

## NCRP May 2014 Team Meeting Summary of Discussions

David Hulchanski & Emily Paradis 9 June 2014

The Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership met on May 2-3, 2014 in Toronto to share updates from the six CMAs, develop a research plan for a cross-CMA project on deteriorating rental neighbourhoods, and define research initiatives that extend beyond the original CMA-specific projects.

#### Attendance

#### **Board Members**

David **Hulchanski** (PI, Toronto), Jino **Distasio** (Winnipeg), Kathleen **Gallagher** (OISE/UT), Jill **Grant** (Dalhousie), Michelynn **Laflèche** (United Way Toronto), David **Ley** (UBC), Bob **Murdie** (York), Valerie **Preston** (York), Ivan **Townshend** (Lethbridge), Alan **Walks** (Toronto).

#### **Partners**

Aamna **Ashraf** (Peel Newcomer Strategy Group), John **Campey** (Social Planning Toronto), Diane **Dyson** (Woodgreen Community Services), Leanne **Holt** (Federation of Canadian Municipalities), Rob **Howarth** (Canadian Association of Neighbourhood Centres), Sean **Meagher** (Public Interest Research), Anita **Stellinga** (United Way Peel), Lynne **Woolcott** (St. Christopher House).

#### Co-Investigators

Shauna **Brail** (Toronto), Nathan **Edelson** (UBC), Sutama **Ghosh** (Ryerson), Richard **Harris** (McMaster), Xavier **Leloup** (INRS), Sheila **Neysmith** (Toronto), Scot **Wortley** (Toronto), Daniyal **Zuberi** (Toronto).

#### Staff, Students, Guests

Emily **Paradis** (project manager), Richard **Maaranen** (data analyst), Jessica **Carriere** (PhD Candidate, Toronto), Craig **Jones** (Research Associate, UBC), Andrew **Kaufman** (Research Associate, Institute for Urban Studies, U Winnipeg), Jennifer **Le** (BA, U of T), Mana **Masoudi** (BA, U of T), Lauren **Nolan** (Research Associate, Nathalie Voorhees Centre, University of Illinois Chicago), Zafer **Sönmez** (Research Associate, Nathalie Voorhees Centre, University of Illinois Chicago), Greg **Suttor** (PhD Candidate, U of T), Glynis **Tabor** (BA, U of T), Anne **Wessels** (OISE/UT). International Guest Scholar: Sayaka **Fujii** (Policy and Planning Science, University of Tsukuba, Japan), on sabbatical at the University of Toronto.

## **Summary of Decisions, Action Items and Next Steps**

## Develop major cross-CMA research initiatives

As Year Two comes to an end, CMA teams should be wrapping up their Three Cities analyses and disseminating the results in their local communities. A number of small, local projects have received subgrant funding and are underway. More of these need to be designed and funded, but it is necessary to now define and implement larger, cross-CMA projects to move the full NCRP research agenda forward.

## Research on rental housing neighbourhoods

NCRP will move forward with a comparative, cross-CMA project on rental housing. Each CMA team will identify lead investigators and partners for this project by June 2014. A cross-CMA Rental Housing Working Group will meet by teleconference to frame the next steps for the project.

The central project will provide maps and data on rental housing in each CMA. CMAs will produce local reports on rental housing (similar to the Three Cities reports.) These reports will provide the basis for identifying CMA-specific and cross-CMA areas of interest for in-depth study.

#### Research on theme areas

All NCRP team members are invited to propose comparative cross-CMA projects in other NCRP theme areas, including: income and access to jobs; aging in the city; urban Aboriginal issues; immigrant settlement; and youth. Cross-CMA comparative projects are to be funded out of a designated budget line, not the \$100,000 reserved for each CMA's local research.

#### Knowledge mobilization initiatives

NCRP will continue to develop plans and activities for knowledge mobilization. **Emily Paradis** will work with partners to produce a checklist for local knowledge mobilization activities, and send this to all CMA teams. An NCRP newsletter and blog will be introduced in Year 3.

## Next team meeting, 16-17 October 2014 in Toronto

The purpose of the meeting will be to move forward with the research design for the rental housing initiative, as well as to define and plan cross-CMA comparative projects in other theme areas. Sheila Neysmith agreed to present data analysis on aging at this meeting, as the basis for a discussion of comparative work in this area.

The first day, Thursday October 16, will be a research symposium focused on findings of the "3-cities" neighbourhood income trend analyses from the six CMAs, as well as findings from other of our funded research initiatives that are ready to report.

## Summary of the Discussions at the May 2-3 Team Meeting

## Agenda Item 1. Our 6 CMAs: Progress and prospects

## Halifax, Jill Grant

The Halifax team recently completed its *Three Cities* study. Their first report was released in January, titled *Neighbourhood Change in HRM, 1970-2010: Applying the Three Cities Model*. The team has given three presentations on this research, and is in the process of submitting a scholarly paper for review. The report, along with student papers emerging from the research, are posted on the Halifax NCRP website <a href="http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/neighbourhood/">http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/neighbourhood/</a>. Howard **Ramos** is leading a qualitative study of the definition of "neighbourhood." In the Halifax context, CTs are too large a geographic area for examining neighbourhood change, but DAs are too small. This study will assist in determining an appropriate unit of analysis for future NCRP studies.

## Montréal, Xavier Leloup

Ongoing meetings with the lead Montréal partner, Centraide (United Way) have informed a subgrant proposal to map Montréal's working poor populations using a similar methodology as that used for Toronto in a 2012 report http://bit.ly/1exBb2p. The Montréal study will order new crosstabulations with additional variables, to better reflect social need, gender, and immigration status, and improve geographical boundaries. It was suggested that the coding for this additional data be done in the Research Data Centre so that it could be replicated for the other CMAs, but data suppression would likely be a problem.

The team is compiling a database of relevant news articles and reports pertaining to neighbourhoods of interest, including Parc Extension. A strong interest in rental housing has emerged out of the initial research.

## Winnipeg, Jino Distasio, Andrew Kaufman

The team has developed an introductory Three Cities report, to be completed in June 2014. It will include a number of essays from experts on neighbourhood issues in Winnipeg. A primary driver of neighbourhood change in Winnipeg is linked to spatial sorting that occurred prior to 1970. Team analysis has revealed a slow stagnant period of growth, and socio-spatial polarization hasn't occurred to the same degree as it has in Toronto or Vancouver. Downtown shows little evidence of gentrification; however a measurable change in rooming house numbers has occurred in key neighbourhoods (e.g. Spence and West Broadway). Affluence is concentrated in ex-urban and periurban neighbourhoods.

Building on the neighbourhood typology developed by Bob Murdie, the Winnipeg team has also worked on a neighbourhood typology for prairie cities, based on Winnipeg and Edmonton. Andrew Kaufman has recently completed an analysis of rooming house change (this report has since been released <a href="http://www.uwinnipeg.ca/index/cms-filesystem-action/pdfs/ius/wpgs-vanishing-rooming-houses.pdf">http://www.uwinnipeg.ca/index/cms-filesystem-action/pdfs/ius/wpgs-vanishing-rooming-houses.pdf</a>). A research partnership with the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternative - Manitoba is set to produce a collaborative review of policy options for rooming house change across Winnipeg.

## Chicago, Lauren Nolan & Zafer Sonmez

A team in Chicago led by Janet Smith (University of Illinois at Chicago) has replicated the neighbourhood change income trends ("3-cities") analysis using US census data. The Chicago team is expecting a funding decision on a research grant proposal in June 2014. The project would examine the drivers of neighbourhood change in several US metropolitan areas in comparative manner allowing for further Canada-US urban neighbourhood trend comparisons.

## Calgary, Ivan Townshend

The neighbourhood income trends report on Calgary is nearing completion, with input from a number of partner organizations. In addition to the Federation of Calgary Communities, the team now includes United Way Calgary, Calgary Homeless Foundation, and the Calgary Poverty Reduction Strategy. In keeping with its focus on case studies illustrative of different neighbourhood trajectories and transitions, the team is looking at neighbourhoods defined by the City as "strong neighbourhoods" and "inspiring neighbourhoods" (an "inspiring" neighbourhood is at the brink of becoming a "priority") and conducting preliminary analyses to determine which neighbourhoods would be useful to study in-depth. A student project is also underway, examining neighbourhood change in the inner core.

The team continues to map neighbourhood change within the city, but results are revealing discrepancies between CT-level data and on-the-ground knowledge. For example, some neighbourhoods are showing a confusing pattern of socioeconomic shifts to the outermost ex-urban periphery, and extreme decline is showing in traditionally high-income.

## Vancouver, David Ley, Craig Jones

The Skytrain Poverty Corridor project is set to be completed in August 2014. Analysis shows an emerging poverty corridor that follows the Skytrain, revealing conflicting goals between sustainability and affordability. The Vancouver planning department mandates increasing density, but ever-increasing density is accelerating the unaffordability of housing, particularly near transit hubs. The rental housing stock predates the Skytrain. New, transit-oriented development is threatening rental stock.

Research by Alan Walks shows that Vancouver has a tremendous debt level, associated with mortgage debt. Beginning in June 2014, the Vancouver team will conduct a study on household debt to be led by the Social Planning and Research Council (SPARC). The study will include a spatial analysis of debt for the period 2007 – 2013, as well as interviews with key informants and high-debt households. The temporal period of the study will enable analysis of changes since the 2008 financial crisis. Jino Distasio noted that a similar study in Winnipeg showed that non-mortgage debt is also growing, as households increasingly finance consumption and basic needs with credit. It was suggested that the project include an analysis non-mortgage debt data from TransUnion.

The Vancouver team will reach out to additional community partners to support the proposed project on deteriorating rental housing.

#### Toronto, Emily Paradis, David Hulchanski, Alan Walks

The team is collaborating with the United Way Toronto on a study of social polarization in Toronto and across Canada. A student working with Alan Walks is analyzing individual census data to determine the contribution of income changes among various groups to overall patterns of polarization. United Way has commissioned a survey that examines the impacts of income inequality on access to opportunity.

In collaboration with partners in Peel, York, and Halton regions, the Toronto team is beginning to frame a neighbourhood change income trends analysis for Toronto's outer suburbs (the "905 region"). Alan Walks and Shalini Sharma (Economics) are examining transportation accessibility for immigrants in the 905.

Alan Walks is planning a major project proposal on condominium development and its impact on Canadian cities. Preliminary discussions have generated considerable international interest and potential ties with other projects on gentrification, livability, density, governance, and family-friendly development. NCRP partners and co-investigators from all 6 CMAs are invited to join in framing this project; Alan will send a draft out to the team.

Emily Paradis is leading a project on inadequate housing and homelessness among families in aging tower neighbourhoods. The report was released in March 2014, with ongoing dissemination to occur via social agencies and residents groups. The study used data collected by United Way Toronto in 2009 for their Vertical Poverty report.

Diane Dyson and Sheila Neysmith are working with a project led by WoodGreen Community Services on older adults in East York. A survey is underway and a literature review is soon to be released.

Kathleen Gallagher has an NCRP subgrant for a project based at a youth shelter in Scarborough, working with a theatre company to explore research questions through theatre exercises (looking at perceptions of youth who become homeless and their housing trajectories 'in place').

Rosemary Gartner has an NCRP-funded project to develop a database with longitudinal data on calls for service for violent crime linked to postal code across Toronto.

Rob Howarth is leading a working group to develop an NCRP proposal to examine the contribution of community-based organizations to collective efficacy in neighbourhoods.

United Way Peel has released Portraits of Peel (<a href="http://www.portraitsofpeel.ca/">http://www.portraitsofpeel.ca/</a>). A 10-year housing plan was recently released as a component of Peel's Poverty Reduction Strategy. Incorporating the cities of Mississauga and Brampton, if Peel Region were a CMA, it would be Canada's fourth-largest.

David Hulchanski and Richard Maaranen recently developed a presentation for the anniversary of a landmark Toronto report, Metro Suburbs in Transition. That report included data on the "new postwar suburbs" as defined by Statistics Canada. The team is searching for more information about the definition of this analytic geography, which may be of interest for future NCRP studies.

Bob Murdie continues his work on the analysis of change in neighbourhood typologies (1980-2006) for our six CMAs plus Ottawa and Hamilton.

# Agenda Item 2. Rental neighbourhoods: Defining a local and multi-CMA research agenda

A discussion of the rental housing research framework document generated a number of research questions, ideas and options for moving forward on the proposal. Individual CMA interests, contexts, concerns, issues, potential investigators and partners, and next steps were reviewed.

Greg Suttor presented a summary of comments and suggestions that have been submitted by CMAs. Key themes that have emerged include: socioeconomic disadvantage and immigration in post-war neighbourhoods; socioeconomic decline amongst renters and perspectives on 'decline'; narrowing options for renters; gentrification and redevelopment; regulation of the quality of private rental; local land use and development policy; documenting resident experience (e.g. who is affected and

how?); and policy context as a framework through which to observe trends and difference across CMAs.

#### Macro context

The salience of macro contextual issues will vary from CMA to CMA, and from neighbourhood to neighbourhood. Their relevance and impact must be determined locally. The macro context is not relegated to policy; it is also reflected in the factors that influence housing markets (e.g. range of ownership, multinational ownership, REITs, etc).

Key questions: Where is the decision-making power located in each city? What does the regulatory environment around rental stock look like? What are some key housing market factors? How and why do people enter the rental market? How and why do they leave?

## Rental housing stock

The form, condition, quality and affordability of rental stock varies across CMAs.

Key questions: How is a 'healthy vacancy rate' determined? How do community dynamics correlate with housing market trends in each CMA? How do neighbourhood structures, relationships, efficacies play a role? The issue of "chaotic categories" was also raised (there is no 'average' rental unit). It would be useful for each CMA to produce an overview of rental housing stock, factors and trends (e.g. rental housing report cards).

#### Residents

The demographic groups overrepresented in declining rental housing, as well as residents' experiences of their neighbourhoods, are of interest.

Key questions: What are the micro contexts that influence public and privately-owned rental housing? How do condo boards make decisions about upkeep? How does income polarization contribute to local rental markets? Is inclusionary zoning a useful tool to connect individuals to employment? How does income vary between renters and homeowners in each CMA, and how do these numbers compare internationally (e.g. in cities with significant rental stock)? What is the impact of the loss of the social housing agreement on residents? The framing of housing as a human right vs. ethno-cultural focus was also discussed.

## Geography type

Cross-CMA profiles of geography type offer a unique contribution to Canadian housing research. Each CMA could potentially produce maps that depict areas under redevelopment pressure, deteriorating rental stock, etc.

 $\label{thm:prop:continuous} What are the characteristics of the neighbourhood in which stock is located?$ 

Other areas and opportunities for investigation:

- Economic analysis is needed to understand how the rental housing market compares to housing ownership across Canada.
- A focus on the private rental sector would set NCRP analysis apart from other studies looking at federally subsidized housing.
- It may be necessary to extend the policy focus to the neighbourhood scale (eg. tax policies, secondary suites regulation, transportation policy, workforce concentration, neighbourhoods/place-based policy)

- Federation of Canadian Municipalities is working on a national research paper on housing with a focus on the capital repair deficit (<a href="http://www.fcm.ca/home/issues/housing/fixing-canadas-housing-crunch.htm">http://www.fcm.ca/home/issues/housing/fixing-canadas-housing-crunch.htm</a>). The NCRP could produce a joint statement on cross-CMA issues and challenges to pass on to the FCM
- United Way Peel is conducting comparative research on international rental housing projects (contact: Aamna Ahsraf)

## Proposed process for moving forward

- 1. Local CMA teams identify partners and co-investigators who will take the lead on this theme. A cross-CMA working group on rental housing can hold regular meetings by teleconference to share local information and define comparative work.
- 2. Each CMA conducts a macro descriptive analysis of rental housing using data and maps provided by the central project.
- 3. CMA teams drill down, conduct qualitative studies in areas of local interest.
- 4. Teams continue to network across CMAs to define comparative studies in areas of common interest.
- 5. The analyses generated are pulled together into common formats (such as report cards) for knowledge mobilization and transfer.

# Agenda Item 3. Other themes for comparative research: Breakout discussions and report-back

Meeting participants broke into five groups to discuss other potential projects in the NCRP thematic areas. These areas include: income and access to jobs, youth, aging, immigrant issues, and urban aboriginal issues.

## Income and access to jobs

What is the connection between labour market trends and neighbourhood trends? As the team discussed, Canadian research lacks spatial analyses of the availability of jobs in urban centers. There is potential for a cross-CMA analysis to be done, in order to study the location of jobs, linkages between residence and employment, the means of transportation that people use to get to and from work, and/ or the change in location of jobs in relation to residential changes over time. The concept of 'time poverty' – relating to the time that low-income residents must allocate toward travel to work – is relevant here. The 2012 Transportation Tomorrow survey for Ontario provides an example of relevant transportation data. Employment data is needed.

Possible collaborators in labour and employment data collection include Leah Vosko (York U, Politics and Policy). Leah is leading a study of unionization and employment standards in Canada. She was also involved in the creation of the Gender and Work Database-Comparative Perspectives on Precarious Employment Database project (GWD-CPD) involving co-investigators from across Europe and North America as well as Australia (<a href="www.genderwork.ca">www.genderwork.ca</a>). David Wolfe at U of T has access to the Dun & Bradstreet data through the Local IDEAs (Indicator Database for Economic Analysis) project of PROGRIS at U of T's Monk School. The database includes an extensive set of social and economic indicators that contribute to the 'economic vitality' of Canadian localities.

#### Youth, schooling, and criminalization

The team discussed the pervasive criminalization of youth in Toronto (e.g. community policing & TAVIS) and elsewhere, and the difficulties of obtaining police data. Drawing from the example of

Networks of Dispossession (a project that compiles and maps collective data on the relations of capital and power within urban transformation in Turkey: <a href="http://mulksuzlestirme.org/index\_en.html">http://mulksuzlestirme.org/index\_en.html</a>), the team discussed a comparative research project aimed at constellations of social policies that come together to disenfranchise youth. Kathleen Gallagher suggested that the team draw from neighbourhood level data to study that impact of school closures at the local scale.

## **Immigrant** issues

The consensus amongst the group was that, when you look at low-income areas in any of the 6 CMAs, the correlation with immigrant status is high. There is potential for a number of studies relating to neighbourhoods and immigration. What kinds of housing and neighbourhood-level policies and programs can be considered 'successful' in their support of new and recent immigrants and refugees in Canada (and what defines 'success')? What are the factors that promote community ownership (e.g. 'collective efficacy')? How does residency and immigration status connect to 'survival jobs' – trapping people in precarious employment situations on the basis of survival?

David Ley's methodology from a previous study on sociospatial integration of Asian immigrant to Vancouver might be used in designing a study on integration and disadvantage. Dan Hiebert (UBC, Geography) also has a useful data set that includes 200 maps for 8 cities (e.g. data by class and country for all arrivals since 1986, country of origin, etc.)

## Aging in neighbourhoods

Sheila Neysmith is currently taking the lead on a study that looks at aging and increasing income disparities. The team has census data that looks at distribution of people over 65, age, minority status, gender and type of housing. A longitudinal analysis from 1986 to 2006 may show some change over time. 'Drilling down' into localities is the next step. The HRSDC released a document on 'aging in place': <a href="http://www.seniors.gc.ca/eng/working/fptf/place.pdf">http://www.seniors.gc.ca/eng/working/fptf/place.pdf</a>). What unique perspective can the NCRP bring? The discourse of aging and policy related to aging could be a qualitative theme.

#### **Urban Aboriginal issues**

The team discussed the concept of the issues of urban concentrations of impoverished Aboriginal populations in Vancouver and Winnipeg. Mobility is a key barrier (movement between reserve / rural / northern communities and city). Hidden homelessness is also a critical issue. The 2011 census is said to provide insufficient data on the urban Aboriginal population. What kind of statistics could be relied upon to understand these populations? A broader network of research must be developed in this area. Each CMA should identify or two additional research partners who specialize in this area. There are also many Aboriginal students entering the post-secondary system and wish to be a part of this conversation – how best to use team connections to employ and/ or incorporate students?

## Agenda Item 4. NCRP evaluation, reporting, and administrative issues

### **Evaluation**

Emily Paradis presented a summary of evaluations collected from partners, CMA teams, and funded projects. The CMA teams are all growing, expanding their networks of academics, students, community partners, and municipal officials. Research partners bring additional connections, staff time, and expertise, as well as an opportunity to leverage research into policy decision-making and service delivery outcomes. Some teams have reported difficulties in arranging meetings across

their networks. The use of web-based and teleconferencing technologies is necessary. Challenges have also arisen in obtaining census data and geographic data across CMAs. More regular connection and communication across the project as a whole will be beneficial to deepening the relationships and solving common problems/ sharing data sets etc.

#### SSHRC reporting

The annual Contribution Report to SSHRC is due at the end of May. CMA teams and co-investigators should report any resources contributed to NCRP work by their home institutions, such as research assistantships. CMA teams, and projects funded through NCRP subgrants, should also report any other in-kind contributions, such as the involvement of additional partner organizations not named in the SSHRC grant.

The Mid-Term Report to SSHRC will be due in fall 2015. It will be based on the targets set in the Milestone Report (e.g. student involvement, deliverables and written reports).

## Budget

The budget report for Year Two will be available soon. Cross-CMA comparative projects will be funded out of a different pool of funds than CMA-specific projects.

## Next meeting, and research symposia

The next NCRP in-person meeting will take place in October 2014. The purpose of the meeting will be to move forward with the project on rental housing, as well as to define and plan cross-CMA comparative projects in other theme areas. Sheila Neysmith agreed to present data analysis on aging at this meeting, as the basis for a discussion of comparative work in this area.

The group agreed that, in addition to regular in-person team meetings, the NCRP should host scholarly symposia. Symposia would help teams to focus and move towards deadlines, and underpin research goals. Potential themes could include rental housing, labour market, services/income security, and discrimination. International partners and outside experts could be invited to attend, with the intent to bring academic and policy/ practice worlds together. Symposia or workshops would also provide a venue for the presentation of student work.

It was agreed that a meeting to be held in 2014-2015 would include time for presentation and discussion of the Three Cities analysis from each CMA, as well as student papers and reports on completed projects.

## Publications & knowledge mobilization

As outlined in the SSHRC proposal, the NCRP will culminate in a major international conference to be held year 6 or 7. Planning for this conference should begin in the coming year.

Also planned are three or four edited volumes to be submitted for publication to Oxford University Press Canada (as outlined in our proposal to SSHRC). The first volume, to begin production in Year Three, will focus on socio-spatial inequality in Canadian cities. It will include chapters on each CMA's neighbourhood change income trend analysis, as well as a historical overview of the nature and role of "neighbourhoods" in Canadian urban research and public policy, being prepared by Richard Harris. Potential themes for other volumes include 'the other' in polarized Canadian cities (youth, racialized groups, immigrants, Aboriginal groups). Other publication possibilities would be special issues of journals.

An NCRP newsletter was discussed. It was agreed that a newsletter should take the form of brief email alerts with links to new publications to be found on the NCRP website. This format will drive

more visitors to the website and be less resource-intensive than a full newsletter. The website will also soon feature a blog which can be promoted via email alerts. All NCRP team members are invited to contribute to the blog. An email distribution list will be compiled by project staff, drawing from lists and networks of each CMA team.

## Agenda Item 5. Knowledge mobilization workshop

David Phipps from York University's Knowledge Mobilization Unit presented a workshop on knowledge mobilization and transfer. Slides and documents from the workshop are available on the NCRP website under the *About* tab at *Research Team Documents*.

To highlight how research is produced, and practical knowledge is mobilized to facilitate the production and use of practical knowledge that will assist in enhancing the role of evidence in public policy and public services, David used the example of the U of Edinburgh's Research Unit for Research Utilization (RURU) study on impacts. The PARiHS Framework also provides a useful framework for guiding the implementation of evidence-based practice, and assessing the relationships between contextual factors and research utilization (http://www.implementationscience.com/content/supplementary/1748-5908-6-99-s3.pdf).

## Key points from the workshop include:

- Successful knowledge mobilization takes place at different levels: uptake (how many people see
  the research), implementation (the research findings are incorporated into practice, policy,
  discourses and decision-making), and impact (measurable changes result from policies,
  programs and practices informed by the research).
- Our role as researchers is to generate information and communicate it effectively to the intended audiences. Implementation and impact are not generally within researchers' control.
- Dissemination to students should not only be focused on curriculum development, but also teacher engagement and professional development.
- The use of social media should be highly organized and purposeful, with the audience in mind.
- Indicators for evaluation of research uptake can include the number of downloads, numbers of conference attendees, and feedback from participants.
- In general, impacts are measured at the level of partnerships and continued contact with partners is necessary. Graduate students placed at partner organizations may also conduct evaluation/maintain connections.
- Dissemination is enhanced through 'storytelling.'