, the World Café event required substantial planning and resources. Reliance on one event was a considerable methodological risk that became more apparent on arriving on the island. For example, the time of day was a careful consideration for children and young people, to ensure that it was convenient for as many children as possible. However, as the conditions stipulated that the event had to be held outside of school time, children would need to come to a central island location on the weekend. In discussion with islanders, this factor was reported to have restricted access for many. While Alder *et al.* (2019) point to avoiding evenings and suggest weekends, being denied initial access to educational settings was a barrier to inclusion. This was pointed out in a local youth club, where it was said:

I worry, you know; you won't get them [children] there. I mean, you will get some, but the same ones, you know, not a true reflection of what the children believe. (Focus Group 4)

On reflection, I did not fully appreciate the impact of encroaching on or interfering with children's free time (Wood, 2014) nor that such a journey into the town was impossible for many children. This was confirmed when I encountered ambivalence towards the event on visiting a local youth club. For young people I spoke with, learning was something that took place in schools and their free time was for them. Drawing back on Freire (1970), children viewed education as being led by professionals as part of banked learning: the idea of participation in a learning event for their own growth was not realised. It was at this juncture that it was decided that a series of Mini Café events in primary schools alongside the assembly and contextual data was needed and consent sought.

The problem of willingness is not new (Flick, 2009). In addition, islanders are known to negotiate complex identities (Harmer *et al.*, 2015; Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002), with a potential for hidden activities or presentations to others. I was an outsider visiting the island from the UK, whereas they lived there and would continue their lives there long after I had left. This is recognised as a concern in island research (*ibid.*), whereby locals live and work in small spaces alongside a history of colonialism, introducing potential subcultural discussions (Flick, 2009). By this, it is understood that people's answers when interacting with me or the Café would differ from those they might give to others within their own community. In this project, I needed to engage children, but also their parents, to consent and support their children in attending the event in a mutually beneficial situation. In a focus group with young people to plan the event, the research impact was not perceived as beneficial and thus was not meaningful.

A lot of time people come they ask questions, but our input is not valued.
It does not go anywhere, you know? It is important it goes somewhere.
(Focus group 4)

I realised that if young people perceived learning as education and as being outside of their control (as the abovementioned informal discussions with islanders also suggested), utilising a method that advocates transformation through sharing knowledge had obvious challenges. Maintaining unconditional positive regard for islanders' subjectivity was crucial to accepting their realities and adapting the application of my method to what mattered in the community and thus socially at the time.

Initially, the age range for the main World Café was decided as being secondary age children, with adult islanders supporting the event to promote shared learning. However, as suggested by the St Helena Research Institute, the scope was expanded to include Year 6 primary children due to the small number of children on the island and the Institute's perceived benefits of having more children involved. Due to their age it was agreed audio recordings would not be taken. During the planning stages to recruit supporting hosts for the event, several 17-year-olds approached me on the island,

asking to be part of the events. I realised that I had unintentionally excluded a group of children. To support inclusion, four 17-year-olds were invited to participate as supporting hosts. Supporting hosts were recruited initially through educators on the island and selected following a group invitation to discuss the project within a focus group. No one was excluded if they were willing to contribute. However, the agreement for supporting hosts was also filtered through the research institute, which excluded one person from the role. This is significant because, as gatekeepers to the peoples of the island, such bodies shape research based on perceptions of how the island will benefit. Through negotiation, it was agreed with the research council that a series of 'Mini World Café's would be held as workshops in primary schools across the island, allowing children aged 10 and 11 to participate in an event within school time. Finally, an event in the secondary school was agreed with Year Seven children (aged 11 to 13) with audio recording for additional analysis.

Theoretical sampling and saturation

Whilst a method provides a tool to enhance seeing, it was identified that a single event would not provide sufficient rich data unless the scope was broadened (Charmaz, 2006). Certain research problems indicate that using several combined or sequential approaches can support working toward what is referred to as *data saturation* (Charmaz, 2006). Saturation is a major criterion for evaluation efforts, and their consistency in Ground Theory research is linked to the idea of theoretical saturation (Flick, 2009). Saturation in this thesis is understood as 'when no new information seems to emerge during coding, that is, when no new properties, dimensions, conditions, actions/interactions or consequences are seen in the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 136). Theoretically, it is the point where no new properties yield theoretical insight (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007). The definition of saturation, therefore, is broad. Charmaz (2006) pointed out that it is often misunderstood.

Whilst initial sampling provides direction, it was constant comparison of emerging data that informed me *when, where* and *how* to collect further data. This is referred to as *theoretical sampling*. Constant comparison was used to test what further data was

required. Constant comparison is an inductive process to compare data with data, data with categories and categories with concepts to explicate categories until they are full, represent participants' experiences, and provide an analytical 'handle' to understand them in Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006:100). Understanding when enough data has been gained towards data saturation was not easy. As data collection expanded into primary schools, the community and the secondary school, the initial diversity of the data did not appear to support reaching saturation. This is not an issue unique to me (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007; Bryant, 2017) as properties appeared to continue to arise. Theoretical sampling is led by data (Charmaz, 2006). Following initial coding, categories emerged, and sampling expanded towards these categories, including more children, and, for the last Mini World Café, situating an event in the secondary school.

Charmaz (2006) recognised that sometimes it is harder for a core category to emerge, because context and conditions change. Against this, it was realised there was a need to explore more deeply how children's voices emerged within their lived experiences to understand the position of childhood on St Helena. After a period of three months, I believed I had reached the point where I had managed to define concepts and explain relationships between categories within a range of variations and between categories. I therefore agree with Baid (2019) that 'theoretical sufficiency' is a more appropriate term than 'saturation', and is understood as,

an ongoing, cumulative judgment that one makes, and perhaps never completes, rather than something that can be pinpointed at a specific juncture (Saunders *et al.*, 2018:1903).

It was only through identifying differences and unusual data (to be discussed in the findings chapter) that I realised I had reached the limits of the study. While I had initially sought patterns through searching in voices I realised as Spyrou (2017) asserts that there was a need to decentre the idea that voices are fixed and centre findings onto the situation of children's lives, which shaped their voices and so what mattered to them through a process of learning. This also showed the importance of hearing voices through different social arenas to understand how children's lived experiences are situated, shaping outcomes. Consequently, analysis of data through interactions with

the field led to a great amount of multi-media data, which developed towards a natural conclusion as sufficiency was reached, although understanding the emergence of concepts and categories which were outside of my own cultural context introduced challenges as to how to represent voices and data respectfully to the children and islanders who contributed to the project.

Concluding comments.

This chapter has presented the research design methodology used for this project and the position of data collection, drawing research methods together under a transformative umbrella. This research adopts the World Café as a primary method for data collection, incorporating grounded theory to support the rationale for including additional data such as field notes and focus groups, which focused on an analysis of the situation and location of lived experiences. The café method's evolution harks back to the early critical pedagogical foundations of Freire towards introducing an innovative way to explore children's voices.

Building on understanding the position of children's lives, reflexivity is important to ensure that the project remains transformative within an island shaped by colonialism, where power is situated in complex ways. I realised that there was a need to more broadly situate lives to increase my understanding of voice, resulting in the expansion and focus of data collection to include discussions with islanders and visual data. Examining the unique situation of childhood on St Helena, which is context-specific and individualised, allowed for a narrative to be constructed and a story that remains close to children's lived experiences whilst open for analysis to understand what matters to children and young people in the here-and-now. To ensure that this is led by the voices of the children and islanders, a methodology of analysis was needed that was grounded in islanders' reality.

Chapter Four – The Position of Grounded Theory

Taking children's lives as important and the World Café Method to exploring possibilities through dialogical encounters, required an inductive form of analysis to present findings. While initially it was intended the results would be collected towards a thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2021) it was decided early into planning that a more grounded form of analysis was required to allow the project to evolve as voices emerge in the situation of interest, children's lives on St Helena Island. Grounded theory research aims to generate a theory based on a structured and systematic approach to simultaneously gathering, analysing and coding data about the basic social processes related to the studied phenomenon (Glaser, 1998). This allowed for collection and analysis of data to be dynamic and responsive to being in the field.

This chapter will provide an overview of the contribution of Grounded Theory to this thesis and how this drove an expansion of sampling based on early data collection and analysis, with a shift from the World Café being one central event to being part of a series of events. Contextualised through analysis in the field. Firstly, Grounded Theory will be introduced, and, drawing on constant comparison, the journey of the data through this project will be outlined towards the development of initial codes and findings. The integration of Grounded Theory was not unproblematic and requires critical discussion to clarify the challenges and possibilities that this form of analysis brought to the project. This study draws upon Constructivist Grounded Theory, as it is recognised that the approach can complement other approaches to qualitative analysis (Charmaz, 2006) and acknowledges the position of the researcher in encounters.

Grounded Theory was developed in the 1960s and is a deeply empirical qualitative research approach to the study of social life (Charmaz, 2006; Clarke *et al.*, 2018). As Clarke (2018) described, the founders of Grounded Theory – Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser – sought to provide an approach to analysing qualitative data that attempts to be faithful to the understandings, interpretations, and perspectives of the peoples studied. Grounded Theory can support the required level of flexibility, being responsive to the time limitations of the project (Clarke *et al.*, 2018) while encouraging reflexivity

(Charmaz, 2006). In adopting this approach, I aimed to reduce the impact of my position on shaping the children's voices within the analysis. Additionally, Grounded Theory research is appropriate when little is known about a topic, due to its exploratory and inductive style of enquiry (Charmaz, 2006).

Since its inception, Grounded Theory has developed in differing directions from the original grounded theory text by Glaser and Strauss (1968). Strauss built upon the inclusion of social worlds and symbolic interactionism through constructivist/interactionist approaches. While he retained some core Grounded methods, he took a relativist perspective that allows for multiple realities to be accepted (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Meanwhile, Glaser retained a more classic objectivist approach, grounded in the data, whilst advocating that the researcher is a neutral, impartial observer tasked with gathering data to 'discover' theory as an external reality (Glaser, 1992). Building on the findings from the pilot study, it was identified that understanding the situation of interest as part of the data analysis was essential.

It is the second generation of Grounded Theory which influences this thesis. Developing from Straussian symbolic interactionism, Charmaz (2006) recognised that we are part of the world we study. Being inductive and interactionist, her approach is recognised as constructivist Grounded Theory and appeared to marry well with the overall methodological approach to this project, incorporating the importance of reflexivity and pushing interpretivism to include the researcher (Charmaz, 2006). Critics of constructivist grounded theory have pointed to the interchangeable use of 'constructionist' and 'constructivist' (Glaser, 2002; Baird, 2019). As examined by Baird (2019), despite sharing some similarities, constructivism centres on the individual, compared to social constructionism, which holds a broader perspective of sociological groups of people. Both remain important for discussion, bringing together islanders into their context.

As described by Charmaz (2006), Adele Clarke was a student of Strauss and has developed Grounded Theory beyond interpretivism to encourage the position of the

research alongside the researcher within her version of grounded theory, called Situational Analysis. Whilst I initially rejected this approach, as it is considered to have deviated somewhat away from the methods of Grounded Theory, I quickly realised that I needed to consider a broader approach than traditional Grounded Theory to acknowledge the impact of the situation of living on a British Overseas Territory. Therefore, whilst this thesis draws predominantly on constructivist processes, it also considers the complexity and inclusion of what Clarke refers to as the 'non-human' aspects (Clarke *et al.*, 2018). This moves beyond considering context alone, towards understanding the situation of islanders' lives, globally and temporally. In highlighting this, including the importance of critical interpretation through constructed knowledge, Rabinow and Sullivan assert that

The realisation is that all human inquiry is necessarily engaged in understanding the human world from within a specific situation. This situation is always and at once historical, moral and political...[it] is rooted in the context of meaning, which in itself is a social reality (1987: 20-21)

Consequently, the consideration of ethics and values in generating knowledge, alongside an appreciation of the unique position of remote islands and islanders' identity (Parker, 2019), remains a live issue. The expanded frame of analysis from the pilot study included the location of the island, colonial relics, and the legacy of colonialism on day-to-day lives, which were identified as necessary for further analysis to understand how living on St Helena shapes children's and young people's lived experiences.

Within this project I agree with Clarke *et al.* (2018: 11) that in order to make life on the planet better, we need both the knowledge itself and the potential that such knowledge may offer: therefore, motivation and direction gain importance and are congruent with the theoretical basis of this project. The flexibility to draw from different versions of Grounded Theory was justified because both Charmaz (2006) and Clarke (Clarke *et al.*, 2018) support the integration and development of Grounded Theory in new and innovative ways. It was decided that taking the perspective of integrating other grounded theory tools and techniques in a constructivist approach would complete the

research design, whilst introducing critical strands from critical pedagogy and critical grounded theory would link the structural to the individual.

Critique of Grounded Theory within the project

Glaser (2002) rejected Constructivist Grounded Theory, as he perceived that it does not stick close enough to the data, instead asserting that the researcher is neutral. In addition, whilst Charmaz (2006) encouraged researchers to become familiar with the literature prior to researching, Glaser did not, although in later writing, he said he did not reject researchers having insight, although he believed that constant comparison of data was more important (Glaser, 2002). Glaser believed that through knowing just the data, one develops what is referred to as *theoretical sensitivity*: a way of understanding and relating to the data. Conversely, Charmaz (2006) and Clarke (2018) took a reflexive approach, recognising the many intersecting areas of identity which shape the researcher's approach the study and the development of self through sensitivity to the literature and subsequent theoretical sensitivity when engaging with the data. This study agrees with Charmaz (2006) and Clarke (2018) that appreciation of one's own learnings and bias inevitably shapes the research itself, emphasising the need to be highly transparent in shaping how in the thesis the researchers has interacted with the project from conception to analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Clarke *et al.*, 2018). It is hoped that this appreciation will address the critique of Grounded Theory in that it can fail to recognise the embeddedness of the researcher and thus obscures the researcher's considerable agency in data construction and interpretation (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007).

There is a need to ensure transparency in how Grounded theory is applied within this project. While analysis was driven by Grounded Theory (including balancing analysis with reflexivity), this thesis is not a pure Grounded Theory project. Starting from the need for this project to have strong ethical foundations, this project follows Kathy Charmez and Adele Clarkes perspective (Clarke *et al.*, 2018) in that flexibility in application of Grounded Theory can bring new innovative ways of working with the method. Clarke *et al.*, (2018) highlight in doing so there is a need to ensure transparency

in building analysis through Grounded Theory (Birks and Mills, 2015) including the need for 'careful attention to the rigorous application of grounded theory methods' (Birks and Mills, 2015:35). The application of a ground approach brings a level of risk, as data and analysis could lead away from the research aims, therefore consideration of literature prior to fieldwork was deemed necessary. Following Baird (2019), whilst an initial literature review was completed prior to the pilot study to supporting the guiding of the project, the comprehensive literature review (subsequently added at the beginning of this thesis) was delayed, thus knitting together the analysis which was driven by the data alongside the findings from literature which lay the foundations for further analysis and future research. Grounded Theory analytical methods will be explored through this thesis, including theoretical sampling, concurrent data collection and analysis, coding and memoing, and discussion of their relationship to the primary source of data: the World Café events.

An important consideration is that the World Café is a participatory approach, whilst the Grounded Theory approach chosen was primarily a constructivist method of analysis. Progressive discourse increasingly represents greater engagement with how research methods can be reappropriated within different philosophical positions, suggesting that paradigms represent greater confluence than traditionally thought. Whilst the abovementioned approaches have points of divergence – for example, constructivist research is 'about', while participatory research emphasises the 'with' (Hense and McFerran, 2016) – the more recent shifts in Grounded Theory towards acknowledging the strengths of the critical approaches (including participation) demonstrate possible convergence points. This study converges under a transformative umbrella, recognising the critical aspects of both approaches.

Coding

To understand meaning, there is a need to understand actions, and coding is the process of defining what the data is about (Charmaz, 2006). In Grounded Theory, the key or basic social process is typically articulated through coding, connecting ongoing action and analysis (Clarke *et al.*, 2018; Charmaz, 2006). This process started on arrival at St

Helena. According to Charmaz (2014), 'coding is the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data' (p.46). Charmaz's method (like that of Glaser), captures actions or processes by using gerunds as codes (verbs ending in 'ing'); Charmaz also emphasised initially coding quickly and keeping the codes as like the data as possible. Data was then compared with data in a process of densifying into more enduring and ambitious conceptual categories towards a substance theory.

Through coding, early understandings began to define what was happening in the data and coding assisted in the grapple with what it meant. Such a process allowed for the comparison of interactions with islanders (both adult and children), are areas alongside actions, strategies, and practices of engaging with each other and their island. This was captured in the data of field notes. But whilst initial coding can be positioned as simple (Charmaz, 2014), I agree with Saldana (2016) that there is a need for awareness of one's thought processes, even in emergent, intuitive, inductive-orientated processes, returning again to the consideration of our own relationship with the data and the project.

Coding occurred in stages. Initially this generated as many ideas as possible inductively from early data in initial coding. Being grounded with sampling, flexibility in arranging Café events and engaging with islanders was identified as necessary. Following Glaser (1967) and Charmaz (2006), coding with gerunds helped detect processes and stick with the data. This allowed a strong focus on actions and understanding living on the island for St Helenian's. It was through this, barriers to participation were seen early, which informed theoretical sampling and increased accessibility to the project. For example, this included an early identified need to expand World Café events and the inclusion of other forms of data to situate children's lives. The following is an example of how the data were coded line by line which alongside other data realised a need to obtain different sources of data for further analysis.

Focus group with educators	Initial Coding line by line
<p><i>We have so many experts coming here.</i></p> <p><i>They all want to make their mark.</i></p> <p><i>We weigh them up, before we let them in, you know it's about trust, we are here all, and they come and go.</i></p>	<p><i>Coming to make a mark here</i></p> <p><i>Weighing up visitors</i></p> <p><i>Negotiating trust</i></p> <p><i>Remaining after others have left</i></p>

Figure 3: Example coding

Following Charmaz's (2006) guidance, it was decided that how data is coded depended on the type of data collection. Whilst line-by-line coding was completed for audio recordings of the main World Café event and recorded focus groups, this approach was not suitable for other data. Expanding data collection and events quickly generated substantial data, and tablecloths added to this volume. Although some pre-existing coding frameworks for such data exist, a holistic approach was taken, as suggested by both Charmaz (2006) and Saldana (2016), and to code by incidence through a critical interpretive lens. This acknowledged the need for reflection and scrutiny to generate language that accompanied the visual data. Analytical memo-writing accompanied the images generated, which allowed detailed yet selective attention to the elements and complexities of visual imagery.

Observations also have limitations, as they are not guaranteed to create an insightful analysis, although they may generate an excellent description. Instead, comparisons are made between observations that provide clues to follow (recognising the strengths and limitations of such data: Charmaz, 2006). As a researcher the more I was brought into islanders' lives, the more I gained insight into how daily life was navigated through my time on St Helena. While it was intended to be led by the data, I needed to present this back to participants and the community to ensure my reading of the data (including local terminologies) was correct. This again reinforced the need to position oneself into the project. Reflecting back to participants' understandings was key to ensuring that the project was participatory through focus groups and Café events. To gain analytical

insight from such observations and interactions, similar events were compared, and then subtle patterns and processes identified. Taking a more situational analysis approach allowed for broader inclusion of data, including interviews, field notes, events held and visual and historical data, whilst constant comparison ensured that such data was relevant and focused. Maintaining unconditional positive regard for islanders' subjectivity was crucial to accepting their realities and adapting my method to what mattered in the community, and thus socially, at the time.

Alongside this, some codes were captured *in vivo*, which denotes that the words were taken directly from the participants – children or islanders – who interacted with the study. This also drew attention to the limitations of line-by-line coding, which for me included the challenge of working across mediums of voice, transcripts, pictures, and notes. Although Glaser (2002) argued that *in vivo* concepts are not 'voice', they are a representation of what was said. This appreciates the complexity of voice and the dangers of viewing comments made as such, and also, on the island, how words are interpreted (Clarke, 2003; Clarke *et al.*, 2018). For example, in a focus group with hosts for the main World Café, it was said,

They talking about like Government, but when it comes to conservation it isn't really government, erm, so we take the responsibility on ourselves.

(Focus group 3)

There is a need to understand participants' understandings, including their use of the term 'government', which was used generically on the island to represent a social world where decisions were made about them and their island. *In vivo* codes, therefore, can be used to preserve participants' meanings of their views and actions in the coding itself, although inevitably, the choice of which code to use must be considered carefully, and preferably with the participants.

Whilst Glaser (2002) asserted that asking participants to review whether the data is their voice is wrong as a 'check or test on validity', this is not upheld as ethical within this study. From a constructivist and transformative position, participation is essential throughout. Reflection and reflexivity were encouraged both in Café events and through

field notes, recognising the power of research to support or hinder transformation. On St Helena, the local dialect meant that meanings given to words were seen to differ, and it was important to understand and position local terminologies correctly to give life to the project. This aimed to capture meanings of everyday terms that participants assumed everyone shared, or that they utilised to indicate to other islanders their relation to each other or outsiders. The consequences of not attending to dialect carefully were shown within Cohens (1983a, 1983b) research which was subject to later critique for misunderstanding culture (Schulenburg, 1999; Parker, 2012). Cross cultural practices require close attention towards cultural respect, including the representation of dialect. A strength of Grounded Theory is that data, including voice, is the foundation for analysis.

The next stage was focused coding. Here, the researcher pursues a selected set of central codes throughout the entire dataset and the study. This required decisions about which initial codes are most prevalent or important and contribute most to the analysis. Charmaz (2006) described the process of focused coding as sifting, sorting, synthesising, and analysing large chunks of data. There were initially 137 codes from the four Mini World Cafés (visual and additional audio for the secondary school), the main World Café event (visual and audio), four focus groups (audio), and field notes. Within this stage, the process involved analysing those codes with the most theoretical reach and changing and renaming initial codes. In this theoretical coding, I recognised that the researcher follows and refines the final categories (also referred to as concepts) in their theory and relates them to one another. A concept denotes a pattern that is carefully discovered. But unlike thematic analysis alone, it develops further concepts inductively towards theory.

Computer assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS)

Multiple data sources were consistent with constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), but the data gathering in a British Overseas Territory required considerable planning. There were days and weeks in preparations prior to arriving on the island when communication was challenging, and progress stalled. Conversely, there was a rapid increase in events and requests from the community on the island for information

and contributions towards the end of my stay. These peaks and troughs were a surprise and required a high level of flexibility in the field.

CAQDAS software – a terminology and acronym introduced by Fielding and Lee (1991) – offered an efficient way to sort, manage, organise and reconfigure data while supporting rigorous human data analysis (Flick, 2009). Several different programmes were considered for use within this project. These were narrowed down to NVivo and Atlasti, which both offered functionality that matched this study's methodology. Atlasti 8 was chosen, as it offers the function to analyse data *in situ*. As data was written, audio and visual, the advantage in pulling all data into a single place was apparent. Both NVivo and Atlasti claim to match methodologies that draw on grounded data (Flick, 2009).

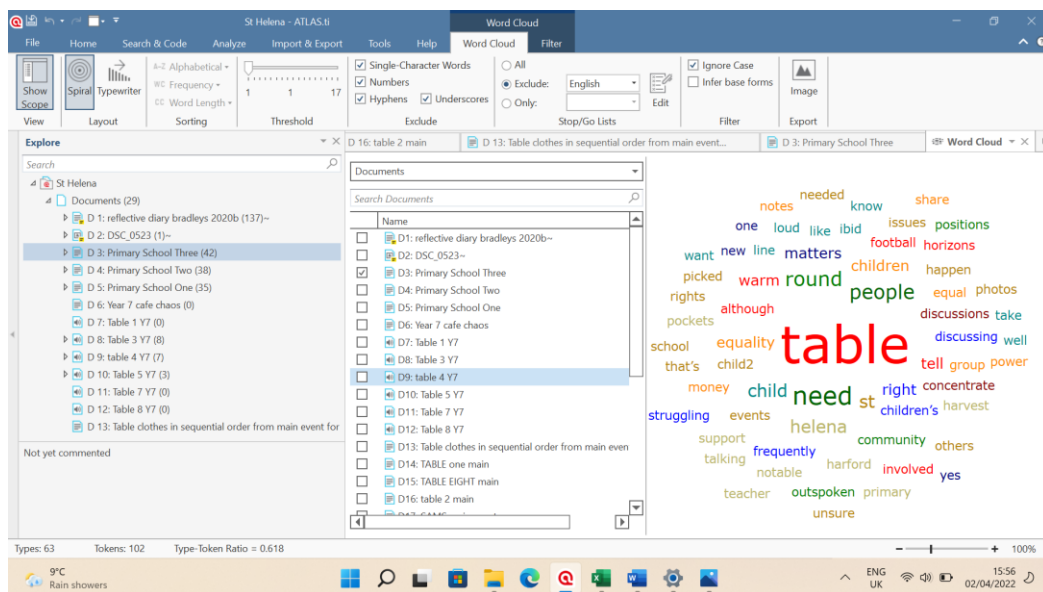


Figure 4: Café data analysis in Atlasti 8

At its most basic, the advantages of this type of software include simplifying clerical tasks, managing large amounts of qualitative data digitally, increased flexibility in output methods, and improved validity of qualitative research. However, some existing literature criticises the utilisation of CAQDAS, including deterministic and rigid processing of data, prioritising coding before meaning, and a reification of data. Whilst presented as intuitive and straightforward, the use of CAQDAS required a level of preparation in training to familiarise myself with the possibilities of the programme and

to convert data into data visualisation to enhance the dissemination of findings. The strengths of Atlasti were thought to outweigh its complexity in the depth of options for presentation. However, it is acknowledged that this project only scratched the surface of possible options for analysing data within this programme. During the pilot project, the ability to analyse data was also hampered by the limitations of broadband on the island. This issue was significant not only for this project but also in limiting the possibilities of islanders themselves using such tools.

Utilising Atlasti as a data storage facility was advantageous in ensuring that data was held securely, but limited accessibility for spontaneous memo-writing. During analysis, Atlasti allowed data to be brought together, but lacked flexibility in data cleansing and manipulation to allow new insights to emerge outside of its functionality. Glaser (2005) described the use of computer software as 'burdensome and terribly time-consuming' (p.8). Like Robson (2002), it emerged that the time taken to realise the system's potential, alongside the restrictions in moving data within the systems' requirements, also provided a barrier to analysis. Positively, Atlasti provided a way of managing and presenting ideas and rapid access to the data, alongside improving rigour by comparing data with data consistently. Additional tools to analyse areas such as sentiment analysis proved interesting. For example, this tool allowed for consideration of how islanders phrased comments positively or negatively in person and through the media. Although diagrammatic tools were available in Atlasti, their potential was not fully realised within this thesis. This is because the project utilised both visual and textual data, which required a higher level of flexibility. Therefore, both manual and electronic modes of analysis were chosen to be visualised.

Axial coding

Just as relationships were emerging as significant as I entered the community, I recognised that this also required me to revisit the data with a new lens. Realising the need to explore the relationships between data codes, I edged towards the need to realise this through what is referred to as axial coding. Axial coding can be defined as 'a set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding by making connections between categories' (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 96). The use of axial

coding requires consideration of conditions, context, actions, consequences and relationships between categories and subcategories. Whilst Glaser (2002) believed that this forces the data into analysis, it was realised that researching within a British Overseas Territory meant that relationships and contexts were of central importance. Asking data questions such as who, when, where, how, and with what relationships allowed me to better understand and direct the study towards how children navigated their learnings of everyday lives. Bringing this together with the work of Lorenzetti *et al.* (2016), considerations of transformative research required considerations of power and participation throughout the analysis. This iterative process of constantly comparing data and writing memos supported the data to ethically come together to identify categories, which Strauss and Corbin refer to as phenomena. In this description, a phenomenon is a term that answers the question, 'What is going on here?' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

As a further stimulus in axial coding, an overview of theoretical framing concepts may be used, or so-called coding families. The C-family (causes, contexts, consequences, conditions, etc.). However, whilst English is the spoken language on St Helena, children's and young people's own words were needed to influence the direction of the analysis. Whilst contextualising the situation assisted the linguistic peculiarities in the data (due to the islanders' own words sometimes holding different meanings to the researcher's culture), coding into families could be a barrier at best or act to reinforce othering, historically used to point to differences in colonialism. Representing voices in writing could be misleading and so add to the othering of islanders by outsiders. While visualisation was used to illustrate emerging conceptual relationships of the phenomena, preformed coding families are not included here, as it is posited that these showed limited cultural transferability.



Figure 5 Mapping emerging categories from first-round coding of field notes and tablecloths, primary school events.

As shown above, whilst understanding the relationships between categories involved situating an understanding, I explored the use of diagramming to simplify the representation. This draws on considerations of the C-family dynamically with the voices used in the Mini World Café events and gerund coding of field notes and tablecloths. This was necessary because I required a level of flexibility to represent the dynamic and iterative nature of the Café method, combined with the process of learning that the café events created as children dialogued towards their emerging categories. Whilst Atlasti provided a level of flexibility, this was not perceived as being enough to represent the data more dynamically.

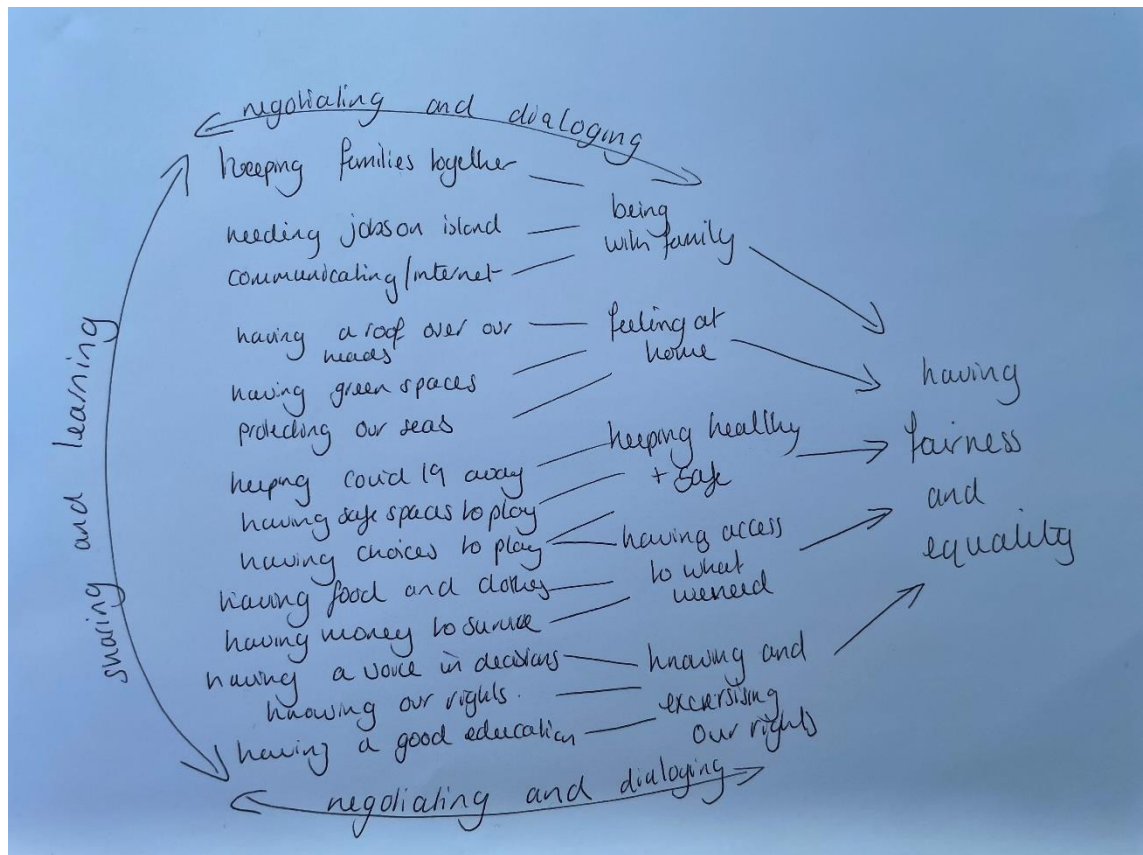


Figure 6: Mapping relationships between categories manually

Through this processing, it was not only the categories but also the process of defining what mattered for children that became of interest, necessitating manual diagramming.

Theoretical coding

Bringing data back together following initial and focused coding aimed to develop a substantive theory for further consideration (Glaser, 1967). The project aimed to develop the relationships between codes into focused categories towards the core category. In doing so, the building of a comprehensible story emerged. Being transformative included a strong level of participation and meant that data was reflected with islanders throughout the study, allowing for confidence that emerging theoretical insights were respectful, relevant, and meaningful. Returning to early codes and field notes alongside reflective memos deepened this analysis to incorporate reflexivity to understand my own journey through the data and change my relationship with the data and the island over time. Therefore, constant comparison and rechecking

of effectively acknowledged relationships ensured that codes to categories reflected the views of children and young people in their situation.

Whilst frameworks exist to develop axial coding, a relational matrix was used to deepen analysis without forcing the data, whilst considering the importance of context and the island's situation regarding children and young people's consequential learning towards what mattered to them. Exploration of the relationships between categories began to move codes and concepts from the earlier Mini Café events forwards. This allowed consideration of how concepts evolve as children get older and have deeper interactions within the community and school. This began to highlight how children become more active actors in their community, whilst their ability and motivation to engage within statutory education waned. A storyline emerged, which would later explain my grounded theory. Birks (2014) asserted that adapting a storyline helps to clarify the relationship between categories and concepts that develop through constant comparison. But visualising this as a process is more challenging with children, acknowledging that the phenomenon of childhood appears different for younger children compared to older children.

Conditional Matrix exploring two categories						
Category	What	When	Where	Why	How	Consequence
Making space for childhood	Children expressed the desire to have safe and accessible spaces for play.	Primary school children want safe spaces/equipment. Secondary school children want their own choices on play at home and in the community. Children want safe online spaces and the internet, so they do not need to stay up at night.	In school and in the community, children wanted spaces to play. This was expressed in World Cafés and focus groups.	Children have the right to play and identify play as a right and a need that is not met. It is important, so it matters to them.	Through adults opening spaces. Providing opportunities for play to happen or not. New Horizons offers play, but outside of this, play positioned low.	Children want their experiences listened to, and as they get older, share experiences of play spaces in neighbouring islands where play is valued more.
Migrating towards possibilities	As children become more aware of their desires and limitations to progression, they seek opportunities away from home.	Primary school children desire equality on St Helena and opportunities to engage in education and play. Secondary children see aspirations as not possible on St Helena, so migration becomes an option to achieve aspirations. Children together share individual and collective experiences of being away from home.	St Helena is positioned as having limited opportunities, whereas overseas holds opportunities but is far from friends and family, who are valued highly.	Primary and secondary children believe there are too many outsiders: they want opportunities on St Helena for them. Young people see experiences in education as not meeting their needs and contributing to them wanting to leave. Young people begin to understand that funding is linked to the government and so to an agenda which is structurally outside of their reach.	Current education is understood by children and young people as not being able to meet their needs on the island. The curriculum is English and is then integrated into the island. Understanding restricted access to opportunities off the island grows resentment in older children and young people and a narrative of outsiders as 'others'.	Structurally, the external funding of the island limits opportunities for scholarships in older children. Children and young people see emigration as a route to success and to meet their desires, including building a house and reducing the feelings of inequality they perceive on St Helena.

Figure 7: Conditional matrix to explore categories and relationships

Conclusion, grounding data into the field

This chapter has provided insight into how the methods of data analysis were employed through this study, drawing on data from the series of events and field notes. Grounded Theory techniques helped with the analysis of text and visual data through coding and constant comparison, which led to the direction of the research being led by the data. But there is a need to recognise that this involved a high level of interpretation that Constructivist Grounded Theory embraces as part of the process (Charmaz, 2006).

This requires incorporating reflexive practice to address criticisms of interpretation and to support transformative aspirations including participation towards ethical research. This process occurred through memoing and analysis of field notes, alongside theoretical sensitivity and reflections throughout this project. Being situated on a small island inevitably impacted on this project, as daily encounters, both professional and personal, took place in the same space. This is significant, as the separation of lives was not possible. The required flexibility in the field was layered by institutions that drew attention to the value of relations on the island in accessing the field through negotiations. Consequently, the research remained qualitative with mixed methodological elements to holistically capture the situation of interest – in this case, to understand and elevate children's views on a remote island. This pushed the use of grounded theory analysis more towards the critical and aligned it more closely to this project's transformative foundations.

Utilising Constructivist Grounded Theory as the method of analysis next drew upon constant comparison, grounded in the data, to form initial codes, refined codes, categories, and later themes, focused on the actions of children and young people within their island. Moving into focused analysis, this methodology proceeded to clarify their feelings and views towards transparent integration in the research project at greater depth. This led towards a more comprehensive understanding of *what* mattered and *how* mattering shaped children's perceptions of themselves and their own situation toward a central theoretical concept of mattering. The results will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Findings

Introduction

This chapter presents the construction of core categories using the design and methods of data collection and analysis described in Chapters Three and Four. This includes data from the 97 children who participated in the school assembly, 21 children who engaged with the World Café main event and the 97 children in years 5 and 6, across three primary schools, who engaged with the Mini-Café events (only five primary school children did not take part). Through World Café events, the importance of seeing how children developed an understanding of what mattered, and what influenced the process by which what mattered emerged will be discussed towards the four central categories.

Like other grounded theory approaches, category development provides insight into how a phenomenon operates at a higher abstracted level, thus providing insight into action, interaction, and the operation of tacit social processes (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Findings themselves have a level of selection, interpretation and presentation, and the cultural receipt and exchange of these findings can vary as categories emerge across events (Flick, 2009; Lomax, 2012; Pink, 2012). Four central categories will be explored within this section: ***making spaces for children's play, migrating towards possibilities, keeping healthy and safe, and desiring equality and fairness***. Critical and reflexive analysis remains essential to 'expound the representational techniques that permit an explicit examination of the relationship between data elements, on a periodic basis, and to constantly question the assumptions that led us to search for these relationships' (Dey, 2004: 91). This brings forward the ethical importance of representation, which remains of central consideration. Finally, the chapter will introduce the core category of ***Learning Mattering***, which will be taken forward into a thematic discussion to provide deeper theoretical consideration of the phenomena of children's lived experiences on St Helena.

Making spaces for children's play,

An individual is classed as a child until the age of 18 (UNCRC, 1989), but this period of their lives, often referred to as childhood, is culturally defined and seen as constructed and fragmented, requiring a local, situated understanding (Prout and Prout, 1997; Spyrou, 2018). This appeared significant for children on St Helena, who, due to their location, were denied access to fast internet and whose information was filtered through a lower level of access to international news. As previously discussed, local media outlets shape the positioning of local affairs. Within primary schools, a warm-up activity introduced children to the UNCRC (UN, 1989) to explore rights and what they meant to them. It was apparent across all three schools that the participants did not know about children's rights (UNCRC, 1989) or see them as meaningful to them. Additionally, the sustainable development goals discussed in the assembly for secondary school pupils were unknown to all children and most of the teachers (despite being detailed in the island's plan).

While for some children, verbalising their thoughts and views was not always possible, it was realised through events that by firstly visualising thoughts and making connections, children became more involved and quieter children started to discuss their views as they became more included. Even those who verbalised less, doodled and drew ideas which prompted further discussion by other children. Play was the most visualised representation of what mattered to children in table clothes. As constant comparison drew me to consider play as a concept of importance to children there was a need to situate how play is understood. It is because play offers unique benefits to children that the right to play is included in Article 31 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which recognises:

the right of the child to rest and leisure, and to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts. (UNICEF, 1989)

This recognises play as a universal right. Despite not having awareness of the UN convention in school events, the area of play and items of play became most frequently doodled on tablecloths as shown below.



Photo 5: Expressing play as mattering most

Following doodling, children in all World Café events then talked about play. As they interacted children often stood up arm wide or jumped and smiled.

We have a right to be safe, be happy and to eat and drive, and more plants need to grow, but mostly we need to play and to be happy!

(Primary School two, round one).

Through events, it was clear that children wanted more space to play, and conversations continued to explore what play meant and what it looked like with some children holding a conversation and others drawing pictures of play.

Child 1 Stop building shops and make space [wrote as stop billing shops and make space]

Child 2 I put no loitering around, we not allowed

Child 1 what you mean?

Child 2 Us not allowed to stand around or play in the gardens

Child 1 Yes but us would if us allowed, when new horizons not open.

Child 2 No more doubt, we need better greens [wrote on paper]

(Main Café, table 8, round two)

In the above, the children were asking for more play spaces and had internalised the notice of 'no loitering' as stopping them from playing in the town gardens when the island's youth club, New Horizons, was closed. The words written on the cloths, seen independently, may not have conveyed this meaning. The process of discussion effectively led to the unanimous decision that children on St Helena needed more play spaces outside.

In the first primary school children made connections between play and friendships, feelings of happiness to play and family. In discussing locations for play, for children in this primary school, school and home were represented in pictures as places of play.



Photo 6: Primary school one, table five, round two

For children in the second primary school, play was seen to be represented in the community alongside school. Sports including football, cricket and motorbikes were mentioned. Table six (round one) had a long conversation about sites of play, including balancing the building of houses against the need for green spaces. Play was seen as a right, although shelter was also important.



Photo 7: Primary two, table five, round one

Children continued to make connections as to how play was important in their overall wellbeing, recognising its importance for their health and development.

Child 1: Sport for me, yes

Child 2: Brownies for me

Child 1: How about New Horizons?

Child 3: mm well enjoying yourself and having fun, yes, exercising too you get that there

Child 2: mmm and education, you learn stuff in Brownies

Main Café, Table two, round one

One child in the third Mini Café started a cross-room discussion about a local green space, and overall, there was a level of resentment that adults occupy their play space: 'I put no pee or poo in public' (Primary School 3, round 2); 'You mean the green? It's not fair – they take our space' (child from another table). Other children joined in, talking about experiences at the park. In harvesting, the tables discussed adults being on their 'green' and drinking, occupying their space. This apparent polluting of their time and space was perceived as significant for the children, who continued to talk about New Horizons (the island youth club) as being a place they valued and the 'green' as their space. But for children in the first primary school, the town centre provided limited green space and so discussion focused on play being in homes and school. The

discussions on space and environment led me to consider differences within in the community and led me to take photographs and explore playgrounds.

10.12.20 – Emptying emotion in playgrounds

In the centre of the Jamestown is a playground. While another is linked to a youth club, this is the main open space for children to play in the town. On entering the space, I was struck with feelings of sadness, seeing a neglected ground, unused and set to the side of the town. While play spaces are valued in many societies, I wondered what had led to the decline of this space. In the centre a tree had grown around a play seat, suggesting that this space had been left uncared for over many years.

How is space valued? What does this space or play mean to islanders here? As I started to take pictures a child approached me. They said they remembered from years ago the space having a roundabout which was painted in colours. Like the child, I realised that playgrounds touch back to memories and fun: this was driving my feelings of sadness at seeing such a space so neglected and so unable to provide joy. But was this just a perception I had brought forward?

Figure 8: Extract from field notes



Photo 8: Emptying spaces and emotions – The Duke of Edinburgh Playground in Jamestown.

Whilst coding of photographs can be understood as a ‘slippery issue’ (ibid: 57), comparisons between data types can reveal congruence or incongruence (Charmaz,

2006), most notably between words and deeds. Seeing such play spaces neglected for many years also revealed how emotionally the impact of entering such a space can link experiences with actions, which required a level of reflexivity, facilitated in part through memoing and the input of islanders' own understandings. Experiences as described by Freire (1970) help one to identify and develop 'solidarity with the children' (p.13). Freire points to the need to transform experiences into knowledge but to do so requires knowledge to be created through the process of coming to voice (ibid, p.18) but for children on St Helena the playground suggested how the importance of politics and culture could impact on the ability to learn through play.



Photo 9: Nature consuming play

Recognising the critical aspects of this research, it appeared that thick description of visual imagery needed to be considered from the child's perspective with consideration

of how the image relates to bigger ideas, values, events, cultural constructs (Freeman and Mathison, 2009). While acknowledging my own understandings to be led by the data required also children's understanding of what the space meant to them. In *nature consuming play*, this was influenced by an unexpected encounter with a curious child during the taking of the photo. As described in memoing showing curiosity to my presence the child approached me and discussed how they remembered the playground as a happy place, but that they did not visit now, as it is 'all broke up' (field notes). Presenting as sad, the child clearly longed for the space to be of its former state. In focus group 4 the play ground again was discussed as a site of contention whereby adults wanted a car park, the heritage society did not want to permit expanded access for disabled children to improve the space as this would damage a historic wall and children's views appeared absent.

A search at the local archives revealed that the space was repurposed from a graveyard, and was opened as The Duke of Edinburgh playground in 1957 and offered children in the town a safe space to play.



Photo 10: Opening of play 1957 (Saint Helena island, 2021)

The photo above is symbolic in illustrating officials' position on St Helena at the time. Notably, the military uniform, a remnant of colonialism, was still in use until 2004, ending not due to the emerging recognition of the links to power and colonialism but as

a cost-cutting measure (Saint Helena Island, 2021). The playground itself had a short life. Despite being a popular place for children to play, the declining economic status and failure to prioritise play due to other local priorities (ibid.) meant that most of the equipment was dismantled and the area is now disused. This brings the past to the present and back to reflection through World Café events where children showed a growing awareness of their position in the community.

Through constant comparison of data from the events, children were also seen to make their own comparisons of space as they became more aware of spaces in other countries. All children dialogued towards play, offering opportunity but needing spaces to be safe and well kept. Locating spaces to play was an expressed challenge for children. Whilst the youth club offers children a space for evening play, there are no other free play areas in the town centre. The lack of space for play in the town was a conversational point raised by both adults and children, with no consensus as to how this should be addressed. Older children and adults positioned the issue of the conditions of play spaces with the government. The lack of solutions for the situation of play equipment in the community is significant. The consideration of ownership suggested that older children and young people saw play as provided through the state.

Child 1: You can see how neglect the kid's spaces are, which is no need and then you get them all up in positions of power, 'Oh, we got to keep the young ones and we will support them and their future blah blah blah.' And they not doing anything to make it happen. All the playgrounds, Duke of Edinburgh, Half Tree Hollow, Blue Hill, so many – no swings and no nice play equipment.

Child 2: I know the place at Blue Hill gets used quite a lot but for a lot of people that's a long way to travel to go for like swings and slide like.

Child 1: Half Tree Hollow not much for the children to do there, it's barren, horrible. Me and **** go down there all the time. All us do is sit down in the climbing frames, swings done got broken, they did do it up a little but it still had a lot to do and have not been kept maintained. If people going in their free time to do it then it's just like a little fixed, There's no investment in there. It's like children don't matter.

(Main Café Harvesting)

Discussions with community groups suggested that the playground in the town centre was an area of contention, with some groups wanting to refurbish it, but others wanting to use it as a car park (Focus Group 4). A lack of meaningful funding was said to be a barrier, along with a lack of continued priority. In 2021, UNICEF research indicated that there is a discrepancy in funding that countries allocate toward the most vulnerable members (UNICEF, 2021). For children on St Helena, despite extensive funding for children's safeguarding from 2015 (Wass, 2015), this was not seen physically in the community as improved safe play facilities. Freire (cited in Macedo, 2000) pointed out that the transfer of money in humanitarian areas often fails to reach those who most need it. Freire (1970) and others (Freire and Macedo, 1995; Zhang *et al.*, 2021) have asserted that this occurs because oppressors cannot free oppressed people. That must happen from within. The lack of access to quality play spaces suggests spatial inequality, as children on St Helena suffer through their government's lower socio-economic status. It also suggests that priorities for funding may have lacked local participation, as play

mattered for children within this study; yet their voices could not be located in the field, through government forums.

Children across events expressed a level of sadness that they did not have enough access to spaces of play in their community that they believed they needed or desired.



Photo 11: Playing in Longwood

What was apparent from field notes was that the play equipment for children on St Helena appeared dated. Children's need for time and space for play is internationally recognised in the UNCRC (UN, 1989), with UK legislation and policies developed to improve quality spaces for children, and more recently through St Helena's own development plan (SHG, 2021). Yet in the community, quality space for play appeared absent. This suggests that children's spaces are filtered through countries' own understandings and positioning of childhood spaces, which seemed on St Helena to have diverged from the UK over time. This prompted me to further explore spaces across the island.

Children in events discussed wanting safe and accessible play spaces, and awareness of facilities on the nearby Ascension Island was revealed in all five World Cafés. This is significant as children begin to realise their global positionality and the limitations that living on their island brought.

Child 1. [question to the table host] Are you going back to Ascension?

Host: Maybe.

Child 2. I wish I was I miss the slides and it's kinda awesome there, lots to play

Child 1. I wish we could have that here, children looooooovee it

Child 2. Rest, play, that's what's important to me

Main Café, discussion in between rounds

Ascension is an island that is grouped as a dependency to St Helena. However, Ascension Island is a working island, where many St Helenians work and live with their families. Ascension Island accommodates only working-age visitors and their families and military personnel. Space and accessibility have been prioritised: 'I mean you've seen the places, even on Ascension – I mean they're outstanding!' (Focus group 1). The island's facilities contrast dramatically to those on St Helena, with several swimming pools, gyms, and open multi-use games areas. As children on St Helena hold awareness of such facilities on other islands, it is perhaps inevitable that they make comparisons and begin to ask questions of fairness and their own right to access such spaces.



Photo 12: Playing on Ascension (AIG, 2022).

As play is a fundamental activity for children's experiences, learning, and development (Sandberg, 2010; Sandseter, *et al.*, 2020), the lack of accessible spaces that children perceived were acceptable mattered to them. For children in the World Café events, the results indicated that children held a dynamic view of outside play as important from younger years and into adolescence. There was a desire for outside space for younger children, including slides, bicycles, and swings. For adolescents, space was essential to allow somewhere safe and away from adults to play football or spend time with other children. But emerging shifts towards play being in the home and online also point to changes in 'space' incorporating time with friends online.

Play was also closely linked to the environment, most notably in the Main World Café event, where younger children drew pictures of play and older children started conversations.

Child 1: I like swimming at the steps.

Table Host: You like dolphin?

Child 1: Yeah, they in Jamestown.

Child 2: We need to protect the fish, it's our future.

Child 3: And stop littering, we need to care for the environment.

Child 1: Yeah, like they could plant trees to replace those cut down.

Child 2: Us put caring for environment, important for us and play.

Main Café, Table 8 Round 1

As the above dialogue shows, concerns for the environment appeared to have ownership with the use of the words 'we' and 'our', suggesting that the children's environment was important to them. Through the World Café events, they continued to emphasise the importance of family, neighbourhood and community factors in their environment as spaces for recreation and play. It was apparent that data from the tablecloths and captured in their recordings suggested more complex positioning on where play happens and what this means to children, connecting different areas of their lived situations, which appeared to shift as they got older. This was significant, as in the Main Café and the secondary school, the mention of the importance of online spaces for play started to emerge.

With support, children were able to describe their wishes for more play: 'We need to stick together, we want to make outside more beautiful, lots of games together' (Primary School 3, round three). In these comments, primary school children saw responsibility for open spaces as being located on the island and that together, they could seek solutions to make more spaces and play equipment for them. Although more formal spaces were positioned closely to being the government's responsibility, their ability to dialogue towards solutions suggests possibilities for taking participation further into action.

Charlton's research following the introduction of television to the island drew attention to the community as an important supervisor to support children's development

(Charlton *et al.*, 2000) with family support children's activities and later research continued to support this (Schulenberg, 2002) although on closer exploration it appears these findings are superficial for understanding play. Café events drew attention to dialogue as a tool to support discussions towards freely creating and exploring options and connecting ideas. This moves beyond just discussion or seeing voice in representation. Children connected ideas and discussions towards solutions, and so dialogued. Against this, play can be seen to be much more complexly positioned in society and different social arenas. Younger children in primary school events drew most pictures of outside play, while older children discussed more play online as a personal space that was separate from their families, often discussing meeting other children online, at night, away from their parents.

Child 1: You go online tonight?
Child 2: Maybe, not sure, megabytes [groan].
Child 1: I met you after midnight.
Child 2: OK. Don't tell your mam.
Child 3: Internet should be free.
Child 3: Or at least cheaper.
Child 1: And safer.

Secondary school, introductory round

The lack of research about the impact of the internet and the remote location of the island limits the utilisation of online spaces for play. Additionally, it started to emerge that this also removed the safeguards that previously supported children to stay safe in the community.

Migrating towards possibilities

Migration represents an increasingly important livelihood diversification strategy for many households in the world's poorest nations (Committee on the Rights of the Child 2012). In the British Overseas Territories as islanders struggle to meet their families' needs and aspirations (Morlachetti, 2017): for example, when a family member migrates to guarantee support for the whole family Children migrate for diverse reasons and in a variety of ways. The causes of their movement are not very different to those of adult migration: to seek opportunities, whether economic or educational; to reunite with family members who had previously migrated; or to move from their place of residence owing to gradual or sudden changes in the environment that adversely affect their living conditions.

Initial literature had suggested that work opportunities were a major driver in children leaving St Helena, as children and their families wanted to access opportunities not available on St Helena. This includes education and seeking employment in nearby islands without the need for qualifications (Cohen, 1983a; Schulenburg, 1999). In doing so, this second group accepted working long hours and remitting money back home towards building a home, seen as more important than learning at school. Parker (2012) asserts that following the regaining of islander's status in 2002 a shift in reasons for migration occurred with the island growing to be part of a capitalist society with islanders encouraged through the vision of a St Helenian dream, to work abroad. It is important to return to this literature as it formed a preconception that migration was a route out of poverty within existing literature.

What became apparent from Primary School children was that migration was now a part of their lives in more complex ways. For younger children, there was a growing understanding of migration in their home and community. It mattered insofar as it restricted access to relatives: 'I feel keeping families together is important' (Primary 1, round 1). Primary school children expressed sadness that relatives were abroad: 'I think it's really sad if children had no parents' (Primary School 1, round 1); 'Having a home is important, having a family is important too' (Primary School 3, round 2). As one child

said, 'We have a right to have a roof over our head, and family, having no family here is bad, like when your parents have to work on Ascension and you can't go' (Primary School 2, round 2). Primary school children's conversations focused on how their rights needed to be fulfilled and how family mattered, most notably when they were not physically present. Family members were described as migrating for work, and discussions continued with children expressing visible feelings of sadness impacting on their peers through their family members migrating. Young children saw the answer as fairness and more sharing on St Helena, with relatives not leaving the island. Whilst younger children held optimism for change, for older children, this outlook shifted 'us go to Ascension, it more fun, lots to do, my brother there' (Secondary school, introductory round). While other older children saw opportunities 'last year **** went England, they ride horses now' (Main World Café harvesting). Migration was expressed as exciting for possibilities, as they talked and doodled children smiled and laughed.

Building on this data, children and young people within World Café events also saw migrating as a way to fulfil personal aspirations, including achieving a degree or career. This suggests that earlier migration to seek escape from absolute poverty (evidenced from the 1950s) has evolved from a desire to build a home to include achieving personal goals. In addition, while previous research had indicated that working on Ascension Island or the Falklands was the most sought-after goal, for children who participated in World Café events, educational opportunities in the UK and personal development, were most frequently cited as reasons to leave St Helena. Although the desire to eventually return 'home' to the island remained as something that they wanted. This shows what Freire asserted as a developing level of consciousness that change is needed and of positive potential in oneself but also draws attention to the lived experiences including frustration of limitations

A lot come to school just cause they come, they need to aspire to things. If you give lower capable children something to aspire to, this will put them on the right path.

(Focus group 4)

But for young people who did not want further education, choices were expressed as too few on their island.

Child 1: If I could, I wouldn't go school.

Child 2: But you still have to.

Child 3: Hey, why you do GCSE's?

Child 1: That's why I don't want to go to school, I mean it's important, school, but I don't do study well. I want other choices. There're no choices.

Child 2: Education? So what do you want them to do more education? Like **** maybe having more opportunities to learn more things to broaden your education.

Child 1: Like get more books, like I doing mechanics like us ain't got much stuff up there like to revise, yeah, so you get that more resources for education.

Main Café Event, Table 7 round 2

The above shows how some young people viewed education as a potential platform for development, but currently as an area of limiting choice on St Helena, not only for themselves but also for those unable to reach opportunities to study abroad. These views continued to be expressed throughout the study's events.

Unlike the primary and secondary school events, the World Café introduced table hosts to support data collection. However, it became apparent in analysis that in attempting to be supportive, these hosts had also led some table discussions, trying to support the flow of conversations. While they had been advised to reflect comments and not lead, they became more involved as table conversations faltered or while there were periods of silence. Their questions provided discussion points and appeared to generate more conversation but was not in line with the methodology. As they were young people from the same community, it was noted that younger children paid close attention to their older peers and sought confirmation and advice from them. This meant that the intended questions themselves remained unanswered at times as self-directed conversations emerged. Within the pilot study (Dunn, 2021), this was positioned as suggesting a limitation of the World Café method where predetermined outcomes were chosen but that participants own motivations shape the direction which may not be what the researcher was seeking from the data. However, it also indicated that the method could enable self-directed goals for children and young people, who felt sufficiently empowered to lead conversations towards what they wanted to talk about.

As such it could support transformative dialogue led by children. In Café events this was shown by children expressing themselves that learning needed to change on their island.

Together in the main World Café, children expressed frustrations that education on St Helena was not meeting their expectations. Reflecting on the events, the hosts were surprised at younger children's deepening of dialogue.

Host 1: I find it very interesting the views of like young children. I know first of all I find some of them very smart.

Host 2: They made you feel stupid, you know, 'cos like all the words they say, like it was very good. This amazing knowledge about the island, how they could improve it and what could make it a better future for them.

Host 1: Yeah, they come up with some really good stuff, right. And their ideas, how they can make it better

Host 2: Yeah, not like learning in school, that boring.

Host 1: Boring.

Host 2: Boring. It wasn't much – you made your own fun or just go do something you really love. It wasn't much choice.

Host 1: Yeah, Government they pick who they give choices to.

Main Café, harvesting.

The curriculum on St Helena is imported from the UK. It is not cost-effective or realistic to produce these materials on St Helena and keep them updated (Sultana, 2006). Jules (2012) contends that structurally, this disadvantages small island states, and usually includes: 'limited human and natural resources, nature of their economies, cost per capita of services and dependence on trade' (pp. 6-7). Alongside the challenges to accessibility for St Helena, the importation of considerable educational resources from the UK means that culturally and linguistically, they are likely to be inappropriate to St Helenian children. For example, children spoke of cultural reference points, including

locations, not being relevant to them, and of not understanding texts 'Education, maybe having more opportunities to learn more things to broaden us, not stuff we don't understand, we don't need know about UK, we need more resources about St Helena' (Table eight Main World Café). Learning for children on St Helena was said to be limited to what was provided at schools for many 'Because like sometimes you don't get as much time to study at school unless you stay after 4pm, but then no bus home. You can study at home but you cant use the internet' (ibid). The cost of the internet and dependency on education to provide learning, appeared to be a frustration for children, limiting what they could chose to learn. In focus groups there was increased frustration that education did not acknowledge the history of slavery on the island. Children's comments supported Hickling-Hudson's (2006) contention that curriculum material introduced by colonisers, including books, worksheets and textbooks, are not always relevant to a country. As St Helena sits on the spectrum between colonial and post-colonial status, children appeared in café events to be aware of difference and to desire more power, requiring choices and education towards critical engagement with their situation. This suggests a strong argument for decolonizing the curriculum through critical engagement with islanders.

At school, I learnt nothing about slavery, or St Helena. Even now they want to have a memorial, but they can't agree. Children need to know more about St Helena.

(Focus group 1)

While older children and young people conveyed a strong sense of belonging to their island throughout the events, data indicated that they held low expectations for education on St Helena, with attitudes and beliefs not dissimilar to those reported in research from the 1970s (Cohen, 1983a). However, unlike in previous studies, St Helenian children held a level of awareness of what was needed to upskill their education and of what they lacked through being able to access the internet and seeing what other children had access to. This suggests a lack of passivity and a desire to meet their own potential. They saw education on St Helena as a barrier, not an enabler, to this.

Education needs a restructure. Technology and society has moved forward so much, but here, teachers teach, behind a desk, and pupils listen. It has to

change. I know it is a drastic change, but change is needed. It is something that needs to happen.

(Focus group 4)

The inference is that a comparative banking education model persists on St Helena, with a continued curriculum with which children and young people struggle to engage, distant from their lived experiences or aspirations. Freire (1970) positions education as needing to support empowerment through increasing consciousness of one's situation towards transformation. Children and young people in the World Café events yearned for more choices for education and for young people in focus groups their increased awareness of limited choices led to expressions of frustration and desire for reforms, suggesting that education on the island continues to see students as empty vessels for knowledge to be transferred, and so banked.

For education to be effective, it must be accessible and foster learning cultures to support child rights (UNICEF, 2021), and this includes consideration of children's right to receive an appropriate education and to enable transformation and growth needs to be supporting children and young people to develop their own critical consciousness towards empowerment (Freire, 1970). For St Helenian children, the right to education extends only to the age of 16. While young children desired equality and fairness as they grew more aware, older children began to consider migration, not seeing how their own aspirations could be met on the island.

It's not what you know, it's who. When I was sitting my GCSEs it was science, maths and English, psychology, maybe a few other things, but it wasn't much choice, and then we did choose something we did like, it was like 'Oh, you can't do it because it's not enough kids signed up to doing it'. It affects our future, we had no funding, so we could not do.

(Focus group 2 following the World Café event)

Additionally, as children became more aware of how the island was financed through UK-funded aid, there was an increasing awareness of how this impacted their choices compared to other children in the UK.

For the past couple of years they pick who they want [Government]. If they don't think it benefits the economy, they don't allow: it was like **** tried for scholarship to go to university but they wouldn't send her, so she done it herself and she's really doing well. If she come back, she could do good for the island, but not now, she won't. They need to consider student loans, like in England, so we can choose.

(Focus group 2 following the World Café event).

Government scholarships and Chevening scholarships provide access to higher education in the UK, allowing St Helenians to gain the same qualifications as technical workers on their island. However, whilst young people expressed through the World Café and in focus groups that they wanted to return, they also reflected that there was a lack of possibilities on the island. As stated by Midgley (2014) and Hugman (2016), the technical capacity-building model is one which is prevalent in development, with specialist workers on short-term contracts being imported to fill gaps where locals are not yet qualified. But part of this is succession planning, which relies on young people returning home and staying home. As the most recent census confirmed, St Helena has one of the highest aged and dependant populations in the world (SHG, 2021). This includes adults with additional needs, an aging population which is coupled with a significant young population. Many working-aged people leave the island and then return in their later years (SHG, 2021). While this is an identified concern and the government believes there is a need to attract working-age people with families to live on St Helena, the narrative from older children who participated is still that migration is the best means to meeting their aspirations.

I think it's going to happen for a little while longer unless there's a drastic change in them allowing people to, umm, have that choice of doing what they desire to do. Government got their own agenda and they don't think like the young people. .

(Focus group 1)

Building on data from the primary school and assembly events, it was apparent that young people were developing an understanding of different social positions and so understanding different social worlds, positioning some young people as outsiders, and experiencing discrimination and bullying both directly and through understanding structural inequalities. In dialoguing solutions, young people began talking about migration as a route to obtaining their desires and needs, alongside challenges in communications that limited their own development.

We need lots of things – clothes, food, and a house. We need money for this. I mean we need language to communicate these things. We want lots of things but needs we must have. It's hard here, to get what we need. We need to move around and communicate our needs to others. Maybe across the world, we must go.

(Y7, Table 7)

On St Helena, UK aid provides for technical assistance, including teachers' funding to improve education, but children did not mention this as improving opportunities for them. On revisiting previous research, a level of discontent was evident, whereby returning working-age locals believe they should be entitled to the same pay as the expatriate workers (Charlton and Gunter, 2002; Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002), driving teachers to leave for better employment conditions where they perceive they will obtain fairness. This was also found in this study, with young people who realised that earnings for St Helenians were different from those of visiting workers:

The government talks about equality, but I know it's for advertising reasons, I know if we didn't give you those wages, you wouldn't come here, but it's still discrimination, you know?

(Focus group 4)

Following an English curriculum, local adaptations have been made (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002), but children themselves saw education as a means to leave the island as opposed to supporting them to stay. Giroux (2010) asserts that states often hold little interest in understanding the pedagogical foundations as linked to political,

civic and moral practices that repress critical thought. For St Helenian children, the political situation and feelings of oppression contributed to the pressure to leave. Despite the UK government's exaltations of the self-determination of the British Overseas Territories (as described by Clegg *et al.*, 2016), colonial governance provisions on St Helena persist. The current 10-year island strategy measures attainment as needing to be in line with UK standards (SHG, 2021), yet given its status as a British Overseas Territory with differing economics and limited income, it appears unlikely that islanders, on achieving UK qualifications, would attain the same employment benefits as someone in the UK. Thus, a situation of cruel optimism is created. Older children, young people and adults on St Helena held a growing awareness that they were encouraged to learn and gain qualifications but subsequently faced an unfair situation, unable to obtain higher salaries to improve their living situations on the island.

Having choices and experiencing discrimination were predominant emerging categories through the secondary school event. Dialogue across tables indicated young people's discontent about feeling unheard in education and the community, leading to the perceptions that their rights were being side-lined.

I mean, just sitting and listening, we don't learn. I like this way. Adults need to listen to us more. Adults have more rights, they input on our choices: we need more choices, I need a voice. This is the bestest learning ever – we need more talking about us.

(Y7: Table four)

While Freire (1970) advocates the need for wholesale reforms for oppressed peoples to reform their status, the current arrangements for St Helenians, albeit disliked, appear to provide sufficient education for migration. For young people, this continued to position migration as a way to achieve their aspirations. While previous research saw children as naïve and lacking the ability to understand their position in a global world, children in the present study showed wider levels of awareness, at differing levels. Younger children showed motivation and insight to dialogue in areas of their interest, such as family and migration. In contrast, older children and young people understood migration as a way to navigate towards their own goals. Education mattered to facilitate

migration, but did not support children's own aspirations on St Helena. For younger children, this provoked a level of sadness about relatives working away, but for older children, it developed into a level of frustration that opportunities were not present or anger that others were afforded higher wages against structural constraints that sustained inequality and differences based on status.

Desiring equality and fairness,

The most detailed responses to children's perceptions of what needed to happen to support the issues that mattered to them related to inequality in education. Within the school assembly, young people were keen to express their desires for the future, which included the first mentions of the direct impact of discrimination on young islanders, alongside jobs and, consequently, economic growth. For example, they recorded that 'Budgets should be revised to allow everyone to further their education (like uni) if they choose (possible student loans)' (Table 5, Main World Café) and 'St Helena needs to create opportunities for the local people with the same qualification and skills as others from around the world.' (ibid). These beliefs suggested that the young people perceived themselves as oppressed through not having the same choices as children from outside of the island or in the UK. Additionally, they were not offered the same benefits if they obtained qualifications. One student within the assembly reinforced this by discussing how the Government's development agenda shaped the choices of degree programmes, without considering personal choices: 'You can only choose what government say you can do. They take our choices away' (anon student card from interactive assembly).

The interactive assembly took place at Prince Andrew School on 29th January 2021. While participatory, opportunities to move towards transformative aspirations was limited by the size of the assembly. Despite this, children engaged, to a level and wrote comments on their cards about sustainable goals. It was hoped that by considering answers, young people would consider their thoughts concerning what mattered on their island and what they wanted to happen. However, on inspecting the assembly cards where young people completed responses, a curious additional area of interest emerged. Several young people had initially placed more divisive comments on their

cards: 'Stop treating St Helenians as second-class citizens' [on three cards]; 'Stop sending people from England [two cards]; and 'Send TC workers home and give jobs back to St Helenians' [two cards]. TC workers to St Helenians refers to Technical Capability workers employed from abroad on short, higher paid contracts. Additionally whilst young people were advised that they could write whatever they wished and that all answers were anonymous, many of the above comments had then been erased. More neutral, mundane answers were overwritten, such as 'Stop littering' and 'More education'. The reasons for this apparent self-erasure of voices were not immediately clear. These findings suggested that some young people's written comments may not have reflected their authentic views and were hidden behind what they perceived was required of them in their role as students taking part in an assembly. This reiterated the need to understand how voices are constructed and to further explore in Café events children's feelings about their treatment on the island.

Within Mini World Café events, the United Nations Rights of the Child (UN, 1989) were used as a conversational ice-breaker prior to the rounds. Whilst acknowledging that childhood continues to be contested even within the ideologies captured by the UNCRC (Kirk, 2007; Collins, 2017), for the purpose of the primary school events, these rights provided an important talking point to allow local conceptions of childhood to be unpicked.



Photo 13: Discovering rights

Children in the World Café showed interest, pointed to cards and asked questions. As the rounds started, children appeared to dialogue positively towards shared concerns which were humanly linked. In Primary School 2, children talked about the meaning of asylum – ‘they should come here, we need to help others’. Alongside helping people from outside of the island, there was a strong sense that community mattered for children in all three primary schools. But adult language, including ‘quarantine’ and ‘send vaccines to saints, not workers’ (Primary School 1, round three), suggested that other views from the community had also been internalised, which included concerns that persons from outside the island were a negative influence. As rounds progressed, children began to connect and attribute their own meanings to the words linked from the rounds before. Helping each other and making sure all children were supported emerged as a concern for children.

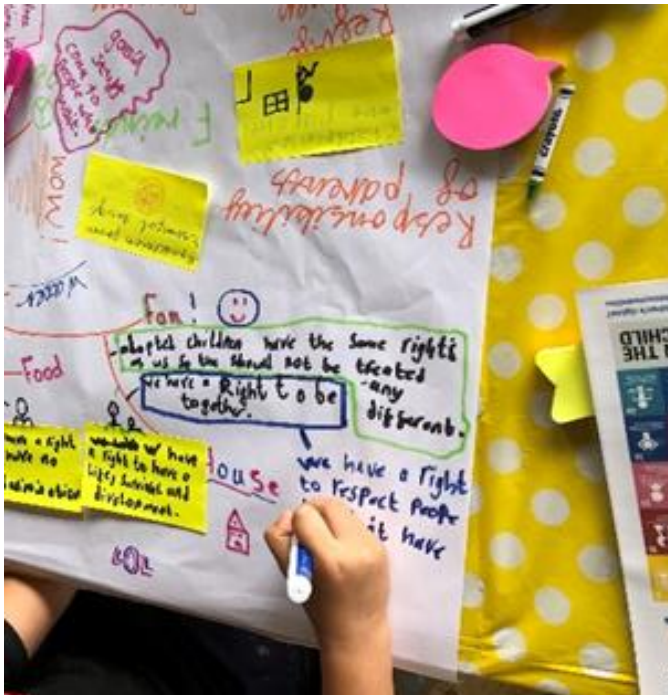


Photo 14: Making connections and exploring possibilities

Child 2: Some children they need more help. They need aids and communication. [written]

Child 1: We need to make sure they are included – they got rights too.

Child 2: Yeah we have the right to be together, any differents you know?

Child 1: They need respect too, like adopted child have the same rights and should not be treated differently

Child 3: Are they?

Child 1: You know, like when a parent works away and they get adopted by someone to look after them, they sad, you know, but they got rights.

Primary 3, round 3

Children were constructing and developing their own understandings through conversations and discussed the needs of other children compassionately. Whilst the term 'adoption' can be linked to a legal action, for children on St Helena, this was understood as a child living with someone other than their parent whilst their parent worked away. Seen independently on tablecloths, these linked comments could lack context, but in dialogue, children developed their own critical understandings, strengthening their imagination and expressing the need for fairness. This shows that if children are given opportunities to develop awareness and critical consciousness, they have the potential to develop conversation towards solutions.

Child 1: It's like milk, when a mother needs to buy milk, is not always there.

Child 2: Yeah, people buy milk, too much.

Child 3: It needs to be fair!

Child 1: People who need it should have it, other people need to share.

Child 2: Something needs to be done, younger children need milk, adults don't need all they buy, all they buy, they buy too much, then there is not enough to go round.

Child 1: But they don't always share. Something need to be done about that.

Cross-table - That's equality – us need equality.

Child 3: Like if a child has disabilities?

Child 1: Yey, like they need a ramp to have access, same thing, we all need access to things.

Primary 2 round 3.

Ideas continued to connect through events focusing on the central areas of family mattering to children and of equality for children living away from home, alongside respect. Children discussed how children on the island can be supported in families, including fundraising for needs, how they could be nice to other children, and what rights were important. As such, primary-aged children expressed that they wanted to be active agents in supporting other children, but not alone. Conversation for primary school children in the first event included the responsibilities of parents to keep children safe and to make sure all children had 'a roof over their heads', while secondary school children talked about 'government' needing to make the community safer. Within such discussion, the possibility of the World Café supporting education as a driving force to expand democratic public life was apparent, linking civil and moral practices towards what Freire refers to as 'a practice for freedom' (Giroux, 2010: 715).

Child 1: Equality and some people line their pockets.

Child 2: They take from others, like more money.

Child 1: So we are talking about equality?

Child 2: Yes, we need an equal community. People need to share.

Child 1: Some people should not have more than they need.

Child 3: That's what they need to know, those in power.

Child 1: Yeah, but they need to listen to us, us is all saints, but children matter less.

Primary 3, round 2

Equality and fairness were important to children across events, most notably for primary children, with secondary children seeing equality as a right and children across ages in the main events dialoguing towards play mattering most to children. Within the third primary school event, children were loud, excitedly actively engaged in discussions. When discussing inequalities, one child talked about theft, and this continued onto the following table. It was apparent that children knew about recent criminal offences in the community and viewed them negatively, commenting on how crime was bad and that Saint Helenians needed to be fair to each other. But alongside this was an undercurrent of lack of fairness in services. 'Government need to help more' (Primary 2, Harvesting).

As children grew older, they became more aware of differences, including how some workers were paid more. As a meeting with the youth council prior to the main café suggested,

Yeah, especially, you know, so, um, I think one major subject is TC officers. I can tell you now there is a lot of complaints [about] TC workers – they are getting a lot of wage when we are doing the same job and get less. It's discrimination, like in the school, some children will get along with a saint teacher, but will not behave for a TC worker.

(Focus group 4)

As children grew older, these feelings became more magnified: 'it's just not fair' (table 4, Secondary School Café, round two). Equality and fairness appeared to connect closely to migration, as islanders felt that the only way to obtain equality was through leaving the island 'I mean to get Student Loans we have to just leave and go UK, wait until we can get there' (Focus Group 4). Seeing a lack of leadership, young people in the community expressed frustrations 'Then again, those people in Government they're not leading by example. If those are the leaders our youth are seeing today what is that telling youth?' (Focus Group 1) 'and the Government doesn't seem to care' (ibid).

While there was a level of expressed unhappiness towards unequal treatment on the island and between St Helenian and adult outsiders, for older children there was also a growing awareness of differences between each other. The World Café method holds that diversity is important and encourages voices towards change but as older children discussed views, it was apparent that individual voices became loud on recordings, suggesting some children's voices were overtaking others in group discussions. Children appeared less motivated to dialogue about areas of interest, turning their backs on other children outside of their peer groups or shouting comments 'I LIKE INTERNET' (Secondary School, Table 2, Round 1) or 'GO HOME TC WORKERS' (Secondary School, Table , Round 2). They appeared to enter a stage of the desired action without reflection. Such behaviours could be seen as activism, which requires a deeper level of reflection towards new possibilities (Freire, 1970), but it did positively show how the World Cafés can start difficult conversations about areas of concern.

Differences in what matters to children over time was evidenced with older children 'what I said when I was young is not what matters now, I not sure now, internet?' (Secondary School Harvesting) Children on St Helena are, as Freire suggests (1970), are uniquely in their situation, and as people 'in a situation' (p. 109), they find themselves rooted in temporal-spatial conditions which mark them and which they also mark. This is more than social construction and recognises the influence of the environment and history of colonialism which through being absorbs, sometimes unconsciously shapes

how children present to others (or as Fanon (1952) asserts, their masks), Recognising that for many children, rights are an abstraction in policy (Clegg *et al.*, 2016) was an identified concern in the pilot study (Dunn, 2021), leading to the finding that children had low awareness of their rights, nor ability to exercise them as no mechanisms were seen in education or social work to support their realisation. The World Café events provided a platform to allow children to develop their own understandings of what rights were and through raising of awareness their ability to transfer what this meant in day-to-day life, 'It's all too expensive, it's not fair' (Secondary School, Table 3, Round 2). In the Main Café they felt that St Helenians were not treated well – but also that they did not treat each other 'nice' Through all events children talked about what they thought Black lives matters meant to them. Some were embarrassed, some said their families had told them not to talk about it at school, they all thought that they needed more rights and for many this included them being supported by children or young people. 'I think build on youth parliament would be great, but at the moment its very much tied into school' (Focus group 1). 'What's the point of having a person called the children's champion if the children don't know. The children don't know what that person supposed to do' (ibid).

Colonial scarring

The sub-category of 'colonial scarring' transcended several categories as a theme that emerged by engaging with the environment and comparing data alongside literature. As St Helena is a previous British Colony, it is immediately apparent that places on the island are named after previous Governors, military personnel, and other settlers, or as reference points back to England. For example, the island's capital, Jamestown, was named after the Duke of York in 1660, while Lady Margaret Field (an area in the country) was named after a Governor's wife who supported friendly societies, and Pilling and Harford Schools were named after Governors. As pointed out by Charmaz (2006), sometimes it is the absence of data that is significant. Field notes showed the almost complete absence of buildings or places named after St Helenians. The continued use of the Governor's house, positioned in the centre of the island and named Plantation House, also reinforces the continued link to colonialism and the lack of a St Helenian identity in place names. The position of health services, being linked to funding,

exacerbates this, as the hospital is reliant on UK funding for all services and there is a continued reminder of this position in the entrance to the hospital.



Photo 15: Seeing Colonial reminders

Memoing from field notes:

This photo was taken after offering a local a ride to the hospital. I realised this was not the first I have seen: the plaques are scattered around the island, reminders of where funding comes from (neglecting the fact that this is a responsibility of the United Kingdom) and consequently positioning aid to be visualised as 'false generosity'. Its continued position on the wall of the hospital appears to represent what I can only describe as a kind of colonial scarring.

Memo 1: False generosity

In discussion with islanders in the community (captured in field notes), it was apparent that the fragility of life was more of an active concern on St Helena, probably due to the island's remote location. Island populations are more vulnerable to the impact of diseases, including endemics (Royle, 1996), compounded in the case of St Helena by underdevelopment in earlier years (ibid). Prior to the opening of the airport in 2017, the only means of obtaining additional medical services was through a boat trip to South Africa, approximately five days from the island (Middelkoop and Hogenstijn, 2018; Jackson-Morris, 2019). Even now, should a medical emergency be beyond the island's capacity, a medivac flight takes islanders to Africa for treatment.

We can't just leave, you know? It's a worry, **** been up the hospital and could have to go to South Africa.

(Focus group 2).

Whilst such emergencies may not be common, health promotion is an area of focus for the Government. On St Helena, non-communicable diseases account for a substantial burden on mortality, morbidity, and health costs overall (Jackson-Morris, 2019). Jackson-Morris (2019) found that tobacco use was high and educational programmes alone were not supporting changes in behaviour. Only through a whole-government approach was a reduction in smoking starting to appear. Another significant health concern identified was obesity, which led to a tax on sugary products (Jackson-Morris, 2020) and a similar whole-system approach. Yet, limited evidence of improved outcomes has been seen (ibid). During my project, posters encouraging healthy eating were seen in the hospital and the community, yet only one young person mentioned the sugar tax as a way to improve outcomes. Whilst events suggested that children and the community feared that Covid-19 would potentially cause many deaths, health behaviours were seen as outside of the control of islanders on St Helena.

Charmaz (2014) suggested that sometimes rhetoric and reports pale in the face of observed worlds. Photographs of the island appeared in this study to be at odds with the island being a British Overseas Territory. Being funded by the UK, and neglected through lack of maintenance, the ownership of the space therefore builds in

significance. Experiences such as entering the playground also reveal how the impact of entering such an abandoned space, lacking in happiness, can be emotionally overwhelming: play and place, for me, were linked. But also, how the islanders themselves saw their own role in being able (or unable) to provide space for their children due to funding being decided by outsiders (UK government). Children themselves not understanding why space was not provided for them and adults seeing this responsibility situated outside of their control 'children don't seem to me to be treated as important as part of the future so, Jamestown there's no play area for children' (Focus Group 1).

Whilst the front stage of the island appeared to suggest that children were valued and government reports following the Wass inquiry suggest that children are entitled to the same rights as those in the UK (Wass, 2015), this continues to be absent in practice. The condition of the playground suggested that whilst children have the right to play (UNCRC, 1989), their ability to have equality in play is lacking. The hospital plaque was declaring 'generosity' positions the islanders as needy and that they should be grateful to the colonial forces. This position appears to have been replicated across government buildings and services. As the photo below shows against the wall of the now derelict playground, spaces named after royals, or Governors are positioned across the island, suggesting a lack of local representation. It is perhaps unsurprising that islanders themselves see control as not within their power with funding linked to their continued position as others.



Photo: 16 Royal Play

Keeping healthy, staying safe

One of the first concepts to emerge through primary school events was that of health and safety. Through constant comparison, this was elevated to the category of keeping healthy and staying safe. Perhaps inevitably considering the pandemic, children had absorbed feelings of fear that Covid-19 would come to their island. The demonstration on 12.12.20 expressed the community's fear that many islanders would die if the disease reached the island (see photo 1,2,3). Many islanders did not want the island to allow any visitors. As such, health and safety became key concerns among children.

Child 2: What do we need to do?

Child 1: Blow up the airport!

Child 2: Ask your dad to get a digger to crush it.

Child 3: But if we do that, it will not work again.

Child 4: So maybe no planes for a while, that's go...

Child 3: YES!

Child 2: So how do we get doctors and nurses and food if there's no airport?

Child 3: Mmmm

Child 1: [looks thoughtful]

Child 3: THE BOAT!

Child 4: NO! The boat's from South Africa – we don't want that.

Child 1: Wow, this is hard!

Child 2: We need the place, but for supplies and stuff like the vaccine, we need to protect people.

Child 3: We only have a small hospital.

Child 1: Yes, protect them, keep them healthy.

Child 2: That's one of our rights, keeping safe.

Child 1: Yes, so us put health and safety as things to ask Government for.

Table 1: Taking about health and safety (fieldnotes)

The outcome of the discussion was written on the tablecloth as 'health and safety' in response to the question 'What matters to children on St Helena?' Within this and other conversations in the primary school events, children described fear that Covid-19 would reach their island, but interestingly they also recognised the need to maintain a connection for essential supplies. As the children discussed solutions to manage visitors to the island, not all of them were captured on the tablecloths, as conversation became more important than visualising ideas. The connections between health and safety, however, continued throughout the events.

Child 1: I think people on St Helena think that having hospital nearby is important.

Child 2: We should always protect family and friends.

Child 3: They need to send more vaccines.

Child 1: I think people on St Helena think having a nearby doctor is important too [points to comment from the previous round].

Child 2: Stop Covid 19!

Child 3: Parents are responsible for us, we need protection from violence, but also keep safe from covid, we need peace, covid free. Yeah, us put that down [writes 'covid free'].

Child 1: they need to listen to us, we need help [writes 'help']

Primary Café 1, table 1, round 1

Health facilities and accessibility were discussed in all World Café events as areas that needed to be provided, whilst islanders' own families and friends needed to protect each other. Building on the suggestions emerging from the school assembly event, the government was seen as the facilitator of health and supplies, but unlike the assembly, the World Café provided a forum for discussions to be deepened through debating and negotiating. Children's fears about Covid-19 continued into the main Café, where children expressed strong desires to stop the flights.

Child 1: We need to stop them [writes 'stop Covid-19']

Child 2: Why you say Covid-19?

Child 1: The flights, they need to stop, we have only a small hospital, we need protection.

Child 2: Yeh, stop – that's what I agree.

World Café, harvesting.

The dialogue continued with the assertion that ‘more hospital (sic)’ was needed, and the children concluded that what was required was more local doctors and nurses who understood the situation on the island and could let the government know what could happen, whilst also helping them be healthy. In understanding the positioning of health as being outside of children's and young people's control, the link between health and power started to emerge. This took forward initial views from the school assembly where health was seen as being something that was provided from the outside ‘they need to send more nurses and doctors’ (school assembly card) towards children reflecting on how they needed to solve the island's issues of having more resources. For children in the cafés, solutions were debated: closing the island, restricted access, or opening the island. Balancing the desire to see relatives, visit and keep the island safe was hotly debated. The provision of this platform allowed children to develop their own voice on issues of importance to them.

In exploring the space of their own island, children in primary schools described some spaces as ‘adult spaces, like the green, not nice’ (Primary School 3, harvesting), suggesting that they were unsafe places to go to. But the depth of conversation was limited in this area. Children commented on unsafe areas in the town and country, and also that drugs and alcohol were unsafe, lacking specific examples in their community. The vague suggestions of unsafe places indicated that children knew of places on the island where harm could occur, but no concrete experiences of harm emerged.

Child 1: You think there is murder here?

Child 2: No crime here, there are some crime, there are, but you probably don't hear about this.

Child 1: How us get less crime?

Child 2: Some crime happened. I'm not going to write it, it's too adult, it's not nice, I heard.

As the comments above emerged in the main World Café, older children began to talk about harm in ways that suggested that they had heard information on incidents in their community. Children talked about places on the island that they perceived as unsafe, including the town centre in the evenings, and about the need for safe transport. But it was not until the main World Café harvesting that questions about those conversations deepened to more meaningful levels. Children began talking at their tables about the internet and their phones.

<p>Child 1: You been contacted online before? You know, by someone you don't know?</p> <p>Child 2: Yes, I had to block them [giggle] They say grown-up things.</p> <p>Child 1: Yeah, that happened to me too. You always get them, you know, asking stuff.</p> <p>(unknown) I not tell.</p>

Main Café, table 8, cross-table discussion.

This opened into a whole-room discussion in harvesting about the internet and keeping safe online. During the discussion, children swapped phones and showed each other how to block and report inappropriate online content or material that had been sent or that they had located. This was then brought into the central harvesting sessions. For example:

One of the very interesting conversations we're had around this table was linked to school and how they spent their nights up late, particularly on the weekends and holidays, and, umm, the older girls here now left school, so they don't do that anymore, but the younger ones say they all do it and they all love their phone. So, she says she loves her phone and that's up late at night to download stuff to put on their phone.

(Table 8)

Most of the children who attended admitted staying up at night to access free internet and complete downloads without parental support.

Child 2: Cyberbullying, they send mean stuff to you.

Child 1: That's not nice.

Child 3: Like through WhatsApp, bullying online - they send means stuff, rude stuff, messenger, Facebook, TikTok, whatever, all da time,

Child 1: I use TikTok a lot.

Child 2: Do you get messages from people you don't know?

Child 1: Mmm, sometimes.

Child 2: Tis not nice.

Child 1: What do we need to do?

Child 2: Block them?

Child 1: Yeh, that works sometimes.

Child 3: We think that we...

Child 1: What the cable coming?

Child 3: Yeah – free internet.

Child 2: How you think we can prevent people contacting you?

Child 1: I already, well sometimes I had someone contact – he was not NICE!!!!

Child 3: Ahhhhhhh eeeek!

Child 1: Us not, WiFi, yeah, but...it's ok.

Main Café, table one, round three.

As this extract shows, while at times conversations became fragmented as children talked across each other, they remained focused on their identified issues. Older

children and young people discussed how they did not need to stay up through the night once they left school; with roles in the government, they had internet access in the day. But the dangers of online gaming and accessing the internet during the night were apparent, as agreed by all the children who attended:

There's the thing about the internet when you have to stay up at night, so if you're playing an online game, it's usually when the adult is allowed on, so there's a lot of inappropriate content. When they're trying to role play, they might say to the younger kids because adults play something completely different. I mean it's not like kids playing with unicorns, that kind of thing [giggles]. Sometimes they pretend to be a kid, but you know they not.

Main Café, table 2, round 3

Most of the final round and harvesting consisted of young people talking about the dangers of being online and sharing experiences. Despite initially agreeing that free internet would be something they wanted, this shifted towards the end of the harvesting, with children holding a consensus that it needed to be cheaper and better monitored. This conversation continued as young people enjoyed food after the event, sharing ways to keep each other safe online. Following the harvesting, the dialogue continued toward solutions. Children sat together to discuss how they could keep each other safe and shared tips about phones and the internet. These conversations held no adult direction, nor specific age of participants. This suggests that for some of the children, the World Café method effectively encouraged continued dialogue towards future aspirations: in this case, to keep each other safe online.

On exploring the data further, it was apparent that children and young people did not mention, in any of the events, agencies such as the police or social workers as means to protect them from harm in the community or from people they knew. The Main Café event demonstrated this most clearly, as, despite seeking extensive input from each other, children did not seek adult guidance, even during an extensive discussion about harm in their community and online. They held conversations towards solutions from their peers or older children. This suggested that young people saw each other as their sources of support and protection. In the final secondary school event, children's conversations included the need for protection on the internet by expressing that they have a right to communication but sharing tips about accessing websites and experiences with people whom they considered to have tried to 'trick' or intimidate them online.

Child 1: It's like Facebook, how they know your age? I mean they don't, us put what we want.

Child 2: They don't check [giggles].

Child 1: You online at night?

Child 2: Yeah, us play.

Child 1: Yeah, ok. He, we learning lessons, this is fun.

[unknown child then picks up microphone] I live with my best friend next door, I like watching YouTube, us put love as we need this but we need internet, Wi-Fi, we need Wi-Fi to game. I like YouTube videos!!

Child 1: I like this doodle, us not sure what this is, it's protection, it's keeping safe, but we don't want it.

Child 2: Us need it, not riots, we can protest.

Secondary School World Café, table 3, round 1.

Developing mattering in island situations

By accessing the silenced voices of children on St Helena, it was hoped that a better understanding would emerge of what mattered to these children, providing a platform to support their participation in the research. However, it became apparent that the disempowered position of childhood on St Helena magnified the need to attend to children's lived experiences from a social justice position and added a moral imperative to the study, which had to be appreciated when moving into this thesis. Consequently, as Spyrou (2011) points out, this also introduces challenges to representation. There was a need to deconstruct the central issue of voice to understand how children developed a voice to assert what mattered to them.

Consideration of how children's voices were produced within the specific situation of the island further highlighted the role of power through institutions on the island, including education and the community, shaping children's understanding, which grew as they reached later childhood and adolescence. Understanding this site of production takes us a long way towards understanding the situated and variable character of voice from children's unique experiences. It is within these institutional contexts and the cultural and social norms that regulate social interactions that mattering took place. On accessing deeper levels of children's lives, it was apparent that children themselves generated their own complex understandings of the island, which develop towards a frustrating realisation that institutions will not meet their needs, resulting in feelings of discrimination and oppression and ultimately leading to children seeing migration as a means to seek equality and fairness against the neo-colonialist forces, which they see as failing to support their aspirations.

The World Café foundations link back to Freire (1970) and a belief in the innate abilities of marginalised populations to improve their own conditions from within, against structural powers. But whilst postcolonial approaches to education seek to stimulate us to think and work beyond narrow economic rationalist objectives and taken-for-granted routines, for St Helena, they are positioned against economic limitations that keep financial ties and power close to the UK. This exposes a sophisticated layering of a

stratified system that continues to exclude children on St Helena from what matters to them: choices and an educational system that they want. In researching sites of colonialism, Hickling-Hudson *et al.* (2004) showed how representations of subjects are formed through neo-colonial processes and revealed subjected standpoints and suppressed cultural histories where identities can be recovered or re-made. They also demonstrated how the 'after-effects' of empire are pervasive in educational institutions, systems and subjectivities. These images are fractured through multiple categories of differences with inequalities and oppression, ambivalence, and unpredictable ways in the pedagogical nexus of teaching and learning. As young people's knowledge into their situation grows through their school years, their own power to make changes is seen as limited. For St Helena, colonialism is not over: it is merely reworked, affording limited power to children in decision-making and knowledge, filtered through a curriculum from afar. As such, the island can be seen to be positioned along a spectrum between colonialism and post-colonialism.

While understanding how learning on St Helena was positioned through the data, the Café events showed the potential for co-created knowledge to imagine new beginnings. Contrasting this with other methods demonstrates the potential of such events. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the data collected from the school assembly was not what was written, but rather how some young people had answered the predetermined questions without support in developing their thoughts. For example, when considering what needed to happen in respect to life underwater, young people identified actions that islanders could take to improve the sea, such as 'We need to tell the people with power to put out voices on the radio, posters, a little less fishing, it's our future' and 'Clean and prevent any littering, keep the ocean our environment.' It is perhaps understandable that on an island that is reliant on fishing and the seas, young people placed importance on caring for this environment, seeing this as something that they needed to support and control. Some commented that some islanders needed to stop polluting the island, seeing the need to regulate their environment. In contrast, whilst health was more important to young people, responsibility shifted. Comments included, 'Get more and better supplies, get another hospital closer to people who live far out, give St Helenian students more chances to be doctors and nurses'; 'They need to send

more medical supplies and doctors'; and 'They need to give us more money for the hospital.'

The difference in the narrative was apparent: young people appeared to shift to perceive the responsibility for their health, alongside allocation of resourcing, as something that was outside their control. The locus of control in the two examples appears significant. It is known that if individuals have internalised responsibility (and so hold an internal locus of control), they perceive that they have more control over outcomes (Baid, 2019). Health locus of control is defined as individual beliefs based on past experiences in health issues, and having external or internal control over them could affect health (Pourhoseinzadeh *et al.*, 2017). Consequently, health locus of control plays a role in health behaviours. But to suggest that individuals psychologically could have more control neglects appreciation of why this position has emerged, including the significance of the island's remote geographical location. As shown in the literature review, St Helena was a colonially constructed base: it has never sustained its own population, nor was it intended to (Gosse, 1990). Its remote location means that accessing healthcare is challenging and restricted, while the environment and young people's ability to access and influence it is close by.

Early in this study, it was apparent that the reality of researching within the island brought unique challenges to more interpretive comparative data. As Spyrou (2018) pointed out, not only interpretation but also representation can manipulate voices into research that claims authenticity. Whilst Glaser (2002) clearly asserted that voice is a concept and therefore that participants should not be asked to reflect on their comments, as they may not understand the need to move to abstraction, interactions with the community showed that such reflection was important to them and it was therefore considered ethically essential. This included reflection within events and in the community, through focus groups and producing visual representations for dissemination. This added a level of transparency to the project, against colonial exploitation.

The children in this research were exposed to globalisation and external manifestations of culture and differences, most notably through persons travelling from the UK at the time of the study. Conversely, St Helenian children's exposure to locations of culture is limited by their remoteness and the limited digital accessibility of the island. While children talked about relatives in the UK and on Ascension Island, this was tinged with sadness, particularly among younger children, about the fact that communication was not better, whilst for older children, it was edged with anger that they lacked opportunities to earn more on their island. Not unlike findings from research on other remote islands (Donnelly and Jiwaji, 2010), young people in the present study expressed their desire to know and maintain their culture and to live that culture one day, in their own traditional place. This linked to a developing sense of belonging and of attachment to their home island. As children became more aware, they became more strongly influenced by community manifestations of cultural belonging, expressed through place-based connections such as their family homes and rights as St Helenian citizens.

Children's active participation and ability to dialogue and critique showed their ability to create spaces of belonging through active positionality: 'Children's positionality is an expression ... of their place identity: who they are, who they want to be, what they value, and what they seek in a place' (Lim and Barton, 2010: 336). They construct and layer multiple meanings of place, including the physical entity that creates place attachment and embodied sensory meanings of place (Jack, 2010). For children on St Helena, this unique insider perspective is situated in their unique experiences. But as seen within the secondary school event, it can also be used to exclude others who are seen as outsiders and not worthy of belonging to the island. This created a level of limitation as it appeared children were not motivated to dialogue, they were motivated to act. This may have been due to the timing, circumstances or group dynamics. As Freire (1970) reminds, there needs to be a balance of both reflection and action for transformation. At time of the secondary school Café tensions of quarantine on the island had created division over place and belonging, with dominant narratives of a few appearing to lead some children to voice over others in the Secondary event.

Place attachment is generally taken as formed through the memories, feelings, beliefs, and meanings associated with the physical environment (Jack, 2010). Onto this are attached knowledge, rules, and accepted ways of behaving, linked to social worlds and arenas of concern (Strauss, 1969; Clarke, 2003), which, as shown in this project, can result in hidden worlds and separate arenas that converge at times on central issues such as Covid-19 on St Helena. It is unsurprising, therefore, that with an almost complete lack of representation in places on St Helena that recognise the strengths and achievements of St Helenians themselves, the islanders develop a level of resistance against those in 'government', seeing them as 'others' or 'outsiders' whose presence is regarded as continued oppression. In linking culture, place and belonging as developing through childhood, it was apparent that what matters is shaped by children's environment and their dynamic and dialectal experiences within social arenas on St Helena.

How children contextualised and internalised these experiences is of interest. As children perceive, engage in, and make meaning of their place, they make detailed observations, construct contextualised knowledge, and develop embodied and layered understanding of their place (Lim and Barton, 2010:336). As recognised in children's understandings of belonging and space (ibid), how children on St Helena anchored their beliefs in control, such as how they accept that health is outside of their locus of control, whereas their environment is an element they must accept and keep safe was shaped by their family and community. This both limits and creates opportunities for transformation. The assembly limited transformative possibilities as there was limited dialogue, as such children's ability to develop critical consciousness (Zhang *et al.*, 2021) through developing their own authentic understandings and discussion was not possible. In contrast World Café events provided a platform for children to dialogue and so, with support, allow critical discussions to be had, towards new possibilities.

Atlasti enabled an analysis of feelings through sentiment analysis. Sentiment analysis of transcriptions and codes from primary school data showed positive and neutral agreements over significant island issues such as vaccination, quarantine and balancing

the need for tourism against the health and safety of children and families. Negative comments centred on a fear of Covid-19 and expressions of discrimination through a lack of choices in areas such as education. While these issues were initially discussed in more abstract ways, such as the suggestion to 'blow up the airport' to address Covid-19 fears, children's ability to dialogue appeared to encourage conversations that resulted in consensus and shared understanding. Therefore, the method supported the primary school children, in particular, to develop their own voices with minimal adult guidance, and while sentiment changed in events, children continued to dialogue about the same issues, suggesting that feelings about subjects changed but what mattered remained the same.

When taken together it was apparent that children held relationships differently depending on their position as children, adolescents and for older children divisions including between families, genders and those from or outside of the islands. Therefore, diversified affective relationships were significant, in conversations. They were also shaped through interactions within spaces, such as the community and children built layered functionalities and meanings of their island learning how to navigate and participate in services on the island. As they grew older, children became more confined, strategic, and dialogical at times, although at other times, they hid their ability to discuss solutions as shown in Café events when peer group relations impacted on the flow of dialogue or where young people in focus groups and the school assembly children expressed their frustrations without reflection with others. Their navigation with myself as a researcher was also subject to these considerations. This was illustrated in the school assembly and some focus groups where resentment towards outsiders was expressed, as a legacy of colonialism appeared to linger with understandable anger most notably in expressions by the community of the inequality in employment conditions on the island. The increasing discussion and expression of this as children got older needs to be balanced in their interactions with myself as an outsider (questioning if these expressions were due to the researcher). Positively the expression confronts previous research which states an undercurrent of discontent is located on St Helena (Parker, 2012) and brings forward more constructive conversations which children became more aware of as they were exposed to more learning in their

interactions within the community. In short, children's knowledge and abilities to read into opportunities and constraints on their island would offer a critical foundation for their agency in this place, which was not static. Thus, what also becomes critical in fostering 'insiderness' and agency in the sense of place is children's positionality, how children position themselves regarding St Helena Island, and their relations with others.

The World Café offered a platform for this to develop, although how it developed differed between groups of children depending on their positionality. Whilst children in the initial school assembly showed what mattered, including hidden opinions, they could not dialogue towards new possibilities. In café events, children's ability to dialogue and develop new affective relationships was seen. This supports the link between educational experiences and the development of critical thinking, showing the potential for transformative education to develop an authentic voice and understanding of what matters and how mattering on the island was linked to place and to belonging. The developing of voice intended towards action in praxis, but within this project, it reached only a level of reflection towards envisaging new possibilities. Anchoring this in islanders' reality was a challenge, with the 'truth' shifting through cultural communications and structural forces in the community.

Concluding comments

Conscientizaco refers to learning how to perceive social, political and economic challenges and take action against the oppressive elements of reality (Freire, 1970). It is this which helpfully brings together the journey towards the findings and takes these findings forward to the substantive theory of **Learning mattering**. This is more than awareness-raising, which alone does not reflect the depth of the term, yet the ability to move beyond raising awareness was a struggle within this short-term project. Roughly translated as conscientization, *conscientizaco* is linked to critical consciousness. Consequently, awareness-raising for change is still of importance. In practice, previous research had suggested that children held a level of naivety about the world outside of their island (Cohen, 1983a; Schulenberg, 2002; Royle, 2010), but naivety was not located in the present study's findings. Understanding how children made sense of the world

around them and actively participated in this world led to differences in understanding of terminology: this was not naivety but their lived experiences, and showed active negotiation of their world, to be internalised as their sense of being on St Helena and belonging. Understanding this as a process within a situation values children on St Helenian more authentically and respectfully. However, the position of children in society and the lack of evidence of exercising rights within the island also suggested a lack of realisation of their right to fully participate in structural decision-making, which requires further discussion. Therefore, the project's limitations are clear. The transformation is in its infancy on St Helena, whereby voices are emerging but have not yet resulted in actions that are seen by children as meaningful to their reality. Bringing this into one area to take forward, the concept of mattering emerged through the categories to clarify how children learn what matters to them. This thesis will now return to the research aims to further discuss how the study developed **towards learning mattering** and what this means into the future.

Chapter Six: Discussion

Introduction

This project aimed **to further knowledge and insight into the lived experiences of children on St Helena about what matters to them.** To achieve this, the study drew on the works of Paulo Freire within a transformative paradigm to support participation, working towards dialogue for action. Taking the central aim into the field, several secondary aims were identified and were further discussed in this chapter, as follows:

- **To explore what authentic voice means to children on St Helena Island through analysis of World Café events**
- **To understand how children's lives are situated on St Helena Island and how they are positioned globally**
- **To build knowledge on how children can be supported in decision-making through the World Café.**

The research aims were met through exploration of the location of interest, namely St Helena, and through a series of World Café events. A Constructivist Grounded Theory method of analysis shaped the direction of the study supporting the emergence of voices, respecting that the direction of the study must be in partnership with the islanders. Unexpectedly, the depth of conversations for primary-aged children supported new possibilities for participation through the World Café, allowing children to be part of discussions about central areas of concern in their communities. The potential for children to build their critical consciousness through this method is an important consideration and suggests that more research is needed to examine how this could improve outcomes for children and communities into action. In the area of authenticity the challenges of access authentic voice has been described throughout previous chapters but despite the challenges the project has supported that disclosing authentic voices is situated in the context and development of the situation. In doing so understanding what mattered turned to how children learnt what mattered.

The development through this project's constant comparison approach led to the core category of learning mattering. This positioned *what matters* along a developmental trajectory, with the process of children learning how things mattered through their experiences in their environment and developing learning in school alongside their community. This was brought together into a central theoretical construction of ***learning mattering***, which will now be discussed, recognising the importance of situating children's lived experiences and how voice was made and remade through childhood.

Visualising the unheard

As analysis progressed, axial coding sought to determine the dimensional aspects to the theoretical category. As such, the limitations of Atlasti were reached and mattering emerged as a continuum on which properties and conditions operated and of which categories could be positioned. Visualising categories to theoretical considerations needed to reflect the fact that voice depended on exposure to learning and opportunities to participate. The prevailing banking education system on St Helena appeared significant in illuminating differences as compared to English academic progression standards, without the means to obtain the same outcomes. As found by Cohen (1983a), there was a continued preparation of children for thoughts of migration, magnified now by access to information about other experiences. Against this hung the lingering presence of colonialism, situating islanders far from the UK with a dependency on culture and funding to oppress opportunities. Unlike earlier generations, who were found to harbour feelings of resentment (Parker, 2012), younger children held optimism, but with age, they became more aware of their position: older children openly questioned and challenged inequalities as their consciousness emerged and they realised the discriminations in St Helenian status and society.

As indicated in previous research, this learning process occurred across family and educational settings (Schulenberg, 2002). What makes this study unique is that through grounded theory, the processes of how children learned what mattered through their situation of lived experiences were unveiled. This was evidenced across societal settings and children's sources of developing knowledge, including through each other and their environment, influenced by the state. It was here that reflection on actions and experiences supported the categories to emerge and drew attention to how learning what matters can evolve. This brought categories forward into themes and learning as a process of becoming, situated and evolving through experience. Identifying mattering as the outcome of learning was instrumental in understanding and framing possibilities. This further supports Spyrou (2011, 2017, 2018) in that research needs to be less child-centred and more appreciative of the need to decentre childhood into the situation where children's lives develop. The series of World Café events, alongside contextual data, presents opportunities for further consideration and development.

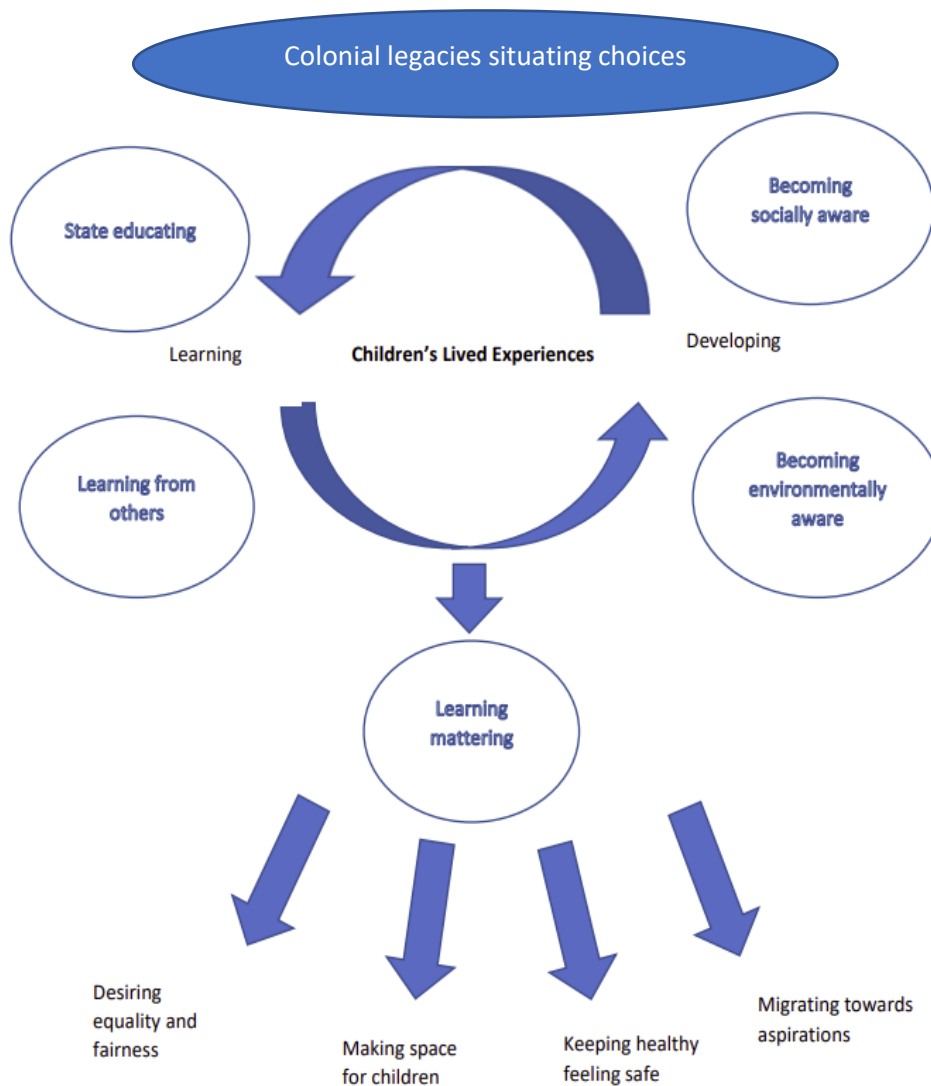


Figure 9 Learning mattering

As the above illustrates through visualisation, what matters to children and young people was not identified as fixed. This thesis has evidenced that voice is dynamic and thus situated in both context and experiences, which were shown to be internalised through formal and informal learning alongside the legacies of colonialism. As such what mattered to children and young people was seen to evolve over time. Children's expressions and voices in World Café events drew attention to possibilities in development, but what was clearly apparent was that children and young people require choices and direction to be led from each other in order for development to be meaningful through what matters to them.

The World Café as a method situating learning

The design principles of The World Café (Brown, 2005) allowed for events to be hosted to support learning processes for children, but this required close consideration of power differentials within these events (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016) to support learning towards transformative aspirations. Taking The World Café outside of the concentration of applications and publications of Europe and North America (Aldred, 2009; Fouche *et al.*, 2010; Ropes *et al.*, 2019; Lohr *et al.*, 2020) onto a small island with children was a significant undertaking. Travelling with this method required a return to the foundations of action research, rooted in engagement and critical pedagogy (Steiner *et al.*, 2015), edging the project back towards the roots of Café events in critical pedagogy to understand and construct what it means to introduce participatory research outside of my own cultural context. This acknowledges that action research has a participatory worldview at its heart (Steiner *et al.*, 2015), but this alone did not support the effectiveness of the method in this location.

The method's application required cultural respect to be closely considered, with considerable methodological planning and community engagement. Whilst traditional research approaches view knowledge creation and policy within a downward hierarchy (Dirkx *et al.*, 2001), The World Café, as a participatory method, encouraged a more inductive and reflective approach for many of the children, most notably in the primary events. It was apparent that for younger children the use of the table cloths encouraged imagination, operating between the senses as children became excited moving and drawing images. Before beginning discussions which led to considerations of dialogical actions. As such the method encouraged them to transform their understandings firstly through what can be seen as children producing images of a better world (Veck, 2013) and providing them with more independence and so having more responsibility in decision making. What followed were discussions and dialogue changing each others' understanding of the world around them. The position of the host therefore was to enable the children to feel accepted and support their voices to emerge. But the voices themselves were clearly not untouched by the community. Looking outside of the World Café into where learning was situated unveiled a more situated understanding of

children's lives and how this shaped learning and childhood experiences, including covid and inequality of resources.

This draws attention to the role of host and responsivity to mediate between children and the world around them. As Lorenzetti *et al.* (2016) pointed out, there is no specific process to facilitate reflexivity within The World Café. What also became apparent in early events was that I had not given sufficient weight to how conversations would flow for children. Whilst Fouche and Light (2010) suggest that The World Café contributes to cognitive reframing, other factors such as motivation and age appeared significant for children. Within the primary school events, grouping children of similar age enabled more opportunities to dialogue about the Café menu questions. However, the main World Café event drew attention to how conversations across ages appeared more detailed, suggesting that informal conversations based on children's own topics of interest and on their terms enabled conversations on what mattered to them to continue. Children dialogued about what mattered to them and about areas of personal significance, limiting the ability to use the events as a sole data source. In line with findings from previous researchers (Aldred, 2009; Fouche *et al.*, 2010; Ropes *et al.*, 2019; Lohr *et al.*, 2020), this study found that the method has many possibilities as a valuable tool to support participation and complement other methods of research. However, several variables impacted my data collection, including where the events were held, who attended, and the attendees' ages, alongside the significance of local and global events, which affected how events progressed and about what mattered in the moment.

While conversation, discussion and dialogue can be used somewhat interchangeably it was apparent that in Café events dialogue as a verb moved beyond discussion or conversation towards a shared understanding emerging. As such it more closely supported the development of an authentic voice in a situation. A critique of World Café alongside this is that seeing action as a result of events is unclear (Lorenzetti *et al.*, 2016) but within events it was not the physical outcome which was most significant, but the progression of voices through dialogue. The outcome being not dissimilar to Freire's culture circles whereby new possibilities were imagined. As previous researchers have

found before (Aldred, 2009; Fouche *et al.*, 2010; Ropes *et al.*, 2019; Lohr *et al.*, 2020), this study found The World Café has many possibilities as a valuable tool to support participation and complement other methods of research. However, it is notable that variables impacted data collection from where the events were held, who attended, and their ages alongside the significance of local and global events, which impacted how events progressed.

Like Lorenzetti *et al.* (2016), I found two spheres of structural inequality that go unnoticed if a transformative lens is not enabled: one was the impact of the environment outside of events and the second was the understanding of how environmental factors impact children's development of voice. However, to counter these issues, discussions naturally leaned towards inequality, with the desire for equality and fairness emerging as the main generative theme from the primary school events. This invites further analysis and questions about how the method can be used within research and how learning for children about their own areas of interest can support motivation and critical engagement with issues in their community.

Another theme which has emerged through this project has been the importance of understanding the situation. This moves beyond the World Café's consideration of context into the interaction and position of society, allowing for consideration of structural constraints on lived experiences of children and families' possibilities. Reflection upon situational constraints is 'reflection about the very conditions of existence: critical thinking by means of which people discover each other to be in a situation' (Freire 1970: 109). This suggested to me that children living in a society bound by UK aid funding would, as they grow older, become more aware of the structural constraints which position them. This led me back to consider how critical consciousness increases awareness, but with support, can also encourage positive change to challenge oppression (Freire, 1970). Whilst Freire (1970) may suggest that this brings possibilities for islanders to develop their own understandings, it is only a positive contribution if it is based in humanity and an authentic voice. As this study shows, fake news and negative

community positioning of key issues can shape children's experiences or constrain education.

Towards supporting positive impacts and transformation, the events also generated visual graphic recordings to support continued conversations and to provide a visual placemark of the study. Published in local papers and positioned in all schools, these images provide a lasting honouring of the voices generated in the Café events. It is acknowledged that further analysis through structured focus groups or further café events could enhance the continuing of conversations towards grounding data further. The length of the project was a barrier to this. Ethically, the study had limited transformative reach, but it was ensured that data was collected collaboratively and in line with participatory action research towards acknowledging strengths and encouraging new possibilities. Disseminating research to decision-makers in local government and positions on islanders furthered children's voices into other arenas, supporting continuing conversations about children. This included through the St Helena Research Institute and Schools on the island to leave lasting reminders of Café conversations.

Informed by the transformative perspective and located outside of my own cultural environment, I became more aware that there was a need to consciously take part in reflection of my own assumptions and interpretations, and to work from an anti-colonial stance whilst interacting in a community where I was seen as an 'outsider'. This included enabling reciprocity and respect for self-determination and embracing other ways of knowing. Whilst this was possible in World Café events, interactions in the community lacked boundaries, and as such gained data, but lacked a transformative foundation. This was apparent in the school assembly, when data was sought to gain insights into concerns and responsibilities for control, whereas café events gained insights and encouraged children to develop critical dialogue about areas towards exploring possibilities and what needed to happen next. This demonstrated the potential for the World Café to enrich learning and research by including marginalised children and young people in mutual learning.

Learning from others

Researching other small post-colonial islands, Baldacchino (2018) noted challenges to education, including limited school supplies, textbooks and resources (such as flashcards, reading books and worksheets), and unqualified or untrained educators because of the absence of economies of scale and a limited population. While Essex (1999) found that a lack of resources for teachers was not borne out on St Helena, a lack of resources for educational choices was a cited concern for children and young people. In conversing about activities, children across World Café events discussed art, dancing and football as areas they enjoyed. This points to the need to consider learning within school and the community, where children make choices about what they wish to learn. Additionally, this confirmed an ongoing significance of Freirean approaches to education, which draw attention to potential future possibilities through education to enable children to build critical consciousness and conversation towards their own identified goals.

The need to raise children's consciousness to enable them to hold conversations towards their own goals was further evidenced within the school assembly, as feelings of inequality emerged in response to the questions posed but participants lacked a platform for further conversation towards change. As such, without the inclusion of participation towards transformation, such a method of data collection could unveil inequalities but lack mechanisms to support change. In contrast, the World Café provided not only a method to allow children to discuss their feelings, including inequality, but also, through conversation, enabled children to develop their views and contemplate future possibilities. For example, children discussed feelings of being treated differently, including expressions of 'us saints treated like second class citizens' (Secondary café, round 1). They discussed inequalities and reasons for migration, including perceived discrimination through their status as St Helenians in work and education. Together, children discussed experiences and exchanged feelings, building themselves towards a collective understanding and agreements about areas of concern. There is clear potential for such methods, going forward, to continue conversations into action with community ownership.

This draws attention to the need to strengthen systems which have frequently taken a top-down approach of imposing formal, government-managed services on St Helena. Internally driven areas of interest, including the seas and the environment, had local ownership, and more concerningly, this project highlighted that although it is positive that children sought safety guidance from each other, the complete lack of references to statutory service to support their protection suggested that such systems were not engaging with the critical issues faced by children and young people. Efforts to strengthen national systems through development projects often fail to confront deep-seated paternalistic, neo-colonial and implicit biases, with research and learning often reflecting models imposed from England. In attempting to address concerns of institutional abuse, the Wass inquiry itself compared St Helena to the UK (Wass, 2015), further continuing the troubled relationship. Child welfare practice can therefore be negatively affected by 'the infiltration of...non-native worldviews; colonial legacies; [and] vacillating post-colonial social policies (ibid., p. 2).

The continued relationship and positioning of persons on technical contracts from outside of the island was shown in this project to perpetuate the sense of disconnection between government structures and lived experiences. For children, this meant that support was sought from their peers. This returns the project again to the importance of the Freirean approach to learning. Whereas state education provides tools for learning skills, children's ability to change perspectives through critical consciousness holds the potential not only to consider change, but also to improve their lives and their ability to care for each other. For protection, children need to be supported to engage with services that they trust. The continued promotion of programs from the UK reflects the continued exertion of influence through coloniality. More concretely, the importation of programs in such a way reflects an implicit bias that these programs are superior to those that could be developed on the island.

The clear potential for children to be part of development was seen in the primary school events. While these events were intended to support inclusion and motivation

for the main community event, it became apparent that children's active and motivated engagement quickly provided rich data through discussions. Although audio recordings were absent, the method's potential as an active learning tool was clear. In terms of inclusion, whole-class groups interacted with varying levels of individual needs. The inclusivity of the method was apparent whereby several children with additional needs, including short attention spans, interacted well. While some children sat, others stood, pointing and interacting around the table. The active nature of the method, coupled with short activities and movement, supported focus on the central sheet on each table. As tables changed, the children embraced new table discussions, pointing to similarities, differences and connecting ideas. Like Freire's (1976) cultural circles, these events supported group dialogue, encouraging consciousness-raising and generating more authentic indigenous voices. While older children showed a level of disengagement with the activity, this seemed to be due to a level of discontent and desire to do what they wanted, leading to peer group separations. Older children were developing the disconnect between themselves and their learning needs. When contrasting the events, it is apparent that younger children held the potential to learn and develop critical consciousness and dialogue towards change, whereas older children held potential but lacked motivation, seeing their oppression on their island as limiting choices for their aspirations.

This research extends the literature on the use of the World Café approach, not only within an island setting but also with primary school children. The unexpected depth drew attention to possibilities to support the education and development of children at a young age towards supporting their own aspirations and development of critical thinking skills. Within the second primary school, children dialogued about both complex issues of equality and fairness and more immediate needs: 'Us is hungry, we only get short break, no hot meals, I wish we had hot food in school, it's hard to concentrate.' Whilst another conversation about milk related to equality and rights for one child, to another it reminded them that they were hungry. Within the main World Café, children continued to learn from each other and from their older peers. For secondary school children, it was interesting to note how equality had limitations in that children were developing their own criteria for inclusion and exclusion alongside feelings of injustice.

This again points to the need for international support to work towards a politics of liberation to enable children and young people to reach their aspirations in the ways they desire.

Becoming socially and environmentally aware

Children in events actively commented that they enjoyed interactive learning, showing potential for engagement in critical debating and negotiating new ways of knowing. This showed that they had both the desire and the ability to build their own critical understandings of their island and the world around them and to positively incorporate their own localised dialogue and narrative to understand their island. But as pointed out by Baldacchino (2018) and alluded to by St Helenians in Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop's (2002) study, small islands are in fragile positions whereby even if they are economically stable, security and reasonable access to employment are weakened if they deviate too far from colonial practices which immediately benefit them. For St Helena, the continued aid dependency further oppresses through humanitarianism foundations. It was this growing social awareness of oppression which appeared to influence the experiences of discrimination aired in the school assembly and focus groups and understood through children's developing voices, including appreciation of the importance of learning and developing through experiences. The secondary school event built upon the evolving comparison of data, which highlighted that as children developed more understanding of structural constraints (including educational opportunities and community tensions over funding of the island), their increased critical consciousness led them to become more resistant to dialogue within the World Café about pre-identified questions, wanting to see action to address their own areas of concern. They progressed thinking from diversity and fairness towards wanting an active discussion about the inequalities and discriminations faced by islanders. While the World Café aims to encourage cross-fertilisation of ideas through moving tables, young people's emerging sense of identity as individuals within chosen groups appeared important for them. Therefore, rotating positions for each round in line with Café etiquette was a challenge to facilitate. The method, whilst encouraging diversity, appeared to be resented, as it interfered with where children wanted to sit.

Another difference from the primary schools was seen in the secondary school Café, whereby one young person attempted to explain that they had been to a World Café event before. Other children discussed bullying and how they need choices and feel bullied when teachers or other young people take choices away: 'It's just not fair: they dun let us choice what we can do and who we can speak with' (table 2, round 2). As the young person wanted to talk about the World Café, they had experienced, the other young people told them, 'be quiet, you dun know' (ibid.) and turned their backs, excluding that individual from the conversation. In talking about bullying while excluding another young person, they demonstrated that differences in social groups mattered to them. This upset the other young person, who chose to leave the event. Unlike younger children, these children appeared to be developing their own social arenas and so constructing their understanding of who mattered more to them and who did not. This acted to include or exclude others. Whilst the World Café intended to be inclusive, this was dependent on the individuals' motivation. The emerging rehearsals of roles that began in primary schools had evolved for secondary school-age children to become more active and directed against each other in horizontal violence (Freire, 1970). As young people expressed a lack of control in certain areas of their lives, including education and opportunities on the island, they grasped for control in others by negotiating their social positions.

Mattering

While the importance of having self-esteem is well known and researched, one's sense of mattering to other people is less studied (Flett, 2021). Mattering can be defined as an ideal state consisting of two complementary psychological experiences: feeling valued and adding value (Prilleltensky, 2020). As such, mattering includes individual and collective values. Mattering is highly relatable across geographic and cultural boundaries (Prilleltensky, 2014). Mattering as a conception was not discussed prior to this study; rather, the study and data grew towards mattering as a vital construct in psychosocial education on St Helena. Despite being highly sought after, and much needed for thriving (Rosenberg and McCullough, 1981), as in other studies which include belonging and

wellbeing, mattering was not evenly distributed across the St Helena population. According to Rosenberg (1985: 215), mattering is an 'individual's feeling that he or she counts, makes a difference'. In line with Rosenberg's work, Elliot, Kao, and Grant (2004) claim that mattering consists of three key factors: awareness, importance, and reliance. Feeling valued incorporates respect for diversity, the need to belong, inclusion, and fairness. Adding value consists of empowerment, autonomy, a sense of control over our lives, mastery, self-efficacy, and self-determination (Jennings, 2018).

The extent to which children are treated as if they matter has been established as a guiding principle in evaluating public policy (Frett, 2021). This takes mattering from the person-centred origins (Prillentrinsky, 2014; Frett, 2021) to the here-and-now, reflected in dialogue increasingly with age through World Café events. As children in this study grew older, the perception of mattering to others was an object of their attention, as they felt that they were valued less by the government due to challenges of their position in society. This sat alongside feelings of otherness, as access to educational opportunities as St Helenians felt restricted. More generally, Schlossberg (1989) contrasts the sense of mattering with the feeling of being marginalised. This returns again to the psychological impact of not being valued that emanated through interactions in focus groups, the school assembly and World Café events as children and young people sought equality and fairness to reach aspirations and sought education from each other to keep safe and healthy while feeling pushed aside by the state as a group without quality spaces to play. As children grew older, their sense of belonging sufficiently lessened to encourage migration towards possibilities. This joined space (the island) with the individual self (St Helenian), which developed into a strong sense of lasting belonging with the island, but also a need to consider migration as a way of personal fulfilment. While mattering was not the intended focal point of the study, exploration of mattering revealed that little is known about fluctuations in mattering over time (Flett, 2021). As children and young people lacked the ability to take their aspirations forward on St Helena, faced, as they were, with structural and economic considerations, what mattered evolved. Unsurprisingly, projecting a sense of mattering can be understood as being at the centre of a just community and a moral approach in education (Power, 2004) but for many St Helenian children, letting go to learning on

their island points to a state component to mattering. This research aimed to explore voice, but self reporting of what mattered also suggested that what mattered was shaped by others.

Freire (1970) believed that there is no such thing as absolute ignorance or absolute knowledge (Christian and Jhala, 2015); consequently, uncovering an authentic voice proved problematic. What was apparent was that children were constantly in a state of becoming – that they were never finished nor completed – and this reflected the society to which they belonged. In search of becoming, children sought opportunities to dialogue and critically discuss live issues. They wanted to talk about what mattered to them in the here-and-now. It was impossible to separate the child from their society. The process of the person cannot exist apart from the world they are part of (Freire, 1970). In dialogue, meanings came to the surface to increase understanding and look at new possibilities. But the understanding of context was insufficient. The World Café provided a forum to discuss moving possibilities towards aspirations, but the ability to stretch this was limited. Freire (1970) saw language to obtain critical consciousness: a step towards action. But for children in the secondary school event, action needed to be balanced with reflection. Mattering was constantly negotiated as children learnt how to be and how to relate to others in the world around them.

Chapter Seven: Reflections and Implications

Evaluating the study

The previous section has considered the substantive theory emerging from grounded analysis on St Helena Island. The substantive theory as a robust piece of research will now be considered. Criteria for evaluating research depends on who forms them and for what purpose they evoke (Charmaz, 2006:182). This thesis has drawn heavily on Constructivist Grounded Theory in data collection and analysis and consequently, Charmaz's criteria will be used recognising her position that grounded theory has untapped possibilities and views the process of study as important and part of the findings. This also invites the consideration of looking back on the past, in the present and to the future (Charmaz, 2006).

Quality

Charmaz (2006, 2014) emphasized interpretation and gave abstract understanding greater priority than an explanation from a constructivist view of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014: 230). Such theories aim to understand meanings and actions and how people construct them, and they 'bring in the actor's subjectivity and may recognize the subjectivity of the researcher' (p. 231). Whilst this study aimed to draw upon these foundations to support the grounding of data within a transformative paradigm, balancing the individual nature of constructivism against the critical lens of the transformative paradigm (including seeing the importance of structure) within the area of childhood proved problematic to analyse. There was a need to push data towards interpretation and constructivist standpoints in order for the project to draw attention to underpinning structures. This required a more situated understanding of social, historical, local, and interactional contexts (Clarke *et al.*, 2018). Thus, different epistemologies, ideals, and aims, for example, between different versions of grounded theory had to be considered to support the quality of this study. Evaluation, therefore, draws upon Charmaz's criteria for grounded theory within the transformative aspirations of the project and leans towards Adele Clarke's (Clarke *et al.*, 2018) recognition that grounded theory needs to include analysis of the situation to

understand all aspects of lived experiences. In doing so, it is positioned that quality has been upheld.

Credibility

The embodying experience of researching and living in a closed environment provided unique insights into children's lives and community events. Whilst I was positioned as an outsider to the island, my immersion into the environment ensured that voices from around the island were heard over four months. This, in turn, raised my awareness of how global issues were heard on the island and how the islanders positioned factors outside of their control during my stay. Widening the initial project scope to include primary school children (n=84) and later a secondary school café (n=37) alongside the main World Café event (n=27) ensured that children across the island had opportunities to participate in events. Additionally, the school assembly increased the visibility and engagement of young people in the project (n=97). This reasonable sample gave me the breadth and depth of data required to evolve constant comparison, although working across age groups emerged as necessary in how children developed an understanding of mattering through their own constant comparison and exposure to their environment, which is in itself a significant finding from this project. Observations and field notes added contextual data, which helped to situate understanding and reiterated how colonialism still lingered throughout the island from a structural level to how islanders interact with 'outsiders'.

Originality

Very little has been written about colonial childhoods and even less about the lived experiences of children in the British Overseas Territories. Whilst this project highlighted that many persons had accessed children's voices, the lack of research draws attention to the continued othering in governments wanting to access children but failing to listen or represent voices in order to discuss children's authentic voices critically. Therefore, this thesis has brought children's lived experiences on St Helena forward and furthered Schulenberg's claim that 'there is a severe lack of comprehensive primary research, and ... critical engagement with St Helena's history' (Schulenberg, 1999: 12). Building on

Parker's (2012) exploration of identity, community and culture on St Helena, this project has been grounded to allow further analysis of how children interact and structure their understandings of what matters to them. Bringing the World Café method into this project allowed for a level of transparency and participation to promote ethical access to children whilst supporting them to have a representation of the Café events. Drawing upon the Freirean foundations of the World Café, findings also drew attention to the inequalities and continued impact of colonialism on choices for children and young people, showing new insights for consideration and further research. This points to the need for further research to build on possibilities and support action towards lasting changes for children and young people.

Resonance

As categories began to arise from this study, they were shared with St Helenian children and the community for discussion through graphic recordings, shaping further data collection and analysis. This ensured that terminologies and findings resonated with the community and their experiences. Whilst this is against original grounded theory (Glaser, 1967, 1998), it is congruent with transformative and ethical participatory research, which recognises that participants should be involved in the research process from design to dissemination. While the level of involvement differed throughout the study, it maintained its methodological heart (Brown and Isaac, 2005). The constant back-and-forth discourse with participants and confirmation that my theory was grounded in the data and memos helped me in this checking process to direct further data inquiries until I reached theoretical sufficiency. Remaining grounded allowed local voices to emerge within local dialect. While there is a danger of being led in research by theory (Glaser, 1992) in this study it is asserted that critical pedagogical foundations of Freire (1970) anchored the study, while balancing the need for the researcher to navigate cultural respect and set the stage for authentic voices to develop.

Usefulness

How children learn and develop an understanding of their own position in society is clearly significant for educators and social workers. For children living in the British Overseas Territories, this is buttressed by the weight of colonialism, which continues to shape opportunities. Therefore, how these children develop an understanding of what matters through *learning mattering* is important for children across these 14 territories. Education as seen within this study can be positioned as a tool for oppression which it appears continues to dehumanise (Freire, 1970) or at least disconnect children from the process of learning in their secondary years. The World Café supported children as a learning tool that encouraged critical thought and awareness-raising about important issues that they identified. As such this has potential to counter dominant socially constructions of what is taught towards enhancing a more localised way of learning.

The usefulness of Café events in supporting interactive learning was clearly apparent from the primary events, in which young children could quickly discuss key issues in the community, including Covid-19 and equality dialoguing towards solutions. This study understood that children benefitted from dynamic interactive learning methods that could encourage more critical analytical skills. Therefore, the study is useful for both research and practice suggesting a debate is required that challenges traditional educational avenues that social work, being rooted in hegemonic, primarily Eurocentric discourse, neglects. Developing critical thinking and a critical consciousness in considering how knowledge is created and validated requires commitment and effort to learn *with* people (Freire, 1970) towards a more equitable future, but as shown this is possible within dialogue. On an island where external aid funding shapes services the elevation of voices in research and practice is one which is ethically essential, yet as this project showed, children felt an increasing distance as they got older between their desires and their ability to exercise these on their island. This is significant and this project has showed the clear ability to include children in decision making through creative methods.

Limitations of research

The sample within this project was limited to one island in the South Atlantic. Therefore, the detail of these findings may not be transferrable to other islands. However, it could be argued that gathering rich and situated data about the experiences of children in the British Overseas Territories complements and adds detail to existing knowledge about how children attribute meaning and how environments shape what matters to them. This is transferrable, as while childhoods are uniquely situated in their time and context, the process of learning is universal, adapting to situations.

The World Café was chosen as the primary method for data collection within this study, although it is not the only data source included. The study leaned towards transformative aspirations but was limited in how much this extended into practice. Limitations of time and ability to engage with a closed community during a period of global uncertainty due to the Covid-19 pandemic cannot be ignored. This is the first known use of The World Café with children in a British Overseas Territory. Whilst limited in duration, this project remained close to transformative underpinnings through recognising and valuing children's voices and islanders' assertions, ensuring that data was grounded and respectful and ethical research principles were followed throughout. Whilst voice alone does not lead to action, the inclusion of graphic recordings promoted continued conversations, enabling islanders themselves to continue to develop authentic voices towards their own aspirations.

Another notable limitation was that of myself as a researcher. Many participants in this study were aware of my background as a social worker and a professional from England. Within the interpretive research paradigm, this may not necessarily be considered a limitation, but within transformative research, remaining close to participants' voices whilst being positioned by the community as an outsider was a challenge and held a level of limitation. That said, during this project, as the community became more familiar with me as a researcher, they held more conversations. The complexity and layering of voice presented to different persons is significant and was demonstrated through the study, as community members admitted to showing different 'faces' to

different persons depending on their position. This extends previous research on the island, suggesting that a complex hybrid reading of identity was needed as islanders negotiated different roles and areas of their lives. The fact that I was a novice grounded theorist also created challenges, as access to peer support off-island was limited due to the island's location, creating difficulties in accessing online resources. Due to the shortcomings of the study, outlined in this section, it is acknowledged that the substantive theory offers only a preliminary explanation of mattering for children and young people on St Helena Island, with scope for further development. The theory does present new knowledge because there was a lack of published literature to answer the research questions. However, these claims for new knowledge are limited to the contexts and conditions of the data used for the study.

Further ethical considerations

The early literature drew attention to the historical tendency to see children's lives as incomplete, different, and framed as needing to be guided by adults, and children in British colonies were further marginalised through othering. However, it is generally agreed that childhoods are socially constructed (Hammersley, 2015), but on a foundation of reality that includes biological differences related to age (Prout and Prout, 1997). Placing these two areas together allows the situation of voice and the importance of the colonial context to be positioned within this project. Whilst the UNCRC is critiqued as presenting a certain representation of rights as natural rights related to biological stages, this it is asserted is too reductive (Thomas, 2021). Whilst it may be understood that full participation depends on resources and rights (ibid.), children's lives on St Helena have been framed as being in need of rights to achieve access to resources and fulfil needs (Wass, 2015). Consequently, rights and awareness of rights were included within the Mini Café events to understand how children understood their position – locally, globally, and educationally – to encourage curious questions about rights and participation on St Helena.

Ethically, in moving this project from participation to transformation, there was a need to acknowledge that most research by children is initiated and conducted within an adult-led framework (Kim, 2016). This project was equally led by me, being both an outsider to the island and an adult. In staying close to the Freirean base of culture circles, I realised that my own aspirations within the project might not have been met and that the events alongside data could lead to unforeseen directions. This level of recognition provides:

A recognition that what children themselves think of their research and what they think they gain from the experience may not always be what adult researchers anticipate and that there is no reason to assume these will be the same for each child. Moreover, in order for them to be researchers in their own rights, children themselves may, if possible, need to engage critically with their own assumptions – including those based on their own epistemological views – and rationales about the purpose of their research. (Kim, 2016: 238)

The above was certainly unveiled in this project as older children became part of the hosting team and younger children decided on the direction of conversations in the World Café. In dialoguing towards new possibilities, young children develop their own ability to critique. But with some of the older children, the growing awareness of the limitations on their island acted as a barrier to engagement, as shown in the secondary café, and highlighted the impact of growing social arenas of peer relationships. Exploring events through categories has allowed for discussion on areas that children said mattered but understanding how children develop understanding of what matters has led to thematic considerations, taking categories towards the substantive theoretical understanding of **Learning Mattering**, which joins the understanding of the developing voice alongside the situation of being. The World Café has been shown to hold the potential to empower children in opening new possibilities for discussion, but also has limitations which need to be acknowledged. In this case, these limitations included the lack of ability to change the complex structural arrangements of power on St Helena through café events alone. That said, the benefit to children of participating in events was that it innovatively complemented learning, going beyond basic ethical considerations of educational research (BERA, 2018).

Future Research

This project has scratched the surface of researching with children and young people on a remote island in the South Atlantic. Identifying such a gap in previous research opens the door to many future possibilities. The limitations of this project included the fact that consideration of the impact of historical wrongs and power structures, through careful planning, was needed to ensure cultural sensitivity throughout. Working through this created challenges to me as an outsider, but also new opportunities to build upon the research methods used within this thesis in the future. Taking a participatory and transformative approach allowed for the research areas to be successfully navigated and participation to be introduced more ethically than previously seen in projects on the island. On St Helena, the apparent potential for children and young people to be actively part of future research is both ethically required and, it is argued, essential for any future project to support the island's own goal of achieving development from within. Therefore, it would be beneficial to revisit participation as a concept and transformation in dialogue within educational settings to fully realise the potential of young people to develop more authentic voices, balancing the information that they internalise from the community with their own potential to reflect and act toward reaching their aspirations on St Helena.

Health has been a continued concern regarding developing services on St Helena, from its development as a military base and throughout colonialism (Royle, 1996). Concerns about the impact of poor health on St Helena were first discussed in detail by an early surgeon, WJJ Arnold, who advocated for resources to improve health and sanitation in the early 1900s (ibid) and continue now. In this project, the subject of health emerged from the school assembly through the project, notably fuelled by concerns about Covid-19. Dependency on external funding appears to have continued a narrative that healthcare is provided to islanders from the outside, and no studies have been located from an islanders' perspective on improving health outcomes. What mattered for young people was providing services to meet their health needs. While this opens the door to discussing possible levels of personal responsibility to improve one's health, the structural oppression created through colonialism cannot be ignored. Its ongoing presence indicates that the UK must continue to support islanders' health and well-

being yet positioning this as aid causes continued resentment from young people. Discourse analysis has the potential to further understand how children understand their own health towards action to address health disparities that are known to exist on the island. Further, Freirean participatory research also has the potential to explore how critical consciousness could unveil the reasons for health disparities in conversations about decentring current understandings towards improving outcomes. This project suggests that if change is to be supported, the islanders themselves must dialogue towards solutions, and participatory research has the potential to support this.

Alongside health, the safety of children and young people was another issue which emerged through World Café events. Joining health with safety emphasised how children saw safety as impacting on their physical and emotional wellbeing. The notable absence of young people seeking support from professionals when experiencing harm or encountering harmful situations online was significant. Children's conversations towards seeking their own solutions have implications for both policy and practice. Empowering children will enable them to keep themselves and other children safe, but for those children who are less likely to seek out support from friends, the lack of reported professional contact risks statutory bodies being unaware of concerns. At the time of the introduction of a high-speed internet cable, this is an area which would benefit from participatory and action research to improve understanding of how best to support children and young people to keep safe online into the future.

Concluding comments

The writing of the findings and discussion has been both rewarding and challenging, through layered methods and analysis which draw attention to the need for future research into experiences of children and young people in marginalised communities. This study has provided an opportunity to explore the substantive theoretical area of learning mattering and to further the four theoretical categories: making children's play; keeping healthy, staying safe; desiring equality and fairness; and migrating towards aspirations. This study drew on transformative foundations to support dialogue and action in participation. The thesis aimed to explore what mattered to children through the World Café, which allowed children's voices to remain central and enabled them to participate in considerations of transformative capacities. The unique and challenging nature of this project provides new knowledge through insights which are coproduced through participation in events. It is hoped that into the future children will themselves be more involved in research to further knowledge into action.

Whilst data was gathered towards sufficiency and reconstructed to form categories, fulfilling the challenges of ensuring that words and meanings were representative of children's and young people's voices in this context felt like a significant responsibility. Whilst the project aimed to uncover what mattered to children on St Helena, it became clear that the process of mattering needed equal balance. This required further analysis of how children make sense of what matters to them and how professionals understand and respond to children and young people about what matters to them. The lack of children seeking support from professionals for information suggests different ways of working with children and young people are needed away from transitional methods of assessment and care planning utilised in social work from the global north. The value of relationships through this project reinforced that for islanders, being provided with reflective space generated engagement and self-empowerment, to a level. However, the impact of the state and positioning of islanders as in receipt of developmental aid, continues to other their status and marginalise their voices. This has considerations for social work, education, and political policy.

From the early emergence of equality and fairness as a category within primary school events to the Secondary School Café, children were shown to be able to develop critical thought about areas that mattered to them in the here-and-now. But unpicking authenticity in voice was not wholly possible due to the increasing influences of the community which shaped children's voice at different levels through their childhood, including the internalisation of news. Most significantly for this study the communities' voice and the positioning of Covid-19 within the socio-political world at the time. This positioned children's lives as being understood within the dialogical encounter, supporting voice not as an authentic outcome of some unadulterated truth but as an outcome of multiple relations and situated encounters.

The increased number of children who participated in events allowed for understandings to be situated and led to an emerging picture of how mattering developed through children's lived experiences and negotiations of interactions in social and environmental events. The importance of learning as a platform for possibilities was then magnified. The lack of prior research emphasised the value of developing insights into children's lives in marginalised island communities and showed how their voices are not only absent but hold significance. This study is, therefore, unique in many areas. It has created knowledge through knowing children's own perspectives on what matters to them alongside how they develop an understanding of their own situation and the opportunities and limitations they negotiate to decide on their future pathways through social arenas and encounters. Perhaps inevitably, through the widening of scope within the project, data became broader and more contextual. Whilst aiming to explore what authentic voices mean on St Helena, the need to understand how children's lives were positioned drew attention to the need to decentre childhood away from individuality into understanding experiences within the situation of action.

Through understanding voice as a process, the developing categories can be seen to be built on and interpreted through children's continued exposure and realisation of their marginalised position in society, and structurally, as being part of an overseas territory, which shapes their life-choices. In contrast to early research, which suggested that

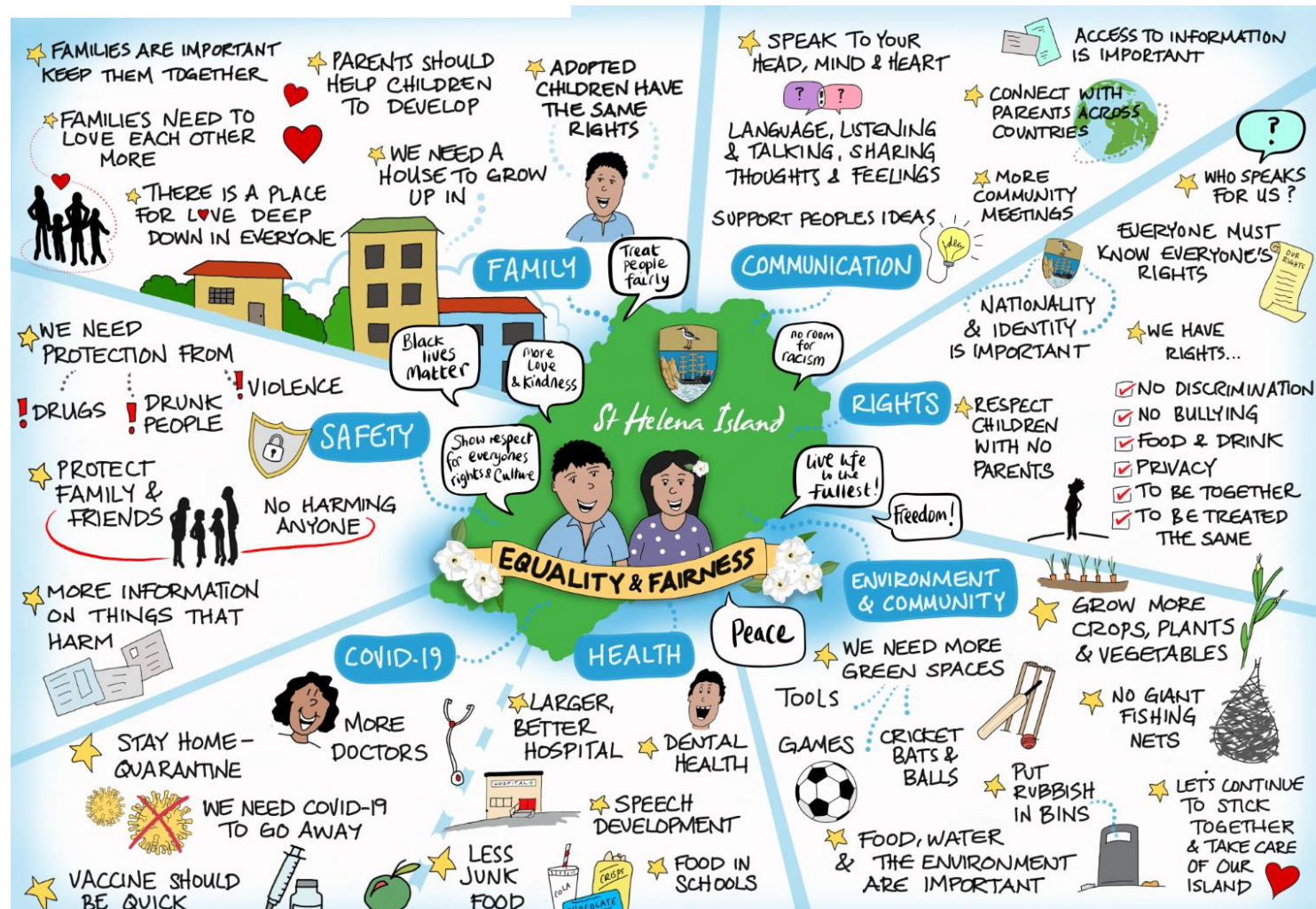
education created dependency, children within this study expressed frustration that their educational desires were not being met on their island but negotiated their own future outcomes through seeking support from each other. This situated what mattered on a developmental trajectory as children learned through growing encounters their positionality on their island and limitations in comparison to others. They learnt their own state of oppression. Situated in the colonial they began to seek solutions from each other and opportunities from outside. This is significant for services in the future, as even when faced with dangers, children dialogued away from the state and adult guidelines.

The more interactive nature of the World Café supported this process alongside appreciation of local voice, and as such, has the potential to provide an understanding of children's decision-making. However, for the immediate future, children's ability to act on their desires and aspirations remains beyond structural reach, limiting the transformative possibilities of the study. Understanding children's voices as a process calls for researchers to account for what comes to matter in encounters and makes voice and agency, and transforms ethics as an important responsibility, which was revisited throughout this study. For Social Workers this project demonstrates how creative methods and dialogue can support more authentic voices to emerge and meaningful participation towards supporting safeguarding, such as through improving young peoples knowledge and ability to protect themselves online or to express concerns within their community to those in positions of power. As younger children were more motivated to express themselves their ability to shape the future of the island is apparent, while the impact of migration shaping the island structure requires adult attention to support growth of spaces for children and healthier options for living.

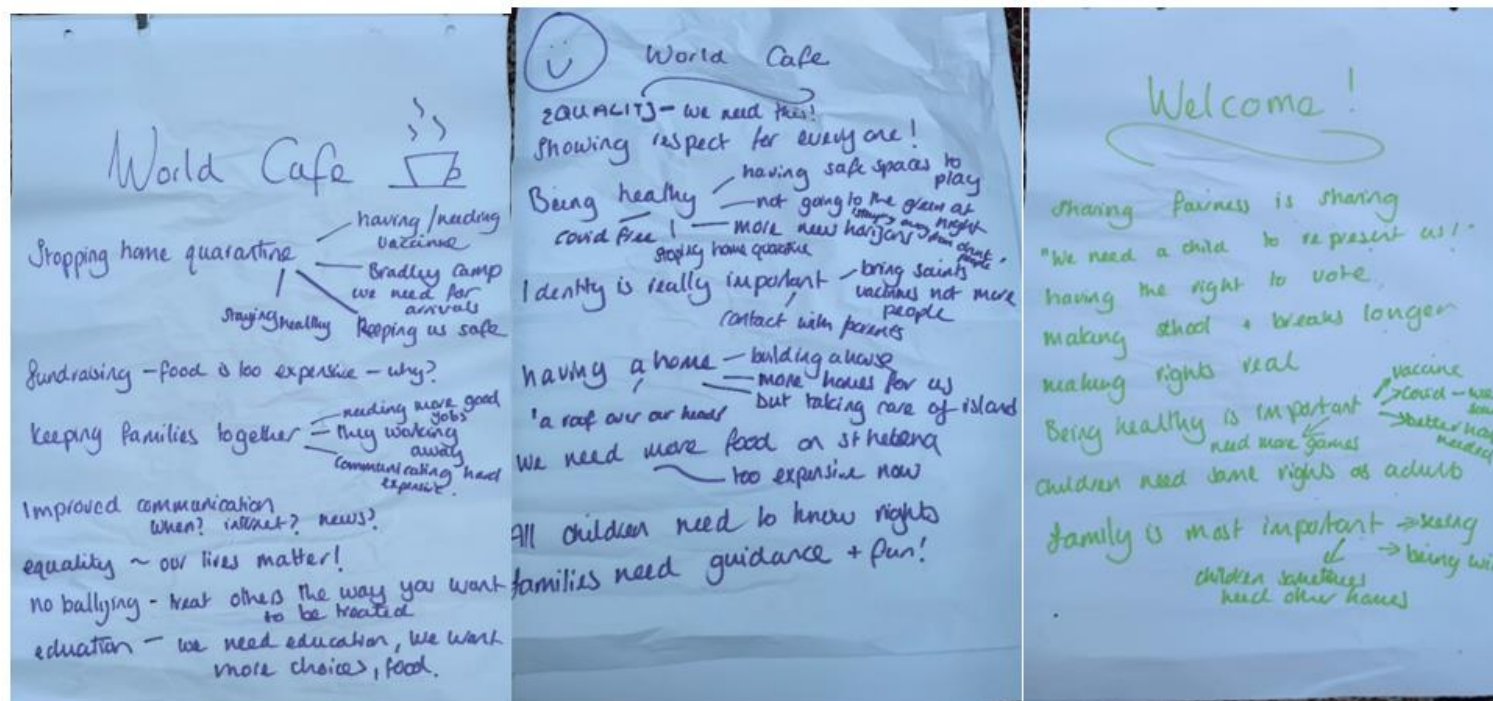
Appendix 1: Interactive Assembly Graphic Recording



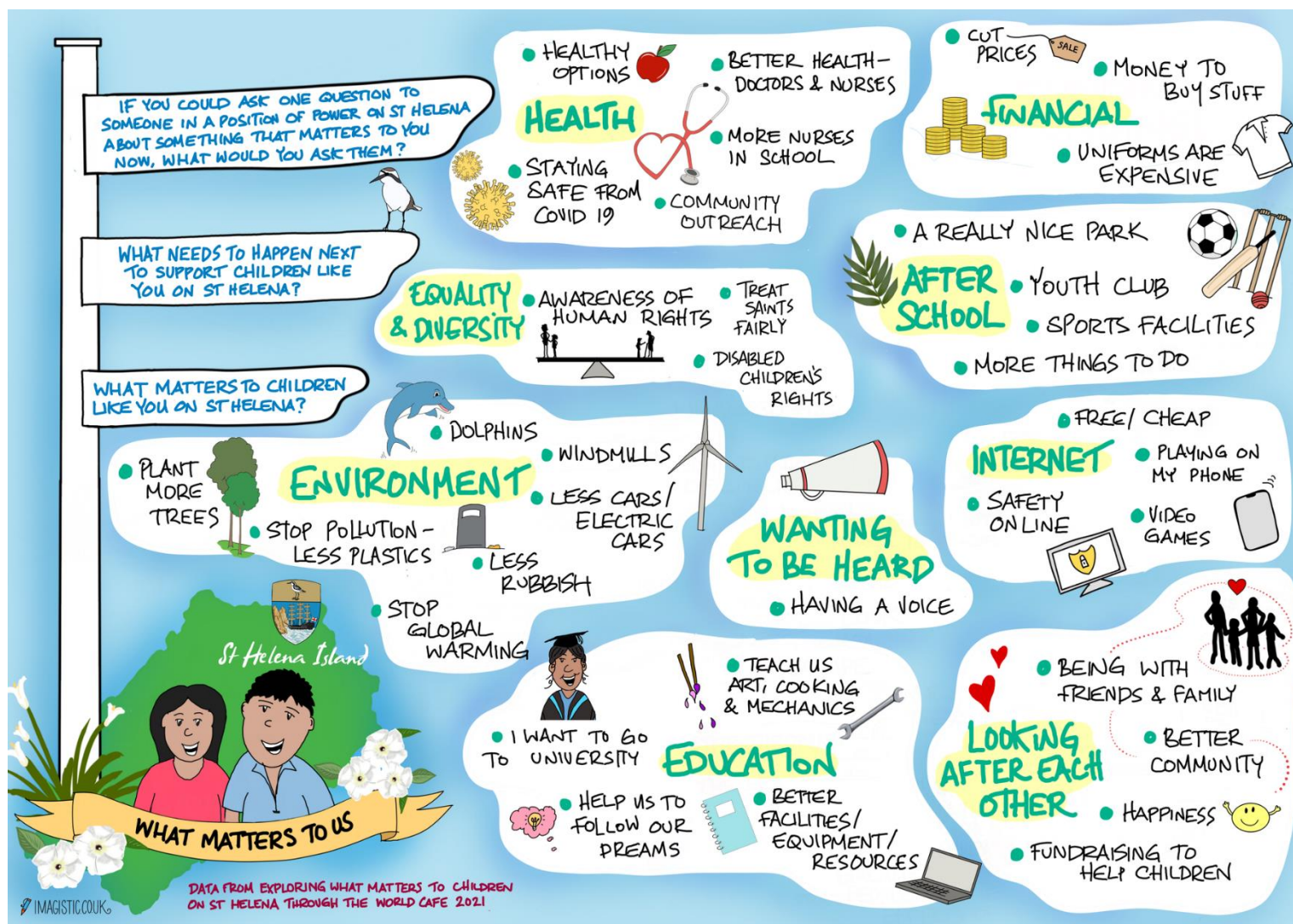
Appendix 2: Primary School Graphic Recording



Appendix 3: Harvesting tablecloths from all three primary schools



Appendix 4: The World Café Graphic Recording



Appendix 5

Participant, host and community information

The World Café

The World Café is a simple yet sophisticated method for holding meaningful conversations about important questions. I am looking to explore what children and young people believe matters to them on St Helena. This is to support children's to right to participate in decision making and to explore childhood through St Helenian children's perspectives. There will be refreshments and light snacks, along with a café style setting for this event.

The World Café will have hosts, islanders, who host tables with up to four young people on each table. There will be a *menu* on each table with an area about childhood and children's rights to explore. Every five minutes young people will rotate to another table, the host will remain. I would like to capture young people's views, everyone will have pens and a paper cloth will be on each table for reactions, comments, pictures, and doodles about the different areas to be harvested.

As young people rotate tables the hosts will recap on discussions from the table before and young people will be encouraged to build on conversation through expression on the tablecloth. This could include drawings and comments. The café will take place in one 1.5 hour setting. Attendance is voluntary and young people can leave at any time if they do not wish to continue. Further information about The World Café can be found at www.theworldcafe.com.



Sonja Niederhumer

If you are interested in taking part, please complete the reply slip attached and ask a parent or guardian to also sign for you to take part. I look forward to welcoming you to the World Café!

More information for the community

This project title:

The most remote menu.

Understanding what rights matter to children through the World Café on St Helena

About me

I am currently completing a Doctorate in Education (EdD) with the University of Winchester. As part of this I am exploring creative ways of supporting children's participation in research to understand their lived experiences. I have previously worked in several British Overseas Territories including St Helena. During this project I am completing this research independently, I am not employed on island, nor funded by the St Helena Research Council.

As part of my studies I would like to hold a World Café event with children/young people aged between 13 and 16 years old. All young people in this age group will be invited and if more than 30 agree to attend, young people will be chosen at random within those. Participation is completed voluntary, if children or professionals do not want to take part there is no commitment which means anyone can leave at any time. All young people will need to agree to participate and consent from parent/guardians will be sought.

As part of this project four islanders will also be supporting me in hosting the World Café. They will be hosts at the World Café already employed or volunteering with children and young people on island. They also are volunteers and can withdraw consent to participate at any time. I hope the following pages provide you with more information about this project.

What are the aims of the project?

Aims guide what I will be trying to achieve in my research. The first part is to complete a pilot study which aims to explore the World Café Model as a method to analyse participation with children on St Helena Island.

Within this I will be looking at:

- How The World Café can be used in participatory research on a remote island.
- How we can further knowledge and insight into the lived experiences of children on St Helena, about what matters to them.
- To build knowledge on how children can be supported in decision making through the World Café.

International findings show that where there is the mobilisation of the local community and collaboration in multi-agency planning and implementation, there are benefits in development. For children's views to be within decision making they need to be heard and it is hoped this project will support this into international research.

How will this work?

We will meet with the local hosts and agree hosting the World Café. We will set up a large room with tables. The purpose of the table hosts is to encourage those on their table to talk, listen, contribute and to keep the conversation on track. This facilitator type role is also intended as a safeguard to encourage participants to adhere to ground rules and to encourage conversations to develop. Café menus will be available on each table, with questions for discussion and exercises listed as 'Starters', 'Main course' and 'Dessert'. Each table will have pens, flip chart paper and a small bowl of sweets.

The World Café format is flexible, there are seven principles:

1. **Set the context** – The host introducing the menu and sets the parameters for the discussion. As the participants rotate this includes an overview of the previous discussions.
2. **Create hospitable space** – the host is welcoming and inclusive.

3. **Explore questions that matter** – towards powerful questions that *matter* the host encourages questions that ‘travel’ and help collective energy, this may involve one question or many.
4. **Encourage everyone’s contribution** – the hosts are leaders and therefore hosts will skills in engaging with children and young people to support their contribution is essential.
5. **Connect diverse perspective** – The Café provides opportunities for ideas to build and for connections to be made by participants which need to be captured within the tables.
6. **Listen together for patterns and insights** - the host facilitates active listening and pays attention to themes.
7. **Share collective discoveries** – The last phase is called the harvest involves a large group discussion and reflection. Themes and deeper questions are encouraged from the table groups. This may involve additional post it notes being added to the table flip charts.

There are no specific risks from taking part in the World Café. But if anyone would like support this will be sought out within the school for a young person or we might have to tell someone if we think the child or young person is at risk of harm or has harmed someone else.

What will happen with the information gathered?

I am the only researcher and will have access to the data which is secure and is stored safely in an encrypted computer. I will be transcribing group discussions and analysing information with a password protected computer which will be safely stored. All contributions will remain confidential and anonymous unless I am under a legal obligation to disclose a possible safeguarding issue. All data collected will be anonymised. I may use statements made or drawings in presenting the information as part of this research. The data collected may be included in my final thesis and included in papers later. I will be completing an evaluation which will also be shared with St Helena Government.

Information will be stored in line with UK Data Protection and GDPR regulations. In completing this research proposal I have sought ethical clearance through the University of Winchester and by the St Helena Research Council. I am a registered Social Worker and am also subject to ethical obligations through Social Work England.

What if there is a problem?

What if there is a problem?

If you have any concerns about the World Café please let Rebecca Cairns Wicks, Head of St Helena Research know. Alternatively you can contact:

- my supervisor at the University of Winchester by email on Victoria.randall@winchester.ac.uk
- or the University Data Protection Officer: Stephen Dowell at: Stephen.Dowell@winchester.ac.uk

Appendix 6

Invitation to attend the World Café



What matters to you on St Helena? The United Nations Rights of the Child lists a number of children’s rights including your right to have your voices heard in decision making. I would like to explore what rights mean to you and what matters in your lives. To do this I would like to invite you to attend the World Café on St Helena. This event will be hosted in the Jamestown Community Centre on at I am inviting young people aged 13-16 years old to take part. This is part of my research into children’s lived experiences. In this event I would like to use a method called The World Café. The World Café is about having conversations that matter and I am interested in what young people believe is important to you and your views about how your rights should be heard. There will be refreshments and light snacks in this Café type setting.

The World Café will have hosts, islanders, who host tables with up to four young people on each table. There will be a *menu* on each table with an area about childhood and children’s rights to explore. Every five minutes you will be asked to rotate to another table, the host will remain. To capture your views, everyone will have pens and a paper cloth will be on each table for reactions, comments, pictures, and doodles about the different areas to be harvested. Each table will audio record discussions. You can say or right anything you feel strongly about in response to the questions, except for harmful comments about someone.

As you rotate tables the hosts will recap on discussions from the table before and you will be encouraged to build on conversation through expression on the tablecloth. This could include drawings and comments. The café will take place in one 1.5 hour sitting.

I will have lots of information from the event but will keep your personal information, including your name confidential. I may use the information from the tablecloths and in discussions within my research. You can withdraw from the café at any time if you would like. I will keep all comments safe and secure on my password protected computer but might publish them or include them in papers later.

If you have further questions you are welcome to contact me onor s.dunn.19@unimail.winchester.ac.uk If you are not happy or are worried about any aspect of the World Café study please let one of your teachers or another trusted adult know. You could also inform a member of the Safeguarding Board who are aware I am on St Helena or Rebecca Cairns Wicks, Head of St Helena Research know.

Alternatively you can contact:

- my supervisor at the University of Winchester by email on Victoria.randall@winchester.ac.uk
- or the University Data Protection Officer: Stephen Dowell at: Stephen.Dowell@winchester.ac.uk

You have the right to withdraw from the event at any time but as data is captured anonymously on the tables and in audio recordings it might not be possible to remove following the event.

Please initial in the box next to each of the statements below which you agree with:

I have read and understand the information provided in the Project Information Sheet about this research study.	
I agree to participating in the World Café event.	
I understand that data from the discussions taking place during the World Café event will be anonymised and I will not be able to be personally identified in the transcript of the discussion.	

I understand that I can leave the World Café event at any time	
I understand that the data collected will be held safely and securely on a password protected device.	
I agree to have the discussion taking place during the World Café event audio recorded so it can be transcribed at a later point. I understand that it is not possible to withdraw my contributions after the recording has taken place as contributions are completely anonymous.	
I consent to my contributions to being used for the research purposes.	
I consent to the data being analysed and being used within my thesis and academic papers and presentations.	
I understand that I can contact representatives of the University should I require further clarification of any aspect of the research or if I have any concerns.	

I agree to take part and my name is : _____ My signature:

_____ Date: _____

Parent / Carer Name: _____ Parent / Carer Signature: _____

Date: _____

Invitation to host in the World Café



What do children’s rights look like to you on St Helena? You are invited to attend the World Café on St Helena. This event will be hosted in the Jamestown Community Centre on at I am inviting young people aged 13-16 years old to take part. This is part of my research into children’s lived experiences. In this event I would like to use a method called The World Café. The World Café is about having conversations that matter and I am interested in what young people believe is important to you and your views about how your rights should be heard. There will be refreshments and light snacks in this Café type setting.

The World Café requires hosts, islanders, who host tables with up to four young people on each table. I would like to invite you to be a host. There will be a *menu* on each table with an area about childhood and children’s rights to explore. Every five minutes you will be asked to rotate to another table, the host will remain. To capture young peoples views, everyone will have pens and a paper cloth will be on each table for reactions, comments, pictures, and doodles about the different areas to be harvested.

As young people rotate tables the hosts will recap on discussions from the table before and you will be encouraged to build on conversation through expression on the tablecloth. This could include drawings and comments. The café will take place in one 1.5 hour sitting.

I will have lots of information from the event but will keep your personal information, including your name confidential. I may use the information from the tablecloths and in discussions within my research. You can withdraw from the café at any time if you would like. I will keep all comments safe and secure on my password protected

computer. The data collected may be included in my final thesis and possibly included in papers at a later time.

Before the event I would like to meet with you to talk about the World Café and explain the seven principles of facilitation for a World café. I hope this will encourage us to support young people on St Helena with your insights as islanders in the planning and delivery of the World Café. You have the right to withdraw from the event at any time, but as data is captured anonymously on the tables and in audio recordings and in discussion prior to and after the event, it will not be possible to remove statements at a later time as they will be completely anonymised.

If you have further questions you are welcome to contact me onor s.dunn.19@unimail.winchest.ac.uk If you have any concerns about the World Café please let Rebecca Cairns Wicks, Head of St Helena Research know. Alternatively, you can contact:

my supervisor at the University of Winchester by email on Victoria.randall@winchester.ac.uk

or the University Data Protection Officer: Stephen Dowell at: Stephen.Dowell@winchester.ac.uk

I agree to take part and my name is :

_____Signature_____Date

Information for Hosts



What do I do as a table host?

Support the facilitation of the seven principles

1. **Set the context** – The host introducing the menu and sets the parameters for the discussion. As the participants rotate this includes an overview of the previous discussions.
2. **Create hospitable space** – the host is welcoming and inclusive.
3. **Explore questions that matter** – towards powerful questions that *matter* the host encourages questions that ‘travel’ and help collective energy, this may involve one question or many.
4. **Encourage everyone’s contribution** – the hosts are leaders and therefore hosts wills skills in engaging with children and young people to support their contribution is essential.
5. **Connect diverse perspective** – The Café provides opportunities for ideas to build and for connections to be made by participants which need to be captured within the tables.
6. **Listen together for patterns and insights** - the host facilitates active listening and pays attention to themes.
7. **Share collective discoveries** – The last phase is called the harvest involves a large group discussion and reflection. Themes and deeper questions are encouraged from the table groups. This may involve additional postit notes being added to the table flip charts.

As a host you remain at the table when the children rotate and support the building of conversations that matter. Because people behave differently when they believe they are being ‘facilitated’ the World Café aims to support conversations through ‘hosting’, so that everyone at the table has ownership for conversations.

Potential hosts will be invited to discuss how the World Café will be facilitated and to input on the design of the ‘menu’ and questions to ensure children on St Helena are encouraged to participate in the research and talk about what matters to them.



Appendix 7: What matters to you? poster



Appendix 8: news article

What rights matters to children in St Helena?

Current doctoral research aims to find out

— Andrew Turner, SAMS —

What rights matters to children on St Helena?"

Samantha Dunn, who has previously worked in St Helena and who is currently conducting doctoral research with the University of Winchester, is trying to find this out.

"I have come to St Helena as there is very little out there about what really matters to children and young people on St Helena," Samantha told *The Sentinel*. "Children on St Helena have the same rights as other children to be heard and for their views to be considered, and participatory research provides a platform for understanding and showing children's views."

Samantha's research is a step in completing her Doctorate in Education (EdD) with the University of Winchester.

But the doctoral research isn't all long words, searching through other books and writing – it's also

cafés, colouring and interactivity.

Samantha is "exploring creative ways of supporting children's participation in research to understand their lived experiences."

To do that Samantha is conducting a "world café" event for people aged 10–16 years, to be held at Anne's Place on Feb. 6 (see the Notice Board section of this newspaper for details).

"I have chosen the world café method as this assumes that knowledge is already in the room and that through dialogue we can all learn together," Samantha said. "I think this is really important, recognising children and young people are their own experts."

World café events get people to sit around different tables and openly discuss different topics.

On Feb. 6, each table will have up to four young people with each table exploring a different area of the larger topic. Participants will then

be rotated through the different tables to participate in different areas.

The event will be supported by local "hosts" and drinks and snacks will be available.

The participants will then be encouraged to build upon the conversation by writing and even drawing on tablecloths to create a record of the event.

Information gathered from the event will be kept secure and confidential – it will be transcribed and collated in a way that ensures people are kept anonymous.

The data will be used as part of Samantha's research paper and thesis for the doctoral course. Additionally, a graphic recorder will bring together the findings into a large drawing, which will be available on-island in the near future.

Will Career Access St Helena

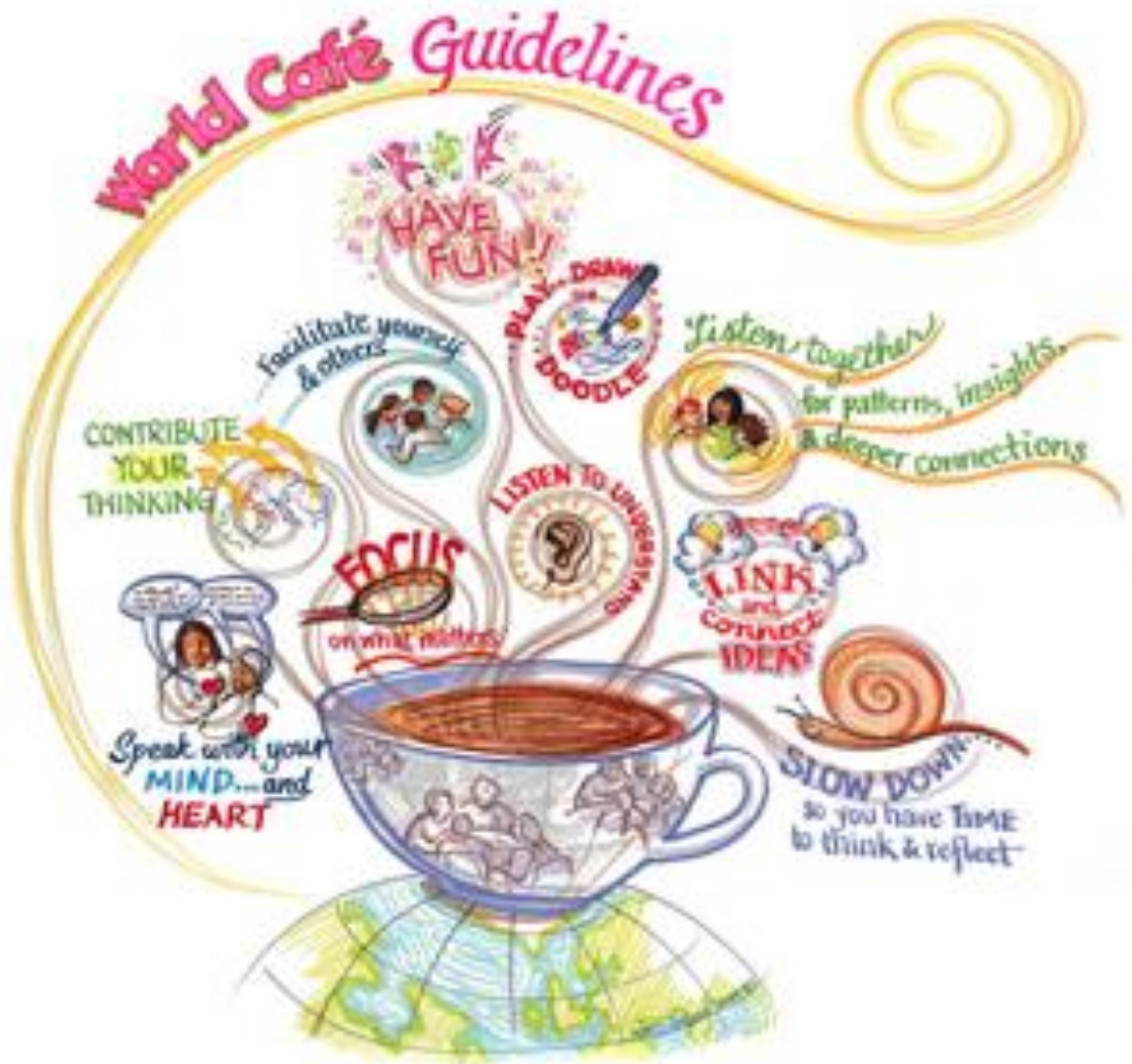
Appendix 9: Our Island Café

Time	Topic	Notes (what, how)	Presenter	Where
10.30am	Welcome	Welcome children and young people to the Café Drinks, snacks and housekeeping	Host	On arrival
11am	Introduction	Share the context and purpose. Introduce Café Etiquette. Explain how Café will work today. Invite everyone to take a seat at a table.	Host	Full group
11.20	Ice Breaker	Check-in question: what brought you here today? Everyone sticks their sticky note on a sheet at the front of the room. Invite everyone to take a coloured pens and assign one person on each table to record the discussion on paper with others to document additional comments, doodles, aha moments and to have fun!	Host	Full group
11.35am	Round 1	Question 1	Host	Breakouts
11.50am	Change	Invite one person to remain at the table and ask everyone else to find a table with different participants. Brief re-cap of Café Etiquette as appropriate.	Host	Full group

Remote childhoods, Exploring what matters for children on St Helena Island

12pm	Round 2	If you could ask a question to those in positions of power about something that matters to you now what would you ask? And why?	Host	Breakouts
12.15pm	Change	Re-cap that we have one more round and invite popcorn style any insights participants are being to see. Invite participants to change for one last time.	Host	Full group
12.25pm	Round 3	How would you like to see children's lives?	Host	Breakouts
12.40pm	Harvest	Popcorn style: What did we talk about this morning? What did we notice this morning? What have we listened to this morning? Participants are invited to take a large sticky note to write what they are taking away from the café, what they have learned or what has surprised them about this morning. Notes are placed on a mega sticky wall. Tablecloths are displayed and pizza and popcorn are served with drinks.	Host	Full group

Appendix 10: Café Etiquette



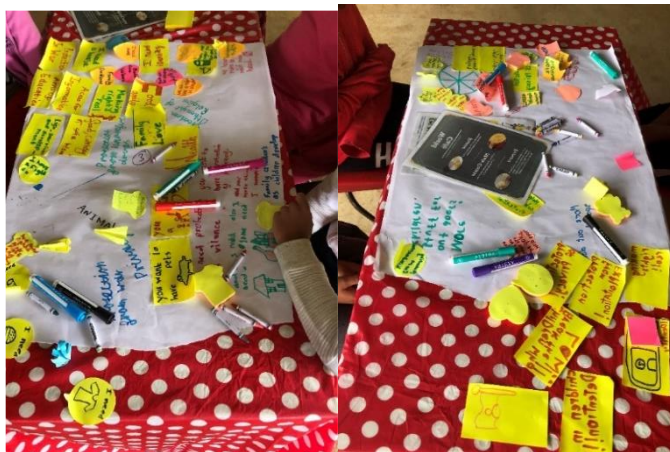
Appendix 11: Final tables from Primary events

11.1 Primary school one



Remote childhoods, Exploring what matters for children on St Helena Island

11.2 Primary school two



11.3 Primary school three

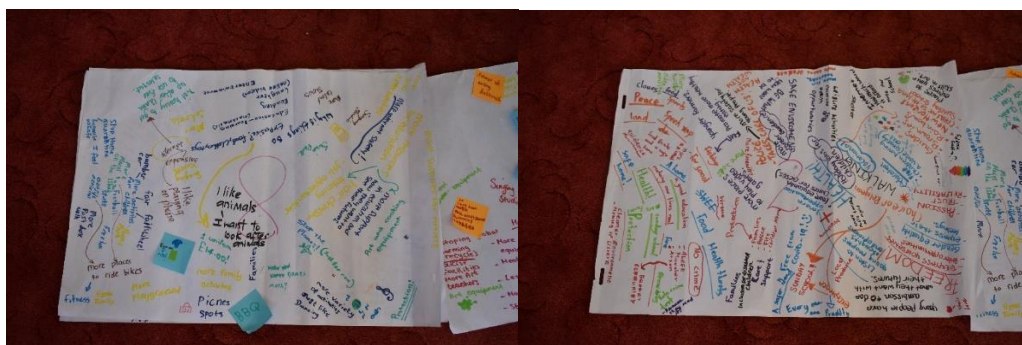
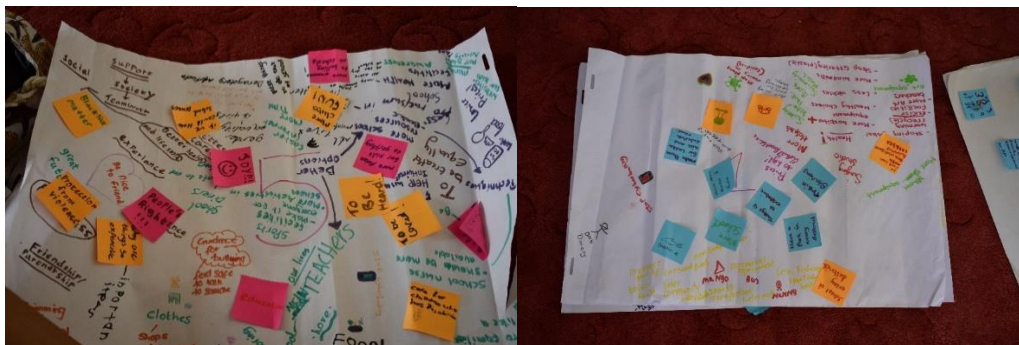


Appendix 12: Main event

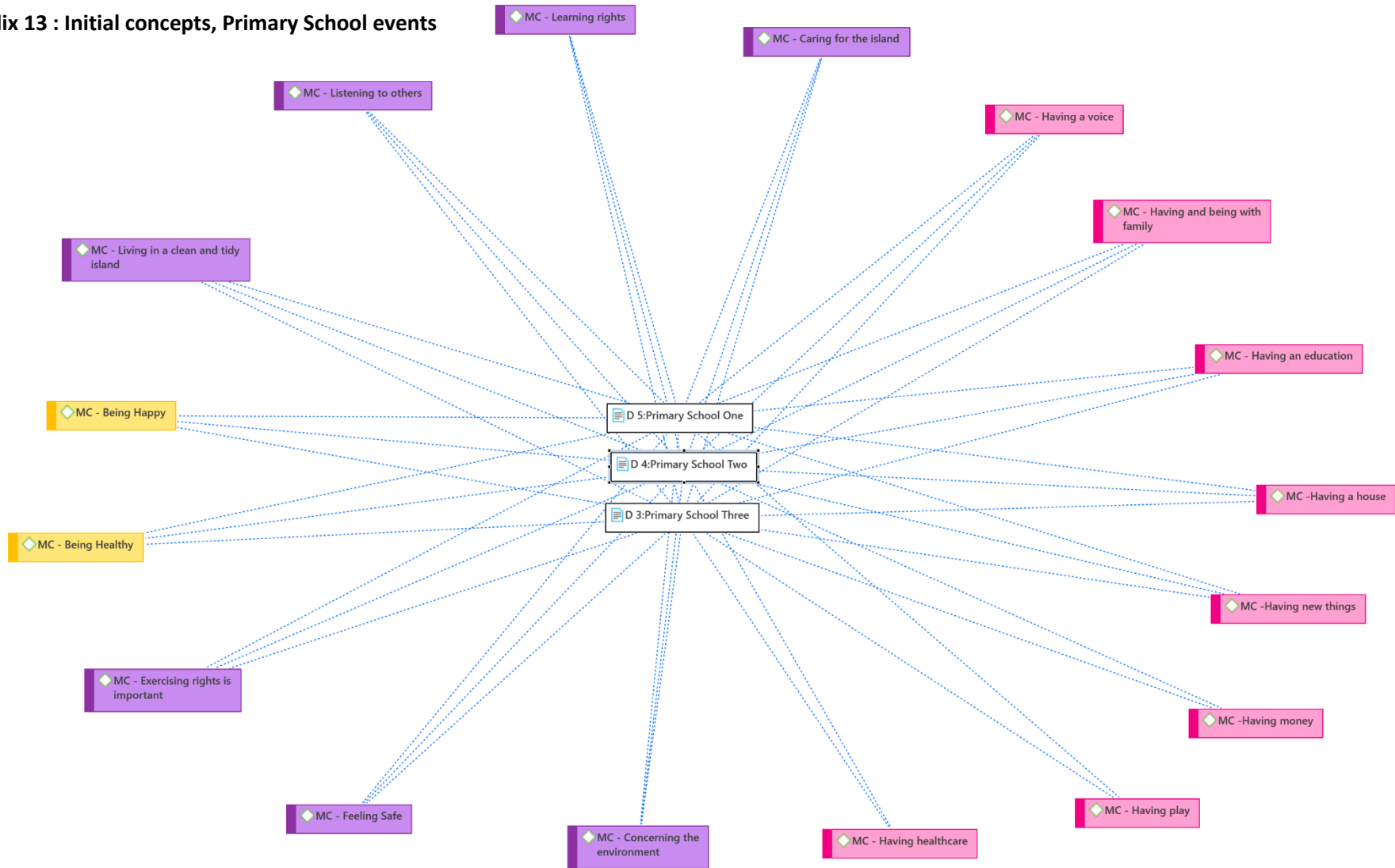
12.1 Event photos



12.2 Photos of final tablecloths



Appendix 13 : Initial concepts, Primary School events



References

- Adler, K., Salanterä, S. and Zumstein-Shaha, M. (2019) 'Focus Group Interviews in Child, Youth, and Parent Research: An Integrative Literature Review', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. 18, pp. 1–15. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1609406919887274. [Accessed 23 December 2022].
- Aldred, R. (2008) 'Ethical and Political Issues in Contemporary Research Relationships', *Sociology*. 42, (5), pp. 887–903. Available at: doi: 10.1177/0038038508094568. [Accessed 23 December 2022].
- Aldred, R. (2011) 'From community participation to organizational therapy? World Café and Appreciative Inquiry as research methods', *Community Development Journal*. 46, (1), pp. 57–71. Available at: doi: 10.1093/CDJ/BSP039. [Accessed 23 December 2022].
- Apuke, O. D. and Omar, B. (2021) 'Fake news and COVID-19: modelling the predictors of fake news sharing among social media users', *Telematics and Informatics*. 56. Available at: doi: 10.1016/J.TELE.2020.101475. [Accessed 23 December 2022].
- Ashcroft, B. (2001) *On Postcolonial futures: Transformation of colonial cultures*. New York: Continuum.
- Askeland, G., Payne, M. (2001) 'What is valid knowledge for social workers', *Social Work in Europe*, 8, (3), pp. 13–23.
- Azzopardi, C. (2020) 'Cross-Cultural Social Work: A Critical Approach to Teaching and Learning to Work Effectively across Intersectional Identities', *The British Journal of Social Work*. Oxford Academic, 50, (2), pp. 464–482. Available at: doi: 10.1093/BJSW/BCZ169. [Accessed 23 December 2022].
- Aveyard, H., Payne, S. and Preston, N. (2016) *A Post-Graduates guide to Doing a Literature Review*. London, Open University Press.
- Baid, H. (2019) 'Satisficing for sustainability in critical care practice: a constructivist grounded theory'. University of Sussex [unpublished].
- Baldacchino, A. (2018) *Early Childhood Education in Small Island States: A Very British Story*. The University of Sheffield. Available at: <https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/23004/1/PhD> [Accessed: 19 October 2021].
- Baldacchino, G. (2008) 'Studying Islands: On Whose Terms? Some Epistemological and Methodological Challenges to the Pursuit of Island Studies', *Island Studies Journal*, 3, (1), pp. 37–56. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/26569060_Studying_Islands_On_Whose_Terms_Some_Epistemological_and_Methodological_Challenges_to_the_Pursuit_of_Island_Studies [Accessed: 20 September 2021].
- Banks, S. (2016) 'Everyday ethics in professional life: social work as ethics work', Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17496535.2015.1126623>. 10, (1), pp. 35–52. [Accessed 23 December 2022].
- Bass, S., Dalal-Clayton, B. and Pretty, J. (1995) 'Participation in strategies for sustainable development', *Environmental Planning Issues*, (7). Environmental planning

group, London.

BASW (2021) *The BASW Code of Ethics for Social Work*. Birmingham: BASW. Available at: <https://www.basw.co.uk/resources/basw-code-ethics-social-work-0> [Accessed: 13 September 2021].

Benade, L. (2016) 'Teaching and Critically Reflective Practice in Freire', *Encyclopedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory*. Springer, Singapore, pp. 1–6. Available at: doi: 10.1007/978-981-287-532-7_107-1. [Accessed 06 December 2022].

BERA (2018) *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research*. 4th Ed. London: BERA. Available at: <https://www.bera.ac.uk/publication/ethical-guidelines-for-educational-research-2018> [Accessed 06 January 2022].

Bhabha, H. (1994) *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Bhambra, G. K. (2014) 'Postcolonial and decolonial dialogues', *Postcolonial Studies*. Routledge, 17, (2), pp. 115–121. Available at: doi: 10.1080/13688790.2014.966414. [Accessed 06 January 2022].

Birks, M. (2014) 'Practical philosophy', in Mills, J. and Birks, M. (eds) *Qualitative methodology: a practical guide*. Los Angeles: Sage, pp. 17–29.

Birks, M., Chapman, Y. and Francis, K. (2008) 'Memoing in qualitative research: Probing data and processes', 13, (1), pp. 68–75. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1744987107081254>. [Accessed 06 January 2022].

Birks, M. and Mills, J. (2015) *Grounded theory: A practical guide*. 2nd edn. London: Sage.

Bourdieu, P. (1990) *In Other Words: Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Branom, C. (2012) 'Community-Based Participatory Research as a Social Work Research and Intervention Approach', 20, (3), pp. 260–273. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10705422.2012.699871>.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2021) *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Brookfield, S. (2012) 'Critical Theory and Transformative Learning', in Taylor, E.W., Cranton, P. (ed.) *The handbook of transformative learning: Theory, research and practice*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Brown, J. (2001) *Living Knowledge*. Fielding University. Available at: <https://st4.ning.com/topology/rest/1.0/file/get/2836607717?profile=original>. [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Brown, J. and Isaac, D. (2005) *The World Café*. San Francisco: Berrett Koehler.

Bryant, A. (2017) *Grounded theory and grounded theorizing: Pragmatism in research practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (2007) 'Feminist Qualitative Research and Grounded Theory: Complexities, Criticisms, and Opportunities.', in Bryant, A. and Charmez, K. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory*. London: Sage, pp. 417–436. Available

at: doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781848607941.n19>. [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Carroll, J., Minkler, M. (2000) 'Freire's Message for Social Workers', *Journal of Community Practice*, 8, (1), pp. 21–36. Available at: doi: [10.1300/J125v08n01_02](https://doi.org/10.1300/J125v08n01_02). [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Carter, B. (2006) "'One expertise among many" working appreciatively to make miracles instead of finding problems: Using appreciative inquiry as a way of reframing research', *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 11, (1), pp. 48–63. Available at: doi: [10.1177/1744987106056488](https://doi.org/10.1177/1744987106056488). [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Castle, D. G. A. (1996) 'Robert J. Young - Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race', *Left History: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Historical Inquiry and Debate*, (September). Available at: doi: [10.25071/1913-9632.6992](https://doi.org/10.25071/1913-9632.6992). [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Castle, G. (2001) 'Editors Introduction: Resistance and Complicity in Postcolonial Studies', in Castle, G. (ed.) *Postcolonial Discourses An Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, pp. xi–xxiii.

Charlton, T. Gunter, B. (2002) 'Background to the Research Project', in Charlton, T., Gunter., B. and Hannan, A. (eds) *Broadcast Television Effects in A Remote Community*. London: LAWRENCE ERLBAUM ASSOCIATES, PUBLISHERS, pp. 1–13.

Charlton, T. (1998) 'Broadcast television as a cause of aggression? Recent findings from a naturalistic study', *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 3, (2), pp. 5–13. Available at: doi: [10.1080/1363275980030202](https://doi.org/10.1080/1363275980030202). [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Charlton, T. (1998) 'Reproaching television for violence in society: passing the buck? Interim results from a naturalistic study in St Helena, South Atlantic', *Journal of Clinical Forensic Medicine*. Churchill Livingstone, 5, (4), pp. 169–171. Available at: doi: [10.1016/S1353-1131\(98\)90128-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1353-1131(98)90128-6). [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Charlton, T. et al. (2000) 'Children's playground behaviour across five years of broadcast television: A naturalistic study in a remote community', *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 5, (4), pp. 4–12. Available at: doi: [10.1080/1363275000050402](https://doi.org/10.1080/1363275000050402). [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Charmaz, K. and Thornberg, R. (2020) 'The pursuit of quality in grounded theory', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. 18(3), pp. 305–327. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2020.1780357>. [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Chinn, W. H. (1957) 'Social Development in British Overseas Territories', *Community Development Bulletin*. 8, (3), pp. 50–54. Available at: <https://login.proxy.lib.fsu.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsjsr&AN=edsjsr.44279079&site=eds-live&scope=site>. [Accessed 06 December].

Christian, M. A. and Ninad Jhala, D. (2015) 'Social work needs Paulo Freire', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention* 4, (6) p. 2319 - 7712. Available at: [http://www.ijhssi.org/papers/v4\(6\)/Version-2/G0462036039.pdf](http://www.ijhssi.org/papers/v4(6)/Version-2/G0462036039.pdf)

[Accessed: 27 November 2021].

Clark, A. and Statham, J. (2005) 'Listening to Young Children: Experts in Their Own Lives', *Adoption and Fostering*. 29, (1), pp. 45–56. Available at: doi: 10.1177/030857590502900106. [Accessed: 27 November 2021].

Clarke, A. E. (2003) 'Situational Analyses: Grounded Theory Mapping After the Postmodern Turn', *Symbolic Interaction*. 26, (4), pp. 553–576. Available at: doi: 10.1525/SI.2003.26.4.553. [Accessed: 27 November 2021].

Clarke, A., Friese, C. and Washburn, R. (2018) *Situational Analysis, Grounded Theory After the Interpretive Turn*. 2nd edn. London: Sage.

Clegg, P., Dunwoodie-Stirton, F. and Cole, P. (2016) 'Human rights in the overseas territories: in policy but not in practice?', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*. 54, (1), pp. 46–68. Available at: doi: 10.1080/14662043.2015.1126886.

Cohen, R. (1983a) 'Education for dependence: aspirations, expectations and identity on the island of St Helena', *Manchester Papers on Development*, 8, pp. 1–20.

Cohen, R. (1983b) 'St Helena: Welfare Colonialism in Practice', in *African Islands and Enclaves*. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 119–144.

Cohen, R. (2017) *Island Societies*. Oxford: Oxford Publishing.

Collins, T. M. (2017) 'A child's right to participate: Implications for international child protection', *International Journal of Human Rights*. 21, (1), pp. 14–46. Available at: doi: 10.1080/13642987.2016.1248122. [Accessed: 27 November 2021].

Cooperinder, D., Whitney, D. and Stavros, M. (2003) *Appreciative Inquiry Handbook*. Ohio: Lakeshore Publishers.

Crawford, G., Kruckenberg, L., Loubere, N., Morgan, R. (2017) *Global Development Fieldwork, Understanding Global Development Research: Fieldwork Issues, Experiences and Reflections*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Cresswell, J. (2007) *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. 2nd edn. London: SAGE Publications.

Daelman, S., Schauwer, E. De and Hove, G. Van (2020) 'Becoming-with research participants: Possibilities in qualitative research with children', *Childhood*. 27, (4), pp. 483–497. Available at: doi: 10.1177/0907568220927767 [Accessed: 27 November 2021].

Dirkx, J. M., Mezirow, J. and Cranton, P. 'Musings and Reflections on the Meaning, Context, and Process of Transformative Learning: A Dialogue Between John M. Dirkx and Jack Mezirow'. 4, (2), pp. 123–139. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1541344606287503. [Accessed: 27 November 2021].

Donaldson, R. and Forssman, A. (2020) "'Opening up to the World": An Exploration of Residents' Opinions on and Perceptions of St Helena Island's Tourism Development', *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 9, (6). Available at: doi: 10.46222/ajhtl.19770720-61. [Accessed: 27 November 2021].

Donnelly, J. and Jiwanji, A. (2010) *Urbanization and Children in the Pacific*. Suva:

UNICEF.

Dunn, S. (2021) *Exploring what matters to children on St Helena through the World Café*. University of Winchester.

Essex, C. (2000) *Class Teacher Attrition: An investigation on self reported job satisfaction and committment amongst on St Helena Island*.

Evans, D. (1994) *Schooling in the South Atlantic Islands 1661-1992*. Oswestry: Anthony Nelson.

Facca, D., Gladstone, B. and Teachman, G. (2020) 'Working the Limits of "Giving Voice" to Children: A Critical Conceptual Review', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 19. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406920933391>. [Accessed: 27 November 2021].

Fanon, F. (1952) *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Weidenfield.

Farias, L., Laliberte Rudman, D., Pollard, N., Schiller, S., Serrata Malfitano, A.M., Thomas, K., and van Bruggen, H. (2019) 'Critical dialogical approach : A methodological direction for occupation-based social transformative work', *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 26, (4), pp. 235–245. Available at: [doi: 10.1080/11038128.2018.1469666](https://doi.org/10.1080/11038128.2018.1469666). [Accessed: 27 November 2022].

Fenge, L. A., Oakley, L., Taylor, B., & Beer, S. (2019) 'The Impact of Sensitive Research on the Researcher: Preparedness and Positionality', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919893161>. [Accessed: 27 November 2022].

Ferguson, H. (2018) 'How social workers reflect in action and when and why they don't: the possibilities and limits to reflective practice in social work'. *Social Work Education The International Journal*. 37, (4), p. 415-427, Available at: [doi: 10.1080/02615479.2017.1413083](https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2017.1413083). [Accessed: 27 November 2022].

Flett, G. L. (2022). An Introduction, Review, and Conceptual Analysis of Mattering as an Essential Construct and an Essential Way of Life. *Journal of Psychoeducational Assessment*, 40, (1), p. 3–36. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/07342829211057640> [Accessed 27 December 2022].

Flick, U. (2009) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. 4th edn. SAGE PublicationsSage UK: London, England.

Flick, U. (2014) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications. Available at: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446282243>. [Accessed 27 December 2022].

Fook, J. (2012) *Social Work A Critical Approach to Practice*. 2nd edn. London: SAGE Publications.

Fouché, C. and Light, G. (2010) 'An Invitation to Dialogue: "The World Café" In Social Work Research', *Qualitative Social Work*. SAGE PublicationsSage UK: London, England, 10(1), pp. 28–48. Available at: [doi: 10.1177/1473325010376016](https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325010376016). [Accessed 27 December 2022].

- Freeman, M. and Mathison, S. (2009) *Researching Children's Experiences*. New York: Guilford.
- Freire-Medeiros, B. (2012) *Touring poverty*. London: Routledge.
- Freire, P. Macedo, D. (1995) *A Dialogue, culture, language and race*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Freire, P. (1976) *Education, The practice of freedom*. London: Writers and Readers Collection.
- Freire, P. (1985) *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey Publishers.
- Freire, P. (1990) 'A Critical Understanding of Social Work', *Journal of progressive human studies*, 1, (1), pp. 3–10.
- Freire, P. (1998) *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, democracy and civic courage*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Little.
- Galdas, P. (2017) 'Revisiting Bias in Qualitative Research: Reflections on Its Relationship With Funding and Impact', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16, (1). Available at: doi: 10.1177/1609406917748992. [Accessed 27 December 2022].
- Gallagher, M. (2008) 'Power is not an evil: rethinking power in participatory methods', *Childrens Geographies*, 6, (2), pp. 137–51.
- Gergan, K. (2001) *An invitation to Social Construction*. 3rd edn. London: SAGE Publications.
- Ghandi, L. (1998) *Postcolonial Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gibson, F. (2016) 'Conducting focus groups with children and young people: strategies for success', 12, (5), pp. 473–483. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1744987107079791 [Accessed 27 December 2022].
- Giroux, H. A. (2010) 'Rethinking Education as the Practice of Freedom: Paulo Freire and the Promise of Critical Pedagogy', *Policy Futures in Education*, 8, (6), pp. 715–721. Available at: doi: 10.2304/PFIE.2010.8.6.715. [Accessed 27 December 2022].
- Glaser, B.G., and A. L. S. (1967) *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.
- Glaser, B. (1992) *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis: Emergence Vs. Forcing*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociological Press.
- Glaser, B. (1998) *Doing grounded theory: Issues and discussions*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociological Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (2002) 'Conceptualization: On Theory and Theorizing Using Grounded Theory', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1, (2), pp. 23–38.
- Go, J. (2013) 'Decolonizing bourdieu: Colonial and postcolonial theory in Pierre Bourdieu's early work', *Sociological Theory*, 31(1), pp. 49–74. Available at: doi:

10.1177/0735275113477082. [Accessed 27 December 2022].

Gosse, P. (1990) *St Helena 1502-1938*. Oswestry: Anthony Nelson.

Gudmundsdottir, G. B. and Brock-Utne, B. (2010) 'An exploration of the importance of piloting and access as action research', 18, (3). pp. 359-372. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09650792.2010.499815>. [Accessed 14 September 2021].

Hammersley, M. (2015) 'Research Ethics and the Concept of Children's Rights', *Children and Society*, 29, (6), pp. 569-582. Available at: doi: 10.1111/chso.12077. [Accessed 14 September 2021].

Harmer, N., Gaskarth, J. and Gibb, R. (2015) 'Distant Relations: Identity and Materiality in Elite Discourse on Britain's Overseas Territories', *Global Society*. 29, (4), pp. 510-529. Available at: doi: 10.1080/13600826.2015.1012487.

Van Hear, N. and Cohen, R. (2017) 'Diasporas and conflict: distance, contiguity and spheres of engagement', *Oxford Development Studies*. 45, (2), pp. 171-184. Available at: doi: 10.1080/13600818.2016.1160043. [Accessed 27 December 2022].

Heary, C. and Hennessy, E. (2006) 'Focus groups versus individual interviews with children: A comparison of data', *Irish Journal of Psychology*. 27, (1-2), pp. 58-68. Available at: doi: 10.1080/03033910.2006.10446228. [Accessed 27 December 2022].

Hense, C. and McFerran, K. S. (2016) 'Toward a critical grounded theory', *Qualitative Research Journal*. 16, (4), pp. 402-416. Available at: doi: 10.1108/QRJ-08-2015-0073. [Accessed 27 December 2022].

Hickson, H. (2011) 'Critical reflection: reflecting on learning to be reflective', *Reflective Practice*, 12, (6), pp. 829-839. Available at: doi: 10.1080/14623943.2011.616687. [Accessed 27 December 2022].

Hogenstijn, M. and van Middelkoop, D. (2002) 'Saints: Spatial Identities of the Citizens of Saint Helena', Utericht, University of Utericht, Available at: https://www.academia.edu/2443400/SAINT_HELENA_CITIZENSHIP_AND_SPATIAL_IDENTITIES_ON_A_REMOTE_ISLAND. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Hogenstijn, M. and van Middelkoop, D. (2005) 'Saint Helena: Citizenship and spatial identities on a remote island', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*. Royal Dutch Geographical Society, 96(1), pp. 96-104. Available at: doi: 10.1111/J.1467-9663.2005.00441.X. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Hoggan, C. (2016) 'A typology of transformation: Reviewing the transformative learning literature', *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 4, (1), pp. 65-82. Available at: doi: 10.1080/02660830.2016.1155849. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Horgan, D. (2016) 'Child participatory research methods: Attempts to go "deeper"', *Childhood*, 24, (4) pp. 245-259. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0907568216647787>. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Hughes, C. (1958) *Report into an enquiry into the conditions into the Island of St Helena*. London: HMSO.

Hugman, R. (2016) *Social Development in Social Work*. London: Routledge.

IFSW (2018) *GLOBAL SOCIAL WORK STATEMENT OF ETHICAL PRINCIPLES*. Available at: <https://www.ifsw.org/global-social-work-statement-of-ethical-principles/>. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Ingulfsvann, L. S., Moe, V. F. and Engelsrud, G. (2020) 'The Messiness of Children ' s Voices : An Affect Theory Perspective', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 19, pp. 1–10. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1609406920958601. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Jack, G. (2010) 'Place Matters: The Significance of Place Attachments for Children's Well-Being', *British Journal of Social Work*, 1, (50), pp. 755–771. Available at: doi: 10.1093/bjsw/bcn142. Accessed 06 January 2023].

Jackson-Morris, A. M. (2019) 'The contribution of a "whole of government" smoke-free policy on the island of St Helena', *Global Health Action*. 12, (1). Available at: doi: 10.1080/16549716.2019.1681756. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Jackson-Morris, A. M. (2020) 'A "whole systems" approach to reduce sugar-sweetened beverage consumption: issues for global health promotion through a small island lens', *Global Health Promotion*. 27, (4), pp. 150–153. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1757975920918587. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Jackson Foster, L. J., Deafenbaugh, L. and Miller, E. (2018) 'Group metaphor map making: Application to integrated arts-based focus groups', *Qualitative Social Work*, 17, (2), pp. 305–322. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1473325016667475. [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Jacobs, J. (1996) *Edge of empire. Postcolonialism and the city*. Chichester: Taylor and Francis.

Jacobson, D. and Mustafa, N. (2019) 'Social Identity Map: A Reflexivity Tool for Practicing Explicit Positionality in Critical Qualitative Research', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. 18, pp. 1–12. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1609406919870075. [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Jakobsen, H. (2012) 'Focus groups and methodological rigour outside the minority world: Making the method work to its strengths in Tanzania', *Qualitative Research*, 12(, 2), pp. 111–130. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1468794111416145. [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Jenks, C. (1982) 'Introduction', in Jenks, C. (ed.) *The Sociology of Childhood. Essential Readings*. London: Batsford, pp. 1–10.

Jennings, O. (2018) *Becoming connected: Remoteness and identity on St Helena*. Canada: University of Prince Edward Island.

Jesus, I. Q. De and Hubbard, J. (2020) 'Media Literacy for Elementary Education Students : Inquiry Into Fake News Media Literacy for Elementary Education Students : Inquiry Into Fake News', *The Social Studies*. Routledge, 1, (0), pp. 1–10. Available at: doi: 10.1080/00377996.2020.1841717. [Accessed 06 December 2022].

Jorgenson, J. and Steier, F. (2013) 'Frames, Framing, and Designed Conversational Processes: Lessons From the World Café', *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 49, (3), pp. 388–405. Available at: doi: 10.1177/0021886313484511. [Accessed 06 January

2023].

Keinemans, S. (2015) 'Be Sensible: Emotions in Social Work Ethics and Education', *The British Journal of Social Work*, 45, (7), pp. 2176–2191. Available at: doi: 10.1093/BJSW/BCU057. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Kim, C. Y. (2016) 'Why Research "by" Children? Rethinking the Assumptions Underlying the Facilitation of Children as Researchers', *Children and Society*, 30, (3), pp. 230–240. Available at: doi: 10.1111/chso.12133. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

King, R. (2009) 'Geography, Islands and Migration in an Era of Global Mobility', *Island Studies Journal*, 4(1), pp. 53–84.

Kirk, S. (2007) 'Methodological and ethical issues in conducting qualitative research with children and young people: A literature review', *International Journal of Nursing Studies*. Pergamon, 44(7), pp. 1250–1260. Available at: doi: 10.1016/J.IJNURSTU.2006.08.015. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Koziol, M. (2021) 'A Small Island Waits on Big Data Rates: Satellite operators salivate over access to Google's Equiano cable, but St. Helena's telecom monopoly stands in the way', *IEEE Spectrum*, 58, (1), pp. 50–51. Available at: doi: 10.1109/MSPEC.2021.9311452. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Krueger, R. A. and Casey, M. A. (2009) *Focus groups: A practical guide for applied research*. 4th edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Laidlaw, Z. (2015) *Empire and after - The British Library*. Available at: <https://www-upgrade.bl.uk/magna-carta/articles/empire-and-after#> [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Law, J. (2004) *After Method, Mess in Social Research*. London: Routledge.

Lawrence, P. (2002) 'Forward', in Charlton, T., Gunter., B. and Hannan, A. (ed.) *Broadcast Television Effects in A Remote Community*. London: LAWRENCE ERLBAUM ASSOCIATES, PUBLISHERS.

Liebel, M. (2017) 'Children without childhood? Against the Postcolonial Capture of Childhoods in the Global South', in Invernizzi, A., Liebel, M., Milne, B., Budde, R. (ed.) *Children out of Place' and Human Rights - In Memory of Judith Ennew*. New York: Springer, pp. 79–97. Available at: doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-33251-2_6. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Liebel, M. (2019) 'Colonialism and the colonisation of childhoods', in Kleibl, T. (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Postcolonial Social Work*. London: Routledge, pp. 40–50.

Lim, M. and Barton, A. C. (2010) 'Exploring insideness in urban children's sense of place', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30, (3), pp. 328–337.

Lockwood, J. (1851) *A Guide to St Helena Descriptive and Historical*. Jamestown: St Helena.

Löhr, K., Weinhardt, M., & Sieber, S. (2020). The "World Café" as a Participatory Method for Collecting Qualitative Data. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 19. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406920916976>. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

- Lomax, H. (2012) 'Contested voices? Methodological tensions in creative visual research with children', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 15, (2), pp. 105–117. Available at: doi: 10.1080/13645579.2012.649408. [Accessed 06 January 2023].
- Lomax, H (2012) 'Shifting the Focus: Childrens Image Making Practices and their Implications for Analysis', *International Journal of Research and Method in Education*, 35(3), pp. 227–234. [Accessed 06 January 2023].
- Lorenzetti, L. A., Azulai, A. and Walsh, C. A. (2016) 'Addressing Power in Conversation: Enhancing the Transformative Learning Capacities of the World Café', *Journal of Transformative Education*. 14, (3), pp. 200–219. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1541344616634889. [Accessed 06 January 2023].
- Lowenfeld, M. (1997) *Understanding Children's Sandplay: Lowenfeld's World Technique*. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press.
- Lowenfield, M. (1939) 'The World Pictures of Children', *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 18, pp. 65–101.
- Macedo, D. (2000) 'Introduction', in Freire, P. (ed.) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed 30th Anniversary Edition*. New York: Bloomsbury, pp. 11–29.
- Malmqvist, J. (2019) 'Conducting the Pilot Study: A Neglected Part of the Research Process? Methodological Findings Supporting the Importance of Piloting in Qualitative Research Studies', Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919878341>. [Accessed 06 January 2023].
- Mannay, D. (2016) *Visual, Narrative and Creative Research Methods*. London: Routledge.
- Mayes, E. (2019) 'The mis/uses of "voice" in (post)qualitative research with children and young people: Histories, politics and ethics', 32, (10), pp. 1191–1209. Available at: doi: 10.1080/09518398.2019.1659438. [Accessed 06 January 2023].
- McDaniel, P. (2011) *British Library ETHOS: Trans-Atlantic mothers : the migratory experiences of St Helenian working women*. Unpublished, University of Bristol. Available at: <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.573399> [Accessed: 14 September 2021].
- Mertens, D. M. (1999) 'Inclusive evaluation: implications of transformative theory for evaluation', *Am J Eval*. 20, (1), pp. 1–14. Available at: doi: 10.1177/109821409902000102. [Accessed 06 January 2023].
- Mertens, D. M. (2007) 'Transformative considerations', *Am J Eval*, 28(1), pp. 86–90. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1098214006298058. [Accessed 06 January 2023].
- Mertens, D. M. (2017) 'Transformative research: personal and societal', *International Journal for Transformative Research*. 4, (1), pp. 18–24. Available at: doi: 10.1515/IJTR-2017-0001. [Accessed 06 January 2023].
- Mezirow, J. (1990) *Fostering Critical Reflection in Adulthood: A Guide to Transformative and Emancipatory Learning*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.
- van Middelkoop, D., Hogenstijn, M. (2018) 'Saint Helena Island: flying future for lonely

rock', *Geografie*, (October), pp. 36–40. Available at: <http://www.hogenstijn.nl/sthelenavandemiddelkoopHogenstijngeografie-2018-8.pdf>. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Midgley, J. (2014) *Social Development: Theory and Practice*. London: SAGE Publications.

Miu, C. Y. (2008) 'Exploring cultural tensions in cross-cultural social work practice', *Social Work*, 53, (4). Available at: doi: 10.1093/sw/53.4.317. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Morgan, M., Gibbs, S., Maxwell, K., & Britten, N. (2002). 'Hearing children's voices: methodological issues in conducting focus groups with children aged 7-11 years'. *Qualitative Research*, 2, (1), pp. 5–20. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794102002001636> [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Morlachetti, A. (2017) *Study on Children in Situations of Migration and Statelessness in the Caribbean UK Overseas Territories*. Barbados. Available at: <https://www.unicef.org/easterncaribbean/media/1236/file/ECA-Statelessness-in-the-OTs-Report-doc-2017.pdf>. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Nagel, D. A., Burns, V. F., Tilley, C., and Aubin, D. (2015). 'When novice researchers adopt constructivist grounded theory: Navigating less travelled paradigmatic and methodological paths in PhD dissertation work'. *International Journal of Doctoral Studies*, 10, pp.365-383. Available at: doi: 10.28945/2300. [Accessed 06 December 2021].

Nieuwenhuys, O. (2013) 'Theorizing childhood(s): Why we need postcolonial perspectives'. *Childhood*, 20, (1), pp. 3–8. Available at: doi: 10.1177/0907568212465534. [Accessed 06 December 2021].

Parker, C. (2012) 'An island between': multiple migrations and the repertoires of a St Helenian identity' WRAP: Warwick Research Archive Portal. Available at: <http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/51501/> [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Parker, C. (2019) 'On the edge of Britishness: the rupture of a national identity', *National Identities*, 20, (3), pp. 245-263. Available at: doi: 10.1080/14608944.2019.1634032. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Parker, C. (2020) "'St Helena, an island between": Multiple migrations, small island resilience, and survival', *Island Studies Journal*, 16, (1), pp. 173–189.

Parker, C. (2021) 'The contradictions of islandness: The small island of St Helena and the emotions of transnationalism', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 39, p. 1-15.

Parton, N. (2006) *Safeguarding Childhood*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Parton, N. (2014) *The Politics of Childhood: contemporary developments and future directions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pearson, A. (2016) 'After "Liberation"', *Distant freedom*. Available at: doi: 10.5949/liverpool/9781781382837.003.0007. [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Phillippi, J. and Lauderdale, J. (2018) 'A guide to field notes for qualitative research: context and conversation', *Qualitative Health Research*, 28, (388), p. 381. Available at:

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1049732317697102> [Accessed: 30 January 2022].

Poertner, J. (1994) 'Popular Education in Latin America: a technology for the north?', *International Social Work*, 1(13), pp. 265–275.

Pourhoseinzadeh, M. (2017) 'The Relationship between Health Locus of Control and Health Behaviors in Emergency Medicine Personnel', *International Journal of Community Based Nursing and Midwifery*. 5, (4), p. 397. Available at: </pmc/articles/PMC5635559/> [Accessed: 10 April 2022].

Prilleltensky, I. (2020) 'Mattering at the Intersection of Psychology, Philosophy, and Politics', *American Journal of Community Psychology*. 65, (1–2), pp. 16–34. Available at: [doi: 10.1002/AJCP.12368](https://doi.org/10.1002/AJCP.12368). [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Probst, B. (2015) 'The Eye Regards Itself: Benefits and Challenges of Reflexivity in Qualitative Social Work Research', *Social Work Research*. 39, (1), pp. 37–48. Available at: [doi: 10.1093/SWR/SVU028](https://doi.org/10.1093/SWR/SVU028). [Accessed 20 November 2022].

Prout, J. and Prout, A. (1997) 'Introduction', in *Constructing and Deconstructing Childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. London: Farmer Press, pp. 1–6.

Punch, S. (2002) 'Research with Children: The Same or Different from Research with Adults?', *Childhood*, 9, (3), pp. 321–341.

Rabinow, P. Sullivan, W. (1987) 'The Interpretive Turn a Second Look', in Rabinow, P. Sullivan, W. (ed.) *Interpretive Social Science: A Second Look*. 2nd edn. Berkeley: University of California, pp. 1–30.

Robson, C. (2002) *Real World Research: A Resource For Social Scientists and Practitioner Researchers*. Somerset, New Jersey: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Romm, N. R. A. (2015) 'Reviewing the Transformative Paradigm: A Critical Systemic and Relational (Indigenous) Lens', *Systemic Practice and Action Research*, 28, (5), pp. 411–427. Available at: [doi: 10.1007/S11213-015-9344-5](https://doi.org/10.1007/S11213-015-9344-5). [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Rosenberg, M. and McCullough, B. (1981) 'Mattering: Inferred Significance to Parents and Mental Health Among Adolescents', in *Research in Community and Mental Health*. Greenwich: JAI Press, pp. 222–243.

Rowe, S., Baldry, E. and Earles, W. (2015) 'Australian Social Work Decolonising Social Work Research: Learning from Critical Indigenous Approaches'. *Australian Social Work*. 68, pp.296-326. Available at: [doi: 10.1080/0312407X.2015.1024264](https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2015.1024264). [Accessed 06 January 2023].

Royle, S., C. A. B. (1996) 'Health and Welfare in St Helena: the contribution of W.J.J Arnold, colonial surgeon', *Health and Place*, 2, (4), pp. 239–245.

Royle, S. (2007) *The Company's Island: St Helena, Company Colonies and the Colonial Endeavour*. London: IB Tauris.

Royle, S. A. (1992) 'Attitudes and Aspirations on St Helena in the Face of Continued Economic Dependency', *The Geographical Journal*. 158, (1), pp. 31-48. Available at: [doi: 10.2307/3060014](https://doi.org/10.2307/3060014). [Accessed 07 November 2022].

Royle, S. A. (1995) 'Economic and Political Prospects for the British Atlantic Dependent Territories Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article : Economic and political prospects for the British Atlantic Dependent Territories', *The Geographical Journal*, 161(3), pp. 307–321.

Royle, S. A. (2001) *A Geography of Islands, Small Island Insularity*. London: Routledge.

Royle, S. A. (2010) 'Postcolonial Culture on Dependent Islands', *Space and Culture*. 13(2), pp. 203–215. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1206331209358230. [Accessed 07 November 2022].

Royle, S. A. (2019) 'Island history, not the story of Islands: The case of St Helena', *Shima*, 13, (1), pp. 44–55. Available at: doi: 10.21463/shima.13.1.06. [Accessed 06 November 2022].

Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Said, E. (1989) 'Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors', *Critical Inquiry*, 15, pp. 205–225.

Said, E. (2001) *Power, Politics, and Culture: Interviews with Edward W. Said. Edited and with an Introduction by Gauri Viswanathan*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Sakamoto, I. and Pitner, R. O. (2005) 'Use of Critical Consciousness in Anti-Oppressive Social Work Practice: Disentangling Power Dynamics at Personal and Structural Levels', *British Journal of Social Work*, 35, pp. 435–452. Available at: doi: 10.1093/bjsw/bch190. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Saldana, J. (2016) *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. 3rd edn. London: SAGE Publications.

Sandberg, A. (2010) 'Play Memories and Place Identity', *Early Child Development and Care*, 173, (2–3), pp. 207–221. Available at: doi: 10.1080/03004430303091. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Sandseter, E. B. H., Storli, R. and Sando, O. J. (2020) 'The dynamic relationship between outdoor environments and children's play', *Education*, 50, (1), pp. 97–110. Available at: doi: 10.1080/03004279.2020.1833063. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Dos Santos Marques, I. (2021) 'Implementation of virtual focus groups for qualitative data collection in a global pandemic', *American Journal of Surgery*. Elsevier, 221, (5), p. 918. Available at: doi: 10.1016/J.AMJSURG.2020.10.009. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Saunders, B. *et al.* (2018) 'Saturation in qualitative research: exploring its conceptualization and operationalization', *Qual Quant*, 52, pp. 1893–1907. Available at: doi: 10.1007/s11135-017-0574-8. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Schon, D. (1983) *The Reflective Practitioner*. New York: Basic Books.

Schon, D. (1994) *The Reflective Practitioner. How professionals think in action*. 2nd edn. Farnham: Ashgate.

Schulenberg, A. (2002) 'They are as if Family: Community and Informal Social Controls on St. Helena.', in Charlton, T., Gunter., B. and Hannan, A. (ed.) *Broadcast Television*

Effects in A Remote Community. London: LAWRENCE ERLBAUM ASSOCIATES, PUBLISHERS, pp. 21–42.

Schulenburg, A. H. (1999) 'Transient observations : the textualizing of St Helena through five hundred years of colonial discourse'. University of St Andrews. Available at: <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/3419> [Accessed: 13 September 2021].

Sewpaul, V. and Henrickson, M. (2019) 'The (r)evolution and decolonization of social work ethics: The Global Social Work Statement of Ethical Principles', *International Social Work*, 62, (6), pp. 1469–1481. Available at: doi: 10.1177/0020872819846238. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

SHG (1952) *Colonial Office Report on St Helena for the years 1950-1951*. London.

SHG (2021) *St Helena Census 2021, St Helena Government*. Available at: <https://www.sainthelena.gov.sh/2021/news/st-helena-population-and-housing-census-2021-initial-results-released/>. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Smith, R. and Neill, J. (2005) 'Examining the Possibilities of School Transformation for Peace in Northern Ireland from a Narrative Perspective', *Journal of Transformative Education*, 3, (1), pp. 6–32. Available at: doi: 10.1177/1541344604270863. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Spencer, G., Fairbrother, H., and Thompson, J. (2020). Privileges of Power: Authenticity, Representation and the "Problem" of Children's Voices in Qualitative Health Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406920958597>. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Spivak, S.A. (1988) 'Can the subaltern speak?' in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg; Urbana/Chicago; University of Illinois Press; pp.271-313.

Spyrou, S. (2011) 'The limits of children's voices: From authenticity to critical, reflexive representation:', *Childhood*. 18, (2), pp. 151–165. Available at: doi: 10.1177/0907568210387834. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Spyrou, S. (2017) 'Time to decenter childhood?':, *Childhood*. 24, (4), pp. 433–437. Available at: doi: 10.1177/0907568217725936. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Spyrou, S. (2018) *Disclosing Childhoods: Research and Knowledge Production for Critical Childhood Studies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Strauss, A. (1969) *Mirrors and Masks*. San Francisco, CA: University of California.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1998) 'Grounded theory methodology: An overview.', in *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, pp. 158–183.

Tan, S. and Brown, J. (2005) 'The World Café in Singapore Creating a Learning Culture Through Dialogue', *The Journal of Applied Behavioural Science*, 41, (1), pp. 83–90. Available at: doi: 10.1177/0021886304272851. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Thambinathan, V. and Kinsella, E. A. (2021) 'Decolonizing Methodologies in Qualitative Research: Creating Spaces for Transformative Praxis', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 20. pp. 19–24. Available at: doi: 10.1177/16094069211014766.

[Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Thomas, N. P. (2021) 'Child-led research, children's rights and childhood studies: A defence', *Childhood*, 28, (2), pp. 186–199. Available at: doi: 10.1177/0907568221996743. [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

UNICEF (2015) *UNICEF PROCEDURE FOR ETHICAL STANDARDS IN RESEARCH, EVALUATION, DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS*. New York: UNICEF. Available at: [https://unicef.sharepoint.com/teams/OoR/SitePages/Research Taxonomy.aspx](https://unicef.sharepoint.com/teams/OoR/SitePages/Research%20Taxonomy.aspx) [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

UNICEF (2021) *What Makes Me? Core Capacities for Living and Learning*. Florence: UNICEF Office of Research - Innocenti.

Veck, W. (2013) 'Participation in Education as an Invitation to Become Towards the World: Hannah Arendt on the authority, thoughtfulness and imagination of the educator', 45, (1), pp. 36–48. Available at: doi: 10.1080/00131857.2012.713310. [Accessed 14 September 2021].

Vogt, E., Brown, J., Isaacs, D. (2003) *The Art of Powerful Questions*. Mill Valley, CA: Whole Systems Associates.

Wass, S. (2015) *HC 662 – The Wass Inquiry Report into Allegations Surrounding Child Safeguarding Issues on St Helena and Ascension Island (Redacted Version) – December 2015*. Available at: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/3 [Accessed: 14 September 2021].

Winterbottom (2010) *Company culture: information, scholarship, and the East India Company settlements 1660-1720s* Unpublished Thesis, Queen Mary College London. Available at: <https://qmro.qmul.ac.uk/xmlui/handle/123456789/376> [Accessed 06 November 2022].

Wilson, K. (2011) 'Rethinking the Colonial State: Family, Gender, and Governmentality in Eighteenth-Century British Frontiers', *The American Historical Review*. Oxford Academic, 116, (5), pp. 1294–1322. Available at: doi: 10.1086/AHR.116.5.1294. [Accessed 14 September 2021].

Wood, B. E. (2014) 'Researching the everyday: young people's experiences and expressions of citizenship', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 27, (2), pp. 214–232. Available at: doi: 10.1080/09518398.2012.737047. [Accessed 14 September 2021].

Yon, D. A. (2007) 'Race-making/race-mixing: St. Helena and the South Atlantic World', *Social Dynamics*, 33, (2), pp. 144–163. Available at: doi: 10.1080/02533950708628765. [Accessed 14 September 2021].

Young, R. (1995) *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London: Routledge.

Young, R. (2001) 'Colonialism and the Desiring Maching', in *Postcolonial Discourses An Anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, pp. 76–98.

Young, R. J. (1995) *Robert J. Young - Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race, Left History: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Historical Inquiry and Debate*. London:

Routledge. Available at: *doi: 10.25071/1913-9632.6992*. [Accessed 14 September 2021].

Zhang, X. *et al.* (2021) 'Dialogue Across Social Differences, Forms of Knowledge and Intellectual Traditions', 20(1), pp. 3–8. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/15413446211066267>. [Accessed 14 September 2021].