

**Policy And Physical Activity Programs: Understanding The Lived Experiences Of Fathers
In Vancouver's Downtown Eastside**

JESSICA WEBB

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School of Human Kinetics
Faculty of Health Sciences
University of Ottawa

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Abstract

The role of fatherhood in communities that experience marginalization is not well understood in academic literature. Further, there is little known about the implementation and evaluation of physical activity programs that are accessible and suitable for fathers who experience income instability, racial discrimination, precarious housing, gender discrimination, and domestic and/or sexualized violence. In this thesis, which is presented in the publishable paper format and is comprised of two papers, I sought to address these gaps. Informed by a constructionist epistemology and an intersectional poststructuralist theoretical framework, in the first paper, I used document analysis and Bacchi and Goodwin's (2016) "What's the problem represented to be approach" to investigate how fathers are represented in the program policies of organizations that provide family-centred services in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. In the second paper, guided by the methodological tenets of community-based participatory research, I used semi-structured interviews and critical discourse analysis to better understand how men's lived experiences as fathers in the Downtown Eastside shaped their participation in Make a Move: Family Walking Program. Taken together, the findings from both papers provide insight into the lived experiences of fathers and the roles that policy and physical activity play in shaping fatherhood in the Downtown Eastside.

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Finally, to the fathers who trusted me with their call to action, I hope this project did you justice.

Dedication

To my own father, Joe, who overcame many obstacles and conquered his goals with unparalleled conviction, courage, and drive, and to my mother, Lynn, who not only inspired my passion for physical activity but also the embodiment of compassion and nurturing, I dedicate this work to you.

Chapter One: Introduction

The experience of marginalization is defined as being denied access to rights and opportunities on the basis of their gender, race, culture, and/or economic status (Hall et al., 1994). Individuals who live in marginalizing conditions are at greater risk of physical inactivity and also face a myriad of barriers in accessing physical activity (PA) programs (Black & Veenstra, 2011; Pan et al., 2009; Ponc et al., 2011). This is notable because the benefits of PA could be meaningful for people who experience marginalization, as they are known to have decreased health status and experience a wide range of physical and mental health challenges (Chasey et al., 2009). There is little known about the implementation and evaluation of PA programs that are accessible and suitable for families living in marginalizing circumstances—particularly ones that are available to fathers.

Located on the traditional and unceded territory of the Səlílwətaʔ/Selilwítlh (Tsleil-Waututh), the xʷməθkwəyəm (Musqueam), the Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish) and the Stó:lō Nations, the Downtown Eastside (DTES) of Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, is often considered one of the most marginalized neighbourhoods in North America (Jozaghi et al., 2016). Historically, there has always been challenges with substance use and mental health in this neighbourhood (Jozaghi et al., 2016; Newnham, 2005). As one of the oldest neighbourhoods in Vancouver, the history of the DTES offers some important context that has shaped the experiences of fathers who live and access services in this community. Hasson and Levy (1994) reported that in 1965 there were twenty-six beer parlours and two liquor stores within a 40-50 block radius. In the 1970s, the Riverside psychiatric facility closed with no continuum of care for the patients who had been discharged and with no other community to accept them. Many former clients found resources in the DTES (Ivsins et al., 2019).

Today, community members have reported high rates of mental illness, substance use, criminalization, and child apprehension (City of Vancouver, 2019). As a result, the DTES hosts

numerous organizations that provide resources such as food and support for individuals who are at a greater risk to health inequities such as women, children and youth, houseless people, people who identify as LGBTQI, sex workers, people with disabilities, and people who use substances (City of Vancouver, 2019). Indigenous people are also overrepresented in this community compared with other areas of the city (City of Vancouver, 2019). While the neighbourhood is known for its robust sense of community, it can be dangerous as well, particularly for members of more marginalized groups (Newnham, 2005). In 2018, 16% of reported sexual assaults in Vancouver occurred in the DTES, an area with only 3% of Vancouver's population (City of Vancouver, 2019). In the DTES there are numerous support programs for mothers, but there is a lack of family-centred programs that recognize the wellness of fathers as being important to the family unit (Darroch et al., under review-a).

I consider myself fortunate to have worked at several different organizations in the DTES from 2013-2019. During the time I spent supporting women and children, I witnessed the challenges that mothers, fathers, and children faced when program mandates and policies did not include fathers. In my experience, many families unfortunately experienced homelessness, a return to substance use, and child apprehension because fathers who wanted to grow and be with their families were systematically excluded from services. Further, I also understood the challenges that a lack of positive role models for fathers caused and saw potential for fathers to improve their sense of community by connecting with other fathers who had endured similar situations.

In 2017, while working for the YWCA Crabtree Corner resource centre for women, children, and families, I became a community partner in a community-based participatory research study with the University of British Columbia (UBC). Led by Dr. Francine Darroch, then a postdoctoral fellow at UBC, our team explored the applicability of trauma- and violence-

informed PA programs for pregnant and parenting women who were living and/or accessing services in the DTES. During the first year of the project, we conducted key informant interviews with service providers, focus groups with community members, and developed a community advisory board (CAB) to determine the women's needs and desires for participating in physical activity. From these findings, Taking Steps: Warrior Women's Wellness ("Taking Steps") was born. Comprised of a weekly walking group and monthly introductions to various physical activities (Darroch et al., under review-b), Taking Steps was implemented in tandem with evaluations that included baseline, three-month, six-month, and one-year semi-structured interviews. A visual timeline of this work is provided in Appendix C of this thesis.

In the very early stages of the research, the majority of the participants stated that they felt more comfortable in a women's-only group. As the program progressed, a number of the women expressed that they wished their male partners could attend alongside them or have a fathers' walking program. Around this time, Dr. Darroch began a separate project exploring the role of fathers in mothers' well-being in the DTES. Focus groups with women and men, as well as interviews with service providers in the community, highlighted a number of challenges to supporting fathers in the DTES and a desire for programming that was accessible for the whole family – including fathers (Darroch et al., under review-a). After sharing the research findings with the advisory board, we decided to apply for the UBC Community Engagement Partnership Fund, and I received \$1,500 to initiate Make a Move (MAM).

MAM was a six-week pilot program that offered a weekly-walking group for mothers, fathers, and children who accessed services at YWCA's Crabtree Corner. I recruited nine men to participate in semi-structured interviews before and after the program. The program began in June 2019 and ran for six weeks. The funding enabled us to purchase twenty pairs of running shoes (\$1,000), gift cards (\$200), and food (\$300) for the participants. Based on the

recommendations of the community advisory board (CAB), the program ran on Tuesday evenings from 4:30-6:00 pm. Each group started with a light meal or snack before heading out to one of three walking routes: Strathcona Park, Crab Park, or Science World. Participants were also given a ten-dollar gift card for every three times they came. MAM was well-received, and participation numbers were greater than any of the women-only walking groups we held. My participation in this research led me to pursue it, as well as to further investigate the role policies played in providing services for fathers on the DTES, as my Masters' of Arts research.

In the research described in this thesis, I sought to address the challenges that I had seen first-hand and create opportunities for fathers that had not existed before by exploring the ways in which dominant discourses of masculinity contribute to the representation of fathers in DTES family-centred organizations' program policies, their lived experiences as fathers in the DTES, and their participation in MAM. For the first paper, I investigated the research question, "How are fathers represented in the program policies of organizations that provide family-centred services in the DTES?" In my second paper, I addressed the research question, "How did men's lived experiences as fathers shape their participation in MAM?" Through this thesis, I make an important contribution to understanding how policies shape fatherhood in marginalized communities and how fathers' lived experiences in a community that is marginalized shape their participation in PA.

Literature Review

In the following section, I define and explain the barriers to PA in communities that experience marginalization. Subsequently, I examine the unique challenges that marginalized fathers face as they relate to masculinity and access to resources. Finally, I describe the difficulties of identifying and participating in programs for fathers.

Physical Activity in Marginalized Communities

The benefits of regular PA engagement are well documented in the literature (Reiner et al., 2013; Warburton et al., 2006), whereas recognition of the systemic and structural barriers that keep PA from being equally accessible are less commonplace (Ponic et al., 2011). Additionally, people who endure marginalizing conditions often experience poor health status and face increased mental health challenges (Chasey et al., 2009). Arguably, these individuals have the most to gain from experiencing the benefits of physical activity, yet barriers like space, time, finances, and support have resulted in high rates of physical inactivity amongst marginalized populations (Black & Veenstra, 2011). There have been a number of studies that have explored the barriers that women and mothers who experience marginalization face when accessing PA (Darroch et al., in review; Ponic et al., 2007) but significantly fewer that have focused on fathers.

Men who live in marginalizing conditions have complicated relationships with their health and physical activity. The ways in which health promotion projects are presented and the uptake of many health behaviours are incongruent with the dominant ideals of masculinity (Sharp et al., 2018). Notably, experiences of marginalization are correlated with increased adherence to more traditional and hegemonic characteristics of masculinity (Helman et al., 2019) and, thus, present even more challenges to the uptake of preventative health practices like physical activity. Another challenge to accessing physical activity for fathers who endure homelessness, poverty, food insecurity, and substance use is that PA may not be a priority for because they are focussed on meeting their basic needs (Daiski, 2005; Darroch et al., 2021). Interestingly, fatherhood - a time where men are known to adopt new gender roles - has been identified as a period of life where some men are known to improve health-related behaviours (Bottorff et al., 2010) and, therefore, may be an ideal time to initiate health programming.

Fathering in Marginalized Communities

At the crux of the discourses on fatherhood are archetypes of “good” fathers versus “bad” fathers (Lamb et al., 2009). The discourse of “father as breadwinner” has a long and pervasive history in Western cultures (Marsiglio et al., 2005). The expectation for fathers to financially provide for their family remains uncontested in dominant discourses of what it means to be a “good” father (Söderström & Skårderud, 2013). Further, Helman et al. (2019) found that the beliefs of a father’s duty to provide for his family were intensified among men who were experiencing conditions of marginalization. Coley (2001) noted that low-income and racialized fathers are often stigmatized as being “bad” fathers who are selfish or lazy. These studies speak to the extra pressure that marginalized fathers who experience discrimination, precarious housing, and poverty may face in trying to provide for their family.

Previous literature has demonstrated the benefits of involved fathering. Fathers who are actively involved in their children’s development can positively influence children’s self-esteem and social relationships (Sarkadi et al., 2007). Additionally, increased involvement from fathers has been shown to improve children’s confidence and performance at school (Cabrera et al., 2007). Barker et al. (2017) found that secure attachment between the father and child was linked to a reduction in adverse child outcomes. Mother’s well-being is also improved and postpartum depression reduced when there is more involvement from fathers (Goodman et al., 2014; McClain & Brown, 2017). Despite the aforementioned benefits, there are significantly fewer services aimed at providing skills and support to fathers compared to mothers (Bayley et al., 2009; Sicouri et al., 2018).

There is evidence that has demonstrated the negative effects on the entire family when there is a dearth of parenting programming for fathers. Being excluded from parenting programs means that fathers are less likely to develop friendships with other fathers, find role models, and build a community (Eddy et al., 2019). With fewer supports, fathers are less likely to gain skills

in improving their parenting or connection with their child, which has been shown to place additional burdens on mothers (Darroch et al., under review-b). There is a need for services that recognize fathers' participation in their family unit and meet their unique needs.

Barriers to Programs for Fathers Experiencing Marginalization

Fathers experiencing marginalization have reported numerous challenges in finding and accessing appropriate family-centred services that are inclusive of their unique needs as fathers (Darroch et al., 2021; Panter-Brick et al., 2014). The ease in which a participant can locate services speaks to the importance of adequate representation in program policies and mission statements in non-profit organizations, which has significant implications on feelings of inclusion for participants, organizational culture, well-being of staff (Kosny & Eakin, 2008), and financial donations to the organization (Kirk & Nolan, 2010). Some of the barriers documented in the literature have identified that fathers are often not aware that programs for them exist (Summers et al., 2004) or that they fear they will be the only father in the group (Panter-Brick et al., 2014). Fathers have also reported that they are less likely to attend such programs because they are fearful of being judged or criticized for their parenting (Bayley et al., 2009). Similarly, perceived negative attitudes from staff also deter fathers from accessing programs (Panter-Brick et al., 2014).

The root cause of many of these challenges are embedded within dominant discourses and expressions of masculinity. Characteristics associated with traditional masculinity portray fathers as stoic, brave, and reserved (Chairetis, 2019). These qualities are inherently incongruent with the ethos of many parenting programs that focus on vulnerability, emotional well-being, and sharing (Panter-Brick et al., 2014). Urban, racialized fathers indicated a reticence towards traditional parenting programs, and instead identified that their most common source of parenting information was other men and fathers in their community (Lee et al., 2011). Critics

have stated that the dearth of programming that is accessible for fathers is indicative of the ways in which fathering is undervalued in contrast to mothering (Panter-Brick et al., 2014).

Recommendations for improving recruitment, participation, and retention of fathers in family-centred programs include creating fathers-only groups and activities that are mentorship-, community-, and activity-based (Lee et al., 2011). Indeed, dominant understandings of masculinity and fatherhood largely contribute to challenges for fathers in marginalized communities.

Below, I outline the approach that I took for my research. I used a social constructionist epistemology, intersectional poststructuralist theoretical framework, Bacchi and Goodwin's (2016) "What's the Problem Represented to Be" (WPR) approach to document analysis for the first paper, and then community-based participatory research methodologies to conduct semi-structured interviews, and critical discourse analysis.

Epistemology

I employed a constructionist epistemology to explore fathers' participation in the Make a Move family walking program. Constructionists argue that reality is socially constructed and emphasize the role of culture in shaping our worldview (Crotty, 1998). Further, this epistemology is useful because it allows for a nuanced appreciation of how individuals create meaning about themselves, their families, their health, and their neighbourhood. Understanding what is known and how it comes to be known is foundational to constructionism as well as my theoretical and methodological frameworks of intersectionality and community-based participatory research. A constructionist epistemology has facilitated a deeper understanding of the ways in which existing relations of power have shaped policy development in the DTES, fathers lived experiences participation in MAM.

Theoretical Framework

Intersectional poststructuralist theory is derived from both intersectional and poststructural approaches (Staunaes & Sondergaard, 2010). Coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) and actualized by Black activists and scholars like bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016), intersectionality examines the historical and political ways that social markers are created and sustained by intertwining systems of power (Choo & Ferree, 2010). The application of intersectionality within scholarship has restructured understandings of the ways social categories of difference and disadvantage, like age, race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability, are not mutually exclusive but interconnected (Cho et al., 2013). Intersectionality has received criticism because of the ways in which identity categories are seen as fixed and static (Roseberry, 2010). Furthermore, the inability to account for differences within identity categories that lead to even more complex identity combinations (Roseberry, 2010).

A poststructural approach to intersectionality disrupts the notion of social categories as stable and emphasizes identity markers as an ongoing social process that is constructed through discourse which changes over time (Markula, 2003). Within intersectional poststructuralism, scholars reject that gender and race are something that one *has* or *is*, and instead underline the *doing* of these processes. It is through these processes we can reveal what steps can be taken to address different inequities (Roseberry, 2010). By exposing systems of power embedded in culture, language, and text, intersectional poststructuralists destabilize the ways in which discourses of identity are often presented as “Truth” (Weedon, 1997). Indeed, the meaning of texts does not exist in isolation but is shaped by the context in which the text was written, the experiences of the author, and the interpretations of the reader (King, 2015).

Intersectional poststructuralism has received criticism because it does not provide practical strategies for dismantling the power systems that its concepts so effectively identify (Dressler & Babidge, 2017). However, awareness is the first step in social change and

intersectional poststructuralism exposes how meaning is relative (Markula, 2003). Indeed, this approach can be used to promote a reflexive approach to understanding knowledge by dismissing the neutrality presented in research and scholarship (Mann, 2013).

I chose intersectional poststructuralism because it can be used to centre the narratives and experiences of those who are typically underrepresented in dominant discourses (Mann, 2013), and because it works well with a constructionist epistemology. Understanding what is known and how it comes to be known and how it changes based on context is foundational to both intersectional poststructuralism and constructionism. Both are a set of conceptualizations about language, meaning, individuals and power that can be used to interrogate essentialist concepts and fixed identity categories (Chen et al., 2011).

Akin to the ways in which constructionists note that individuals occupy different subject positions based on their context, intersectional poststructuralists emphasizes how power is subjective and socially created. Both perspectives endorse individuals as subjects, or products of different language practices or discursive fields. For instance, formulations of fathers or fatherhood that appear as more normal and dominant in one context or historical period will not be the same in another context or time period. Together, constructionist and intersectional poststructuralist theories provide a perspective on knowledge and identity that makes space for multiple, even contradictory, positions to be held as truths and emphasize the situatedness and constructed nature of knowledge and can be used to recognize the ways in which identity is entangled with exercises of power and resistance.

I used this theoretical framework to uncover the ways in which fathers are represented in family-centred program policies in the DTES and to understand how their lived experiences as fathers shaped their participation in MAM.

Paper One: Methodology

I employed the methodological steps of Bacchi and Goodwin's (2016) WPR approach to the policy analysis. The WPR approach makes visible how governmental policy practices actually produce problems. Through this approach, scholars critically engage with government policies by presenting them as certain kinds of problem through the process of problematization through which scholars ask what kinds of problems are designated as requiring attention or resolution, and why they are seen as issues in the first place (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016)?

Also congruent with poststructural endeavours that investigate the historical elements of a particular phenomenon, non-governmental documents can provide background information and data on the context in which the research topic is taking place (Bowen, 2009).

Paper One: Methods

To investigate how fathers are represented in the DTES, in my first paper I employed document analysis on program mandates, mission statements, and program descriptions of organizations that offer family-centred services in the DTES. These mission statements and program descriptions function as policy in that they are tools used to indicate for whom funds are allocated, provide a blueprint for service-delivery, and serve as a guidepost for individuals seeking services (Minkoff et al., 2006; Phills, 2005). I used a map of the DTES that is available on the City of Vancouver's (2019) website to identify the perimeters of the neighbourhood. Using the experience and relationships I gained while working in this community, I created a list of organizations that provide family-centred services within the designated catchment area. I then conducted document analysis.

Document Analysis

Document analysis is the systematic procedure used for selecting, reviewing, and evaluating both electronic and print documents (Bowen, 2009). I selected document analysis to analyze program policies in the DTES because it is useful for revealing discourse and power

relations within text (Hodder, 2000). Also elucidated through document analysis is the context in which research participants operate and live their daily lives (Bowen, 2009). Further, document analysis can provide researchers with information about the roots of the issue being investigated (Hodder, 2000).

There are a number of strengths and limitations to document analysis. One of the greatest strengths of document analysis is that it can be done in communities without intervention from the researcher (Bowen, 2009). However, researchers are cautioned to not treat documents as complete or entirely accurate, as it is easy to take information present in documents out of context (Hodder, 2000). Heeding this advice, I critically engaged with the data by noting the choice of language used in the program policies and I also considered what was missing (Bowen, 2009).

I first organized the list of programs into a table. I later went to each organization's website and located their mission description, or program descriptions, which I collectively refer to as program policies, and added that information to the table. I identified any text that referenced families, children, women, fathers, or was relevant to the goal of this project. Once the information was organized within a table, I read and re-read the data, highlighting any text that indicated the organization's values and priorities. The final table can be found Appendix A of this thesis. A short list of the organizations and the map are included below.

Table 1

List of Included Programs

Sheway

YWCA Crabtree Corner

Phil Bouvier – Indigenous Early Years Services

Downtown Eastside Women's Centre

DTES Neighbourhood House

Union Gospel Mission

RayCam Community Centre
 Strathcona Community Centre
 Budzey Building
 Sorella Housing for Women and Children
 YWCA Cause We Care House
 Crabtree Corner Housing

(n=12)

Boundary Map of the DTES, Vancouver (City of Vancouver, 2019)



Paper One: Analysis

To analyze the data, I used critical discourse analysis (CDA) in both papers. Useful for exploring how meaning is produced and socially constructed (Fairclough, 2011), CDA is well suited for gaining insight into discourses that shape lived experiences for fathers in the DTES. According to Cheek (2004), “discourses are scaffolds of discursive frameworks, which order reality in a certain way and can either enable or constrain knowledges” (p. 1142). Further, critical discourse analysts argue that language is produced via social experiences that are created by cultural and societal values and expectations (Fairclough, 2011). Thus, CDA is an excellent tool for unpacking the ways in which discourses of fatherhood are rooted in and sustained by systems of patriarchy, capitalism, and colonialism.

There are a number of strengths of using a CDA approach in qualitative research: revealing critical issues through text, leveraging subjugated knowledges and experiences, contesting dominant discourses that are often taken for granted as truth, identifying important social issues, and emphasizing the need to locate and identify power within society (Cheek, 2004). Conversely, there are some important limitations to recognize when using CDA: findings can be misinterpreted because meaning is subjective, and once counter discourses have been identified, uptake and change may be difficult within the context of the dominant discourse (Mogashoa, 2014).

For this paper, I used Bacchi' and Goodwin's (2016) WPR approach to CDA to analyze the program policies of family-centred organizations in the DTES. I selected this type of analysis because it is useful for unpacking discourses of power relations that are embedded within the language of the program policy (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) identified seven steps or questions used to determine what is being problematized within a policy. After I identified three discourses within the program policies, I answered each of Bacchi and Goodwin's (2016) questions in relation to each discourse: 1) What is being problematized?; 2) what assumptions underlie the problem representation?; 3) how has the problem representation come to be?; 4) what silences exist within the policy and what is revealed when we draw attention to these silences?; 5) what implications does the policy have on its constituents?; 6) what discourses are framed as the "truth"?; and 7) how can one apply these steps to their own life?

Paper Two: Methodology

In the second paper, I followed the methodological tenets of CBPR. I selected CBPR for two reasons: 1) CBPR offers a number of strategies for addressing problematic power differentials and conducting research in marginalized communities like the DTES must be done

with the utmost respect and sensitivity (Israel et al., 1998); and 2) this project is part of a larger CBPR study with pregnant and parenting women in Vancouver's DTES (Darroch et al., in review); therefore, it was important to follow the same methodology. Below, I will describe the principles of CBPR and elaborate on how we employed them in this project.

Advocates for CBPR have called for strategies that will enable community members to become more active in the research process while also having a say in how and why research is conducted (Marshall & Rotmi, 2001). The principles of CBPR are grounded in creating community-identified solutions to community-identified problems (Wallerstein et al., 2019). CBPR researchers centre their research interests in the existing strengths and resources that already exist in the community (Uphoff, 1991). In addition, it is paramount that researchers recognize the values and priorities of the community members (Israel et al., 1998). CBPR is cyclical and iterative; feedback from community partners is sought at every stage (Park, 2001). Notably, it was the pregnant and parenting women in who participated in interviews at the 6-month point of the initial project who identified that a walking program for their male partners or fathers of their children would benefit both them and the men.

CABs are an important tool within CBPR projects, as they can facilitate many of the aforementioned exchanges. All elements of this paper were guided by the same CAB that guided the broader research study. Both the MAM program and research design for were discussed at monthly CAB meetings. We did not add any new members to the CAB for this part of the larger project. As such, it is notable that there were no fathers included on the CAB. This was done because the original idea came from the women in our study, and we were in the middle of data collection. However, because I was already supporting a number of the fathers in my role at the YWCA Crabtree Corner resource centre, I informally discussed many elements of the program design with them.

Paper Two: Methods

For the second paper, I collected data by conducting semi-structured interviews with nine fathers who participated in MAM. I recruited participants by distributing recruitment flyers around the DTES but particularly at organizations that provide family-centred services. All participants understood English, had children under six, lived or accessed services in the DTES. All participants were involved in the parenting of their children and attended MAM programming with their partner and/or children at least once.

Semi-Structured Interviews

I selected semi-structured interviews over structured and unstructured because this type of interviews is focussed but flexible (Fontana & Frey, 2004). Researchers conducting semi-structured interviews follow a general guideline of open-ended questions but also have the opportunity to ask clarifying questions or probe for more information (Fontana & Frey, 2004). Ensuring that I asked each participant the same question created opportunities to capture different perspectives for each topic, while allowing for space to probe and explore when an area of interest came up. I also selected this method because placing value on what the participants deem as important is strongly aligned with the principles of CBPR (Israel et al., 1998).

I co-created the list of questions for the interviews with CAB members as a way to ensure that they were appropriate and accurately represented community values and priorities. I conducted the interviews along with another research assistant. They ranged from 30 to 60 minutes in length. To address many of the barriers that people living in the DTES face, we held the interviews at Crabtree Corner and provided childminding for parents.

Table 2

Participant Demographic Information

<u>Pseudonym</u>	<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Age</u>
------------------	---------------------------	------------

Adrien	1	53
Ben	1	58
Callum	2	41
Dante	1	41
Ethan	2	38
Frank	1	28
Gaige	2	39
Hassan	1	61
Ian	4	35

Paper Two: Analysis

For the second paper, I employed CDA to analyze the transcripts of fathers who participated in the MAM Family Walking Program. I selected this method to better understand lived experiences of fathers in the DTES and unpack discourses of fatherhood and masculinity. I followed Parker's (1990) three criteria for identifying a discourse: 1) I first identified what objects were being referred to as I scanned the text of the transcripts; 2) I made note of what subject position the speaker was assuming within the discourse; and 3) I considered how the objects and subjects were being used and acted upon to name the discourses. Through my analysis and the use of NVivo 12™, I identified three discourses: "fathers and their children do not belong in the DTES"; "fathers are too busy and active and therefore, they do not require additional PA programs"; and "MAM improved well-being for participants".

Thesis Format

My thesis was written using the "publishable paper format." My first paper addressed the research question, "How are fathers represented in the program policies of organizations that provide family-centred services in the DTES?" My second paper addressed the research

question, “How did men’s lived experiences as fathers shape their participation in MAM?”

Taken together, these two papers make an important contribution to literature on how policies shape fatherhood in communities that experience marginalization and the implementation of PA programs that are accessible to fathers who experience marginalization.

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Chapter Two:

Absent and Problematic Fathers: The Representation of Fathers in the Program Policies of Organizations that Provide Family-Centred Services in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside

Abstract

Parenting education interventions and parenting programs are important for health promotion efforts among children and families; however, the majority of parenting programs are directed towards and attended by mothers. This is problematic because research has consistently demonstrated that fathers' active participation in the family can have a positive influence on mothers' well-being, children's self-esteem, success in school, and interpersonal relationships. In this paper, using an intersectional poststructuralist framework, document analysis, and Bacchi and Goodwin's (2016) "What's the problem represented to be" approach, I analyzed the program policies of 12 organizations that provide family-centred services in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. I identified the following three discourses: organizations strive to be client-centred and provide choices; organizations want to empower their participants; and women need safe place to raise their families. My analysis revealed that fathers are absent or represented as problems in program policies, and that this has consequences for not only fathers but also mothers and children.

Located on the traditional and unceded territory of the Səlílwətaʔ/Selilwitulh (Tsleil-Waututh), the xʷməθkʷəy̍əm (Musqueam), the Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish) and the Stó:lō Nations, the Downtown Eastside (DTES) of Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, is home to people who are residents of what is considered one of the most marginalized neighbourhoods in North America (Hasson et al., 1994; Jozaghi et al., 2016). Marginalization refers to the experience of being denied access to rights and opportunities on the basis of their gender, ethnicity, culture and/or economic status (Hall et al., 1994). To address these issues, the DTES is now a hub of resources, food, and support for individuals experiencing marginalization, such as women, children and youth, street-involved individuals, people who identify as LGBTQI, sex workers, people with disabilities, and people who use substances (City of Vancouver, 2019; Ivsins et al., 2019; Newnham, 2005). Indigenous people are also overrepresented in this community when compared with other areas of the city (City of Vancouver, 2019; Martin & Walia, 2017). Additionally, while the DTES has a relatively small population of children compared to the city overall (City of Vancouver, 2019), there are a number of organizations that provide family-centred services (Ivsins et al., 2019); however, little is known about the services available to and lived experiences of fathers in this community.

Recent community-based participatory research by Darroch et al. (2021) examined the role of fathers in mothers' wellness in the DTES. This work revealed that there are a number of gaps that relate to the representation of fathers in organizational policies and services, which cause a number of challenges for both parents and service providers in the DTES (Darroch et al., 2021). Identifying how fathers are represented in program policies contributes to better understanding of what services are available to them and their lived experiences as fathers in the DTES. Further examination into the systems of power that have contributed to the exclusion of fathers could also aid organizations in better supporting mothers and children.

To understand how fathers are represented in the program policies of family-centred organizations, I employed an intersectional poststructuralist framework and conducted document analysis on the program policies of 12 organizations that provide family-centred services in the DTES using Bacchi and Goodwin's (2016) "What's the problem represented to be" approach (WPR). I identified three discourses within the program policies: 1) organizations strive to be client-centred and provide choices; 2) organizations want to empower their participants; and 3) women need safe places to raise their families. My analysis revealed that fathers are poorly represented in program policies and brought light to the ways in fathers are constructed as problems.

Literature Review

In the following section, I explain the importance of parenting programs in communities in which members experience marginalization. Subsequently, I discuss pervasive discourses of gender as they relate to parenting. Finally, I describe the importance of including fathers as well as the challenges that they face in finding support services.

Parenting Programs in Marginalized Communities

Programs that support the complex needs of parents living in communities that experience marginalization provide crucial services, but there are a number of factors that influence program efficacy. It is well known within the literature that parents experiencing marginalization have less access to resources and need additional support services in comparison to those that do not experience marginalization (Gillies, 2005; Romagnoli & Wall, 2012).

Parenting programs and parenting-centred services are used to address social inequities and increase long-term health outcomes for children (Berry & Fraser, 2014; Johansson & Klinth., 2008). Some of the key benefits of parenting education programs identified in a scoping review by the Wilder Research Foundation (2016) are improved parental competency, increased positive

parenting practices, increased social connectedness, improved child behaviours, improved parent-child interactions, and finally, improved parental mental health. However, Toure and colleagues (2020) also identified that for parenting programs to be successful, certain facilitation factors are required. One example they found is that staff need to deliver programs in a flexible and non-judgemental way to ensure that participants feel comfortable enough to benefit from the material (Toure et al., 2020). Recognizing the context that shapes the lived experience of participants is an important step in providing effective programs.

Indigenous peoples experience tremendous marginalization in Canada (Jacklin et al., 2017; Koggel, 2018). As a result, parenting support services and programs that target this population have been created, though there has been criticism of the ways in which some of these services and programs reproduce the colonial project of disrupting Indigenous ways of being by way of separating Indigenous children from their families (Fortier & Hon-Sing Wong, 2012). Suggestions for addressing these concerns include a restructuring of helping practices to shift authority and control back into the hands of the community (Fortier & Hon-Sing Wong, 2012; Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012). Indeed, parenting education interventions hold great promise in promoting healthy children and healthy families when these issues are addressed.

Gender and Parenting

Dominant discourses of gender have important implications for both parents and their children. Traditional gender discourses present women as being gentle, caring, naive and vulnerable, while men are cast as being strong, stoic, powerful, and often violent (Albritton et al., 2014). Second-wave feminist movements throughout the twentieth century worked to debunk these discourses to secure equal access for women in economics, politics, and education (McKeen, 2017). Many of these movements endorsed concepts related to empowerment and having control over one's own life as the ultimate goal (Sharma, 2000). However, because these

movements were rooted in neoliberalist notions of agency (McKeen, 2017), they relied heavily on self-mobilization and individualism to meet the goal of empowerment and failed to acknowledge the complexities of access and power that extend beyond gender (Mosedal, 2005). Further, within these movements, critics have identified the ways in which empowerment frameworks isolate and project men as adversarial to women (Sharma, 2000), while ignoring the ways in which toxic, hegemonic masculinity also disadvantages men (Johansson & Klinth, 2008).

Pervasive discourses of gender have implications for all members of the family. Traditional gender ideologies paint mothers as being more naturally nurturing and superior caregivers (Zuo, 2004), whereas fathers are typically stereotyped as being the breadwinners (Allport et al., 2018). Within the literature, parallels have been drawn between the incompatibility of caregiving and hegemonic masculine ideals of being a successful family provider (Bianchi et al., 2000). Indeed, Yarwood and Locke (2016) identified that working-class fathers in the United Kingdom believe that because they are the breadwinners, they are too busy to participate in caregiving. More recently, there has been significant shifts towards a more equitable division of domestic labour and parenting roles, particularly for fathers who are taking on more parenting responsibilities, more household chores, and taking more parental leave (Rehel, 2014); however, this is much more common in populations with higher socio-economic status. Members of populations that experience marginalizing conditions have been found to have more traditional and hegemonic constructions of masculinities (Chairetis, 2019). It is therefore critical to better understand how dominant discourses of gender shape the construction of fathering identities in marginalizing conditions.

Barriers to Fathering in Communities that Experience Marginalization

In addition to there being far fewer father-focussed parenting programs compared to those for mothers, fathers face a myriad of barriers when attempting to access parenting support services (Summers et al., 2004). Fathers who experience marginalizing conditions are often subject to discriminatory discourses of them as absent, selfish, and lazy (Coley, 2001). Because there are so many more programs for mothers, some fathers report that they fear that the program material will not address their unique needs (Bayley et al., 2009) or they will feel criticized, judged, or discriminated against (Summers et al., 2004). Fathers have also reported that they do not know these programs exist, struggle to know where to find them, and feel frustrated by the programs' mother-centred content (Panter-Brick et al., 2014). Studies have shown child-welfare practitioners rarely invest in fathers, and that fathers are given significantly less time with their children than mothers (O'Donnell et al., 2005). Moreover, despite the knowledge that men are more often homeless than women, there is a dearth in housing programs and initiatives that are appropriate for fathers and their children (Rogers & Rogers, 2019).

Fathers face a number of challenges when parenting because they can face discrimination (Amato, 2018). With limited programs available to address coping strategies for fathers, fathers experience fewer opportunities to work towards self-improvement and address patterns of abuse when compared to mothers (Bayley et al., 2009). In addition to not having the opportunity to gain parenting skills, being excluded from parenting programs means that fathers are less likely to develop friendships and find role models through which they can gain skills in and confidence about their parenting (Eddy et al., 2019). The barriers to parenting programs that fathers face may be indicative of the ways in which fathering is undervalued in comparison to mothering.

This review of literature provides insight into the ways that discourses of gender and masculinity have shaped fathers' lived experiences of accessing parenting support services. Given that there is little known about fathers living in Vancouver's DTES, my goal in this this

research was to understand how fathers are represented in the program policies of organizations that provide family-centred services in this community.

Theoretical Framework

To unpack the ways in which gender discourses related to masculinity and fatherhood are embedded within, and contribute to the language used in program policies, I engaged with intersectional poststructuralism. Intersectionality theory enables an examination of the ways in which differences between marginalizing characteristics, such as ethnicity, class, religion, and sexuality are not mutually exclusive, but are rather inherently intertwined (Choo & Ferree, 2010). Intersectionality restructures our understanding of social categories of difference and disadvantage by examining the historical, intellectual, and political ways in which they are connected (Cho et al., 2013). Poststructuralism can complement intersectionality by exposing how meaning is relative, constructed through discourse and changes over time (King, 2005). Poststructural theorists work to examine the ways in which dominant discourses are often presented as being the “truth” through exposing systems of power embedded in language, texts, and culture (King, 2005).

By adding a poststructural lens to intersectionality theory, intersectional poststructuralism can be used to undermine the construction of identity categories like gender, ethnicity, and sexuality as static and two-dimensional (Staunaes & Sondergaard, 2010). In revealing the processes that shape dominant discourses about identity, intersectional poststructuralism is effective in contesting the ways in which language, texts, and culture are often presented as truth. Intersectional poststructuralism has been criticized by researchers for its inability to provide practical strategies for addressing inequities (Dressler & Babidge, 2017). However, understanding the context and meaning behind the processes that shape experiences of identity is helpful for revealing new strategies and steps that can be used effectively in dismantling power

structures (Roseberry, 2010), as well as leveraging the experiences that are marginalized by dominant power systems, often called subjugated knowledge, to reveal what is often overlooked (Prins, 2006).

While recognizing my own positionality, privilege, power, and access as a white, straight, cisgender, middle-class, educated, and able-bodied woman, I used intersectional poststructuralism to investigate how discourses of fatherhood are constructed in program policies in the DTES. Armed with the intersectional poststructuralist understanding that gender hierarchies are not only constructed but interconnected and dependent upon each other (Roseberry, 2010), this theoretical framework enabled me to unpack the gendered discourses of mothering and fathering that (re)produce particular understandings of fathers in program policies

Methodology

I utilized Bacchi and Goodwin's (2016) WPR approach as my methodology. The WPR approach can be used to show how governmental policy practices actually produce problems by presenting them as a certain kind of problem. Through this approach, scholars are encouraged to critically engage by thinking about which problems are being addressed, who those problems concern, and what role the government has in solving problems (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016).

While WPR approach is traditionally focussed on government policy, Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) contended that "text is used as a lever to open up conversations and reflect on the effects that are rendered by constituting a problem in a particular way" (p. 17). As such, it is also useful for conducting analyses with less formal documents and policy, like program policies. When taken together, mission statements and program descriptions work as program policies because they indicate internal workflow, and they communicate organizational information to external audiences (Kirk & Nolan, 2010). For example, as discursive commitments, organizational mission statements also reflect the purpose and value of helping

individuals who experience marginalization (Kosny & Eakin, 2008). In addition, program descriptions are tools used internally by leadership, managers, staff, and funding agents to create budgets and provide a blueprint for service-delivery and serve as guideposts for individuals seeking services (Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012). For these reasons, program policies are a useful tool for understanding how fathers and fatherhood are represented by organizations providing family-centred services in the DTES.

Problematization, an important site of analysis within the WPR approach, is to question or apply critical analysis text or a document (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). Through using a WPR approach, analysts reveal what kinds of problems are designated as requiring attention or resolution, and why they are seen as issues in the first place (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). Arguably, the most notable aspect of a WPR approach is that scholars work backwards from the proposed resolution to how the problem was originally represented (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) identified seven steps to employ when engaging in a WPR approach. These steps served as guideposts for the analysis of this project, and I will describe how I broadly applied them below and will go into further detail in the results section.

While the list of steps is comprehensive, a WPR approach does not provide a list of prescriptive recommendations for ways to take action but moves beyond broad declarations in an effort to understand perspectives that are often silenced or ignored (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). To begin, I identified what was being problematized by policy makers, or in this case organizations providing family-centred services, in their program policies. Secondly, I looked for concepts, assumptions and binaries that were embedded in the problem representation. I paid particular attention to whether there were any possible patterns in how or why this issue was problematized and connected them to systems of power (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). I then considered how the problem representation had developed across time and cultures in an effort to

locate historical patterns (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). I focussed on any potential silences and unproblematized elements in an effort to destabilize the problem representation (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). Because the goal of WPR researchers is to disrupt assumptions that present certain discourses as true, I carefully considered how lesser known and more marginalized knowledges and experiences could be valuable sources for disrupting “consensus” presented in policies (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). Further, in conjunction with an intersectional poststructuralist framework, I sought to better understand how the historical influences of gender, ethnicity, and class have contributed to the language used in program policies.

Through the application of the seven steps presented by Bacchi and Goodwin (2016), I identified the following three discourses: organizations strive to be client-centred and provide choices; organizations want to empower their participants; and women need safe places to raise their families.

Methods

Inclusion Criteria

To examine ways in which fathers are represented in program policies in the DTES, I conducted a comprehensive examination of organizations that provide support to women, families, and children in the DTES. In September 2020, I used a map from the City of Vancouver (2019) that identified the boundary of the DTES and created a list of organizations that indicated that they provide family-centred services on their website that are located within the designated catchment area. I then examined their websites and conducted a document analysis of their program policies, which were comprised of their mission statements and program descriptions.

Document Analysis

Document analysis is the systematic review of both electronic and print documents as a way of gaining insight into the context of a phenomenon and the power of text (Bowen, 2009).

Using document analysis can reveal how text (also understood as discourse) can illuminate systems of power and the structural sources of inequity (Hodder, 2000). Indeed, document analysis provides important information about the way in which research participants live their lives or can reify participants' experiences (Bowen, 2009). Conducting document analysis of websites has been used in studies that have been effective in revealing the ways in which text is used to strategically conceal inequities (Ninpanit, 2020; Saichaie & Morpew, 2014). Bowen (2009) noted that it is important to consider the intention of the person who crafted the document. With this in mind, I recognized the potential to explore the ways in which discourses of gender, class, and ethnicity were implicated in the mission statements and program descriptions and ultimately selected document analysis.

The final list included twelve organizations that offer family-centred services: Sheway, YWCA Crabtree Corner (CTC), Indigenous Early Years Services (IYES), Downtown Eastside Women's Centre (DEWC), DTES Neighbourhood House, Union Gospel Mission (UGM), Ray Cam Community Centre, Strathcona Community Centre, Budzey Building, Sorella Housing for women and children, YWCA Cause We Care House, and YWCA Crabtree Corner Housing.

Within these organizations' websites, I searched for and identified the organization's mission and program descriptions. Subsequently, I scanned and selected any text that described the programs and services that the organization offered. My final step in completing the table was identifying who the organization served. I then copied all of the relevant information from the website and organized it within a table (see Table 1). Within the literature, it has been noted that researchers engaging document analysis should be conscious that documents may not be complete and should recognize the context in which these documents were created, as it may provide insight that would otherwise go unnoticed (Bowen, 2009). In the context of this research

project, the information that is missing will provide crucial insight into the representation of fathers in the DTES.

Results

Organizations Strive to be Client-centred and Provide Choices.

The first discourse that was repeatedly presented in the program policies was language that indicated that organizations strive to be client-centred and provide choices. Sheway, a harm-reduction pregnancy outreach program for substance-using women, states on their program description that they “base their program model on women’s ability to influence the conditions of their lives” (Vancouver Aboriginal Health Society, 2020, para. 2). The organization also reports that their “services are provided in response to the needs of pregnant and parenting women” (Vancouver Aboriginal Health Society, 2020, para. 2). Sheway’s website does not reference fathers or families - just women and children. Another organization, IEYS, which provides culturally sensitive support and prevention strategies to families who have children aged 0-6 years old, states that the focus of their services is on “prevention strategies” and “participation [in their program] is voluntary” (Vancouver Aboriginal Health Society, 2020). The program description also states that, “even though services are directed towards the child, [their] program provides support for the parents and family as well” (Vancouver Aboriginal Health Society, 2020). CTC, funded through the YWCA Vancouver, also alludes to being client centred as they offer a wide range of services that are delivered in a way that “meets women where they are at” (YWCA Vancouver, 2020, para. 1). The program description of CTC clearly states that their services are for marginalized women and families; there is no mention of fathers.

Organizations Want to Empower Their Participants

The second discourse identified from the data pertained to providing services related to empowerment. All but two programs identify that their services are intended to empower,

motivate, and educate women and their families. The mission for CTC notes that they offer “wide range of programs and services to help marginalized women and families living in the DTES to feel healthier, more connected, and empowered to make positive choices” (YWCA Vancouver, 2020, para. 1). The mission also states that programs and services provide participants with “the support [they need] to move forward in life” (YWCA Vancouver, 2020, para. 1). IEYS state that one aspect of their mission is “empowering families to become active participants in the community” (Vancouver Aboriginal Health Society, 2020). The third example is from the mission of the DEWC, which states that it strives to provide programs that nurture and empower women and children (DEWC, 2020, para. 1).

The remaining program policies use wording that refers to growth, independence, and prosperity. The Budzey Building, a housing program for women (Trans, Cis, and Gender Diverse) and for women-led families, helps participants “navigate the change from previous housing situations or homelessness into stable, supported, permanent housing” (Raincity Housing, n.d., para. 1). Ray-Cam Community Centre (2020) endorses a capacity-building approach that “provides opportunities for individuals to enhance and use their own abilities” (para. 1) and “assists in the positive growth of individuals, family, and community life” (para. 1). The two programs that did not include language associated with empowerment were both women’s-only housing organizations: Sorella Housing for Women and Children and YWCA Cause We Care House.

Women Need Safe Places to Raise Their Families

The third and final discourse generated from the data relates to safety and providing a safe place for families to access services, attend programming, or live. The mission for IYES, notes that they “provide support for families with Indigenous children through fostering and nurturing a safe and healthy family environment between families and community services” (Vancouver

Aboriginal Health Society, 2020, para. 1). DEWC notes that they offer “a refuge for women and children in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver” (DEWC, 2020, para. 1). Furthermore, their mission is “to provide a safe, nonjudgmental environment for women from all walks of life” (DEWC, 2020, para. 1). Another organization, The Sanctuary, a women’s shelter that provides 24-hour support to women who struggle with substance use and are being discharged from the hospital, states that their program, “provides a safe place for single women, and women with babies to stabilize and begin their recovery journey” (Union Gospel Mission 2020, para. 3). They further state that their programs help “vulnerable families to be well supported as they break intergenerational cycles of poverty” (Union Gospel Mission 2020, para. 3).

Within the results, there are multiple housing initiatives that emphasize safety. First, the Budzey Building, which provides housing for women and women-led families, uses a “gender and diversity lens that supports an inclusive, safe, and vibrant community, making it possible for everyone living at the Budzey to flourish” (Raincity Housing, n.d., para. 1). Second, the Sorella housing program states within their program description that, “staff offer social supports and are responsible for managing the front door of the building, working to ensure the safety of the women and children who live there” (ATIRA Women’s Resource Society, 2019, para. 2). Finally, Crabtree Corner housing identifies that their housing facility, “is open to women and children who need a safe, affordable place to call home” (YWCA Vancouver, 2020, para. 1).

Discussion

Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) have argued that analysts using the WPR must recognize not only what is included in policies but also what is being left out. I found that the program policies of the 12 family-centred organizations in the DTES that I examined included mothers, children, and families, but fathers were only mentioned in one program list. The discourses that I identified refer to choice, empowerment, and safety for mothers. While programs that indicated

that they support families, it is unclear if and how fathers may access services. Through the application of Bacchi's (2013) questions, below, I demonstrate how the exclusion of fathers produces them as either absent or as problems, which can disadvantage not only them but also mothers and children.

Organizations Strive to be Client-centred and Provide Choices

The first discourse I identified within the results was that women and mothers in the DTES have diverse needs and that services should be offered in ways that create options that best suit their individual circumstances. What is being problematized is an organizational approach that forces particular kinds of services and programs onto participants. The DTES is known for being a community that prioritizes harm-reduction philosophies (Bozinoff et al., 2017), a notion that is reflected in the client-centred language used in the program policies of family-centred services. Language used in the program policies, like “meet women where they are at” and “in response to the needs of women,” is reflective of an organizational philosophy and discourses that endorse participants as experts in their own lives (Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012). This discourse and style of service delivery were adopted to challenge pervasive power relations within support-service models and social-work practices that perpetuate colonialism and hierarchies of power (Fortier & Hon-Sing Wong, 2019; LeRoux, 2009). This is particularly apparent in the program description for IYES, where they explicitly identify that “participation is voluntary”; as such, the organization is indicating the ethos of the program model, while also informing service users that their autonomy will be prioritized in the program.

While the focus on mothers creates a counter discourse to the traditional nuclear family that is oriented around the father as patriarch (Allport et al., 2018), the language used in the program policies promotes the idea that men are not seen as viable choices as parents or worthy of receiving services. This phenomenon is grounded in dominant discourses of low-income,

substance-using, homeless, and often racialized fathers as uninvolved and selfish (Coley, 2001). Lacking nuance and considerations of the ways in which gender, ethnicity, and income contribute to the marginalizing conditions that some fathers face, this discourse can impede upon men's ability to meet the traditional expectations of fathering, such as financially providing for their families (Marsiglio et al., 2005). Furthermore, the absence of fathers in program policies indicates that services are available for single-parent and/or women-led families only. Single parent, female-headed households are, indeed, more prominent than single parent, male-headed households (Statistics Canada, 2014), and while the need for services for women-headed households is undeniable, we must also consider who is being excluded and how it limits individual choice – including a mother's choice to have her child's father in her life.

Explicitly excluding fathers from policies not only perpetuates barriers to fathers receiving parenting services and programs (Bayley et al., 2009; Sicouri et al., 2018), it is fundamentally disconnected from what the literature says about the improvements to mothers' wellbeing and reduced experiences with postpartum depression when children's fathers are involved in parenting (Goodman et al., 2014; McClain & Brown, 2017). Similarly, excluding fathers can impinge upon the benefits that children can experience when their father is involved in their parenting (Barker et al., 2017; Cabrera et al., 2007; Lamb, 2010; Sarkadi et al., 2007). Furthermore, the exclusion of fathers can have serious implications for single or gay fathers who are heads of households. In assuming that a mother will be present ignores their needs and further marginalizes individuals based on their sexuality. While the results of this analysis demonstrate that organizations are making an effort to challenge historical inequities, without the inclusion of fathers, they are perpetuating damaging discourses of fatherhood that can adversely affect fathers, mothers, and their children.

Organizations Want to Empower Their Participants

The second discourse I constructed from the results indicate organizations' commitment to empowering their participants through their services and programs. Based on Bacchi and Goodwin's (2016) assertion that the way policies propose to do something, the contents of a policy indicate that policymakers believe something needs to change. As such, women's dependency on men, as well as support from institutional and governmental aid, is being problematized. Autonomy for women has been at the forefront of a number of feminist and social justice movements (McKeen, 2017); however, discourses of empowerment have received criticism because of the ways in which the goal of freedom is often connected to hierarchies of power and embedded in capitalism (Mosedale, 2005). Much of the language used, like "move forward in life," "enhance," and "use their own abilities," is closely aligned with hierarchical discourses of empowerment that uphold capital as synonymous with power (Mosedale, 2005). Within these discourses, there is a lack of intersectional awareness of how identities intersect to create marginalizing conditions and a failure to recognize systems of power that perpetuate disparities in the extent to which a woman can *be empowered* (Sharma, 2000). A discursive read of language like "empowered to make positive choices" that is used in program policies reveals how women and mothers in the DTES are seen as capable of improving their circumstances if they take individual responsibility, which puts the onus on the individual to empower themselves instead of recognizing systemic limitations.

Within the discourse of organizations wanting to empower their participants, there was no mention of fathers as potential participants. Sharma (2000) noted that critiques of empowerment discourses are often marked by an adversarial projection of men. Indeed, in conjunction with the capitalist undertones of empowerment, the exclusion of fathers from the policies sends a message that fathers can hinder women's autonomy and are therefore are not worthy of investment. The ways in which fathers can support their partners is thus not

considered. In a recent study with mothers and fathers in the DTES, mothers reported that as they experienced the benefits of participating in family-centred programs and services (Darroch et al., under review). The mothers in the study felt frustrated because they developed coping tools and life skills that their male partners, who could not access the same supports, did not; in turn, mothers felt burdened with caring for their partners as well as their children (Darroch et al., under review).

In some instances, neither mothers nor fathers were included in the policies. However, much of the language indicates that the services prioritize women. In this way, the program policies imply that mothers in the DTES who are experiencing marginalization are more likely single and acting as the primary caretakers of their children. The exclusion of fathers resonates with discourses that men do not need support or assistance in the same way that women do, which is upheld by masculine characteristics of stoicism, strength, and resilience (Johansson & Klinth, 2008). These assumptions run the risk of creating program infrastructure that focuses solely on the mother-child dyad and ignores the presence and potential of fathers. Taken together, we can see how the exclusion of fathers based on program policies can limit fathers' potential to be with and support their family.

Women Need Safe Places to Raise Their Families

The third discourse I constructed from the results is grounded in the need to provide women and children safe places to raise their families. Indeed, it is widely recognized that women who experience marginalizing conditions and gender-diverse individuals experience disproportionately higher rates of intimate-partner violence (Lippy et al., 2019). Organizations that provide safe housing options, support groups, and intervention programs for women who have faced violence are thus essential. The language used in the program policies, “women from all walks of life,” “having staff manage the front door to ensure safety,” and “stabilize on their

recovery journey,” highlight the rates of violence, substance use, and homelessness that are particularly prevalent in the DTES (City of Vancouver, 2019). However, the language used in program policies, like “refuge” and “ensures the safety” of women, is implicit in discourses of gender in which women are produced as being inherently vulnerable and in need of protection, with men being portrayed as powerful, angry, and violent. (Albritton et al., 2014). Discourses such as these contribute to fathers being left out of the program policies.

My finding of only one father-focussed program in DTES organizations’ policies is consistent with scholars who have found fewer efforts or resources available that are aimed at improving emotional wellness and coping strategies for fathers when compared to those available to mothers (Eddy et al., 2019; Panter-Brick et al., 2014; Summers et al., 2012). Leaving fathers out of policies not only disadvantages fathers, but it can also disadvantage mothers who *do* have supportive partners. Indeed, excluding fathers from program policies may have direct implications on the experiences of mothers living in the DTES. My review found that there is only one option (the Budzey building) that is available in the DTES for mothers who want to live with their male partners *and* children. This finding is congruent with the literature that shows there are very few social housing options that are available for families in which the father is present or one of the primary caregivers (Barker, 2017; Rogers & Rogers, 2019).

The lack of two-parent, family-centred housing options may be driven by dominant discourses that produce men as being inadequate caregivers (Albritton et al., 2014). Additionally, it is paralleled by the discourse that if there is a father present then he will adopt the traditional role of breadwinner, financially provide for their family, and the family will then not require additional support or housing. These discourses fail to recognize the ways in which ethnicity and access to income can shape men’s ability to financially support their family. Further, it is important to note that program infrastructure that does not include fathers can disadvantage both

mothers and their children by leaving mothers to shoulder the majority of the parenting duties (Johansson & Klinth, 2008), while perpetuating stigmatization of fathers who experience marginalization.

The program policies included in my analysis indicate that organizations have developed policies that are intended to address the needs of mothers in the DTES; however, the policies do not address the needs of fathers. As a result, organizations not only uphold damaging discourses of masculinity but can also unwittingly undermine their own efforts to prioritize the needs, choices, and autonomy of mothers.

Limitations

As with all studies, this study has some limitations. The main limitation of this study is that family-centred organizations in DTES may have policies and practices in place to address the needs of fathers that may not be listed on their websites. As indicated in the literature on document analysis, researchers need to consider the ways in which data within documents may be misinterpreted or taken out of context (Hodder, 2000). Given this consideration - in conjunction with findings from Darroch et al. (2021) that indicated that service providers in the DTES may negotiate their organizations' policies to provide services for fathers, it is important to recognize that my findings may not provide a complete representation of what is happening in the community.

Conclusions

In this policy analysis, I found that not only are fathers poorly represented in the program policies of family-centred organizations, but that their exclusion has a myriad of consequences for not only fathers but also mothers, and children in this community. Importantly, I do not deny the need to provide services to mothers and their children on the DTES – these are urgently needed. My findings show, however, that fathers in this community have few services available

to them. They, too, deserve services and support. By highlighting the ways in which dominant discourses of gender are upheld through the exclusion of fathers in program policies, this research can serve as an important starting point that family-centred organizations in the DTES can use to shift their services and better support fathers, mothers, and children. Efforts moving forward should consider organizational level strategies for creating new or incorporating fathers and their children into family-centred programs on the DTES and ensuring the fathers know about these programs, too.

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Appendix A

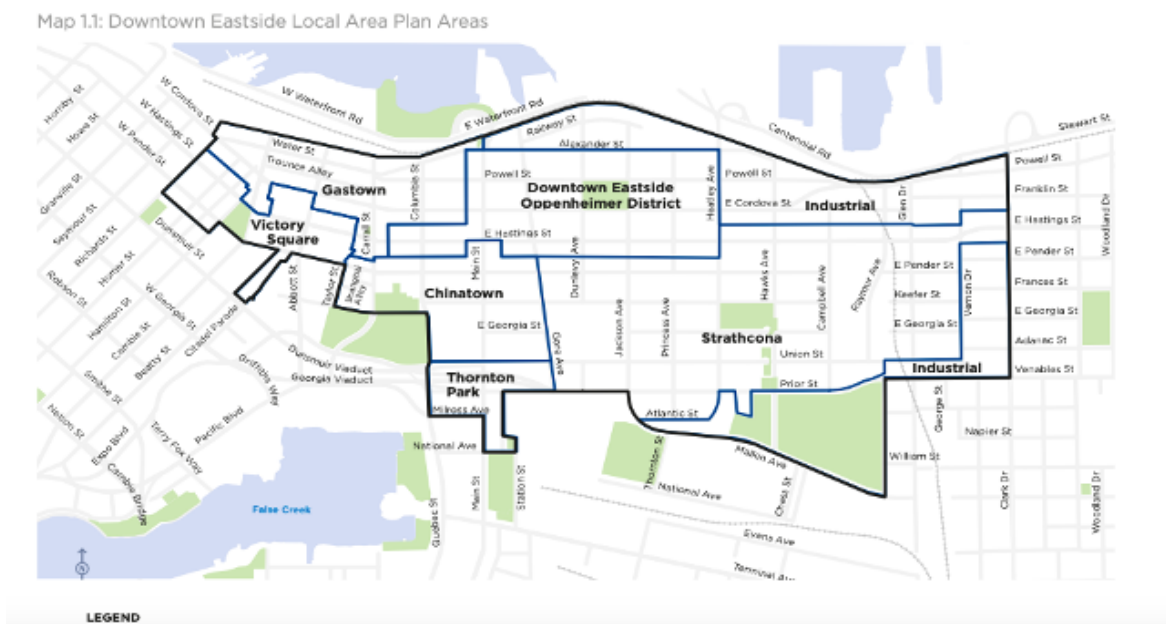
Table 1 Data Collected from Family-Centred Organizations in the DTES

Program	Mandate, Mission or Description	Programs/Services Offered	Clients Served	Website
Shewey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Shewey's Program Model is based on the recognition that the health of women and their children is linked to the conditions of their lives and their ability to influence these conditions." "Services are provided in response to the needs of pregnant and parenting women." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The program consists of prenatal, postnatal and infant health care, education and counseling for nutrition, child development, addictions, HIV and Hepatitis C, housing and parenting. Shewey also assists in fulfilling basic needs, such as providing daily nutritious lunches, food coupons, food bags, nutritional supplements, formula and clothing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shewey provides comprehensive health and social services to women who are either pregnant or parenting children less than 18 months old and who are experiencing current or previous issues of substance use. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> www.vnhs.net/programs/shewey www.vch.ca/locations-services/results?Res_id=90
YMCA Crabtree Corner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crabtree Corner houses a range of programs and services under one roof to help marginalized women and families living in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside feel healthier, more connected and empowered to make positive choices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From transitional housing for expecting and new mothers with substance use issues to childcare, parenting programs, a community kitchen and violence prevention, Crabtree meets women and families where they're at, providing them with the support to move forward in life. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marginalized women and their families. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> https://ywcavan.org/programs/crabtree-corner
Indigenous Early Years Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Our mandate is to provide support for families with Indigenous children through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fostering and nurturing a safe and healthy family environment between families and community services; Empowering families to become active participants in the community; Learning, growing and strengthening our families, our team and our community." "EYS is run by a committee of Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations that provide various programs for Indigenous children 0 to 6 years old. The program is fully funded by the Ministry for Children and Families. The focus is on prevention and participation is voluntary." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Although the services are directed toward the child, the program provides a variety of support services to the family, which may include peer support, advocacy, parenting skill development, life skills training, and linking the family to community-based activities and services." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "EYS is a family-centered program that works in partnership with parents and/or caregivers to provide support and prevention strategies to families who have children (0-6 years old)." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> www.centralcityfoundation.ca/project/phil-bouvier-family-centre/ www.vnhs.net/programs/indigenous-early-years-services
Downtown Eastside Women's Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "The mission of the Downtown Eastside Women's Centre is to provide a safe, non-judgmental environment for women from all walks of life, who live and/or work in the Downtown Eastside. To achieve this goal, the Centre provides supportive surroundings with meals, counseling, advocacy and programs which nurture and empower members." "The constitution of the Downtown Eastside Women's Centre was written (sic) in 1978 upon incorporation and is still relevant today: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To provide a comfortable, safe Drop-In Centre. To provide recreation and self-help programs. To act as a source of information by assisting women with referrals concerning their needs. To provide a social space and facilitate the opportunity for women of diverse backgrounds to interact and build community. To educate the public and all levels of government about issues concerning women in the area." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "We provide basic needs as well as counselling, advocacy, social, educational and referral services." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Daily, the DEWC drop-in centre offers a refuge for women and children in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> http://dewc.ca/
Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood House	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "The mandate of the Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood House is to provide programming, and educational, leadership, social and recreational opportunities to residents of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Our programming is community inspired and varied, a sampling of which has included a Chinese Elders Community Kitchen, Traditional Aboriginal Community Kitchen, Leadership Development, a Children's Community Kitchen, Nutritional Outreach Activities (Mobile Smoothie Project and Banana Beat), The Healing Circle, Father's for Thought, Table Talks project, Family Drop In: Families, Farming and Food, Community Drop-in and the production of a Right to Food Zine." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Residents of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> https://dteshouse.ca/

Program	Mandate, Mission or Description	Programs/Services Offered	Clients Served	Website
<p>Union Gospel Mission</p>	<p>• "The Sanctuary provides a safe place for single women, and women with babies to stabilize and begin their recovery journey with the support of compassionate, skilled staff."</p> <p>• "When the doors to our new Women & Families Centre open in 2021, your ongoing support will increase our capacity from 21 to 123 beds. With long-term recovery, supportive housing, childcare, and youth development programs, vulnerable families will be well-supported as they break intergenerational cycles of poverty."</p>	<p>• "Our Women & Families Centre provides holistic support to women and their families in our community through preventative child & youth programs, assistance such as food hampers, and compassionate Outreach services."</p>	<p>https://www.ugm.ca/</p>	
<p>Ray Cam Community Centre</p>	<p>"Capacity Building:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A capacity-building approach develops programs and activities based on the capacities, skills, and assets of residents and their neighborhoods (sic), providing opportunities for individuals to enhance and use their own abilities. <p>Place-Based</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A place-based approach assures that programs come from the community, are accessible in their neighborhood or surrounding community area, and fit with community values and style. <p>Community Engagement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationships and understanding are built through sharing experiences and developing opportunities to work together for the common good. <p>Reconciliation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporates the aspirations of urban Indigenous people for active inclusion and meaningful participation in the neighborhoods (sic) and city in which they live. Reconciliation is inclusion, engagement, listening, collaboration and commitments to make a change and working differently to be inclusive and reflective. It is about creating a new culture together. <p>Inclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Including and reflecting the wise variety of community members who choose to make this community home. To provide opportunities, programs and services; to help create a sense of neighborliness; and to strengthen, support and assisting the positive growth of individuals, family and community life. Inclusion is about building community." <p>• "Strathcona Community Centre is a community resource centre fostering the development of a sense of community and belonging. The Centre will demonstrate leadership within the community and advocate for the community. It will also continue to shape itself to provide quality service to the community."</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "It provides recreational, educational, cultural, social and physical activity programs and services contributing to building a healthy, liveable community" 	<p>• "The Sanctuary provides a safe place for single women, and women with babies to stabilize and begin their recovery journey with the support of compassionate, skilled staff."</p> <p>• "When the doors to our new Women & Families Centre open in 2021, your ongoing support will increase our capacity from 21 to 123 beds. With long-term recovery, supportive housing, childcare, and youth development programs, vulnerable families will be well-supported as they break intergenerational cycles of poverty."</p>	<p>• "programming for children, youth, adults, and seniors"</p>	<p>http://raycam.org</p>
<p>Strathcona Community Centre</p>	<p>• "Strathcona Community Centre — located in a historic neighbourhood east of Chinatown — has programs for all ages and abilities."</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "We offer licensed childcare, preschool classes programming for children, youth, adults, and seniors; breakfast and food security programs for children, and a fitness centre. Outside, there is a playground." 	<p>• "Strathcona Community Centre — located in a historic neighbourhood east of Chinatown — has programs for all ages and abilities."</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "We offer licensed childcare, preschool classes programming for children, youth, adults, and seniors; breakfast and food security programs for children, and a fitness centre. Outside, there is a playground." 	<p>• "programming for children, youth, adults, and seniors"</p>	<p>https://vancouver.ca/parks-recreation-culture/strathcona-community-centre.aspx</p>

Program	Mandate, Mission or Description	Programs/Services Offered	Clients Served	Website
Budzey Building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Budzey is unique to both Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and to Raincity Housing. It provides opportunities for women and families living there to make connections with a comprehensive range of services and navigate the change from previous housing situations or homelessness into stable, supported, permanent housing. "While there are 147 units in the building, there are well over 200 people that live there, as families change and grow. Since opening in July 2015, many newborns have come from hospital to the Budzey – their first home!" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff focus on activities that will strengthen the community and provide services like: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Liaising with community services and partners; Peer based programming; Community kitchen nights for women and families" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "A ten-story building with 106 studio suites for women and 41 family units (1, 2 and 3 bedroom) for women-led families." "To provide housing for women (Trans, Cis and Gender Diverse), and for women led families." "This project uses a gender and diversity lens that supports an inclusive, safe and vibrant community, making it possible for everyone living at the Budzey to flourish." 	https://www.raincityhousing.org/programs/the-budzey/
Sorella Housing for Women and Children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sorella is a 108-unit, 10-storey complex on the corner of Abbott and Pender Street in Vancouver. Sorella is staffed 24 hours a day seven days a week." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff run a number of groups for the residents, including a 16-step group, a community kitchen and a Rediscover Parenting program." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff offer social supports, resource referrals and are responsible for managing the front door of the building, working to ensure the safety of the women and children who live there." 	https://atira.bc.ca/what-we-do/housing/sorella-housing-for-women-and-children/
YWCA Cause We Care House	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> YWCA Cause We Care House is a 21-unit building with of two-, three- and four-bedroom apartments. It has a small communal garden, an outdoor play area suitable for younger children, and an amenity room. Located right above the náca?mat ct (sic) Strathcona library, it is a beautiful place to call home. Rent is geared to income." 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	https://causewecare.org/initiative/ywca-cause-we-care-house/
Crabtree Corner Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crabtree Corner Housing features 12 self-contained units of supportive housing for parenting and pregnant women who are overcoming substance use issues" "This subsidized housing facility is now open to women and children who need a safe, affordable place to call home – and provides a path towards a brighter, independent future." 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Pregnant women can stay for up to nine months after giving birth, and mothers trying to regain custody of their children can stay for up to 18 months. The housing charge is geared to income." 	https://ywcavan.org/programs/crabtree-corner

Boundary Map of the DTES, Vancouver (City of Vancouver, 2019)



Chapter Three:

**Making Moves: An Exploration of the Lived Experiences of Fathers in Vancouver's
Downtown Eastside and Their Participation in a Family Walking Program**

Abstract

The relationship between physical activity (PA) and fatherhood in communities in which people experience marginalization is not well understood in qualitative research. This is particularly the case in the Downtown Eastside (DTES) of Vancouver, Canada, where there are few services that meet the unique needs of fathers. To address these gaps, we developed Make a Move (MAM): A six-week family walking group pilot program for mothers, fathers, and their children who were living or accessing services in the DTES. Informed by a community-based participatory research approach and intersectional poststructuralism, we conducted semi-structured interviews with nine fathers pre- and post-intervention to understand how their lived experiences as fathers in the DTES shaped their participation in MAM. Using critical discourse analysis, we identified following discourses: Fathers and their children should not be in the DTES; fathers in the DTES are busy and active and cannot attend PA programs; and MAM improved participants' well-being. Our analysis revealed that the ways in which discourses of masculinity create significant barriers that make both PA and fathering difficult in marginalized communities like the DTES, and that these fathers desire social support.

The Downtown Eastside (DTES) of Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, is often referred to as the poorest postal code in Canada (City of Vancouver, 2019). This small geographic area of the city has disproportionately high rates of substance use, violence, homelessness, and poverty compared to other neighbourhoods in the city and indeed Canada (City of Vancouver, 2019). Surprising to some, there are also families that are growing and thriving in the same community (City of Vancouver, 2019). While there are a number of support services for women and children in the DTES (Benoit et al., 2003; Martin & Walia, 2019), there is a dearth of family-centred services that recognize fathers' wellness as being important to the family unit (Darroch et al., 2021).

Physical activity (PA), defined as any muscular movement that includes additional energy expenditure (Brawley & Latimer, 2017), is known to have a wide variety of benefits for individual wellness (Faulkner & Biddle, 2002; Janssen & LeBlanc, 2010; Warburton, et al., 2017). Leisure time PA refers to PA or behaviours that are consciously aimed at improving physical fitness and that people engage in during their free and disposable time (Steinbach & Graf, 2008); however, a number of systemic barriers have been identified that keep leisure time PA from being accessible to everyone, particularly for those who endure marginalizing conditions (Rhodes et al., 2013). Marginalization refers to the experience of being denied access to rights and opportunities on the basis of their gender, ethnicity, culture, and/or economic status (Hall et al., 1994). In addition to experiences of marginalization, parenting (Hamilton & White, 2011) is also a known barrier to PA engagement. While a number of researchers have sought to understand PA barriers for mothers who experience marginalization (Darroch et al., under review; Frisby et al., 2007), there have been few efforts to understand the relationship between fathers who experience marginalization and their engagement in PA.

In 2017, through a community-based participatory research (CBPR) study, a trauma- and violence-informed PA program was created for pregnant and parenting women living in the DTES (Darroch et al., under review). At first, the women identified that they wanted a women's only space, but they later called for opportunities to include their children's fathers (Darroch et al., under review). As an extension of the broader study, this project was created to meet the needs of women and also explore the lived experiences of fathers in the DTES. Using intersectional poststructural theory, CBPR, semi-structured interviews, and critical discourse analysis, we sought to understand how men's lived experiences as fathers in the DTES shaped their participation in a six-week pilot PA program called Make a Move: Family Walking Program (MAM) in the DTES. MAM was a trauma-informed, mixed-gender weekly walking program, which ran in partnership with YWCA Crabtree Corner in 2019.

Literature Review

In the following section, I define and explain the relationships between masculinity, marginalization, and PA for men. I then discuss the existing literature on parenting and PA engagement. Finally, I describe the difficulties of that fathers living in marginalizing conditions face.

Masculinity, Marginalized Men, and Physical Activity

Gendered discourses of PA have shaped men's relationship to PA in ways that create a specific set of challenges for men (Charles et al., 2008). Dominant discourses of masculinity affect men's interest and willingness to engage in PA because many contemporary health promotion projects are built upon prevention and cautionary approaches (Sharp et al., 2018). These frameworks have been criticized for perpetuating barriers to men's participation because they run counter to many masculinity narratives of men as stoic and resilient (Evans et al., 2011; Fleming et al., 2014). Certain activities, such as boxing, contact sports, and high-risk activities,

are deemed more appropriate for men than activities like yoga, walking, or aerobics because they more closely align with masculine characteristics of aggression, strength, and bravery (Rørth et al., 2019). The assumption that sports are the best way for men to build relationships is a part of a dominant discourse related to the patriarchal nature of sport has been contested and criticized (Kidd, 2013). For men living in marginalizing conditions, their relationships to PA are complicated by an increased adherence to hegemonic and traditional characteristics of masculinity (Creighton & Oliffe, 2010; Sørensen & Gill, 2008; Vogel et al., 2011), which create additional barriers to accessing PA

Marginalized men have complicated relationships with their health and face unique challenges to PA (Bottoroff et al., 2014). Individuals who endure homelessness, poverty, food insecurity, and substance use are often focussed on meeting their basic needs; therefore, some preventative health interventions, like PA, may not be a priority for them (Daiki, 2005; Darroch et al., 2021). The benefits of PA have been studied extensively and the results consistently demonstrate a number of physical and emotional gains such as reduced rates of coronary heart disease, type 2 diabetes, and improved mental health (Faulkner & Biddle, 2002; Janssen & LeBlanc, 2010; Reiner et al., 2013; Warburton et al., 2017); however, participation in PA is not equitably accessible in Canada.

The literature has shown that men who experience marginalization demonstrate lower levels of leisure time PA (Reiner et al., 2013). Indeed, many traditional masculine activities have costs and other barriers that prevent these men from participating (Sørensen & Gill, 2008). Recent research with fathers in the DTES found a number of barriers to PA including poverty, and a lack of resources, housing, and time (Darroch et al., 2021). Contemporary discourses of PA have been criticized for perpetuating barriers for men because they reproduce power relations that are rooted in patriarchal, capitalist, and racist rhetoric (Fullagar, 2002; Im et al., 2012).

Addressing these barriers are important because PA can have positive effects for marginalized men, who experience high rates of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, and depression (Zoeller, 2007).

Parenting and Physical Activity

A number of studies have shown that experiences of parenthood reduce PA engagement for both mothers and fathers (Gaston et al., 2014; Hamilton & White, 2010; Perales et al., 2015). Reasons for reduced PA engagement for middle- and working-class parents include deficits in energy (Carson et al., 2018), limited time for leisure (Sjögren et al., 2011), commitment to family responsibilities (Mailey et al., 2014), and increases in domestic labour (Divine et al., 2021). More specifically, Danish fathers who had little education and lower income indicated that their duty to provide for their family took precedence over PA engagement (Pedersen et al., 2020). Conversely, fatherhood has also been identified as period of life during which men are more likely to improve their health-related behaviours (Bottorff et al., 2010); therefore, fatherhood can be an opportune time to initiate PA programming that acknowledges the important work of fathering (Darroch et al., 2021).

Challenges of Marginalized Fathers

The ways in which masculinity is implicated in constructions of fatherhood are intensified by marginalization, which creates significant and unique challenges for fathers (Hamer & Marchioro, 2002; Schindler & Coley, 2007). While contemporary discourses of parenting and the division of parenting responsibilities between men and women have shifted towards a more balanced and equity-orientated standard, the degree to which these shifts have happened is dependent upon individuals' social-economic status and experiences of marginalization (Lam et al., 2019). Studies have shown that an adherence to traditional parenting roles is more prevalent in communities where there are marginalizing conditions (Schindler &

Coley, 2007). One traditional responsibility that contributes to discourses of good and bad fathering for fathers experiencing marginalization is the need to financially provide for one's family (Marsiglio et al., 2005). Schindler and Coley (2007) found that pressure to be perceived as a good father was intensified for fathers who faced homelessness as they were fixated on and concerned about their responsibilities to provide for their families. While having less access to food, housing, and support, fathers who live in marginalizing conditions must also contend with stereotypes of them as being lazy, uninvolved, absent, selfish, and embodying discourses of bad fatherhood (Forste et al., 2009; Summers et al., 2011). In resource-poor environments, where masculinity is intensified by experiences of marginalization (Helman et al., 2019), competition for access to means of survival is linked to creating hierarchies of belonging (Pacholok, 2009).

Despite well-documented benefits of involved fathering, such as positively influencing children's self-esteem, social relationships, and success in school (Sarkadi et al., 2007), few services for parents are aimed at improving the parenting skills of fathers who experience marginalization (Bayley et al., 2009; Sicouri et al., 2018; Summers et al., 2004). Pervasive discourses on masculinity present men as being less interested than women in caring for their families and has contributed to fewer programs that are created specifically with/for fathers (Salari & Filius, 2017). Additionally, fathers who value more traditional qualities of masculinity may also be less likely to seek out help and support (Courtenay, 2000).

A number of barriers for marginalized fathers who have attempted to access programs for fathers have been identified within the literature (Sharp et al., 2018). Fathers in this context identified the main barrier as not knowing where to look for supports (Panter-Brick et al., 2014). Further to this, they also reported not knowing that services for fathers exist (Summers et al., 2011). Fear of being judged or criticized by service providers also has kept fathers from seeking out parenting supports (Bayley et al., 2009). Fathers have identified that attitudes from

staff who facilitate programs can be barriers for fathers' participation in parenting programs (Panter-Brick et al., 2014).

There is evidence that has demonstrated the effects on the entire family of the dearth of parenting programming for fathers. Being excluded from parenting programs means that fathers are less likely to develop friendships with other fathers, find role models, and build a community (Eddy et al., 2019). With fewer supports, fathers are less likely to gain skills in improving their parenting or connection with their child, which has been shown to place additional burdens on mothers (Darroch et al., 2021).

This review of literature has highlighted how barriers related to structural inequities, dominant discourses of masculinity, and parenting have made PA engagement difficult for fathers living in marginalizing conditions. They also must contend with challenging discourses of good and bad fatherhood while having fewer resources and less access to support services. Given these challenges, our practical goal in this CBPR was to meet the needs of mothers participating in the first study by including their children's fathers in the MAM and to improve fathers' access to PA resources in the DTES. Further, in an effort to provide insights into ways of better supporting fathers, in this study we also sought to unpack the ways in which dominant discourses of masculinity shape the lived experiences of fathers who experience marginalization.

Theoretical Framework

We critically analyzed fathers' lived experiences in the DTES and in the MAM program by employing an intersectional poststructuralist theoretical framework. Built upon the foundations of both intersectionality and poststructuralism, intersectional poststructuralism is useful for understanding the ways in which power and knowledge shape discourses of identity (Staunaes & Sondergaard, 2010). Intersectionality is used to examine the historical and political ways that social markers like age, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, and ability are created and

sustained by intertwining systems of power (Choo & Ferree, 2010; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016), while poststructural theorists examine how meaning is relative and changes over time by exposing the power relations embedded within dominant discourse (Markula, 2003). Thus, by using these two approaches in concert, the intersectional construction of social identities is complicated by poststructuralist concepts and can be used to demonstrate the ways in which social categories are not fixed but are always in flux and shaped by systems of power (Maclaran, 2019). As white, cis-gender, straight, women, from western European descent, who identify as middle-upper class, we recognize the importance of positioning ourselves and accounting for the power and privilege that shape the construction of this project.

Within intersectional poststructuralism, there is an understanding that gender, ability, income, sexuality and ethnicity are not something that one has but that one does (Roseberry, 2010). Moving away from static constructions of identity markers like gender, ethnicity, and class complicates traditional understandings of parenting and fatherhood and can enhance our understanding of fathers' participation in MAM. Within intersectional poststructuralism, the presumed neutrality of knowledge is rejected and instead a reflexive approach to discourse is taken up (Mann, 2013). Through analysis of language, text, and culture, intersectional poststructuralism is a powerful lens for challenging dominant discourses and the ways in which that they are presented as "truths" (Mann, 2013).

Critiques of both intersectionality and poststructuralism have focused on the pragmatism of these theories (Dressler & Babidge, 2017). We assert, however, that by revealing the ways that power fluctuates, intersectional poststructuralism can be used to challenge dominant discourses of masculinity that are relevant to fathers in the DTES, which demonstrates their utility. By highlighting subjugated experiences, we will complicate common perceptions of fathers who facing marginalization and provide insights for better supporting fathers.

Methodology

We selected community-based participatory research (CBPR) as the methodology for this research because CBPR is intended to disrupt dominant discourses of knowledge, power, and expertise (Israel et al., 1998), and because this research is a part of a larger CBPR project in the DTES. Conducting research in communities that experience marginalization, like the DTES, involves a myriad of ethical and practical challenges. Members of communities that experience marginalization are more likely to experience health inequities, in turn, are vulnerable to being over researched (Goodman et al., 2018). The ways in which traditional research methodologies have been used by researchers with populations and communities experiencing marginalization have been challenged by feminists (Reid, 2004), Indigenous scholars (Goodman et al., 2011), and social justice activists (Jackson et al., 2002). They have argued that viewing members of these groups as passive or helpless perpetuates harmful systems of power and privilege (Maguire, 2001). To resist the reproduction of power dynamics that stem from colonial, imperial, and patriarchal systems, researchers must employ rigorous reflexivity and recognize their position as outsiders (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003). At the crux of the insider-outsider tension lies an opportunity to leverage knowledge that is often subjugated but also critical for long-term, systemic change. CBPR is rooted in social justice and social change, and community autonomy is the ultimate goal (Mottola et al., 2001); therefore, it is particularly appropriate for this project.

The techniques and tenets of CBPR, when actualized with integrity and reflexivity, are effective in mobilizing social change. When employing CBPR principles, researchers work with existing communities to create community-identified solutions to community-identified problems (Wallerstein et al., 2019). In CBPR, community-based approaches are intended to strengthen feelings of belonging and purpose in the community by recognizing and respecting their values and priorities (Israel et al., 1998). The participatory aspect is attained by giving

community members authority and control of the research process and is intended to destabilize the power differentials that are pervasive in traditional research paradigms (Wallerstein et al., 2019). Community advisory boards (CAB) are a common tool for actualizing community members' participation (Newman et al., 2011). CABs are comprised of a diverse sampling of community members who meet regularly and oversee all aspects of the research (Newman et al., 2011).

To ensure the aforementioned benefits of CBPR were possible, a CAB was closely involved in the development, facilitation, and research processes of MAM. The CAB for this project was comprised of the same six members as the CAB for the broader project. Importantly, as the broader project addressed the needs of *mothers* on the DTES, the CAB members all identified as pregnant and parenting women who participated in the PA programming for mothers. Given that the inclusion of fathers was unanticipated, and the CAB for the larger project was already well established, the CAB decided to continue with the same members – all of whom were women. Together, our team was able to respond to the needs of mothers in the community and also create inclusion opportunities for a population of fathers who wanted to access these services.

Methods

MAM was initiated in June 2019 and was open to fathers, mothers, and children who accessed services at Crabtree Corner in the DTES. Each group started with a light meal or snack before heading out to one of three walking routes, and participants were given a ten-dollar gift card for every three times they attended the program. Each research participant was provided a pair of running shoes and a \$25 honorarium for participating in each interview.

Sampling

The eligibility criteria for this study required participants to understand English, to participate at least once in MAM, to live or access services within the DTES, to identify as fathers, and to be actively involved with their children. Participants were recruited through flyers that were posted at a variety of organizations in the DTES that support families and mothers: Crabtree Corner, Sheway, Budzey Community Housing, and the DTES Neighbourhood House. We employed snowball sampling, which is a form of purposeful sampling, as a way to identify additional participants (Creswell, 1999).

Participants

Nine fathers participated in the study. The fathers ranged from ages 27-60 and the average age was 43. Three participants self-identified as Indigenous: Métis (n=1), First Nations (n=1) and Inuit (n=1). Participants were parenting between 1 and 4 children. Four of the participants were unemployed, one did seasonal work, one reported receiving disability insurance, and three stated that they worked part-time. Two out of the nine participants reported that they spent at least one night in a shelter in the past twelve months. To protect their anonymity, I changed all participants' names and randomly assigned each participant a pseudonym.

Table 1

Participant Information and MAM attendance

Pseudonym	Number of Children	Age	# of times attended
Adrien	1	53	1
Ben	1	58	6
Callum	2	41	2
Dante	1	41	5
Ethan	2	38	5
Frank	1	28	6

Gaige	2	39	1
Hassan	1	61	6
Ian	4	35	4

With the CAB, we selected a semi-structured approach to interviewing because it enables researchers to ask open-ended questions and probe for more information following any given response (Creswell, 2003). By providing opportunities for participants to take the interview in whatever direction they desire, semi-structured interviews create more of an equitable environment than structured interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2004). Further, placing value on what the participants deem as knowledge or important points of view is strongly aligned with the principles of CBPR (Israel et al., 1998).

With input from the CAB, the first author created a set of semi-structured questions, and several prompts with guidance from the CAB. Examples of some of the questions that we asked in the baseline interview included the following: 1) How long have you lived or accessed services in the DTES; 2) what is your experience being connected to this neighbourhood; 3) has income shaped your PA over your lifetime; and 4) how does being a parent (or expectant parent) impact your physical activity? Some of the follow-up questions reflected the participants' experiences in the program: 1) what was your primary motivation for coming to the group; 2) did you make any new social connections or friendships; and 3) do you feel motivated to do more PA in your neighbourhood now? Conducting interviews with members of populations who experience marginalization must be done with care and sensitivity (Israel et al., 1998). Notably, the first author has seven years of experience working with women, families, and children experiencing marginalization and had long standing rapport with a number of the participants. The first author interviewed the nine fathers two weeks before MAM started and shortly after the

pilot program ended. The duration of the interviews was between 30-60 minutes, and we provided the fathers with childcare. Each participant received a new pair of running shoes at the beginning of the program and a \$25 honorarium for each of the two assessment points. The sessions were digitally audio recorded and later transcribed. Participants also provided some basic demographic information during their baseline interviews.

Analysis

We used critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyze the transcripts from the semi-structured interviews. CDA is a form of discourse analysis that uses poststructural concepts of power and knowledge to situate everyday talk and text within their cultural and historical context (Cheek, 2004). A discourse is a grouping of statements about a certain topic that is organized in such a way that it enables or constrains the production of knowledge (Cheek, 2004). The “C” in CDA is a call to consider the implications of discourses on individual’s identities and lives and how said discourses are often taken for granted as “truth” (McGannon, 2016). Understanding the ways in which knowledge is socially constructed is the next tenet of CDA and is completed by engaging with our own self-identity as a discursive construct (Cheek, 2004). CDA enables researchers to locate systems of power that have contributed to the distribution or suppression of knowledge (McGannon, 2016). CDA is useful for interrogating the ways in which discourses are re(produced) in social practices and institutions to reveal nuanced ways that individual behaviours are situated within discourse (McGannon, 2016). In contesting the impermeability of dominant discourses, we ultimately create space for resistance and possible social change (McGannon, 2016).

While there is no one prescribed method of approaching CDA, in our analysis, we observed Parker’s (1990) three criteria for identifying discourse. We first identified what objects (words, concepts, and metaphors) were being referred to as we read the transcripts. We identified

the following objects: poverty, pressures of fathering, walking, challenges of single fatherhood, protection, feelings of safety, community, pride, and motivating factors. We then made note of what subject position the speaker was assuming within the discourse. Finally, I considered how the objects and subjects were being used and acted upon to refine and name the discourses (Parker, 1990). Through my analysis, we identified the following discourses: fathers and their children do not belong in the DTES; fathers are busy and active and do not require additional PA programs; and MAM improved participating fathers' well-being. All findings were shared with the CAB, who shared feedback and approved final documents.

Results

Fathers and Their Children Do Not Belong in the DTES

Before participating in MAM, the fathers in this study spoke of the challenges they faced while being active with their children in the DTES. Many of the fathers said that they experience judgement from outsiders for being out in the community alone with their children. Ethan shared a recent encounter he had while accessing public transit. He said:

It's just people outside of the neighborhood who judge and say, "How could you raise kids in the Downtown Eastside?" We were changing buses at Main and Hastings the other morning and some guys said, "Why don't you take your kids to the park? This is gangster corner."

Callum also spoke of individuals who questioned why he lived in the DTES with his children. During the interviews, when I asked Callum what it meant to be a member of the DTES community, he said, "It's complicated to live in the neighborhood with the kids. Because I get like dirty looks and like why, why, why this? Why with your kids?"

Ben referred to a local phenomenon within the DTES that occurs when individuals are often sitting along the sidewalk selling different wares, chatting with other community members,

and sometimes actively consuming various illicit substances. When a person is walking down the street with a stroller or child in hand, it is not uncommon for the folks without children to call out “Kids on the Block!” as a signal to those around them to put away any illicit paraphernalia that is inappropriate for children. Ben said,

Drives me nuts when they yell "Kid on the block," because I know I got a kid. I know he's on the block, and I'm well able to protect him. It's not necessarily a negative experience, because I know their hearts are in the right place trying to hide the seedier stuff that they do. But it just drives me nuts, because it's changing nothing. He's already seen the pipe or the rig or whatever it is you're trying to hide from the kid on the block.

Ben went on to describe how this interaction with insiders triggered a sense of internal shame or judgement within himself: “It’s almost like a reminder that we’re on the Downtown Eastside with a kid. Shouldn’t we be somewhere else? It’s like being reminded by a junkie that you’re in the wrong place.” Gaige echoed this but in relation to what it meant for his children’s wellness and development:

You know, it’s kind of hard to raise kids in this neighbourhood. The kids do witness a lot of addictions and substance abuse and death, and it just kind of feels like it’s robbing them of their innocence at an early age.

Gaige felt that living in the DTES increased his need to protect his children. When asked about how he felt about walking around the neighbourhood with his children, Gaige said, “I watch my kids like a hawk. You know what I mean? Very protective. It takes me a while before I actually let down the protection of my children.”

Other fathers had more positive experiences of walking through the community with their children before taking part in MAM. Adrien stated,

It kind of feels good in a way, because I get a lot of positive messages from other fathers that aren't with their kids anymore or who relapsed and lost their kids. I always get lots of good input like, "Oh, right on. Way to go. I'm glad you're still with your baby. I'm glad you're still doing good. You look good." I still take the time to stop and say, "Hi" and "How you doing?" ...I always ask, "Do you get to see your kid? How's things going?"

Ethan expressed his pride in the neighbourhood and, despite some of the aforementioned challenges, he felt that he had a right to raise his children in the neighbourhood. He noted, "mainly there are many families that live here, and this is a family-friendly area. We have every right to live here and feel safe, just as much as anywhere else."

Fathers in the DTES are Busy and Active and Cannot Attend PA Programs

The fathers who participated in this study discussed the barriers they face when accessing PA resources before MAM was created. One of the participants identified barriers related to poverty that impeded upon his ability to be physically active. When we asked Ben, a 58-year-old, single father of one, what physical activities he would be interested in doing in his first interview, he responded, "I'm too old for hockey. I'm too old for football. I'm too poor for golfing." For Ben, his age and income are both barriers to accessing his preferred activities.

An additional barrier before MAM was resources within the community. Ian, a 35-year-old father of four, did not know of any PA resources that were available in the DTES. At the very end of the first interview, he asked: "Do they have that down here, like work out places and stuff like that, like fitness?" When we asked Callum, a 41-year-old father of two, in his first interview if he knew of any PA resources that were available to him, he stated: "Probably, if I'd actually look for it... I know there's some out there. It's just I don't really look for them."

The fathers also identified that the work of parenting was also a barrier to and reason for not needing to engage in or seek out PA resources. When asked before MAM how parenting affects his ability to engage in PA, Adrien, a 53-year-old father of one, said,

[Parenting] takes a lot more wind out of me. I'm not going to lie to you. You know what? At the end of the day, I'm not going to lie. When it's seven, eight o'clock at night, I'm hoping she goes to sleep. She takes the wind out of my sail. By the end of the day, I don't have a lot to give.

In contrast, while some participants saw poverty and parenting as barriers, several of the fathers expressed that these phenomena facilitated or increased their PA. When asked to share his thoughts and experiences of being physically active, Gaige, a 39-year-old single father of two, said, “Well I said, I walk everywhere because I don’t have a bus pass, so I guess that keeps me pretty well fit, right?” In this instance, being forced to walk for transportation satisfied his expectations for PA. Further, some of the fathers felt that parenting or spending time with their children increases their PA in general. Callum noted that his children helped him to “Probably just more getting out of the house a bit... I got two kids for that now, so that kind of helps. We do walks, running a lot, parks, skateboarding... it makes it easier. Similarly, Gaige said, that having children “makes me more active because I have to do a lot of running around. Chasing down the kids. Being single and doing it by myself keeps you on your toes.” Ben echoed these statements when discussing his son in his first interview, “Now he's starting to climb. So, I climb around on the jungle gyms a little bit.”

MAM Improved Participating Fathers’ Well-being

MAM was very well attended. Fathers participating in the study came to four out of six sessions on average. After participating in the program, we asked the participants in the follow-up interviews if they made any new social connections while taking part in the group. Ethan said,

“I feel like I didn’t do a whole lot of socializing, but I felt just genuinely bonding with people was actually a really good thing.” Ethan’s response aligned with the majority of the other fathers who said that they did not socially engage with the other men in the group. However, Ethan’s statement reflects that he was still able to gain a sense of community without actually speaking with anyone. Ben also stated that he really enjoyed being a part of a group or community. During the follow-up interview, Ben shared a conversation that he had with his son the week after the program ended. He asked his son, “So what are we going to do in the evening?” and his son responded, “Let’s go for a walk, Daddy!” Ben then explained that the program had ended and told his son, “All right, but we’re back to walking by ourselves sometimes.” In follow-up interviews when the participants were asked about what it meant to them to participate in a program that was open to fathers, Gaige stated,

Well, I think it's about time. Because like I said, there's not really a lot of stuff geared towards men at all around here. Like I said, everything's for females and their kids.

Nothing really for males and their kids.

In addition to meeting new families, many of the fathers felt that participating in the program helped them feel healthier and encouraged them to engage in healthier behaviours. In his follow-up interview, Dante, a 41-year-old father of one, said that he was motivated to come to the group, “just to get healthy and just to walk more different places with different people. I just liked it because there were men there.” Before participating, Dante stated that he wanted to, “meet other families and meet more people that we know that have been in addictions. But I love meeting new dads. I just wish there were more programs, so that way I could see them more.” Dante was thus motivated to attend to not only improve his physical health, but also to create healthier friendships and relationships overall.

We also asked participants if they felt more motivated and/or comfortable doing PA in the DTES *after* participating in a group format. Ethan reported that since participating as a group, both he and his partner feel more comfortable getting out and walking around in the neighbourhood. He said, “We actually wanted to go somewhere downtown the other day and she said, ‘well, let’s walk there.’ And I said, ‘Yeah, sure. I’m up for it!’” Frank, a 28 -year-old father of one, after being asked if he felt safe bringing his daughter through certain parts of the neighbourhood during the program, replied, “Yeah. Because we had all the other people with us. I feel uneasy if I leave with just me and her.” Gaige similarly felt safer walking in the community while in a group: “Because it’s a large group, right? So, everybody, they actually do take a glance over and notice.”

Discussion

This study explored how the lived experiences of fathers in the DTES shaped their participation in MAM. In this section, we discuss the ways in which fathers in this study contended with the challenges created by dominant discourses of masculinity. The three discourses identified in the results provide insight into the ways in which gender, level of income, ethnicity intersect and fluctuate according to systems of power to create and sustain challenges for fathers living and accessing services in the DTES.

Fathers and Their Children Should Not be in the DTES

Fathers in this study described a myriad of pressures, judgements, and responsibilities that they faced while raising their children in the DTES. Many of their statements also indicated they felt a sense of individual responsibility for the circumstances of their lives. Fathers referred to seeking PA resources, protecting their children, and their parenting duties within a framework of individualism, and they did not overtly blame their challenges on the conditions of their lives. Individualistic thinking is prevalent across dominant discourses of masculinity and fatherhood,

particularly in relation to expectations placed upon fathers to provide (financially) for their family (Norman, 2011). Indeed, despite significant shifts towards equity in parenting responsibilities (Lam et al., 2019), expectations for fathers to financially support their family remain uncontested within dominant discourses about fatherhood (Helman, 2019).

Fathers in the DTES may feel that they are under more pressure to fulfill expectations of being good fathers because expressions of masculinity are heightened for men who experience marginalization (Helman et al., 2019). Fifty-five percent of the fathers who participated in this study were unemployed and collected federal income assistance or disability benefits, and 44% held part-time and seasonal employment; therefore, they may feel immense pressure to deliver in their role as a male provider with limited resources. Indeed, intersections of gender and class interact to shape discourses of masculinity, which make fathering in a marginalized community like the DTES difficult.

In addition to the challenges of meeting the aforementioned expectations, fathers who experience marginalization must simultaneously contend with dominant discourses of “bad fathers” that paint low income, racialized, and/or substance using fathers as selfish, lazy, and absent from the family (Söderström & Skårderud, 2013; Summers et al., 2011). While fathers in this study discussed the judgement they experienced for raising their children in the DTES, they also rationalized why they believe fathers deserve to have more programs and services that meet their needs in the DTES. Within the statements about “Kids on the block,” there was reference to hierarchies of belonging, which is common within discourses of competing masculinity (Pacholok, 2009). By rejecting substance users, fathers in this study resist notions of them as bad fathers, assert power associated with being a non-substance using man and father living in poverty, and position themselves higher up within the DTES hierarchy. Fathers demonstrated the ways in which identity markers are always in flux and used to justify their presence with their

children in the area. Countering the discourse that families do not belong in the DTES, fathers in this study endorsed the DTES as a supportive neighbourhood that is safe and family friendly. Leveraging their voices and experiences, the findings of this study suggest that fathers *are* present in the DTES and doing a sufficient job of protecting and providing for their families, and that they have a right to be in the neighbourhood with their families and children without shame or guilt.

Fathers in the DTES are Busy and Active and Cannot Attend PA Programs

Throughout the majority of the interviews, the fathers in this study justified how active they were due to the busyness of their everyday lives. The language that the fathers used in response to PA engagement indicated that they were dedicated fathers and doing everything they could to support their family. Indeed, their activities often revolved around caring and providing for their family. In describing how their responsibilities of parenting usurped energy that could be otherwise be used for PA, their sentiments closely with research demonstrating that LTPA levels decrease when men become parents (Gaston et al., 2014; Hamilton & White, 2010; Perales et al, 2015). It also upholds dominant discourses of fathers' responsibility to prioritize providing for their family over their own health (Sjögren et al., 2011). Their comments about the busyness of their lives further challenge ongoing discourses of the low income, marginalized father who is lazy, selfish, and absent from their family's lives by describing the effort and work they do for their families.

The results of this study demonstrate that experiences of marginalization and the intersections of gender, ethnicity, and income create complications for fathers in the DTES and their relationships with leisure time PA. Some fathers elaborated on the ways in which the marginalizing conditions of their life were facilitating factors that increased PA; in doing so they indicated that they were aware of the health discourses that endorse the benefits of PA and felt

that their daily work satisfied these recommendations. Their sentiments strongly align with other discourses of PA that uphold individual responsibility to meet public health recommendations for daily activity (Fullagar, 2002). As fathers described the demands of their daily activity, they differentiated between the PA required for them to survive and provide for their families and their access to more formal leisure time PA. The ways in which limited resources (both energy and finances) impeded upon their ability to take up leisure time PA referenced ableist, classist, and racist discourses that perpetuate the notion that leisure time PA is a luxury that someone has to earn or pay for; thus, it is not a priority for many people who experience marginalization (Im et al., 2012). Consistent with these discourses, the fathers shared that they lacked the financial means to engage in certain types of leisure time PA and were in disbelief that there might be PA resources available for them in a neighbourhood like the DTES.

MAM Improved Participants' Well-being

While the fathers expressed that PA was not necessarily a service they needed, they nevertheless reported experiencing a number of improvements to their well-being from participating in MAM. Darroch et al. (2021) suggested that fathers living in marginalizing conditions are primarily seeking programs specially designed to meet the needs of fathers and programmers do not necessarily need to leverage PA as the conduit to bring fathers together. While the degree to which PA was a facilitating factor in the popularity of MAM is inconclusive, fathers' regular participation countered the indifference they showed towards PA programming in the first interviews. Their consistent attendance also indicated that they want social support and to solidify their presence as good fathers in the DTES.

Some fathers reported changes in their health behaviours and an increase in PA levels after the six-week pilot; however, most of the reported benefits of attending MAM were a result of doing PA within a community of fathers. This finding runs counter to dominant discourses

that purport men to be individualistic and that they engage with PA to release aggression and process their emotions on their own (Charles et al., 2008). Further, their positive experiences in the walking program also contest discourses of competitive, high-energy, team-based sports as the best way for men to develop friendships and community (Adams et al., 2010). Several of the fathers shared their disappointment in having to walk alone again after MAM had ended, which further counters masculinity discourses that uphold stoicism and individualism as being inherent and valuable to men (Kidd, 2013). The fathers who participated in MAM were able to connect with other fathers who share similar life circumstances, and they shared that they found the best part of participating in MAM was being in a group that was inclusive of other fathers. In response to the gaps in services for men with children (Summers et al., 2011), the fathers in this study called for more programs like MAM that are inclusive of men enduring similar circumstances. Moreover, the language they used, such as “it’s about time,” was indicative of their frustration with not having appropriate services available to them.

The findings from this study can provide useful strategies and insights for organizations in the DTES to not only provide PA services for fathers but also better understand the unique challenges that fathers face. The final step of this research will include a presentation to the DTES community and a knowledge mobilization report for YWCA Crabtree Corner.

Limitations

As with all qualitative research, there are limitations to this study that are worth considering. One notable limitation is that there were no fathers present on the CAB. Having fathers’ perspective throughout the entire process could have provided some important insights. A second limitation is that because of human resource limitations, this program was only able to run for six weeks. It may have been the case that six weeks was insufficient time to have seen

significant, lasting changes. In the future, researchers should attempt to secure funding to enable programming that runs longer than six weeks.

Conclusions

In this study, we presented a compelling solution - a mixed-gender walking program that is inclusive of fathers who experience marginalization - to a complex problem: how to address challenges for fathers in the DTES in accessing PA programs for them and their families. This research makes a novel and timely contribution to understanding the relationship between marginalized fathers and PA and the ways in which dominant discourses of masculinity shape the lived experiences and PA participation of marginalized fathers. Even though fathers in this study did not identify that PA was something they needed, they attended because they wanted to be included in programming. Not only did MAM improve participants' access to PA resources in the DTES, but by participating in the program the fathers effectively challenged the problematic discourses of masculinity that sustain barriers to PA.

Indeed, MAM created a community for fathers in the DTES to disrupt discourses of them as bad fathers and to affirm their presence in the DTES community. As they walked around the neighbourhood each week, the fathers in this study demonstrated their commitment to their families and corporally articulated that fathers deserve to be included in programs the DTES. Therefore, while the role of PA in the success of the program is inconclusive, the fathers' participation in MAM can be considered a call for more programming that meets the needs of fathers in the DTES. Future studies should continue to explore the benefits of programming that is inclusive of fathers and determine the degree to which PA may be a facilitating factor in fathers' participation.

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Appendix B

Table 1

Participant Demographic Data

	Men (n=9)
Age (years)	
Range	28-61
Mean	34.1
Sexuality (%)	
Heterosexual/Straight	100% (n=9)
Gay or Lesbian	-
Bisexual	-
You don't have an option that suits me	-
Indigenous Identity (%)	
Yes	25% (n=5)
No	20% (n=4)
If you identify as an Indigenous person, are you: (%)	
First Nations	14.3% (n=2)
Métis	14.3% (n=2)
Inuit	7.3% (n=1)
Education Level (%)	
Some elementary school	
Elementary school	33.3% (n=3)
Some secondary school/high school	44.4% (n=4)

Completed secondary school/high school	11.1% (n=1)
Some college or university	
Completed college or university	11.1% (n=1)
Completed graduate or professional degree	-
Are you currently in a relationship with a partner? (%)	
Yes	64% (n=7)
No	36% (n=4)
Marital Status (%)	
Single, Never Married	36% (n=4)
Married	9% (n=1)
Living with Common-Law Partner	55% (n=6)
Separated	
Divorced	
Currently pregnant (%)	
Yes	9% (n=1)
How many children under 18 are you providing direct care to (%)	
0	
1-4	100% (n=9)

Table 2

Housing & Employment Information

	Men (n=9)
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Private apartment / condo / house (with government supports)	55.6% (n=5)
Public, social, or supportive housing	44.4% (n=4)
In the last 12 months, have you spent one or more nights in any type of shelter? (%)	
Yes	22.2% (n=2)
No	77.7% (n=7)
How many nights in a shelter in the last 12 months (%)	
1-7 nights	
8-14 nights	
15-30 nights	
More than 30 nights	
Primary Work Status (%)	
Employed full-time (20+ hours/week)	
Employed part-time (less than 20 hours per week)	33.3% (n=3)
Seasonal	11.1% (n=1)
Unemployed	44.4%(n=4)
Services (e.g., babysitting) in exchange for food, housing, etc.	
You don't have an option that suits me (please specify):	11.1% (n=1)
Experiences of Discrimination	Men (n=9)
Never	22.2% (n=2)

Sometimes	77.7% (n=7)
Often	
Your ancestry or national origins	22.2% (n=2)
Your gender	11.1% (n=1)
Your race	44.4% (n=4)
Your age	11.1% (n=1)
Your weight	22.2% (n=2)
Your skin colour	11.1% (n=1)
Some other aspect of your physical appearance	
Your sexual orientation	
Your education or income level	33.3% (n=3)
Physical disability	
Substance use	22.2% (n=2)
Your mental health	33.3% (n=3)
Other health conditions	
The way you speak English or your accent	
How you make a living	33.3% (n=3)
Where you live	33.3% (n=3)
Your appearance	66.6% (n=6)
Suspected of drug seeking (whether you use drugs or not)	22.2% (n=2)

Chapter 4: Conclusion

For my Master's of Arts research, I was fortunate to investigate fathers' representation in program policies of organizations that provide family centred services in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES) and how men's lived experiences as fathers in the DTES shaped their participation in Make a Move: Family Walking Group (MAM). I constructed these research questions with the intention to leverage the voices of fathers in this area and ultimately improve services for them. Dominant discourses surrounding masculinity and fathers who experience marginalization paint a picture of low-income, racialized, and substance-using fathers as selfish, absent, and lazy (Coley, 2001; Summers et al., 2011). A number of barriers exist for fathers living in marginalizing conditions who seek access to support services (Panter-Brick et al., 2014; Schindler & Coley, 2007; Sharp et al., 2018), including physical activity (PA) programs (Darroch et al., under review; Sørensen & Gill, 2008). By investigating program policies and speaking with fathers who participated in MAM, I was better able to understand the ways in which these discourses create and sustain barriers for fathers within the context of the DTES.

In this final chapter of my thesis, I discuss the contributions that my research makes to addressing gaps in scholarly literature, policy development, and the enhancement of the provision of family-centred services in the DTES. Finally, I address the limitations of my research and share my closing thoughts on programming for fathers in the DTES.

Contributions to Addressing Gaps in Knowledge

Summary of Publishable Papers

The physical and emotional benefits of PA are well documented and include reduced rates of coronary heart disease, type 2 diabetes, and improved mental health (Reiner et al., 2013; Warburton et al., 2006). Despite the positive relationship between PA and improved health, individuals who are living in marginalizing conditions face many barriers when attempting to access PA services (Black & Veenstra, 2011; Pan et al., 2009; Ponc et al., 2011). The literature

also makes it clear that individuals who experience marginalization often endure decreased mental health status (Chasey et al., 2009), including higher rates of anxiety, depression, and posttraumatic stress disorder (Zoeller, 2007). Thus, there have been a number of efforts to improve PA engagement for populations experiencing marginalization (Brown et al., 2001; Darroch et al., under review; Dlugonski et al., 2017; Poncic et al., 2011). Yet, there is limited literature on the implementation and evaluation of PA programs that are accessible and suitable for families experiencing marginalization – particularly programs that are open to fathers.

While studies have shown the importance of fathers in their children’s development and wellbeing (Barker et al., 2017; Cabrera et al., 2007; Sarkadi et al., 2007), fathers who experience marginalizing conditions face a number of barriers to accessing both parenting support services (Bayley et al., 2009; Sicouri et al., 2018) and health-related services (Sharp et al., 2018). This is the case in the DTES of Vancouver, British Columbia, where there are numerous support programs for mothers (City of Vancouver, 2019), but a dearth of family-centred services that are open to fathers. In addition, there is a lack of information available about the lived experiences of fathers in this neighbourhood. As a result, the two studies presented in my thesis built on one another. In the first, I investigated the role policies play in the exclusion of fathers in family-centred support programs. In the second, I explored the connection between fathers’ lived experiences in the DTES and their participation in a PA program created to be inclusive of fathers.

Policies

In my first paper, a policy analysis, I explored how fathers are represented in the program policies of organizations that provide family-centred services in the DTES. I constructed three discourses based on the program policies of 12 organizations in the DTES: Organizations strive to be client-centred and provide choices; organizations want to empower their participants; and

women need a safe place to raise their families. The discourses of empowerment within the policies sustain constructions of men as stoic, self-reliant (Albritton et al., 2014; Johansson & Klinth, 2008), and as inherently oppositional to women's empowerment (Sharma, 2000). The final discourse contained language that is often associated with constructions of women as vulnerable and in need of protection, while portraying men as powerful, angry, and violent (Albritton et al., 2014). Using Bacchi and Goodwin's (2016) "What's the problem represented to be" approach, my examination of these discourses showed that fathers in the DTES are problematized in policies in two ways: 1) Fathers are rendered invisible through their exclusion from the program policies; 2) The language that *is* used in program policies employs gender discourses that result in increased parenting responsibilities for mothers and upholds negative perceptions of fathers.

In this paper, I not only contributed to literature by showing that current program policies do not account for fathers, but I also demonstrated the challenges that fathers who live in the DTES face when endeavouring to access services. Furthermore, I actualized my experiences as a front-line service provider, as I spent many years frustrated by the limitations of program policies that failed to include fathers. It is my hope that in recognizing the ramifications of excluding fathers, this thesis will provide organizations with tools to advocate for improved inclusion of fathers.

Lived Experiences

In my second study, I explored how participants' lived experiences as fathers in the DTES shaped their participation in MAM, which complemented findings of the first study by leveraging the voices of fathers living in the DTES. Building on the work of Darroch and colleagues (2021), I made a contribution to the scholarly literature on concerning PA programs that are accessible for fathers experiencing marginalization. I constructed three discourses from

the data: Fathers and their children do not belong in the DTES; fathers are busy and active and cannot attend PA programs; and MAM improved participants' well-being.

The findings demonstrate how pervasive discourses of masculinity and fatherhood create additional pressures that make fathering in the DTES difficult. While enduring judgements and discrimination for raising their children in the DTES, the fathers in this study expressed that they were too busy and too active to attend additional physical activity programs, yet they consistently attended MAM and requested more programming that was inclusive of fathers. Because MAM was free, accessible, and provided opportunities to meet other fathers, it addressed the aforementioned barriers and allowed fathers to not only improve their physical activity engagement but also to defend their presence in the DTES. By participating in MAM, fathers in this study asserted themselves as engaged and dedicated fathers who felt that they deserve to be recognized and supported in the DTES. Through the creation and facilitation of this program, I was able to fulfill a long-awaited service for families with fathers and male caregivers that I served for seven years. It was an honour to carve out space for fathers by creating this program but also allowing them opportunities to communicate their needs and experiences via interviews.

Taken together, the findings from both papers provide insight to the dominant discourses of masculinity that contribute to negative attitudes towards fathers experiencing marginalization, while they also provide insights into approaches for improving services for these fathers: an accessible family walking program. Pervasive discourses of the low-income, racialized, absent fathers have contributed to their silencing within policy, their exclusion from programming, and their experiences of discrimination within the neighbourhood. Fathers in this study did not feel included in the programming offered within in the DTES, which is not surprising considering the results of the policy analysis; however, their participation in MAM demonstrated that they want

to be included in programs and will participate in programs that meet their needs. Moreover, this project also demonstrated that improving services via policies and program delivery for fathers can also benefit mothers and their children. Based on the results of these studies, we can confirm that there is a significant gap in services for fathers within the DTES and by improving the language within program policies and initiating programming, these gaps can be rectified.

Implications

Policy Implications

My research has useful policy implications. The failure to include fathers in program policies of family-centred organizations on the DTES affirms the power of language. While the exclusion of fathers was likely done in the best interests of the women and mothers in the DTES, the effects - like a lack of housing options for two-parent families and the perpetuation of barriers for fathers who seek services - did not appear to be considered. The findings also highlight the importance of critically engaging with empowerment frameworks. Results in the first study demonstrate the problematic ways in which fathers are excluded from services and the ways which discourses of women's empowerment can set men up as being adversarial to women's success. Based on these findings, I encourage organizations to include fathers in their policies, and I encourage organizations to consider criticisms within the literature before including language like empowerment in the program policies (Sharma, 2000). Through this study I demonstrated that even the best intended policies can have unintended effects for the lived realities of the program participants and community members.

Programmatic Implications for Organizations on the DTES

Both of the studies in this thesis have important implications for community considerations in the DTES. By highlighting the ways in which dominant discourses of gender

are upheld through the exclusion of fathers from program mandates in the DTES, the findings from my research serve as a useful tool that organizations in the DTES can use to shift their language and services to better support fathers. Organizations providing family-centred services should consider curating different groups and spaces for mixed-gender and gender-segregated programming that are inclusive of fathers as a way to amend the unintentional gendered division of domestic work. Introducing programming that is inclusive of fathers would create opportunities for fathers to develop a sense community, receive and provide mentorship, and support women in the community who want to support the development of their male partners or fathers of their children. Because MAM was well attended and participant retention was high, community organizations should also consider implementing more PA programs that are accessible to mothers, fathers, and their children.

Limitations

There were two notable limitations to my research: 1) There may be discrepancies between what is written in the program policies and how the policies are enacted by service providers working in the DTES; and 2) there were no fathers on the community advisory board (CAB).

Within the literature on document analysis, researchers have been cautioned to not treat documents as complete or entirely accurate, as information that is present in documents may be easily misinterpreted if taken out of context (Hodder, 2000). Given this consideration - in conjunction with findings from Darroch et al. (2021), which indicated that service providers in the DTES sometimes negotiate their organizations' policies to provide services for fathers, it is important to recognize that my findings may not provide a full representation of what is happening in the community.

In my experience in working at two organizations in the DTES, I can confirm that some providers negotiate their organizations' policies. I also know that a number of organizations have policies that are not included on their websites. For example, on Sheway's website, their program policy indicates that their services are provided in response to the needs of pregnant and parenting women. However, I am aware that Sheway participants are entitled to an extra meal for their partner; fathers are allowed to attend some of their parenting programs; and fathers can access a selection of Sheway's services, but none of this is listed on their website. Importantly, male partners or fathers are only allowed to access these services with the mother's permission, which closely aligns with Sheway's program mission yet, again, is not listed on their website. Where issues arise is if there is a rupture in the relationship between the mother and father, as the father then loses access to the services to which he gained access when he was partnered with a woman. Because providing care to fathers is not in the policy, organizations' staff members were often at a loss in trying to continue to support fathers and their relationships with their children.

The second limitation pertains to the fact that there were no fathers who were members of the CAB for the second paper. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis and in the second chapter, this project was born out of a broader community-based participatory research project with pregnant and parenting women that started in 2017; the CAB was developed early in the research process and is still active today. At the onset of the research, pregnant and parenting women in the DTES identified that they preferred to have a women's only PA program. When the CAB decided to extend the programming to fathers, the decision not to include fathers on the CAB was based on the existing CAB's behest to protect the women's only space and also because it would have resulted in changes to the research with the women that was being completed concurrently. Having fathers on the CAB would have provided opportunities for

fathers to share more of their experiences with members of the CAB and feel greater ownership over the program.

While there were no fathers who were official members of the CAB, I nonetheless regularly sought feedback from the fathers who participated in the research and with whom I worked on a daily basis. These conversations guided elements of MAM including food choices, time of programs, and day of the week that the program ran. I then discussed the fathers' preferences with CAB members to ensure the women would also be comfortable with these decisions. In some ways, this process re-enacted the policies that I have criticized in this thesis. Indeed, the choice to retain a women-only CAB may have come at the expense of the fathers.

Future Research

My research has shown that the provision of services on the DTES, particularly to fathers, is a rich area in need of further research. In future studies with residents of the DTES, researchers should continue to explore the benefits of programming that is inclusive of fathers through the use of CBPR and a CAB that is comprised of fathers living in the DTES. Creating a CAB of fathers would not only enable male participants to have a sense of ownership and control over the program, but it could also provide opportunities for fathers to bolster their sense of community and develop positive social connections. The importance of peer relationships should not be undervalued, as Lee et al. (2011) noted that urban, racialized fathers identified that their preferred source of parenting information was other men and fathers in their community.

It is important to note that this research took place in July 2019, eight months before the COVID-19 pandemic began. Due to public health restrictions and provincial lockdowns, DTES residents have not been able to gather together and attend programs since the pandemic's onset (Ibrahim, 2020). Programs like MAM may be even more important in a post-COVID context

because of high levels of inactivity and social isolation that have been brought on by the pandemic (Razai et al., 2020; Shahidi et al., 2020; Tison et al., 2020).

Given that the women in the broader study first said that they preferred a women's-only space but later asked for fathers to be included, it would be worthwhile to explore the experiences of mothers who participated in the mixed-gender walking group. Such research could provide important insight into 1) how the inclusion of fathers and their partners affects them; and 2) their feelings of safety while being physically active alongside men. Garnering different perspectives and leveraging as many voices as possible are critical for creating safe, effective and sustainable physical activity programs in the DTES

Concluding Thoughts and Personal Reflections

It is my hope that this thesis serves as a starting point for better understanding the lived experiences and needs of fathers in Vancouver's DTES. My research has complicated dominant discourses of masculinity and fathering in DTES. Further, the results of my research showcase both the systemic exclusion of fathers in the DTES and the ways in which fathers are determined to dispel discourses of them as uninvolved and uninterested in their children.

This project was both exciting and cathartic for me to conduct after working closely with mothers, children, and fathers in the DTES for so many years. After witnessing the tension and challenges that fathers face over this time, it was my honour to conduct this work. Furthermore, in starting this project in a front-line role and finishing it as a master's student, I feel validated in my instincts that the root of this issue lies within an antiquated version of feminism that fails to recognize the intersectional and poststructural aspects of gender and marginalization. Indeed, the liberation of women – the ultimate goal of feminism – cannot be at the expense of any other social group, including men. As much as possible, both policies and services must meet that perfect balance of being reactive and proactive - reactive in the sense that they protect

individuals from experiencing ongoing discrimination and violence and proactive in that they are responsive and flexible to the needs of those they are intended to liberate. Moving forward, as I conclude this academic chapter and recommit to front-line community-based work, this project will serve as a reminder to continuously engage critically with theoretical frameworks that guide social justice efforts. Additionally, I will continue to endorse that the most effective and sustainable social change happens when community-identified concerns and solutions are addressed in a way that shifts power and distributes knowledge more equitably.

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Contributions

This research was designed and developed by Jessica Marie Webb. She played a primary role in the theorization, analysis, and writing of the thesis. Dr. Audrey Giles and Dr. Francine Darroch supported all aspects of the development, theorization and analysis, and provided assistance and input into writing and reviewing the final product. Both papers will be published with Webb as first author. The first paper will have Giles second and Darroch third. The second paper will have Darroch second, Giles third and will also include CAB members: Jennifer Ellenberger and Michelle Paquette.

Appendix C



Participant ID #

Family Questionnaire: Supportive Movement

This will take about an hour. I will ask you questions and then I would like to hear about your experience of physical activity in your life.

1. In what year were you born?

2. What is your gender:

<input type="radio"/>	Woman
<input type="radio"/>	Man
<input type="radio"/>	Trans woman
<input type="radio"/>	Trans man
<input type="radio"/>	Genderqueer
<input type="radio"/>	2 Spirited
<input type="radio"/>	You don't have an option that suits me. I identify as: _____

3. Do you consider yourself to be

<input type="radio"/>	Heterosexual / Straight
<input type="radio"/>	Gay or Lesbian
<input type="radio"/>	Bisexual
<input type="radio"/>	You don't have an option that suits me (please specify): _____

4. Are you currently in a relationship with a partner?

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
-----------------------	-----

<input type="radio"/>	No
-----------------------	----

5. What is your marital status?

<input type="radio"/>	Single, Never Married
<input type="radio"/>	Married
<input type="radio"/>	Living with Common-Law Partner
<input type="radio"/>	Separated
<input type="radio"/>	Divorced
<input type="radio"/>	Widowed
<input type="radio"/>	Prefer Not to Answer

6. How do you identify your culture or ethnicity?

--

7. Do you identify as an Indigenous person?

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No

8. If you identify as an Indigenous person, are you:

<input type="radio"/>	First Nations
<input type="radio"/>	Métis
<input type="radio"/>	Inuit

9. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

<input type="radio"/>	Some elementary school
<input type="radio"/>	Elementary school
<input type="radio"/>	Some secondary school/high school
<input type="radio"/>	Completed secondary school/high school
<input type="radio"/>	Some college or university

<input type="radio"/>	Completed college or university
<input type="radio"/>	Completed a graduate or professional degree
<input type="radio"/>	Don't know
<input type="radio"/>	You don't have an option that suits me (please specify): _____

10. Are you or your partner currently pregnant?

<input type="radio"/>	Yes, if yes, how many weeks pregnant? _____
<input type="radio"/>	No

11. How many children under 18 do you have?	
12. How many children under 18 are you providing direct care to?	



Participant ID #

Family Questionnaire: Supportive Movement

Qualitative Baseline Interview Questions

How long have you lived or accessed services in the DTES?

What does it mean to be a member of this community?

What is your experience being connected to this neighbourhood? As a mother or as a father? As a family?

Physical Activity

We want to support people to be physically active, but we know there are so many barriers that some people face, such as violence, trauma, discrimination, and housing issues. We would like to know the story of your physical activity. Would you be willing to share your thoughts or experiences of being physically active? (If participant doesn't mention anything prompt with – What would it take to make physical activity better for you?)

How do you feel about your access to physical activity resources?

Has income shaped your physical activity over your lifetime?

How does being a parent (or expectant parent) impact your physical activity?

In what ways does your partner influence your physical activity? How do you influence their physical activity?

Do you think people don't go to places because they face discrimination (people judging them)?

One thing I am really interested in is how people's experiences of violence and trauma influence their physical activity?

How does living in the Downtown Eastside help or hinder physical activity for you or your family?



Participant ID #

Family Questionnaire: Supportive Movement

Qualitative Interview Follow up Questions

How long have you lived or accessed services in the DTES?

What does it mean to be a member of this community?

What is your experience being connected to this neighbourhood?

Physical Activity

We want to support people to be physically active, but we know there are so many barriers that some people face, such as violence, trauma, discrimination, and housing issues. We would like to know the story of your physical activity. Would you be willing to share your thoughts or experiences of being physically active? (If participant doesn't mention anything prompt with – What would it take to make physical activity better for you?)

How do you feel about your access to physical activity resources?

Has income shaped your physical activity over your lifetime?

How does being a parent (or expectant parent) impact your physical activity?

In what ways does your partner influence your physical activity? How do you influence their physical activity?

Do you think people don't go to places because they face discrimination (people judging them)?

One thing I am really interested in is how people's experiences of violence and trauma influence their physical activity?

How does living in the Downtown Eastside help or hinder physical activity for you or other women?

5/31/2021

No Title

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	The University of British Columbia Office of Research Ethics Behavioural Research Ethics Board Suite 102, 6190 Agronomy Road Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z3			
H17-02851 Supportive Movement (Version 7.0)				
Principal Investigator: Colleen Varcoe				
1. Principal Investigator & Study Team - Human Ethics [View Form]				
1.1. Principal Investigator	Last Name	First Name	Employer.Name	Email
	Varcoe	Colleen	Nursing	colleen.varcoe@nursing.ubc.ca
<i>Enter Principal Investigator's secondary appointments or affiliations (including Health Authorities), if applicable:</i>				
1.2. Primary Contact	Last Name	First Name	Rank	
	Darroch	Francine	Unspecified	
1.3A. Co-Investigators - Online Access	Last Name	First Name	Institution/Department	Rank
	Darroch	Francine	Other	Unspecified
	Browne	Annette J.	UBC/Applied Science/Nursing	Professor
<i>1.3B. Describe each Co-I's role in study, e.g. statistician, supervisor, adviser, student etc. Ensure individual is entered in Box 1.3A</i>				
1.4A. Additional Study Team Members - Online Access	Last Name	First Name	Institution/Department	Rank
<i>1.4B. Describe each Additional Study Team Members' role in study, e.g. staff, research assistant etc.</i>				
1.5A. Additional Study Team Members - No Online Access	Last Name	First Name	Institution / Rank / Job Department Title	Email Address
	Gonzalez	Gabriela	School of Nursing	Research Assistant
	Montaner	Sandra	Healthiest	Coordinator
				gabriela.montaner@ubc.ca
				Sandra.Bodenhamer@vch.ca

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1Z3

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL - MINIMAL RISK

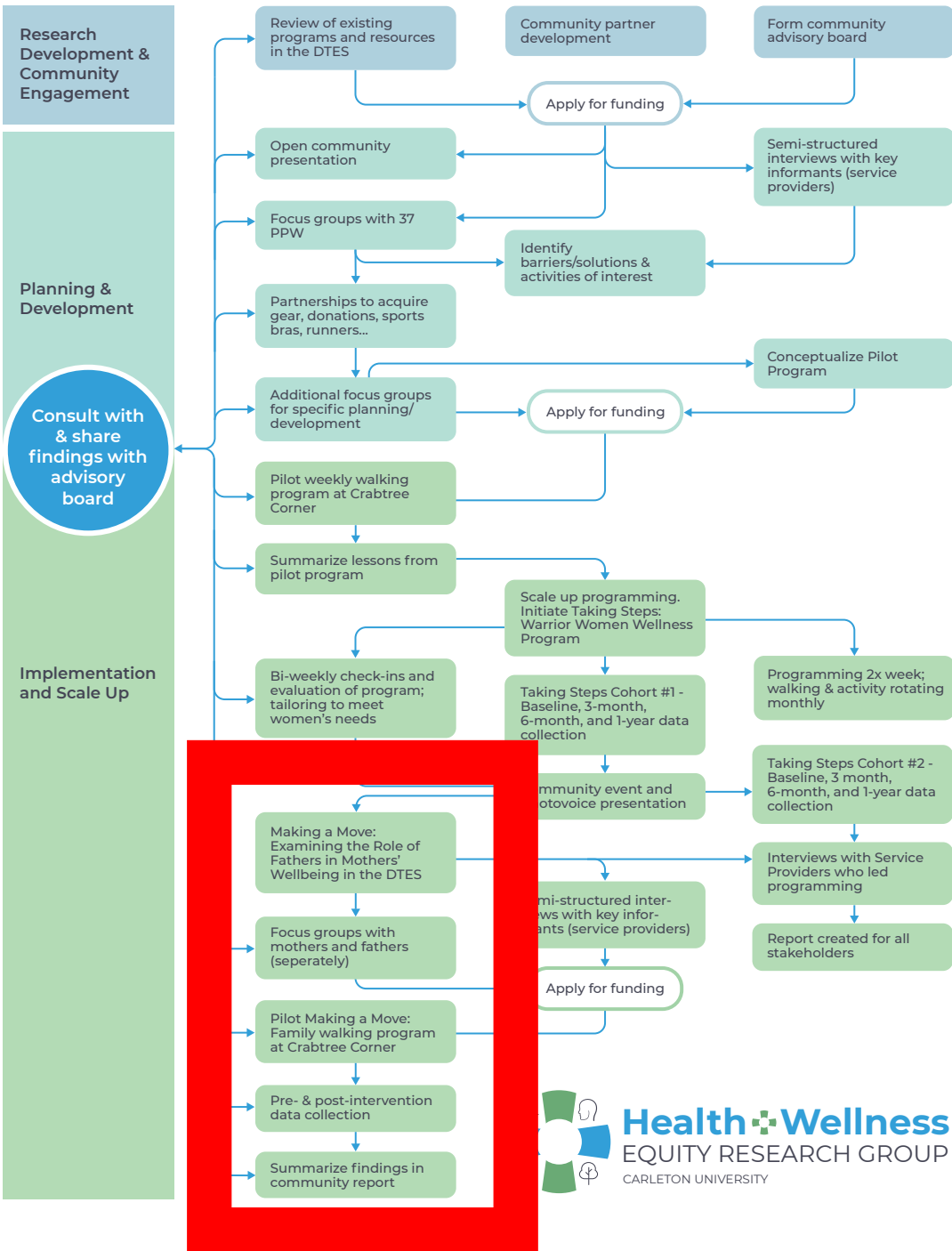
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Colleen Varcoe	INSTITUTION / DEPARTMENT: UBC/Applied Science/Nursing	UBC BREB NUMBER: H17-02851
INSTITUTION(S) WHERE RESEARCH WILL BE CARRIED OUT:		
<small>Institution</small>	<small>Site</small>	
UBC	Vancouver (excludes UBC Hospital)	
Other locations where the research will be conducted: YWCA Crabtree Corner Vancouver Women's Health Collective Aboriginal Mother Centre Society		
CO-INVESTIGATOR(S): Francine Darroch Annette J. Browne		
SPONSORING AGENCIES: Michael Smith Foundation for Health Research - "APP'lying supportive movement: trauma-informed and culturally safe physical activity programming for young pregnant and parenting women marginalized by poverty, racism, and trauma" Womens Health Research Institute - "Supportive movement: toward equity oriented health promotion"		
PROJECT TITLE: Supportive Movement: Toward Equity Oriented Health Promotion		

CERTIFICATE EXPIRY DATE: December 8, 2018

DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL:	DATE APPROVED:	
	December 8, 2017	
<small>Document Name</small>	<small>Version</small>	<small>Date</small>
Protocol:		
Research Proposal	1	October 17, 2017
Consent Forms:		
Intervention Consent Revised	2	November 27, 2017
Focus Group Consent Revised	2	November 27, 2017
Advertisements:		
Focus Group Recruitment	1	October 17, 2017
Recruitment for Walking Program	1	November 7, 2017
Questionnaire, Questionnaire Cover Letter, Tests:		
Baseline Questionnaire	1	October 25, 2017
Qualitative Question Baseline	2	December 7, 2017
6 Month Questionnaire	1	October 25, 2017
Focus Group Questions Revised	2	December 7, 2017
3 Month Questionnaire	1	October 25, 2017
Other Documents:		
Resources for Adaptation	1	November 28, 2017
Letter of Support YWCA Crabtree	N/A	October 25, 2017
Vancouver Women's Health Collective Letter of Support	N/A	October 25, 2017
AMCS Letter of Support	N/A	October 25, 2017

The application for ethical review and the document(s) listed above have been reviewed and the

FIGURE OF PROCESS



Appendix D

MAKE A MOVE REPORT



jessica webb
M.A. Human
Kinetics



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THE LAND UPON WHICH THIS RESEARCH AND PROGRAM WERE CONDUCTED WAS THE UNCEDED AND TRADITIONAL TERRITORY OF THE SƏ́LÍWƏTƏʔ/SELILWITULH (TSLEIL-WAUTUTH), THE XʷMƏƏKWƏ́ƏM (MUSQUEAM), THE SKWXWÚ7MESH (SQUAMISH) AND THE STÓ:LŌ NATIONS

I would like to thank the members of our advisory board, Maria Giron, Michelle Paquette, Justine Chenier, Crystal Katcheech, Sarah VanBolkom, and Nelli Hernandez. Your guidance and wisdom were foundational to the success of MAM and we appreciate you beyond words.

To the YWCA staff and volunteers who helped prepare and clean up dinner, walked with us, held little hands as we crossed the street, and made sure everyone got back safely, thank you—this program would not have been the same without you. Similarly, to the leaders of YWCA Crabtree Corner, thank you for your guidance and unbelievable support in allowing us to go forward with a program for fathers.

Also to Gabby, Team Giles, and the HWERG crew thank you for creating a community of academics that value social justice efforts and drive change. Francine and Audrey, I am so grateful to have you both as mentors and bear witness to your fierce conviction to see systemic change within the academy and in communities like the DTES.

Finally, much gratitude to everyone who not only participated in this program but inspired it's inception. Both in your advocating for your families and presence in the groups, we heard you and I hope we did you justice.

jessica webb



ABOUT MAM

In the very early stages of Taking Steps: Warrior Women's community-based participatory research project, pregnant and parenting women living in Vancouver's DTES stated that they felt more comfortable in a women's-only physical activity group. As the program progressed, a number of the women expressed that they wished their male partners could participate or have their own fathers' walking program. After conducting focus groups with women and men, as well as interviews with service providers in the community, to explore the role of fathers in mothers' well-being in the DTES, we identified that fathers face a number of barriers when accessing support and physical activity (Darroch et al., 2021). After sharing the research findings with the advisory board, we decided to apply for the UBC Community Engagement Partnership Fund, and I received \$1,500 to initiate Make a Move (MAM).



**Weekly walking
program**

**Tuesday evenings
4:00 - 6:30**

6 weeks

**One of three routes,
stop to play at
playground**

Light meal provided

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

How do men's lived experiences as fathers shape their participation in MAM?

METHODS:

Semi-structured interviews (pre- and post-intervention)

*childcare was provided

Each participant was given 25.00 honorarium for each assessment and one new pair of running shoes for participating

PARTICIPANT PROFILE:

Age	Range: 28-61	Mean: 34
Heterosexual Orientation		100%
Identify as Indigenous		55%
Completed some highschool		44%
Unemployed and collecting income assistance		44%
Report sometimes experiencing discrimination		77%

FINDINGS:



“ I WALK EVERYWHERE BECAUSE I DON’T HAVE A BUS PASS, SO I GUESS THAT KEEPS ME PRETTY WELL FIT, RIGHT?”

“MEET OTHER FAMILIES AND MEET MORE PEOPLE THAT WE KNOW THAT HAVE BEEN IN ADDICTIONS. BUT I LOVE MEETING NEW DADS. I JUST WISH THERE WERE MORE PROGRAMS, SO THAT WAY I COULD SEE THEM MORE.”

“IT’S COMPLICATED TO LIVE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD WITH THE KIDS. BECAUSE I GET LIKE DIRTY LOOKS AND LIKE WHY, WHY, WHY THIS? WHY WITH YOUR KIDS?”

HAVING CHILDREN “MAKES ME MORE ACTIVE BECAUSE I HAVE TO DO A LOT OF RUNNING AROUND. CHASING DOWN THE KIDS. BEING SINGLE AND DOING IT BY MYSELF KEEPS YOU ON YOUR TOES.”

WELL, I THINK IT'S ABOUT TIME. BECAUSE LIKE I SAID, THERE'S NOT REALLY A LOT OF STUFF GEARED TOWARDS MEN AT ALL AROUND HERE. LIKE I SAID, EVERYTHING'S FOR FEMALES AND THEIR KIDS. NOTHING REALLY FOR MALES AND THEIR KIDS.



KEY MESSAGES:

1 Fathers feel discriminated against in the DTES

Fathers in this study described a myriad of pressures, judgements, and responsibilities that they faced while raising their children in the DTES. They also contend with dominant discourses of them as “bad fathers” that paint low income, racialized, and/or substance using fathers as selfish, lazy, and absent from the family. Fathers that participated in this study described feeling judged for raising their children in the DTES and also excluded from a number of programs and organizations that provide services to families. Additionally, they also rationalized why they believe fathers deserve to have more programs and services that meet their needs in the DTES.

2 Fathers face barriers when accessing physical activity

Fathers described the ways in which limited resources impede upon their ability to participate in physical activity allude to notions of physical activity as a luxury that one must earn or pay for and is not a priority for people who experience marginalization. Additionally, as fathers described the busyness of their lives and demands of supporting their families, challenge ongoing discourses of the low income, marginalized father who is lazy, selfish, and absent from their family’s lives.

3 Fathers who participated in MAM improved their sense of wellbeing

Fathers in this study consistently attended MAM and requested more programming that was inclusive of fathers. Not only did MAM improve participants’ access to PA resources in the DTES and contributed to feelings of belonging and community, but by participating in the program the fathers effectively challenged the problematic discourses of masculinity that sustain barriers to PA and programs for fathers .



POLICY BRIEF

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In learning that fathers felt excluded and had a difficult time accessing family-centred services, I thought it was worthwhile to investigate the role policies played in providing services for fathers on the DTES. I was curious to explore the ways in which dominant discourses of masculinity were present within organizational mandates and program descriptions. My analysis revealed that not only are fathers not present within the documents but the language that is used presents them as a "problem." As this report shows, including fathers in program descriptions and deliverables will benefit both fathers and mothers in the DTES.

Why Fathers?

Recent community-based participatory research by Darroch et al. (2021) examined the role of fathers in mothers' wellness in the DTES. This work revealed that there are a number of gaps that relate to the representation of fathers in organizational policies and services, which cause a number of challenges for both parents and service providers in the DTES (Darroch et al., 2021)

Research Objective

Identifying how fathers are represented in program policies contributes to better understanding of what services are available to them and their lived experiences as fathers in the DTES. Further examination into the systems of power that have contributed to the exclusion of fathers could also aid organizations in better supporting mothers and children.

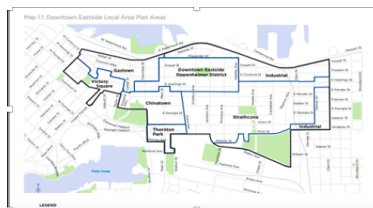
Overview of Findings

I identified three discourses within the program policies: 1) organizations strive to be client-centred and provide choices; 2) organizations want to empower their participants; and 3) women need safe places to raise their families. My analysis revealed that fathers are poorly represented in program policies and brought light to the ways in fathers are constructed as problems.

Methods:

- Document analysis
- What's the Problem Represented to be Approach

Catchment Area:



Organizations Included (n=12):

- Sheway,
- YWCA Crabtree Corner (CTC)
- Indigenous Early Years Services (IYES)
- Downtown Eastside Women's Centre
- DTES Neighbourhood House
- Union Gospel Mission (UGM)
- Ray Cam Community Centre,
- Strathcona Community Centre
- Budzey Building
- Sorella Housing for women and children
- YWCA Cause We Care House
- YWCA Crabtree Corner Housing.

RESULTS

I FOUND THAT OF THE PROGRAM POLICIES OF THE 12 FAMILY-CENTRED ORGANIZATIONS IN THE DTES I EXAMINED, ALL OF THEM INCLUDED MOTHERS, CHILDREN, AND FAMILIES, BUT **FATHERS WERE ONLY MENTIONED IN ONE PROGRAM LIST.**

WHILE PROGRAMS THAT INDICATED THAT THEY SUPPORT FAMILIES, IT IS UNCLEAR IF AND HOW FATHERS MAY ACCESS SERVICES.

MY EXAMINATION OF THESE DISCOURSES SHOWED THAT FATHERS IN THE DTES ARE PROBLEMATIZED IN POLICIES IN TWO WAYS:

1. Fathers are rendered invisible through their exclusion from the program policies.
2. The language that is used in program policies employs gender discourses that result in increased parenting responsibilities for mothers and upholds negative perceptions of fathers.

CONCLUSIONS

Implications

While the exclusion of fathers was likely done in the best interests of the women and mothers in the DTES, the effects bear unfortunate consequences:

- the perpetuation of barriers for fathers who seek services
- organizations not only uphold damaging stereotypes of men as violent, not needing help, and as adversarial to women's autonomy
- unwittingly undermine their own efforts to prioritize the needs, choices, and autonomy of mothers.

Recommendations

Based on these findings, the power of language is affirmed and organizations are encouraged to include fathers in their policies. In recognizing the incredible work in the DTES, we must acknowledge that even the best intended policies can have unintended effects for the lived realities of the program participants and community members.



THANK YOU

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