FILMMAKING WITH ABORIGINAL YOUTH FOR TYPE 2 DIABETES PREVENTION¹

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ARSTRACT

In this article the researchers explore the use of filmmaking for collaborative community action for the prevention of type 2 diabetes in Aboriginal children and youth. As part of this endeavour, a partnership was formed between the project coordinator and a small group of youth from a rural First Nations school in British Columbia. Using educational and documentary approaches to the topic of health and diabetes, the youth created a film in which they recorded interviews with community members and informational vignettes about health and nutrition for their peers. The use of filmmaking within a participatory action research framework meant that a safe environment and sensitivity to cultural history and relations of power were important. Although diabetes is an increasing health concern among Aboriginal youth, this article will explore the interactive research process of filmmaking with participants, highlighting the hybridity of Aboriginal youth identities, and the researchers' experiences of witnessing and being involved in this creative project with them.

Keywords: Aboriginal youth, culture, diabetes prevention, filmmaking, health, hybridity, identity, participatory action research, visual methods

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Introduction

There is much written about participatory action research (PAR) methods with populations vulnerable to social and health disparities, including Aboriginal peoples² (e.g., Evans et al., 2009; Lavallee, 2009). Undoubtedly, traditional research with Aboriginal communities has been an uneasy fit because of a history of colonization and different epistemologies. Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith in her monograph, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (1999), explains in detail how Western research and knowledge creation have systematically marginalized indigenous ways of knowing. She has found that many traditional academic disciplines are based in cultural worldviews that marginalize other forms of belief and/ or lack methodologies for dealing with other knowledge systems. She suggests an indigenous research agenda that centres on self-determination can be incorporated into research practice and methodology. Research, in her view, should emerge from indigenous ways of knowing, which she believes is an ethic rather than an action. Heeding Smith, Laurie Meijer Drees (2008) has conducted research with Aboriginal communities on Vancouver Island, carrying out "relational research" that forms committed, meaningful longterm, culturally responsive, and locally rooted relationships with participants. Such research means knowledge facilitated and determined by the community, not necessarily the outsider.

Here we focus on a PAR project that employed the method of filmmaking with a small group of Aboriginal youth living in a rural community in British Columbia, Canada (Meyerhoff et al., 2010). As a team of non-Aboriginal researchers, we were conscious of the devastating effects of longstanding and ongoing colonial domination in Canada with the negation of Aboriginal culture, languages, and ways of life. We could feel the historical impact of the residential school system, the land that was seized from their people, and the segregation and marginalization of Aboriginal communities and individuals because of racism and spiritual and cultural difference (Boyko, 2000; Thobani, 2008). Such history is embedded and a part of Aboriginal identities. "For Native people, individual identity is always being negotiated in relation to collective identity and in the face of an external, colonizing society" (original emphasis; Lawrence, 2003, p. 4). Identity is about belonging, values that individuals share with the group, and differentiating

^{2.} Following from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996), we use the term "Aboriginal peoples" in this manuscript to refer to the indigenous inhabitants of Canada including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples.

oneself from another (Schouls, 2003). It is not neutral or passive. Identity is multiple and complex; formed and shaped through a process of mutual constitution with others and within various social and cultural contexts. Identities are "fluid, changeable and subject to influence" (Schouls, 2003, p. 79), not static because of circumstances and/or cultural differences.

Additionally, "few individuals within any cultural grouping are 'totally in' or 'totally outside' their cultural group" (Fierlbeck, 1996, p. 12 in Schouls, 2003, p. 79). Rather, because of modern technology, urbanization, immigration, migration, and globalization, a blurring of customs and practices influences identities. For example, Hollands (2004) reports that many Canadian Mohawk Aboriginal youth have adopted Black cultural forms drawn from African American culture such as rap music to express their voices, their marginalization, hopes, and dreams for themselves and their communities (Lashua, 2006; Lashua and Fox, 2006). During our project, we saw over time that the youths' identities were shaped by much more than their immediate community's culture and traditions. We saw youth engaged in modern and popular cultures — the Internet and video games, popular television shows like Gossip Girl, pop-stars and karaoke, and/or urban radio stations and professional sports teams. Aboriginal youth demonstrated "hybridity" in the sense that their ethnicities and identities were not essentialist but an intercultural crossover conveyed through their interests, relationships with each other, their teachers, and the researchers (Nederveen Pieterse, 2004). We observed them fusing traditional and modern practices throughout the filmmaking process.

The filmmaking project (and this article) came out of a collaborative community action project for the prevention of type 2 diabetes in Aboriginal children and youth. One aspect of the research involved the youth creating a short film, using creative educational and documentary approaches for the topic of health prevention and diabetes. Although diabetes is an increasing health concern among Aboriginal youth, in this article we explore the interactive process of filmmaking, highlighting the hybridity of Aboriginal youth identities, revealing how they are in a process of accommodating and resisting traditional and modern popular culture(s). As part of this examination, we also explore the relationships between the community and the university-based members of the research team (Sheryl, Heather, and Lynn) and how insider-outsider statuses were negotiated. We then discuss Sonya's experience in more detail as the project coordinator who carried out the filming with the youth. Here we speak of her experience of observing and

being observed, in other words the "gaze," which is the sense that one not only watches, but is also being watched. Hence, one watches oneself being seen, often resulting in the surveying of oneself (Berger, 1972; Thapan, 1997). We also address her outsider status and issues of culture and race. To conclude, we discuss ethical representation during the process of editing the film and we address some of the lessons learned and benefits of filmmaking as method with youth. First we consider our research method and how it related to working with Aboriginal youth.

OVERVIEW OF PROJECT

This study carried out Participatory Action Research (PAR) methods with a rural Aboriginal community and a small group of researchers, including a project coordinator from a local university in British Columbia. The aim of the project was to explore ways to prevent type 2 diabetes in children and youth. Type 2 diabetes is rising among youth and children worldwide (Bloomgarden, 2004; Dabelea et al., 2010) and First Nations communities have an increased incidence of diabetes (Naqshbandi et al., 2008). At a young age this can result in complications such as heart disease, kidney disease, and eye disease (Alberti et al., 2004; Browne et al., 2009). PAR was chosen as the research method in consultation with representatives from the community to build on longstanding relationships between the community and the researchers' university in the context of nursing education and clinical placements, and to neutralize power relations inherent in typical academic research.

While there are many different research approaches that fall under the rubric of action research (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2000), there are fundamental characteristics that guided our research. First, research is context bound, and we sought to build on existing connections between ourselves and the community, recognizing that we were situated differently. Second, we sought the full engagement of researchers and participants to carry out a collaborative research process that paid attention to how each of our lives were affected. Creating change or an action to prevent diabetes in children and youth was the focal point of our project. And finally, the decision to implement the action or change was in the hands of the stakeholders, members of the community (Streubert Speziale and Carpenter, 2003; Brant Castellano, 2004). Ethical approval for the study was obtained from the researchers' university and included endorsement of the project by the Band and Chief and community health committee.

The project was completed in three phases. In Phase 1 of this project, researchers and community members explored perceptions with regarding health and strategies to identify and reduce risk factors for type 2 diabetes in children and youth. Focus groups were held with Elders from a diabetes group, members of Chief and Council, the healthcare services team, and a small group of youth. Five focus groups took place and 22 community members participated. Participants in focus groups were chosen based on their interest in diabetes and their ability to speak about the topic. For example, all of the Elders who participated had diabetes and were very interested in preventing diabetes in the Band youth. The Chief and Council were concerned about an increase in diabetes in their community and wanted to voice their thoughts. The healthcare workers, including a nutritionist's involvement, were important as they were able to explain the work being done in the community. The youth were invited to participate and to discuss their understandings of diabetes and how it could be prevented amongst young people. The focus groups were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim for analysis. In Phase II (the main focus of this paper), the researchers, in conjunction with the community, implemented the strategies identified to address the prevention of Type 2 Diabetes.

A key suggestion derived from Phase I's consultation with community members and taken up in Phase II was creating a short film made by youth with the guidance of the project coordinator (Sonya) to help prevent diabetes amongst their peers. The film project resulted from various discussions with community leaders and staff, such as teachers and administration at the school. Five youth between the ages of 14–16 (three young men and two young women) participated in the filmmaking project with the project coordinator. All lived in the community except for one who traveled in from another nearby Aboriginal community. Phase III was a process by which researchers and community members evaluated the strategies implemented for diabetes prevention and the collaboration with the community.

FILMMAKING

With the school and community's help we were able to talk with students about the project and its aims, as well as explain issues of parental permission and consent. As part of the PAR process, the five youth, with the project coordinator, created and collaborated as a partner group on a short film for diabetes prevention. The project coordinator, whose experiences as a researcher will be focused on later in the paper, was not a community

member. She had previous experience as a youth worker and counsellor and traveled regularly to the Aboriginal community to facilitate the filmmaking project. The short film took 9 weeks to create as the project coordinator met the youth during their lunch hour once a week. The film captured an Elder's story about living with diabetes, what diabetes is (disease process, symptoms, treatment), and healthy eating to prevent diabetes. This information was communicated on film through one-to-one interviews, and the preparation and cooking of a healthy meal. Teachers and the youth were excited to see their footage and progress made on the project. Over the summer and through the autumn of 2008 the film was edited with the youth's consultation and collaboration.

Guiding the youth to lead in the creation of a short film allowed them to show us how they see their worlds, their cultural context (Chalfen, 2007). Filmmaking facilitated a process in which traditional qualitative research like interviews might not have been successful. Certainly there were ethical issues of representation along the way, meaning "our identities and life experiences shape the political and ideological stances we take in our research" (Kleinman and Copp 1993, p. 10). For example, we were sensitive to the ways that diabetes and health were presented in the film. Colonial history has resulted in, among other things, Aboriginal health disparities. During the focus groups community members raised questions in discussion regarding the effect of residential schooling, and how such trauma and history has affected eating patterns over time such as rice, pasta, and bread — food served in residential schools and now referred to as "white" food.

Taking the community's lead and that of the youth we followed what they thought would be best for the filming process and its content. Film, like photography, provides a "medium through which people's visions and voices may surface" (Wang and Burris, 1997, p. 382). The process of filming requires reflexivity on the part of the researcher — how the filmed images mediate the relationships between participant and researcher (Pink, 2006). Film is not just a static recorded image but produces meaning in the social and spatial context in which it takes place, creating a co-construction of knowledge between researchers and participants (Emmison, 2004). Film as a visual method is "both reflexive and contextualizing in the social as well as the spatial" (Murray, 2009, p. 474). For our study, this method gave youth a way to convey their knowledge of their community's culture and traditions. Through the medium of film, the youth made decisions, and planned and produced a piece of work that was unique to them. Making a film provided

youth with an innovative way to be catalysts for health and social change in their community. The film reflected not only constructions of Aboriginal youth identities, but also an expression of their identities to each other and their wider community within the spaces where they dwell (Pink, 2007). It was another way to see how they and their community were in a process of transformation around health and nutrition. The project stimulated social aims related to a PAR framework such as encouraging community prevention of diabetes situated in the context of filmmaking (van Dienderen, 2007). We now turn to the youth, highlighting the complexity of Aboriginal youth identities during filmmaking.

In Front and Behind the Camera: Youth Filmmaking, Identity, and Diabetes Prevention

Hybrid Identities, Negotiating Cultures

Often there has been a tendency to portray and homogenize Aboriginal youth as those who use drugs, lack educational and professional achievement, are victims of domestic and sexual abuse, and suicide (e.g., Fisher and Janetti, 1996; Minore et al., 1991). Aboriginal groups across Canada are not "homogenous" and "do not live in isolation from the world" (Smith, 2008, p. 115). In our research, we worked with a heterogeneous group of youth who blurred tradition and modernity, expressing themselves in numerous ways behind and in front of the camera. Talking with the youth, we found that they had educational goals and summer job plans, and were involved in leisure and youth activities.

Significantly we saw youth take the space in front and around the camera and transform it into a "thirdspace" (Soja, 1996) where intersecting boundaries produce other lived spaces and experiences. Information shared among the youth and between them and the project coordinator about their views on health, sports involvement, peers' activities, family health, foods they liked and disliked for the film created more than a two-way exchange of facts. Short interviews that took place amongst each other were connections layered with meaning and substance. The youths' filmed interviews consisted of an embodied trialectic dynamic — the relationship between the body, self, and society (Hudak et al., 2007). We heard youth discussing their sense of the self (this is who "I" am), their relationship to their

body (what they are and physical activities), and discussed these aspects in relation to the social and cultural contexts in which they lived and were shaped (family, school, and peer group).

Aboriginal youths' identities are nevertheless formed at intersections of gender, culture, sexuality, history, and race, and in their lived contexts, which are a crossover of cultures. During this project it was revealed that Aboriginal youth identities are affected by modernity and their generational histories, causing a complex construction of hybrid identities. Hollands (2004, p. 26) argues "that hybridity, rather than being completely new, has simply proliferated and soaked into the social fabric of peoples' lives, particularly the young, with the increased globalization of western youth and popular media culture." Aboriginal youth are a part of this mixed social fabric.

The youth were being shaped by their immediate family and peer contexts, but also by popular culture accessed through television, movies, the radio, magazines, the Internet, and visits to nearby towns and urban centres. We discovered that the filming process interacted with other cultures. During filming we noticed elements of Western culture, Aboriginal traditions, and popular cultures being consistently negotiated. As the film took place at the school, the youth balanced the school's expectations for appropriate behaviour and conduct with their own community customs and values, such as giving reverence and respect to their elders. Also added to the mix was the youths' relationship to popular culture. "Too often, research has ignored the lived experiences of youth, focusing on what popular culture does to young people rather than what young people make and do with it" (Lashua, 2006, p. 395). During lunch hours, the youth bantered and played, talking about Halo-3 (video game) scores during the interviews, blaring an urban radio station, and playing hip-hop music off a computer during filming. Fiske (1989) contends that while popular culture bears signs of domination and subordination it is also a way by which people resist and elude social forces. In front and behind the camera we saw youth presenting their identities, which were always in a process of ongoing construction by the cultures around them. The youths' relationship to popular culture was a way of expressing themselves to their teachers and to the project coordinator. It provided them a common discourse amongst each other, and an avenue by which the teachers and project coordinator could also build relationships, for example, entering into a conversation about the television show Gossip Girl or current events and music. In these ways, the teens resisted stereotypical portrayals of Aboriginal youth.

Accommodating and Resisting Popular Health Discourses

Popular culture also includes food, as advertised on television, billboards, and in magazines. Often foods displayed and marketed to youth are processed foods like candy bars, soda pop, potato chips, pizza, and easy to make food from a box. As the project's goal was the prevention of diabetes in youth and children, these foods are often discouraged in relation to proper health, nutrition, and diabetes. Before the camera, the youth in collaboration with the project coordinator created small vignettes about food and health for the composition of the film. The youth did interviews with each other and asked each other questions about health in relation to themselves, their families, and peers. Some of the questions asked were: What do you and your friends do for fun? When you look around your community, how do you see people keeping fit and healthy? What is your favorite and least favorite food? Some of the answers included participating in a city sponsored run, working out at their community gym, doing the community fun run. Some said their favourite food was pizza from a package, others said fish and rice, and Sloppy Joes or fruit.

One Elder, for the film, shared her story of diabetes and eating habits that had included soda pop and fast food. The youth paid attention to the food world that she described, asking her questions about the fast food she ate, and the foods that she now eats, which includes a lot of vegetables, fruits, and homemade meals. Yet, the youth were not without their own food habits that often resisted foods recommended for diabetes prevention. During filming, one young man, Jacob,³ ate a chocolate bar while the community's nutritionist attempted to explain different types of healthy food. She then turned her attention to Jacob and explained the content of the candy bar that he was eating and how to read its label. His resistance became a teaching and learning moment for him and his peers. In response, David, another youth on the project who had been watching Jacob, looked at the label of his microwave popcorn he had been eating for lunch and put it down. While they first resisted the nutritionist, they also heeded the healthy practices that she was promoting, such as reading food labels for health and nutrition.

The food that was a part of the film was symbolic of intersecting Western and Aboriginal cuisine and procurement practices. Included in the

^{3.} The participants' names have been replaced with pseudonyms.

film was a vignette in which the youth learned and showed how to cook a piece of trout with wild rice and vegetables. While the trout and wild rice were chosen to reflect Aboriginal customs, they were purchased from a local supermarket, not freshly caught, harvested, or picked, as in their tradition. These foods and cooking activities for nutrition and diabetes prevention were a part of the filmmaking process, but youth were aware of the social constraints on healthy food practices. Youth spoke of the poverty that has affected their communities. Some youth noticed the unemployment in their community and knew that money could be limited. "I notice that we have a lot of people that are unemployed in our communities and even if they are employed sometimes they don't have enough money to pay for things like healthier fruits and vegetables." One youth suggested that it would be good to know how to cook and make something out of a "turnip" or a "cabbage." Moreover, the film project indirectly portrayed the youths' everyday knowledge about the Western structural influences, including poverty and colonial histories that affected their food practices.

TURNING THE CAMERA ON THE RESEARCHERS

NEGOTIATING INSIDER-OUTSIDER IDENTITIES AND POWER: THE Team's Experience

Although the filmmaking process was a success, getting to this point took time through a gradual process of developing rapport and trust. Initial visits by team members (Sheryl, Heather, and Lynn) led to focus groups conducted with community members during Phase I. Carrying out the initial visits and focus groups with the community meant holding the ethical tensions of negotiating insider-outsider identities. The team members during the first part of the project were insiders to the extent that the community accepted their presence and were willing to do the project with them. However the team was peripheral to the community because of being located in other cities and situated (i.e., race, class, culture, history) differently. For example, the team commuted to the community to conduct the focus groups. Had the team been in closer geographic proximity to the community, it might have built deeper relational ties. However, this would have taken longer to facilitate than timelines and funding allowed (Meijer Drees, 2008). As non-Aboriginal researchers, they were outsiders. Canada's colonial history is shared amongst Canadians, but it is one that is experienced most deeply and directly by Aboriginal peoples. Furthermore, coming from

a higher educational privileged setting meant that attending to power relations within the community context was particularly important.

Historical trauma, together with internalized oppression,

[(peoples' acceptance] of the negative messages they receive about their own race or ethnicity) and institutional and personally mediated racism, may contribute to a dialectic of resistance between outsider research partners and community participants with very real ethical dilemmas in speaking truth to power. (Chavez 2003 cited in Minkler, 2004, p. 689)

These matters called for "cultural humility" on the part of the team and they did their best to approach situations with a humble attitude characterized by reflection on their biases and sources of visible and invisible privilege. During visits and the focus groups, the team practiced openness to Aboriginal community partners with a willingness to listen and continually learn (Minkler, 2004). As relationships in the community grew, the research team listened carefully to all of the suggestions for community initiatives aimed at diabetes prevention. This eventually led to filmmaking with youth, suggested by one of the focus groups. We now turn to Sonya's experiences of negotiating access and outsider status with the youth during the filmmaking process.

NEGOTIATING ACCESS AND OUTSIDER STATUS: SONYA'S EXPERIENCE

In doing this project the team discovered much about how race, class, personal history, and location intersect to shed light on disparity, privilege, and status. The project coordinator who did the film (Phase II) with the youth had similar and different experiences to the team. Sonya comes from a mixed race South Asian/European middle class background. She is a woman with brown skin, dresses in Western attire, is educated and employed by a local university. Put quite bluntly, none of these gave her access to the community. Having gender, race, and popular culture reference points in common did not grant her an immediate sense of belonging with community members. Rather, entering the community was an experience of angst because she was not sure where she would fit and aware of not wanting to repeat colonial histories by parachuting in, imposing ideas, and "taking" from them. She felt "outside" the group, the community. With this in mind she respectfully negotiated access, beginning with teachers and staff who were entrusted by the community.

BEING IN THE GAZE, CROSSING OVER

As Sonya tentatively made her way into the community, the camera lens became a metaphor for the gaze that she and the youth exchanged between each other. The gaze in indigenous communities is often associated with Western research practice, surveillance, and colonization (Smith, 2008). Here the gaze became the youth observing Sonya. Through the camera they were able to view her. For Sonya it was often an experience of discomfort, a feeling of being out of place. She watched how she interacted with the youth who had the power of being both the audience and filmmakers. In watching pieces of film played back, she saw herself, and saw herself being seen (Berger, 1972; Young, 1990). While Sonya watched herself on film and observed the youth taking her in, she was acutely aware of her uneasiness of being looked at on film, of being seen.

Being in front of the camera meant identities were in a process of construction between the viewer and the viewed. In moving into the youths' gaze, Sonya crossed over into their space. Perhaps this is what Gloria Anzaldua (1987) means by the "borderlands": a space where people of two or more cultures meet, where the people of different races occupy the same territory, where spatial intimacy shrinks the distance perceived between one another. Crossing over into their gaze, into their space, she experienced a reconstituting, reconfiguring of her self as a researcher. Blurring the personal and the cultural, she began to reconstruct taken for granted practices of research (Lashua and Fox, 2006, p. 271). Moving the academic expert to the background, she began to experience a new way of knowing; knowledge cued by the youth, not her; the research process cued by the youths' pace, not hers (Meijer Drees, 2008). Sonya did not take for granted the borders she was able to cross because of her privilege, but was very much attuned to the invisible borders of culture, race, and history (Smith, 2008). Although various avenues in PAR research can facilitate crossing into a community, it does not make dwelling there an easy experience. Intersecting histories and social differences mean that experiences between researchers and participants are constantly negotiated.

Editing the Film: The Ethics of Representation

At the end of filming comes the task of editing. It was at this point that the project coordinator and research team faced a dilemma. For various rea-

sons, as researchers we were left to complete the editing. During this part of the project, the power relations shifted to being researcher-led rather than student-led. The school year was coming to an end and about to break for the summer. Some of the realities related to film editing are timing and scheduling which were restricted due to the youths' limited availability. We edited some pieces during the school year with the youth, but mainly during the summer period.

The risk associated with this process is that "there is the possibility of shooting the film and editing the film footage in such a way that it conveys the result of [the researchers'] analysis or interpretation of the material filmed" (Murphy, 2007, p. 321). To counter this, the youth viewed the film during the new school year and we edited out pieces they did not want shown (everyone had signed a consent). As this was a representation of their community and stories, we heeded these requests. Filmmaking as conducted through a PAR process exists at the level of representation, meaning that what is left out by the choices made by participants and researchers can construct the reality that will be seen. As one gains a partial knowledge of the community, there is also much that remains unknown.

Summarizing Comments: Lessons Learned and Benefits of Film as Method

Much has been said about PAR including the dilemmas of non-Aboriginal researchers conducting research with Aboriginal communities. We are adding another perspective with film. Filmmaking can enable participant involvement for Aboriginal youth made vulnerable by their social location, providing a source of data and a stimulus for discussion, and giving participants the choice to film what is meaningful to them (see Lui, 2005 who did a filmmaking PAR project with immigrant and refugee youth). It can offer individuals the opportunity to embrace their relationship with their environment enabling insight into sociocultural aspects of their experiences (Hansen-Ketchum and Myrick, 2008). If it exposes unfounded assumptions, it can disrupt normative social constructions that perpetuate essentialist ideals. For example, the film was not a "homogenous" representation of Aboriginal youth, but heterogeneous, showing them in their daily lived contexts.

Film is not a neutral documentation of lived lives, but active and shifting. The youth related to each other differently for the film — from interviewing each other, to being in the kitchen together, and thus presented themselves in various ways in varied social and spatial contexts. The youth,

through filmmaking, were active in the research process. Their dynamic presence also revealed that they knew more about the worlds they inhabit than we did as researchers. Film also offered a medium in which they could say more than they might have in traditional interviewing (Murray, 2009). Enabling the youth to carry out a project that would help effect change in their community caused them and the people around them to think critically about health in their community, and contribute to the ongoing dialogue about everyday social and political forces that influence their health and nutritional habits.

Film cannot stand alone itself as an objective reality, but has and will have its meaning created in the interaction amongst and between the filmmakers and its audience. While it portrays the community's reality in one way, the viewers and the viewed, in multiple ways take in this reality, thereby creating a new construction of what they have seen and how this relates to their present reality. The potential of using film in PAR research is that it can create an opportunity to hear about the multiple meanings a piece of film conjures for the viewers and the viewed, which can also yield rich data. Here, applied to the context of diabetes prevention for Aboriginal youth, filmmaking generated a third space where participants and researchers learned something new about themselves, each other, and diabetes prevention. Filmmaking as a process and as an end product can play an informative role in generating and/or strengthening health promotion strategies amongst Aboriginal populations.

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