DIGGING DEEPER: PHOTOVOICE AND YOUTH IDENTITY IN THE GARDEN

Samathryn Witham

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the School of Education (Culture, Curriculum and Change).

Chapel Hill
2012

Approved by: George Noblit

James Trier

Dorothy Holland

ABSTRACT

SAMATHRYN WITHAM: Digging Deeper: Photovoice and Youth Identity in the Garden
(under the direction of George Noblit)

This Photovoice study took place at an urban community garden over the course of a 10-week youth summer program. After a series of trainings about photography and media, teenage photographers were asked to document their experiences with food, generate a creative project with their images, and host an interactive exhibit for friends and family. The youth chose to speak back to food media by appropriating and flipping popular food media slogans to promote local food, defy stereotypes, and explore their identities as gardeners, multifaceted teenagers, and producers, not just consumers, of media.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Talking is teaching
Listening is learning
Education is sharing
Experience is a seed,
And even the bitterest seed will grow,
Culture is the fruit of common experience-
A common responsibility, and our common wealth.
If work is love made visible,
Then love is everywhere you look.
Kiko Denzer

"Why are you doing this project with us? I mean, what's in it for you?" – Quinton

"We were all seduced by similarity. We were all in a constant process of negotiating, engagement and critique." – Alice McIntyre, 1997 as quoted in Bauman p 205

PREFACE

Before I put forth some of the lessons learned through this community-based garden project, I find it important to locate and name my own presence in this process as a researcher. Having the power to choose the questions that others must answer, to select the pieces they must share, is a unique and uncomfortable position for me to occupy. I recognized the unequal nature of my relationship with the teenagers I worked with during my photography-based thesis research, and tried to minimize this power dynamic in many ways: I shared my camera with them, encouraged them to ask me questions at the

end of our interviews, played icebreaker and warm up games with the group, helped unload things from market truck, chopped vegetables, swept floors, and disclosed small details about myself to balance the volume of info they shared with me. Below, I share some excerpts from my field notes to illustrate these negotiations.

Today, the teens took photos of the intruding researcher (me) in order to let me know that I am not anonymous. They see me, they recognize my presence in this project. I interpreted this act to be an effort on their part to equalize the power dynamics at play between us. If I was to be allowed to take photos of them, they must in turn be allowed to take photos of me. I was struck and impressed by this power play on their part, especially so early in the project. I also, perhaps foolishly, took this to mean they were accepting me.

* * *

I allowed some of the "year-round" teens to use my camera today. They obviously felt proud to be given the "privilege" and they handled the camera with great care and respect. This was definitely an "equalizing" moment, as the youth were able to use the "nice" camera and not the "regular" ones. I think they "accepted" me a bit more today.

* * *

Today, at the end of the interview, I invited each teen to ask any questions about me they may have, since they had been so gracious as to answer all of mine. They seemed to like this "equalizer" and asked "safe" questions. Some include, "Why are you doing this project with us?" and "You are in college, right?

* * *

We took a group photo today – Kelly (the former Executive Director who was visiting for the day) took the photo and I was in it. That felt strange to me, and I asked her if I could take a second photo with her in it instead. She said she didn't need to be in the photo, but I did - because of my work with SEEDS/DIG. I still feel strangely about that since I am not part of DIG staff, and my "work" with this group is somewhat "selfish" as it is fitting my needs for a degree. I didn't choose to come here out of the "goodness of my heart"…

It is dangerous to think I know something about these teens just because we may have some things in common. It is also dangerous to think I know something about them because of the things we do not have in common. I was drawn to the opportunity to tell these teens' stories because as a group young people are often voiceless. It is a constant challenge to refrain from imposing my own experiences and worldview on theirs as I write. I must also make sure to avoid trying to fit their experiences neatly into theories. To protect against the possibility of using my words as theirs, in the pages that follow, I present their stories in narrative form, organized to highlight major themes in the data.

At the completion of this project, I had collected over 100 pages of interview transcripts, 20+ hours of audio from our training sessions, 1100 photos, a photo slideshow, extensive field notes, newsletters and other material artifacts, and the contents of my own memory. As illustrated later in this piece, the teens chose to create their own stories to speak back to what big media say about teen identity and food. I also strive to

present an unusual narrative, one that challenges the stereotypical urban teen story. I aim to show something different, something inspiring, something that speaks in contrast to what is seen in popular and news media about teenagers of color. I am cautious to not speak on behalf of these youth, but try instead to use their words to tell an uncommon story. I do not wish to objectify their "alternative" urban experiences, but merely shed light on another angle. To further illustrate my position in photography terms: rather than observe these youth from a powerful and distant high angle, one that looks down on them critically from above, I am choosing to fill the frame with their stories and bring their words and experiences to the forefront, bold and eye level. I came into this experience attempting to frame this project my own way, but their creative genius took over. Theirs are stories of engaged and experiential learning, of confidence building and open-mindedness.

I will tell this story delicately and with caution, aiming to exact the same level of care the teenage gardeners use to harvest fleshy tomatoes. My audience is these teens, and those who work with them. Peer education is a large part of what the youth learn to do, and I envision this piece helping in that important work. I know that the re-telling of this story creates a new narrative. I do not wish to try my hand at making claims about Truth, but wish to instead create a new truth, a multi-layered and slippery one that speaks through the many voices I will present to you in the pages that follow. I credit the teens with the partial telling of this story. The words are theirs, but the decisions are mine. What follows is my attempt to weave all of these stories together, a collage of complexity. After two months of sharing and learning, withholding and teaching, the teens are ready for their close ups.

CHAPTER I

PLACE, PARTICIPANTS AND PURPOSE

"It's kinda like a special place at SEEDS.
You kinda feel like a family after a while." – Vianey

Place

Brightly painted benches stud the perimeter of a large, sloping lot, bursting with bold flowers and emerging vegetation. This sprawling space boasts a koi pond, pavilion, and even a wood-fired kiln. A sturdy fence joined by an impressively large and artsy gate seems at first to protect this space – it does not act as barrier but rather a guardian. Compost bins are filled to the brim with decaying matter, recycling waste material into the lifeblood of the garden. A dozen varieties of birds flit around and share tastes of nectar with swarms of bees. This serene space is a retreat from the grittiness of real life, an oasis. Nestled amidst concrete and glass, this plush place pulses defiantly, beating life into what some consider a dying working-class neighborhood. Rustic hand-painted signs

welcome newcomers and label each garden bed. The spicy scent of basil hangs in the air and I remember my grandmother's garden.

This place is known as SEEDS, or South Eastern Efforts Developing Sustainable Spaces, a community garden located near downtown Durham, North Carolina. Much has been written about community gardens like this one. From community gardens being interpreted as white property or leisure space to being viewed as a "commons," or racial meeting ground (Shinew, Glover and Perry, 2004), existing research on community gardens is surprisingly vast. Some have examined community participation in local gardens as a function of improving social capital (Kingsley and Townsend, 2006). A number of studies have focused on garden participation and changes in youth food choices and consumption (Lautenschlager and Smith, 2007). Proponents of eco-literacy and environmental education tout the community garden as an ideal learning center for a hands-on approach to understanding sustainability (Morgan, Hamilton, Bentley and Myrie, 2009). Alice Waters' "Edible Schoolyard" initiative is working to encourage schools to adopt the community gardening model to improve students' access to fresh produce and to "green" the school cafeteria. In the spirit of Gibson-Graham's concept of "alternative economies," community gardens can function as a place of unconventional agricultural and economic possibility. Even the U.S. First Lady, Michelle Obama, has jumped on the community garden bandwagon. Her near-organic garden continues to make headlines as she uses it as a tool to change the way America eats. With such a variety of work on community gardens, it comes as a surprise that, at the time of this writing, there exists virtually no study exploring urban community gardening as experienced and articulated by teenage participants.

Participants

My curiosity about teens' stories about urban community gardening led me to a program at SEEDS community garden known as DIG, or Durham Inner-city Gardeners. This program began in 2000 as a way to get youth more involved with the garden. DIG employs teenagers, ages 14-17, to work in the Market Garden, plant and harvest crops, and sell their produce at the weekly Durham Farmer's Market. Many, though not all, of these youth are African American and Latino and most live within a few blocks of the garden site. The teens, 5 of which work with SEEDS year-round and 5 who are known as the Seasonal Crew, describe themselves in our interviews as outgoing, smart, curious, hardworking, respectful, and open-minded, among other traits. Many are new to SEEDS, with their first garden season experience occurring at the time of this study. Some are veterans, with several years of experience and many summer harvests under their belts. One teen, whose grandmother has a plot in the garden, has been involved in SEEDS for 13 years, since the inception of their youth programs.

At the time of this study, the DIG program was under the leadership of two co-coordinators, both people of color. Marco and Maria have been involved in food justice

efforts for many years, both in Durham and in other cities in the northeastern U.S. They share a commitment to addressing issues of food insecurity through urban farming, particularly in low-income minority neighborhoods. They believe that food education is an activist tool for improving awareness about the health concerns posed by conventional and processed food products. They are also invested in providing leadership training for the teens, with a focus on public speaking and decision-making. Their approach does not stem from a deficit model belief that urban teens need to be saved from bad food, but rather from a desire to encourage choices, leadership and change.

Both DIG staff members are Latino/a, and most of the teens who participate in this program are African American and Latino/a. All of the guest chef's and visitors I met each week were also people of color. In the day-to-day operations of the garden, this space was almost entirely composed of people of color. On the other hand, the board of directors who made the decisions on behalf of this non-profit was largely White. One particular board member, an elderly White woman, would visit occasionally, and would call out to the teens in Spanish as she arrived, asking for hugs and attention while interrupting their work. As I would later discover through an interview with staff, the racial politics at play in the relationship between board and staff caused some friction and discontent.

Purpose

Having grown up and later worked as a teacher in a northeastern metropolitan area, I am intrigued by this urban gardening phenomenon. My own lack of awareness of food security issues as a teenager stands in stark contrast to what I imagined DIG youth to be learning as they work in their local community garden. I imagined this youth-driven

garden environment to be one of casual learning opportunities, a place to make new friends and learn about the food system, and an underexplored site of possibility. Initially, I was intrigued with what goes on in this space. Why did teens agree to work here? Did they self-select to participate or were they encouraged to do so by parents or teachers? Did they view this opportunity as merely a summer job, or something more? What were they learning in the garden? Were their families involved with the garden? How could I also get involved?

What follows is my attempt to understand and share with others what I have experienced with the SEEDS teens. Chapter 2 details the challenges of gaining access and developing partnerships between representatives of the university and community groups, and introduces the methodological framework for this study. In Chapter 3, I highlight the teens' thoughts about critical consumption of food media, and their desire to produce a different type of advertisement that caters to healthy food and "real" teens. Chapter 4 explores issues of identity at play within the garden, and Chapter 5 closes with some reflections on Photovoice as used in this study.

CHAPTER II

ACCESS, COLLABORATION AND RESEARCH APPROACH

Access

Inspired to undertake a community-based project for my thesis, I approached the staff of DIG with the prospect of doing a collaborative photo-based project. I framed this proposed project as an extension of my desire to learn about whatever was going on in the garden - I was particularly interested in the *process* of using photography to get teens to tell stories. Initially, I considered the purpose of this qualitative study to be twofold. One purely academic purpose was to fill in the gaps between research done on community garden participation, youth and representation. The other goal was more rooted in my wish to engage with community-based youth participatory action research methodology. This qualitative study was intended to be collaborative and exploratory in nature, and it was important to me that my collaborator be involved in the decision making process of our research design.

The DIG staff made it clear that they were carefully vetting me before allowing me to interact with their program. Though I am a person of color with an urban, working class background, as a graduate student I represent a predominately White institution. Because of this, the staff engaged me with caution, even skepticism, at our initial meeting. They had many questions for me and were not shy about asking them. What was my purpose in doing this project? What did I think I would be learning from them? How much did I know about gardening? Did I live in Durham, or was I an outsider? What did I

think about food justice and race? Had I ever actually kept a garden before? What experience did I have with teens? What did I plan to do with the photos taken by teens? Why did I need to interview the youth individually? Who would read my final paper? This excerpt from my fieldnotes illustrates the level of caution with which Marco regarded my presence in the garden:

> *Marco made it clear that he has a pretty healthy distrust of researchers and anyone representing a university or outside "powerful" group, which I certainly respect. During our initial meeting, when I pitched the project, I made a point of telling both he and Maria that this project was intended to be collaborative, that I was interested in the process of giving youth cameras, and that I was not intending to "expose" any "problems" within the organization. He made it sound as though other researchers in the past came in with a more cynical or critical agenda, and he was weary of participating in another unbalanced and potentially exploitative relationship. He didn't explicitly state things like that verbatim, but his point was very clear. He intended to keep his distance from me until he decided my intentions were "to do no harm." If I can get him to agree to do an interview and if he can speak candidly about things, I will have achieved something wonderful as a novice researcher (fieldnotes, May 14, 2011).*

It was clear to me that I had to share their approach to food justice, race and education before I could enter and participate within their space.

Despite the careful questioning, Maria seemed to be enthusiastic about our potential collaboration. What struck me from our first conversation was how eager she was for this project to serve a political purpose. She emphasized the food justice agenda that was highlighted in the leadership trainings with teens, and wanted to be sure whatever we produced could be used in a way to encourage meaningful dialogue about access to healthy food for low-income populations of color. It was agreed that Maria, whose job description included the coordination of special programming for the DIG summer program, would be the one to work most closely with me, and Marco would continue his work as the garden manager and maintain his focus on planting and

harvesting. Marco remained cordial throughout the course of this project, but did not take part in the bulk of the collaborative process.

Collaboration

After tentatively agreeing to embark on this project collectively, my collaborator Maria and I had a series of conversations regarding how best to execute this collective endeavor. I quickly learned that community-based research is difficult. Maria, a Latina woman and long-time food justice advocate, had very particular ideas of what she wanted this project to accomplish and on the surface, and her goals differed from my own significantly. She had done media projects with other groups of teens in the past, and brought many ideas to the table. It became clear to me that she approached our work through a critical media literacy lens, though she did not use this term, and wanted the teens to gain a critical perspective of corporate food media and advertising that frequently targets teens. I wanted to give them cameras and see how they experienced life in the garden, how they learned about food, and how they were "becoming" gardeners. She wanted to talk about ingredients and marketing of junk food. I wanted to make sure the teens had a basic understanding of how to frame a shot so they would be equipped to tell poignant stories through their photos. She wanted to challenge corporate slogans; I wanted the teens to challenge perceptions of urban youth through the creation their own images.

I was very aware of a subtle power struggle occurring between us, and was sensitive to her attempts to control the content of this work. My field notes reflect that, at one point, I felt as though she was "appropriating my ideas and feeding them back to me with hers woven in, and with conditions. If I wanted to do X, I would also have to do Y

in order to get her full approval" (field notes, July 2, 2011). She seemed to be asserting her dominance as a gatekeeper, perhaps to protect what she may have perceived as her space and ensure that her own goals were met. I recognized this, and realized that I needed to bend a bit to truly be collaborative, but felt strongly about preserving the open and exploratory nature of this project. We struggled to conceive of how to structure the project to really flesh out issues of identity without being prescriptive and putting words in the mouths of teens. The two of us pushed against each other as we tweaked our approaches to accommodate the other, and entered cautiously into a symbiotic and supportive relationship. After much negotiation, we began to feel confident that in working together, we could each "get what we needed," a phrase Maria often used when reflecting on this process.

Research Approach

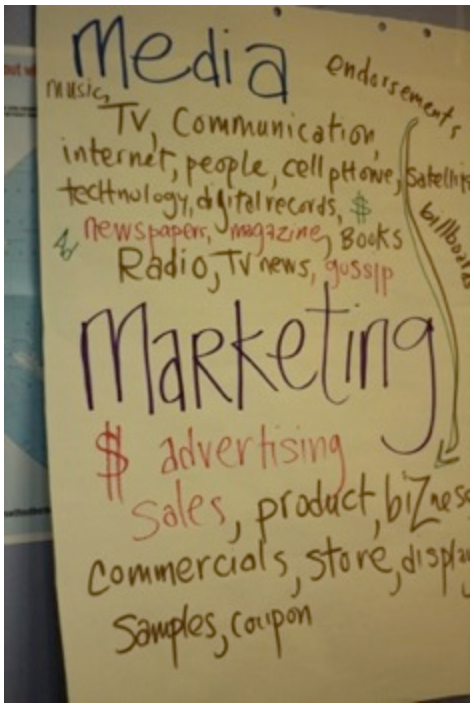
As part of our compromise, we agreed that I could act as a participant-observer over the course of the two-month summer program. I could work closely with the youth both as they worked in the garden, and in the preparation of meals; this allowed a great deal of informal interaction, which encouraged familiarity and comfort with each other. I would also be permitted to conduct a semi-structured interview with each of the teens at the end of our project. In exchange for this access, I would co-facilitate a critical media literacy project (described later), and help out with other tasks when needed. I would also coordinate an exhibit of our work at the end of the project. This felt like a fair arrangement for both parties.

Part of the goals of this project included the production of a youth-driven narrative that speaks back to dominant images of food media. Maria and I agreed that

Photovoice (Wang and Burris, 1997), a relatively new participatory approach to visual ethnography, would be an effective way to give teens creative and powerful tools to use as they challenged corporations. Photovoice is a method that puts cameras in the hands of unlikely researchers, in this case, urban teens, and allows them to photograph their surroundings and make decisions about what is important in the spaces they inhabit. Participants are trained in the use of a camera, sometimes disposable film cameras but more recently point-and-shoot digital cameras are used, and then invited to show the researchers their world through imagery. This collaborative method was adapted from the public health model to fit my needs as an educational researcher. I used Photovoice in tandem with more traditional ethnographic methods, including participant observation, interviews, and artifact collection. Our hope was that the words and photos of these urban youth gardeners would illuminate the various nuances of what takes place within this particular community garden while carving out a space for the voices and visions of unlikely teenage gardeners. We also intended for this project to benefit SEEDS and the Durham community by opening a communicative space in which all members of the garden could exchange ideas in dialogue with one another.

In an effort to support our multifaceted project goals, we decided to expose teens to skills' "trainings," a term Maria used regularly to refer to our sessions. Part of my role was to co-facilitate these trainings, which functioned as focus groups and were audio recorded. This format allowed youth to voice as a group their opinions on gardening as a site for learning in an informal and peer-supported manner. Our training schedule was as follows:

- **Marketing and Advertising 101:** Junk food ingredients and marketing approaches – what is big media telling you about food? How do big media corporations appeal to youth as consumers?
- **Marketing and Advertising 102:** What is and is not advertised? Why do we see advertisements for processed foods and not for whole foods? Why aren't there slogans for peppers?
- **Photography 101:** How do you frame a shot – what story are you telling? What story are you leaving out?
- **Photography 102:** The ethics of picture taking – getting permission, being thoughtful about how your image portrays a person or place.
- **Storytelling 101:** How can we tell our own stories? How can we speak back about all that we have learned?



Following these trainings, youth were given open-ended directives to photograph food issues in the garden, food issues within their communities and their own experiences and relationship with food (see appendix III, p. 54). Participants came together after each shoot and discussed their photos as a group. All discussion sessions were audio recorded, transcribed and coded. Through these discussions, themes emerged which shaped the future direction of our project. Rather than dictate which types of images are "good" or "bad," my primary interest was allowing youth to choose which images would represent

them, and their communities. Youth narrowed down their collected images, selecting those that most accurately reflected their experiences within this garden space. Youth responded to each other's selections and worked together to create a representative collection that was to be displayed to community members at the end of the project.

This multi-layered exploratory research design was selected to examine the ways in which participants' develop a critical awareness about media imagery as they participate in these trainings. Our efforts led to two different forms of expression, a photo exhibit and a media slogan photomontage, both with the hopes of fostering community dialogue.

As mentioned earlier, I also had the opportunity to conduct one semi-structured audio-recorded interview each youth. Initially, Maria shared with me her thoughts that my chosen questions were "not political enough" – I attempted to keep my questions open-ended to let the teens take the questions in whatever direction they wanted. Many of the teens initially tried to answer my questions "correctly" – they are "good" students and wanted to please me with "good" answers. One teen felt comfortable enough with me to tell me that he did not like one of my questions; he went on to helpfully suggest an

alternative. The following excerpt from my field notes sums up the awkwardness of the interview process for both the teens and for me:

> *I found myself trying to avoid looking down at my list of questions, because I felt like each time I did that it reminded the youth that they were being interviewed as opposed to just having a chat with an adult. Each time I looked at my list, youth would "straighten up" and their next answer would be more careful and calculated. By the third interview, I was more familiar with my own questions, so I needed to look at the list less. This led to a more natural sounding exchange between that teen and me. I also refrained from taking any notes during the interview because I wanted the teens to forget that they were with a researcher.*

In spite of my initial ineptness as an interviewer, quite a few youth openly offered spirited political responses. They had a very broad knowledge base on the politics of the local food movement, and a global sensitivity regarding food sovereignty. They knew a great deal about genetically modified seeds, CAFOs [Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations], growth hormones, unfair crop prices paid to farmers, farmer suicide in India, Monsanto and other monopolies, harmful effects of residual pesticides, and what they perceived to be the importance of supporting local alternative economic efforts. This knowledge shined through their photographs, and even more brightly through the photomontage they produced as a result of this project.

This project was not without its' problems. We suffered from damaged and forgotten cameras, lost computer files, frequent dead camera batteries, limited time to debrief and reflect, and the teens' favorite hindrance: rain. We also had to cram a relatively large project design into a mere 7 Saturday sessions. Teens were often out of town traveling to see family members, which meant we were always playing catch up. At one particularly dismal point, I was certain this project would fail miserably. My field notes reflect my frustration: "*We are supposed to showcase the youth projects for families and friends next week. We. Are. Not. Ready."*

CHAPTER III

CRITICAL MEDIA LITERACY, CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION

Critical Media Literacy

When conceptualizing this project, I was initially concerned with the use of photography to tell teens' stories. Maria and I agreed that a certain level of competency in understanding media must be achieved by the teens for maximum participation. To that end, we informally employed the tenets of Critical Media Literacy (CML) – we never discussed CML as being important in our work, and never used that term, but after doing some reading on CML it is clear to me that we operated within the realm of this approach.

I did not anticipate arriving at a media literacy goal, and did not plan for taking a critical media literacy approach to conducting or analyzing this study. Because this collaborative project took place outside of school and was conducted by a community member and a researcher, not by teachers, I will not refer to what we did as curriculum, but simply as a creative and critical project that included trainings, not lessons, in advertising, photography and other aspects of media. Before moving forward with presenting data and analysis, it would be helpful to situate this study within two popular frameworks for media literacy instruction, one resulting in critical consumption of existing media and the other in critical production of new media.

In Reading the Media (2007), Renee Hobbs puts forth the first empirical study to attempt to prove the value of media literacy within the realm of English literature instruction. Her study took place at a high school in Concord, New Hampshire and

focused on a particular course, English 11, which was offered at this school for over 9 years and by 18 different teachers. Much of the book is seemingly assessment-driven, and focuses on how media literacy can improve academic learning outcomes in a measurable way with an emphasis on improved test scores, student grades, and gains in reading comprehension.

Hobbs' work seems to be written for teachers, in that it highlights the academic benefits of a media literacy approach, which can often reach and inspire otherwise disengaged students. While she does encourage the use of media as a text (which itself could be considered progressive for some more traditional English teachers, particularly those with a penchant for the canonical "classics"), Hobbs work does not actively encourage teachers to push boundaries within their state-mandated curriculum. Instead, readers/teachers are given a results-driven formula for the proper way to bring media into the classroom. In short, in Hobbs view, media literacy instruction in the English classroom should enable students to become responsible and intelligent consumers of the media that surrounds them.

In Cultural Studies Goes to School (1994), David Buckingham and Julian Sefton-Green present a more student-centered, creative approach to using critical media literacy as a tool in the classroom. This approach is a more political one, with greater attention paid to the context of students' lives, especially in regards to race, class and gender.

The term "critical" is contested throughout this work; should the term be taken to mean a frame of mind or approach? The term "critical" also carries with it an assumption that students, in this case teenagers, are brainwashed and controlled by dominant forms of

media and need to be rescued from the clutches of popular culture, which many educators find to be a problematic depiction.

Through three case studies on youth-driven photography, hip hop and magazine projects, Buckingham and Sefton-Green illustrate the ways in which media literacy trainings can give students' the tools to deconstruct systems of power and privilege and create a space for themselves within them. They can learn by doing rather than by simply reading. Through the creation of their own forms of media, students can actively critique and speak back to discourses that do not include them or properly represent them. These case studies highlight the voices of students, give readers a glimpse of some of the many products produced as a result of media literacy coursework, and excite readers about the possibilities that exist for this kind of work with their own students.

Instead of focusing on how teachers can transmit a skill set to students, Buckingham and Sefton-Green make clear that their approach is more dialectic and dialogic. Throughout the media literacy process, teachers and students engage in many conversations as relative equals. The teacher should not pretend to be an expert, but should approach projects with an open mind as a learner. Learning should be viewed as a social process, participatory and collaborative, resulting in a co-created social production of meaning (Vygotsky, as quoted in Buckingham and Sefton-Green, 1997). Rather than reproduce the status quo, students should be encouraged to push boundaries and self-evaluate their work. Ideally, teachers of media literacy should engage in this reflective resistance as well.

The two stances presented here are in conversation with one another in that, in order to successfully implement an inclusive and robust media literacy program,

educators must embrace Hobbs' critical consumer approach before engaging with Buckingham and Sefton-Green's critical producer approach. In the paraphrased words of psychologist Vygotsky, learning must precede creating, knowledge must come before construction, and critical consumption must pave the way for critical production.

In the case of my study, my collaborator and I agreed the teens must have a certain understanding of advertising tactics, for instance, before they would be prepared to appropriate those techniques to speak back to media. We felt it was important to lay the groundwork through trainings about propaganda and persuasion, product consumption and profit. Only once the teens had a broad knowledge base to work from, a language to utilize, were they truly prepared to create new media in an informed and critical manner. In the data that follows, capital letters are used as synonyms for the names of the teenage participants.

Critical Consumption

Most of the teens I interviewed held some degree of skepticism about what types of products are marketed to young people. Many commented on a tactic often used to get youth interested in consumer products, the powerful pull of peer acceptance.

> Q: Teenagers is one of the biggest targets that food advertisement tries to hit besides kids. When you are going through your teenage years you want to do social stuff, what your friends are doing, and I think that's why the food advertisers believe that if they make stuff where it looks like your friends doing it, then you should do it too, one of those types of things.

Another teen went on to discuss other strategies that often encourage teens to become consumers, namely sex appeal and an appeal to ones' emotions. This teen went on to acknowledge what she considered to be the effectiveness of these corporate ploys in her own life and experiences.

> V: I knew that a lot of advertisements focus on getting us [teenagers] to buy what they want to sell, and they use different strategies to do so. So like, sex appeal and the appeal to the emotions, ethics and all of that good stuff, so they kind of use all different strategies to get customers to be like, "I want to get that!" I realized that I have done that before, you know, I watch this commercial and I am like, "Oh, that looks so good, I want to get it," and then you go out and get it. That's the point of commercials.

The teens also talked about becoming more aware of the ways companies use slogans to get consumers, in this case young people, to remember and subsequently purchase their products. After engaging in a competition to see which youth team could name the most slogans or jingles, one teen was struck by how many she could recall, even as she struggled to remember school-related content.

> S: I learned that companies use music and slogans to get you to remember their stuff. I didn't know I knew all of those things [slogans], but when you guys tested us on how many we knew, I knew a lot. I was like, darn, how did I know all of that? I can't even remember history or science class.

One youth reflected critically on what she recalled as a popular children's' game, noting how even something as seemingly innocent as a schoolyard game can function as a form of advertisement. She went on to give examples of how corporate food companies use mascots or animated characters to make their products more appealing to a young demographic.

> A: There's a kids' game, it talks about apple pie, French fries, Big Mac and everything. At first you think its' a kids game and then you realize it's a trick by McDonalds so you think about their stuff involuntarily and want to go get their food. So, even through kids' games they are putting marketing through to kids. I think that's why I think companies use NASCAR and stuff like Ronald McDonald or Lucky Charms, the leprechauns, or Cocoa Puffs, the bird, Fruity Pebbles with the Flintstones. Especially if you put Spongebob or Scooby Doo, kids are going to want their parents' to buy it.

The same teen went on to discuss how corporate branding and marketing permeates all aspects of society, from technology to groceries. She voices her frustration about how

corporations are not satisfied unless a consumer continues to spend money and purchase their products.

> A: Everything, like that computer (points to computer sitting between the two of us), right above the power button is a logo**.** Food too. There are advertisements on advertisements. I think it's crazy what they do now; they've started advertising on receipts. We went to the grocery store and on the back of the receipt there were coupons. They were like "Buy 1 get 1 free, once in a lifetime offer." I looked at my mom and she's like, "I know. We just spent money and they want us to spend more.

As the teens reflected on our media project, quite a few voiced a greater awareness about the ways in which corporations appeal to teens. They exercise a sense of personal agency as they come to realize their own ability to critically resist the messages they are bombarded with on a daily basis.

> T: I feel like my awareness about it is really high and it kind of stirs me into thinking, it changed my mindset about how I see different food ads. They use all this other stuff like humor and famous actors to sell stuff. I see it now.

This teen goes a bit further and talks about the role that personal choice plays in consumption:

> A: I think about it [marketing to teenagers] more. I think it has a lot to do influences and choices. Whether or not you do something, it's your choice but I think you need to realize that the choices you make will affect others later on. That's really important because if you throw food away or you use food wrongly, you put pesticides and insecticides, you're going to end up hurting someone.

Another teen elaborates:

> Q: I have learned to be more conscious and aware about where food comes from and have more respect for those who harvest it. Sometimes it's funny, I go to the grocery store and I start thinking about some movie we saw where it talks about advertising, like how Walmart, for example, they set up things in a certain way and there is a certain reason for everything. At first I guess I didn't think of that, like the colors they use or the characters they use on certain things. I just thought it was a product, and now knowing there is so much that goes into it, it's just like "wow."

Critical Production:

The teens talked a great deal about how current popular advertising is unfairly representative of corporate interests and rarely, if ever, gives a voice to smaller groups like SEEDS.

> V: It's messed up how much commercials cost, and it's so hard for local places like us, like SEEDS, to make a commercial 'cause it costs so much for every second, right. And then McDonalds, they have like a 30 second commercial, they have the money to do that. It costs a lot of money. It would be nice if we could advertise like a local farmers' market or something, like say, "Hey, go to the farmers market," and people don't even know what a farmers market is. So it's really messed up how big companies get to advertise bad food but there is no help for fresh food in the media.

One teen, quoted below, speaks for many of the teens I interviewed in stating his desire to create a different kind of advertisement, one that shows other teenagers about healthy food options, especially those choices that also support local food.

> T: For our project, we should do something different. A lot of people, when they see advertisements, they don't see any ads for healthy stuff. They just see stuff like McDonalds and stuff like that before you see any healthy ones.
>
> Interviewer: So you want to make a healthy advertisement as part of your project?
>
> T: Probably, yeah something like that, to change peoples' opinions about food. Like to show teenagers about healthy food. Like the stuff we grow here [at SEEDS].

The teens recognized their own agency as media-makers and were excited to take the tools they acquired through our trainings to resist corporate food advertising and create their own messages.

> V: I guess with what we are doing now in this project is learning to use advertisements for our own convenience, so it's not like the big corporations just

> using it for their convenience to get customers to buy their product. We are, like, turning it around and using this media project to show a regular little garden and advertising what we do and what we grow, so I think that's cool.

It is in this spirit that the teens produced a photomontage where they reclaimed slogans that were initially aimed at getting teens to buy junk food and recreated them to advertise whole foods produced in their garden. For example, they took the slogan for Skittles – "Taste the Rainbow" – and flipped it to instead show a rainbow-colored variety of produce from the garden, prompting viewers to "taste OUR rainbow." They repeated this concept with Burger King and their slogan "Have it Your Way," encouraging viewers to "Have it OUR Way," again with images of produce from the garden.

This exercise was important because it allowed the teens the opportunity to symbolically speak back to corporations that make decisions about food advertising and propagate unhealthy food choices to teens. They were able to create a narrative that pushed back against one-sided corporate agendas in a way that played to their strengths

as technologically savvy young people. The products of this media project are also significant in that they double as tools for the teens to use as they educate their peers.

Exhibit – Sharing Knowledge with the Community

As a culminating event, we decided as a group to host a photo exhibit and video screening at the end of the summer. To prepare for this, the teens worked in pairs to self-select 2 photos each for inclusion in a private showing for friends and family. I then interviewed each teen about their choices and encouraged them to create titles to showcase their art. Many of these titles seemed innocuous, but upon prompting, teens revealed explanations that were powerful and evocative. For example, one teen captured an image of himself holding a handful of soil and chose to name this particular shot, "Power in the Soil." He went on to explain that soil has the power to support the growth of food all by itself, whether human hands intervene in the process or not. Plant life can and will grow without our help, but when people commit to using their hands to assist in that process, they are contributing to something larger than themselves, something important and powerful.

Another teen took a photo of a store-bought Bundt cake and labeled it, “Sweet Temptation.” She went on to say that while she was aware of “better” food options that were “healthier” for her, she was tempted by the sweetness of the cake, and in fact, passed up an offer of salad for a large slice of cake. She also claimed to have eaten “most” of that cake by herself, and said she felt “guilty” afterwards.

The exhibit, which doubled as a finale celebration to close out the summer program, was complemented by a delightful home-cooked meal prepared by the teens. The event was well attended by families and community members. After listening to the teens describe the project, guests initiated a question and answer session that brought to the surface many issues relating to food justice and community. Specifically, guests asked questions about the teens’ personal fast food consumption after this program, GMO foods, potentially harmful ingredients in processed food like high-fructose corn syrup, TBHQ and other chemicals, leadership skills, and whether the teens intend to continue gardening now that the program had concluded.

The exhibit and the conversation that arose from it was a source of pride for both the teens and their families. This exchange between the teens and others was important

not only because it allowed teens the opportunity to illustrate their own lived experience, but such feedback served to validate the teens' unique expert knowledge as well.

In addition to encouraging the teens to critically view media and be aware of strategies used to market junk food to kids, this project and the exhibit that followed it encouraged them to share this knowledge with their families and community. The teens talked at length about the information they learned over the course of the summer program, but what was said in this public space was only a small part of their experiences. In my interviews with them, they expressed a wider range of thoughts about food, gardening, learning and identity. In this private space, the teens' told more personal stories, stories that highlighted their learning to garden, their becoming members of the SEEDS community, and their struggles within that space. I hope to highlight some of those struggles in the pages that follow.

CHAPTER IV

MESSY NEGOTIATIONS – FLUIDITY AND TEENAGE IDENTITY FORMATION

"I shouldn't be getting my hands dirty, I should work at the mall (laughs)." – V

When making decisions on how best to portray my experiences with SEEDS, I could not resist the pull of a second story, a narrative running alongside the edges of this Photovoice project. Over the course of my time with them, these teens were in the process of building their budding gardener identities, making changes to their diets, and supplementing their schooling through their participation in DIG. They were learning business and social skills, becoming comfortable with peer-education and trying their hand at cooking for themselves and others. All of these developments occurred for them in a world saturated with media images that tell them rather explicitly they "shouldn't be getting [their] hands dirty."

Throughout this project, the teens were taking part in a messy negotiation, one replete with internal and external struggles. Theirs are stories of multiplicity; among other things, they are both community gardeners and socially active teenagers who strive for peer acceptance. Deeper than their understanding of the role corporate media plays in food advertising is their understanding of how media works to shape teenage identity. Companies like McDonald's spend a great deal of money telling urban youth they should eat fast food and this will make them "cool." The DIG teens assert that they can critically resist these messages and create "cool" identities in the space of the garden. In the garden,

they can break free from the influence of media, and though various consumer product slogans are ingrained in the backs of their minds, they are free to reinvent themselves, to choose.

Our media project gave the youth various tools to employ as they continue negotiating these identities. It also provided a space for the teens to share with me stories and struggles they may not have been comfortable sharing with my collaborator, their program coordinator. When coding and analyzing the data from my interviews with them, I arrived at four major representative themes: Advertising and Teens; Peer Influences; Food Access; and Food Choices. In the pages that follow, I hope to illustrate and tease out some of the complexities that arose in the data through poetic transcription of the teens words coupled with my analysis at the end.

***Advertising and Teens:* "They think everybody's doing it, so they do it too..."**

I: I really don't think us teenagers are like the ones on TV.
I just think that advertisers try to make it seem
like this is the way it is supposed to,
they kind of play a psychological thing on teenagers where it's like,
"Oh, since they doing it on TV…" you know,
while you are growing up,
seeing all these advertisers.
It's already implanted in your mind…
without you exactly knowing how.
You think you're supposed to do the stuff advertisers tell you,
but you're
not really
supposed to do it.

II: I feel they [media] try to get our attention
and a lot of time it works because that's why they do it.
They know it works!
I guess…

…
teenagers are so focused on other things
that don't really matter in the long run,
like,
partying and having fun now,
and we not really worrying about the future.
I'm not saying,
you know…
I **do** party and whatever,
I guess I'm a little more conscious.

Also,
because of SEEDS and what I've learned here.
'Cause there's a lot of teenagers
that don't even care.
They are like,
"McDonalds,
let's go and get it for $1,
who cares?"

So yeah,
advertising kind of shapes
a lot of lives of teenagers
because they see one thing on TV
and they think
everybody's doing it
so they go out
and do it too.

III: People don't realize it.
One minute you are at the house,
just sitting,
watching TV,
and of course you see a food commercial.

Next thing you know,
you are buying it at the store.

We [teenagers] don't even realize that there are people sitting around,
putting their time towards trying to figure out
how to get people to go out and buy a pizza
or go to McDonalds.

They make everything look so good so you don't think
about the things you **don't** see.

You don't think about the workers,
you don't think about the animals,
you don't think about the environment,
just that pretty picture they paint in the advertisement about food.
You don't think about whatever else.

IV: Food advertising, I just think, it's not going to stop.
Us teenagers,
either way we think about it,
how good it is or how bad it is,
we're still going to want it.

In the back of our head,
there's something telling us that this is bad for us.
But then again,
sometimes we don't listen to that feeling in the back of our heads.
We just think that everything we eat is good.
We'll run it off,
or something like that.
But that doesn't always happen.
So I just think that teenagers,
as well as me,
food advertisement will always be here.
Us teens will always go to the fast food restaurants
and get what we need
to fix our hunger.

***Peer Influences:* "I still tell them I'm still cool."**

I: Well I guess
[gardening] is pretty unique
'cause most of my friends don't do it.
At first they were like
"Where do you work at?"
and I am like,
"The garden."

Then they would be like,
"Where is the garden?"
and I would be like,
"Shut up, don't ask me that (laughs)"
and now I don't care.
I am like "You should come, it's fun!"

I guess I learned to be a gardener.
Before

it was weird,
you know,
I am a teenager.

I shouldn't be getting my hands dirty,
I should work at the mall (laughs).

But now I like it.
I feel like working at a store
in the mall
with my friends
wasn't going to help me as much as being a
gardener…

some of them think I am ridiculous,
but I don't care,
I mean,
whatever.
I still tell them I'm still cool (laughter).

II: I tell a lot of my friends that I work in the garden
and they can't really believe it
because of how we be in the sun.

But I tell them it's kind of a fun job actually,
because you learn a lot more than what you do
when you are at a grocery store
or something like that
just sitting in front of a cash register all day
instead of
being out in the garden
and getting exercise while you are in the garden,
learning different stuff about what to do,
how to make your own garden
and all
this
other
stuff.

III: A lot of people at school
does not know about their food.
Like,
every lunch a Senior,
well, any person that has a car,
always leaves for lunch.

They always go to McDonalds and stuff.

I don't do that
'cause I don't have a car,
and, um, also they are not really educated about healthy food and healthy eating.
It's like…
they don't like vegetables,
they just probably like French fries.

IV: **Interviewer:** Do your friends and family go to the farmers market?

Not my friends,
but some of them do.

I see them sometimes,
but,
like,
only my rich friends,

but not my other friends.

My friends go to the store and,
you know,
the gas station.

Food Access: **"With fast food and grocery stores, I mean, it's like, 10 against 3."**

I: I guess in the community,
if I want to go get food,
sometimes it be,
like,
expensive
but sometimes that's why a lot of people go to places like McDonald's.

Sometimes I go there when I don't have enough [money].
If I have enough,
I go somewhere else,
somewhere more healthy.

II: With fast food and grocery stores,
I mean,
it's like, 10 against 3.

And people,
when they go out shopping or whatever,
they don't really want to cook
so they go buy fast food.
It's just more convenient,

I guess.

It's sad to see that in the community,
you know,
'cause it's not really any places available
with good,
healthy foods for the people…

But that's the society we are in right now.

III: **Interviewer:** Do your friends and family go to the farmers' market?

My mom buys fruits there…
not really.

And also,
I think it's because sometimes it's not as affordable as going to other places,
which is kind of a downfall.

But at the same time,
I see both sides of the picture.

I see why the prices are supposed to be this way,
you know,
what they are
because the work that the farmers put into it.
It is a lot.

But at the same time,
from,
like,
the customer's point of view,
some just can't afford that,

or there are other places that offer you basically the same thing
and for less.

So if you can't really afford it,

you are just going to go for what you can afford,
which sadly is not always the best,
most healthy thing
for you.

My family,
some of them goes to the farmers' market
but that's when they have more money.

Like some of my family members who have more money
can go to the farmers' market
and my mom goes sometimes,
but she…
um, the farmers' market is very
expensive
so…

it's not expensive,
I guess
you're paying for what you get,
which is organic,
and I guess
organic is too expensive for people who have to feed families
of 12 or 2 or 3

and so the grocery store
is like
our main source.

I try to bring food to the family,
like I am getting okra
and tomatoes
and some figs…
my mom loves figs.

IV: **Interviewer:** Can you tell me a about food in your life and your community?

Compared to lot of people that I have met,
I do eat
a lot of
home cooked meals.
I don't do a lot of fast food,
but in a way,
that's kind of like my culture,
traditionally in my house.

I remember when I was little
and in Mexico,
to go to a fast food restaurant
like McDonalds,
it was like a treat –
it's your birthday,
you're going to go there.

So for me,
it was never a
"go and eat there all the time"
kind of thing.

Now, when I do go out with my friends,
we usually just go and eat at
fast food restaurants.

But with my family,
my Aunt,
she cooks everyday,
so everyday is a different meal that she cooked
with vegetables you know.

She tries to put vegetables in everything
and makes it healthy
so
I guess that's a
good thing.

V: In my community,
there is not a lot of
like
good places
to be able to buy fruit and vegetables.

Around the grocery store,
there's like
5 fast food restaurants.
It's kind of like
irony.

Yeah, around my house you can find a lots of fast food restaurants
like McDonalds,
Hardy's,
Church's Chicken,

KFC,
all this Subway
and Chinese places,
but you can only find
one place
to buy vegetables…

VI: Well my mom tried to do a garden.
Umm hmm,
but something happened.

It was like ...
property difficulties,
like my other neighbors said,
"You are on my property…"

So she tried to make the garden seem like…
you can help out in the garden…
like
you could take some produce and stuff.

But no produce grew.

***Food choices:* "I still like it, I mean, I can't stop."**

I: I'm not always eating junk food,
but probably just like a couple of fattening foods.
I used to always eat Chinese,
or something like that.
But now I cut it down,
I don't eat chicken no more.
My last time was yesterday.

I don't eat no kind of greasy foods anymore either.
I just worry about my community
and myself too.

I still have cravings for it here and then,
but I think of what it could do to me,
along with what can the other greasy food do to me.
So with that,
I worry about that.

II: And
I mean
I guess
I have
like
a inside view of what they put in the food that we eat
but sometimes
I guess block it out
because
I guess

I like food that they cook [at fast food restaurants]
Because it's good.

But yeah,
I mean,
it's kind of disappointing though,
because,
I mean,
I don't' know,
it's unhealthy and dangerous.

I still like it,
I mean,
I can't stop.

I changed by
um
eating healthier foods
like when we we're here
and also when I'm at home,

but I kind of slip up
'cause I have a taste for fast food.

III: Growing up,
I know I ate a lot of fattening foods.
My grandma's soul food.

I used to eat home cooking a lot,
and McDonald's a lot.

Like 3, 2, 3,
sometimes 4 times a week.

But I don't really eat it now.

If you count Northgate Flamer [a fast food restaurant in a local mall].
Do you count Northgate? (umm hmm)

Well last time I had it was yesterday (we both laugh).

IV: I changed a lot.
I feel like when I was younger
I didn't really know who I was.
I feel like I was a follower a lot.

When I came to SEEDS,
I started to learn more
about myself
and I started to get more independent,
and I start realizing who I was.
I started doing things on my own,
not really depending on people.
And I lost a lot of weight changing from fast food to more local food.

Other than that,
nothing else really.

V: I was raised on fast food
because my mom was so busy
and sometimes she couldn't cook for me and my brother,
so we went to McDonalds and Burger King
and all of that stuff.

As I got older,
I don't eat fast food that much.

My brother, he loves it.

Now, I make my own dish,
vegetarian,
and I try to make dishes that my family would also like.

VI: Food is a whole system,
basically.
It's not just you getting it
from the grocery store
and to your house.
Food doesn't just pop into a grocery store.
There are a lot of people who work for it,
there is a lot of people treated unfairly for you to get it.
Food has to travel lot of miles.
People have to work for it.
A lot of people have to sacrifice for it.
I think it's ridiculous
how customers can go on
and buy things
that even the people who picked it
can't afford to buy.

It's just a whole system,
just like how I think about
the school system being a system or
the government being a system.
Now,
food is a system to me, also.

Conclusions:

These data poems illustrate, in their own voices, some of the challenges the teens face as they become gardeners in spaces that do not privilege that kind of activity. They talk about trying to be healthy eaters in households that did not necessarily support these efforts, promoting the joys of gardening to friends and family who are disinterested, attempting to resist the pull of fast food culture by avoiding the purchase and consumption of foods they knew to be unhealthy. Many teens talked about trying to "give up" certain foods - chicken, McDonalds, soda. Some discussed failing at these attempts, either because they lacked the willpower, support from home, or resources to seek out

alternatives. Additionally, these mostly low-income urban teens are working in space of leisure commonly reserved for the wealthy; though the teen's work at the local farmers' market, their families do not shop there. Though the teens know about the advertising tricks deployed to get them to buy into a fast food culture, they enjoy and consume fast food anyway.

The teens who took part in this project are not static beings. They are moving through the fluid process of social identification en route to becoming - becoming gardeners, becoming healthy eaters, becoming peer leaders, friends, cooks. In this process of creating these new identities, they are losing others. From participating in this project, and the summer program it was situated within, the teens emerged with new identities of difference and newly complicated relationships with their friends and family. Though many of the teens viewed themselves as gardeners and as media makers at the conclusion of this project, these identities may not be sustained as they return to their "real" lives and move through the world outside of SEEDS.

By working at SEEDS, the teens gradually joined a community of practice, one that values gardening, urban food production, and leadership. It is my hope that this project imparted a media literacy skill set to bolster the various skills the teens cultivated over the summer growing season. It is also my desire for these youth to go out into the world as leaders, change often, and plant SEEDS of inspiration wherever they tread.

CHAPTER V
REFLECTIONS ON METHOD AND LOOKING FORWARD

Photovoice is an asset to any researcher working with populations in a limited capacity (in only one specific setting) because if allows the researcher insight into the lived experiences of their participants outside of that controlled space. When cameras follow informants through their daily lives, watch their interactions with others, and peek into private spaces, the data collected by that lens can be wildly informative.

Additionally, Photovoice works as an equalizer for all participants, in that the skill required to frame and capture a shot with a camera is relatively easy for all to master. In the case of digital native teenagers in the age of camera phones and readily available technology, training young people in the use of this kind of tool is fairly straightforward. The teens did not need to possess a special set of skills and their parents did not need to spend money on special equipment. Cameras were freely provided by the researcher for all to use and take home, thereby ensuring fair access to participation in this study.

Another advantage of Photovoice is that the idea of using cameras to create their own imagery appealed to the teens, certainly more than my wanting to interview them. This desire to create is likely a large factor in their buy-in and acceptance of my proposed project. Also, our use of digital cameras provided instant gratification in exchange for their willingness to participate in the day's activities. Photos were immediately uploaded to a shared computer for the teens to see and share with each other. This was an exciting point in the day for the youth, and it kept them motivated throughout our trainings. In the midst of unrelated activities like sweeping or bringing produce back from the market

truck, the teens would often make comments to each other along the lines of, “I can’t wait to see your shots!” and “Wait until you see my stuff on the big screen!”

Like all researchers, I entered this project with my own assumptions intact. Before embarking on this journey, I read a great deal about community gardens and felt informed about the kinds of things I would see while conducting my study. Photovoice made sure to remind me that this project was not about me and what I wanted to or thought I would see; it was about the teens, and the world they see and experience both in the garden and in spaces outside. I could not control the direction of the project, or the outcome; through Photovoice, both the direction and outcome were at the discretion of the teens.

Depictions of urban teens in popular culture show stereotypical images of what it means to be a young person in our society. This project allowed the teens to take creative control and show me, their friends and family, and others a different side of themselves. Through Photovoice, they challenged popular assumptions about teenage identity and asserted their own perspectives on food and big media. They were able to showcase their talents, their communities’ assets, and their own knowledge in a youth-centered space that respected their collective creativity while pushing back on images they did not feel adequately represented them and their interests.

Many qualitative research studies are one-sided; the researcher gets the data they need to publish a paper and the participants usually get nothing in return for their stories. Photovoice makes it possible for researchers to give participants something in exchange for being cooperative. In the case of my study, the teens gained photography skills in how to frame a photo to convey a message, basic photo editing skills like how to crop and

rotate photos, and a language to discuss their new talent (terms like high angle, panoramic, extreme close-up shots). They were given a CD of all of their photos at the end of the study, in addition to getting to take home the printed photos from our exhibit. They were given something in exchange for all that they gave me, a barter of time and talent, perspective and stories, photos and language. These tangible and intangible benefits made the project seem fair, at least from my perspective, and hopefully also from theirs.

Perhaps most importantly, Photovoice encouraged lively and productive dialogue, both between the teens as they collectively evaluated their photos, and amongst the teens and their families at our end-of-project exhibit. In the photo discussions, the teens were able to speak as experts about the content of their photos, share ideas, and give constructive feedback to help their peers improve their shots. At the exhibit, conversations with friends and family gave the teens space to showcase all they had learned about food and gardening, as well as photography and media. This dialogue allowed the teens to feel empowered; it also affirmed for them that their knowledge is important and respected.

Photovoice also has its limitations. Aside from the issue of limited time, I have a number of qualms with the method. The first struggle for me was getting the teens to think critically about photography as a tool for expression. They would often take photos of each other or of flowers and vegetables in the garden. When prompted to talk about the significance of these kinds of photos, they would respond they took the shot because, "it looked cool." It took several conversations and a great deal of prompting before the teens

began to recognize the power of an image and learn to construct some that had messages behind them.

Another problem with Photovoice as a method of data collection is that photographic images are difficult to analyze, particularly without training in the arts. While the teens worked with my collaborator and I to acquire the same language as a starting point to discuss the photos, our lenses remained particular to each individual. Each of us valued different aspects of a photo (clarity, perspective, color, composition) and we saw a range of stories as well. This often led to miscommunication and disagreement about what a photo "really meant."

A particular challenge for me was sitting back and letting the teens make their own value judgments about their own and each others' work. For example, at one point, I saw immense potential in an image that a teen was about to delete from the computer. I asked them why they wanted to delete the image. Their reply was that it "didn't look good" and they deleted it before I could ask why. This was another way that Photovoice reminded me that this project was not about me, but was in the hands of the teens. Withholding my input and letting the teens choose their own photos for the exhibit meant the final images were not necessarily the "best" choices or told the "best" stories from my point of view. However, the choices were theirs to make. As Wang and Burris state, "all methodologies disclose as well as hide." Many of the teens chose to display images they took in the garden, rather than in their homes and neighborhoods. Through these decisions, the teens were able to keep private images private.

Some of the private images revealed deep poverty and hidden pains. One teen showed images of an empty cabinet with nothing on the shelves but a large container of

store-brand salt. Another teen took photos of their favorite meal, chicken strips with barbecue sauce and nothing else on a Styrofoam plate. A photo that stuck with me most clearly is one of a completely empty freezer, save for a box of novelty ice cream bars.

These teens are participants of a garden-based program that aims to teach middle-class values and middle-class eating habits, in addition to gardening and leadership skills. These photos highlighted the contradictions between what they are being taught to aspire towards and their lives outside of the garden. These photos also complicated for me the notion in qualitative research to "do no harm." In many ways, Photovoice can potentially do harm to those who engage with it by exposing to the world those private ails that many work hard to keep covered.

A last limitation lies in what could also be considered a strength - the notion that Photovoice is, in theory, a collaborative process. In spite of trying to design a project that gave back as much as it took, in research, things are never equal. While much of this project was co-designed with my collaborator and propelled forward by input from the

teens, in the end, the final decisions belong to me. The photos and words are theirs, but the editorial decisions and the re-telling are solely mine.

If Photovoice were the only method used in this study, I would have missed out on a wealth of information about the teens that only observations and interviews could reveal. The teens are polite students who generally follow the rules and behave in a certain disciplined way while in instructional settings. In our Photovoice trainings, the teens focused on the media discussions at hand and did not disclose much about themselves in the process. The one-on-one semi-structured interviews provided me the opportunity to ask questions about their participation in the program, experiences in school, and relationships with family and friends. I was able to learn something about how they see themselves as teens in a world that sees them in limited and restricting ways. I learned about their goals and ambitions, academic and personal strengths, and their struggles with food and identity both in the garden and in their lives outside. These things were not discussed in our Photovoice trainings.

Without utilizing traditional ethnographic approaches, particularly participant observation, I would not have become familiar to the teens. They would have seen me as an Outsider and likely been less willing to speak with me openly. Through participant observation, I was able to interact with them as they participated in team building and leadership exercises, I heard informal conversations about food and families while pulling weeds, and made small talk while washing dishes or chopping vegetables. Had I only used Photovoice, my study would have felt more like a "drive-by" than a substantial and careful undertaking.

If I had more time to revisit the recordings from our Photovoice trainings, I would first transcribe and open code each 2-hour session to figure out if there is more hiding in the transcripts than a transfer of technical knowledge from adult facilitators to the teens - I suspect there is. I would pay attention to whether the teens were regurgitating the material we presented or adding their own interpretations to what was taught. I would listen for the gaps and pauses, which may indicate a lack of understanding, an unwillingness to share an idea, or a powerful omission of information.

I would also take more time with the teens after each training to solicit their feedback about the content of the session and clarify what went well and what could be changed. I would involve the teens more in the shaping of the project by allowing them to decide what the content of the next training should be. I would also make sure to revisit sessions that perhaps did not go as smoothly as planned. Ideally, if given more time, I would engage in member checking and encourage the teens and my community collaborator to give feedback on what I wrote about them and their experiences.

In closing, Photovoice can add a great deal of depth to a more traditional ethnographic approach, particularly if a researcher has enough time and resources to do justice to the data they collect.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Tell me about yourself. Describe yourself to me.
2. What are the five things you like best about yourself?
3. Do you change at all depending on where you are? For example, are you different in the garden that at school or at home? How do you feel about that?
4. How do you feel when you are in the garden? At market?
5. What do you learn in the garden?
6. We talked a lot about media and food advertising in our trainings. How did you feel about food advertising before we started this project?
7. Tell me about the media you consume?
8. What did you learn about media in our trainings?
9. How do you feel about media and food messages?
10. Tell me about food in your life and your community.
11. Where do you learn about food?
12. What lessons have you learned about food?
13. How do you feel about food advertising after completing this project?
14. How do you see yourself as a gardener? Farmer?
15. Describe something that happened here at SEEDS that stands out in your memory as being important.
16. What are some of the most important things about SEEDS?
17. How have you changed since you started working in the garden?
18. What is your definition of success?
19. What are your goals for the future?

APPENDIX II

PHOTO DISCUSSION/FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

- Choose 5 of your favorite photos for group discussion.
- Each of you will be given up to 20 minutes to discuss your photos.

1. Tell me about each of these photos.
2. Why did you take this photo?
3. Tell me about how you framed this shot.
4. What do each of these photos say about who you are?
5. What do they say about food?
6. What do these mean to you?
7. Are there things or people or places you wanted to photograph, but couldn't? What are they? Why did you want to? Why didn't you?

APPENDIX III

DIG Photo Homework

We are giving you these cameras to take photos to tell us more about food and media in your lives. We would like you to spend some time over the next week taking photos – there are a few things we want you to take photos of, but the rest is up to you. We will discuss these photos as a group, so please select photos you don't mind sharing with everyone.

Checklist

- ☐ 4 photos about the garden/market
- ☐ 4 photos about food at home
- ☐ 4 photos about food in your community
- ☐ 4 photos about food advertising
- ☐ 4 photos of your choice

Please try to take a few photos everyday, instead of taking all 20 at one time. We want to see the many different things in your lives!

You will be given a CD of all of your photos in once this project is over as a thank-you for your hard work. Also, you will be able to choose photos to include in our photo exhibit here at SEEDS.

Thanks so much!

Samathryn and Maria

APPENDIX IV

THE UNIVERSITY
of NORTH CAROLINA
at CHAPEL HILL

Multimedia Permission

I give my permission for researchers from the School of Education at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (UNC-CH) to photograph my child interacting with one of the researchers or with other children. Resulting digital photographs may be used in print or electronic media (with open access on the web) as part of research presentations at scientific conferences or research articles in scientific journals. These photographs will also be displayed at a public photography exhibit and may be used by the SEEDS community garden on their website or as part of a permanent exhibit for the garden.

I understand that my child's name and identifiable information will NOT be part of these displays. The researchers will maintain control of the use of the photograph of your child—that is, these particular photographs will be used only by researchers for the reasons stated above.

Multimedia Permission for Minor

_____
Child's Name (*please print*)

_____ _____
Parent/Guardian's Name (*please print*) Parent/Guardian's Signature

_____ _____
Today's date Parent/Guardian's Telephone number

APPENDIX V

THE UNIVERSITY *of* NORTH CAROLINA *at* CHAPEL HILL

Multimedia Consent for Parent/Guardian

Background: I am doing a photography project as part of a research study about youth and community gardens. Youth will be given cameras and will be asked to take photos of things that are important to them. You may be approached by youth asking you to pose for a photograph.

Consent: I give my consent for researchers from the School of Education at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (UNC-CH) to photograph me interacting with one of the researchers or with children or staff from the garden. Resulting digital photographs may be used in print or electronic media (with open access on the web) as part of research presentations at scientific conferences or research articles in scientific journals. These photographs will also be displayed at a public photography exhibit and may be used by the SEEDS community garden on their website or as part of a permanent exhibit for the garden.

I understand that my name and identifiable information will NOT be part of these displays. The researchers will maintain control of the use of the photographs of you - that is, these particular photographs will be used only by researchers for the reasons stated above.

Please keep the second copy of this form for your own records. If you have any questions, please contact Samathryn Witham-Cleveland, at … or ***@email.unc.edu.

_____ _____

Parent/Guardian Name (*please print*) Parent/Guardian Signature

_____

Today's date

APPENDIX VI

THE UNIVERSITY *of* NORTH CAROLINA *at* CHAPEL HILL

Multimedia Consent for SEEDS Staff

Background: I am doing a photography project as part of a research study about youth and community gardens. Youth will be given cameras and will be asked to take photos of things that are important to them. You may be approached by youth asking you to pose for a photograph.

Consent: I give my consent for researchers from the School of Education at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (UNC-CH) to photograph me interacting with one of the researchers or with children, parents or other staff from the garden. Resulting digital photographs may be used in print or electronic media (with open access on the web) as part of research presentations at scientific conferences or research articles in scientific journals. These photographs will also be displayed at a public photography exhibit and may be used by the SEEDS community garden on their website or as part of a permanent exhibit for the garden.

I understand that my name and identifiable information will NOT be part of these displays. The researchers will maintain control of the use of the photographs of you - that is, these particular photographs will be used only by researchers for the reasons stated above.

Please keep the second copy of this form for your own records. If you have any questions, please contact Samathryn Witham-Cleveland, at … or ***@email.unc.edu.

_____ _____

SEEDS Staff Name (*please print*) SEEDS Staff Signature

_____

Today's date

APPENDIX VII

Script for Youth Photographers

To be used when approaching strangers for inclusion in Photovoice project.

Youth: "Hello, I am taking photos as part of a research project about community gardens. I would like to take a photo of you as part of my contribution to this study. This photo will be used in a public display and may also be published on scientific poster displays or journal articles. Would you be willing to allow me to take a photo of you?"

If yes:

"Thank you for your willingness to participate. Would you mind reading and signing this media release form?"

(get "Media Release for Public" form signed, take photo, show photo to subject to get approval)

"Thank you, again, for participating in our study. Have a good day!"

If no:

"I understand. Thank you for your time. Have a good day!"

REFERENCES

Akom, A.A., Cammarota, Julio., & Ginwright, Shawn. (2008). Youthtopias: Towards a New Paradigm of Critical Youth Studies. *Youth Media Reporter*, Issue 4, pp. 109- 129.

Alaimo, Katherine., Reischl, Thomas M., & Allen, Julie Ober.(2010). Community Gardening, Neighborhood Meetings, and Social Capital. *Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol.38, No. 4, 497-514.

Alvermann, Donna E., & Hagood, Margaret C. Critical Media Literacy: Research, Theory, and Practice in "New Times". *The Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 93, No. 3.

Amsden, Jackie., & VanWynsberghe, Rob. (2005). Community Mapping as a Research Tool with Youth. *Action Research,* Vol.3 (4): 357-381. DOI: 10.1177/1476750305058487

Arai, Susan.,& Kivel, Dana B.(2009). Critical Race Theory and Social Justice Perspectives on Whiteness, Difference(s) and (Anti) Racism: A Fourth Wave of Race Research in Leisure Studies. *Journal of Leisure Research,* Vol. 41, no.4, pp. 459-470

Backett-Milburn, Kathryn., Wills, Wendy et al. (2010). Food and Family Practices: Teenagers, Eating and Domestic Life in Differing Socio-Economic Circumstances. *Children's Geographies*, 8:3, 303-314.
DOI: 10.1080/14733285.2010.494882

Backett-Milburn, K. C., Wills, W. J., Roberts, Mei-Li,. & Lawton, J. (2010). Food, Eating and Taste: Parents' Perspectives on the Making of the Middle Class Teenager. Social Science & Medicine 71, pp. 1316-1323.

Baker, Lauren. (2004). Tending Cultural Landscapes and Food Citizenship in Toronto's Community Gardens. *Geographical Review,* Vol. 94, No. 3, People, Places & Gardens, pp. 305-325.

Biddle, Stuart J.H., Cameron, Noel., Gorely, Trish., & Marshall, Simon J.(2009).Temporal and Environmental patterns of Sedentary and Active Behaviors during Adolescents' Leisure Time *Int J. Behav. med* 16:278-286 DOI 10.1007/s12529-008-9028-y.

Bradley, Benjamin S., Deighton, Judith., & Selby, Jane. The 'Voices' Project: Capacity-building in Community Development for Youth at Risk. *Journal of Health Psychology*, Vol. 9 (2), pp. 197-212.

Bonaccorsi, G., Levi, M., Bassetti, A.,Sabatini,C., Comodo, N., & Lorini, C. (2010).Risk Perception about GMOS and Food Choices among Adolescents Attending Secondary

Schools: A Tuscan Case. Ital. J. Food Sci.No.3, Vol. 22

Cahill, Caitlin. (2007). Doing Research with Young People: Participatory Research and the Rituals of Collective Work. *Children's Geographies,* Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 297-312.

Cammarota, Julio. (2009-2010). The Cultural Organizing of Formal Praxis-Based Pedagogies: A Socio-Historical Approach to Participatory Action Research. *Social Justice*, Vol. 36, No. 4

Cammarota, Julio., & Romero, Augustine F. (2009). A Social Justice Epistemology and Pedagogy for Latina/o students: Transforming Public Education with Participatory Action Research. *New Direction for Youth Development,* No. 123, pp. 53- 65.

Cammarota, Julio., & Romero, Augustine. (2011). Participatory Action Research for High School Students: Transforming Policy, Practice, and the Personal With Social Justice Education. *Educational Policy* 25:488. DOI: 10.1177/0895904810361722

Carlson, Elisabeth D., Engebretson, Joan., & Chamberlain, Robert M. (2006). Photovoice as a Social Process of Critical Consciousness. *Qual Health Res*, 16: 836

Chio, Vanessa C.M., & Fandt, Patricia M. (2007). Photovoice in the Diversity Classroom: Engagement, Voice, and the "Eye/I" of the Camera. *Journal of Management Education* 31: 484 DOI: 10. 1177/1052562906288124.

Cobley, Paul., & Haeffner, Nick. (2009). Digital Cameras and Domestic Photography: Communication, Agency and Structure. *Visual Communication* 2009 8: 123. DOI: 10.1177/1470357209102110

Companion, Michele. Constriction in the Variety of Urban Food Pantry Donations by Private Individuals. *Journal of Urban Affairs,* Vol. 32, No. 5, pp. 633- 646.

Considine, David., Horton, Julie., & Moorman, Gary. (2009). Teaching and Reading the Millennial Generation through Media Literacy. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* 52(6), pp. 471-481 DOI: 10.1598/JAAL.52.6.2

Cooper, Elizabeth. (2005). What do we know about out-of-school youths? How participatory action research can work for young refugees in camps. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative Education*,Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 463-477.

Corrigan, Michelle P. (2010). Growing what you eat: Developing Community Gardens and Improving Food Security. Masters Thesis from The College of Arts and Sciences of Ohio University.

Cvetkovia, Branimir. (2009). Digging it: A Participatory Ethnography of the Experiences at a School Garden. University of South Florida. http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/1919
Dick, Bob. (2009). Action Research Literature 2006-2008: Themes and Trends. *Action*

Research 7: 423. DOI: 10.1177/1476750309350701

Dittmer, Allan. (2008). Sustain: A Journal of Environmental and Sustainability Issues. The Kentucky Institute for the Environment and Sustainable Development. Issue 18, spring/summer 2008.

Doherty, Kathleen Elizabeth. (2006). Mediating the Critiques of the alternative Agrifood Movement: Growing Power in Milwaukee. Master Thesis in Geography, The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Draper, Carrie.,& Freedman, Darcy. (2010). Review and Analysis of the Benefits, Purposes, and Motivations Associated with Community Gardening in the United States. *Journal of Community Practice,* 18: 4, 458-492. DOI: 10.1080/10705422.2010.519682

Drew, Sarah E., Duncan, Rony E., & Sawyer, Susan M. (2010). Visual Storytelling: A Beneficial but Challenging Methods for Health Research with Young People. *Qual Health res*, 20:1677

Duncan, Garret Albert. (2005). Black Youth, Identity, and Ethics. *Educational Theory*, Vol. 55, No. 1

Duncan, Garrett Albert., & McCoy, Henrika.(2007). Black Adolescent Racial Identity and Respectability. Washington University in St. Louis. *The Negro Educational Review,* Vol. 58, Nos. 1-2, Spring/Summer.

Duruz, Jean. (1991). Cuisine Nostalgie? Tourism's Romance with 'the Rural'. *Communal/Plural*,Vol. 7, No.1.

Dyment, Janet E., & Bell, Anne C. (2008). 'Our Garden is Colour Blind, Inclusive and Warm': Reflections on Green School Grounds and Social Inclusion. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*,Vol.12, No.2, pp.169-183.

Eksvard, Karin., & Rydberg, Torbjorn. (2010). Integrating Participatory Learning and Action Research and Systems Ecology: A Potential for Sustainable Agriculture Transitions. *Syst Pract Action Res*, 23:467-486. DOI: 10.1007/s11213-010-9172-6

Ferris, John., Norman, Carol., & Sempik, Joe. People, Land and Sustainability: Community Gardens and the Social Dimension of Sustainable Development. Social Policy & Administration Issn 0144-5596.35, No. 5, pp. 559-568.

Findholt, Nancy E., Michael, Yvonne L., & Davis, Melinda M. (2010). Photovoice Engages Rural Youth in childhood Obesity Prevention. *Public Health Nursing*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 186-192 DOI: 10.1111/j.1525-1446.2010.00895.x

Fine, Michelle. (2009). Postcards from Metro America: Reflections on Youth

Participatory Action Research for Urban Justice. *Urban Rev*, 41:1-6. DOI: 10.1007/s11256-008-0099-5

Fischler, Claude. (1988). Food, Self and Identity. *Social Science Information* 1988 27: 275 DOI: 10.1177/053901888027002005

Flachs, Andrew. (2010). Food For Thought: The Social Impact of Community Gardens in the Greater Cleveland Area. *Electronic Green Journal*,1(30).

Food Insecurity in the United States: Impact on Households with Children.(2010). *Congressional Digest,* www.congressionaldigestdebates.com

Foster-Fishman, P. G., Law, K. M., Lichty, L.F., & Auon, C. (2010). Youth ReACT for Social Change: A Method for Youth Participatory Action Research. *Am J Community Psychol*, 46:67-83. DOI: 10.1007/s10464-010-9316-y

Frey, Ada Freytes., & Cross, Cecilia. (2011). Overcoming Poor Youth Stigmatization and Invisibility Through Art: A Participatory Action Research Experience in Greater Buenos Aires. Action Research, 9:65. DOI: 10.1177/1476750310396951

Friedland, William H. New Ways of Working & Organization: Alternative Agrifood Movements and Agrifood Researchers. University of California, Santa Cruz.

Furman, Gail C., & Gruenewald, David A. (2004). Expanding the Landscape of Social Justice: A Critical Ecological Analysis. *Educational Administration Quarterly* 2004; 40; 47. DOI: 10.1177/0013161X03259142

Gainer, Jesse S. (2010). Critical Media Literacy in Middle School: Exploring the Politics of Representation. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* 53(5). DOI: 10.1598/JAAL.53.5.2, pp. 364-373.

Galletta, Anne., & Jones, Vanessa.(2010). "Why are you doing this?" Questions on Purpose, Structure, and Outcomes in Participatory Action Research Engaging Youth and Teacher Candidates. *Educational Studies,* 46: 337-357.

Garrett, Steven., & Feenstra, Gail. Growing A Community Food System. Washington State University & University of California Sustainable Agriculture, Research and Education Program. Davis, California.

Gibbs, Adrienne Samuels. (2010). Watering the Food Desert. *Ebony*. Johnson Publishing Company, Inc.

Gibson, Sarah. (2007). Food Mobilities: Traveling, Dwelling, and Eating Cultures. Space and Culture 2007 10:4 DOI: 10.1177/1206331206296756

Glover, Troy D. (2003). The Story of the Queen Anne Memorial Garden: Resisting a

Dominant Cultural Narrative. *Journal of Leisure Research,* Vol. 35, No.2, pp. 190-212.

Glover, Troy D. (2004). Social Capital in the Lived Experiences of Community Gardeners. *Leisure Sciences,* 26: 143-162. DOI: 10.1080/01490400490432064

Glover, Troy D., Parry, Diana C., & Shinew, Kimberly J. (2004). Leisure Spaces as Potential Sites for Interracial Interaction: Community Gardens in Urban Areas. *Journal of Leisure Research*,Vol. 36, No.3, pp. 336-355.

Glover, Troy D., Parry, Diana C., & Shinew, Kimberly J. (2005). Association, Sociability, and Civic Culture: The Democratic Effect of Community Gardening. *Leisure Science,* 27: 75-92.

Glover, Troy D., Parry, Diana C., & Shinew, Kimberly J. (2005). Building Relationships, Accessing Resources: Mobilizing Social Capital in Community Garden Contexts. *Journal of Leisure Research,* Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 450-474.

Gruenewald, David A. (2003). The Best of Both Worlds: A Critical Pedagogy of Place. *Educational Researcher* 2003; 32; 3. DOI: 10.3102/0013189X032004003

Gruenewald, David A. A Foucauldian Analysis of Environmental Education: Toward the Socioecological Challenge of the Earth Charter. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA.

Grugel, Annie H. (2009). Cultivating Bakhtin in the Garden: Children's Ecological Narratives on Becoming Community Gardeners. University of Wisconsin-Madison: Doctor of Philosophy dissertation.

Gunaratnam, Yasmin. (2001). Eating into Multiculturalism: Hospice Staff and Service Users talk Food, 'Race', Ethnicity, Culture and Identity. *Critical Social Policy* 2001 21: 287 DOI: 10.1177/026101830102100301

Guthman, Julie. (2008). Bringing Good Food to Others: Investigating the Subjects of Alternative Food Practice. *Cultural Geographies* 2008 15: 431-447.

Gyimothy, Szilvia., & Mykletun, Reidar J. (2009). Scary Food: Commodifying Culinary Heritage as Meal Adventures in Tourism. *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 15:259. DOI: 10.1177/1356766709104271

Hanna, Autumn K., & Oh, Pikai. (2000). Rethinking Urban Poverty: A Look at Community Gardens. *Bulletin of Science Technology & Society* 2000 20: 207. DOI: 10.1177/027046760002000308

Hoffman, August J., Morales Knight, Luis F., & Wallach, Julie. (2007). Gardening Activities, Education, and Self-Esteem: Learning Outside the Classroom. *Urban Education* 2007 42: 403. DOI: 10.1177/004285907304909
Holland, Leigh. (2004). Diversity and Connections in Community Gardens: A

Contribution to Local Sustainability. *Local Environment*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 285-305.

Holland, S., Renold, E., Ross, N. J., & Hillman, A. (2010). Power, Agency and Participatory Agendas: A Critical Exploration of Young People's Engagement in participative Qualitative Research. *Childhood* 17: 360. DOI: 10.1177/0907568210369310

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. (2010). Cultivating Questions for a Sociology of Gardens. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 2010 39: 498. DOI: 10.1177/0891241610376069

Horn Jr, Raymond A. (2003). Developing a Critical Awareness of the Hidden Curriculum through Media Literacy. *The Clearing House*, Vol.76, No. 6, pp. 298- 300.

Hupkens, C. L.H., Knibbe, R. A., Van Otterloo, A.H., & Drop, M.J. (1998). Class Differences in the Food Rules Mothers Impose on their Children: A Cross-National Study. *Soc. Sci. Med.* Vol. 47, No. 9, pp. 1331-1339.

Irizarry, Jason G. (2009). Reinvigorating Multicultural Education Through Youth Participatory Action Research. *Multicultural Perspectives,* 11(4), pp. 194-199.

Jensen, V., Kaiwai, H., McCreanor, T., & Barnes, H. M. (2006). 'Back off Ma this is our Project': Youth Photovoice Research in Clendon and Mangere. Whariki Research Group, Massey University

Kavoori, Anandam., & Matthews, Denise. Critical Media Pedagogy: Lessons from the Thinking Television Project. *Howard Journal of Communications,* pp. 99 -114.

Kellner, Douglas., & Share, Jeff. (2005). Toward Critical Media Literacy: Core Concepts, Debates, Organizations, and Policy. *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education,* Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 369-386.

Khanlou, N., & Peter, E. (2005). Participatory Action Research: Considerations for Ethical Review. *Social Science & Medicine* 60, 2333-2340.

Kiesling, Frances M., & Manning, Christie M. (2010). How green is your thumb? Environmental gardening identity and ecological gardening practices. Journal of Environmental Psychology 30, 315-327.

Kingsley, Johnathan Y., & Townsend, Mardie. (2006). 'Dig In' to Social Capital: Community Gardens as Mechanisms for Growing Urban Social Connectedness. *Urban Policy and Research*, Vol. 24, no. 4, 525-537.

Kinloch, Valerie. (2009). Literacy, Community, and Youth acts of Place- Making. *English Education,* Vol. 41, No. 4.

Kirshhner, Ben., Pozzoboni., & Jones Hannah. (2011). Learning How to Manage Bias: A

Case Study of Youth Participatory Action Research. *Applied Developmental Science*, 15:3, 140-155.

Kudryavtsev, Alex. (2008). Urban Environmental Education and Restoration: Nurturing Environmental Stewards in the Bronx. Pre-Dissertation Project final report: Department of Natural Resources, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.

Langhout, Regina Day., Rappaport Julian., & Simmons, Doretha. (2002). Integrating Community into the Classroom: Community Gardening, Community Involvement, and Project-Based Learning. *Urban Education* 2002 37:323. DOI: 10.1177/00485902037003002

Larsen, Kristian., & Gilliland, Jason. (2009). A Farmers' Market in a Food Desert: Evaluating Impacts on the Price and Availability of Healthy Food. *Health & Place* 15, 1158-1162.

Lautenschlager, Lauren., & Smith, Chery. (2006). Beliefs, Knowledge, and Values held by Inner-City Youth about Gardening, Nutrition, and Cooking. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 24:245-258. DOI 10.1007/s10460-006-9051-z.

Lesy, Michael. (2007). Visual Literacy. *The Journal of America History*, pp. 143-153.
Lockie, Stewart. (2009). Responsibility and Agency Within Alternative Food Networks: Assembling the "Citizen Consumer". Agric Hum Values 26: 193-201. DOI: 10.1007/s10460-008-9155-8

Macias, Thomas. Collective Action and Local Food Production in Burlington, Vermont: Confronting Globalization through Community-based Agriculture. Dept of Sociology, University of Vermont.

Macias, Thomas. (2008). Working Toward a Just, Equitable, and Local Food System: The Social Impact of Community-Bases Agriculture. *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol 89, No.5.

MacKinnon, Shauna. (2009). Building Capacity through Participatory Action Research: the State of the Inner-City Report Project. *Community Development Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 154-167.

Martinez, Miranda. (2009). Attack of the Butterfly Spirits: The Impact of Movement Framing by Community Garden Preservation Activists. *Social Movement Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 323-339.

Martusewicz, Rebecca A. (2008). Educating for "Collaborative Intelligence:" Revitalizing the Cultural and Ecological Commons in Detroit. Hampton Press.

Martusewicz, Rebecca., & Edmundson, Jeff. (2004). Social Foundations as Pedagogies of

Responsibility and Eco-Ethical Commitment. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Elrbaum Publishers, Inc.

McDonald, Mary G. (2009). Dialogues on Whiteness, Leisure and (Anti) Racism. *Journal of Leisure Research,* Vol. 41, No,1, pp. 5-21.

Mcintyre, Alice. (2006). Activist Research and Student Agency in Universities and Urban Communities. *Urban Education* 41: 628. DOI: 10.1177/0042085906292510.

Miller, Ethan. (2006). Other Economies are Possible! *Dollars & Sense*, pp. 11-26.
Miller, Mara. (1988). The Garden as Significant Form. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy,* New Series, vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 267-287.

Miskovic, Maya., & Hoop, Katrina. (2006). Action Research Meets Critical Pedagogy: Theory, Practice, and Reflection. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12: 269. DOI: 10.1177/1077800405284367

Montoya, Michael., & Kent, Erin E. (2011). Dialogical Action: Moving from Community-Base to Community-Driven Participatory Research. *Qual Health Res* 21: 1000 DOI: 10.1177/1049732311403500

Moore, Kesha S. (2005). What's Class got to do with it? Community Development and Racial Identity. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 437-451.

Morgan, S.C., Hamilton, S.L., Bentley, M.L,. & Myrie, S. (2009). Environmental Education in Botanic Gardens: Exploring Brooklyn Botanic Garden's Project Green Reach. *The Journal of Environmental Education,* Vol. 40, Iss.4, pp 35.

Mowatt, Rasul A.(2009). Notes From A Leisure Son: Expanding An Understanding of Whiteness in Leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, Vol. 41, No.4, pp. 511-528.

Nixon, Althea Scott. (2008). From their Own Voices: Understanding Youth Identity Play and Multimodal Literacy Practices through Digital Storytelling. University of California, Los Angeles: Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation.

Nolan- Abrahamian, Emma. (2009). Photography in the Field: Empowering Youth and Affecting Public Policy. *Youth Media Reporter,* Issue 1.

Nygreen, Kysa. (2009-2010). Critical Dilemmas in PAR: Toward a New Theory of Engaged Research for Social Change. *Social Justice,* Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 14-35

Ornelas, I. J., Amell, J., Tran, A.N., Royster, M., Armstrong-Brown, J., & Eng, E. (2009). Understanding African American Men's Perceptions of Racism, Male Gender Socialization, and Social Capital through Photovoice. *Qual Health Res*, 19: 552

Oswald, Laura.(2005). Race, Place, and Consumption: The Role of Urban Gardening in

the Construction of African American Identity and Community on the West Side of Chicago. *Advances in Consumer Research,* Vol. 32.

Ozer, Emily J. (2006). The Effects of School Gardens on Students and Schools: Conceptualization and Considerations for Maximizing Healthy Development. *Health Educ Behav 2007*; 34; 846. DOI: 10.1177/1090198106289002.

Ozer, Emily J., Ritterman, Miranda L., & Wanis, Maggie G. (2010). Participatory Action Research (PAR) in Middle School: Opportunities, Constraints, and Key Processes. *Am J Community Psychology* 46: 152-166. DOI: 10.1007/s10464-010-9335-8

Parker, Jessica Katherine. (2009). Integrating Digital Literacies into School-Based Learning: A Study of Media Production, Student Agency, and School Change. University of California, Berkeley: Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation.

Parry, Diana C., Glover Troy D., & Shinew, Kimberly J. (2005). 'Mary, Mary Quite Contrary, How does your Garden Grow? : Examining Gender Roles and Relations in Community Gardens. *Leisure Studies*, Vol. 24, No.2, 177-192.

Penuel, William R., & Freeman, Taneekah. (1997). Participatory Action in Youth Programming: A Theory in Use. *Child & Youth Care Forum*, 26 (3).

Perkins, D. F., Borden, L. M., Villarruel, F.A., Carlton-Hug, A., Stone, M.R., & Keith, J.G. (2007). Participation in Structured Youth Programs: Why Ethnic Minority Urban Youth Choose to Participate- or Not to Participate. Youth Society 2007 38:420. DOI: 10.1177/0044118X06295051

Poe, Tracy N. (1999).The Origins of Soul Food in Black Urban Identity: Chicago, 1915-1947. *American Studies International,* Vol. XXXVII, No.1

Polletta, Francesca., and Jasper, James M. (2001). Collective Identity and Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology,* Vol. 27, pp. 283-305.

Pothukuchi, Kameshwari. (2004). Community Food Assessment: A First Step in Planning for Community Food Security. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 23; 356 DOI: 10.1177/0739456X04264908

Pothukuchi, Kameshwari. (2004). Hortaliza: A Youth "Nutrition Garden" in Southwest Detroit. *Children, Youth and Environments* 14(2).

Prendergast, Sara.(2010). Community Gardens and Urban Agriculture: Reclaiming the Market Place. *Social Sciences Department, College of Liberal Arts, CPSU*

Rahm, Jrene.(2002). Emergent Learning Opportunities in an Inner-City Youth Gardening Program. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching,* Vol.39. No.2, pp. 164-184.
Rishbeth, Clare. (2004). Ethno-cultural Representation in the Urban Landscape. *Journal*

of Urban Design, Vol.9. No.3, 311-333.

Roberts, Nina S.(2009). Crossing the Color Line With a Different Perspective on Whiteness and (Anti) racism: A Response to Mary McDonald. *Journal of Leisure Research* Vol.41,No.4, pp.495-509.

Rodriguez, Louie F., & Brown, Tara M. (2009). From Voice to Agency: Guiding Principles for Participatory Action Research with Youth. *New Directions for Youth Development,* No. 123 DOI: 10.1002/yd.312

Royce, Sherer W., Parra-Medina, Deborah., & Messias, DeAnne H. (2006). Using Photovoice to Examine and Initiate Youth Empowerment in Community- Based Programs: A Picture of Process and Lessons Learned. *Californian Journal of Health Promotion,* Vol. 4, Issue 3, 80-91.

Sanchez, Patricia. (2009-2010). "In Between Oprah and Cristina": Urban Latina Youth Producing a Countertext with Participatory Action Research. Social Justice, Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 54-58.

Schell, K., Ferguson, A., Hamoline, R., Shea, J., & Thomas-Maclean, R. (2009). Photovoice as a Teaching Tool: Learning by doing with Visual Methods. *International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 340-353.

Semali, Ladi., & Hammett, Roberta. (1999). Critical Media Literacy: Content or Process? *The Review of Education/Pedagogy/Cultural Studies*, Vol. 20, No.4, pp. 365-384.

Semali, Ladislaus.(2003). Ways with Visual Languages: Making the Case for Critical Media Literacy. *The Clearing House*, Vol. 76, No. 6, pp. 271- 277.

Shields, Carolyn M. (1999). Learning from Students about Representation, Identity, and Community. *Educational Administration Quarterly* 1999 35: 106. DOI: 10.1177/00131619921968482

Simpson, Timothy. (2000). Sidewalks, Stores, and Stories: Narrative and Uses of Urban Space. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 2000 29: 682. DOI: 10.1177/089124100029006002.

Smith, L., Bratini, L., Chambers, D. A., Jensen, R.V., & Romero, L. (2010). Between Idealism and Reality: Meeting the Challenges of Participatory Action Research. *Action Research* 8: 407. DOI:10.1177/1476750310366043

Tan, Leon H.H., & Neo, Harvey. (2009). "Community in Bloom": local participation of Community Gardens in Urban Singapore. *Local Environment,* Vol.14. No.6, 529-539.

Teig, Ellen., Amulya, Joy & et al. (2009). Collective Efficacy in Denver, Colorado:

Strengthening Neighborhoods and Health through Community Gardens. *Health & Place*, 15, 1115-1122.

Thorp, Laurie. (2003). Voices from the Garden: A performance Ethography. *Qualitative Inquiry* 9: 312 DOI: 10.1177/1077800402250969.

Thorp, Laurie & Townsend, Christine. (2001). Agricultural Education in an Elementary School: An Ethnographic Study of a School Garden. 28th Annual National Agricultural Education Research Conference, pp 347-359.

Threadgold, Steven., & Nilan, Pam. (2009). Reflexivity of Contemporary Youth, Risk and Cultural Capital. *Current Sociology* 57: 47. DOI: 10.1177/0011392108097452

Torre, Marie Elena. (2009). Participatory Action Research and Critical Race Theory: Fueling Spaces for Nos-otras to Research. *Urban Rev*, 41: 106-120. DOI: 10.1007/s11256-008-0097-7

Torres, Myriam., & Mercado, Maria. The Need for Critical Media Literacy In Teacher Education Core Curricula. *Educational Studies*, pp. 260- 282.

Trier, James. (2006). Exemplary Introductory Critical Media Literacy Documentaries. *International Reading Association*, pp. 68-71. DOI: 10.1598/JAAL.50.1.7

Trier, James. (2006). Representation of Critical Media Literacy in the Film Pump Up the Volume. *International Reading Association,* pp. 622-625. DOI: 10.1598/JAAL.49.7.7

Turner, Kofi-Charu Nat. (2008). Multimodal Media Production in the Development of Multiliteracies. University of California, Berkeley: Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation.

Valentine, Gill. In-Corporations: Food, Bodies and Organizations. *Body and Society* Vol. 8, No.2

Valera, P., Gallin, J., Schuk, D., & Davis, N. (2009). "Trying to Eat Healthy": A Photovoice Study About Women's Access to Healthy Food in New York City. *Affilia* 2009 24: 300. DOI: 10.1177/0886109909337378

Van Sluys, Katie. Trying on and Trying Out: Participatory Action Research as a Tool for Literacy and Identity Work in Middle Grades Classrooms. *Am J Community Psychol* 46: 139-151. DOI: 10.1007/s10464-010-9319-8

Ver Ploeg, Michelle. (2010). Food Environment, Food Store Access, Consumer Behavior, and Diet. *The Magazine of Food, Farm & Resource Issues,* 3rd quarter 2010 25 (3).

Vickers, Valerie G. (2003). An Exploration of Ecological Identity: Education to Restore the Human/Earth Relationship. A Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Von Braun, Joachim. (2010). Food Insecurity, Hunger and Malnutrition: Necessary Policy and Technology Changes. New Biotechnology, Vol. 27, No. 5

Wakefield, S., Yeudall, F., Taron, C., Reynolds,J., & Skinner, A. (2007). Growing Urban Health: Community Gardening in South-East Toronto. *Health Promotion International,* Vol.22, No. 2. DOI:10.1093/heapro/dam001

Walker, Renee E., Keane, Christopher R., & Burke, Jessica G. (2010). Disparities and Access to Healthy Food in the United States: A review of Food Deserts Literature. *Health & Place* 16, 876-884.

Wang, Caroline C. (2011). Youth Participation in Photovoice as a Strategy for Community Change. Journal of Community Practice, 14: 1-2, 147-161.

Weigert, Andrew J. (1986). The Social Production of Identity: Metatheoretical Foundations. *The Sociological Quarterly,* Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 165-183

Whelan, A., Wrigley, N., Warm, D., & Cannings, E. (2002).Life in a 'Food Desert'. *Urban Studies,* Vol. 39, No. 11, 2083-2100.

Wilson, N., Dasho, S., Wallerstein, N., Wang, C.C., & Minkler, M. (2007). Engaging Young Adolescents in Social Action through Photovoice: The Youth Empowerment Strategies (YES!) Project. *The Journal of Early Adolescence* 27: 241. DOI: 10.1177/0272431606294834.

Winne, Mark. (2007). Replenishing Our Food. State Legislatures, September, 2007.
The Social Aspects of Food and Nutrition. *Journal of Human Nutrition and Dietetics*, 22, pp. 87-88

Wrigley, Neil., Warm, Daniel., & Margetts, Barrie. (2003). Deprivation, diet, and food-retail access: findings from the Leeds 'food deserts' study. *Environment and Planning A* 2003, Vol. 35, pp. 151-188.

Yang, Wayne K. (2009). Mathematics, Critical Literacy, and Youth Participatory Action Research. *New Directions for Youth Development,* No. 123. DOI: 10.1002/yd.317

Zenkov, Krisien., & Harmon, James. (2009). Picturing a Writing Process: Photovoice and Teaching Writing to Urban Youth. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 52(7).