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**Engaging young people through photovoice in coastal resorts.**

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### Article

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**Structured Abstract**

**Purpose** – This paper examines and reflects upon the value of using a camera with young people in the research process. In particular, the paper discusses the opportunities that a camera can bring when researching young people’s lives. Subsequently, encouraging the use of photovoice with young people in ethnographic research.

**Design/methodology/approach** – The paper examines how photovoice can be a beneficial method of data collection when researching young people’s lives. By adopting a qualitative participatory approach, and employing photovoice as one of the main methods, rich and meaningful data was gathered that traditional qualitative methods alone would not have captured.

**Findings** – Photovoice was used alongside traditional methods to explore how young people experienced and perceived policing, safety and security in a coastal resort. Using a camera, captured rich images which alongside the narratives given by the young people, provided profound and detailed accounts.

**Originality/value** – Using innovative participatory qualitative research methods with young people and adapting to the research setting allowed for deep and meaningful explorations of young people’s lives to be gathered. Carefully considering the use of appropriate methods of data collection and selecting methods that are ‘fun’ and ‘interesting’ empowered young people and provided the researcher with an insight into their social worlds.

**Photovoice: Background and context**

Originating from Paulo Freire’s participatory photography research in Peru in the 1970s, photovoice developed as a concept and a methodology by Wang et al, (1995) in the 1990s in the field of health focusing on researching women’s lives in China. Subsequently, Wang and Burris (1997:369) adapted the process they termed photo novella, ‘a process using photographs or pictures to tell a story’ to photovoice, a methodology whereby ‘people can identify, represent and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique’ concerning three main goals; reflection, critical discussion and knowledge exchange, and to reach policy makers. As Wang and Burris (1997:369) elaborate photovoice ‘entrusts cameras to the hands of people to enable them to act as recorders, and potential catalysts for change, in their own

communities'. The embedded goals, defined by Wang and Burris above, therefore empower members of a community, acknowledging them as experts in their own world through taking photographs, appropriate for participatory research. In doing so, the process promotes reflection and critical dialogue that might not have been captured using other means. In particular, this participatory notion has been widely used in community settings to elicit understanding at a local level focusing on change and action as a method of participatory action research (Wang and Burris 1997; Wang 2006).

Photovoice has since then developed and has been adapted by researchers in different fields as a participatory visual tool since the 1990s. Using photographs in the research process to elicit views and conversations, also known as photo-elicitation interviews, have commonly been employed in the field of sociology, anthropology, education and youth studies. However, it is important to note the difference between photovoice and photo-elicitation interviews, where the later 'refers to the use of a single or set of photographs as stimulus during a research interview' (Meo, 2010:149). When employing photovoice in the research process the importance lies in the production of photographs by the participants themselves in order for critical reflection as part of the key principles of participatory action research, emphasising change and action.

In the context of the research discussed in this paper, photovoice was used as a participatory method, incorporating Wang and Burris (1997) three goals of reflection, critical discussion and knowledge exchange, and to reach policy makers. The later goal was achieved via dissemination of young people's voices in a report given to each youth organisation to discuss with local agencies their experiences and perceptions on local matters promoting their inclusion on matters that concerned them. As Delgado (2015:18) acknowledges, marginalised groups such as young people, can 'benefit from having their stories or narratives told to increase positive attention and resources to their communities'. In particular, using photovoice enabled me as a researcher to gain a deeper understanding of what place meant to the young people in each coastal resort. Young people construct and create identities in public spaces (Beynon et al., 1994) and continue to identify with their local community/neighbourhood (see Andersen et al., 1999; Kintrea et al., 2008: 2011; Watt and Stenson, 1998; Crawshaw, 2001). Photovoice captured this with each photograph that was taken and the narratives that accompanied them.

Employing photovoice as a method of data collection has many advantages; it is flexible and adaptable to many settings; taking photographs is easy to do and can be used by a wide range of people; and can be utilised alongside other methods, which this paper strongly advocates. Employing photovoice in the research process with young people emphasised both the participatory imperative and allowed the research ‘to incorporate knowledge that is not accessible verbally’ (Pink, 2004: 361). In doing so, photovoice has become a popular tool when conducting research with young people, and researchers in the field of education, health, and youth studies advocate its use as a valuable insight into the everyday lives of young people, encouraging rapport, inclusion, participation and empowerment (Epstein et al., 2006; Thomson, 2008; Meo, 2010).

Photovoice has been employed with young people in the research process across different fields and in different countries. For example, with street children (Baker et al., 1996; Vakaoti, 2009; Young and Barrett, 2001); homeless young people in Australia, (Dixon and Morgan, 2005), Latino adolescents in North Carolina (Streng et al., 2009); urban youth in schools in America (ZenKov and Harmon, 2009), exploring students’ habitus in Argentina (Meo, 2010); and with school children in New Zealand (Wood, 2016). In particular, in the field of health, research with young people utilising photovoice has been conducted by (Wang and Redwood-Jones, 2001; Wilson et al., 2007; Warne et al., 2013; Bayer and Alburquerque, 2014; and Drew et al., 2010) to name but a few. More recently in the social sciences, in particular in the field of criminology, photovoice has been employed by Fitzgibbon and Healy (2017) whom researched the lives and experiences of those on probation supervision. However, in the field of criminology, this has been limited with young people, particularly when eliciting young people’s experiences on policing, security and safety in coastal resorts.

**The Research context**

The research employed a triangulation of qualitative methods to enhance the quality and validity of the research whilst emphasising the necessity of young people’s participation in matters that affect them (UNCRC, Article 12 Right to Participation, ratified in 1991 by UK government). Acknowledging the importance of young people’s narratives and interactions (James et al., 1998) emphasised that the triangulation of methods were fundamental in exploring and understanding young people’s lives in each locality (Vakaoti, 2009). The

research set out to explore the ways in which young people conceptualised crime, policing, safety and security in two coastal resorts. The methods employed intended to give voice to young people and aimed to provide a greater understanding of their everyday lives. An ethnographic study was conducted in two coastal resorts, one in England and one in Wales, and access to young people was facilitated through center-based youth organisations and outreach work in the communities over a period of twelve months (six months in each locality). Particular care has been taken not to include data that would be recognisable to avoid the identification of the study sites and pseudonyms have therefore been used for each locality. ‘Sandton’ refers to the coastal resort in England and ‘Rockford’ to the Welsh resort. The research participants were aged between 10 and 17 years old. In total, 100 qualitative interviews were conducted: 23 semi-structured interviews with young people in the youth organisations and 77 unstructured qualitative interviews with young people ‘on the street’. Additional qualitative data was also generated with young people in the youth organisations through a range of methods including: participant observation; various group work exercises; photovoice; group discussions and other visual techniques. Additional data of 12 semi-structured interviews were generated with professionals in the field of crime prevention and youth work.

### **The process of utilising a camera in the research process**

Delgado (2015:7) summarises that ‘photovoice, at its most basic level, is the use of photographic equipment, usually digital, to capture a visual image, and then to transform this image into a vehicle for generating information and discussion’. This was employed in each of the fieldwork sites to generate discussions around crime, policing, safety and security. Employing photovoice enabled the young people to reflect on their perceptions and experiences of these concepts and their everyday lives in their local community through visually capturing an image to represent their voice.

When fieldwork started the most important part of the process was building a rapport with the young people in the fieldwork sites, the importance of which is documented elsewhere (See xxx, 2017). After 3 months I discussed the idea of using a camera with the young people in Sandton and after 1 month in Rockford, explained in more detail below. The young people were fully informed about the prospect of using a camera through letters, consent forms, participation information sheets and my own detailed discussions with them throughout the fieldwork. Disposable cameras were given to those who opted to participate in the activity.

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Once the young people had decided to take part they were given the opportunity to take photographs of places of particular significance to them; for example a place where they liked to go, or where they felt safe. The young people were given a list of ten prompts and were invited to take photographs of what the words meant to them. The prompts are detailed below in Table One. The method provided another way to acquire young people’s perceptions and experiences of community life and public space and allowed for minimum control and interference from the researcher and maximum self-determination for the young people.

**Table 1 List of prompts for photovoice**

Once the disposable cameras had been returned and the films had been developed, sessions were arranged to discuss the photographs with the young people. This happened differently in each site. In Sandton, one group session was arranged for the four participating young people to discuss their photographs, and in Rockford this was conducted on an individual basis with each of the five participating young people. (The difference in the number of participants accounted for the varying interest showed by the young people in each locality). Reflecting upon this activity in Sandton, I decided to pursue the photographic activity at an earlier stage of my fieldwork in Rockford. This was to allow for the return of signed consent forms, and also for getting the photographs developed and arranging sessions. As and when cameras were returned in Rockford, the films were developed and individual sessions were arranged with each young person on a first-come-first-served basis. In a separate private room each young person was given their photographs and asked to place them under the title (prompt) that the photograph represented. When doing so they were asked to explain why they had taken the photograph and conversations were audio-recorded. In Sandton the group discussion with the young people and their photographs proved to be insightful and informative, similar to the work of other researchers (see Morrow, 2001; Thomson and Gunter, 2007; Elsley, 2004). Likewise, engaging in one-to-one meetings in Rockford proved to be beneficial because I was able to learn from each young person their reasons for taking the photographs and what each photograph represented. This approach emphasised ‘young people’s positions as active social agents who play an important role in shaping the world around them’ (Heath et al., 2009: 116). The photographs served to map the locality and informed my understanding of how the young people conceptualised their community and how they engaged and navigated in public space revealing ‘the continuing sociological relevance of class and place in understanding the lived

experience' (MacDonald et al., 2005: 885). Through this method, areas of public space that were 'controlled' by others such as other young people, adults or the police were also highlighted. The method produced rich data that allowed 'young people to take control of the research process and the representations that they consider significant' (Vakaoti, 2009: 447). This participatory technique proved to be an effective complementary method of data collection when conducting research with and about young people (see Pain et al., 2000). The way in which methods were employed in Sandton would not have worked in the same way as in Rockford and vice versa. The methods varied because the young people in each site varied, and by being sensitive to the research setting and adapting to this accordingly was beneficial.

### **A picture is worth a thousand words**

On average participants took 36 photographs each, the maximum capacity allowed for each disposable camera. The majority of participants took one or two images per prompt with the remainder of photographs taken for personal use. The process of discussing the photographs for each prompt allowed the opportunity and space to discuss issues and concerns that were not talked about in the traditional interviews and other qualitative methods conducted. I found that additional feelings, emotions and issues were discussed through the photographs that had not already been captured with the traditional methods. Interestingly, I found that the images surprised me and I was taken aback by how much insight I gained into their social worlds with each photograph taken.

This was illustrated each time I got the photographs developed. Before each session I would look at the photographs to try and guess which photograph had been taken for each prompt. It became a learning experience and illustrated the importance of the young people's narratives accompanying each image. One photograph taken below, Figure 1, was taken of a person walking the down street with a suitcase. I was unable to guess which prompt this photograph represented. When the young person explained her reasons for the photograph she explained that this photograph represented a sad place because it represented somebody going home for example, a friend or family member leaving them in Rockford. When discussing this photograph further with the participant she spoke about what it was like to live in a coastal resort where visitors would visit in peak times of the year, mainly in the summer, and how very different this was when living in Rockford in the winter months which became a sad place. The seasonal culture of Rockford, with its varied and transient population, impacted upon the young

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people living there who often felt that where they lived was tailored to the needs of tourists and not the people that lived there:

*“In the winter there’s just nothing to do. We just have to wander about” (Male 15 Sandton Outreach-based).*

*“The [swimming] centre is just never open either, that’s why all there is arcades and they’re for tourists really” (Female 15 Rockford youth-centre interview).*

The impact that living in a coastal resort had on shaping young people’s lived experiences revealed the exclusionary nature of local amenities and resources focused on the ‘visiting tourist’. Such consumption spaces, as Raco (2003: 1871) argues, ‘tend to be geared up to the needs of wealthy visitors, not to local groups or communities, who are often culturally and even physically excluded’.

**Figure 1**

In Rockford, there was evidence that young people’s experiences were shaped not only by the macro issues of social inequality associated with structural location, but also on a micro level in relation to their individual experiences of growing up in Rockford. Place and identity were powerfully connected (Green and White, 2007) where embedded identities were shaped by place (McLaughlin, 1993) and locality was central to this (Hall et al., 1999). The neighbourhood, therefore, was a significant place of self-identity for young people, outside of the home and school (Cahill, 2000). The young people had a strong attachment to where they lived, identified closely with the area and articulated what Watt and Stenson (1998: 257) have termed ‘localism’, in the way in which they talked about their neighbourhood.

My understanding of place furthered about what it was like for young people living in a coastal resort when a photograph was taken of the train station in Figure 2 below. The prompt that this photograph represented was also a sad place. The young person who had taken this photograph wrote underneath that this represented ‘going away’. The young participant explained that the train station represented the times when her mum would leave after a visit and this was always

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3 a sad time in her life. I then discovered that the young person did not live with her biological  
4 mother and was in foster care, revealing more insights into her experience of living in  
5 Rockford. This was something that added to my understanding of place, and in particular  
6 Rockford as a coastal resort, in which some of the young people I later found out, were  
7 currently living in foster care and did not live with their biological parents. Therefore using  
8 photovoice allowed for the meaning of place to come through, in particular, what local  
9 buildings and amenities represented to them and the seasonal nature of where they lived.  
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## 22 Figure 2

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27 Below, in Figure 3 are the photographs taken by some participants for the prompt ‘a young  
28 person’s place’. Underneath the photograph of a local park one of the participants had written  
29 ‘this is a children’s place but it is not very safe’. When discussing this photograph further she  
30 explained why it was not very safe:  
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34 *“I wouldn’t really go to that park because that’s where the old people hang around and*  
35 *that’s where druggies go to get drunk and stuff...it’s not a place for kids” (Female 12*  
36 *Rockford youth-centre Interview).*  
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40 This promoted further discussions about the local parks and spaces for young people to go to  
41 in Rockford revealing that adults would also spend time there and therefore these spaces  
42 became cut off to them due to the presence of adults who threatened their personal safety as  
43 discussed below:  
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47 *“It’s supposed to be for young kids but you never see them in there it’s too dangerous”*  
48 *(Male 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).*  
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52 *“This is not for kids it is well known around here it’s where adult druggies go. I have*  
53 *walked through it once and there were needles on the floor” (Female 14 Rockford*  
54 *youth-centre Interview).*  
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58 *“Yeah I know how the hell can that be a young person’s place cos there’s needles and*  
59 *everything on there” (Female 13 Rockford youth-centre Interview).*  
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**Figure 3**

In this way, young people’s perceptions about risk and fear can derive from their relationship with their local environment (Matthews and Limb, 1999; McKendrick, 1997; Holloway and Valentine, 2001). In other words, the ‘physical, economic, social and civic fabric of neighbourhoods create particular sets of interactions between children and their neighbourhoods, which in turn are shaped by class, gender, age and race’ (Pain 2006: 225). Therefore, for young people in Rockford, it was certain adults in public spaces that framed their perceptions and experiences about safety and security.

The data, collected through utilising photovoice in the research process, provided important insights into how young people perceived their community and the resources in it. Place and class were central to young people’s experiences (Kintrea et al., 2008; MacDonald et al., 2005) and influenced and impacted upon their everyday lives. Utilising photovoice added valuable meaning to the concept of place, and allowed me as a researcher to comprehend young people’s feelings about the coastal resort they were living in gaining important insights into the social worlds of the young people. It gave vital background and context to the overall research in terms of how young people navigated through public space, and how the young people conceptualised crime, policing, safety and security. Information that may have not been discovered from other traditional methods alone, as the above insights might not have been discovered in the context of an interview.

**Ethical considerations**

*The processes of seeking consent*

Seeking consent from research participants included processes that were implemented over a period of time. Building up a rapport with the participants was an important part of the research. This occurred before consent for the participation in the actual research was sought. It permitted the young people ‘to exercise control in deciding whether they wish to participate in a research study’ (Freeman and Mathison, 2009: 43) which remains an important principle of participatory methods. All participants were informed about consent and about the reasons, methods and

purpose of the research (Alderson and Morrow, 2004; Morrow and Richards, 1996). Participant information sheets were provided to the young people to make sure that they were properly informed about all of the methods and letters were handed out. All documents were written in a manner appropriate to the age range of the participants, in a manner that avoided giving too much or too little information, which can be either 'misleading or off putting' (Heath et al., 2009: 26). Documentation such as consent forms, participant information sheets, and letters to parents, carers and guardians had to be worded differently in each site. In Sandton, forms were used but these had to be changed in Rockford due to different literacy levels of the young people and adults.

After the young people were fully informed about the nature of the research, and oral consent had been gained, informed consent was sought from their parents, carers or guardians. The UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) Article 1 defines a child 'as a person below the age of 18, unless the laws of a particular country set the legal age for adulthood younger'. Due to the research involving participants aged between 10 and 17 years old, and in following the guidance above, informed consent was obtained from both the young person and the relevant adult.

An information sheet, parental consent form and letter were sent, or taken by the potential participants, to the relevant adult. Participants also signed an additional consent form prior to the start of each interview. This adhered to the policy and procedures of the youth organisations, where parental consent forms are sent out to relevant adults prior to activities and events taking place. However, seeking consent from parents in Rockford proved difficult. When consent forms were handed out to the young people, many came back with apparently forged parental signatures. When I enquired about this the young people informed me that their parents did not sign forms and many were unable to read and write, therefore, the young people signed them instead. My gatekeeper informed me that this often happened and that the youth organisation had in the past telephoned parents for consent and I elected to follow this practice.

### *Ethical issues arising from the photographic method*

When preparing and planning for the photographic activity, I was aware of the points made by Sime (2008) and Vakaoti (2009) regarding the possibility of participants taking photographs of other human beings. To overcome this, the young people were asked not to do so when being

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informed about the method and this was also stipulated on the information sheets. All photographs were taken of places except for one in Sandton where a participant took a photograph of another participant in the study to portray a safe place with friends, which was deemed acceptable as both had given consent. The photograph of the friend was concealed however, to ensure anonymity.

**Data Analysis**

The research employed a triangulation of qualitative methods (Denzin, 1970) of which photovoice was one of them. Field notes, interview and focus group transcripts, flip chart poster and brainstorming exercises and visual materials (mapping and photovoice) were all analysed using a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 2008). The process allowed for themes to emerge from the data, and all data was appropriately coded according to the themes, concepts or patterns that emerged.

This manual process was initially applied to all of the textual data collected before a qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) software package was used. NVivo was used to manage and further analyse the collected data by looking across and within it to allow for further coding of themes, patterns and relationships. Nvivo was specifically chosen given that it is particularly beneficial in allowing for the analysis of visual and textual data. Coffey et al., (1996) claims that computer packages, such as NVivo, are useful tools for ethnographers that serve as an analytical as well as a representational device. It allowed for all the data to be stored in one place where photographs and visual materials could be linked and coded with textual documents.

In the same way that analysing textual data poses problems concerned with interpretation, analysing visual data such as photographs raises additional concerns. Thomson (2008: 9) highlights that ‘just like a word, an image is a human construction and culturally specific’. Concerns over the reliability of images and ‘mediating between lived experiences and representing the meaning of that experience’ (Freeman and Mathison, 2009: 159) were relevant to the research. To overcome this, photographs were analysed with reference to the additional commentary provided by the young people. When the young people were asked to discuss what each photograph represented they were audio-recorded talking about what they had photographed and discussions followed. Therefore the interpretation of the photograph was shaped and informed by language and its accompanying description (Price, 1994). The addition of qualitative commentary helped to stabilise the meanings of the image and provided a ‘road

map' into understanding the feeling and experience depicted (Gauntlett, 2005 cited in Freeman and Mathison, 2009: 160). The importance of the content of an image (internal narrative) and the social context in which they were created (external narrative) produced by the photographs were of equal importance (Banks, 2001). Paying attention to both strengthens the analytical process (Freeman and Mathison, 2009:148) and without the narratives from the young people the actual meaning behind the photograph would be lost.

## Reflections from the field

Photovoice was employed, as a means of giving young people control over the research process, to be fun, and also to capture data that might not have been captured otherwise. But it also raised some interesting points. Indeed, the significance of the camera in the research process has been discussed by Pink (2004: 367) who asked 'how does the type of camera one uses and the way it is used contribute to the way informants see and judge the researcher?' When reflecting back on photovoice, it became apparent that the camera, a disposable one, was received differently by the young people in each fieldwork site. In Sandton, disposable cameras were looked upon as not very exciting. This was reflective of the material resources that the young people in Sandton were accustomed to. Most young people had mobile phones and found the idea of using a disposable camera alien to their culture it was 'outdated'. In order to overcome this, getting to know your fieldwork site and understanding the cultural and demographic characteristics of place can help to shape which tool is best suited in each context. In contrast, not all young people in Rockford owned mobile phones and being given the opportunity of owning a disposable camera was well received. Some young people would voice their interest, sign up to participate and take a camera, but then later on claim they had been lost and would ask if they could have another one. The camera, therefore, was popular and an exciting method to use in Rockford. Similar to Morrow's (2001) research, disposable cameras were used because they were relatively cheap to buy and to have the negatives processed. Also if they were lost or not returned, as in Rockford, then this was not a great loss. Using disposable cameras therefore, highlighted the importance of the role of the camera (Pink, 2004) and the material values that young people placed on them. Owning a camera and then getting the negatives developed was an exciting part of the research process for the young people in Rockford. They took pride in the photographs that they had taken and enjoyed discussing them, revealing insights into their everyday lives that would not have been captured otherwise.

**Giving something back**

Using a camera can be seen as fun and creative, which brings with it an immediate reward, the photograph (Rabinwitz and Holt, 2013). In recognising the importance of giving something back, when I got the photographs developed I got two sets. One copy was for the young people to use in the activity session with myself and the other copy of the photographs I put into a photo album and gave to each young person who participated. This was a token of appreciation for the time that the young people had spent participating in the activity and also was in recognition of the value of what the photographs meant to them. This was influenced by the work of Vakaoti (2009) whom I read before the fieldwork began, and the way in which Vakaoti (2009:447) described the genuine elation of his participant to be the ‘proud owner of the album, about something he could possess and call his own. He found his adventure with the camera an exciting experience and was grateful for the opportunity to be trusted with a camera and the chance to capture images for himself’ (Vakaoti, 2009:447), which was something that I could relate to and witnessed in Rockford.

Resonating with Wang and Burris (1997) that one of the main aims of photovoice is for the potential to influence local policy makers, the way in which this was achieved was through producing a report for the young people and also the youth organisation. Young people read through what I had produced to seek their approval and once this was completed the report was finalised and given back to the youth organisation and copies given to all young people. In doing so this reflected the act of giving something back to the youth organisation who had allowed me access to the young people and who had supported me throughout the fieldwork. During a time of austerity and cuts to local services the report was published in order to help the youth organisation seek further funding and to be used in consultations with local policy makers when needed.

**Conclusion**

When engaging with young people in the research process the most appropriate tools to engage with young people is vital. If the tools are not appropriate, and rapport not established, then this can impact on the successfulness of the overall research. Thinking about the age of the participants is paramount and also the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of ‘place’ in which the research takes place. With regards to photovoice such questions need to be asked beforehand such as; Are disposable cameras appropriate? Could prompts be texted to mobile

phones instead? Would borrowing a professional camera be more beneficial? For this research, assumptions could not be made that all young people would have mobile phones, nor that using a professional camera would be beneficial. Giving each young person a disposable camera added a significant element of ownership for the young people and gave them possession of something that they might not have otherwise had access to.

Empowering young people, being innovative and creative, and adapting methods which are age appropriate were fundamental. Allowing young people to be in control and giving them time to comprehend what the prompts meant, and then which photographs would best represent this, were all part of the process. Using photovoice allowed the opportunity for young people to reflect and discuss what each photograph represented. Meanings that a researcher could not have gained otherwise.

The account given in this paper has focussed on using a disposable camera when researching young people's lives but photovoice can be a valuable tool of data collection in all fields with all people in all contexts, when giving voice to participants is paramount. The photographs taken by participants, and the accompanying narratives, provided an understanding about the social worlds of young people that cannot be imagined or assumed by a researcher. The photographs and narratives provided an insight into an otherwise under researched field (Pain, 2006). The photographs exposed young people's feelings and concerns and revealed how 'place', 'class' and 'youth' functioned as key determinants in shaping their perceptions.

The paper surmises that photovoice gives 'voice to the voiceless' (Visweswaren, 1994 cited in Thomson, 2008: 3) which is particularly suitable when conducting research with young people who are often overlooked or unheard on issues that concern them. When thinking about whether to employ photovoice in the research process this paper strongly advocates that this method helps to further explore the phenomenon under study. Photovoice allows for in depth and meaningful insights into participants worlds that might not be captured otherwise. In this study it gave voice to the young people and enhanced their participation and empowerment in the overall research process.

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Table 1 List of prompts for photovoice

|    |                                 |
|----|---------------------------------|
| 1  | A safe place                    |
| 2  | A safe place with friends       |
| 3  | Something that is anti-social   |
| 4  | A fun place                     |
| 5  | A sad place                     |
| 6  | A young person's place          |
| 7  | An old person's place           |
| 8  | An adult place                  |
| 9  | A happy place                   |
| 10 | A place that the police control |



Figure 1

69x108mm (300 x 300 DPI)

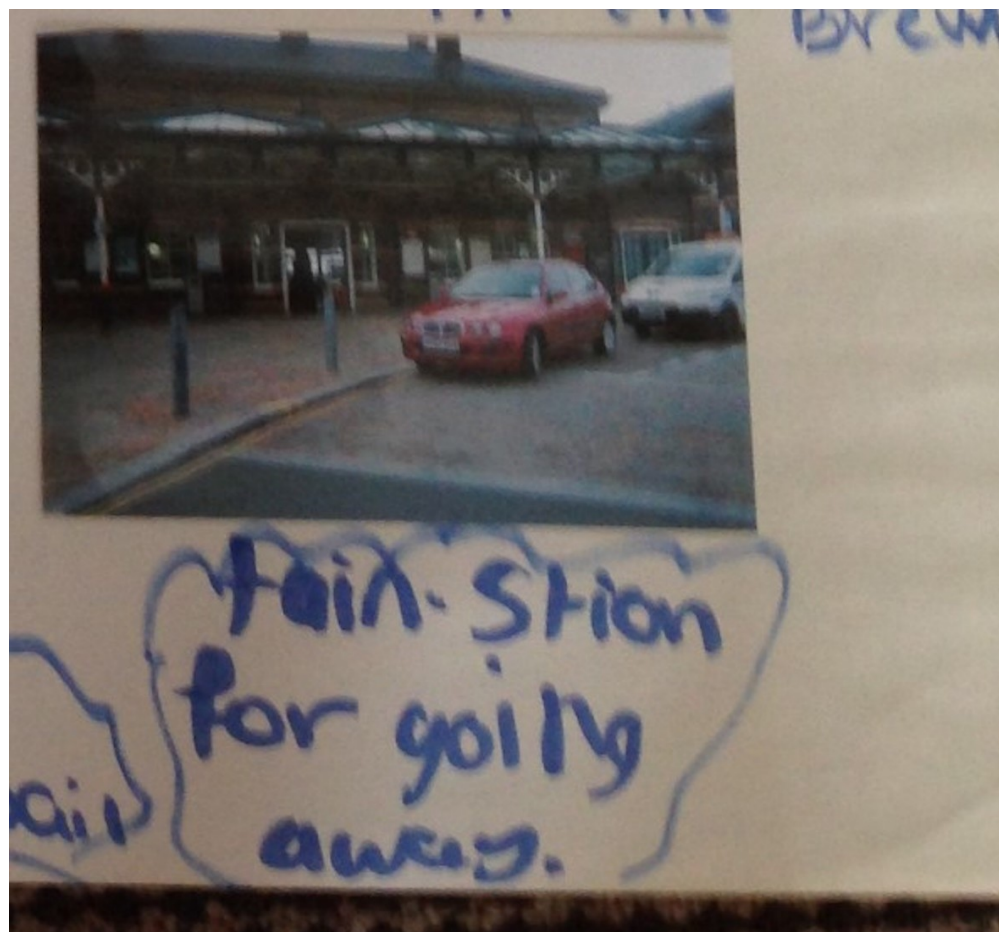


Figure 2

99x92mm (300 x 300 DPI)

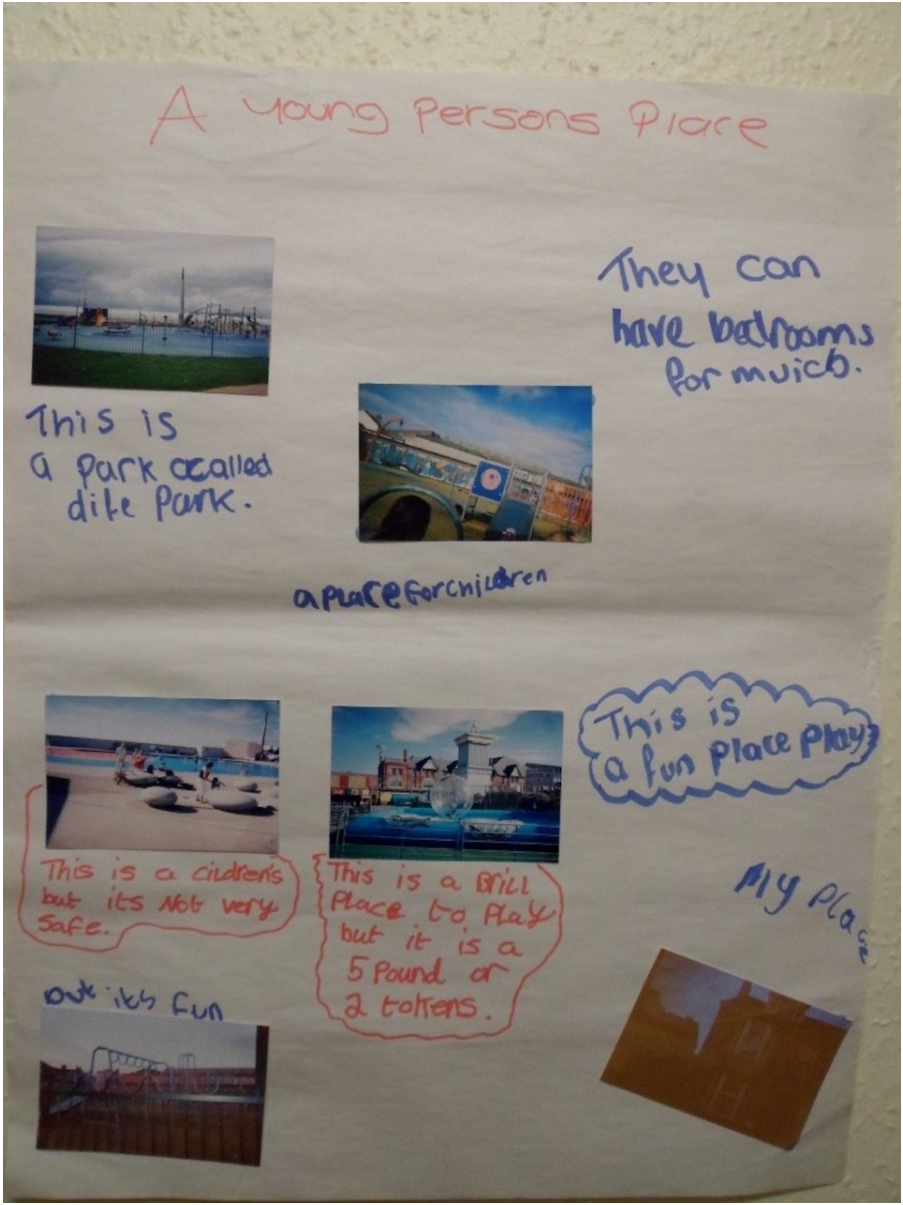


Figure 3

81x108mm (300 x 300 DPI)