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Using Photography to voice young people's views about community and local service delivery

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Abstract

Youth offending has received significant attention in recent years in Queensland and across Australia. While the voices of young people who are offending or at risk of offending are evident in some studies, other reports do not identify them as key stakeholders. A recent university-industry research collaboration sought to prioritise the voices of young people engaging with The Lighthouse, a diversionary service within Townsville Aboriginal and Islander Health Services (TAIHS), through use of qualitative, Photovoice methods. The primary aim of this photovoice project was to capture the perceptions and needs of young people currently at risk of offending, and to document those views to help shape local service delivery. A thematic analysis enabled the identification of four key themes. These themes identified that participants felt unsafe and under surveillance in public spaces; they wanted more amenities where they could enjoy being in the community with their peers; they reported that peers and family were very important to them; and they appreciated services on offer at The Lighthouse and acknowledged these services supported behavioural change. The

findings provide a unique contribution to the use of creative research methodologies, and to policy and service delivery focused on young people at risk of offending.

Keywords:

Youth crime; At risk young people; Photovoice methods; Research collaborations; Research-informed practice

Implications

- Photovoice is a creative, participatory method that value-adds to research outcomes through participant skill development.
- Young people participating in, or at risk of, offending can contribute to research, in turn informing policy and practice to better meet their needs.
- Seeing through the eyes of young people provides a unique perspective on community inclusion, safe spaces and transformative practice.

Youth offending and the impact of youth crime on members of the community have received significant media and policy attention in Queensland and across Australia in recent times (Queensland Government, 2019; Smith, 2018). While some Australian inquiries have included the voices of young people who are offending or at risk of offending (see for example Armytage & Ogloff, 2017; Australian Government, 2017), in other inquiries young people's voices appear to be absent (see for example, Atkinson, 2018; McMillan & Davis, 2016; Smith, 2018). Research elsewhere highlights the engagement of young people as a crucial element of effective youth justice service delivery, due to young people's disengagement from interventions when they do not feel listened to (Trivasse, 2017).

The Townsville Aboriginal and Islander Health Services (TAIHS) seek to improve the health and wellbeing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Townsville and the surrounding region. The Lighthouse is a TAIHS service that provides an afterhours diversionary service to youth 10-17 years who are at-risk of offending, within the catchment area of Townsville. The Lighthouse provides diversionary activities (programs and activities afterhours); outreach to young people; community patrolling; and access, advice, referrals and ongoing support for young people. The Lighthouse seeks to decrease youth roaming the streets through offering structured and drop-in programs and can provide “a bed of rest” for overnight stays for young people who might be experiencing unsafe environments at their place of residence. The Lighthouse is funded by the Queensland Government through the Department of Children, Youth Justice and Multicultural Affairs (“DCYJMA”).

Since 2018, The Lighthouse staff have engaged in collaborative research with social work researchers at James Cook University (JCU), often incorporating student placements. The research team is made up of Indigenous and non-Indigenous members. Research undertaken is based on needs identified by The Lighthouse staff, with a focus on hearing the voices of young people about service delivery, and more broadly about their needs and experiences in the community. In the current project we chose to use photovoice, a creative qualitative research method that promotes engaging and empowering processes (Bashore, Alexander, Jackson, & Mauch, 2017).

Background

The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare report on youth justice (AIHW, 2020) identified that 5,694 young people aged 10 and over were under youth justice supervision on an average day in 2018-19. Although only 6% of young people aged 10-17 years are Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander, they reportedly represent 50% of youth under

supervision. Queensland and New South Wales reported the largest groups of young people under supervision on an average day (AIHW, 2020). Rates of young people under supervision rose in Queensland between 2016-17 and 2018-19 (AIHW, 2020, p. 38).

Elsewhere, literature identifies the over-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in Child Protection services, and the drift of children from child protection into youth justice services (Baidawi & Sheehan, 2020). The Sentencing Advisory Council of Victoria 'Crossover Kids' report (2020) identified the continued over-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children at the intersection between out-of-home care and youth justice systems, with Indigenous children being 17 times more likely than non-Indigenous children to have involvement in both the child protection and youth justice systems (AIHW, 2020). Children are often in out-of-home care due to family breakdown, poverty, family violence, homelessness and/or because they have experienced or are at risk of abuse or neglect. Baidawi and Sheehan (2020) identified key contexts of offending for child protection-involved children as adolescent family violence; group offending; and residential care offending. Those findings, together with reports published elsewhere, suggest a proportion of youth who have offended may have experienced precarious home environments and disrupted learning opportunities, in turn, rendering them vulnerable to ongoing involvement with the youth justice system (CREATE Foundation, 2018; Snow & Powell, 2012). Villeneuve et al. (2019) call for better understanding of specific issues for these children who cross over from child protection to youth justice systems and highlight the role social work can play in supporting young people's desistance from crime.

Many young people using The Lighthouse services are known to child protection and juvenile justice services. Equally, youth crime in North Queensland has been the subject of recent saturation media coverage and ongoing community concern (Bulloch, 2021; Caldwell,

2017). Community perceptions of unchecked youth crime can lead to more punitive legislative developments that, in turn, can negatively impact young people. Advocating a different approach, local reports have emphasized the need for increased services like The Lighthouse (a one-of-a-kind service in Queensland). Atkinson's 'Report on Youth Justice' (2018) also argued that research should be supported in the youth justice and youth diversionary spaces and recommended “partnering with universities” (p.13) to explore issues surrounding youth crime.

Similarly, Smith’s report (2018) called for local solutions to address youth offending, while an independent review into youth detention recommended increased investment in community-based wrap-around services that work with the community and other providers to address the causes of youth offending (McMillan & Davis, 2016). Current Queensland legislation concerning crime and young people under the age of 18 years includes the Youth Justice Act, principles of which aim to keep children safe, uphold their rights and promote their mental and physical safety (Queensland Government, 1992). Reforms to the Act aimed to address the ‘4 pillars’ of a Youth Justice Strategy recommended by the abovementioned Atkinson (2018) Report. These pillars are to: 1. intervene early; 2. keep children out of court; 3. keep children out of custody and 4. reduce re-offending.

Reviews across Australia similarly identify the need for improved outcomes for youth at risk of offending. For example, a Victorian inquiry recommended detention as a last resort, addressing the over-representation of Indigenous young people and the establishment of a youth engagement framework (Armytage & Ogloff, 2017). The Royal Commission into the Protection and Detention of Children in the Northern Territory highlighted significant mistreatment of young people in detention and recommended a new model incorporating rehabilitation, staff training, community consultation and reduced youth detention (Australian Government, 2017). In line with other inquiries, the Royal Commission recommended

therapeutic services and early intervention over ‘tough on crime’ approaches (Australian Government, 2017, p.24).

The Victorian Koori Youth Council's Report Ngaga-Dji (2018) identified that children's voices can be the missing piece in meeting the needs of young people in the juvenile justice system and that young people involved in, or at risk of becoming involved in, criminal activity can contribute to framing the problem and the solutions. The Australian National Framework for Protecting Children 2009-2020 specifically identified children's participation as a guiding principle in service delivery (Council of Australian Governments, 2014). It has been noted that young peoples' involvement in research can be empowering and can help shape services delivered to them (Koori Youth Council, 2018).

Taking children and young people's views and perceptions into account regarding service delivery is outlined in the United Nation's (1989) Convention on the Rights of the Child. Their participation in research about service delivery affords recognition and respect, can foster their growth as citizens, and provides insight into their experiences and views (Graham & Fitzgerald, 2010). The voices of young people are less evident in previous similar research and local reports. In this study we sought to creatively capture their perceptions and incorporate their contributions to change service delivery.

Methodology

Photovoice methodology

The Lighthouse staff expressed their interest in using creative ways to explore the needs of service users. Photovoice is a creative method within a qualitative research methodology where participants take photographs and share meanings they ascribe to those photographs (Plunkett, Leipert & Ray, 2013). Photovoice method has been used previously with

disengaged young people and reportedly has the potential to be an engaging and empowering process (Bashore et al, 2017; Strack, Magill, & McDonagh, 2004). Photovoice method can successfully “(1) ... enable people to record and reflect their community’s strength and concerns, (2) promote critical dialogue and knowledge... and (3) reach policy makers” (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 370). Photovoice can incorporate a participatory action research approach where the research team plan, act and reflect on all processes (Smith, Bratini, & Appio, 2012).

The primary aim of this photovoice project was to capture the perceptions and needs of young people currently at risk of offending, and to document those perceptions to help shape local service delivery. The participants in this study took photographs of places and objects that were meaningful to them and then explored their photos within focus group conversations using the SHOWeD method: “What do you See here? What is really Happening? How does this relate to Our lives? Why does this situation exist? What can we Do about it?” (Smith et al., 2012, p. 6). A further objective was to develop a strength card resource with young people, based on the photographs and related discussions.

Sampling and recruitment

Young people using The Lighthouse services were provided with information about the photovoice project through flyers and conversations. Interested young people were supplied with further information and consent forms for themselves and their families to sign. It was explained to young people that participation was voluntary. Further, that in agreeing to participate in the project, they agreed to being involved in photography lessons, taking photos in the community, participating in group yarning, and that photographs may be exhibited and developed into Strength cards. No incentives or recompense was offered to participants.

The tally of young people who took part in the photo excursions and the focus group yarning/discussions consisted of:

- 24 separate individuals who attended the program: 12 females, 12 males
- Between 5 and 11 participants attended per session
- 9 young people attended the focus groups discussions: 4 females, 5 males

The age range of the young people attending program sessions and focus groups was 10-17 years. Although the service catchment demographic is not specific for cultural identifiers, 90% of young people who have accessed The Lighthouse since the service began are from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander backgrounds. Fifty seven percent of service users (57%) are male; 41% female and .005% identify as LGBTQI+. Further demographic information is not provided to preserve participant anonymity.

The photovoice program

The photovoice project was integrated into the weekly program schedule at The Lighthouse. Strack et al. (2004) highlighted that it is important to develop a detailed, but flexible timeline, and include hands-on experiences, team building and instruction on how to use a camera. The photovoice project was fully explained to young people as different from regular sessions, however the project fitted well within pre-existing programs, protocols, and procedures.

The photovoice program was scheduled over 8 sessions within a four-week period, limited to 12 participants per session. Session 1 included pizzas, a group yarn about the photovoice project, team building activities, the development of a list of prompt words with young people for use in photography activities and securing the necessary signed consent forms. Session 2 consisted of a group discussion with young people's perceptions, observations and concerns documented on butchers' paper, and their first lesson with a photography instructor. In session 3 photography lessons were conducted at the Townsville

waterfront. Young people were encouraged to focus on the prompt word ‘culture’, and they photographed cultural murals and sculptures to practice their skills.

Session 4 was the first data-collecting session. A run sheet was developed for The Lighthouse staff and the young people, outlining rules for safe photo taking. Young people were encouraged to take photos to convey what mattered to them and what changes they would like to see. Prompt words were community, culture, strengths, self, future, family, safety, goals, education, our land, helping, services provided to them and personal values. Young people were transported around the community, enabling them to take photographs that had meaning for them as linked to the prompt words. Session 5 replicated session four. Young people were briefed again on the aims of the session and provided with the prompt words. The Lighthouse staff spent time asking the young people about their photographs when they returned to The Lighthouse. The young people showed themselves to be budding photographers.

In session 6 the photographs were reviewed with the young people in preparation for the focus group sessions. The Lighthouse staff sought input from senior staff about the next sessions. They suggested that for the photograph sorting/analysis session a one-on-one model within the group setting might be more successful than a group discussion. A mid-program research team decision supported the preferred approach that young people would choose their own photos and share their interpretations with the group.

In session 7, two focus group conversations took place with young people discussing their chosen photos, using the above-noted SHOWeD questions (Smith et al., 2012). Young people were reminded that the group conversations would be audio recorded. A final planned session, session 8, did not proceed due to end of year limitations.

A planned public exhibition has not been held to date. Work is currently underway to develop the strengths cards, and photographs are displayed at The Lighthouse service.

Data collection

Data included preparation notes, photographs taken and audio-taped group sessions. The focus groups provided opportunities for participants to share their chosen photographs and for researchers to better understand meanings ascribed to photographs. Two focus group discussions proceeded in session 7. Each discussion took approximately 30 minutes and was transcribed verbatim. As argued by Plunkett et al., (2013) richer data is gained through combining the taking of photographs with group conversations about the meanings behind the photographs.

Data analysis

The research team reviewed all photographs, independently read transcripts of group recordings, and documented ‘in vivo’ codes, quotes and themes. As identified by Alston and Bowles (2012, p.278), in vivo coding involves assigning a word or phrase to data sections “that comes directly from the language of the people being studied and are usually vivid in imagery as well as being analytically useful”. A cyclical, action research process ensued over many meetings as the team discussed and consolidate themes. One of the authors drafted summaries of theme discussions, and the summaries were explored at subsequent meetings to ensure shared interpretations and ensure that young people’s meanings remained central.

Ethics

Prior to University human ethics approval, support for the project was sought from TAIHS CEO and Board of Directors. The project then proceeded to gain University Ethics

Committee approval [approval number H7866]. All participating young people and their parents or guardians signed consent forms to enable involvement in the project. The research team recognized the vulnerabilities of the target group but respected their rights and capacities to contribute to research relevant to conditions that shape their lives (Graham & Fitzgerald, 2010).

Findings

The voices of young people are illuminated in the findings through use of shorter and longer quotes and use of in vivo codes as theme headings. The themes are summarised in an easy read poster for workplaces- an output recommended by practitioner partners (see link Zuchowski & Gair, 2011). The findings highlight how young people perceived their community and how they experienced The Lighthouse services. The four key themes are: ‘Like... it is a community, everyone is meant to share’; ‘Us kids can’t go to shopping centres’; ‘It gives you a chance’; and ‘Because family is important’. These themes are discussed in turn below.

Like... it is a community, everyone is meant to share

The young people liked to hang out in safe community spaces, and they had taken pictures of public equipment and facilities where they have fun with their friends. However, they made multiple comments that the equipment/amenities in some public areas was not safe. They saw “danger” in some of the places and facilities they visited and commented that “kids get hurt on that” or “someone could kill themselves. Accessible, safe public amenities were highly valued by participants and appeared to serve as a distraction: “So you don’t do bad stuff” and “So you don’t get in trouble”.

Young people wanted more public outdoor equipment such as basketball hoops and basic amenities for example water fountains/taps. They further recognized the need for

community mindedness. Some young people expressed frustration that the local Council had not followed through on their responsibility to maintain safe, community spaces, while others saw themselves as playing their part in the solution. For example, these young people asserted

You need to talk to the Government because the Council is not going to do shit, they cannot even get that friggin basketball thing fixed, they can't clean the tap...

... Cleaning after yourself and making more water taps everywhere for people to share... There is only one water tap in that whole area.

Talk to the Council again, same thing, we could talk to the Council... to see if they could put another hoop in...

A consistent theme of the focus group conversations was centered on the sentiment of a shared community, as reflected clearly in the following statement:

The community is not private, a community is for everyone, it is for the public to come...

Similarly, this young person stated

People don't know how to share in the community, like, it is a community, everyone is meant to share, it is not a private basketball hoop ... He didn't share so I threw the ball and it rebounded ... and hit him in the head and I was like, whoops, sorry, but it was on purpose because ...[he] didn't know how to share a basketball hoop.

As illustrated above, a safe, shared community was important to young people.

Us kids can't go to shopping centres

Extending on the above theme but making a different point, young people said they often felt excluded from the community. They described feeling judged and being monitored in public. One young person commented, "Us kids can't go to shopping centres without, you know, police coming". Another young person identified similar feelings of being under surveillance because of the assumption they would commit crimes:

Don't get that much privacy, we always have security guards following us.

Some young people said they felt "embarrassed" and "fearful" of the treatment they received. They further related their experiences to their cultural background and to racism, saying "They are too racist against the black people" and "They are just mean".

From the young people's comments, it seemed they felt excluded, profiled, and labelled, and they experienced racism in public, although they commonly expressed these experiences as being followed or attracting attention.

It gives you a chance

Participants took photographs that related specifically to The Lighthouse service environment. In both focus group sessions young people chose photographs that depicted the name or an image of The Lighthouse. Young people used a range of words to depict The Lighthouse service, including "confidentiality", "it's deadly" and "that's how I survive". The young people described The Lighthouse as a "safe place", they were thankful The Lighthouse services were free of charge, and they described feeling valued and included at the service:

For some programs you also have to pay money, but here everything is for free. You have got a family. They take you everywhere, BBQ nights, everything, there is a lot of things you can do

Young people's comments captured how services provided by The Lighthouse were transformative for them; and that it provided respite for and from family, helped them see opportunities to escape old ways and unwanted circumstances, and helped them to survive and move forward in their lives. Such comments included:

They have actually changed us a lot. They can... help you a lot. You come from bad to different people

It gives you a chance, like if you have been ... drugs and stuff ... it gives you a chance to change

Change, and like escape from... from home life, like overnight... like it gives your family a break and everything

Young people wanted to spread the word more broadly in the community about this safe place that 'gives you a chance', so other young people could gain similar benefits:

Telling people like, other teenagers and kids that actually need help, or actually need to stay out of trouble during the night, or like want to join programs or want to change their life, to join here...

Because The Lighthouse Mob leads the way...

I know it gets young people off the street, aye, walking around and that...

Because family is important

In the previous theme the young people identified that The Lighthouse services supported them and provided respite for families. They also mentioned how the services "helped balance, friendship with mum and dad again" and the importance of "balancing friendships with someone you was already friends with". This balance, of belonging and having positive

relationships with family through having time away was important to the young people, and their comments related to “needing to see your family often” and “missing family”.

Equally, for some young people The Lighthouse became a home away from home:

“Leave your family to a new family” - “Well, for a few hours we are, yeah”

An exchange between three young women extended ideas in the previous theme by expressing their thoughts that more young people could be supported if The Lighthouse increased its services. “Meet new people”...“ if you make it bigger there will be more being able to come, not just this little group. You’d be able to have more” ... “Connect with all them other ones...”. It seemed clear that young people wanted to convey more broadly that The Lighthouse felt safe and “makes you feel ... like a family”.

Discussion

In this photovoice project we sought to use creative methods to engage with young people at risk of offending who attended The Lighthouse, and to highlight their experiences and needs. Specifically, engaging young people in photographic methods may have facilitated increased self-expression of their meanings, perceptions and needs. As noted by Snow and Powell (2012) high risk young people have faced negative social and family circumstances and interrupted learning opportunities that reduce language competencies, in turn hindering self-expression. The use of photography assisted the young people as a visual aid to express themselves with less requirement to use verbal language. Facilitators also felt that the photography was less confronting for the young people to participate safely.

The young people’s photographs and reflections demonstrated thoughtful engagement and insightful community awareness. The young people explained that the community should be there for everyone, and that feeling a part of the community was important to them, but they often felt excluded and judged in public places. In contrast, at The Lighthouse they felt like

they were given a chance and a safe place that felt “like a family”. Young people highlighted the importance of family, friends, and connections. The overall sentiment shared by young people seemed to be a desire to feel a sense of belonging in the broader community, where their needs were catered for just like any other community group, and where they could share in the responsibility to maintain public spaces.

The participants described the community as a space where they felt labelled as delinquent, which affected their perceptions of themselves and their status in the community, and they felt discriminated against as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people. As one young participant put it “*They are too racist against the black people*”. They had perceived there was a pre-existing expectation that they would engage in criminal activity. The young people expressed feeling under constant surveillance in public areas, such as shopping centres. In this sense, young people appear to be describing a situation of not being seen as individuals, but rather as a collective of deviants who would engage in crime unless closely monitored.

Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander children and young people are disproportionately over-represented in welfare and juvenile justice systems. This over-representation has been reported by some authors as an enduring systemic bias in child protection services, and a criminalizing of young people (for example see Cunneen, 2020). That is, biased systems and stereotypes of young people as deviants may be a self-fulfilling prophecy. As argued by Rocheleau and Chavez (2015, p.168) drawing from the work of others, “being publicly labelled deviant is the crucial step in the process of becoming deviant as this spurs changes in self-identity and involvement in deviant networks, and ultimately increases an individuals’ participation in deviance”. If their peers have engaged in crime, then the young person may be labelled as a criminal, in turn amplifying the community’s perception of a deviant collective – “guilt by association” (Rocheleau & Chavez, 2015, p.167).

Equally, Zubrick et al. (2010) argued that social exclusion is a powerful disrupter to the development of social capacities in both children and adults because it restricts access to opportunities and choices to participate socially, economically and civically. Social exclusion can take many forms ranging from discrimination, racism and vilification to more subtle experiences such as non-recognition, rejection and being ‘othered’, all of which can constrain one’s sense of wellbeing and belonging (Herring, Spangaro, Lauw, & McNamara, 2013; Utah, 2019). Such experiences have the potential to disrupt broader social relationships and cohesion and alienate some groups from their community (Zubrick et al., 2010). In this study young people clearly identified not feeling a part of the community, although they wanted to participate in community life and wanted to see an increased number of safe, maintained public spaces and amenities. While community attitudes might call for increased law and order solutions that limited public gathering places and increased ‘move on’ powers to decrease crime, young people in this study expressed a desire to access more public spaces because they can hang out with friends and “*keep out of trouble*”.

What is highlighted by the findings is that a dual focus on moderating young peoples’ behaviour and changing community perceptions is worthwhile. Johns et al. (2017) identified that while interactions in the community can make young people feel unwelcome, effective work can facilitate positive community interactions and enhanced wellbeing. Similarly, The Lighthouse staff reported that during the research partnership they consciously used modelling as a tool to show the young people what positive behaviour looked like and what was expected of them in the community (O’Reilly, et al., 2019). Staff sought to reinforce young people’s positive behaviour in the community so members of the public could witness their behaviour, thereby contributing to changed public perceptions. Equally, as some young

people in this study identified, when they felt they were listened to and given a chance, then transformative change was possible. Such practice is supported by Villeneuve et al., (2019) who highlighted the essential role of case workers in supporting adolescents to move away from crime and move closer towards the person they aspire to become.

Young people in this study emphasised the importance of peers, reflecting findings from Brady, Forkan and Moran (2018, p.395) that peer relationships were a “key factor in helping them cope with adversity”. Equally, young people in this study made a different point. They did not want to feel labelled, racialized and judged guilty by culture or association- they wanted to be seen as individuals, free to enjoy the community with other young people.

An important contextual issue raised by the research partnership was the geographical location of this study (regional Queensland) where some organisations may remain influenced by Western practice norms. Lyn et al. (1998) argued that such practices marginalise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and label them as “a welfare problem to be dealt with through state intervention” (p.5). Those authors identified that “Indigenous helping styles” being used by grassroots Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander workers in the community included being a friend not a “helper”, having a shared experience of culture, and use of “non-directive processes” (p.21). The Lighthouse operates from a similar grassroots model of practice. Their model relies on respect, rights and responsibilities, and acknowledging that culture is central to wellbeing, self-identity and community participation (O’Reilly et al., 2019). Equally, it seems worthy of consideration, as noted above, that vulnerable young people may lack oral language development and competencies that are heavily relied not only in mainstream research, but in mainstream services, forensic interviews, courts processes, legal counsel and restorative justice conferencing (Snow &

Powell, 2012). An added outcome of the project was that young people honed their creativity and were given photography lessons which they might otherwise have not been able to access.

Looking forward, when reviewing the findings, the research team reflected on the need to hear from the parents/guardians of young people using The Lighthouse service about their opinions and experiences. In future research we would like to ask the parents three questions in particular: “What is your view and experience of The Lighthouse?”, “How are things at home for the young person?” and “What is the families’ experience of dealing with Youth Justice?”. Gaining these views would assist programs like The Lighthouse to have a more holistic view of the young persons’ life circumstances and their support needs. As the findings from this study revealed, the young people cared about and respected their family members. In addition, there are strengths and needs within the family structures, and identifying these strengths and needs can further benefit the young people. As identified by Johns et al. (2017, p. 3) “seeing young people through the lens of interactions and relationships – with family, peers, community... gives insight into the type of interventions that can most effectively disrupt the offending and enhance their wellbeing”.

Limitations

This study was conducted with interested young people who used The Lighthouse service. Therefore, we caution against generalizations from the findings. Nevertheless, the findings reflect authentic, meaningful input from young people about their perceptions of the community they live in (Townsville) and the services provided to them by The Lighthouse. These insights may be informative for other similar communities and services.

Conclusion

Service delivery to disadvantaged youth, particularly those with juvenile justice involvement, is not always informed by the voices and concerns of the young people who use those services. Findings from a recent university- industry research collaboration using photovoice methods identified that young people who were at risk of entering the youth justice system and who were using The Lighthouse services wanted to feel a part of the community but often felt excluded and stereotyped. They wanted more public spaces and facilities where they felt included and safe. They identified that peers and family were important to them and that respectful relationships with workers provided opportunities for change. These findings may have important implications for the identified service, and beyond it to service providers offering similar interventions with at risk young people.

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