

Inclusive cities and the experiences of racialized youth

By: Anjana Aery

Introduction

Urban planning and policies shape how we live, play and work, and can create communities and neighbourhoods that support us to thrive. However, not everyone feels they have a seat at the table when it comes to contributing and benefiting from their city. Many residents face significant barriers to feeling included in their community, such as having limited access to resources, a lack of opportunities to be involved or contribute to decision-making and facing discrimination. These structural barriers can limit their ability to fully participate in society and this, in turn, can have a negative impact on their well-being.¹

In many cities, racialized youth can often feel socially excluded and isolated; they may not have public spaces they can go to or adults they can turn to in times of need.² How do we build cities where racialized youth feel they belong? Building inclusive cities for all requires an understanding of how different community members, including racialized youth, experience their local neighbourhoods and cities and how this impacts the types of resources, supports and spaces they need.

Sense of Belonging, Inclusion and Health

Research evidence has demonstrated strong links between a sense of belonging and health and well-being.^{3,4} A strong sense of belonging or connection can influence one's sense of purpose and enhance coping when experiencing stress.⁵ In particular for youth a strong sense of belonging to the community can lead to improved mental health and well-being.⁶ A sense of belonging is often difficult to define but intuitively we have an understanding of what it means to us. In this paper, sense of belonging is focused on belonging to one's neighbourhood and city and defined as feeling part of a larger community and having social connections and ties with friends, neighbourhoods and community residents.

Belonging is not only important for an individual's health but also for the health of the community. A community with a strong sense of belonging has rich social support networks that can act as a source of support for individuals when facing adversity.⁷ Individuals who participate and engage in their communities feel more connected to their city and have a greater sense of belonging.⁸ With a strong sense of belonging, youth are better able to adapt when faced with challenges, less likely to get involved in violence and can form lasting positive relationships and connections in their neighbourhoods.⁹ As a result, they feel more invested in the future of their cities by giving back, remaining connected and finding opportunities to make their cities a better place.¹⁰ Facilitating supportive environments for belonging and addressing the systemic barriers that exclude the most marginalized youth can promote their inclusion and well-being.

Factors that contribute to belonging

The health research points to four key factors that can contribute to feeling a sense of belonging to one's community or local neighbourhood including: having access to quality social networks, social support in the community, active participation in social, cultural and recreational activities and involvement in local decision-making.^{11,12} These four factors have a clear connection to the role municipalities play in our lives. For instance, cities play a role in delivering programs and services that offer diverse activities for engagement and developing shared public spaces that become sites for building social networks and support in the community. Additionally, cities can create opportunities for residents to be involved in local decision-making. Figure 1 below describes the links between these four factors and sense of belonging. Each factor can contribute to belonging in one's local community.

Social Inclusion, Built Environment and Income

There are also higher level contextual factors that facilitate access to the four factors. These contextual factors include social inclusion, the built environment and income. Social inclusion has been defined many ways in the literature. According to the VicHealth Foundation social inclusion is about “being able to participate in and contribute to social life – in economic, social, psychological, and political terms.”¹³ For social inclusion one needs access to opportunities and personal capacity to get involved. A socially inclusive environment aims to be accessible and free from discrimination for different communities. Secondly, the built environment also influences one’s ability to participate in their community. One’s place or neighbourhood has implications for its perceived safety, the availability and quality of community resources and physical spaces, and proximity to activities and shared spaces in the community.¹⁴ Finally, income plays a major role in influencing participation in society. Individuals with lower income may have less access to education and better employment opportunities. This ultimately limits their ability to engage and contribute in society. An adequate income is needed to participate in many activities and opportunities and individuals with lower income may not have the time or resources to be involved in their communities.

Social inclusion, the built environment and income are interconnected and can facilitate supportive environments for the four factors that influence a sense of belonging. For example, individuals living in a lower income neighbourhood may face financial barriers to participating in recreational activities and have limited community infrastructure but community members may create communal spaces that improve the built environment and create opportunities for community members to come together and participate in activities. Cities can act as leaders and facilitators for opportunities to improve a sense of belonging to the community. However, many racialized communities face barriers to engaging and participating in the city.

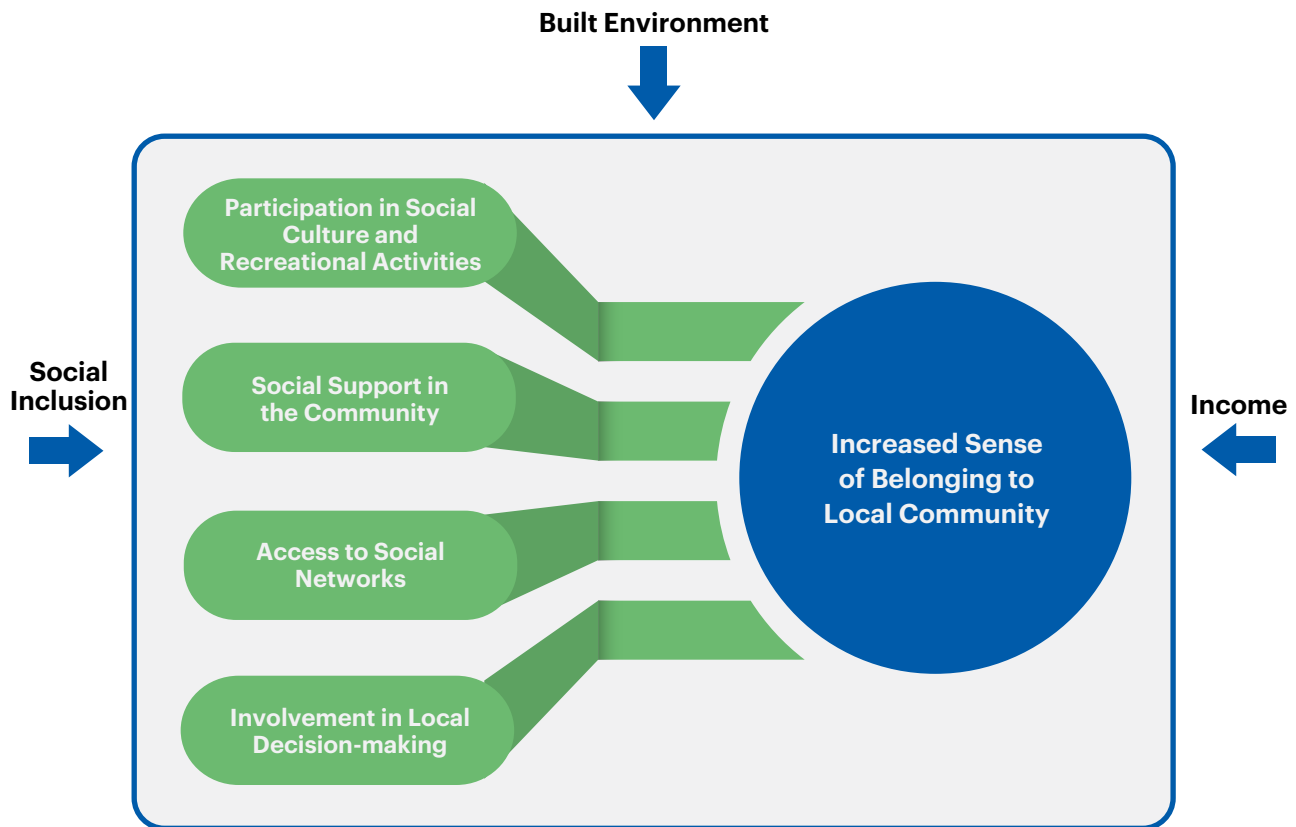


Figure 1 – Factors influencing sense of belonging to the local community

Racialized communities and exclusion

Racial diversity in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) continues to grow and now racialized individuals represent a growing proportion of many communities. In the GTA 48.8 per cent of the population identifies as a “visible minority.” In particular, cities in the GTA the rate is much higher such as 78 per cent in Markham, 73.3 per cent in Brampton, 57.2 per cent in Mississauga, and 51.5 per cent in Toronto.^{15,16} Racialized communities include a diverse population, encompassing a variety of ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds and unique histories in Canada. Racialized youth make up a growing proportion of our cities. If we take a closer look at the younger population in these cities, such as youth aged 15-24, then 81 per cent in Markham are racialized, 77.8 per cent in Brampton, 62.6 per cent in Mississauga and 61.2 per cent in Toronto.

Racialized populations are disproportionately impacted by poverty and exclusion.¹⁷ For example, racialized populations are more likely to be low income or work precarious or low wage jobs, especially racialized or recent immigrant women.¹⁸ Children in racialized families in Toronto are more than twice as likely to be living in poverty.¹⁹ Racialized populations often live in lower-income neighbourhoods with less access to resources and services.²⁰ The social exclusion experienced by racialized communities impacts their everyday experiences in the city.

Racialized youth may face significant barriers to factors that support a sense of belonging. Two key structural barriers that influence the experiences of racialized youth are social exclusion and spatial inequality. Persistent systemic exclusion undermines the ability of racialized youth to succeed and thrive leading to a lack of trust in institutions and powerlessness.²¹ Many racialized youth do not see themselves reflected in city issues and may feel excluded from their city and its opportunities.²² When mainstream sectors and programs do not meet the needs of racialized youth they can feel unsafe, unwelcome and unsupported. Additionally, the growing spatial inequality further marginalizes racialized youth when where they live, work and play lacks access to community infrastructure, public spaces and community-based services and supports.²³

Social exclusion experienced by racialized youth can lead to differential access to programs, services and shared spaces in their city. Their experiences in public spaces, navigating cultural and financial barriers and experiences of discrimination within the city can negatively impact their sense of belonging.

Racialized youth and public spaces

Some racialized youth feel unwelcome in public spaces in their cities, because of racial stereotypes. They find they are treated with suspicion or perceived as a threat to one’s safety. A 2015 study by United Way Peel found that Black youth in Peel were more likely to feel socially isolated and alienated. Participants reported experiencing discrimination in schools, the transit system, retail stores and by police.²⁴ One’s perception of safety and feeling welcome in the community is negatively impacted by experiences of discrimination. This can lead to feeling less social support in the community and less access to social networks.

Racialized youth from immigrant backgrounds often have to navigate their immigrant experiences and cultural heritage within the larger society.²⁵ For example they may feel discouraged or uncomfortable with practicing cultural traditions when it does not fit the norm and may as a result feel excluded. On the other hand, racialized youth who recently immigrated to Canada will experience different opportunities and challenges to integrating in society compared to racialized youth who grew up in Canada. The cultural background of racialized youth is a rich social and cultural asset that can enrich communities but is often framed as a barrier that needs to be overcome.²⁶ For example, a lack of culturally relevant services and supports can deter racialized youth from accessing mainstream organizations that provide recreation, arts, civic engagement and other programming.²⁷ Existing programs may also fail to consider the language needs of the youth they serve.

Additionally, given that racialized youth disproportionately live on low income, factors such as the timing of programs and services, accessibility and financial barriers can impact what racialized youth have access to. Financial barriers to participation in different social and recreational activities and may limit opportunities for meaningfully participating in their communities. In addition, youth may also have limited access to social networks where people are connected to influence or decision-making power.

Racialized youth and school

Racialized youth may also face differential treatment in settings such as in schools. For youth, school should be a safe space and an integral place for building community and fostering belonging. However, racialized students can face discrimination and racism that negatively impacts their education and well-being. A 2017 report, led by Dr. Carl James at York University, showed the differential treatment of Black youth in the Toronto District School Board (TDSB). For example, 48 per cent of the students expelled at the TDSB were Black, although they made up only 12 per cent of the total student population.²⁸ Black students were over twice as likely to be enrolled in applied programs and were more likely to be suspended at least once during high school. Facing suspensions and expulsions can lead students to drop out of school and continues a cycle of unemployment and exclusion.²⁹ In Ontario, Muslim students have faced Islamophobia, particularly young women who wear headscarves. In a report by Tessellate Institute, Muslim students describe a lack of awareness among teachers and peers about Islam and Muslims, as well feeling isolated and alienated.³⁰

Racialized youth and the workplace

In the workplace, persistent experiences of discrimination can lead racialized youth to leave employment or pose challenges in securing employment. A report by Civic Action on youth who face barriers to accessing employment revealed that many youth face racism and structural discrimination in the workplace.³¹ Lower expectations, negative stereotypes and biased recruiting and screening practices can unfairly exclude marginalized youth from the job market including racialized youth.

When racialized youth face systemic racism and discrimination in their day-to-day lives this can have long-term negative impacts on their health, well-being and ability to achieve to their potential. City-run services and programs such as libraries, youth drop-in centres and community centres have a role to play in creating welcoming and safe spaces for all youth. Cities can also champion the needs of racialized youth and advocating to tackle discriminatory practices in other sectors such as education and employment to promote social inclusion.

Spatial inequality is a growing challenge

In the GTA, racialized youth are disproportionately impacted by spatial inequality. Racialized populations are more likely to live in the inner and outer suburbs of Toronto.³² The majority of recent immigrants to the GTA also settle in the inner and outer suburbs where there may be more affordable housing available and large, existing networks from their ethnic communities.³³ These inner and outer suburbs of Toronto are more poorly resourced relative to the downtown core of Toronto.³⁴ The suburbs are increasingly lower-income and have lower employment opportunities and less access to social services. As a result, programs, services, and quality public spaces are often concentrated in the downtown core with less availability in the suburbs.

While the suburban communities outside the City of Toronto may appear to be middle-class and more affluent, recent census data demonstrates that in suburban regions such as Peel the majority of neighbourhoods are now low-income.³⁵ The financial barriers faced within these communities both increases the need for programming and resources and creates additional barriers to accessing them.

The exclusion, discrimination and spatial inequality faced by racialized youth are reproduced in how mainstream services are delivered. Racialized youth living in the suburbs may have less access to diverse arts, sports and cultural programming. Less resourced neighbourhoods have less access to opportunities for participation and different forms of civic engagement. Often youth who have access to meaningful roles in their school and community are those who already have a lot of social support and rich social networks.³⁶

Accessible and affordable transit is essential to connect youth to places in the community to build support networks outside home and participate in activities. However, many racialized youth who live in suburban neighbourhoods face challenges in accessing public transportation.³⁷ When transit is available, there may be limited transit access during off peak hours. As many racialized communities live on lower income they are more likely to rely on public transportation to get around. The availability of youth leadership and mentorship opportunities alone are not

sufficient without ensuring they are accessible to racialized youth who live in communities that are lower income and less transit friendly. Investment in public transportation in poorly resourced communities in the inner and outer suburbs can positively impact the inclusion of racialized youth. A lack of mobility should not limit the opportunities available to youth or prevent them from being connected to their city.

The negative stereotypes of particular neighbourhoods can also drive perceptions of lack of safety and increased presence of authorities. For example racialized youth living in the Jane and Finch neighbourhood of Toronto feel unfairly targeted by authorities and are impacted by the persistent negative stereotypes in the media.³⁸ There is a lack of safe public spaces in many suburban neighbourhoods. Many racialized youth living in suburban communities gather in spaces like malls with a lack of alternatives but when racialized youth do gather in public spaces they are often seen as loitering.³⁹ Public spaces are an important place for connecting with other people in the community and broadening social networks. Living in a neighbourhood with a lack of public spaces hinders the ability of racialized youth to participate and occupy space in their city. From an urban planning perspective, suburban spaces need to be reimagined and incorporate the views of racialized youth who may have the greatest need for safe public spaces and walkable, transit-friendly neighbourhoods but have less agency to influence decisions.

Mainstreaming equity to build inclusive communities

As the above makes clear, racialized youth often face barriers to participating and engaging in their communities. Existing programs and civic engagement opportunities do not always reflect their diverse needs. So how do we begin to address the needs of racialized youth in our cities and foster a sense of belonging?

As a starting point, when developing new strategies and programs to support vulnerable youth, it is important to adopt an equity lens and understand the differential impact and consequences on different communities. For example, the City of Ottawa has developed a handbook to help staff embed equity and inclusion in planning and program development that looks at needs of different population groups such as racialized people, women and people with disabilities.⁴⁰ Making cities more inclusive for racialized youth includes tailoring programs to meet diverse needs, supporting racialized youth in leading initiatives, creating meaningful opportunities for involvement in local decision-making and investing in community infrastructure that can promote access and participation.

Existing trainings and tools to engage with youth can be adapted to meet the diverse needs of racialized youth. Programs and youth groups that recognize the unique needs of racialized youth from different backgrounds can support tailored programming that will improve their belonging and connectedness to the community. Racialized youth may have a greater need for mentors in the community who are connected to strong social networks and require more supports to participate and engage in their community and feel like their voices are heard.⁴¹ At a programmatic level, mentorship programs ensure mentors reflect the diversity of their communities and are able to support racialized youth in participating and engaging with their communities in new ways.

Another approach is to provide support for grassroots youth-led initiatives. For example, Gashanti Unity – a Toronto-based program – provides a safe space for young Somali women to develop positive relationships, participate in leadership and mentoring programs, develop skills and build capacity through programming and leadership opportunities. The program is centred on the experiences of young Somali women, and the programming tackles issues such as racism, sexism, cultural alienation, Islamophobia, stress-management and responsible decision-making.⁴²

Racialized youth also need meaningful opportunities to be involved in local decision-making. They need to be able to define their own priorities for their neighbourhoods, cities and regions. The Toronto's Youth Equity Strategy, centred on youth who are vulnerable to serious violence or crime, is a good example of a city taking initiative to support the inclusion of vulnerable youth.⁴³ While the strategy prioritizes equity and inclusion, its initial goals were framed in terms of preventing violence and crime. It was through active participation of youth that many systemic issues were included as part of the strategy and it offered a more nuanced perspective on their lived experiences.

The term “vulnerable youth” is often used to describe youth from racialized backgrounds. We need to reframe this conversation and recognize the strengths of youth from different communities, backgrounds and parts of the city. Terms like “vulnerable youth” are stigmatizing and a more strengths-based approach to program planning and policy development is needed to tackle systemic barriers faced by youth. Municipal youth cabinets and youth advisory

committees are one mechanism for engaging youth in decision-making. Toronto's Youth Cabinet engages with diverse youth to increase their participation and engagement in the city and has established working groups on issues of key interest to youth including community safety, education, the budget, newcomer issues, equity and employment, transit and housing.⁴⁴ It is also essential to create alternative platforms for youth to have a voice in the future of their cities. The digital space and youth-led campaigns that advocate for city issues are avenues for engaging a wider range of racialized youth.

Finally, from a systems level perspective, investment in infrastructure that supports racialized youth in participating and engaging in their communities should be an essential part of inclusive city building. For instance, transportation can be a significant barrier for participation in social, cultural and recreational activities for racialized youth. Prioritizing investment in regional transit and making public transportation more accessible for communities living in the inner and outer suburbs can have a major impact on the lives of racialized youth. The lack of public spaces available to racialized youth depending on where they live can also be addressed through investment in hub spaces for youth.

To build inclusive communities, cities need to embed equity into decision-making. This calls for a change in how we design and deliver services, programs and policies. We know significant barriers exist for racialized youth that can prevent their engagement and participation in the community and cities have a major role to play in promoting their inclusion. The experiences and structural barriers that affect racialized youth call for a shared vision of how to foster belonging, so youth feel they are valued and accepted regardless of their background or circumstances. All youth, including racialized youth, play an integral role in the future of our cities and communities – their voices need to be included in city building.

References

- ¹ Galabuzi, G. E. (2004). Social exclusion. *Social determinants of health: Canadian perspectives*, 235-251.
- ² Shakya, Y. B., Khanlou, N., & Gonsalves, T. (2010). Determinants of mental health for newcomer youth: Policy and service implications. *Canadian Issues*, 98.
- ³ Shields, M. (2008). Community belonging and self-perceived health. *Health Reports*, 19(2), 51.
- ⁴ Kitchen, P., Williams, A., & Chowhan, J. (2012). Sense of community belonging and health in Canada: A regional analysis. *Social Indicators Research*, 107(1), 103-126.
- ⁵ CMHA Ontario. (2008). *Mental Health Promotion in Ontario: A Call to Action*. Retrieved from: <http://ontario.cmha.ca/documents/mental-health-promotion-in-ontario-a-call-to-action/>
- ⁶ UNICEF Canada. (2017). *What Children and Youth Say about Measuring their Well-being*. Pg. 7 Retrieved from: http://www.unicef.ca/sites/default/files/2017-08/UNICEF_Oneper cent20Youthper cent20Report.pdf
- ⁷ Public Health Agency of Canada. (2013). *What Makes Canadians Healthy or Unhealthy*. Retrieved 6 Nov 2017 from: <https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/health-promotion/population-health/what-determines-health/what-makes-canadians-healthy-unhealthy.html>
- ⁸ Community Health and Wellbeing. (nd). *The Belonging Guide: Exploring the importance of belonging to good health*. Retrieved from: http://communityhealthandwellbeing.org/resources/belonging_guide
- ⁹ Zeldin, S. (2004). Preventing youth violence through the promotion of community engagement and membership. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 32(5), 623-641.
- ¹⁰ Texas School Safety Centre. (2018). *The Positive Effects of Youth Community Engagement*. Retrieved from: <https://txssc.txstate.edu/topics/youth-leadership/articles/positive-effects-of-youth-engagement>
- ¹² Keleher & Armstrong. (2005). *Evidence-based mental health promotion resource*. Report for the Department of Human Services and VicHealth, Melbourne, Australia. Pg. 22 Retrieved 12 Oct 2017 from: <https://www2.health.vic.gov.au/about/publications/policiesandguidelines/Evidence-basedper cent20mentalper cent20healthper cent20promotionper cent20resourceper cent20per cent20entireper cent20resource>
- ¹³ Cacioppo, J. & Hawkey, L. (2003). Social isolation and health, with an emphasis on underlying mechanisms. *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 46,(3Suppl):S39-S52
- ¹⁴ Mental Health Coordinating Council of Australia. (2007). *Social Inclusion and its importance to mental health*. pg. 5. Retrieved from: <http://www.mhcc.org.au/media/5649/mhcc-social-inclusion.pdf>
- ¹⁵ Baum, F., & Palmer, C. (2002). 'Opportunity structures': urban landscape, social capital and health promotion in Australia. *Health promotion international*, 17(4), 351-361.
- ¹⁶ Statistics Canada. 2017. *Toronto [Census metropolitan area], Ontario and Ontario [Province] (table)*. Census Profile. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017. Retrieved from: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E>
- ¹⁷ Statistics Canada. (2016). *Visible minority (visible minority), both sexes, age (total), Canada, Ontario and census subdivisions (municipalities) with 5,000-plus population, 2016 Census - 25per cent Sample data*. Retrieved from: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/hltfst/imm/Table.cfm?Lang=E&T=44&SP=1&geo=35&vismin=2&age=1&sex=1>
- ¹⁸ Galabuzi, G. E. (2004). *Social exclusion. Social determinants of health: Canadian perspectives*, pg. 389
- ¹⁹ Block, S., Galabuzi, G. E., & Weiss, A. (2014). *The Colour Coded Labour Market By The Numbers*. pg. 5 Toronto, ON: Wellesley Institute. Retrieved from: <http://www.wellesleyinstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/The-Colour-Coded-Labour-Market-By-The-Numbers.pdf>
- ²⁰ Social Planning Toronto. (2017). *Unequal City: The Hidden Divide Among Toronto's Children and Youth*. pg. 10 Retrieved from: http://www.socialplanningtoronto.org/unequal_city_the_hidden_divide_among_toronto_s_children_and_youth
- ²¹ United Way Toronto and York Region & Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership. (2017). *The Opportunity Equation in the Greater Toronto Area: An update on neighbourhood income inequality and polarization*. pg. 26 Retrieved 6 Nov 2017 from: https://www.unitedwaytr.com/file/2017_Opportunity_Equation_Update_Low-Res.pdf
- ²² Galabuzi, G. E., & Teelucksingh, C. (2010). *Social Cohesion, Social Exclusion. Social Capital*. In *Region of Peel: Immigration Discussion Paper*. pg. 11-12. Toronto: Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
- ²³ Bernard, M. (2016). *Affirmative governmentality and the politics of youth inclusion: A critical analysis of youth voice and engagement in dominant political discourse in Ontario*. *Canadian Review of Social Policy*, (75), 113.
- ²⁴ Zaami, M. (2015). 'I fit the description': experiences of social and spatial exclusion among Ghanaian immigrant youth in the Jane and Finch neighbourhood of Toronto. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 47(3), 69-89.
- ²⁵ United Way Peel. (2015). *Fighting an Uphill Battle: Report on the Consultations into the Well-being of Black Youth in Peel Region*. pg. 20-21 Retrieved from: <http://www.unitedwaypeel.org/faces/images/fighting-an-uphill-battle-sm.pdf>
- ²⁶ Galanakis, M. (2016). *Public spaces for youth? the case of the Jane-Finch neighborhood in Toronto*. *Space and Culture*, 19(3), 208-223

- ²⁷ James, C. E., & Saul, R. (2007). Urban schooling in suburban contexts: Exploring the immigrant factor in urban education. In *International handbook of urban education*. pg. 845
- ²⁷ Anucha, U., Srikanthan, S., Siad-Togane, R. & Galabuzi, G.E. (2017). Doing Right Together for Black Youth: What We Learned from the Community Engagement Sessions for the Ontario Black Youth Action Plan. Youth Research and Evaluation eXchange (YouthREX). Toronto, ON pg. 68 Retrieved from: <http://exchange.youthrex.com/report/doing-right-together-per-centEFper-centBFper-centBCper-centEFper-centBFper-centBC-black-youth-what-we-learned-community-engagement-sessions-ontario>
- ²⁸ James, C.E. & Turner, T. (2017). *Towards Race Equity In Education: The Schooling of Black Students in the Greater Toronto Area*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: York University. Pg. 14 Retrieved from: <http://edu.yorku.ca/files/2017/04/Towards-Race-Equity-in-Education-April-2017.pdf>
- ²⁹ Government of Ontario. (2008). *The Review of the Roots of Youth Violence*. Queen's Printer for Ontario. Retrieved from: <http://www.children.gov.on.ca/htdocs/english/documents/youthandthelaw/rootsofyouthviolence-summary.pdf>
- ³⁰ Hindy, N. (2016). *Examining Islamophobia in Ontario Public Schools*. Tesellate Institute
- ³¹ Civic Action. (2014). *Escalator Jobs For Youth Facing Barriers*. pg. 6 Retrieved from: <http://www.civicaction.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/EscalatorReport2014.pdf>
- ³² Walks, R., & Bourne, L. S. (2006). Ghettos in Canada's cities? Racial segregation, ethnic enclaves and poverty concentration in Canadian urban areas. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, 50(3), 273-297.
- ³³ Murdie, R., & Ghosh, S. (2010). Does spatial concentration always mean a lack of integration? Exploring ethnic concentration and integration in Toronto. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(2), 293-311.
- ³⁴ Hulchanski, J. D. (2010). *The three cities within Toronto*. Toronto: Cities Centre. pg. 9 Retrieved from: <http://blog.phzh.ch/ontario/files/2013/05/Three-Cities-Within-Toronto-2010-Final.pdf>
- ³⁵ United Way Toronto and York Region & Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership. (2017). *The Opportunity Equation in the Greater Toronto Area: An update on neighbourhood income inequality and polarization*. pg. 26 Retrieved 6 Nov 2017 from: https://www.unitedwaytyr.com/file/2017_Opportunity_Equation_Update_Low-Res.pdf
- ³⁶ Whitlock, Janis. (2004). *Places to Be and Places to Belong: Youth Connectedness to School and Community*. p. 7 Retrieved from: <https://ecommons.cornell.edu/bitstream/handle/1813/19327/places.pdf;sequence=2>
- ³⁷ Hertel, S, Keil, R and Collens, M. (2016) *Next Stop Equity: Routes to fairer transit access in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area*, Chapter 4. Retrieved from: http://city.apps01.yorku.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Transit-Equity_Reduced_020216.pdf
- ³⁸ Zaami, M. (2015). 'I fit the description': experiences of social and spatial exclusion among Ghanaian immigrant youth in the Jane and Finch neighbourhood of Toronto. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 47(3), 69-89.
- ³⁹ Galanakis, M. (2016). Public spaces for youth? the case of the Jane-Finch neighborhood in Toronto. *Space and Culture*, 19(3), 208-223
- ⁴⁰ City of Ottawa (2018). *Equity and Inclusion Lens Handbook 2018*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cawi-ivtf.org/publications/equity-and-inclusion-lens-handbook-2018>
- ⁴¹ Stanton-Salazar, R. (1997). A social capital framework for understanding the socialization of racial minority children and youths. *Harvard educational review*, 67(1), 1-41.
- ⁴² Gashanti Unity (nd). About Retrieved from: <http://gashantiunity.ca/about/>
- ⁴³ Toronto Youth Equity Strategy. (2017). p. 8 Retrieved from: <https://www.toronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/9062-Attachment-1-TYES-Creative-Report.pdf>
- ⁴⁴ Toronto Youth Cabinet. (2017). Working Groups. Retrieved from: <http://thetyc.ca/groups/>