

Aboriginal Youth, Hip Hop, and the Right to the City: A Participatory
Action Research Project

by

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Abstract

This thesis sets out to explore the extent to which health inequities experienced by Aboriginal youth living in Winnipeg are mediated by the urban environment. Between 2010 and 2011, Aboriginal youth associated with the GAPAYAC undertook a participatory action research process to create stories about the geography of health inequity, to share their ideas for positive change, and to support their social and political aspirations towards their right to a healthy city. The youth researchers (N=8) used participatory hip hop techniques involving visual art, photography, spoken word, music, and dance as tools to 'map' health inequities within and across the city. The results revealed several themes that speak to the youth researchers experiences of health inequity as they related to mobility, place, and exclusion. In turn, the youth researchers mobilized their knowledge through art and performances as vehicles for taking action against health inequity.

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Chapter 1.

Introduction

The goal of this thesis is to investigate urban health inequities from the perspectives of Aboriginal youth to support their aspirations for the right to a healthy city. Within this thesis, health is defined in accordance with the World Health Organization (WHO) - a state of complete physical, mental and social well being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity (WHO, 1946). However, this definition has received considerable criticism; according to Huber et al. (2011) and others ‘complete’ is an “impracticable” target goal (Huber et al., 2011, p. 2; Gostin, 2001). Recently, scholars have proposed the need to reformulate WHO’s definition of health to reflect human rights principles; especially as inequitable living conditions become more widespread (Huber et al., 2011; Shilton et al., 2011). Braveman and Gruskin (2003) define health inequities as, “systematic disparities in health (or in the major social determinants of health) between social groups who have different levels of underlying social advantage/disadvantage” (p. 254). Health inequities are seen as unjust because they have been shown to concentrate in locales that are inhabited by marginalized socioeconomic and/or ethnoracial groups (Buzzelli, Jerrett, Burnett, & Finklestein, 2003; Haluza-Delay, 2007; Masuda, Zupancic, Poland, & Cole, 2008). At the local level, these disparities are mediated by numerous place-based health opportunities and threats that manifest in uneven patterns within and across neighbourhoods. In places like Winnipeg, these differences include health services, recreational facilities, green space, sanitation services, crime prevention, and public transit (Masuda, Teelucksingh, Zupancic, Crabtree, Haber, & Skinner, accepted). Those urban inhabitants, such as Aboriginal youth, who inhabit neighbourhoods with

disproportionately high health threats or low health opportunities relative to other areas in the city, are adversely impacted in a myriad of ways. This thesis will document how Aboriginal youth living in Winnipeg face many health challenges that they perceive stem from racism, ageism, and socioeconomic marginalization perpetuated against their place-based identities. Perhaps more importantly, the research will confirm that Aboriginal youth are strongly resilient amidst their urban circumstances, and are demonstrating concerted effects to change for their neighbourhoods and for the city. In sum, participatory action researchers, like myself, who seek a better understanding of health inequities benefit substantially from drawing on the knowledge, expertise, and creativity of Aboriginal youth urban inhabitants to better inform positive change for the whole city.

The chapters in this thesis explore the processes, reflections, and outcomes of an approach that I developed alongside one group of inspirational Aboriginal youth to creatively tell their stories about urban health inequities and to share their ideas about positive change. Between June 2010 and June 2011, I partnered with Graffiti Art Programming Aboriginal Youth Advisory Committee (GAPAYAC) to develop an arts-aligned research process to examine the relationship between youth's experiences of health inequity from the perspective of the right to the city. The right to the city is a concept first proposed by French philosopher and sociologist, Henri Lefebvre that has been taken up in recent years as an alternative urban vision to the inherent inequality of the neoliberal city. The highly racialized city of Winnipeg, whose core areas represent one of the largest single constituencies of Aboriginal people in Canada (Peters, 2002; Statistics Canada, 2006), are an exemplary case context for an examination of the right to the city. Aboriginal youth in this city have been consistently and arguably increasingly

burdened by widening health inequities (Fernandez, MacKinnon, & Silver, 2010) owing to a persistent inability on the part of governments and policymakers at all levels, including the allied health community, to address unjust attitudes, conditions, institutions, and practices that have consistently disadvantaged this population group.

1.1 Context

Urban health inequities are a current reality in many Canadian cities, and unfortunately marginalized populations, particularly Aboriginal peoples (including those of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit ancestry), are often most impacted (Adelson, 2005; Frohlich, Ross, & Richmond, 2006; Loppie Reading & Wein, 2009). It is widely reported that Winnipeg, the capital city of Manitoba (see Appendix A Map of Study Area), is overburdened by abject impoverished conditions, particularly in its core neighbourhoods located in the areas west of the Central Business District (the “West End”) and adjacent to the north side of the CN Rail Yards (the “North End”) (Silver & Toews, 2009; Dobchuck-Land, Toews & Silver, 2010). Despite these glaringly derelict conditions, very little has been reported about their relationship to health inequities, nor their institutional determinants. There is an urgent need to address the trend of widening health inequities at the neighbourhood level.

Understanding the situation of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg, including the health inequities they experience, requires an acknowledgement of their historical antecedents, which have been amply reported elsewhere (Silver & Toews, 2009; Silver, 2010; Dobchuck-Land, Toews & Silver, 2010). In brief, the late 1800’s saw Winnipeg become a continental hub for industrial activity in the wholesale and manufacturing sectors with the establishment and expansion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Silver,

2010; Hiebert, 1991). Factory job opportunities also attracted immigrants of varying Eastern European origin amongst others to the city. These residents settled along the CPR railway, which became known as the “foreign quarter;” the first instance of place-identity stereotyping in the city. Poor living conditions led to overcrowded housing and poor sanitary conditions contributing to the spread of communicable diseases (Silver, 2010). The rapid expansion of the CPR train tracks to the West and the East created a natural ‘veil’ over the North End concealing its ever-worsening living conditions from south end residents (McMonagie, Hunter, Cabel, Parsons & Rydz, 2010).

A significant rise in Aboriginal population began in the early 1970’s and coincided with Winnipeg’s embrace of automobile-dependent suburban sprawl. With increasing population growth, descendants of the original immigrant inhabitants began to leave the core neighbourhoods for suburban areas now encircling the city’s core (Silver, 2010). This “emptying outwards” was one factor that influenced the urban migration of Aboriginal families from reserves to the city in search of employment opportunities (Silver, 2010). Many Aboriginal people settled throughout the core neighbourhoods owing to the availability of low-cost housing combined with the accepting attitudes of the receiving communities (Comack & Silver, 2008). They also benefited from the inner city’s concentrated health, family, and social services and supports, as well as affordable housing dramatically changing the ethnoracial composition of core neighbourhoods over the past one hundred years (Ghorayshi, 2010).

From this point on until present day, these few core area neighbourhoods have been stigmatized as Winnipeg’s ‘inner city’ (Silver & Toews, 2009). Discriminatory attitudes towards Aboriginal people in Winnipeg continue to reinforce spatial and social

segregation, however today, the ethnoracial lines of division are more clearly inscribed than ever before (Ghorayshi, 2010). Moreover, the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the Aboriginal population living in Winnipeg has changed substantially (Statistics Canada, 2006). The urban Aboriginal population across Canada today is characteristically very young. According to the 2006 Census, 28% of the urban Aboriginal population was under 15 years old, compared to 17% of the non-Aboriginal population (Statistics Canada, 2006). It was my relationships with these youth that drew me to carry out a project that would rely on their invaluable insights about racialized place identity to better understand and articulate the geography of health inequity in the city.

1.2 Community entry

In January 2010 when I arrived in Winnipeg, I began working as a research coordinator on a project focused on developing community-driven approaches to assessing and resolving urban health inequities. As research coordinator, I worked out of a research office located at The Circle of Life Thunderbird House at the corner of Main Street and Higgins Avenue. I took up every opportunity to build relationships and rapport with community members by involving myself in local activities and initiatives. I started volunteering at The Thunderbird House as an assistant for Sacred Buds Blossoming; a program facilitated by woman Elders offering traditional teachings for young Aboriginal girls. Over time, I developed a strong rapport with the youth participants, their families and friends, program staff, and members of The Grandmothers Council. I also began to regularly participate in the Main Street Community Caring Circle (MSCCC), a collaborative group of service providers in the area.

These roles gave me the invaluable opportunity to build relationships with people who lived and worked in this highly diverse part of the city. The information gathered during the subsequent year revealed that urban health inequity exists and that it is broader and more complex than what has previously been reported. For example, the neighbourhoods assessments conducted by community researchers revealed that many Aboriginal families who reside in Winnipeg's core neighbourhoods live under disproportionately worse urban health conditions in comparison to more affluent areas, and that their life in the city is highly racialized in numerous ways (Masuda et al., accepted). Their comparisons across areas of socioeconomic difference generated stories of how Aboriginal people experienced hardship owing to entrenched systemic discrimination (see also Silver, 2010).

Equally important to the findings of this study informing my research, my participation in participatory research processes provided me with the opportunity to begin to build important relationships within the community that would be instrumental in my own thesis work. All of these activities and the further community connections I developed through related research and volunteer activities paved the way for the establishment of a research partnership with Graffiti Art Programming Inc. In the summer of 2010, I first met with the Executive Director, Steve Wilson, who later introduced me to the Programs Director, Jillian Ramsay, to discuss the potential of extending this work with the youth leaders in this organization.

1.3 Theoretical approach

1.3.1 Right to the City

My thesis finds its theoretical grounding in four concepts: (1) health inequity; (2) right to health; (3) right to the city; and (4) critical hip hop pedagogy. Although related to each other in complex ways, to date, these concepts have not been linked. The right to the city is a concept first proposed by French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre in response to increasing disenfranchisement of urban inhabitants and their right to shape the production of urban space. The consequences of late neoliberalism in the 21st century city, including widespread increases in the severity and politicization of socioeconomic segregation have brought about a resurgence of interest in Lefebvre's early theoretical treatments of rights in the production of urban space under capitalism (Lefebvre, 1968; 1974). More recent scholarship has begun to take shape among those interested in elaborating conceptions of rights to account for other forms and experiences of inequity in cities, including health (Carmalt Connolly, 2007). Notably, the right to health has received considerable attention by those who have been concerned with issues of health inequity (Chapman, 2010; Braveman, 2010; Blas, Gilson, Kelly, Labonté, Lapitan, Muntaner, & Ostlin, 2008). However, the right to health has not yet been taken up significantly by health geographers – an omission that is particularly striking in light of health geographers' sustained interest in spatial manifestations of health inequity within urban contexts. In light of this, I chose to examine the right to the city within the specific context of health inequity to provide a much-needed empirical basis for understanding how rights play out within the context of youth's everyday life.

In Winnipeg, many community-based organizations are in a constant long-term struggle to address symptomatic impacts of pervasive conditions of poverty. Many are constantly undermined by deeply rooted abrogation of governmental responsibility to protect everyone's right to health (CCPA-MB, 2010). It has been often suggested that policy makers, government agencies, city planners, architects, designers, and other community stakeholders need to be more inclusive of community perspectives in urban planning and public health investment and interventions, particularly Winnipeg's current generation of youth (CCPA-MB, 2010). Similarly, concerns regarding the absence of youth voices at all levels was raised by the key informants I had interviewed. It was also during this time that I began to see the need for youth leadership in this field to better inform urban planning and public health investments and interventions and the opportunity to influence change at the city level.

1.3.2 Critical hip hop pedagogy

Understanding youth perspectives on the geography of urban health inequity requires an epistemological shift that creates a space for youth to articulate knowledge in ways that are meaningful to them. Studies demonstrate that the employment of hip hop as a pedagogical tool enhances the construction of youth's knowledge and a way of engaging with students real lives (Land & Stovall, 2009). In addition to its pedagogical capacity, hip hop is deeply laden with commentary about contemporary urban space, place, and health and offers a relevant lens through which to examine the processes by which health inequities are formed (Forman, 2000). Moreover, hip hop has had tremendous significance in Aboriginal youth culture in Winnipeg because hip hop inherently/historically deals with urban life, particularly in illuminating for example

poverty, drugs and violence, and racial discrimination (Patriquin, 2010). Aboriginal hip hop is even more meaningful and significant to youth seeking to differentiate and resist colonialist ideals and pressures (Lashua, 2006). For these reasons, I chose to situate our methodological approach within a Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy (CHHP) framework, first developed by Akom (2009; see also Chapter 3). CHHP provided a philosophy of inquiry based on principles of critical race theory, critical pedagogy, and youth participatory action research. Within the context of urban health research, CHHP aligns well with my research approach, Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR follows a Freirian model, which distinctively places an emphasis on co-learning wherein research is conducted *with* rather than *on* the community; there is no distinction between the “researcher” and the “researched” (Freire, 1970; Israel et al., 1998; Minkler, 2000; Masuda et al., 2011). Within the context of urban health research, this approach aligns well with my own research aims to foreground the experiential knowledge of youth, as their perspectives have been largely overlooked with respect to conventional explanations of urban health inequities in the city.

1.4 Methodological approach

Informed by principles of CHHP, the methodological approach I employed used hip hop as a creative tool to map the spatialities of health experiences in the city. The entire process including partnership development, project development and design, data collection and analysis, and finally knowledge translation unfolded over a course of a year between, Spring 2010 – Summer 2011. In June 2010, I met with the Executive Director, Steve Wilson, of Graffiti Art Programming Inc. GAP is a nationally recognized, non-profit, community-based youth serving organization that is dedicated to the creation

of a safe and accepting environment for the development of all forms of artistic expression. GAP's mandate closely aligned with my research plans to use art, media and performance as proactive tools for research focused on community development and social change. This initial meeting allowed the Executive Director and I the opportunity to negotiate ideas and approaches so that it was truly motivated by this community's own identification of problems and concerns. The Executive Director has a long history of working for social change in the North Point Douglas area, and so he offered a lot of initial insight and direction for this thesis project. He agreed to proceed with the partnership and connected me to GAP's program coordinator, Jillian Ramsay. The program coordinator of the st.ART ("street art") After School Program at GAP agreed to be a primary partner in executing the project. The st.ART program provided an excellent setting for my project as it provides free, drop-in community studio spaces, and an opportunity for marginalized youth to work with local artists to develop and use these tools for expression. An external funder of the st.ART after School Program stipulates that a portion of st.ART's funding must be expended to support Aboriginal youth leadership and training within and beyond the organization. The Graffiti Art Programming Aboriginal Youth Advisory Committee (GAPAYAC) was organized and established to meet their funding objectives. The GAPAYAC, a group of Aboriginal youth between the ages of 13 and 20, meet frequently to organize and coordinate events and to have intentional, relevant, discussions regarding their concerns and aspirations. Importantly, GAPAYAC partners with the North Point Douglas Women's Centre (NPDWC) Youth Safety Committee in order to engage in advocacy against the ongoing exclusion and mistreatment of this neighbourhood by city officials.

Between August 2010 – March 2011, I engaged with GAPAYAC members, program staff, and affiliated organizational staff and community members at weekly meetings, arts and media based workshops, performances, and social activities to nurture relationships, develop ideas, and to create opportunities for experiential learning and skill building. In January 2011, we officially developed our research team that would carry out various activities over the following six months. Eight youth researchers committed to undertaking the exploratory design and development of the project. This cohort included six who self-identified as females, and two as males between the ages of 13 and 20 years. Four were still attending secondary school; one enrolled as a part time university student; one has been taking classes in an adult education program, and two were taking any secondary or post-secondary education. At least five self-identified as First Nations or Metis and three as Caucasian.

Between January and March 2011, we brainstormed research ideas and formulated plans for the development of a ‘hip hop’ research curriculum (see Appendix B). In April, 2011 we decided to employ a place mapping technique first introduced by Travlou, Owens, Thompson & Maxwell (2008) as our foundational methodological approach to identify favourable and contested spaces of the city (see Appendix C). We situated this ‘mapping’ activity within a Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy (CHHP) framework to reflect the youth researchers interests, motivations, and ‘ways of knowing’. Hip hop, notably, is not the research method. To be research methods, hip hop practice must be informed by a style of inquiry – Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy. Youth researchers were paired with personal artist mentors of their choice who were particularly skilled in their preferred style of hip hop. Seven artists, four males and 3 females between the ages of

22-40 years old agreed to mentor a youth researcher on this project. Each artist either self-identified as Caucasian, Filipino, or First Nation. All of the artist mentors were employed by GAP as st.ART after school programming staff. Each artist specialized in a different form of hip hop art and performance: rap, dance, writing, photography, and painting, offering a diverse skill set to the youth researchers.

Each pair met on three separate occasions to brainstorm, plan, and select materials for their individual project. The consciousness-raising process of translating mappings of the city into artistic formats prompted the youth researchers to examine their everyday urban lives and to explain the consequent health inequities associated with their experiences of the city. The youth then developed artistic expressions of the structural conditions that shaped their own experiences, depicting them under the theme of the right to a healthy city. Finally in May 2011, we mobilized our newfound insights through a community forum called “Youth’s Right to the City.” This forum provided the youth researchers with the opportunity to display, perform, and importantly to engage high school students and representatives from community, policy, and research organizations from across the city in a meaningful discussion about the right to the city and health inequity. Through a three-hour workshop, youth were able to strategically translate their research findings, establish new or expanded networks, and to initiate follow up actions. Between June and November 2011, the youth researchers engaged in a number of activities to mobilize this knowledge, take action, and sustain engagement, including academic presentations, community festivals such as Aboriginal Days, a short video, a youth-driven city-wide mural project, and hip hop/spoken word training and skill building workshops with Aboriginal hip hop artists.

1.5 Structure of this thesis

Chapter One has provided an overall theoretical and methodological overview of the study, by introducing concepts of health inequity, right to health, right to the city, and critical hip hop pedagogy. This background weaves together the more in-depth discussion in the three substantive papers (Chapters 2, 3, and 4), each of which draw on aspects of methodological innovations in participatory action research with youth to explore health inequity through the right to the city perspective.

Chapter Two reports on Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) theory that I adhered to for my research. The chapter outlines the results of a systematic review that I undertook, which elucidated nine practices in YPAR related to (1) the nature of partnerships; (2) the selection of methods; (3) the interpretation of data; and (4) the mobilization of knowledge. Adherence to participatory practices at all stages of the research and each was instrumental to the development of this thesis research project as it provided a framework for achieving respectful and mutually beneficial partnership with the youth researchers, and organizational staff and mentors at Graffiti Art Programming Inc.

Chapter Three introduces Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy (CHHP), the theoretical platform driving my methodological decisions and approach detailing the process and outcomes. I discuss how our application of a place mapping methodology was informed by principles of CHHP as a strategy to take advantage of the inherent creativity of youth in our investigation of urban health inequities in Winnipeg. The chapter outlines how the use of a CHHP as a participatory methodology enabled the youth researchers to more deeply explore the geography of health inequities as they materialize in the city.

Chapter Four details my application of a right to the city theoretical framework within the analysis and interpretation of the youth researchers' stylized 'hip hop' mapping process. Several themes emerged that speak to the youth researchers experiences of mobility, place, and health. This chapter details the examination of the right to the city within the specific context of health inequity. A rights-based framework is needed to understand place-health dynamics as they have bearing on urban space, mobility, and social justice.

Chapter Five concludes the thesis through a synthesis of the three papers, their collective contribution, limitations on project process and approach, as well as areas for future work in this area.

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Chapter 2.

Identifying practices in youth-led participatory research to address urban health inequities: A systematic review

2.1 Introduction

In urban settings, public spaces are crucially important for the healthy development of youth (UN World Youth Report, 2005). In low income neighbourhoods where parks and green spaces are often less available, informally sanctioned public areas such as alleys, streets, and vacant properties are often the only places where youth can engage in recreational and social activities (Owens, 2002). Moreover, recent studies suggest that the daily activities of youth in these more disadvantaged areas are further constrained by public policies and practices that are designed to mitigate perceived health threats caused by assumptions of deviant behaviour (Chawla, 2002; Malone, 1999). Over time, such measures have contributed to the creation of unjust urban youthspheres that are, paradoxically, ever less welcoming to youth as their geographic freedom and mobility becomes increasingly circumscribed by decision processes that exclude their perspectives (Owens, 2002). For example, Hil and Bessant (1999) have shown that police officers and security personnel often serve the role of ‘purifiers’ of public space by monitoring young people’s presence and attempting to discourage them from using certain spaces. Even those spaces designated as youth-appropriate have often been structured in ways that are amenable to surveillance, policing, and control.

Urban health inequities are indicative of a broader state of spatial injustice that has characterized North American cities for decades (Soja, 2010). Ample studies have demonstrated that urban conditions lead to real consequences as inner city youth populations have higher rates of negative health outcomes including HIV and other STIs

(Browning, Burrington, Leventhal & Gunn-Brooks, 2008), chronic respiratory diseases such as asthma (Chen, Louise, Chim, Strunk & Miller, 2007), obesity, and emotional well being and physical injury as a result of domestic violence and abuse (Browning & Erickson, 2009).

To respond to these trends, researchers have attempted to confront urban health inequities by directly involving youth in participatory action research processes that access their knowledge, support their social and political aspirations, and ultimately advocate for improved health conditions. Yet studies, primarily in the field of geography, to-date have had inconsistent levels of success, both in terms of direct outcomes as well involvement and satisfaction of youth researchers. These inconsistencies may be related to research designs, relationships, methodologies, and action strategies. However, youth-led participatory action research is relatively underdeveloped as a methodology in the field of human geography, yet recently it is becoming more common (see Cahill, 2007).

In this paper, I seek to identify practices taken in research that may contribute to successful outcomes in assisting youth to articulate their experiences of environmental health inequities within urban contexts. My approach is informed by theories of urban justice (Fainstein, 2010; Lefebvre, 1996; Harvey, 1996) which provide a lens for framing attitudes, policy, and programs that underlie inequities in the structure and design of the city and that limit the aspirations and opportunities of its citizens to achieve optimal health. Until now, a consolidated review of effective research practices involving youth in directly challenging these injustices has not been undertaken. I report here on a systematic review I conducted the purpose of which was to examine the literature for methodological practices in youth-led urban research that aims to intervene in the unjust

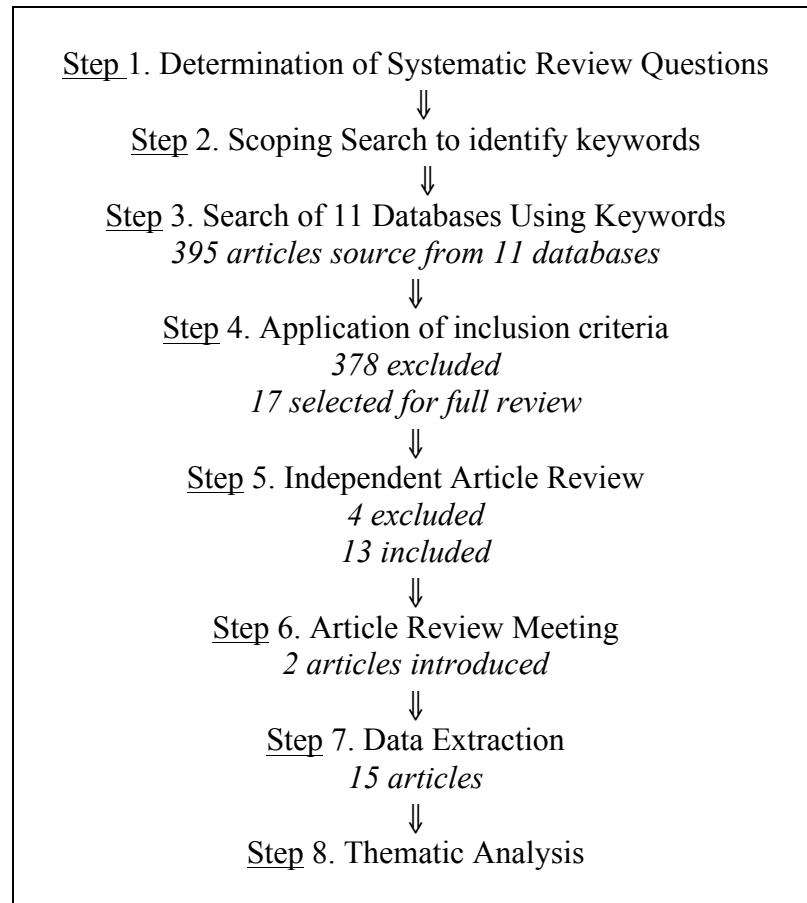
conditions in the city and concomitant urban health inequities experienced by youth. My findings reveal key approaches taken in all steps of research, including how researchers partner with youth, select and implement methods, conduct and interpret data analysis, and mobilize knowledge, that appear to contribute to positive outcomes and satisfaction. I suggest that my findings contribute a series of practices that can guide future research efforts to promote health equity for urban youth.

2.2 Methods

Taking the above uncertainties in youth-led participatory research as our cue, I carried out a systematic review of the literature to identify cases where research studies in the area of urban health reported on specific practices within the four stages of participatory research (partnering, methodological approach, analysis and interpretation, and knowledge translation). In this thesis, I define youth-led research to encompass only those approaches where youth are seen as co-researchers alongside (adult) investigators. I recognize that there exists a considerable degree of heterogeneity across both youth-led and non-youth-led research designs in terms of the extent to which youth are also seen as sources of “data” versus “investigators.”

My purpose was to determine the extent to which adherence to participatory practices may have influenced the overall success of research in terms of both meaningful processes and effective outcomes. The following steps were undertaken to identify relevant papers for inclusion in the review (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1. Stepwise search strategy



In Step 1, I met with my supervisor under the auspices of a graduate course on systematic review to discuss participatory research theory as it pertains to youth-led research. Our discussions around the four stages of research led to corresponding research questions (Table 2.1) that informed the subsequent systematic review. In Step 2, I conducted an iterative scoping search of key research databases (GeoBase, Web of Science) and citation lists of articles already known to my supervisor and I to collect

keywords for the full review (Table 2.2). In Step 3, I ran the exhaustive list of keywords through 11 databases selected to provide a sufficiently comprehensive sample of research across multiple disciplines (Table 2.3). I applied the inclusion criteria (Table 2.4) to database outputs to produce an initial set of 395 articles. In Step 4, I assessed the titles and abstracts of all 395 articles, eliminating those that did not appear to meet all six of our inclusion criteria. In Step 5, I then reviewed the full text of the selected 17 articles, excluding an additional four additional articles that did not meet inclusion criteria. In Step 6, I scanned reference lists of the 13 articles to identify further relevant articles. An additional two articles were identified. Subsequent analysis is thus based on a total of 15 articles published between 1995 and 2010 across 11 peer reviewed English language research journals. In Step 7, I developed a structured data extraction form to ensure that the full articles were appraised in a consistent way. I based the data extraction form on a framework designed to organize research processes on the basis of previously published theoretical work on participatory research, with specific attention to studies focused on urban health, health disparities, and youth (see Strand, 2003; Themba & Minkler, 2003; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006; Masuda et al., 2010).

First, data was extracted and categorized within the broad framework of four research stages, including: 1) partnerships; 2) methodological approaches; 3) analysis and interpretation; and 4) knowledge translation. I inductively developed nine specific search criteria areas that correspond to the four research stages and populated each area with excerpts from the articles (Table 2.5). Table 2.6 summarizes the extent to which each article included content that pertained to the search criteria areas. Finally, in Step 8 the

aggregated data from all 15 articles were consolidated into a series of practices for subsequent analysis and discussion (Table 2.7).

2.3 Results

This systematic review has identified a total of nine practices in participatory action research undertaken with youth on urban environmental health inequities (Table 2.6 & 2.7). In the analysis that follows, I provide examples to illustrate the degree to which the implementation of these practices may have influenced successful research processes and outcomes of the studies as reported by the authors. In general, I have found that those studies that incorporated more of these practices demonstrated correspondingly more favourable outcomes in the pursuit of research questions pertaining to meaningfully address urban health equity for youth.

2.3.1. Partnerships. I identified four practices that enabled youth to participate meaningfully research, with at least fourteen studies providing information on ways that youth were enabled to take on equitable operational roles as full research partners (see Table 2.7). First, eleven studies included specific activities that helped youth to develop research questions that deepened their social analysis and interrogated their worlds in a way that exposes the underlying conditions that affect their experiences. In a study on urban schools, McIntyre (2006) realized a process was needed to help the research team to access the everyday lives of youth as experienced in their schools and the community. In this case, youth researchers used visual stories communicated through collages, neighbourhood walks, storytelling and photograph as a means to guide them in the first stage of an iterative process of critically assessing the urban issues that the face. These

activities revealed intensive experiences of violence, which led directly to the formulation of their research question.

A second practice in partnership development included the training of youth to be competent research partners, where nine studies developed a fun, yet rigorous curriculum that helped youth participants to understand the research process and methods in advance of their engagement in actual field research. In all of these training programs, youth were taught specific research skills. Three of the projects reviewed used a standardized eight-step youth-friendly curriculum called *Stepping Stones*, developed by a community-based organization called Youth in Focus (YIF) which includes youth training, adult facilitator coaching, and institutional and community capacity building (Suleiman, Soleimanpour and London 2006; Ozer, Cantor, Cruz, Fox, Hubbard, & Moret 2008; London 2007). The curriculum was designed to provide an experiential learning experience between adults and youth that tailors to a variety of learning styles.

A third practice involved ways to sustain participation. I found nine studies that reported on supports necessary to help youth deal with the everyday challenges they face in the city and to sustain youth engagement in the research process. For example, in a study involving sixth-graders to address inner city school violence McIntyre (2000) soon became aware that the challenges associated with socioeconomic marginalization would require her to consider the additional challenges youth face and that extensive support networks that would be needed to ensure youth researchers were able to stay involved in the research project. As a result, the researchers incorporated the perspectives of a ‘knowledgeable advocate’ – in this case the classroom teacher – to realize how unstable social environments, experiences of discrimination, racism, violence and abuse, under-

resourced communities, and low-income often single-parent homes could affect the research process.

A fourth practice involved strategies to overcome the practical challenge of scheduling around the complex and dynamic lives of youth researchers. A total of nine studies established distinct plans to allow for nonlinear and iterative organizational processes that work with youth. In many cases, these processes proved to be challenging and onerous to researchers who are often acculturated to a regular weekday schedule and who must find their own work-life balance outside of the office. For example, in one study (Nygreen et al., 2006) that helped youth to document the lives of transnational immigrant children and families, researchers accommodated youth's hectic weekday schedule involving school, family and work/volunteer responsibilities by moving meeting times to Saturdays. This provision provided more opportunity to build meaningful relationships, even though it cut into time that adults would normally consider valuable for family and leisure.

Studies that reported less information on partnership establishment for sustainability with youth appeared to suffer from several shortcomings. For example, a study that did not report any practices in partnerships involved the documentation of ethnic gardening practices in urban community gardens. In this case, the research process was not driven by the youth participants but rather the adult gardeners, even though youth were seen to be part of the research team (Krasny & Doyle, 2002). As a result, adult mentors expressed considerable difficulty in conveying the activities to the youth, engaging youth in the research, helping youth to conduct the activities with adult gardeners, and getting youth to document the results of their research. In this case, the

authors admitted that the university researchers switched to more directed traditional research when they found that they were not meeting their research objectives using participatory methods involving youth.

2.3.2 Methodological approaches. My findings revealed two practices that proved to be essential in democratizing knowledge production between adult and youth researchers, with at least ten studies providing specific strategies designed to engage youth epistemologies. First, a total of seven articles provided accounts of approaches that ensured researchers could articulate the world in a way that made sense to youth. McIntyre (2000) used interactive strategies such as group discussions, creative writing, artwork, and photography to provide youth with creative mediums to represent their perceptions of place via “visuals stories.” To help provide a spatial context to their experiential knowledge, Dennis, Gaulocher, Carpiano and Brown (2009) used participatory photo mapping (PPM) as an integrated method that allowed the youth to document the visual images representing their experience of space, but helped them to articulate the spatial dimensions of place using the GIS units, thereby producing a more complete picture of youth’s experiences of health and place.

Second, a total of nine articles treated youth epistemologies as legitimate in and of themselves. As an illustrative example of the importance of adhering to youth epistemologies, a study by Ozer et al. (2008) involved youth in secondary schools who decided to use research to examine the dress code policy, which they felt undermined their school spirit and sense of self-expression. Despite staff approval to carry out action to change this policy, half way through the project administrators told the youth to focus on more ‘important’ issues. The disregard of the youth’s choice to address the dress code

policy undermined the youth's ability to enact a desired policy change at their school, and because of the sense of defeat that this caused, the issue was never addressed in the future. The study's authors suggest that youth should be guided in exploring any political constraints inherent in the systems in which they are working so that discouragement and disengagement is avoided.

A study by Sze, Prakash and McIntosh (2005) illustrates how problems can arise when youth epistemologies are not considered in methodological design. In this participatory study aimed at mitigating diesel exhaust pollution in their neighbourhoods, rather than being seen as sources of knowledge, youth participants were trained as field technicians and taught how to operate air monitoring equipment, which they wore on their backs as a way of indicating personal exposures and conducted traffic counting every day for a week. Although youth were extensively involved in data collection, the tasks they were required to undertake provided no opportunity to express their experiences of diesel exhaust pollution nor their expertise in regard to the complexity of the local environment. Further, the authors do not indicate any information as to how youth interpreted the resulting data on their own terms.

2.3.3. Analysis and interpretation. Only two studies directed their analysis beyond conventional youth spaces to better understand broader urban geographies that adversely impact youth. Dennis et al. (2009) analyzed a Participatory Photo Mapping (PMM) process that examined the implications of place for health of children in South Madison neighbourhoods. The analysis of photo maps by youth revealed the complex process of youth's choices to use certain spaces to avoid harassment, discrimination and

distrust. As a result, the outcomes of this project led to refining issues of concern to youth to begin to change conditions that perpetuate their exclusion.

In fact, most studies did not interrogate geographies beyond the local context or scale. While I realize that this broader analysis is likely to be beyond the scope of individual studies, I suggest that its absence represents a missed opportunity for gaining insight into the broader inequities that underlie specific health issues that manifest in place localities. For example, one study attempted to eliminate problems youth face within school-based health centers by engaging youth in research to improve the quality and breadth of the services in the school environment (Suleiman et al., 2006). In focusing exclusively on the internal dynamics of the school, it was not possible to determine the context of youth's engagement with health services outside of the school walls, which may have an influence on their needs for, decisions to access, and perspectives on health services within the school setting. At the level of neighbourhood, a study by London (2007) presents a case study of youth-led action research to improve educational and recreational resources in a diverse low-income neighbourhood in San Francisco. While a group of youth were active in designing and conducting a neighbourhood needs assessment of the South of Market (SOMA) neighbourhood, this neighbourhood was not examined in juxtaposition with more affluent neighbourhoods in San Francisco, thus missing the opportunity to reveal the broader conditions of inequity in which SOMA is situated.

2.3.4. Knowledge Translation. My findings reveal two practices reported in fourteen studies that support youth in translating research into specific social and political action. First, in thirteen studies, youth were encouraged to explore creative ways to

translate their research activities into immediate strategies that included political organizing, films, theatre productions, television commercials, website development, and art displays. Breitbart (1995) provided youth with the opportunity to physically occupy and challenge public spaces, for example, through the display of street banners. The banners symbolized an act of resistance against strict public policies put in place to restrict youth's ability to use public property and to advocate for their right to use public property in a positive way. As a result, the authors reported that planners, designers, architects and geographers recognized the lack of youth's contribution to urban design and planning practice. In one compelling example, Loh and Surgerman-Brozan (2002) applied an environmental justice strategy to address the increasing incidence of asthma cases in a low-income community in Boston. In this study, the youth organized anti-idling campaign led to the establishment of a coalition called *Clean Buses for Boston* (CBB). As a result of strong community support through the creation of networks of organizations, attorneys, schools, the media, government agencies, health centers and community members, the youth succeeded in getting the local transit system to purchase 358 clean fuel buses in addition to the *T Riders Union*.

A second best practice involved studies that reported efforts to sustain youth engagement toward longer term goals. Here, nearly all studies emphasized the persistent challenge of sustainability as a consequence of project timelines and inadequate funding, organizational structure, and support that are inherent in an institutional research culture and an impediment to those who wish to adopt participatory approaches. One study (Suleiman et al., 2006) commented on ways that a specific knowledge translation strategy is in and of itself a means to sustain the commitment of youth in the face of these

constraints. In their analysis of school based health centers the researchers strategically attempted to create a clear vision for change at the outset of the project by facilitating an exercise where the youth developed concept maps outlining the problem they wanted to address, the information they wanted to collect, and the change they wanted to see as a result of their work. Youth tended to regain motivation when they had the opportunity to present their findings to a group of community health providers, city health officials, and school-based health centre providers where they received feedback. Learning from the challenges faced in implementing the action phase of this project, the researchers recommended that early alliances should be formed with individuals and institutions that can support youth organizing, policy development, and ongoing research.

2.4 Discussion

The objective of this study was to discern practices in youth-led research focused on urban health inequity. My review of the literature has identified nine practices within the four stages of research, including partnership development, methodological approaches, analysis and interpretation, commitments to translating research outputs into social and political action. These practices and the accompanying examples of how they were implemented provide a useful repository to inform future research undertaken in efforts to support youth-led research initiatives undertaken to promote urban health equity.

In terms of partnership development, my review confirms that there are several innovative ways that research projects can be operationalized to ensure youth are engaged meaningfully and equitably. Among the strategies employed to identify research questions, creativity played a key role in helping youth to identify issues of concern and

to set the stage for research approaches that further explore the underlying systemic conditions perpetuating these conditions. Another important practice involves the incorporation of training modules and activities to provide youth with necessary skills to undertake research. It may be particularly advantageous to partner with an organization that already has an established curriculum designed to deliver training workshops on research topic selection, research methods, data collection instruments, data entry, presenting results and action strategies. Although the skill set may be provided, urban youth more than others may face day-to-day challenges associated with their marginalization from mainstream urban life. Therefore it is important to bring to the surface the myriad social barriers that a young person may be experiencing so that strategies can be developed to circumvent them. Establishing a safe and accessible meeting space is essential to youth dialogue. Examples of meeting spaces reported in the studies included the library, the police station, coffee shops, a church hall, a local government office and members' homes. Of course, the selection of research spaces is often constrained by university-specific ethics cultures and precedents, and so the onus is on researchers to be creative in finding spaces that meet with ethics obligations, or to challenge obligations that they feel are unfair or unnecessary.

Similarly, dedicated research activities may be particularly challenging under certain circumstances not only because many young people attend school full-time ten months of the year, but because many are involved in extra-curricular activities on weekdays and weekends. Two practices that appear to be most successful in alleviating this challenge were to schedule projects within a longer (e.g. at least two-year) time line to increase flexibility and make maximum use of summer months. Under ideal

circumstances, a substantial amount of time should be allocated to relationship building by incorporating fun and light-hearted social activities such as dinner gatherings, recreational activities, educational opportunities and workshops that are also important for experiential learning and skill building.

Second, in response to research approaches that respect youth epistemologies, I have identified several tools used by researchers to facilitate youth inquiry. Again, the use of imaginative, exploratory tools such as photography, music, dance, drawings, storytelling, collages, interactive games, theatre, and video production proved to be essential in helping youth to articulate, on their own terms, their experiences and expertise in relation to urban environments. Also pertinent to youth epistemology was the need for adults to formulate questions to guide and facilitate informative and critical dialogue among the youth. To achieve a balance in power in terms of knowledge-production and decision-making between young people and adults, honest and open dialogue about expectations among all participants proves critical. It is important to define types and levels of decision-making power between youth and adults and ensure that all partners are aware of agreements for making decisions. Because research processes are rarely linear, it is important to provide clear, thorough explanations to youth and adults when these agreements change.

Third, I have found few examples where researchers have actively sought to analyze the circumscribed geographies of youth, suggesting that a recognition of youth's right to the city remains under-scrutinized in the literature. The right to the city, derived from the work of Henri Lefebvre (1968), has recently taken hold among both urban geographers and health researchers as a key theoretical contribution to improving

understanding of health inequities at the scale of the city. Those studies that explored the broader built environment which included all formal and informal outdoor and indoor spaces that are planned, designed and built, are more representative of the geographic scope to which youth inhabit and therefore youth's experiences of the city. While I do not fault the researchers who reported on the studies reviewed here for failing to address the right to the city, I nonetheless suggest that the right to the city be made a key organizing framework around which future participatory research on urban health inequity research be based. Thus, further research is needed to both expose the restrictions to the geographic freedom of youth on urban landscapes, particularly those living in so-called 'inner cities' and to provide possibilities for youth to address the broader urban health inequities that consequently impact their health and quality of life.

Lastly, I found many examples of strategies to support youth in translating their research findings into social action, yet sustainability of action remains challenging. Among the more successful strategies, digital media and the arts once again played an important role in engaging youth in advocacy roles and communicating research results to diverse audiences. However, I caution that promoting creativity in research does not in of itself lead to real social change. In order for these actions to target key decision makers, I have found that it is also crucial that youth are provided with the opportunity to form alliances with individuals and institutions who have power within urban planning and policy arenas in order to leverage institutional power for their experiential knowledge.

2.5 Conclusion

My systematic review has provided an important, albeit exploratory, link between participatory research theory and its practice in relation to empirical youth-led research on urban environmental health inequities. I have ascertained nine practices in research that can inform more meaningful partnerships between youth and researchers, respectful methodological choices, effective approaches to analysis and interpretation, and sustainable strategies for knowledge translation. The most successful studies were community-driven, incorporated imaginative youth-centered activities, helped youth to see beyond the confinement of their circumscribed urban spaces, and engaged them in tangible actions to raise attention to the problems that they have identified through their research. Employing as many of these best practices that time, budgets, and capacity will allow is one step towards moving decision-making control of research away from adult academics and control of urban planning away from the exclusive domain of government agencies, committees, city planners, architects, designers and other community stakeholders.

Table 2.1 Research Questions

1.	To what extent do researchers meaningfully partner with youth to ensure sustained commitment and equitable involvement?
2.	To what extent does research address methodological issues of youth, power, and knowledge, specifically in regard to respecting their ways of knowing?
3.	To what extent does research interrogate and confront geographic limitations of youth in relation to their right to the city?
4.	To what extent have youth been supported in translating research to initiate social and political action processes?
5.	To what extent do researchers meaningfully partner with youth to ensure sustained commitment and equitable involvement?

Table 2.2 Keywords

Population	“youth” OR “child” OR “adolescen” OR “teen” OR "young adult"
Geography	“urban” OR “city” OR “cities” OR “ghetto” OR “slum” OR "skid row" OR "skid road" OR inner city OR neighbourhood OR neighbourhood
Methodology	"participatory" OR "action research" OR "community-based" OR "community based" OR "citizen research" OR "action research" OR "cbpr"

Table 2.3 Databases

1.	Arts & Humanities Citation Index ® (1975 to present)
2.	ASSIA: Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts
3.	CPI.Q @ Scholars Portal
4.	ERIC
5.	Expanded Academic ASAP @ Scholars Portal
6.	FRANCIS
7.	IBSS: International Bibliography of the Social Sciences
8.	Social Sciences Citation Index ® (1956 to present)
9.	Social Services Abstracts
10.	Sociological Abstracts
11.	Urban Studies Abstracts

Table 2.4 Inclusion Criteria

1.	Studies that specifically identify youth involvement in conceptualization, implementation, and/or dissemination
2.	Studies that are conducted in, and focus specifically on, socioeconomically marginalized urban settings, often referred to in North America as “inner cities”.
3.	Studies that adhere to a community-based participatory research approach
4.	Empirical studies only
5.	Peer reviewed journals
6.	English language

Table 2.5. Summary of search criteria used in literature review according to research stage.

Research Stage	Search Criteria
1. Partnership development	RESEARCH QUESTIONS (RQ) Seek examples that provide appropriate guidance to youth in critically assessing local issues and problems, identify geographies they wish to alter, establish research questions are more likely to be initiated and driven by community interests over scholarly pursuits (Israel, Schulz, Parker and Becker 1998; Minkler and Wallerstein 2003; Jennings, Parra-Medina, Hilfinger-Messias and McLoughlin 2006).
	TRAINING (TRG) Seek examples of adequate training and support in research skill development (Delgado 2006).
	RECOGNITION (REC) Seek examples of research partnerships organized around identified strengths and limitations of youth to accommodate those who face day-to-day challenges associated with socioeconomic marginalization (Minkler 2004).
	SCHEDULING (SCH) Seek examples of project scheduled around participants' limitations (e.g. mobility, scheduling), that recognize the social and cognitive developmental competencies of each individual (Minkler 2004).
2. Methodological approach	WAYS OF KNOWING (WOK) Seek examples of methodologies that privilege youth 'ways of knowing' (Delgado 2006).
	DEMOCRATIC KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION (DKP) Seek examples where power sharing and democratic knowledge-production and decision-making are considered in methodological selection (Strand 2003; Themba and Minkler 2003; Wallerstein and Duran 2006; Masuda <i>et al.</i> 2008).
3. Analysis and interpretation	RIGHT TO THE CITY (RTC) Seek examples that interrogate inequality at the level of the city, and in particular, overcoming the spatial circumscriptions imposed on youth (Powell 2010).
4. Knowledge Translation	CREATIVE AND APPROPRIATE STRATEGIES (CAS) Seek examples that support youth in creative ways to translate their research activities into specific political action processes that will directly change their community and their lives for the better (Minkler 2004; Minkler, Victoria, Breckwich, Tajik, and Peterson 2008).
	SUSTAINING YOUTH ENGAGEMENT (SYE) Seek examples that maintain youth engagement beyond research process (Delgado 2006).

Table 2.6. Degree of implementation of best practices. Studies ranged from 2 to all 9 best practices, with only three studies employing best practices across all four stages of research.

Article (15 Total)	Partnership development				Methodological approach		Analysis and interpretation	Knowledge Translation		TOTAL
	RQ	TRG	REC	SCH	WOK	DKP	RTC	CAS	SYE	
1. Breitbart <i>et al.</i> (1995)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	9
2. Berg <i>et al.</i> (2009)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	8
3. McIntyre (2006)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	8
4. McIntyre (2000)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	8
5. Douglas (2006)	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	7
6. London (2007)	Y	Y	Y			Y		Y	Y	6
7. Ozer <i>et al.</i> (2008)	Y	Y		Y		Y		Y	Y	6
8. Suleiman (2006)	Y	Y		Y				Y	Y	5
9. Dennis <i>et al.</i> (2009)	Y				Y		Y	Y	Y	5
10. Nygreen <i>et al.</i> (2006)	Y		Y	Y		Y		Y		5
11. Sze <i>et al.</i> (2005)		Y	Y					Y	Y	4
12. Joanou (2009)			Y	Y	Y	Y				4
13. Loh and Sugerman-Brozan (2002)	Y							Y	Y	3
14. Diaw (1996)								Y	Y	2
15. Krasny and Doyle (2002)		Y							Y	2

Table 2.7. Summary of Practices. Specific examples of how best practices were implemented are provided along with citations to studies that employed them.

Research Stage	Practices	Implementation (including citations)
1. Partnership development	RESEARCH QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encourage youth to identify sources of influence, power, and oppression (Berg <i>et al.</i> 2009; London 2007; Suleiman <i>et al.</i> 2006; Ozer <i>et al.</i> 2008; Nygreen <i>et al.</i> 2006; Loh & Sugerman-Brozan 2002). Incorporate critical dialogue and reflection exercises throughout the research process (McIntyre 2000; McIntyre 2006; Berg <i>et al.</i> 2009; Breitbart 1995; Dennis <i>et al.</i> 2009; Nygreen <i>et al.</i> 2006; Douglas 2006). Explore deeper and more nuanced questions about social and environmental issues (Breitbart 1995; Nygreen <i>et al.</i> 2006; Loh and Sugerman-Brozan 2002). Distribute surveys to youth population to identify needs and areas of concern (London 2007).
	TRAINING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interactive, creative and actively engaging training activities such as role-playing (Ozer <i>et al.</i> 2008; Breitbart 1995; McIntyre 2000; McIntyre 2006). Research skill building training such as selecting and refining a research question, developing and implementing a research design, documenting and analyzing data, articulating findings and recommendations, and developing a social action plan (Berg <i>et al.</i> 2009; Suleiman <i>et al.</i> 2006; Ozer <i>et al.</i> 2008; London 2007; Krasny and Doyle 2002; Sze <i>et al.</i> 2005).
	RECOGNITION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extensive support networks and services put in place i.e. counselling, peer support groups, rehabilitative services, substance abuse counselling, violence and abuse intervention, sexual health services, child and family services etc. (McIntyre 2000; McIntyre 2006; Sze <i>et al.</i> 2005; Nygreen <i>et al.</i> 2006; Breitbart 1995; Berg <i>et al.</i> 2009; London 2007; Joanou 2009; Douglas 2006).
	SCHEDULING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schedule projects based on a long term time line (Suleiman <i>et al.</i> 2006; McIntyre 2000; McIntyre 2006; Ozer <i>et al.</i> 2008; Douglas 2006). Conduct research activities according to a schedule that works for youth (e.g. in the summer months (Suleiman <i>et al.</i> 2006; Nygreen <i>et al.</i> 2006; Breitbart 1995; Berg <i>et al.</i> 2009; Ozer <i>et al.</i> 2008, Suleiman <i>et al.</i> 2006; McIntyre 2000; McIntyre 2006; Douglas 2006). Secure a meeting space that is a supportive venue for dialogue (Nygreen <i>et al.</i> 2006) Incorporate social activities such as field trips etc. important for relationship building and establishing trust (Nygreen <i>et al.</i> 2006; Joanou 2009).
2. Methodological approach	WAYS OF KNOWING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Imaginative, exploratory methodologies: e.g. photography, music, dance, drawings, story-telling, collages, interactive games, theatre, video production (Breitbart 1995; McIntyre 2000; McIntyre 2006; Dennis <i>et al.</i> 2009; Berg <i>et al.</i> 2009; Joanou 2009; Douglas 2006).
	DEMOCRATIC KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achieve active listening by formulating questions to guide and facilitate informative and critical dialogue among the youth (McIntyre 2000; McIntyre 2006; Nygreen <i>et al.</i> 2006; Douglas 2006; Berg <i>et al.</i> 2009; Breitbart 1995). Clear communication - Define types and levels of decision making power between youth and adults and ensure that all partners are aware of agreements for making decisions (Suleiman <i>et al.</i> 2006; Ozer <i>et al.</i> 2008; Nygreen <i>et al.</i> 2006; Douglas 2006; London 2007). Provide clear, thorough explanations to youth and adults when these agreements change (Joanou 2009; Nygreen <i>et al.</i> 2006; Suleiman <i>et al.</i> 2006; Douglas 2006).
3. Analysis and interpretation	RIGHT TO THE CITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explore all formal and informal outdoor and indoor spaces that are planned, designed and built, are more representative of the geographic scope to which youth inhabit and therefore youth's experiences across the city (Breitbart 1995; Dennis <i>et al.</i> 2009).
4. Knowledge translation	CREATIVE AND APPROPRIATE STRATEGIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth central to organizing rallies, campaigns, press releases via TV and newspapers, videos, theatre productions, TV commercials, workshops, informational resources, website development, curriculum development, youth-led neighbourhood tours and artwork (Berg <i>et al.</i> 2009; Ozer <i>et al.</i> 2008; Breitbart 1995; Diaw 1996; Douglas 2006; Loh and Sugerman-Brozan 2002; London 2007; Suleiman <i>et al.</i> 2006; Dennis <i>et al.</i> 2009; McIntyre 2000; McIntyre 2006; Sze <i>et al.</i> 2005; Nygreen <i>et al.</i> 2006).

	<p>SUSTAINING YOUTH ENGAGEMENT</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early in project process, form alliances with individuals and institutions that can support the youth organizing, policy development and ongoing research (Ozer <i>et al.</i> 2008; Loh and Sugerman-Brozan 2002; Dennis <i>et al.</i> 2009; Berg <i>et al.</i> 2009; McIntyre 2000; McIntyre 2006; Breitbart 1995). • Opportunities to present and get feedback and encouragement (Dennis <i>et al.</i> 2009; Suleiman <i>et al.</i> 2006; Ozer <i>et al.</i> 2008; McIntyre 2000; McIntyre 2006; Berg <i>et al.</i> 2009; Diaw 1996; Sze <i>et al.</i> 2005; Douglas 2006; London 2007). • Opportunities for youth to reflect upon engage in and initiate social action (Diaw 1996; Loh and Sugerman-Brozan 2002; Berg <i>et al.</i> 2009; Ozer <i>et al.</i> 2008; Breitbart 1995; London 2007; Suleiman <i>et al.</i> 2006; Dennis <i>et al.</i> 2009; Sze <i>et al.</i> 2005).
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Chapter 3.

Mapping determinants of urban health inequity through participatory hip hop¹

3.1 Introduction

There is a growing momentum among health geographers employing social and humanistic theories of place in efforts to develop a broader understanding of culture, place, and health inequity (Kearns & Collins, 2010). This work leans toward the creative in order to overcome the limitations of conventional methodologies that have generally not performed well in articulating experiences of place (Smyth, 2008; see also Bolam, Murphy & Gleeson 2004, 2006). In this chapter, I will consider the potential of musically-engaged research as a creative leveraging point for health geographers, using a research approach called Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy (CHHP) as an illustrative example of theoretical and methodological intervention. I will begin with a brief overview of the emergence of hip hop as a cultural expression of civil rights and place, followed by an account of the development of CHHP in the U.S. and Canada to illustrate its potential to account for racialized health inequities in the city. I then provide arguments for a broader uptake of CHHP as a participatory methodology in the investigation of geographical inequalities in health, providing an empirical illustration from my own research experiences with a group of Aboriginal youth researchers (N=8) in the ethnoracially segregated city of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Finally I conclude with suggestions for CHHP's application in other research contexts.

¹ A version of this chapter has been submitted as a book chapter by G. Andrews, R. Kearns, P. Kingsbury, & N. Forrester (Eds.) In *Medicinal Melodies: Places of Health & Wellbeing in Popular Music*. Ashgate's 'Geographies of Health' Series, London: UK, on December 14, 2011.

3.2 Background

Hip hop is a global cultural movement that first emerged in New York City in the early 1970's in response to a period of immense transformation of the post-industrial city (Buffam, 2011; Rose, 1994). Hip hop is a grassroots expression of intensifying racial, class, and gender disparities and impoverished conditions imposed by the neoliberalization of urban space, as first experienced by Afro-Caribbean and African American descent, and soon after among other socioeconomically marginalized groups in New York and other cities, states, and countries. Today, hip hop culture is a global movement whose diffusion has been rapidly catalyzed by popular media technology (Forman, 2010). Its themes and content reflect local geographies of loss, resilience, and political mobilization relating to poverty, police brutality, drugs, violence, unemployment, food insecurity, housing, and lack of social support networks and services (Proulx, 2010; Forman 2000; Rose, 1994).

Though commonly perceived to be exclusively a genre of music, hip hop refers to an ever-widening scope of artistic practice focused on experiences and themes of urban life and injustice. MC artist, KRS-One (2001), has defined the four traditional elements of hip hop as: (1) breaking or b-boying; (2) emceeing; (3) graffiti art; and (4) deejaying. Over time this collection has expanded to include hip hop theater, literature, photography, film, spoken word, and journalism (Chang, 2006). Hip hop culture has become a powerful form of communication by those who struggle for social and environmental justice within neighbourhoods, cities, and regions around the world (Forman, 2000). The now-ubiquitous place of hip hop as a medium for conveying universal experiences lends itself as a readily adaptable research tool for scholars to gain insight into racialized

people's wider social and political lives affecting their health, well being, and quality of life.

3.2.1. Hip hop, youth education, and justice

With several successive generations of youth engaging with hip hop to express their personal identity and group belonging, the genre has inspired a distinctive educational epistemology that encompasses youth's choice of music, dance, clothing, bodily adornment, style, language, and social behaviour (Akom, 2009). Geographically, hip hop has significantly framed the identities of many urban youth, altering the way they occupy, react, and influence their everyday surroundings and social spaces (Akom, 2009). Thus far, educators have taken a lead role in recognizing the potential of hip hop as both a pedagogical tool to enhance youth's learning experiences in the classroom and to inform and influence curriculum, pedagogical practices, and the construction of knowledge. In the last decade, teachers have started employing rap texts and lyrics in English and language arts, history, and social studies courses (Land & Stovall, 2009). In light of this recent trend in hip hop-based education, a number of scholars have documented the utility of hip hop pedagogical aids to enhance the instruction of standard school-based curriculum to foster critical thinking and academic media literacy (Land & Stovall, 2009). For example, Morrell and Duncan-Andrade (2002) have found that the juxtaposition of rap and canonical texts in an urban English and language arts course urban educators enabled teachers to increase urban youth's comprehension of earlier 20th century literary works. Similarly, Stovall (2006) has found that rap lyrics and texts provide a useful historical and social context for their class discussions on social inequality. Finally, Alim's (2007) introduction of a non-rap approach he terms Critical

Hip Hip Language Pedagogies (CHHLP) within an English class context was successful in raising their consciousness of oppressive linguistic practices and profiling among racialized youth.

Most recently, there has been an effort to adapt curriculum and learning environments outside of the classroom to reflect and critique social injustices experienced by youth. Numerous hip hop scholars including Rodriguez (2009), Taliaferro Baszile (2009), Hallman (2009), Pulido (2009), and Williams (2009), have articulated a practical application of hip hop that more concretely infuses a social justice lens into school curriculum as a way of engaging with students' real lives (Land & Stovall, 2009). Forms of hip hop practice, even within educational settings, do not in of themselves constitute research methods. To be research methods, hip hop practice must be informed by a style of inquiry or theory. Akom (2009) offers a concrete theoretical framework of how schools can use hip hop pedagogy to move learning from the classroom to the community (Land & Stovall, 2009). Akom draws on participatory action scholars (Smith-Maddox and Solórzano, 2002; Bernal, 2002; & Friere, 1970) to merge three related paradigms: (1) critical race theory; (2) critical pedagogy; and (3) Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR). This combination presents a theoretical platform he terms "Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy" (CHHP). Akom (2009) claims that in order for youth to be empowered to read and to act upon the world, they must have the opportunity to participate in a youth-driven research process - become the "architects of research" on hip hop and popular culture themselves (Akom, 2009, p. 57). The CHHP framework exemplifies YPAR core values of participation, experiential knowledge, and action (Akom, 2009, see also Minkler, 2004) embodying core principles that include: (1) raising critical consciousness regarding forms

of oppression (i.e. racism); (2) supporting youth ‘ways of knowing;’ (3) democratizing the production and representation of youth’s knowledge; and (4) organizing for social justice action (Akom, 2009). Finally, Akom (2009) also provides an empirical application of CHHP through community case studies carried out by youth student-researchers to raise their consciousness of the underlying forces of systemic oppression in their communities and increase their capacity to take informed action to address social injustice. Given this burgeoning literature and potential power of CHHP in social and environmental justice work, I propose that CHHP offers immense promise to enable more in-depth explorations of the sociospatial dimensions of health, wellbeing, and quality of life as they materialize in the city.

3.2.2. Hip hop among Canadian Aboriginal youth

In Canada, hip hop is flourishing among Aboriginal youth as a form of entertainment, cultural expression, and political engagement. As with its socio-political history in late civil rights activism in the U.S., hip hop is proving to be a distinctively powerful medium to protest the denial of Aboriginal rights and to voice the frustrations, resilience, and aspirations of First Peoples in Canada amidst ongoing colonialism, racism and socioeconomic exclusion in cities and on reserve (Proulx, 2010). In many ways, hip hop has been a platform for Aboriginal youth in Canada to resist the pressures of colonialism and to express their experiences of health inequity within diverse themes including criminality, violence, sexual exploitation, HIV, and substance abuse. In diffusing northward into Canadian Aboriginal communities, hip hop has undergone a natural process of hybridization as oral traditions within hip hop’s traditional elements such as storytelling, music, dance, and visual art are also mediums of expression deeply-

rooted in Aboriginal culture (Buffam, 2011). As with U.S. based hip hop, Aboriginal hip hop's themes, practices, and style are contextually linked to place (Buffam, 2011) and are rich in descriptive metaphors and imagery. However, Aboriginal hip hop also adds a strong spiritual connection to land prior to colonization (Lehr et al., 2006). In Aboriginal culture, physical monuments, landmarks, and geographical markers are not important signifiers of place connections (Lehr et al., 2006), rather Aboriginal belief systems support a more interconnected ontology between the mind, body, spirit, and land.

Through colonialism, Aboriginal people have been displaced from the land, deprived of spirit, denied traditional foods, and subjected to emotional and sexual abuses, all of which have compounded to produce a cultural dispossession that now resonates strongly within Aboriginal hip hop. In a study reviewed in his book chapter, Proulx (2010) samples fifty-two Aboriginal hip hop and rap videos to unearth stories relevant to a Canadian historical and contemporary context. One video called *Feelin' Reserved* (2006), included in Proulx's sample, is a politically charged rap song by the Cree hip hop group War Party from Hobbema, Alberta. War Party 'speaks out' about the injustice including rampant drug and alcohol abuse on reserves and the consequences of detrimental colonialist practices and policies imposed on their communities (Proulx, 2010).

Themes of oppression are not the only purpose and value of hip hop for Aboriginal people. The group, Northerners with Attitude, have produced a number of rap videos in an attempt to positively convey Inuit way of life before European contact, particularly in their song, *Don't Call me Eskimo* (2006). Through their artistic compositions and performances, Aboriginal hip hoppers are also attempting to dismantle stereotypical misconceptions and derogatory representations of Aboriginal peoples and to

reinstate cultural pride among their youth (Buffam, 2011). Aboriginal hip hop is now gaining credibility across Canada through an upsurge of recognition of Aboriginal hip hop artists on radio stations (e.g. StreetzFM; CBC Radio3 Ab-Originals Podcast), websites (e.g. nativehiphop.net; e.g. beatnation.org), and award recognition events (e.g. the Aboriginal People's Choice Music Awards, the Western Canadian Music Awards, and the JUNO awards).

3.3 CHHP for health geography

Themes from the content, style, rhythm, etc. of hip hop are deeply laden with commentary about contemporary urban space, place, and health. For example, hip hop artists often reference, cite, or allude to geographical markers at a neighbourhood level (e.g. the 'streets,' the 'hood') (Forman, 2010). Forman (2000) attempts to illuminate the geographically organizing principles of value, meaning, and practice within hip hop culture. He contends that hip hop culture offers a lens by which to examine the processes by which spaces and places are constructed (Forman, 2000). This understanding resonates strongly with critical humanist theories of place advanced by cultural geographers in the last two decades. For example, as early as the mid-1990s, Cresswell (1992; 1996) was examining the ways that hip hop (in this case, graffiti art) intersects with the ideology of places and place transgression. Likewise, the cultural turn in health geography some 20 years ago has brought the relationship between health and place to the forefront of theory and empirical practice (Kearns, 1993; Kearns & Graham, 2002). However, despite embracing a "progressive sense of place" conceptually, health geographers have leaned toward what Milligan, Kearns and Kyle (2011) refer to as "methodological conservatism" (p. 7) suggesting that those in this field need to "rework

the ways in which research...[is] undertaken” (p. 7). For example, conventional research approaches continue to demark distinct lines between researchers and researched, subordinating the latter’s perspectives as subordinate level “data” while privileging the former’s interpretation as “knowledge.” This continuing methodological dualism has prevented experimentation with more creative approaches to gain deeper insight into the relationships between health and place (Milligan et al., 2011). Given that hip hop culture is inherently linked to place, there is great potential for its practitioners to work alongside health geographers in ways that embody “creative” research approaches to further contribute to our understanding of the impact of place on health, well being, and quality of life.

Surprisingly, the growing popularity of Aboriginal hip hop as both cultural expression and political engagement has yet to be widely embraced by Canadian scholars. Lashua (2006) has studied hip hop as a tool of inquiry with Aboriginal youth at a community co-operative school in Edmonton (see also Lashua & Fox, 2007). In this study, youth used audio production software to create their own music, raps, beats, dance tracks, soundscapes, and spoken word poems to articulate how their everyday lives are narrated, including their struggles and hopes. Similarly, Buffam (2011) attended hip hop workshops at a youth drop-in centre where Aboriginal youth worked with hip hop instructors to listen to and dissect a selection of rap texts and lyrics. In both research projects, engagement with different forms of hip hop as pedagogical resources helped to “awaken” (p. 343) a critical consciousness of the historical processes of colonization that continue to shape Aboriginal youth's experiences of spaces and places (Buffam, 2011).

In relation to health, hip hop has recently been utilized as an educational tool for health promotion activities. Lakhani, Oliver, Yee, Jackson and Flicker (2010) applied hip hop to engage Aboriginal youth in using hip hop to discuss HIV/AIDS prevalence on First Nation reserves in Canada. Their work examines how Aboriginal youth understand the links between individual HIV risk and structural inequalities through the use of art, concluding that hip hop was particularly powerful in opening up dialogue about the links between HIV and colonization of Aboriginal Peoples. Hip hop created a positive and comfortable space for Aboriginal youth to speak about structural issues that affect their lives (Lakhani et al., 2010).

In light of the increasing recognition of hip hop as an engaging research tool in the field of health presents an exciting turn in health geography. The call for expansion of methodological approaches in health geography imparts a timely opportunity for health geographers to explore the use of CHHP as just one example. This is one genre comprising music, art, and dance that embraces many forms of bodily expression and creation that we believe has immense potential as a methodological approach for health geographers to engage with community participants across a diversity of populations and contexts.

3.4 Aboriginal hip hop, health, and the ‘Right to the City:’ An illustration

I combined CHHP and YPAR in a community-driven research partnership designed to test the utility of Aboriginal hip hop in the investigation of the determinants of health inequities in the ethnoracially segregated city of Winnipeg, Canada. Between 2010 and 2011, I partnered with Graffiti Art Programming Aboriginal Youth Advisory Committee (GAPAYAC) to develop an arts-aligned research process designed to elucidate urban Aboriginal youth’s interpretations of their right to the city as borne out geographically in health inequities they have experienced in their everyday lives. GAPAYAC is a group of 15 Aboriginal youth between the ages of 13 and 20 that advises the direction of drop-in activities at Graffiti Art Programming Inc., a non-profit, community-based youth serving organization dedicated to the use of art, media, and performance as proactive tools for community development and social justice. My purpose in presenting this case is to illustrate how hip hop can be worked into a humanities-based research process to demonstrate its “natural fit” with both participatory research philosophy and cultural approaches to researching health and place. My intent is not to prescribe a defined methodology, but rather to provide a recipe for methodological innovation that is adaptable to the local contexts in which health geographers pursuing knowledge about health inequity conduct their research.

In my research, eight members of GAPAYAC committed to working on a research project together over a course of six months to develop ways to use hip hop to map their spatial experiences of the city (see Appendix D & E). The research team met weekly to assign roles and responsibilities and to decide on project objectives, design, process, and timeline. We agreed to incorporate hip hop art and performance in a place

mapping exercise designed to communicate Aboriginal youth geographies. Place mapping, first introduced by Travlou, Owens, Thompson and Maxwell (2008), is a transformative learning process where youth inscribe onto a conventional street map a web of inter-linked paths and routes according to favourite or least favourite places, spaces of inclusion and exclusion, hang-out spots, and contested spaces. This exercise enabled youth to articulate their perspectives of the city in a way that surfaced numerous spatial dimensions of their experiences. Finally, I divided the place mapping activities into two separate focus group discussions (N=2). Our initial focus group discussion explored the group's collective socio-spatial experiences in the city, which were prompted by our examination of a conventional City of Winnipeg map (Figure 3.1; see Appendix C).

Fig. 3.1. Place mapping exercise



To facilitate discussion, each youth researcher placed a label on places where they spent the most time as a child, for example homes, schools, and playgrounds.

Subsequently, participants used coloured stickers to label spaces they now frequent beyond their homes and schools as older youth. The mapping process helped to deepen the level of discussion toward reasons for specific destinations chosen and directions,

routes, and streets including modes of transportation that youth rely upon. This technique proved to be useful in allowing us to visualize and distill the limits of their mobilities in the city. In the second focus group we built upon our knowledge of the physical characteristics of the city to a focus on themes of social boundaries, circumscription, and the right to the city. Based in the early work of Henri Lefebvre, the right to the city has been taken up by geographers as a theoretical approach to respond to concerns that urban inhabitants are becoming increasingly disenfranchised, specifically with respect to the control they exert over the decisions that shape the geography of their respective city (Purcell, 2002). During this discussion, the youth researchers drew lines along their personal journeys that they felt were representative of the boundaries differentiating where they go and do not go. I encouraged the youth researchers to discuss reasons for why they chose not to go to certain places. Similarly, they placed an “X” or a “circle” on areas representative of borders or frontiers that they felt they could not be transgressed without the threat of danger or discrimination. Finally, we discussed what happens if these boundaries, borders, frontiers are crossed; who or what is causing them to exist; and what can be done about them.

The immediate success of the place mapping technique was evident in the breadth and depth of responses this process generated. However, the technique also quickly reaches its limit in terms of our participatory epistemology, as it did not fully support my stated commitment to privilege processes of knowledge production favoured by Aboriginal youth (Skinner & Masuda, in review). The youth researchers collectively agreed that articulating their ideas and experiences would require an approach that

incorporated art and performance that were representative of their cultural beliefs and practices as urban Aboriginal youth.

To operationalize CHHP as a research method, each youth researcher was paired with a personal artist mentor of their choice that was particularly skilled in their preferred style of hip hop. Each pair met on three separate occasions to brainstorm, plan, and select materials for their unique project (see Appendix F). For example, one youth researcher decided to use mixed-media incorporating elements of acrylic paint, a wooden door, and recycled skateboard decks to create a symbolic two-dimensional map of the routes and spaces she frequents in downtown Winnipeg (Figure 3.2). The subjective decisions that this youth researcher made about their map ensemble contributed to and supported the creation of knowledge (Kitchin & Dodge, 2007; see also Monmonier, 1996; MacEachren, 1995). The artist explained her process in this way:

I went into some of the buildings downtown to check out what it was like. I wasn't bothering anyone or being disrespectful of the space. I was just there to look and figure out what these establishments were used for. I would have security [guards] come and kick me out telling me I didn't belong there; or that I was causing trouble; or that I was scaring their clientele.

Fig. 3.2. Cityscape: recycled skateboards refashioned to depict two-dimensional ‘cityscape,’ also symbolic of an alternative mode of sustainable transportation, which the artist has mounted onto a salvaged household door. The background represents public transit routes (12, 15, 14) traveled by the artist to get to the city centre. A multi-media project painted with metallic colours to signify structural city materials such as glass, concrete, and metal (created by Jessie; used with permission of the artist).



This creative, stylized mapping process employing symbols, shapes, colours, metaphors, sounds, words, movement, and images reinforced consciousness-raising about way in which the right to the city is denied to Aboriginal youth. Other projects included paintings using acrylic, watercolour, and aerosol spray paint; a rap song; a poetry book; a hip hop dance choreography; and a photographic slideshow. By adapting the mapping process to illustrate urban youth culture, the project staff, artist mentors, and researcher were better able to engage the youth researchers in dialogues aimed towards achieving critical consciousness about the structural constraints on their individual rights. The nature of this process created rich discussion regarding the obstacles and oppressors that circumscribe Aboriginal youth’s mobilities in the city, including the underlying systems

and conditions responsible for their unjust treatment. One artist mentor's commented on the importance of a CHHP research model:

The art creation process itself was a really reflective and interesting learning experience for all the youth involved. The youth involved absolutely exploded with a sense of knowledge and wisdom that we hadn't seen before.

Through a combination of artistic expression and individual and group discussion, Aboriginal youth researchers relayed experiences pertaining to circumstances, spaces, scenarios, and consequences that had direct and indirect impacts on their health, well being, and quality of life. For example in describing the photo shown in Figure 3.3, one youth researcher's comment demonstrates the intersections of gender discrimination, and mental and sexual health:

[...] Higgins [Street] is kind of closed off to many of us. Being a young woman myself walking on Higgins [Street] is not such a good idea. Many people in cars will call out at you or holler at you trying to pick you up. It's an awful feeling walking anywhere down Higgins [Street]. People just need to get the thought out of their head that anyone who walks down Higgins [Street] is a street walker.

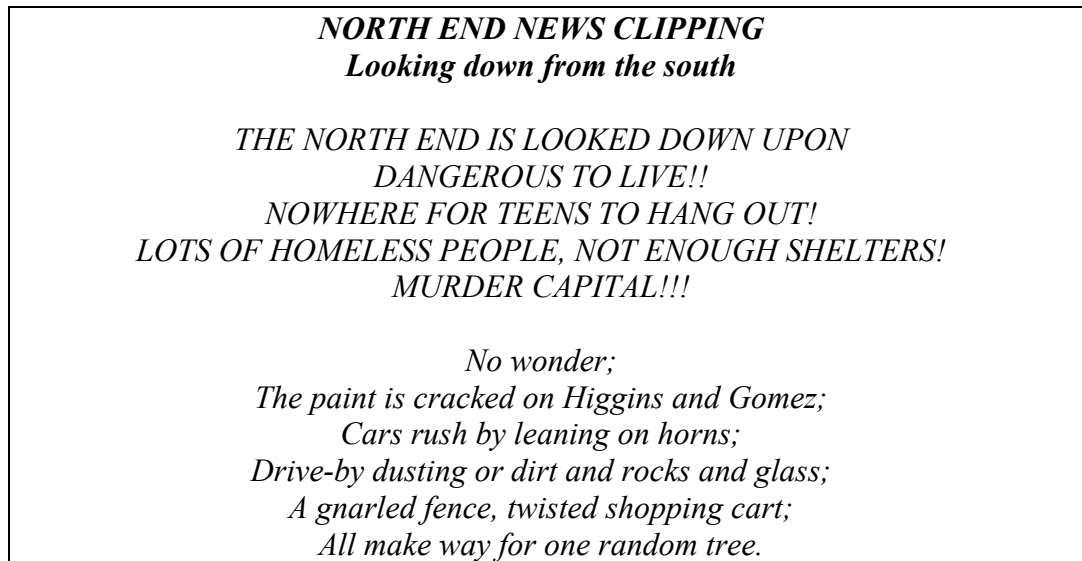
Fig. 3.3. Higgins Street is ‘a boundary’: A photograph of street sign (Higgins Ave – 221) transposed onto nearby construction barricade symbolically depicting Higgins Avenue as an internal threat/barrier to neighborhood youth (captured by Anna; used with permission of the artist).



Young Aboriginal women are being denied the right to personal safety and security while using major streets [i.e. Higgins Street] for transportation, leisure, and social activities, consequently subjecting them to sexual (i.e. HIV and other STIs) and mental (i.e. psychological stress) health risks and physical violence.

For at least one youth, the process achieved a re-scaling of her perspective of health inequity. In a series of poems, titled “Streetview”, this youth researcher lyrically maps the imagery of her youthscape spanning across two socio-economically diverse areas in Winnipeg. One of her poems (Figure 3.4) conveys these observable differences as a way to ‘speak out’ about the unjustifiable level of disrespect towards her neighbourhood area and the right to live in and use clean, safe and aesthetically pleasing spaces. This researcher adds that the constant focus of the media’s attention on broadcasting these differences consequently places negative labels on Aboriginal youth who live there.

Fig. 3.4. North End news clipping (written by Jessica; used with permission of the artist). From the collection, *Streetview*.



These examples from my research have helped to broaden my conceptualization of the right to the city beyond the more instrumental depictions of the place mapping exercise. The importance of adapting the mapping process in this way was reflected in one youth researcher's comment:

Art tells stories, it documents history, and it is a form of free expression. I make art to express the thoughts, feelings, and ideas that I can't articulate with words.

Similarly, one program staff member's comments communicates our rationale for adopting a CHHP framework:

...urban art [...] is an accessible art form for the youth that we serve. It is engaging and it is exciting. It is a new product of a new youth culture. It is a thirty year old culture, but it is very important in determining our environments...It defines our aesthetic and it is such an important part of the youth identity...They are straight to the gut of youth culture.

The artistic process has helped to translate our maps into more stylized and critical reflections that emphasize the perspectives of Aboriginal youth in Winnipeg, thus revealing numerous salient connections between health equity and place. Moreover, the

process has helped youth to articulate their concerns and aspirations as their right to the city, thus enabling a shift in emphasis of their political agency beyond the focalized concerns of the North End.

As a final step, we mobilized our newfound insights through a community forum called “Youth’s Right to the City.” This forum provided the youth researchers with the opportunity to display, perform, and importantly to engage youth and adults representing numerous city, non-profit, and educational organizations in a meaningful discussion about the right to the city and health inequity, illustrating how the arts can enable youth to catalyze change. Through a three-hour workshop, youth were able to strategically bridge their research findings to establish new or expanded networks, and to initiate follow up actions. One youth researcher’s comment quintessentially reflects the indispensability of ‘art action:’

Our word is going to get out there. Our opinion and all our art pieces they will be out there. They will be up out in the open and people will start getting more involved.

Paramount to the action phase has been presenting opportunities for youth researchers to further expand their tools, skills, and outlets to communicate their right to the city, and to relay their ideas for tackling geographic inequalities in health disproportionately impacting Aboriginal youth.

3.5 Concluding Thoughts

In this chapter, I have presented a novel methodological approach to inquiry into geographic experiences of health equity and place. There is a call for health geographers to broaden our methodological tool box beyond conventional norms. Creative forms of research representation including narrative, life history, poetry, music, drama, dance,

visual art, collage, painting, photography, and performance (Mullen, 2003), rooted within the arts and humanities, are gaining recognition as epistemologies within social science research (Milligan et al., 2011). In seeking to expand our existing pool of critical humanities-based approaches within health geography, this chapter has explored the utility of a Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy (CHHP) as an emergent form of participatory action research, illustrating hip hop as an exploratory research tool to access the experiential knowledge of racialized Aboriginal youth revealing their experiences within the racialized city.

Numerous examples from the literature provide a clear demonstration of the powerful potential of hip hop and related forms of musically-aligned research to be taken up as a research tool. My empirical illustration from Winnipeg demonstrates the relevance of CHHP as a humanities-informed approach in health research and its capacity to engage racialized youth as action researchers. I would recommend to health geographers who are interested in accessing and engaging a diversity of populations to not only explore the utility of hip hop but also other musical cultures (e.g. punk) to further our investigation of these complex relationships manifested in place.

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Chapter 4.

Right to a healthy city? Examining the relationship between urban space and health inequity by Aboriginal youth artist-activists in Winnipeg²

4.1 Introduction

In recent years, the notion of rights has become popularized in academic discussions of the socio spatial dynamics of urban politics, place identity, and social justice (Attoh, 2011; Mitchell & Heynen, 2009; Harvey, 2008; Mitchell, 2003; Smith, 2008). Within the broader discipline of human geography, interest in rights and space has been sustained through a long lineage of theorization about the right to the city, beginning with Lefebvre (1996[1968]). This work has sought to account for numerous facets of rights, including what sets of rights are relevant within the context of urban life (Attoh, 2011), how rights are imbricated in the production of cities (Mitchell, 2003), and what the right to the city might entail for planning and policy prescriptions (Marcuse, 2009). On the other hand, recent scholarship, largely outside of geography has begun to take shape around conceptions of rights in relation to specific and often spatial forms and experiences of inequality, including health. Notably, the right to health has received considerable attention by those who have been concerned with issues of health inequity (Chapman, 2010; Braveman, 2010; Blas, Gilson, Kelly, Labonté, Lapitan, Muntaner & Ostlin, 2008). This substantial literature has drawn on rights-based conceptions of health developed largely within the “new public health,” a field that has sustained its own intellectual lineage for several decades (WHO, 1978; WHO, 1981; Kickbusch, 1985; OCHP, 1986; Hancock, 1986; Ashton & Grey, 1986; Green & Raeburn, 1988; Frenk,

² A version of this chapter has been submitted to the International Medical Geography Symposium (IMGS) 2011 Special Issue, Social Science and Medicine on February 15, 2012.

1993). However, linking the right to health with the right to the city has not yet been undertaken – an omission that is particularly striking in light of health geographers’ sustained interest in spatial manifestations of health inequality within urban contexts. The purpose of this chapter is to examine these two discrete bodies of literature on rights as related to urban space and health, in an effort to reveal potential opportunities for their integration. To illustrate this possibility, I draw on findings from a participatory action research project that applied the right to the city as a conceptual framework to explore the geography of health inequity faced by Aboriginal youth living in Winnipeg, Canada.

4.2 Background

4.2.1 Right to the City

The myriad of consequences of late neoliberalism that have materialized in the early 21st century city have brought about a resurgence of interest in Lefebvre’s early theoretical explorations of rights to the production of urban space under capitalism (Lefebvre, 1968; 1973). Scholarship that has sought to contemporize the right to the city has broadened the right to the city beyond a neo-Marxian analysis to investigate wider political and social processes, threats, and policy mechanisms that are intricately tied to place composition and identity under urban revanchism (Attoh, 2011; Mitchell & Heynen, 2009; Harvey, 2008; Mitchell, 2003; Smith, 2008; Purcell, 2002). For example, Purcell (2002) has invoked Lefebvre’s right to the city to confront power relations that underlie the production of urban space (Purcell, 2002; see also Lefebvre, 1968; 1973; 1991, & 1996). In contemporizing the right to the city, Purcell (2002) reveals two key shortcomings of Lefebvre’s original conceptualization. First, the city is ambiguously defined lacking attention to the geographic dimensions of rights. He argues that the

boundaries and borders delineating a city are socially constructed, and so too are the rights of city inhabitants. Second, Lefebvre's adherence to a strictly Marxist perspective of 'working class' emancipation is limiting in understanding the more complex socio-spatial dynamics of the contemporary neoliberal city. Understanding politics, power, and rights has become increasingly difficult within evolving spatial formations, mobilities, and local-global linkages, all within an urban milieu of identity politics surrounding race, ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, religious beliefs and cultural practices, and physical (dis) ability. It is therefore important to broaden the right to the city within wider political and social processes, threats, and mechanisms. As the popularity of the concept grows, it has diffused across literatures in urban law (Fernandes, 2007), immigration (Varsanyi, 2008), gentrification (Newman & Wyly, 2006), homelessness (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009), community gardens (Staeheli et al., 2002), gender (Fenster, 2005), and citizenship (Lepofsky & Fraser, 2003). However useful it has been to consider the right to the city under such broad scope of analysis, Attoh (2011) has recently argued that a more specifically articulated conception of rights is needed. He suggests that the current right to the city paradigm remains ambiguous in just what constitutes a right (Attoh, 2011), and consequently lacks a substantial framework to mobilize these rights (Attoh, 2011). For this reason, there is a call for scholars to further define, what kind of right is the right to the city.

4.2.2 The Human Right to Health

One promising, but under-scrutinized focus in the right to the city might be found in investigations of health inequity. Health has been regarded as a fundamental human right since the founding constitution of the World Health Organization (Gostin, 2001). Since the constitution of WHO, advocates of the new public health have repeatedly stated that a right to health is a fundamental prerogative of governments, health care policymakers and practitioners, and the wider health professional community. Within this field, the right to health takes the form of a critique of existing inequality in the health status between groups and populations from local to global. According to this view, the existence of health inequities reflects a deeply rooted abrogation of governmental responsibility to protect the wellbeing of their citizens, and can thus be interpreted as human rights violations. The right to health was more clearly contextualized within a spatial and urban context through the Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion (OCHP, 1986), which, for the first time, brought critical attention to rights implications of settings, social justice, and social equity as prerequisites to health. In the post-Ottawa Charter health promotion landscape, the relationship between health and settings has been reinforced in numerous national and international initiatives including Healthy Cities, settings approaches to health promotion (PAHO, 2005), and most recently the WHO Commission on the Social Determinants of Health (CSDH, 2008). In fact, the Commission report gave specific attention to the relationship between health and place, devoting an entire chapter to discussions about the consequences of global urbanization to health inequity (CSDH, 2008). Taking note of, for example, the rise in urban sprawl in cities around the world, the CSDH report recommends the need to examine the uneven

geographic distribution of health determinants and/or outcomes as one step in addressing spatial injustice and towards achieving health equity.

4.2.3 Right to a Healthy City

The shortcomings of the right to the city as a lens for visualizing spatial inequalities as rights violations is reminiscent of similar debates in health geography on the relationship between place and health. A well-documented literature on place effects has attempted to elucidate such connections, much of which has utilized GIS and multivariate quantitative approaches to untangle ‘compositional’ (i.e. identity based) and ‘contextual’ (i.e. place based) determinants of health inequality. However, since a pivotal reflection by Macintyre, Ellaway, and Cummins (2002) a more theoretically driven approach has unraveled the specific social and political dynamics that underpin the myriad multi-scalar processes that produce specific manifestations of health inequality.

As the place effects literature has matured, some scholars, coincidentally outside of geography, have begun the discussion of developing a more spatially articulated theory of the right to health (Carmalt Connolly, 2007). More recently, Carmalt Connolly and Faubion (2010) have suggested that in general, the gap between social science and rights-based frameworks (i.e. right to the city; right to health) need to be bridged. This work appears to be the first and only published attempt to bridge research and justice agendas using a rights-based framework, suggesting that the existence of health inequality is “morally wrong” (p. 294). Health geographers following on this work could benefit from the use of rights-based frameworks to generate and support explanations for why these specific manifestations of health inequity are infringements on the right to health, thus providing guidance for legal and moral action (Carmalt Connolly & Faubion, 2010).

However, to strategically direct government and policy action to confront disproportionate exposure to health risks requires more research to increase our understanding of the complex interrelationships and processes between spaces, mobility, and behavior from a relational perspective (Curtis & Oven, 2011; Cummins et al., 2007). Most interestingly at the city level, the crux of this argument echoes the right to the city in that health is seen to be contingent on the ability to move around and participate in city life, which can be denied as a result of patterns of inequality in urban risks, resources, and amenities that, in turn, are shaped by acts of discrimination and exclusion (Chapman, 2010). Here, the idea of health and urban mobility has been a promising emerging theme within health geography, as traveling around the city is seen as a key prerequisite for participation in city life (Sheller & Urry, 2006), including accessing essential opportunities for health (e.g. social support networks, grocery stores, health services), and/or obligations (i.e. employment, education) (Sheller & Urry, 2006).

We argue that the foundational legal and ethical tenets of both the right to the city and right to health frameworks can be bridged and engaged within health geography to explicate a more spatially defined understanding of health inequity, and to provide standards and guidelines to enforce government and policy strategic action on health determinants. The purpose of this paper is to provide an empirical basis for linking these two discrete bodies of literature on rights as related to urban space and health, in an effort to reveal potential opportunities for development of a framework, the right to a healthy city, within health geography.

Taking these connections among place, mobility, and health as cues, I turn now to a case study that examined health inequities in the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba from the

perspective of Aboriginal youth artist-activists. It is widely reported that Winnipeg, the capital city of Manitoba, is particularly burdened by abject impoverished conditions, particularly in its core neighbourhoods located in the areas west of the Central Business District (the “West End” and adjacent to the north side of the CN Rail Yards (the “North End”) (Silver & Toews, 2009; Dobchuk-Land et al., 2010). In this project, the right to a healthy city was viewed as fundamentally conditioned by limitations placed on the mobility of these youth, both within the spaces of their own experience, and in their circumscribed participation in broader urban political and physical spaces.

4.3 Theoretical approach

Health geography (or geographies of health) is a relatively new discipline within human geography. In the last decade, health geographers have been encouraged to move beyond the concern of spatial patterns of health inequality (Kearns & Collins, 2010) to a focus on health inequity as a matter of social justice. However, the tendency in health geography is to consider health inequities “regionally,” (Curtis & Oven, 2011, p. 8), despite the fact that “inequities are themselves unequally distributed [...] between nations” (Brown & Moon, 2012. p. 14). Geographical research on global health is gaining more attention particularly in response to WHO's CSDH (2008) report, “Closing the gap in a generation” (Marmot, 2008; Brown & Moon, 2012). Since its release, action to achieve health equity has been presented as a new global agenda requiring transnational/transcontinental and interdisciplinary collaboration and comparative research (Koplan et al., 2009; Curtis & Oven, 2011; Brown & Moon, 2012). Still, much of the research in the discipline of health geography is dominated by and conducted within North America, United Kingdom, and New Zealand, with little collaboration

across continents and/or nations outside of these regions (Kearns & Moon, 2002). With the growing interest in the health implications of global environmental change, Curtis & Oven (2011) consequently argue that health geographers need to develop conceptual frameworks, and in turn complementary methods, to "more adequate[ly] structure our [exploration of and] thinking about the complex processes operating at [and across] various geographical scales [local, regional, and global]" (p. 8). The sophistication of science, expansion of electronic technology and popular media, and emergence of "cultural, musical, and linguistic" (Alim, 2009, p. 105) movements are contributing to the generation of a global community; providing a universal dialect for counter-cultural health research at a global scale, particularly with youth populations.

Youth involvement as research partners in the sub-discipline of health geography is still relatively uncommon. Lack of collaborative research with youth can be attributed to the limited knowledge among those in the field of youth 'ways of knowing' and modes of political and social expression across cultures/areas of the world. For example, youth music subcultures, such as hip hop, punk, emo, rave, and skinhead, are a particularly rich point of entry for the interrogation of urban life, owing to their activist and counter-cultural tendencies as well as high rates of cultural participation among urban youth around the world (Harris et al., 2010; Harris, 2005; Pfaff, 2009; Simi & Brents, 2008). In the Canadian example to be explored here, a social movement of sorts has been initiated as Aboriginal youth have taken ownership of the hip hop genre to articulate their experiences of urban life under conditions of material deprivation and social exclusion.

4.4 Methods

Between spring 2010 and summer 2011, I partnered with Graffiti Art Programming Aboriginal Youth Advisory Committee (GAPAYAC) to develop an arts-aligned research process designed to elucidate urban Aboriginal youth's interpretations of their right to the city as borne out geographically situated health experiences in their everyday lives. GAPAYAC is a group of 15 Aboriginal youth between the ages of 13 and 20 that advises the direction of drop-in activities at Graffiti Art Programming Inc., a non-profit, community-based youth serving organization dedicated to the use of art, media, and performance as proactive tools for community development and social justice. The research team included eight youth researchers, four program staff, and seven professional artist mentors who used hip hop as a tool to map youth's spatial experiences of the city. Our approach adapted a place mapping technique first introduced by Travlou, Owens, Thompson, and Maxwell (2008) that involved the identification of favourable and contested spaces via inscription on a conventional street map. The place mapping technique generated a wide breadth and depth of responses among the youth. However, the technique also quickly reached its limit in terms of our participatory epistemology, as it did not fully support our stated commitment to privilege processes of knowledge production favoured by Aboriginal youth (Skinner & Masuda, in review). To ensure that the ways of knowing of our youth artists were respected, I situated the mapping process within a Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy (CHHP) framework, first developed by Akom (2009; see also Chapter 3). CHHP provided a philosophy of inquiry based on principles of critical race theory, critical pedagogy, and youth participatory action research. The process of translating mappings of the city into artistic formats prompted the youth

researchers to examine their everyday urban lives as well as the consequent inequities that they encountered. The youth then developed artistic expressions of the structural conditions that shaped their own experiences, depicting them as the right to a health city.

Data sources for the research included youth journals (see Appendix G), their hip hop ‘maps’, one-to-one interviews (see Appendix H), focus group discussions (see Appendix I), and our own observations and reflections recorded in field notes of actions carried out by youth researchers, artist mentors, and program staff at each stage of the research process. Field notes were documented in a hand written journal to log relevant events with a date to chart the progress of and turning points in the project, to interrogate thinking and biases, and to reflect on personal experiences of the researchers (McNiff & Whitehead, 2010).

To manage the data analysis, data were catalogued in NVivo9, a qualitative research software package that is adept at systematically cataloguing, coding and analyzing diverse forms of data. Inputs to the system included youth journal entries detailing project interpretations, and individual and group discussion transcripts. I adhered to a grounded theory research approach for the analysis. This involved inductively ‘splicing’ the data line-by-line and making continuous comparisons across emergent categories, themes, and concepts to ultimately arrive at a theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Attendance of the second author at youth-artist mentor sessions in addition to one-to-one interviews allowed me to connect with each youth researcher to co-interpret their creative process and art creations, thus broadening the analytical approach (Huss & Cwikel, 2005) (see Chapter 3). To ensure rigour, I employed a triangulation strategy (Huss & Cwikel, 2005) by combining the verbal and nonverbal

creative elements, including poetry, music, dance, collage, mixed media, painting, and photography, the youth researchers' written and verbal project interpretations and the in-depth individual and group discussions. Most importantly, this joint process gave me the opportunity to check whether my own interpretations aligned with the perspectives of the youth researchers.

4.5 Results

While the perspectives of youth were predictably wide ranging, several themes emerged that speak to the youth researchers experiences of mobility, place, and health. These themes can be grouped into two broader scales of interpretation, including: (1) internal mobility, including perceptions of health threats that circumscribed mobility *within* neighbourhoods; and (2) external mobility, including perceptions of health threats that limited mobility outside of the neighbourhood at multiple geographic scales. I summarize these themes citing examples from our youth researchers, demonstrating similarities and differences across their illustrative narratives.

4.5.1 Threats/barriers to internal mobility

Neighbourhood eyesores

As could be predicated, all youth researchers commented on a wide range of negative observable physical conditions of their neighbourhoods. While outlining their journeys (see Appendix C) onto the city map, our conversation included not only the visible manifestations of inequity, but also descriptions of sights and smells of overflowing garbage cans and dumpsters, graffiti tags, human vomit and feces on the sidewalks and at bus stops, cracked sidewalks, broken beer bottles, kicked over recycling bins, trashed fences, garbage strewn all over green spaces and parks, bed bug infested

mattresses, urine, and rotting organic waste. Taking a cue from these discussions, one youth researcher chose to symbolically represent her ‘map’ in an acrylic painting (Figure 4.1):

My painting is a map of my boundaries [within my neighbourhood] on top of what I see within them. So like graffiti all over the walls and overflowing garbage cans. I painted that because I would rather not see it [around me].

Fig. 4.1. Cleanup the neighbourhood: pieces of garbage and gang tags ‘deface’ daily neighbourhood journey; street map projected/outlined onto illustrations; acrylic on canvas (created by Misty; used with permission of the artist).



Youth researchers unanimously agreed that they would rather not be exposed to such conditions and on reflection of their urban journeys, even suggested that they had ‘naturally’ accommodated derelict sites within their neighbourhoods by adjusting their routes and routines so as to avoid negative experiences.

Perceived threats to safety

As the group and individual project reflections deepened over time, discussions of ‘cleaning up’ the neighbourhood began to involve more than just surface level interventions such as picking up the garbage in the park. While many youth researchers

pointed out a need to improve the quality of physical infrastructure and amenities, others spoke about such conditions with respect to substance use and addictions, homelessness, gang activity, sexual predators, crime and violence. In this way, out of place objects thus represented perceived threats that contributed to the underutilization and subsequent decline of public spaces and services. This youth researcher relays this feeling of fear in her journal entry (Figure 4.2):

[This is a photo][...] of a green space on Main and Higgins. Who would want to be in a park like this? No one, right? People are scared of the homeless and drug addicts.

Fig. 4.2. Corner of Main Street and Higgins Avenue: empty solvent bottles (hair spray & mouthwash) symbolize perceived threatening substance use behaviour in public green space; digital photograph (captured by Anna; used with permission of the artist).



This sense of fear inscribed into youth was recognized to be a key factor in circumscribing their own mobilities, even within their neighbourhoods of residence. However, reflecting on such circumscriptions also led to accounts by youth of their own

resilience in challenging these internal boundaries. During one group discussion on 'boundary' drawing a youth researcher responded:

...There are not a lot of places that I feel unsafe...Things happen here all the time...if anything does happen I know all the places I can go to for help. There is a place on almost every street that I can go...

Thus, despite the high level of spatial angst that youth encounter on a daily basis, many youth researchers explained that over time, they have acquired attentiveness to environmental and social cues that channeled their movement, particularly sticking close to places of familiarity and refuge including their homes, neighbourhood organizations, schools, community drop-in centres, and friend's houses.

Surveillance

All youth researchers spoke of key authority figures including police officers, security and neighbourhood watch personnel, store managers and owners, and public transportation officials as psychological impediments to their free movement. One youth researcher described a snapshot that she took while she was mapping her own neighbourhood journey (Figure 4.3):

This picture is of a "smile you are on camera" sign. You may be thinking why? Well let me tell you! It's a boundary meaning always feeling watched or being followed. I know for myself I don't like the feeling of being watched. It's really creepy.

Fig. 4.3. Security cameras are a boundary: signs indicate presence of surveillance and security cameras perceived as mechanisms to ‘control’ youth; digital photograph; black and white (captured by Anna; used with permission of the artist).



Many youth researchers discussed the anxiety and discomfort they experienced while walking down streets, standing at bus stops, hanging out in parks, and gathering outside various businesses, particularly along Main Street as police cruisers would often either slowly circle the block or pull over to the curb to interrogate them. Youth suggested that these encounters were stressful and undignified, thus contributing to negative perceptions of their own health.

The criminalizing effect of surveillance by store owners, managers, and staff had a deleterious effect on youth’s ability to access health, social, and recreational opportunities, including convenience and grocery stores, clothing outlets, dollar stores, and shopping malls. One youth researcher symbolically represented her journeys through the downtown business district of Winnipeg in a mixed media installation incorporating acrylic paint, a wooden door, and recycled skateboard decks which prompted her memory of one occasion where she was overtly discriminated against (Figure 4.4):

When I was waiting outside of a [clothing] store, one of the store owners told me to leave and to go away because I was scaring customers. I was just waiting for my Mom.

Fig. 4.4. Cityscape: recycled skateboards refashioned to depict two-dimensional ‘cityscape,’ also symbolic of an alternative mode of sustainable transportation, which the artist has mounted onto a salvaged household door. The background represents public transit routes (12, 15, 14) traveled by the artist to get to the city centre. A multi-media project painted with metallic colours to signify structural city materials such as glass, concrete, and metal (created by Jessie; used with permission of the artist).



During the group discussion the youth researchers agreed that these disconcerting experiences have deterred them from using certain spaces or going to places where they are often incriminated by those in positions of authority or perceived superior ‘status’. Crucially however, the artist of this installation also speaks of her ability to transgress these spaces by differentiating between institutionalized ‘buildings’ to the city ‘streets’:

Buildings are designed for a purpose and if you don’t fit that purpose you’re not welcome...The streets in my mind are an even playing field. I say this because on the streets there is no social hierarchy.

Thus the right to the city as expressed within the spaces of youth's everyday lives involved both the need to confront the practices and technologies associated with authority as well as to legitimate their 'right to the streets' as a valid, even health-enhancing, use of urban space.

In sum, all youth researchers pointed out particular physical features within their neighbourhoods as circumscribing factors in their urban mobility. Youth also recognized that these factors are not limited to natural (air, climate, soil, water), and built (land use, transportation systems, services, public resources, and buildings) environments, but also included the social environments that perpetuated notions of racialized dereliction and criminality attached to their urban experiences.

4.5.2 Threats/barriers to external mobility

Stigmatizing space

The discussions stimulated the youth researchers to consider the broader urban forces that influenced their decisions on whether or not to transgress urban spaces outside of their own neighbourhoods. In one painting, a youth researcher illustrated railway cars overlaid with graffiti to depict a scene from an area he frequents in the North End (Figure 4.5). In his journal entry he wrote about this defacing of space symbolic of place-based discrimination on him:

This painting is about labels. No property was vandalized in the making of this painting...There are labels all over this painting...There are street and neighbourhood labels are all over the cars, and then there are labels that the people who see this painting, will paint on me...There is a Winnipeg label on me.

Fig. 4.5. Winnipeg label on me: selected “North End” street names and labels inscribed in graffiti writing style (multi-coloured aerosol paint) onto a depiction of Canadian National Railway yard visited by the artist (black silhouette); acrylic and aerosol on canvas (created by Dakota; used with permission of the artist).



Through group discussion, the youth researchers were encouraged to describe the behaviours, attitudes, and body language that they observed of outsiders towards them. This discussion prompted encounters of stereotypes and labels often used by outsiders as they transgressed areas of the city that were perceived to be less friendly to Aboriginal people. They suggested that these stereotypes are further reinforced by a popular and political discourse in circulation through cityspace via media outlets including newspapers, TV news programs, magazines, billboards, and TV and radio advertising. For example, one youth researcher described the lyrics to his rap song as the embodiment of external stereotypes:

*It is hard to go down the right way [...] it is hard to be known as a **good** person without people judging you for where you are from.*

Lyrics:

[People treating me wrong and calling me down...[...]

Going down the wrong road is easier then the right...]

Eddy – “My Life”

For youth researchers, these messages invariably served to vilify North and West End youth as gangsters, prostitutes, drug addicts, alcoholics, and criminals in the public’s imagination. Youth researchers talked about the extent to which they internalized this “bad” image or reputation, which consequently affected their pride, self-confidence, and ultimately their self-worth.

Invisibility

A few of the youth researchers reported that when they had enough bus fare or other means of transportation they preferred to go outside of the North and West End to other areas of the city where there were more crowds of people. One youth researcher explained her rationale for this ‘escape’:

[...]I always like being around lots of people. It is harder to blend in [in less crowded spaces]...If there are lots of people around, they are not focused on you. There is so much going on around you that nobody notices you. It is harder to blend into the shadows [if there are less people around].

Similarly, a few youth researchers spoke about retreating to private and comforting spaces such as their houses, while others wanted to be surrounded by people, but if possible, travelled to “safer” suburban areas perceived to have larger congregations of people. However, their freedom to move beyond major busy shopping centres, in

particular, was constrained by their sense of fear of being a target in unfamiliar, wide-open spaces.

Putting risks in their place

The place mapping process facilitated some discussion of areas of the city that were generally unknown to youth researchers. Many of the youth researchers began to increasingly compare and contrast their perceptions of the neighbourhood's conditions to reputations they knew of in other areas of the city. This shift in thinking in terms of a larger geographic scale is reflected in one youth researcher's rhetorical question:

If people are talking about the North End being bad or dangerous then why don't they help it? If their area is so good, then why don't they help to make the North End as good as their area?

After taking a moment to consider this, another youth researcher offered a sardonic response:

More people want to hear about what is going on in the North End because that is what they think is the worst area...They aren't going to want to hear about all the bad stuff that happens in their area. They are going want to think, this is my safe area. This is the place that I want it to be...They have something to not be afraid of, which creates their comfort zone.

This comment reflected a crucial transition in the youth researchers' relational understanding of their own neighbourhood within the city. They realized that their neighbourhoods receive a disproportionate level of disgusted scrutiny because they believed that there is a motivation among outsiders to attenuate the negative events that happen elsewhere in the city. In a one-to-one interview, a youth researcher explains the significance of her dance choreography relative to the hip-hop song by the Black Eyed Peas that accompanied her movements:

Description: *Well for 'tone of your skin' we pointed to our full body, and for 'colour of your eye' we kind of covered our eyes...*

Analysis: *[I believe that] people shouldn't be judged for where they live, even if they don't live in that area they should still be allowed, and it doesn't really matter their tone of their skin colour. Like say if a white person came to a native area, I don't think someone should tease a white person just because they were the only white person in that area.*

Lyrics:

*[One Tribe, one time, one planet, one race;
It's all one blood, don't care about your face;
The color of your eye or the tone of your skin;
Don't care where ya are, don't care where ya been.]*

The Black Eyed Peas – “One Tribe”

At this point, the youth researcher began to recognize that “outsiders” are not solely responsible for the perpetuation of stereotypes contributing to their exclusion within the city, particularly as it has manifested along ethnoracial lines.

To summarize, the youth researchers recognized that much of the discourse of risk and vilification that is placed onto their neighbourhoods (and transcribed onto their own racialized bodies) occurs as a strategy to contain wider problems associated with unchecked socioeconomic inequality and racism that pervades the social fabric of the entire city.

4.6 Discussion

The perspectives of youth in this study point to distinct linkages that can be made between the parallel literatures on the right to the city and the right to health. The benefits of this approach are twofold. First, the examination of the right to the city within the specific context of health inequity provides a much-needed empirical basis for understanding how rights play out in ways that are meaningful to urban inhabitants.

Second, it is already clear that place plays a complex mediating role in determining health opportunities and outcomes, both within the urban context and more broadly. But the literature on place, health, and rights is nascent, and we are as-yet far from understanding the complexity of these pathways. This paper provides an important contribution to filling this gap by furthering our understanding of place-health dynamics as they have bearing on urban space, health, and the right to the city.

The findings from this thesis project confirm that physical and social threats produced within urban space (and that produce urban space) have significant and multi-faceted impacts on the health, wellbeing and quality of life of Aboriginal youth in Winnipeg. That these threats concentrate in locales such as Winnipeg's North End has particularly deleterious impacts on urban citizens who inhabit these spaces, such as Aboriginal youth. This thesis project also illuminates how these threats operate at multiple geographic scales. The youth researchers learned to articulate how threats to their safety that are perceived from conditions located within their area of residence, have a circumscribing effect on their mobility and concomitant access to essential health promoting spaces, resources, and services. Through the research process, youth researchers also learned to understand how external threats operating on a wider scale have an effect of confinement, both in terms of limiting youth's ability to participate in broader city life as well as in 'cleansing' the city by confining the stigma of criminality and urban dereliction of the city to particular locales. Put another way, the youth researchers began to see how ethnoracial and place-based prejudices serve the dual rationalization of putting risks in their place as well as offering a means to distance urban risks for the therapeutic benefit of more enfranchised people and places of the city (see

Wakefield & McMullan, 2005). Taken together, I find that there are multiple scales where mobility is circumscribed and that these combine to deny the right to a healthy city for these youth through their inability to fully participate in urban life.

For urban scholars, planners, architects, designers and public health officials who are focused on addressing urban health inequities, the findings from this study offer an alternative approach for understanding the intersecting problems of health inequity and sociospatial segregation. My findings support and extend the substantial amount of scholarship that has suggested how mobility offers a more dynamic approach for interrogating urban spatiality rather than ‘container-based’ approaches as found, for example, in much of the more conventional place effects research (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Cresswell, 2004; 2011). As the youth researchers in this project have shown, mobility is affected at multiple geographic scales owing to internal and external threats that undermine both opportunities for health and health outcomes. Resolving health inequities can thus benefit from a right to a healthy city perspective, as both the right to the city and the right to health require a dismantling of the same discriminatory attitudes and behaviours, and mechanisms that infringe upon both. Put differently, the right to the city can be reflected in ways that are meaningful to urban inhabitants through their understanding of the right to health.

To conclude, our exploratory place mapping process as rooted in a participatory Aboriginal hip hop approach has highlighted how health inequities, as materialized in urban space through derelict spaces, incivility, surveillance, and stigmatization, may be understood as symptoms of an unhealthy city. It is through the observations, stories, and experiences of urban marginalization and resilience conveyed by those most affected by

these discriminatory attitudes, behaviours, and mechanisms that root causes might be identified and mechanisms ascertained. In this sense, this study points to new opportunities for health geographers to work within global counter-cultural movements such as hip hop to broaden the epistemological basis for place effects on health by prioritizing the qualitative perspectives of urban citizens around the world who have been denied the right to a healthy city.

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Chapter 5.

Conclusion

Health is a basic human right (WHO, 1946). The fact that health inequities exist reflects (a deeply rooted abrogation of governmental responsibility) to protect this right. This thesis examined urban health inequities from the perspectives of Aboriginal youth providing insight into the spatial manifestations of urban health inequities through a process of ‘mapping’ their everyday city experiences. In all, their examination of urban health inequities within a broader geographic scope has furthered our understanding of the complexity of place effects on health, drawing attention to the multiple scales at which health threats are mediated. The research outlined in this thesis has prioritized local knowledge of Aboriginal youth who are often most affected by urban health inequities. In this case, their view of the right to a healthy city is contingent on their geographic freedom to move around the city and to participate in wider broader political and urban spaces comprising city life. Despite the limitations to Aboriginal youth’s participation in city life at all levels, this thesis project importantly documents the creative ways in which Aboriginal youth are carving out their own spaces, particularly in Winnipeg’s vibrant arts community, to convey their ideas and take action for positive change.

5.1 Contributions

In terms of advancement of knowledge, this thesis makes both academic/policy and practical contributions. Academic/policy contributions add to the current repository of theoretical frameworks and research practices to inform meaningful engagement with youth in a research capacity. The community contributions consist of tools, skills, and

outlets for the youth researchers to actively communicate their experiences and aspirations for a ‘healthy’ city further positioning Aboriginal youth as leaders in their communities.

5.1.1 Academic/policy

Chapter Two found that more studies are needed to further our understanding of geographies of youth. A majority of studies reviewed explored ‘youth-appropriate’ spaces (playgrounds, schools, recreational centres, shopping malls, skate parks) rather than an examination of geographies of youth beyond these conventional spaces. Several studies have argued that youth continue to remain invisible in the literature relative to studies of children and children’s geographies (Vanderstede, 2011; Evans, 2008). This systematic review contributes to this emerging field a series of best practices for youth-led participatory action research, particularly within urban contexts. More meaningful research undertaken in partnerships with youth has potential to contribute to a better understanding of youth (or teenager’s) geographies, particularly the broader mechanisms that underlie the formation of health inequities that impact youth’s geographic mobility, and overall health outcomes.

Chapter Three details my application of the theoretical framework CHHP as a novel approach of inquiry in health geography. This chapter has demonstrated that CHHP is a creative methodological framework that offers immense promise to enable more in-depth insight into youth’s experiences of health and place. Creative forms of research representation including narrative, life history, poetry, music, drama, dance, visual art, collage, painting, photography, and performance (Mullen, 2003), rooted within the arts and humanities, are gaining recognition as epistemologies within social science research

(Milligan, Kearns & Kyle, 2011). Similar creative approaches offer much utility to health geographers as emergent forms of participatory action research as have the capacity to access to the experiential knowledge of youth revealing their experiences of place. The empirical illustration from Winnipeg demonstrates the relevance of CHHP as a humanities-informed approach in health research and its capacity to engage racialized youth as action researchers. The success of the CHHP approach taken here provides encouragement for health geographers who are interested in accessing and engaging a diversity of populations to explore similar approaches that draw on forms of visual arts, music, and movement representative of other cultures and ‘ways of knowing’ to further our investigation of these complex relationships manifested in place.

Finally, Chapter Four offers to the existing body of literature on rights and space, a different conception on Lefebvre’s right to the city. An examination of the right to the city within the specific context of health inequity from the perspectives of youth provides a much-needed empirical basis for understanding how rights play out within the context of youth’s everyday lives. This chapter reports that there are multiple scales where youth’s geographic freedom is circumscribed and that these combine to deny the right to a healthy city for these youth through their inability to fully participate in urban life. The results point planning and policy makers to specific health threats operating at multiple geographic levels that affect youth’s mobility, both within the spaces of their own experience, and in their participation in broader urban political and physical spaces. Policy action on physical and social threats perpetuating health inequities produced within urban space (and that produce urban space) including visible eyesores, incivility,

unfair surveillance, stigmatization and risk displacement is one step towards youth's right to a healthy city.

5.1.2 Community

Youth-led Participatory Action Research principles require the researcher to ensure that the research will benefit community stakeholders in some meaningful way. In many instances research in the community is not truly participatory because community members are not represented and treated as the experts of the research objectives and process. For this reason, many community-based organizations and groups, particularly in Winnipeg, have been particularly reluctant to engage in university-based research partnerships often because they have little input regarding the research objectives, design, development, and dissemination of findings. Youth Participatory Action Research is a relatively novel approach in Winnipeg and was seen in a favourable light by all participants who were involved. This success sets a positive precedent, if small, for future community-university projects with Winnipeg youth. This research has also refined and informed the processes of youth-driven research to which other youth serving community based organizations, like GAP, can emulate and implement in their programming initiatives to further position youth as leaders in their communities. Moreover, the follow-up focus groups with the youth researchers and one-to-one interviews with the program staff allowed everyone the opportunity to reflect on the process, to identify challenges, and to suggest strategies and approaches for futures collaborative research projects.

It was important to adopt research methods complementing a YPAR approach that allows youth to articulate the world in a way that resonates with them. My main objective for the design of this YPAR project was that it was creative, fun, and relevant to the

group of youth researchers with whom I was partnered. Studies have affirmed that youth often better define and articulate what they want to say through visual and performing arts and media because they express themselves corporally, through adornment, illustration, song, movement, and action (Ardizzone, 2007). The GAPAYAC youth researchers communicated a strong interest in and identified largely with the local hip hop culture, particularly Aboriginal hip hop. Winnipeg's expanding community of hip hop artists, particularly with an interest in developing hip hop-based youth programming and mentorship, presents CHHP as a highly suitable framework. In sum, collaborative partnerships between researchers and hip hop artists/educators in Winnipeg would unite efforts to empower youth and position them as leaders in the city.

This project fundamentally introduced the idea of the right to the city, spawning a potentially powerful new urban movement now taking hold among the GAPAYAC membership. The GAPAYAC represents a core group of youth ambassadors advocating for the implementation of the right to the city in practice. The community forum, an 'art talk,' hosted by GAPAYAC called "Youth's Right to the City," sought to mobilize their newfound insights on and raise awareness of urban health inequities. This forum provided the youth researchers with the opportunity to display, perform, and importantly to engage youth and adults representing numerous city, non-profit, and educational organizations in a meaningful discussion about the right to the city and health inequity, illustrating how the arts can enable youth to catalyze change. Through a three-hour workshop, youth were able to strategically bridge their research findings to establish new or expanded networks, and to initiate follow up actions. In all, this workshop helped to further propagate this notion of the right to the city in Winnipeg, positioning Aboriginal

youth artists-activists as representative leaders of this timely movement. Moreover, we developed a video documentary with the help of a professional videographer to document the research process and outcomes, including highlights from the community forum to further mobilize and disseminate the youth researcher's vision for the right to the city to a wider audience.

5.2 Benefits and outcomes

In my attempt to adhere to the emancipatory pedagogy of Paulo Friere (Friere, 1970) and the principles of Participatory Action Research (PAR), it was my hope that participation in this research would be socially and politically transformative for both the GAPAYAC members, as well as their artist mentors and the other project assistants and investigators. Towards the end, I was told by many of the youth researchers that this project provided them with a unique opportunity to learn about and discuss social and political issues directly impacting their life, that they would not normally get to study at school. One youth researcher even admitted that they invested more time in this project than any of their school assignments or exams. To me, this comment alone is a very affirming outcome of this project.

5.3 Study limitations

5.3.1 Challenges

It is important that I acknowledge some of the challenges that I encountered in operationalizing YPAR, despite my best efforts to emulate the practices detailed in Chapter 2. First, the partnerships development phase was one of the most difficult, yet most essential, steps to the success of an YPAR project. My status as a graduate student seriously challenged my ability to immerse myself in daily programming and events at

GAP. Building meaningful relationships with youth participants, staff, and local artists, was very difficult owing to the heavy demands of a graduate program including coursework, conference presentations, funding applications, publications, and volunteering, in addition to studentships and research assistantships as supplemental sources of income. At most, I could only commit to preparation of and attendance at weekly 2-hour meetings, which is substantial in light of the extensive time I had to dedicate to my graduate studies and employment responsibilities (which could often approach 75 hours/week). Second, once partnerships were secured, it was imperative that they were nurtured to sustain the momentum and interest among partners and youth participants, which risked dwindling if contact became too infrequent. Despite my weekly commitment to the project, I experienced great difficulty in maintaining interest among youth researchers and program staff often owing to time constraints, organizational capacity, limited funding, and under resourced management, which slowed down the entire process. Third, the (cultural distance) between the university and the community made it very difficult to negotiate project decisions on design and process despite my best attempt to meaningfully consider the interests of both. Unfortunately, despite my efforts to provide opportunities for leadership and to seek input from the youth researchers and program staff, I often had to delineate project parameters and protocol on my own to keep up with rigid institutional deadlines imposed by internal and external funding bodies (i.e. CIHR) and the University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board. Fourth, a fun, yet rigorous curriculum was crucial for youth participants to understand the research process and methods in advance of their engagement in actual field research. Lack of project funding to hire research personnel made it very difficult to

gather information and materials for curriculum design and development of a fun, interactive two hour session, or to locate hip hop artists and guest speakers to co-facilitate the process on a week-to-week basis, which would have greatly enhanced the learning experience. A community research grant application was submitted in January 2011, however due to institutional incapacity to process the applications and distribute funding in a timely fashion, we received this funding after the project ended (October 2011). Moreover, the planning and preparation of hearty, nutritious dinners for 10-12 people each week was particularly challenging, particularly as we relied on public transit to transport all of the ingredients and kitchenware. These tasks were a considerable burden on part of the program staff to take time outside of their demanding schedules to assist with smoother flow of project planning. Finally, to ensure the sustainability of youth participation, it was important to remain flexible, and use a non-linear and iterative approach to the research process recognizing that infrequent participation is unavoidable owing to complexity of youth researchers lives and responsibilities. For example, even though we received ethics approval in March 2011, I made the decision to shorten our timeline and to change our project approach based on continuous feedback from researchers and program staff requiring the need to submit further amendments to project protocol to the University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board. However, by retroactively re-organizing the project process around a community forum with The Right Honourable Michaëlle Jean during her visit to Winnipeg in mid-May re-instilled interest and momentum by everyone. Several youth researchers and program staff told me that short-term achievable milestones in addition to clear communication of expectations and deliverables is essential to preventing discouragement.

5.3.2 Positionality

Throughout this project, my position as a researcher was challenged on many levels, as I had many overlapping roles – mentor, friend, facilitator, co-researcher, and student. I made every attempt to position myself as a co-facilitator of the process, whereby the youth and staff at the organization had equal control and input. However, I realize that there are inherent power and structural dynamics at play owing to differences in age, race, social status, educational levels, and research experience. On a practical level, I attempted to address this imbalance by remaining very open and transparent about the entire research process making sure to include everyone in project decisions, for example project budget and financial issues, methods, timeline, weekly dinners, and event preparation. At the outset, it was critical for me to openly address my positionality and to identify my standpoint to the GAPAYAC and the staff at GAP. The community may have viewed me as an outsider for many reasons. There were many obstacles that I had to overcome in order to secure access to participants, rapport with the local population, and credibility as a researcher. First, my physical appearance; I am a young looking white female. My youthful appearance and gender may have enabled some youth to relate to me, but may have affected my credibility amongst others, particularly within the organization, as did my non-Aboriginal status. Second, the fact that I am a newcomer to Winnipeg, yet I was positioning myself as a so-called “expert” of the city, may have also had some questioning my motive and long-term commitment. However, from the beginning I was very clear that this was an opportunity for me to learn from them; to explore and initiate action on a particular issue of interest to the community using the resources available to me through the university. Third, my

association with the university may have resulted in some trust issues within the community. I attempted to address these by being dependable, respectful, and not imposing hierarchal relationships. All these factors may have also affected my ability to “put myself in their shoes” so to speak. However, putting myself in this position was not the intention. Rather, my role was to simply create a space for youth to speak in their own words to research about what they felt was important. I adhere to this through use of direct quotations, and through constant member checking to ensure that my writing reflects their voice. In the end, while it was very challenging to gain and continue to maintain acceptance within the community, I think that my willingness to volunteer and to engage in community activities at GAP and in other capacities above and beyond the project help to established trust and rapport.

5.4 Next steps

Over the summer, the GAPAYAC led a community mural project called ‘MYMAP’ as one way to claim a right to a healthy city. Agencies, businesses and individuals across Winnipeg were able to apply for a youth-inspired mural to have displayed on to their building or property. Community ‘activism’ provided the GAPAYAC as well as other neighbourhood youth the opportunity to occupy, appropriate, and claim these spaces to reflect their vision and cultural identity. The GAPAYAC demonstrated considerable leadership in selecting the mural sites, design, and creation of community murals at designated and potential programming sites under the supervision of Graffiti Art Programming artists. Youth-driven community muraling proved to be a rewarding action initiative by which the GAPAYAC could engage others further spreading the right to the healthy city movement.

In the fall, program staff at GAP organized a workshop with Montreal's top spoken word artist in 2010, and Métis multidisciplinary artist, Moe Clark. Ms. Clark's workshop, "Find Your Talk, Raise Your Voice," was an unparalleled opportunity wherein the youth researchers learned oral traditions including voice, writing, and spoken word performance further expanding their tools, skills, and outlets to communicate their experiences of injustice and ideas for tackling health inequities disproportionately impacting Aboriginal youth in Winnipeg. Clearly, these youth were inspired to press ahead with their newfound ability to articulate their right to the city.

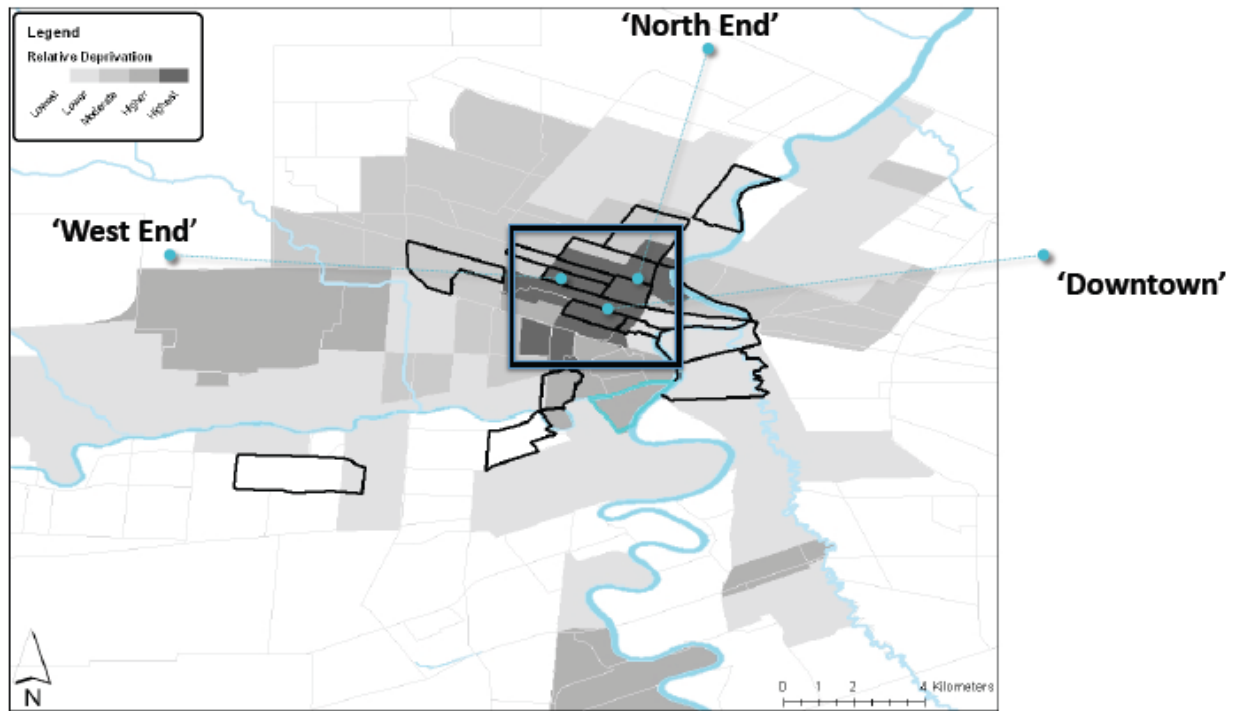
In future, the GAPAYAC will continue to seek opportunities for collaborative project initiatives and skill building training. The Right Honourable Michaëlle Jean and Jean-Daniel Lafond, founders of the Michaëlle Jean Foundation, are highly supportive of GAPAYAC activist activities. Moreover, across the world, the Michaëlle Jean Foundation commends and pays recognition to GAPAYAC as exemplary youth leaders succeeding to effect change in their communities using urban art as a tool.

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Appendix A

Map of Study Area



* Dark shaded area = core neighbourhoods

Appendix B

Curriculum

Purpose:

1. To create the conditions for discussion about the role of Hip Hop as subaltern discourse about urban life.
2. To explore how Hip Hop has been used to challenge the geographic conditions that stand in the way of the “right to the city”
3. To encourage youth to use Hip Hop as a way to express their own aspirations to realize their “right to the city”

Procedures: Use of guest artists, round table discussions, group exercises

Project phases	Action items	Allocated time	Purpose
I. Preparation & Planning			
Sep 2010 – March 2011	<i>Weekly planning meetings</i>	8 X 2 hour meetings	To establish partnerships and identify key research topics. Engage in group discussion about urban experiences as at youth living in Winnipeg.
February 2011	<i>Team building activities: Mural project outline & preparation</i>	2 hour meeting	To gather materials. Sketch drawing of mural incorporating preliminary themes from group discussion about the city.
March 2011	<i>Team building activities: Mural Painting</i>	Full-day workshop	To provide a backdrop for community forum. To identify key themes for projects.
II. Implementation of Hip Hop Mapping			
April – May 2011	<i>Place mapping exercises</i>	2 x 2 hour focus group discussions	Discussion of “life in Winnipeg”, “assets”, and “frontiers”, what is “known” and “unknown” and WHY youth geographies are limited (racism, ageism, class).
April – May 2011	<i>Map creation</i>	1 x 1 hour One-to-one sessions	Assignment of youth researchers to hip hop artist mentor of their choice. Selection of materials (photo images, words, digital text, artifacts, mediums etc.) needed to create a map representing these thoughts, ideas, experiences generated and communicated in place mapping exercises.
May 2011	<i>Map interpretation</i>		“Reading” the map through hip

	<i>& key messages</i>		hop performance guided by hip hop artist mentors and researcher.
III. Knowledge Translation			
August 2011	<i>Hip hop performance development & rehearsals</i>	2 hour session	To develop materials and performances using the elements of hip hop – MCing, DJing, graffiti and break dancing, to communicate key messages.
September 2011	<i>Community forum “Voicing Youth’s Right to the City”</i>	3 hour workshop	A forum to share research findings in the form of presentations and performances.

Appendix C

Place Mapping Exercise

To ARTICULATE, EXPLORE, ILLUSTRATE, TALK ABOUT youth's geographies (spaces, places, people, behaviour, interactions etc) through a process of 'mapping'.

- What is our description of a 'map'?
- What does a map look like? It is always just lines, dots, names, numbers?
- How is it made? What materials are used?
- What kinds of maps do we use?
- What are the purposes of maps?
- What is 'mapping'?
- As people living within the 'geography' of Winnipeg, our lives are governed by the need to move from here to there.

Dialogue:

As you get older you have more freedom to move and access different places beyond home, school and neighbourhood. You may visit new places (e.g. city centre, shopping malls) and new routes and types of transport are used to take you further away from your local neighbourhood to another area of the city.

What are examples of those places?

You may interact with your surrounding environment for example a broader range of people.

These interactions make your spatial experience more complex and, as such, to broaden their spatial knowledge.

I am going to give you three index cards:

Front-side: write 3 of your favourite places in Winnipeg

Back-side: write 3 of your least favourite places in Winnipeg

We are going to inscribe on a conventional street maps

We will attempt to create a web of inter-linked paths and route according to these criteria.

Place a dot at that particular spot. Then we will discuss these places.

- 1) Favourite places (why?)
- 2) Least favourite places (why?)
- 3) Spaces you feel included (why?)
- 4) Spaces you feel excluded (why?)
- 5) Hang-out spots (why?)
- 6) Spaces that are known for conflict (why?)
- 7) What are your preferences?
- 8) Where might you avoid?
- 9) Where haven't you been at all in the city?

10) Where do you have a particular strong connection?

11) What area might you fear?

- What do you do there? When? With whom do you go there?
- What are some defining characteristics?
- What is your ideal place?
- How would you like to change or improve the city?
- Where do you feel you have 'ownership' & acceptance?
- What are characteristics of the youth culture that defines these spaces (i.e. microculture)?
- What do the dots mean?
- Which places do the dots represent?
- What do these places look like?
- Who would you go there with?
- When would you go?
- What they do there?
- Why are these were their favourite places?
- Why are these your least favourite places?

Since you've been working on your art piece or performance that represents a personal journey or experience in the city....

1) Draw "circles" around areas that are different from the areas you go....what makes them different?

- houses, streets, lawns, sidewalks, fences, parks, benches, trees, dumpsters, people, cars, schools, clothing stores, buses (BOUNDARIES).

What restricts where/when you can go....buses, bus schedules, bus drivers, bus fare, bus route, etc..

2) Draw "X's" around a places that you feel on permit the message "KEEP OUT", do not trespass, private property, and you need permission to go into... (BORDERS).

3) Put "dots" or "circles" around places you feels "out of place" (FRONTIERS) – people talk, act, behave, dress, present themselves different. Other cues tell you that you don't belong...what are these?

What are the surround features of the area that tell you....ok I'm not wanted here, don't belong here, shouldn't be here, I better get out of here....

What kinds of messages do spaces convey? Wealth, authority, superiority, elitist, snob, etc.

Do you think that if you walked into this area, that someone would feel uneasy about you being there? Would they watch you from their house? Or call the police to circle the block? Do you this people are fearful or suspicious?

What happens when you cross into these "X's" or "dots"

What is causing these boundaries, borders, frontiers to exist?

What happens if you cross these?
What can we do about them?

Appendix D

Information Letter

Lead Investigator: Emily Skinner
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba
skinnere@cc.umanitoba.ca Phone: (204) 451-7254

Dr. Jeffrey Masuda,
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba
jeff_masuda@umanitoba.ca Phone: (204) 272-1643

Title of Study: Supporting Aboriginal youth 'ways of knowing': Engaging in creative-based inquiry to reveal Aboriginal youth's geographies of environmental health inequity

Purpose: The purpose of this thesis project is to engage youth in a mapping process to reveal the spaces and places in the city that treat inner city youth unfairly and to use art and performance as tools to voice their experiences and ideas for change.

What will happen?

You have been asked to be a part of a research team. Over the next six months, you will participate in a series of training workshops and discussions about how where you live has an affect on your health, well-being and quality of life. Throughout the youth-centred process you will consult with a variety of professional artists across the city who use urban art, dance performance as tools for social action. You will have the opportunity to experiment with a variety of art forms and to engage in a mapping process as a way to talk about your experiences in the city. As part of the process, you will have opportunity to lead the group on a tour of a neighbourhood of your choice to explore physical spaces in detail and to capture these images using digital photography.

Some of our discussions will be tape-recorded and will be translated using a numerical code to replace your name. This code will be used to identify what you said in quotes and used in future reports, posters, and/or publications which will be presented to other individuals and organizations who have interest or responsibility in the neighbourhood. Your participation forms part of the basis for a long-term community partnership between academic and community-based researchers who together wish to promote more equitable living conditions for youth in the inner city neighbourhoods. Although this study involves developing important relationships with various stakeholders, it has no ties to industry, community or government partners and will be conducted by an independent team of researchers from the University of Manitoba.

Who Will Know? Privacy – You and I will have the option to request which pages of our journals are kept strictly 'private' and which pages can be shared with the group in

addition to which information can be discussed at meetings and included in public reports and papers. The pages that you indicate can be shared will be photocopied to distribute to the group. No names will be left on our copies. We will use code numbers instead of names. The data will be stored in a locked cabinet at the University of Manitoba for 5 years and it will be destroyed by September 2016. Only members of the research team will see the data. If anyone in the study tells us about abuse or a risk of self-harm, then we will need to tell the appropriate agency.

Sharing the Results – We will be sharing the findings of this study at meetings, public reports and papers. No names or data that could identify you will be shared. We will make every effort to ensure that your identity is kept strictly confidential, except under circumstances where we may have to reveal certain personal information if the law requires it (e.g., child abuse). However, as you are participating in group discussions, we cannot guarantee this confidentiality. We will ensure to ask all participants to respect each others' privacy. Following our tape-recorded discussions, you will have the option of reading what was recorded. You will also have the opportunity to review the researcher's field notes, but you and the researcher reserve the right to indicate what pages of your journals and field notes are 'private'. Throughout the duration of the study all interview tapes and field notes will be locked in a secure location at the university for 5 years and will be destroyed by September 2016. The findings from this study may be published in academic journals, posted on the Department of Environment and Geography website, or presented at conferences as a current research project. However, you will not be identified by name in any reports from the completed study. If the information is used for another study, the researchers will first request permission from you.

Compensation: Over the duration of study we will be providing honoraria in the form of gift cards, certificates, vouchers and cash for each youth researcher who completes each phase of the project: 1) Planning; 2) Curriculum development & implementation; and 3) Knowledge translation. You will be involved in the process of creating the budget and making decisions regarding how project money is spent.

It's Your Choice

It is your choice to be part of this project. You may choose not to answer a question. You may stop being in the study at any time. You may ask questions at any time. If there are issues that are upsetting for you, we will help find a professional for you to talk to. We ask that you put your safety and others every time we are taking pictures in public. Your participation in the study is voluntary and you are welcome to leave at any time as well as refuse to answer questions during the course of the project. Although the research will not benefit you directly, your participation and cooperation can help develop a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities to improve environmental health and quality of life for youth in Winnipeg.

Do you have Questions?

If you have more questions please call Emily Skinner at (204) 451-7254 or email her at skinnere@cc.umanitoba.ca or Dr. Jeff Masuda at (204) 272-1643 or email him at

jeff_masuda@umanitoba.ca. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at (204) 474-7122. This person is not linked to the project.

Consent: Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without jeopardy to your employment.

Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Your signature indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

Participant Signature

Date

Printed Name of the Participant

Appendix E

Consent Form

Manitoba Lead Investigator: Emily Skinner
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Dr. Jeffrey Masuda
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba
jeff_masuda@umanitoba.ca Phone: (204) 272-1643

Title of Study: Supporting Aboriginal youth 'ways of knowing': Engaging in creative-based inquiry to reveal Aboriginal youth's geographies of environmental health inequity

Do you understand that you have been asked to be in a research study?
Yes No

Have you read and received a copy of the attached Information Sheet?
Yes No

Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this research study?
Yes No

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study? Yes No

Do you understand that you are free to refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time? You do not have to give a reason and it will not affect you.
Yes No

Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you? Do you understand who will have access to the information you provide? Yes No

This study was explained to me by: _____

I agree to take part in this study.

Children and Adolescents

**Signature of Research Participant
Witness**

Date

Printed Name
Printed Name

Signature of Parent/Guardian
Witness

Date

Printed Name

I believe that the person signing this form understands what is involved in the study and voluntarily agrees to participate.

Signature of Investigator or Designee

Date

Appendix F

Project instructions for artist mentors

The theme of the project is ‘Youth’s Right to the City’. Each member of GAPAYAC has their own ‘personal’ map of the city. As they begin ‘mapping’ their journeys in the city, stories of inequity (injustice or unfairness) are starting to unfold.

Project instructions:

1) To continue to discuss their day-to-day ‘personal’ journeys throughout the city:

- *Where you did you leave from?*
- *Where were you headed? Why?*
- *Which direction did you take? Why?*
- *What form of transportation (walking, skateboard, bus, car, bike, etc) did you use?*
- *Which streets did you take? Why?*
- *What did you pass along the way?*
- *Describe sights, smells, tastes, sensations, emotions, and thoughts.*
- *Who did you encounter along the way? Did you know them? How were you spoken to? How did they treat you?*
- *Where did you end up? What did you do there?*
- *Why did you go there?*

2) As their paths begin to unfold, we will further ask questions about the spaces and places they visited and journeyed through (or did not go to).

Was this a space or place that made you feel....

- *Comfortable/relaxed/at peace/safe*
- *Accepted/fit-in*
- *Uncomfortable/out of place*
- *Excluded/unwelcomed*
- *Scared/frightened/uneasy/unsafe/vulnerable*
- *Treated unfairly/mistreated/disrespected/unkind/rude/discriminated/humiliated/dirty looks*

Encourage them to think about boundaries in social spaces and physical spaces:

- **Boundaries** (lines between places of difference);
- **Borders** (institutions/gatekeepers that uphold these boundaries through surveillance, etc. to keep people from passing between places);
- **Frontiers** (liminal spaces where identities may be contested where a participant lacks social status or rank, remains anonymous, shows obedience and humility, and follows prescribed forms of conduct, dress, etc.

- *What causes these boundaries/borders/frontiers to exist?*
- *Why they are there?*
- *What happens when they are crossed?*
- *What might be done about them?*

3) To begin to incorporate urban art tools (creative writing, poetry, drawing, dance, song, painting, graffiti etc.) to further discuss their experiences and to convey, communicate or illustrate this ‘personal’ map.

Appendix G

Reflexive Journal Activity

Assignment:

Think back over the past week.....WHERE did you go in the city? WHY?

In order to get 'there', you needed to make various CHOICES & DECISIONS about: 1) Where you would go; 2) When you would go; and 3) How you would get there.

Instructions

Trace back and 'map' your journey in your mind and try to include as many details as possible (below are some helpful questions).

- 1) Where you did you leave from
- 2) Describe this area of the city – what do you see, hear, smell etc.
- 3) Where were you headed?
- 4) Which direction did you take?
- 5) What form of transportation (walking, bus, car, bike, etc) did you use?
- 6) Which streets did you take?
- 7) What did you pass along the way?
- 8) What did you see, hear, smell, touch?
- 9) Who did you talk to along the way?
- 10) What did you do at your destination?
- 11) What was your experience there?

Try to include sights, sounds, smells, tastes, physical sensations, emotions, and thoughts!!!

Things to keep in mind:

- 1) Did you have many choices as to where you can go?
- 2) If so, why did you choose to go there?
- 3) Why did you choose to take that path?
- 4) What might be limiting your choices as to where you can go?
- 5) How did you feel during your experience?
- 6) How did you feel in the particular places that you went?

(HELPFUL HINT: you may want to jot down some notes as soon as you return from somewhere so that the details are fresh in your mind!)

Then transfer your journey into your SKETCHBOOK.

** You can use words, symbols, drawings, figures, photos, etc to assist you to convey the experience of your journey to someone else**

Appendix H

Interview Guide (Youth)

Preliminary materials:

As interview begins:

review consent and rights of participant
set up and test the tape recorder and microphone

To start the interview:

I would like to begin by first thanking you for agreeing to participate in this interview. Please remember that you are welcome to leave the interview at any time as well as decline to answer questions during the course of this interview.

There are some practicalities to take care of before we begin our discussion. First, I want to check that you understand what consent means. Are there any questions?

At this point I would like to remind you that I will be taping this interview. This is necessary because over the course of an interview the discussion can become quite broad. Taping the discussion allows me the opportunity to focus all my attention on what you are saying rather than just taking notes. I want to reassure you that only I will know your identity and that a pseudonym will be given when we transcribe the interview.

During the next hour, I will be asking a series of questions. These will function as guidelines for our discussion. Please do not feel you are limited to responding solely to the questions I raise. You are welcome at any point during the interview to bring up for discussion any issues you feel are relevant or important to you.

I want to remind you that we are not here to find ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answers. Rather, we are interested in recording an array of perspectives and opinions. At no point will I judge you for what you say. My main purpose here is to talk about the process of creating your art piece or performance and the stories and experiences you want to convey.

Do you have any questions before we get started?

Interview

Start tape recording

Part A: (METHODOLOGY)

So let’s talk about when, what, why and how you were introduced to art and performance.

How long have you been producing art (painting, mixed media, sketching, music, photography, storytelling, poetry, dance, etc.)
How many hours a week do you spend on your art? How often?
Where do you work on your art?
What urban art forms interest you the most?
What materials, tools, or methods do you use the most? What forms of dance? What style of music? What style of writing? What style of photography?
Do you create art based on certain themes, topics, or subjects?
Why do you like art/performance? Why do you do it?
Is it a big part of your life?
What do you get out of making art?
Why is it important?
So besides personal enjoyment, stress relief, therapy, creative outlet, social activity, a source of income, something to do etc. how might your art reach out to other people?
Do you want your art to make a statement? To convey a message? Provide an example....

PART B: (ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION)

Throughout the process of ‘mapping’ your personal journey using the city map as an aid, the spaces and places you visit and your paths to and from your destinations were revealed.

In particular, you outlined boundaries (physical and social) around places you go or don’t go; drew lines between areas of ‘difference’; and identified certain “keep out” or “not welcome” areas (borders & frontiers).

But then we expanded the mapping technique to incorporate elements of urban art – rap, dance, painting, poetry, photography, and to alternatively represent elements of your journey and the boundaries, borders, and frontiers that create your personal geography.

Who did you choose to work with to do this? Why?
Was it helpful working with this person? Had you worked with them before?
What was the first step you took planning your project?
Did you refer to the our city mapping discussion?
What story(ies) or experience(s) did you choose to highlight in your art piece or performance?
What symbols, images, setting, landmarks, places, spaces, people etc. did you decide to highlight or represent in your work? Why?
What materials, tools, equipment, images, song/lyrics, movements, methods or style etc. did you choose?
Did these make it easier to illustrate, depict, portray or to convey your story or get a message across?
What would you say is the underlying message being conveyed through your art piece, photos, dance, poems, or song? Can you summarize it into one sentence?

My painting, song, poem, photograph, dance was about _____.
(i.e.inaccessibility to transportation and criminalization or youth for using longboards or skateboards to get around the city).

If you comfortable, can you provide an example of injustice that you've experienced?
What did you learn from this project?

This brings us to the end of my set of prepared questions. Is there anything that you feel we have missed and should talk about? Is there anything you would like to add to the conversation we have had thus far?

I would like to end the interview by thanking you for sharing your insights with me. This has been an extremely informative conversation and it will be very helpful to us as we analyze this issue and work toward developing and refining our research project.

Transcript Verification

You have the option of reviewing and commenting on the transcripts from our discussion. I would like to re-emphasize that like everything that has been shared in the interview, these comments will remain confidential, meaning we will not associate your name or organization to any of the things you have said. Are you interested in checking the transcripts?

Yes. I will be contacting you in the future with more information.

No. I understand, that's fine.

Email: _____

Mailing Address: _____

Thank You

Thank you again for participating in this interview. If you have any questions regarding this study, or questions regarding some of the issues we discussed, please do not hesitate to call me at the numbers contained in your information letter

Appendix I

Group Interview Guide

Preliminary materials

As interview begins:

review consent and rights of participant

set up and test the tape recorder and microphone

To start the interview:

I would like to begin by first thanking you for agreeing to participate in this interview. Please remember that you are welcome to leave the interview at any time as well as decline to answer questions during the course of this interview.

There are some practicalities to take care of before we begin our discussion. First, I want to check that you understand what consent means. Are there any questions?

At this point I would like to remind you that I will be taping this interview. This is necessary because over the course of an interview the discussion can become quite broad. Taping the discussion allows me the opportunity to focus all my attention on what you are saying rather than just taking notes. I want to reassure you that only I will know your identity and that a pseudonym will be given when we transcribe the interview.

During the next hour, I will be asking a series of questions. These will function as guidelines for our discussion. Please do not feel you are limited to responding solely to the questions I raise. You are welcome at any point during the interview to bring up for discussion any issues you feel are relevant or important to you.

I want to remind you that we are not here to find ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answers. Rather, we are interested in recording an array of perspectives and opinions. At no point will I judge you for what you say. My main purpose here is to talk about the process of creating your art piece or performance and the stories and experiences you want to convey.

Do you have any questions before we get started?

Interview

Start tape recording

PART A (PARTNERSHIPS):

So this first part of the interview is about building relationships. In order to work together, we had to get to know each other or in other words start building our team. Did you feel that we had a strong, balanced, cooperative team?

Did we focus enough on getting to know each other outside of the project?
Would this have helped to make it a smoother process?
How would you do it differently?
What worked and what didn't?

After we built our team and identified everyone's interests and established roles, we had to start sorting out the steps in the project that we would follow and the specific topics we would focus on. I brought certain guidelines to you guys but the intent was to have YOU guide the steps we would take and the tools that we would use. Was this possible?

Did you have the skills you needed?
What was confusing and what needed clarification?
Was it too loose or too structured?
Was it realistic to follow a detailed outline or plan?
How would you do it differently?
What worked and what didn't?

After setting up our plan you had to commit to coming each week to see it through to meet our goals.

What motivated you to keep coming?
What made it hard to get here?
What would have made it easier?

In order to accomplish the steps in a realistic timeframe, we had to create a consistent schedule.

Did we meet frequently enough?
Were 2 hours meetings too long or too short?
Were weekday evenings convenient?
Was the timeline too short or too long?
What time of year would be better?
Would you suggest having small milestones/goals to strive for more often along the way?

PART B (METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH):

Our intent was to use urban art to 'map' your personal journeys of the city. Do you think we succeeded?

What was the first step you took planning your project?
Did you refer to our city mapping discussion?
What story(ies) or experience(s) did you choose to highlight in your art piece or performance?
What symbols, images, setting, landmarks, places, spaces, people etc. did you decide to highlight or represent in your work? Why?
What materials, tools, equipment, images, song/lyrics, movements, methods or style etc. did you choose?

Did these make it easier to illustrate, depict, portray or to convey your story or get a message across?

What would you say is the underlying message being conveyed through your art piece, photos, dance, poems, or song? Can you summarize it into one sentence?

My painting, song, poem, photograph, dance was about _____.
(i.e.inaccessibility to transportation and criminalization of youth for using longboards or skateboards to get around the city).

PART C (ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION)

So the focus of this project wasn't just to describe your day to day life in the city (where you go, what you do there, why, who you hang out with etc) but to dig deeper at why your journey only spanned across a certain distance, or had certain destinations, or a certain path. What were some of the reasons why you were limited that we identified?

What were some of the sources of power, resistance, surveillance, and control that we identified?

What does a 'right to the city' mean to you?

Do you feel that the city recognizes that you have different and distinct needs?

How can adults better design a city that better accommodates youth?

Do you think you should be at the planning and decision-making table with them?

Why/why not?

Part D (KNOWLEDGE TRANSLATION & ACTION):

Finally, sharing your knowledge and experiences beyond the group is an extremely important part of taking political action on the issues you brought up to help make the city more equal. Do you think the event on May 17 provided you with the opportunity to do this?

What message did you want them to take away with them after presenting your art piece of performance?

What did you want to get across to them?

Did you think it was effective?

Do you think your work could make a difference?

Do you feel that it has created awareness about urban injustice experienced by youth?

Did it inspire other youth who attended the event?

Besides GAP, name some other areas in the city where you can 'speak out' about this issue?

Do you know of other active groups of youth doing similar work?

But of course change will not happen right away. What else can GAPAYAC to make a city that is more inclusive of youth? What supports and resources do you need to continue?

Do you want to continue to be an ambassador for a 'just' city that is inclusive of young people?

How will you do this?

If you look to the future, what do you hope to see GAPAYAC doing?
Do you think more people will join now? Why?

This brings us to the end of my set of prepared questions. Is there anything that you feel we have missed and should talk about? Is there anything you would like to add to the conversation we have had thus far?

I would like to end the interview by thanking you for sharing your insights with me. This has been an extremely informative conversation and it will be very helpful to us as we analyze this issue and work toward developing and refining our research project.

Transcript Verification

You have the option of reviewing and commenting on the transcripts from our discussion. I would like to re-emphasize that like everything that has been shared in the interview, these comments will remain confidential, meaning we will not associate your name or organization to any of the things you have said.

Thank You

Thank you again for participating in this interview. If you have any questions regarding this study, or questions regarding some of the issues we discussed, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Appendix J

Release of Creative Materials

Title of Study: Supporting Aboriginal youth 'ways of knowing': Engaging in creative-based inquiry to reveal Aboriginal youth's geographies of environmental health inequity

Funded By: Transmedia and Justice Research Group (TJRG), University of Manitoba

1) In addition to the researcher's study, I give permission for my art or performance piece to be used for (check all that apply):

- Other published papers on this topic
- Public presentations on this topic
- DO NOT use my photos for anything other than the research study

2) I give the researcher permission to use all of the materials I have produced except for:

3) I want to be identified by the following first name or nickname in any project reports or publications

In giving permission for the use of my art piece or performance beyond the current research, I have been offered the opportunity to view the art piece or performance and I understand that I may withdraw my permission for the use of the art piece or performance at any time. I am aware that the researchers will take steps to protect my privacy and confidentiality at all times.

Name of Participant

Name of person who obtained consent

Signature & Date

Signature & Date

The person who may be contacted about this research is:

Emily Skinner
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba
skinnere@cc.umanitoba.ca Phone: (204) 451-7254

Dr. Jeffrey Masuda,
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba
jeff_masuda@umanitoba.ca Phone: (204) 272-1643

Appendix K

Video Appearance Release Form

Title of Study: Supporting Aboriginal youth 'ways of knowing': Engaging in creative-based inquiry to reveal Aboriginal youth's geographies of environmental health inequity

Funded By: Transmedia and Justice Research Group (TJRG), University of Manitoba

I give permission to be filmed throughout the process of this research project and at the knowledge translation event. I give permission to the film maker and researcher to edit such recordings as they may desire, and incorporate such recordings into all materials that are developed as a result of this project. The film maker and researcher may use and authorize others to use this material in printed reports, screenings, festivals, educational programs, websites, and broadcast.

It is also understood that any such materials (video, film, photographs, audio, and any other media) will be used with the highest integrity and discretion, with the intent to communicate responsibly and ethically, the subject matter contained therein.

Name (please print) _____

Street
Address: _____

City, Province: _____

Postal Code: _____

Phone Number: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Parent / Guardian
Signature (if under 18): _____

Date: _____