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Stevenson, Andrew, Oldfield, Jeremy and Ortiz, Emily (2022) Image and word on the street: a reflexive, phased approach to combining participatory visual methods and qualitative interviews to explore resilience with street connected young people in Guatemala City. Qualitative Research in Psychology, 19 (1). pp. 176-203. ISSN 1478-0887

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2018.1557769

Publisher: Taylor & Francis (Routledge)

Version: Accepted Version

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Stevenson, A, Oldfield, J & Ortiz, E, (2019) Image and word on the street: a reflexive, phased approach to combining participatory visual methods and qualitative interviews to explore resilience with street connected young people in Guatemala City, *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* DOI. 10.1080/14780887.2018.1557769.

Abstract

We present an argument for reflexively combining participatory visual methods, alongside qualitative ethnographic interviewing, to explore resilience with street-connected young people in Guatemala City. We present primary research in the form of three case studies, selected from a wider, mixed-methods study. The case studies adopt an approach rooted in phenomenology, incorporating participatory photography, drawing and image-elicited interviewing. We discuss the advantages of combining visual methods with qualitative interviewing in ways that respond to the developing phases of research, and to the preferences of participants. We also outline the potential benefits of this approach for psychological research into resilience and for benefitting voluntary outreach organisations with whom we collaborated.

Keywords: Ethnography, participatory, photography, drawing, resilience

Background and context: street connectedness in Guatemala

The term street connected young people (SCYP), sometimes glossed as 'street children', refers to a fluid, heterogeneous group who may be abandoned, homeless, or working on the street (Pluck, 2015). It has been reported that 18% of child street workers in Guatemala City are homeless, with 48% working long hours in the street without adult supervision (Pinzón-Rondón et al., 2006). Unemployment, crime and lack of basic services are regular challenges for SCYP in Guatemala, where educational provision is limited; more than one third of its young people fail first grade (6 years). It is also estimated that over 2 million Guatemalan 15 to 24 year olds lack employability life skills (U.S. Aid, 2016).

It is conventional to stress the negative aspects of street-connectedness amongst urban young people. The culture of the urban poor in Latin America has seldom been recognised for its vitality and creativity (Goldstein, 2016). Few studies stress strategies for improving resilience and wellbeing (Pluck, 2015). However, survival strategies amongst SCYP reveal adaptive initiative. Reported motives for connecting with the streets include making a living and the development of friendships (Pacherres, 2003). Across Latin America, voluntary outreach projects work to develop seeds of hope and belongingness with SCYP by providing routine and safety for SCYP (Joanou, 2014). In urban spaces, away from sources of risk, they offer zones of refuge where alternate social identities can be constructed (Matthews, Limb, & Taylor 2000), nurturing identities not realized elsewhere (Massey, 2013).

In Guatemala SCYP have restricted choice about whether to work on the street, stay at home, go to school, or attend educational outreach projects. In this paper, we explore resilience amongst SCYP in Guatemala City in the context of our work with two volunteer educational outreach projects, using a variety of qualitative, participatory visual methods.

Risk and resilience

Resilience is generally understood in relation to aspects of development and wellbeing for individuals who are at risk (Ungar, 2012; Ungar et al., 2013). Resilience has been defined as a process of drawing upon psychological, social, cultural, and physical resources to sustain wellbeing in the face of risk, hardship or adversity (Masten, 2014). Those with better than expected wellbeing or educational outcomes under these circumstances are regarded as demonstrating resilience. Whilst many young people in Guatemala City spend much of their time on the city streets, facing challenging environments, some display individual characteristics (an easy temperament, good levels of sociability), that mitigate against inherent risks (Murphy & Moriarty, 1976; Friborg et al., 2005). Enabling factors that attenuate risk emanate from

interrelations of personality traits, social and community agencies that manage risk in the face of adversity (Lounsbury & Mitchell, 2009). Protective factors that mitigate risk include individuals and voluntary groups who provide support, routine and some education (Thrift, 2005). Resilient outcomes are associated with familial adaptability, (Ryan et al., 2010), support from religious groups (Donnon & Hammond, 2007), prosocial peers (Mikami & Hinshaw, 2006) and school (Theron & Engelbrecht, 2012). Resilience can thus be seen as a dynamic interaction, constructed from relations between at-risk individuals and enabling ecologies.

In this paper we explore resilience amongst SCYP in Guatemala City in relation to two voluntary, community-based education outreach projects, using a reflexive, phased combination of qualitative and participatory visual methods. We will argue that this combination of methods, using this phased, participatory approach, accesses the imaginative life-worlds of SCYP in an engaging way.

Participatory visual methods

The use of visual research methods has deep roots in psychology and psychotherapy (Literati, 2013, Reavey, 2011). Carl Jung used drawing to explore the creative unconscious, using patients' drawings as windows into the psyche (Gauntlett, 2007). Images 'reveal aspects of coding, cognition and values that may be inhibited, not observable, or not analysable when the investigator is totally dependent on verbal exchange' (Worth & Adair, 1972, p. 278). Engaging with research participants through images facilitates access to imaginative and metaphorical, rather than merely textual, ways of knowing (Literat, 2013; Papaloukas et al., 2017). It also represents a response to challenges encountered by research participants whose language may be less well developed or different from that of the researcher, especially when talking about intimate issues (Alasuutari & Järvi, 2012).

Visual methods can also increase the agency of participants and challenge the indignity of

speaking for others (Deleuze & Foucault, 1972), affording the opportunity for participants to take a more active role (Brydon-Miller, 1987). An emic, participatory **approach** modelled on participants' existing practices, facilitates engagement with imaginative, diverse ways of seeing (Pauwels, 2015). The use of cameras, smartphones, crayons and other image-making technologies enables the exploration of psychological topics such as place attachment, social relationships and identities in ways that empower participants **to** transcend writing and speech (Kress & van Leuwen, 2012).

Image-elicited interviewing

Images can be integrated into interviews to elicit responses (Harper, 2002, Reavey, 2011) to prompt memory and reduce misunderstandings (Collier, 1957; Harper, 2002). Image-elicited interviewing has been used to explore a range of experiences, from pathology to homelessness (Radley & Taylor, 2003; Suchar & Markin, 1990). In image-elicitation, pictures are less examples of data, more a means of generating richer interview transcripts. Image elicitation primarily employs photographs, (Harper, 2002), but can also use drawings (Literat, 2013), maps (Rose, 2001) or other visual materials. Images used may be part of existing collections, or purposely made for the research (Harper, 2002). They can be provided by the researcher, or **by** the participant. Either approach may deepen the intensity and flow of an interview (Pauwels, 2015).

Interviewing with pictures can stimulate participant engagement and combat apathy (Harper, 2002; Pauwels, 2015). It can provide interview structure by offering concrete talking points, and can reduce the feeling that a taboo topic is being broached, since the image itself has already been made. Practically, image elicitation enables smooth conversational flow, as images offer conversational topics that are explicable and memorable (Harper, 2002).

Participatory photography and Photovoice

The use of participant-generated images reflects a participatory approach wherein images constitute data, rather than just being a means of eliciting them (Lennette & Boddy, 2013; Pauwels, 2015; Poudrier & Maclean, 2009). In this scenario participants produce images, usually in the form of photographs (Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013), following a researcher-initiated suggestion (Minthorn & Marsh, 2016). The use of participant generated photography to offer a voice to participants (Harper, 2002) **in order to raise** awareness of social issues and **effect** policy change is termed 'photo-voice' (Wang & Burris, 1994). It has been used to research health, wellbeing and social inclusion across different age groups (Fournier et al., 2014; Roopan et al., 2016; Teti et al., 2013; Wang & Hannes, 2014). For participants, image making can be a positive move to enhance community action (Natale et al., 2016), stimulate activism (Kagan et al., 2011) and reinforce the role of expert participants (Gonzales & Rincones, 2013)

Handing cameras to participants is relatively new in mainstream psychology (Reavey, 2012), but has been employed in the critical, community, feminist and social fields (Gough, McFadden & McDonald, 2013; Kagan et al., 2011). Social psychologists increasingly use innovative qualitative methods to investigate intergroup conflict (Migliorini & Rania, 2017), acculturation, place attachment (Hui et al., 2015), homelessness (Delgado, 2015; Fortin et al., 2014), single motherhood (Duffy, 2008), gender activism (Mejia et al., 2013), sex working (Capous-Desyllas & Forro, 2014). Using participant-generated imagery has the potential to fill 'the void of understanding furnished by the limitations of quantitative methods or of spoken language' (Migliorini & Rania, 2017, p. 139).

Participatory drawing

Drawing offers an imaginative, non-linear mode of expression, drawing on creativity, memory, aspiration and metaphor, **to a greater extent than do** photography or interviews (Kress, 2002; Literat, 2013). When working with young people, participatory drawing can be particularly

fruitful since drawing technologies are relatively familiar. Using drawing to evoke emotion also requires less linguistic maturity than interviewing does (Gauntlett, 2007). The physicality of drawing is effective for depicting spaces and relationships in ways that are unencumbered by 'putting it into words' (Gauntlett, 2007). This form of embodied cognition (Clark, 2010) enables linguistic processes to be suspended for the unearthing of unconscious affect (Rattine-Flaherty & Singhal, 2007). Arguably, drawing is ideal for investigating phenomena that are experienced in embodied, sensory and spatial ways (Hackett et al.; 2015; Pink, 2015), such as environments and interpersonal networks. Drawing houses, families or bedrooms enables the expression of aspects of embodiment and spatiality (Mills et al., 2014) that are less accessible though words. Young and Barrett (2001) used participatory drawing with homeless children in Uganda to explore experiences of living on the streets, exemplifying engagement with participants through their own expertise, using familiar technologies. Using drawn, painted or crafted images sees;

> teenagers engaged in arts practices while at the same time giving a sense of the contexts and social landscapes where these arts practices happen (Hackett et al., 2015, p. 5).

There is a deepening acceptance of photography or drawing for exploring psychological concepts, and for eroding boundaries between art (Willis, 2000), craft (James, 2013) and scientific enquiry (Hackett et al., 2015). In the next section we explore ways in which these methods can be used in combination, with each other and alongside traditional qualitative methods, to investigate diverse topics.

Combining visual methods reflexively

It is commonplace for image elicitation and participatory photography to be combined in a strategy known as 'auto-driven photo elicitation' (Pauwels, 2015), wherein participant-generated images are used to elicit interview responses. Such combinations (Burton et al., 2017; Minthorn

& Marsh, 2016; Mizen & Ofosu- Kusi, 2013) reveal a methodological palette for use together or alongside more traditional methods, according to the demands of a project (Chalfen, 2011), or participants' skills and sensory preferences (Hackett et al., 2015; Stevenson, 2014). Rather than regarding visual methods as off-the-peg tools, we propose a fluid, phased, reflexive approach to their use, reflecting a need to engage participants in activities that are meaningful and enjoyable (Hackett et al, 2015). This acknowledges that qualitative research projects are characterised by distinct requirements at different stages (Chalfen, 2011; Pauwels, 2015). Thus, phases of a visual project might involve asking participants to appear on-camera, then to suggest which subject matter should be photographed. Next, participants might make images of their own, then be interviewed about them before collaboratively editing or organizing them for dissemination (Chalfen, 2011). Other phases might be added to this sequence, which, at various times, might require the use of image elicitation, respondent-generated images, photography, drawing, as well as more traditional methods for data collection for verbal clarification (Pauwels, 2015). Thus, participatory photography might complement go-along interviews (Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013), post-hoc interviewing (Migliorini & Rania, 2017; Wang, 2006,) or focus groups (Hannay, 2013), enabling participants to discuss issues, themes and practices that emerge from the data. Interviewing, focus groups and participatory photography have previously been combined in research with older participants (Ronzi et al., 2016), as well as university students (Minthorn & Marsh, 2016), when discussing wellbeing and spatial design.

One study with particular relevance here saw Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi (2013) work with young people attending a volunteer-run schooling project in Accra, Ghana. This project emerged from initial, informal conversations with participants and project leaders. Working in an urban space they described as 'myriad shacks…extensive network of alleyways and footpaths' (Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013, p.15), they explored the beneficial effects of voluntary schooling on attitudes towards education and on the risks of street living. Despite the risks of noise, prostitution and

violence, participants reported resilience to be rooted in friendships and other supportive relationships. Alongside interviews, Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi deployed participatory photography to take us closer to children's voices, **to** engage participants' creativity and enthusiasm, and to add agency.

Such first-person perspectives are rare in research with SCYP, who are often constructed as inactive, powerless victims (Liborio & Ungar, 2010). Prout (2006) urges us to cast children as active, expert agents in research, rather than as recipients of social forces, whose accounts are mediated through adult**s**;

> The study of childhood and children's everyday lives have opened up a conceptual and theoretical space in which children can speak out as participant observers about their experiences of the world (James, 2007, p. 262).

The primary research presented here explores resilience with SCYP in Guatemala City. We combine participatory visual and traditional methods, selected in response to the demands of different phases of the project, and to the skills and preferences of participants. This paper seeks to explore how a combination of participatory visual and traditional qualitative research methods can be used to

(i) explore resilience with SCYP in Guatemala City
(ii) facilitate engagement with the imaginative worlds and preferences of SCYP
(i) respond to the different methodological phases of a research project

Research context and participants

The case studies presented here are selected from a wider research project on resilience. They were conducted across three visits to four fieldwork sites in Guatemala City. The first site, known as 'The Terminal', is an extensive space incorporating wholesale and retail markets, a bus

station, dump and several housing blocks where hundreds of SCYP and their families live and work, selling, foraging and recycling waste (Goldstein, 2016). The second site, a residential house, is used by a volunteer-run educational outreach project, *Puertas de Esperanza*. The third site, a church building, is used by another outreach project, *Resplandece*. Both projects provide additional classes for SCYP who do not attend mainstream schooling. The fourth field site, a residential suburb, is where one SCYP lives with his family.

Data from five participants is presented here; three SCYP (two males, one female), and two adult outreach volunteers. These SCYP participants were selected from a wider frame of 20, on the grounds of their being regular attendees of the outreach project, and the most enthusiastic and engaged.

Our fieldwork was conducted according to ethical standards set down by our university, which required us to gain additional consent from participants who appeared in photographic images that were created during the study. Consent for participation of all SCYP was obtained from parents, volunteers and young people.

Methods

The research methods, summarised below, were used in combination with one another, in response to the skills and preferences of participants and the demands of the different phases of the research project, as outlined below in relation to each method.

Ethnographic interviewing

Derived from cultural anthropology (Malinowski, 1915), the defining characteristics of ethnographic interviews concern the physical emplacement of the fieldworker in participants' life-worlds. Interviews are conducted in locations where participants habitually frequent (Moles, 2007; Pink, 2015; Stevenson, 2014). For this project, interviews were carried out on the premises

of educational outreach projects, or as go-along interviews (Moles, 2007) in and around The Terminal, in Spanish, by the lead researcher and research assistant, who is native to Guatemala. Example interview questions included; (i) *'Can you show me something that you enjoy doing here?'*; (ii) *'If ever you had to leave this place, what would you miss?'*, *'Can you show us something that helps you when you are experiencing difficulties?'*

This method was used from the first phases of the project and throughout its duration. All participants were interviewed initially in order to establish rapport and negotiate project aims and preferred methods of data collection, and then subsequently in more detail.

Participatory photography and image elicitation

Following preliminary interviewing, SCYP were asked to make photographs of places where they live, work and learn (Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013). Photography enabled researchers to ground ethnographic interviews in a novel, engaging, mobile practice. As the SCYP were new to photography, the opportunity to actively engage with their surroundings using a novel technology, and to produce tangible outcomes, proved engaging. Photographs were made using disposable cameras and smartphones provided by the researchers (participants did not generally possess their own). Besides producing data, images were used to elicit interview responses (Literat, 2013). Participatory photography and image elicitation were used with 8 SCYP (of which three case studies are presented here), yielding 85 images. Participatory photography was combined with ethnographic interviewing and image elicited interviewing (using photographs) during phase two of the research; image elicited interviewing (using photographs) was also used during the reflection and analysis phase (see fig. 1).

In relation to participants' skills and preferences, as photography was a novel practice for the young people, making images proved to be both engaging and appealing. Whilst we recognised

that the young people lacked photography experience, we introduced photography in phase two of the study when participants expressed a preference. Thus, participatory photography was seen as yielding more participant-led data collection than would researcher-produced images (Chalfen, 2011). Notably, during image elicitation and reflection (phases 2 and 3) interview responses were richer when elicited using images that had been made by participants, reflecting a participant preference for discussing their own images.

Participatory drawing and image elicitation

Following preliminary interviewing, SCYP were asked to draw places where they live, work and learn (Literat, 2013). This activity enabled researchers to elicit imaginative responses (Hackett et al., 2015). To complement the use of novel photographic technologies, drawing tapped into a familiar, skilled practice that SCYP felt confident with and expert in (Kagan et al., 2011; Gonzales & Rincones, 2013). Drawings were also used to elicit interview responses (Literat, 2013). Participatory drawing and image elicitation **were** used with six of the eight SCYP (of which **three** case studies are presented here), yielding 14 drawings. Participatory drawing was combined with ethnographic interviewing and image elicitation (using drawings) during phase two of the research. **I**mage elicitation (using drawings) was also used during the reflection and analysis phase of the research (see fig. 1).

In relation to participants' skills and preferences, as drawing was a familiar practice, this method was both engaging and appealing for some. During observations in phase 1, we saw how some young people routinely incorporated drawing into their everyday practice. We therefore decided to offer participatory drawing as a data gathering activity, where participants expressed a preference. Whilst drawing was less conducive to go-along interviewing than was participatory photography, high levels of familiarity, engagement and expertise offered by drawing, coupled

with its capacity for yielding data relating to emplacement and imagination, supported its inclusion. We should add that whilst drawing was not a method we had planned to use, it arose following serendipitous observations of participants (Rivoal & Salazar, 2013).

FIGURE 1 HERE

A reflexive, phased approach

The methods described above were used in combination, in phases, reflexively, enabling us to remain responsive to developments in the field. This enabled data collection to adapt to our developing knowledge about the research context. A phased, reflexive approach facilitated a need to provide numerous, interesting activities for participants. Activities were introduced in response to developing knowledge about participant skills and preferences (Hackett, 2015; Stevenson, 2014). Thus, we recognised that qualitative research had differing methodological requirements at different research stages (Chalfen, 2011; Pauwels, 2015).

Figure 1 communicates this reflexive, phased approach in a visually structured way. However, in practice, events evolved more messily, often serendipitously. It is common for "the field to shape the research design, rather than the other way around" (Rivoal & Salazar, 2013, p.180). The phased practice of the present research was emergent and responsive, requiring;

> time to observe, understand and ponder, and to go back and forth between the traditionally separated periods of data gathering and analysis (**Rivoal & Salazar**, 2013, p. 180).

Each method outlined above was variously pre-planned, reflexive and serendipitous, as follows. Ethnographic interviewing was used throughout the research, as planned prior to arrival. Participatory photography and photo-elicitation were used in phase two of the research, as

planned beforehand. However, the relative preferences for using disposable cameras (or less widely available camera phones) was negotiated with participants. We suggest that the usefulness of participatory photography owed much to novelty of cameras enhancing levels of engagement with the project. Participatory drawing and drawing elicitation were the most serendipitous of the methods used. The researchers had neither planned, nor been familiar with, this method prior to the field work. However, during phase 1, following observations and discussions, some SCYP expertise in and familiarity with the practice of drawing became clear, and thereafter enhanced levels of engagement with the project.

Overall, we can see that our methods, used in phased combination, comprised a suite that was more effective than the sum of its parts. These methods were, to varying extents, developed in situ, in response to factors encountered in the field.

Analysis

Following translation into English, interview transcripts were analysed using interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) (Eatough & Smith, 2017; Husserl 1970; Smith et al., 2009,). Whilst originating in the field of counselling and clinical psychology, IPA has also been applied to community education contexts (Thurston, 2014), as in this study. IPA seeks to provide a detailed examination of lived experience. In relation to individual SCYP, **we** identified ideographic accounts before exploring patterns of convergence between individuals' experiences of risk and support (Eatough & Smith, 2017). In engaging with those experiences within participant life-space, we maintained the "modest ambition of attempting to capture particular experiences as experienced for particular people" (Smith et al., 2009, p.16), thus adhering to a phenomenological approach.

Another phenomenological characteristic of our analysis was our use of the double hermeneutic to "make sense of the participant trying to make sense of what is happening to them." (Smith et al., 2009, p.3). This double hermeneutic had implications for how the analysis was practically carried out. During IPA we engaged with lived experience in a multi-layered manner (Eatough & Smith, 2017), requiring us to be at once empathetic and suspicious of interview data (Ricour, 1970).

Whilst appreciating literal meanings offered by participants, we probed for implicit meanings. During analysis we adopted an empathetic stance in terms of literal meanings, whilst seeking meanings that were implicitly or metaphorically articulated. According to the principles of IPA (and of participatory methods used **in** data collection) however, we sought to privilege participants' interpretations of experience during analysis (Eatough & Smith, 2017; Yanchar, 2015). Participatory methods and IPA are steeped in uncovering **what** matters to participants. During data collection we sought to understand the SCYPs' life-worlds by inviting them to lead us through them, answering questions and making images along the way. Equally, during analysis, participants' expertise about their life-worlds was prioritised over that of the researcher.

Practically speaking, transcripts were initially analysed by two researchers, working independently. For each individual participant, annotations were made to identify key, recurring descriptors or concepts (Burton et al., 2017; Smith, 2009). Subsequently, these were clustered together into themes for individual participants. Common themes that featured across participants were later established. Further IPA was conducted with input from participants, utilising images they had produced (Burton et al., 2017, Papaloukas et al., 2017) for elicitation. As there are no universal guidelines for analyzing visual data in phenomenological psychology (Papaloukas et al., 2017), we devised a transparent strategy for incorporating participant-generated images into analyses (Smith et al., 2009). This involved using images both as in-context

data, and as aids for eliciting meanings during reflective interviews. Thus, images are regarded as both "in-context, embedded, meaningful objects of a specific lifeworld" and "means of data generation" (Papaloukas et al., 2017, p. 428).

During phase 3 of the study we asked participants to reflect on meanings that were evident in visual data and transcripts (Smith et al., 2009). The practice of sorting through photographs and drawings proved engaging. During this reflection and analysis, participants elaborated on favoured images, enhancing their status as experts on their own experiences (Papaloukas et al., 2017). Images presented in this paper are thus "anchored in participants' analytical narratives" (Papaloukas, 2017, p.12), and are inseparable from interview narratives that provide their context (Balmer et al., 2015; Papaloukas et al., 2017). This use of IPA acknowledges a process by which meaning is coproduced by participants and researchers, rather than being extracted from participants (Burton et al., 2017).

IPA that uses images and text enables engagement with objects and places that explicitly appear in photos and drawings, and with feelings, memories and experiences (Shinebourne & Smith, 2011). Analysing and clustering themes with participants, with access to images they have generated, facilitates sense making, as Burton et al., (2017) explain below;

> We found that the opportunity to discuss an image of an actual event in the lives of our participants helped us to take one step closer to the experiential horizon of our participants and facilitate our ability to develop an insider's perspective (Burton et al., 2017, p.7)

We argue, endorsing Burton et al., (2017), that informing IPA reflexively with discussions of images and transcripts enables participants' active involvement in the analytical process.

Illustrative case studies

The aforementioned methodological procedures and analyses yielded rich data from SCYP and volunteers, which have been developed into case studies (Starman, 2013). This concurs with the aims of the present study, which seeks to explore the first-hand experiences of SCYP. We adopted a case study approach for organising and presenting data as it is consonant with a phenomenological approach. Like phenomenology, case studies are resolutely ideographic, and are concerned with uniqueness, particularity and concreteness in lived experience (Eatough & Smith, 2017). IPA can demonstrate a commitment to ideography through the use of single person case studies (Eatough & Smith, 2017; Cheng, 2015). In concordance with IPA, single person case studies "offer a personally unique perspective on their relationship to, or involvement in, various phenomena of interest" (Smith et al., 2009, p.29). The case studies presented here constitute personally unique perspectives of experiences of risk and community-based strategies for building resilience.

Another justification for combining case studies with IPA is that both commonly require relatively small, situated samples. This facilitated our interviewing of participants on several occasions (Rodriguez & Smith, 2014; Snelgrove et al., 2013). Thus, we first of all attended to each person individually, using go-along interviews, before later analysing data on an individual basis, then conducting comparative analyses of participant material. Combining ideography with the generation of common themes aligns with an approach that values individual experiences and commonality (Thackery, 2015) of risk, opportunities for learning and support.

Our case studies are of a snapshot variety (Thomas, 2011), exploring experiences in one particular period of time, rather than being conducted retrospectively or longitudinally. We worked with a cohort of 20 SCYP during this project. As the primary focus of this paper is methodological, here we present three of these case studies to illustrate our combined use of

visual methods with qualitative interviewing in a phased, reflexive approach to exploring resilience.

Case study 1: Miguel

Miguel, 14, whose mum works full-time collecting rubbish for recycling at The Terminal, was interviewed at the house where *Puertas Esperanza* is based, again at his family home on the outskirts of Guatemala City, and during the third, reflective phase. He made photographs of spaces he identified as protecting against the risks of The Terminal. Projects like *Puertas de Esperanza* offer rare opportunities for formal learning, away from the obligation of rubbish collecting and selling at The Terminal. As Luis (outreach project leader) explains here, youngsters like Miguel expressly come to the outreach projects asking for a 'safe space'

> Luis: Miguel. Recently he was telling me, 'I don't want to be in The Terminal anymore, can you help me to see if I can do something else?' (Luis)

Whilst interviews with project leaders and volunteers were informative, adding a disposable camera to go-along sessions with Miguel made him more forthcoming. Whilst moving with the camera at *Puertas de Esperanza*, or later discussing his photographs, Miguel's testimony endorsed the theme of 'safe space' in relation **to** why he values the project

> Interviewer: If you couldn't come here, what would you miss?
>
> Miguel: The teacher and coming to study. I don't want to go to The Terminal. They make you do bad things

At a literal level, this first theme illustrates *Puertas Esperanza* as a protective factor against the risks of The Terminal.

Besides 'safe space', two further spatial themes emerged from Miguel's case study. A second theme, 'aspirational space', emerged when moving through Miguel's life-space. After making and discussing a photograph of the class (se fig.2), Miguel revealed the aspirational meaning he constructed around *Puertas de Esperanza.* At an implicit, metaphorical level, Miguel showed that he associated the project with future aspiration

Interviewer: Why do you like coming here?

Miguel: Because I want to be somebody in life

FIGURE 2 HERE

The theme of 'aspirational space' highlights the reflexive use of image making and elicitation for connecting with participants' imaginative worlds. IPA operates here as a multi-layered tool, engaging with literal and implicit content (Eatough & Smith, 2017). Just as participatory drawing can uncover participants' imaginings (Literat, 2013), Miguel uses photography imaginatively to demonstrate aspirations 'to be somebody'. Miguel's photograph articulates his valuing of *Puertas de Esperanza,* a safe, aspirational learning space for protecting against risk and enhancing resilience. Miguel's experience highlights resilience as a concept encompassing protective factors that extend beyond individual characteristics, whereby resilience extends into ecological factors (family, learning space and community) that can moderate risk and increasing wellbeing (Masten, 2014; Ungar, 2015).

A third theme emerging from Miguel's case study is that of 'adaptive space', relating to the location of *Puertas de Esperanza* in a domestic house. The value of imaginatively turning spaces designed for other purposes into third places (Soja, 1996), recalls Joanou's (2014) work with educational outreach groups in Peru. When asked to suggest a favourite educational activity,

Miguel selected his photograph of the *Puertas de Esperanza* kitchen (fig.3), reflecting

> Here I learn how to cook. If I am older, and I don't want to have a wife, I can cook my own food

FIGURE 3 HERE

At an implicit level, Miguel's kitchen photograph and accompanying quote reflects his valuing of *Puertas de Esperanza* as a place catering for him as a whole person, and again he imaginatively projects himself into the future. Luis's concurs, saying that this adapted domestic space, (with rooms for cooking, sleeping, cleaning), helps the project to serve the whole person, projecting young people towards addressing

> The lack of nutrition, the lack of education, the lack of health, malnourishment let's say are common, generalized issues, when we're talking about risk (Luis, outreach project leader)

Once again, protection against risk emanates from an ecological approach wherein resilience emerges from interactions between individuals and environments (Ungar, 2013). By adaptively addressing the whole persons' needs, rather than purely scholastic needs, *Puertas de Esperanza* addresses resilience as a process encompassing multiple life domains (Masten, 2014). Arguably, as Miguel's mother works full time collecting rubbish at The Terminal, his engagement with *Puertas de Esperanza* offers an opportunity to achieve better than expected outcomes in terms of well-being; a defining feature of resilience.

Miguel's verbal reflections and images highlight *Puertas de Esperanza* as a safe, aspirational adaptation for mitigating risk and cultivating resilience. We suggest that go-along, elicitation

interviews and participatory photography facilitated engagement and articulation of Miguel's experiences. Access to Miguel's literal, imaginative and aspirational worlds was facilitated by the layered use of IPA. Utilising images as elicitation tools was valuable when working with Miguel, for whom lengthy verbal discussions were not preferable. Combining these methods enabled us to identify processes of resilience at a community, ecological and spatial level, arising from the work of organisations that offer opportunities for enhanced wellbeing.

Case study 2: Carla

Carla, 15, was interviewed at the church building where the ***Resplandece*** educational outreach project is based, then at The Terminal (where she lives with her family in a simple accommodation block), and during the reflective phase. At ***Resplandece,*** we had noted Carla's preference for drawing. She accepted our request for a draw-along interview. We also conducted on-the-go interviews with Carla at The Terminal, with a disposable camera.

Carla made drawings and photographs to illustrate factors she saw as being protective against the risks of The Terminal; elements of her environment that offer her opportunities to achieve better than expected outcomes in relation to wellbeing. Like Miguel, Carla uses words and images (fig. 4, fig. 5) to communicate themes relating the safety she associates with home and with ***Resplandece***. Reflecting on her favourite drawing, Carla described (fig. 4) her housing block at The Terminal. As well as noting the literal content (flowers, animals), at a metaphorical level, Carla uses bright colours to identify the comforts and positivity of home.

> This is my house, where we live, at The Terminal. They sell flowers, fruits, vegetables. There are animals.
>
> FIGURE 4 HERE

'Safe space' emerged as a common, shared theme for Miguel and Carla. Protective factors are identified by Carla as residing in community spaces, such as her family home. This endorses the argument for seeing resilience as an ecological process (Ungar et al., 2013; Masten, 2014), involving multiple agencies (educational, families) with the potential to protectively promote wellbeing. For example, draw-along interviewing enabled Carla to demonstrate the safety of her family home, a protective space where family supports individuals towards increased wellbeing (Lounsbury & Mitchell, 2009).

> Outside there is a place where we wash. Mum has always been keen on cleanliness. In her poverty, Mum has always pulled us forward. We are together with my sisters through good and bad.

In contrast with Miguel, we noted that during go-along interviewing at The Terminal, Carla emphasised the risks presented by 'the streets'

> Interviewer: Is there something here that you would like to change?
>
> Carla: The streets. Because there is a lot of risk here and there are no police.

Notably, Carla's interview emphasises risks without recourse to images. Yet during the same participatory-photography session, Carla identified, using images (fig 5) and words, protective features of her family home, and the aspirational role of classes at ***Resplandece***.

FIGURE 5 HERE

Interviewer: Is there anything here that helps you when you have problems?

Carla: Studying. I love our teachers very much. They have helped us since we were little girls

In Carla's case study images and words can be interpreted phenomenologically, at the implicit level, as evoking past protective factors, provided by both her Mum and her teachers. At the literal level, Carla also refers to the present dangers of the street and the present protections of cleanliness at home.

As well as highlighting literal and implicit risk and protective ecological factors, from a methodological perspective Carla's case study shows how differing modes of inquiry can elicit differing perceptions of the life-world (Hackett et al., 2015). Specifically, it suggests that visual enquiry commonly unearths life-enhancing aspects of experience, rather than risk factors. Carla tended to make images of positive experiences, whilst merely speaking of risk. We also learned from this case study that image making is valuable for connecting with participants' imaginary worlds (Literat, 2013). Carla's images offer a partial, positive portrait of the simple accommodation areas where **her** family lives. This positive use of photography is reflected in Carla's own reflections on image-making as a method. This supports Kagan et al.'s (2011) view of the importance of enjoyment for engaging participants, and endorses the phenomenological approach that seeks to explore experiences that matter to participants (Eatough & Smith, 2017). During the reflexive interview phase Carla enthused about photographing, even asking her own questions to the interviewer about the aims of the research

> Interviewer: Do you like photographing?
>
> Carla: Yes, and I want to do more. Do they want these photographs to know about this place?

In Carla's case study we have seen the value using a combination of ethnographic interviewing and participatory visual methods for exploring resilience. Specifically, the latter method was used more proactively for identifying processes of protection from risk, with **the** former linking to sources of risk. As with Miguel, we saw 'safe space' emerge as a protective theme, evidencing

itself at both literal and imaginative levels.

Case study 3: Felipe

Felipe, 10, was interviewed at the church building where the ***Resplandece*** project is based, at The Terminal, where he lives with his family in a simple accommodation block, and during the reflective phase. As with Carla, we observed Felipe's keenness on drawing, and draw-along interviews enhanced engagement. During interview Felipe made several images, predominantly drawings, to illustrate factors he saw as protecting against The Terminal's risks. Two of these (fig 6, fig 7) illustrate themes relating to family. Like Miguel and Carla, Felipe's drawings reflect commonly experienced themes of safety and aspiration. Using a layered analysis, fig. 6 literally shows the safety of Felipe's family. Metaphorically too, it reveals the importance of family togetherness, represented by holding hands and proximity. As with Carla, family emerges as a protective factor, potentially facilitating better than expected development for SCYPs living The Terminal, a place of considerable risk and lacking in sanitation and material resources.

FIGURE 6 HERE

Interviewer: Who lives with you?

Felipe: My mom, my dad and my sister

At an implicit, imaginative analytical level, fig. 7 shows the value of drawing for conveying aspiration (Literat, 2013). During interview, Felipe projects his future career to be located within The Terminal, aspiring to reduce risk.

FIGURE 7 HERE

Interviewer: What would you like to be?

Felipe: Policemen

Interviewer: Policemen, but would you like to continue living there?

Felipe: Yes, I'd like that

Projects like ***Resplandece*** and *Puertas de Esperanza* provide educational support, partly by augmenting familial duties that parents find difficult to perform. Here, one outreach project leader speaks of supplementing familial duties by providing a sympathetic ear or offering advice in situations where parents were not always accessible

Julia: Another function is providing support in difficult situations. Listening to them. They know they can count on us. They know they can call us and tell us what's going on

The role of ***Resplandece*** in providing additional familial support is illustrated by another theme from Felipe's case study; the dual supportive roles of his teacher ('profe') and of his father

Interviewer Can you say what helps you from this place when you're in trouble**?**

Felipe: Calming down

Interviewer: Calming down, who helps you calm down?

Felipe: My dad or profe

The protections offered to Felipe by ***Resplandece*** are interesting in that, as in the case study of Miguel, they demonstrate that educational outreach extends into life domains that are more than purely scholastic. This has some commonality with Miguel's theme of adaptive support, extending beyond purely scholastic support. When these groups provide support across life

domains, engaging with the whole person, there is arguably a better chance for a SCYP to achieve a greater level of wellbeing than would be expected. Felipe's case study also reveals a theme of safety that is common to the cases of Miguel and Carla, and a theme of aspiration that is common to the case of Miguel.

Methodologically speaking, our work with Felipe was enriched by the familiarity **of** drawing as a practice. Whilst drawing, Felipe demonstrated expertise about his experiences through a known, practical expertise. Our preliminary observations identified a method which proved engaging, empowering and helpful in generating richer interview data.

Discussion

We argue that a combined, reflexive use of participatory, visual and traditional qualitative methods, alongside IPA, can be used to explore a concept such as resilience. Such a combination facilitates a layer**ed** analysis of data, enhances participant engagement, imagination and preferences, during the different methodological phases of research. Our triangulated approach drew us closer to SCYP's personal experiences than would have mere interviewing. Combining methods facilitated high levels of engagement, tapped into established practical expertise, and responded to our developing knowledge of participants. Before outlining our conclusions, it is necessary to present some key discussion points.

Firstly, it is important to identify the value of our work for enhancing our understanding of resilience amongst SCYP in Guatemala City. We stress our understanding of resilience as processual, involving interactions between psychological, social, cultural, and physical resources relating to the wellbeing of those facing risk or adversity (Masten, 2014; Ungar, 2013). Arguably, combining interviews and participatory visual methods in a reflexive, phased way is appropriate

understanding of resilience. In our case studies, exploring processes that operate between or outside individuals who are engaged with families and other protective agencies, is well served by methods that situate data collection across participants' life-spaces (Shweder, 1990). Furthermore, we argue that our participatory, reflexive approach, using data collection practices from participants' interests, is appropriate for researching resilience, since elsewhere it has been argued that participatory visual research involving young people has itself been instrumental in building confidence and enhancing resilience (Haynes & Tanner, 2015). This is also appropriate for a phenomenological approach that prioritises exploring experience that matters to participants (Eatough & Smith, 2017).

Secondly, we want to stress the importance of a flexible, phased, methodological stance. We were flexible in choosing data collection methods (Chalfen, 2011), acknowledging the unpredictable fieldwork scenario (Pink, 2015). After Chalfen (2011), we made some methodological decisions in situ, in the light of dialogue with collaborating partners, 'asking different members of the community to say what they want included and why' (Chalfen, 2011:188). Such negotiations acknowledge participant preferences and characteristics of the field site. For example, our decision to use participatory drawing was taken in the light of (i) the unfamiliarity of some participants (e.g. Felipe) with photography, (ii) the usefulness of this method for engaging with metaphorical concepts such as aspiration and memory (Hackett et al., 2015), and (iii) the evident drawing expertise of some of our participants. We argue that such flexibility contributes to the field of research with populations (such as SCYP), with whom researchers encounter issues of engagement, who are often reduced to silent partners in the research (James, 2007; Liborio & Ungar, 2010; Prout, 2006), or who may find it difficult to openly discuss issues relating to family, wellbeing and resilience (Alasuutari & Anu Järvi, 2012). Such methodological flexibility does however bring associated limitations. For example, it is not always possible to change course and embrace alternative technologies in response to participant

preferences. We were perhaps fortunate that the prospect of 'turning to drawing' whilst in the field presented minimal challenges.

Another discussion point relates **to the** value that images bring to qualitative research. Arguably, it is misleading to regard visual methods as different in kind from more mainstream, interview-based research. Equally, it may be misleading to claim that handing out cameras and crayons offers research participants a voice they may not otherwise have. We concur with Pauwels (2015), who argues that although creating images can be enlightening and enriching, there is no intrinsically empowering element to image-making. Making drawings and photographs can empower, but so can storytelling. In our research, we argue that what afforded our participants a voice was the reflexive combining of image-making with interviews, since pictures cannot be expected to speak for themselves (Pauwels, 2015). We regard the use of image elicitation and participant generated images as instrumental in gathering narrative, rather than as an alternative to it.

Another important feature of our method is it's a capacity for dissemination beyond academia. As well as presenting research outcomes for journal publication, we recognise the importance of sharing data with participants and collaborators, and with agencies involved in policy-making (Kagan et al., 2011; Wang, 2006) in accessible, impactful forms. The methodological diversity of this research project has seen the sharing of outputs in three forms. Firstly, textual and visual outcomes of the research can be submitted for academic publication and communicated with collaborating educational outreach projects with a view to informing future practice. Secondly, images produced during our research have been returned to participants as a record of their participation, as documents of their relationships with outreach projects, and as elicitation materials for future research. Thirdly, in collaboration with participants and educational outreach projects, we have produced a video output. This output has been screened with participants and

subsequently enabled us to reach a wider general audience, including policy makers, fellow researchers and campaigning organisations, such as one NGO working in the field of SCYP; the UK-based Consortium for Street Children. We argue that the dissemination opportunities afforded by adopting visual methods enhances the contribution of our work, raising its status from what Chalfen (2011) termed a researcher-serving 'study', to that of a 'project' with greater potential for affecting policy and raising awareness of critical social issues such as child labour, homelessness and resilience. Arguably, such dissemination opportunities demonstrate that our first research aim, that of using visual methods to explore resilience, can include reaching out beyond the academy with visual outputs such as images and video.

Conclusions

This paper presents case studies from primary research with SCYP in Guatemala City. The young people featured here live, work and study in and around The Terminal; a market, dump and bus station. Without attending full time schooling these young people face risk-bearing environments whose dangers are attenuated by their friends, families and educational outreach projects. We have demonstrated here how the flexible, participatory, combined visual methods and ethnographic interviews, alongside IPA, can engage a population that is challenging in terms of engagement and motivation. Our flexible, participant-led methodological choices yielded rich data by virtue of the use of familiar technologies (such as drawing), as well as novel practices (photography). Through these methods **we** uncovered themes relating to safe, adapted space, and aspiration, as factors related to the fostering of resilience. Above all, we argue that the researchers were able to yield rich data on resilience by using visual-based methods to enhance the production of interview narratives, since the use of images facilitated engagement, elaboration and enthusiasm, and that using IPA enabled a layered analytical strategy. We also argue that outputs such as photographs, drawings and video, facilitate added research impact in areas of data sharing, policymaking and advocacy.

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