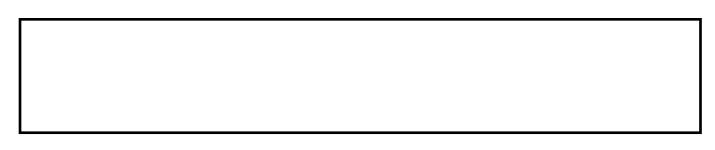# Failure as learning: photovoice as methodology in research with marginalised young people.

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Failure as Learning: Photovoice as Methodology in Research with Marginalised Young People

Introduction

An unpublished pilot study at a charitable youth organisation in the North East of Scotland found that young people (aged 16 to 25) accommodated by the organisation consumed a diet high in sugar and low in levels of foods such as meat, fish, fruit, and vegetables (Perry, 2013). The *Foodways and Futures* project (2013-2016), combining ethnographic and action research methodology, set out to explore why the diet of young people was sub-optimal, despite the organisation having a number of support services in place that would—it was perceived—encourage better eating habits amongst the young people housed within the organisation. Photovoice (PV) was identified as a participatory research method that was suitable, and that would encourage young people to participate as co-

researchers in the investigation. However, despite young people getting involved in other research methods that were employed in the study, PV was generally not taken up as anticipated. This article explores how the method was employed, and argues that what could be deemed the 'failure' of PV instead may be interpreted as evidence of young people's awareness and sensitivity about the potential judgements of others on personal food choices. In this sense, poor uptake of PV actually reveals much more about young people's lived experiences than the data that it generates. The use of PV as a research method is therefore powerful, in that it allows participants to indicate, through inactivity, their sensitivity to 'discourses of blame'.

Photovoice (PV) is a participatory research method 'by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique' (Wang and Burris, 1997, p.369). The idea is that PV enables participants to express themselves through photographs and show their world from their own perspectives (Wang and Burris, 1997; Grady, 2008; Catalani and Minkler, 2010; Harley, 2012; Chonody et al., 2013; Hannes and Parylo, 2014). PV is a relatively new method, developed in the 1990s (Hannes and Parylo, 2014) by Wang and Burris. Wang and Burris (1997) are influenced by Freire's critical consciousness theory (1970, 1973), in the sense that communities are encouraged to use photography to critically reflect on their local neighbourhoods and social context, with the view that this process will enable them to state their concerns about social structures, and then to act on these concerns. Feminist theory has also influenced this method, as it puts emphasis on the ability of individuals to act on issues that influence their own communities, and acknowledges the subjective experiences of community members (Wang and Burris, 1997; Strack et al., 2004; Jurkowski and Paul-Ward, 2007). Wang and Burris (1997) describe the main goals of the method as: (a) assisting participants with recording and reflecting on specific issues; (b) encouraging group dialogue around these issues; and (c) influencing policy-makers.

Evans-Agnu and Rosemberg (2016), in their critical review of the ways that participant voice is promoted throughout the PV process, found that of the 21 studies they considered, 13 described participant voice in the data analysis, 14 described participants' control over exhibiting photo-texts, seven manuscripts included a comprehensive set of photo-texts, and none described participant input on choice of manuscript photo-texts. In these studies, even though the participant input is being reported on during some phases of PV, it does not seem to be considered at all stages, or at least it is not explicitly being reported. Sanon et al. (2014), in their literature review of 30 PV research studies, explore 'whether authors implicitly or explicitly related the methodologies to their aims of promoting social justice' and 'outline the social justice research impact of PV findings using the framework of social justice awareness, amelioration, and transformation'. Their review of 30 studies found that only 13 used a social justice rationale to guide the use of PV (Sanon et al., 2014). Furthermore, Sanon et al. state that the 'social justice impacts emphasized were more related to social justice awareness ... than amelioration ... or transformation', hence questioning the social justice impact of PV.

Despite such scepticism and reported difficulties with PV (e.g. Williams and Lykes, 2003; Nolas, 2014), PV has, according to several reports, been used to successfully identify the needs of communities, and to stimulate dialogue and action in a variety of health research areas and populations (Carlson, Engebretson and Chamberlain, 2006; Catalani and Minkler, 2010; Balbale, Locatelli and LaVela, 2015; Evans-Agnu and Rosemberg, 2016). PV has the potential to encourage participants to act as co-researchers throughout the research process, including the stages of data collection, analysis, and dissemination, allowing participants to maintain authorship over their work (Brazg et al., 2010; Catalani and Minkler, 2010). PV has therefore been recognised as signalling a shift in research practice, towards actively involving people in exploring social, economic, and health inequalities, and other issues that are important to them (Carlson, Engebretson and Chamberlain, 2006; Catalani and

Minkler, 2010; Nykoforuk, Vallianatos and Nieuwendyk, 2011; Hannes and Parylo, 2014). Similarly, PV has been highlighted as promoting social justice by reversing structures of political, social, and research-based exploitation (Sanon, Evans-Agnew and Boutain, 2014). It has been argued that PV could 'reprivilege' participant voice in research projects and help to foster partnerships between researchers and participants, ideally resulting in interventions that align with participants' needs. In this sense, PV becomes relevant in influencing policy-making, which Wang and Burris (1997) describe as one of the three main goals of the method. As Watson and Douglas (2012) state, PV-based research has been promoted as a method to facilitate policy-makers to view socially excluded (young) people as a marginalised group rather than a social problem, and enable them to find more sensitive and contextualised solutions to health problems.

The *Foodways and Futures* project (2013-2016) evolved from a pilot study at a charitable youth organisation in the North East of Scotland, which assessed the diets of some of the formerly homeless young people accommodated by the organisation (Perry, 2013). The pilot study found that although the organisation had a number of support services in place, young residents continued to consume diets that were high in sugar and low in foods such as meat, fish, fruit, and vegetables. *Foodways and Futures* was designed to understand the complex contexts of the young people's lives and their relationships to food. The project took place in partnership with the same youth organisation, which has seven housing sites across the North East, and provides supported accommodation for 86 young people, aged 16–25, for up to two years. The young people are supported to live independently through the provision of several services. Their personal backgrounds and financial situations—receiving only £52 per week as living support through the local authority—lead them to be categorised as 'vulnerable'. Before entering the organisation, all of the young people had experienced difficult family situations that variously led to homelessness, rough sleeping conditions, staying in hostels, and long

periods of waiting for accommodation. These conditions meant that they were unable to support themselves, and also resulted in feelings of anxiety associated with their precarious living situations. In line with the egalitarian philosophy of the project, it became clear to me that *Foodways and Futures* needed to create opportunities for young people to speak up and to get actively involved, in order to allow them to determine which changes to their food choices would make sense to them. Hence, I combined action research with ethnographic methodology, as mutually beneficial research approaches that would result in actively involved participants. Research methods included observation at three of the organisation's housing sites, and involvement of a peer researcher group of seven young people in exploring the organisation's services, as well as PV as the participatory research method.

Given the feminist and empowerment social theories that underpinned the project, it might be considered surprising that I found that PV, a method intended to 'empower' the participants and 'change' their food choices through this empowerment, did not generate the interest I had hoped for amongst the young participants. In line with Evans-Agnu and Rosemberg (2016), non-uptake of PV calls for closer investigation of power relations between participants and researchers, participant knowledge development, and participant authorship. Evans-Agnu and Rosemberg also note that concrete policy changes are rare, and that most studies raise awareness rather than prompting meaningful change (Sanon et al., 2014; Evans-Agnu and Rosemberg, 2016), alluding to a somewhat 'romanticised' and overly optimistic idea about the political potential of PV (Prins, 2010, p.427). But what does the repositioning of participant voice with PV actually mean? I argue that young people's inactivity in taking up PV is not due to their disinterest in health and healthy foods, empowerment, and initiating changes: instead, their inactivity with regards to PV reveals young people's awareness and sensitivity about the potential negative judgements of others with regard to their food choices and practices, and therefore their capabilities as human beings.

Rationales, Reflections, and Realisations

Why PV?

The participatory nature of PV has the potential to empower participants by giving voice to traditionally stigmatised, marginalised, and discriminated-against groups such as the young, so-called 'vulnerable' people I was working with (Power, 2003; Wilson et al., 2006; Hannes and Parylo, 2010). PV's appeal lay in its alignment with the ideals of social equity, egalitarianism, and ethical considerations that shaped and thus drove the project. Literature reviewed suggested that PV may further balance power between researcher and participants, promote trust and research ownership, and support culturally appropriate research projects (Hannes and Parylo, 2014). However, the onus is on researchers to develop these relationships (e.g. of trust) with participants, upon which the success of the method depends (Ellsworth, 1989; Williams and Lykes, 2003). Photographs by the participants themselves would give insight into their lives that would otherwise remain unseen (Hannes and Parylo, 2014) and hence PV, to me, promoted a better understanding of young people's living environments and the context within which they make their food choices. However, the participants' engagement with PV depends on their feeling sufficiently comfortable and safe with how their photographs might be interpreted by the research team, which means that the relationships formed between researchers and participants are of key importance.

The use of visual methods has been growing in social science, particularly in research on food (Power, 2003; O'Connell, 2013). This is because our food practices are intertwined with social relations and processes that might be difficult to capture in text, and therefore are not necessarily easy to reflect upon. Moreover, images arguably induce sensory, non-rational, abstract, and personal subjective associations, which convey an important meaning and message to the individual viewer but are difficult to express in writing. Harley (2012) explicitly notes

Walker's view on the potential of photographs as opposed to language-bound methods:

> One of the reasons why I am intrigued by the use of photographs in educational research is that their use touches on the limitations of language, especially language used for descriptive purposes. In using photographs the potential exists, however elusive the achievement, to find ways of thinking about social life that escape the traps set by language (Walker, cited in Harley, p.330).

Photographs do not confuse the complexity of the social setting, as opposed to language (Harley, 2012), which might be defensive, influenced by emotions, send false signals, and respond counteractively; rather, 'frozen in time', they provide a feel for the situation (Power, 2003, p.18). This does not mean that they work to convey meaning irrespective of language, since vision is only one component of sensory perception (Power, 2003). It is also true that photographs do not give unmediated and straightforward access to the participants' experiences. Images have visual language, too, that obfuscates and reveals just as much as the spoken or written word, but in different ways. The young people in this study could choose what they photographed and what they left out, and the photographs are also subject to individual interpretation, both by the photographers and the research team. Nonetheless, in recovering aspects of young people's food practices that would otherwise remain unarticulated, PV had the potential to strengthen and deepen my approach to knowledge production, and ultimately my understanding of the lived experiences of those whose food practices I was observing (Power, 2003). What is more, PV could serve political purposes, as noted above, as data gathered this way could be relevant in the context of debates about the influences of welfare reform and food poverty in Scotland.

PV in Theory

Before the start of the project I designed PV in theory, in line with Harley (2012). The young people in the study would be presented with an information sheet explaining the study's aims and how the camera worked, and could ask me questions in an information session, as well as having the opportunity to contact me throughout the PV process. Consent forms would be signed before anyone took part in the study. The participants would be equipped with disposable cameras and asked to take photographs of anything which influenced their decision-making around food. The photographs would then be developed either by the young person themselves, or by me if they preferred. In a follow-up meeting with the researcher, participants would be asked to explain and reflect on their photographs. The timing of this meeting, and also of the return of the camera and photographs, was left up to them, within a reasonable timeframe which would coincide with my presence at their housing sites during the additional observation phase of the project. My presence at the housing sites would enable me to build a relationship with the young people on a one-to-one basis over a period of two to three months at each housing site. Thus, in theory, PV would primarily take place with participants living at the three housing sites that were selected for the observation phase based on difference in geographical setup and working structures, but, at the same time, any young person from the project would be included if they wanted to take part. The project was promoted organisation-wide, including at the Community Centre (CC), where several training programs for young people take place. I aimed to remain flexible to participants' needs and to fit the project around their availabilities, giving them some control in shaping the research process (Wang and Burris, 1994; Harley, 2012; Watson and Douglas, 2012). A photo exhibition was put forward as a potential output of the study, providing a public forum for participants to articulate personal perspectives (Chonody et al., 2013). The study received ethical approval

from the Rowett Institute of Nutrition and Health Ethics Committee at the University of Aberdeen.

(Barriers to) Recruiting Participants

45 young people who were accommodated at one of the three housing sites were invited to initial information sessions, and made aware of the possibility of participating in the PV part of the project. Information leaflets and posters were further distributed at all seven of the housing sites as well as CC. Perhaps a downside of the recruitment process was that participants were not engaged in the planning of the process itself, as noted by Balbale, Locatelli, and LaVela (2015), but, without knowing the participants before the study was designed, this way of approaching PV was decided on as the most sensible solution. Young people who I met at the housing sites during the observation phase were once again made aware of PV, along with other possibilities to engage in the project as an interviewee or a peer researcher. It is possible that the opportunities for young people to get involved were too numerous (besides interviews, observation, and becoming a co-researcher or as a member of a group), and also possible that my capacities in trying to execute PV were exhausted. Since, however, some young people did get involved in more than one of the research methods, and since I was present at the housing sites during the observation phase (during which I had conversations with participants indicating that they were comfortable with my presence as a researcher), I exclude these possibilities as unlikely.

Nevertheless, these considerations demonstrate how crucial relationships and power are to the functioning of PV (Williams and Lykes, 2003), and how restricted the possibilities to form relationships were. From my own perspective, repeatedly making young people aware of PV on several occasions crossed a fine line between genuinely wanting to empower them, offer opportunities to contribute, and encourage their abilities, and, at the same time, trying to respect their expressions of

reluctance to get involved, which I also discuss elsewhere (Gombert et al., 2015). Approaching young people over and over again was inappropriate as I observed that, often, different priorities had taken over their lives, and it became obvious to me that PV was not one of them. Also, the 'bureaucratic' and somewhat transactional nature of taking part, with researchers handing out information sheets and consent forms and explaining how the camera works, as well as the open-ended nature of the PV part of the project, might have been off-putting to some of the young people. Once I had established a relationship with a young person during the observation phase at the housing site and they were interested in participating in this phase or giving an interview, taking part in the PV phase might have been detrimental to our relationship, and could have been perceived by the young person as amounting to too many project-related 'tasks'. They were informed about PV, but I did not want to impose the idea on the young people. I also aimed for the young people to be able to indicate themselves—without fear of speaking freely—which parts of the project they considered feasible for them. In conversation, I assured them of their freedom to approach me at any time and to take part in the different parts of the project at any point, even after I had finished observing their housing site. Arguably, this meant that they had too much freedom for PV to function well, but I took this approach with an awareness of the potential for empowerment to be a 'repressive myth' that does not produce meaningful findings (Ellsworth, 1989). Hence, despite being fundamentally important, such ethical considerations often interfered with my drive to increase PV participant numbers.

I was also invited to observe two educational programmes at CC: the first, for 16–25 year olds, helping to build their confidence and motivation; the second, for people aged 25 and above who have experienced substance misuse problems, facilitating them to establish a positive and healthy lifestyle by establishing structure and routine in their lives, and developing new skills and interests. After conversations about the possibility of getting involved in the PV component of the project with

the people participating in these programmes, as well as the members of staff, PV was also taken forward with these two groups.

PV in Practice

16 participants agreed to participate in the PV phase of research, after they were informed about the process and had given their consent. Of these, 11 were young people accommodated at the housing sites and taking part in the educational programme, and five cameras were from members of the over 25s educational programme at CC. Due to the nature of the environment the project took part in, and the fact that I was not present at the housing sites during this period of time (during which the young people were entering and leaving the organisation's projects) PV as a group exercise was not feasible. The peer/co-researcher group of young people, noted above, was initially interested in PV, but, despite signing up, only one of the peer researchers returned the camera. Perhaps this was because the young people were too preoccupied with our peer research agenda, and PV would have been too much of a commitment. Overall, only three of the 11 young people returned the cameras and, of these, one participant withdrew from the project after we had looked at the developed photographs together. The photographs showed private details, including a flat party. Some of the photographs seemed to offer valuable insights into the young person's life and relation to food, but the young person was not comfortable continuing with the project after viewing the photos (Fieldnote, 29.4.2014). Furthermore, the developed photographs caused problems for the participant when a member of staff, whom the young person showed the photographs to, discovered that underage people were visiting the flat, which was not allowed. This may have contributed to the young person realising the power the photographs might relinquish and, perhaps, that they were uncomfortable with revealing what happened behind the doors of the private flat. All the photographs, including a photo CD, were then returned to the young

person as they could not be used any further in the project, and the young person seemed happy to now own some photographs. In this sense, paradoxically, PV made the young person feel entitled to ownership of the work, and arguably offered a form of empowerment even in their withdrawal from the project. One young person claimed to have thrown the camera out of the window (Fieldnote, 29.6.2014). Perhaps this also, paradoxically, empowered the young person to demonstrate or enact being in charge of the PV process. On another occasion, young people were observed taking a photograph with a pineapple that the researcher had brought in for baking a cake the young person wanted to make (Fieldnote, 1.5.2014). While it might reflect the food choice of the young person in this case, who had chosen to make the specific cake, it did not necessarily reflect their everyday and usual food environment, as buying the pineapple was not done by the young person.

All five of the over-25 year old participants returned their cameras within the agreed-upon timeframe. It seemed easier to design a research plan with this group: to explore the influences on food choices together in a city walk, where everyone could take photographs individually. We agreed that the cameras would be taken home by participants to take more photographs if they liked, and would be returned for development within two days, so that the photographs could be discussed the following week before disseminating them in a photo-exhibition at CC. As opposed to the findings of Catalani and Minkler (2010), which indicated no trend suggesting that quality of participation differed by participant characteristics such as age, race/ethnicity, income level, or geographical residence, I would argue that vulnerable people past adolescence were more comfortable in opening up their worlds. They might be more self-confident, find it important to inform younger people, or see a political relevance to their activities, which might explain their willingness and interest to participate in PV.

The two young people who took part in PV documented, in all but three photographs, cooking at CC (e.g. Fig. 1), as well as a peer's shopping

practices (e.g. Fig. 2), fridges (e.g. Fig. 3), and cupboards (e.g. Fig. 4), instead of what influenced them in their daily lives and what they actually ate privately. The young person who took images 2–4 also participated in the peer research part of the project, and hence might have seen the role of PV as more about finding out about others' food choices. Most revealingly, this aspect of the research seemed to indicate that even those participants who stuck with it were happier to depict their wider food environments and social practices that surrounded food, rather than their private ones. For both young people, discussion about their photographs did not take place, as they expressed a desire not to. Those images that do give a more private insight depict the logistical context of the food choices, e.g. eating on the sofa or while watching TV, and unwashed dishes (e.g. Fig. 5). In a way, as Joanu (2009) has discussed, these photographs allude to participants' tendency to recreate stereotypical photographs of their communities, despite rejection of those stereotypes. If this was true, not only for this but other PV projects, PV has little to do with the empowerment of participants in these cases, and considerations of advancing social justice might be inadequate in some PV designs (Evans-Agnu and Rosemberg, 2016). Perhaps, again, I could have encouraged young people to discuss the photographs more, which would have revealed more about why they did not depict what would be considered more personal areas of their lives, but there are ethical considerations as to how much encouragement is appropriate.

Discussion of the photographs did take place with the group of over-25s, however, although this group was not comfortable with having the discussion voice-recorded. The discussion, in practice, was an arts and crafts session where we designed an exhibition of the photographs at CC, and group members would either individually or collectively label the photographs with slogans that were most representative of the photographs to them (e.g. Figs. 6-7: captions reproduce participants' writing verbatim). With the group of over-25s, in particular, I found that PV was more enthusiastically used as a means of critiquing the wider food environments (e.g. Fig. 7), which might potentially be a safer option for

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participants who are prone to feeling judged and stigmatised (Chase and Walker, 2012). I also found PV in a group setting to be more suited, acceptable, and sensitive to the participants' needs.

Has PV failed?

The poor uptake of PV might at first suggest that I have failed in employing the method. It raises questions such as: Do young people not want to be engaged and empowered? Do they not want to make different food choices? Or, were our rationales for using PV misled? And were my perceptions of being able to apply textbook style methodology to the field naïve, in the sense that a preconception of which methods would be suitable contradicts the very rationale of participatory approaches, namely letting the participants decide for themselves what makes sense to them? In answering these questions, in line with other authors, I find that taking pictures can be understood as intrusive or damaging by the participants (Hannes and Parylo, 2014). This becomes particularly important when working with vulnerable populations (Hannes and Parylo, 2014) as they might be more likely to agree to take part in studies (Gombert et al., 2015), and any negative effects of PV would be in strong opposition to the rationale behind the use of participatory methods. Pain (2012) in this regard questions why visual research is actually being conducted, and concludes that there need to be stronger reasons for employing the method. Also, as noted above, Evans-Agnu and Rosemberg (2016) as well as Sanon et al. (2014) problematise the socially just involvement of the participants throughout the PV process, as well as its goal.

Despite such justified criticism of PV, or rather its execution through research authorities, Grady (2008) warns us not to be too critical and distance ourselves from visual inquiry which might, according to him, be quite common in sociology. My reasons for employing PV as described above still hold. At the same time, we need to be more aware that self-

disclosure is not a risk-free endeavour for participants (Holtby et al., 2015). My experiences with PV, in line with Holtby et al. (2015), raise concerns about the interaction of PV with ongoing anxieties and concerns regarding visibility and representation, as well as issues of ethics and researcher-participant power dynamics. Harley (2012) in this regard raises several questions: in light of the imbalance of power between vulnerable groups and the researcher, is it ethically acceptable to use their photographs, even if consent has been given? By giving access to technologies, and initiating PV in the first place, do PV researchers not replace the level of their power with the participants' power? And, therefore, does this not create a *new* level of power, which then extends even further and disempowers participants as it displaces them from the locus of their own power? Can PV target the wrong communities (Harley, 2012)? There are no straightforward answers to these questions, and answers may be context-specific. However, perhaps PV is not appropriate for every community, or at least, not in a preconceived way. Rather, PV could be much better employed by showing photographs to community members themselves in a 'truly democratic space' (Harley, 2012) and could be more beneficial in such a group setting, where participants would feel safer as members of this group.

Furthermore, technology might be described as acultural (Harley, 2012) but, in practice, PV influences and is influenced by the sociocultural context in which it is being used. In this regard, perhaps, disposable cameras were not appealing to young people, and other devices could have contributed to more people taking part. I considered whether young people could make use of their mobile phones, as this could have made taking photos for them easier and may have been more integrated with their daily routines, but ethical approval for the project had already been granted for the use of disposable cameras, and time and financial constraints, as well as ethical considerations I had with regards to using mobile phones, meant that using disposable cameras was considered the most sensible solution. In this sense, the project was also limited by its financial and ethical boundaries. In any case, my experience indicated

that, despite the fact that reporting the exact extent of empowerment is difficult, and despite the loss of research results which makes a research design of PV potentially difficult, leaving photographs with the participants, and leaving them to individually deal with the developed results, was perceived positively by those who participated.

Personal food choices are a sensitive issue for those on low incomes (Purdam, Garratt and Esmail, 2015). Being reluctant to give insight into their private spaces through engagement with PV could be a sign of being highly sensitive and aware, not necessarily of social status, but of a reluctance to risk reinforcing outsiders' views—which may demonise those living below the poverty line, as well as in situations of food poverty—and hence contributing to a 'discourse of blame' (Purdam, Garratt and Esmail, 2015). I find therefore that PV is powerful at another level. Shifting the power of the researcher to the researched, as is the rationale behind using PV, and allowing the research participant to determine what is useful and important to represent in a photograph (Harley, 2012) also means letting participants decide if they do not want to take any photographs at all, to withdraw from the project, or to only take part in certain phases of the PV process.

Conclusions

PV can be a powerful participatory research method for participants to express themselves and raise awareness of the issues relevant to them, while shifting power from researcher to the researched. Furthermore, it is particularly relevant in the context of social science research on food, as visual representations have the potential to depict more nuanced insights into the social contexts of young people's food practices. Young people in my project, however, were reluctant to engage in PV. Investigating why PV was not popular with our participants brought to the fore a number of issues and learning outcomes:

- Participants might have anxieties and concerns regarding their visibility and public representation, which might be the cause of their reluctance to take part, and hence reveals their perceptions of and sensitivity to the 'discourses of blame' prevalent in society regarding young people in poverty and their health.
- 'Empowerment' as one of the main drivers behind the rationale for using photovoice mentioned in the literature can be expressed throughout the PV process, e.g. by withdrawing from the project, or by not taking part at all.
- PV might work better if conceived as a suitable research method together with the participants from the very start.
- Participants might be more comfortable with PV in a group setting.
- Giving participants true ownership of the work also means that they may choose to keep the photographs to themselves, despite the fact that this may mean that research results are lost.

Follow-up interviews questioning participants about their opinions of PV and listening to their genuine experiences could potentially enable me to further explore these suggestions I have offered above, which would certainly be specific to the context in which PV was employed in this case. At the same time, such further exploration might be difficult for some of the same reasons stated above. It is possible that the issues I raised are not so much about PV as a method, but about the design of the project, and its sensitivity to and empathy with the young people. We can learn from PV that, if projects are well designed, 'failures' are not failures, but successes instead, if they come from the young people themselves and indicate a process of genuine empowerment.

Images

Fig. 1. Cooking at the Community Centre

Fig. 2. Documentation of Peer's shopping

Fig. 3. Peer's fridge

Fig. 4. Peer's cupboard

Fig. 5. Context of food choices

Fig. 6. 'Keep Aberdeen clean! If you can?'

Fig. 7. 'A healthy walk to the beach?'

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