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University of Saskatchewan	3
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B. Peer-Reviewers and Peer-Reviewing

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University of Victoria	2
International	
Australia	
Flinders University	1
Griffith University	1
United States	
University of Arkansas	1

Essays

Community-Based Intersectionality: The Changing Public Services Project

Tammy Findlay, Michelle Cohen, Mary-Dan Johnston

Abstract The paper reflects on a changing public service project regarding women and intersectional analysis in Halifax, Canada. The project sought to facilitate collective mobilizations to challenge austerity and to imagine public services that meet the needs of the citizens who use them, and the workers that provide them. We provide an overview of the project, and then explore our attempt at adapting "multistrand" intersectional policy analysis (Hankivsky & Cormier, 2011) to a community-based context. In considering the challenges and opportunities associated with this work, the paper concludes that the changing public service project created space for an innovative approach to community-based research that can guide both participatory policy analysis and collective action.

KeyWords intersectionality, women, community, policy analysis

For inspiration on new kinds of struggles for social justice, we can look to what Cho, Crenshaw and McCall (2013) refer to as "political intersectionality," and what Chun, Lipsitz and Shin (2013) call "social movement intersectionality (p. 917)." Intersectional analysis demands that not only policy makers, but also activists work to: avoid prioritizing one social category over another; break down the silos between policies; engage in reflexivity, self-awareness and scrutiny of privilege; and attend to lived experience and knowledge production (CRIAW, 2006; Hankivsky & Cormier, 2011; Chun, Lipsitz & Shin, 2013). At its heart, intersectionality is a means of collective struggle that "can inform connections across privilege as well as subordination to better facilitate meaningful collaboration and political action" (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013, p. 804).

In this paper, we reflect on a project called "Changing Public Services: Women and Intersectional Analysis" (CPS). CPS was a partnership between the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW), five national public sector labour unions, and five universities. As the co-initiators and coordinator of the Nova Scotia regional cluster of the project, we consider the challenges and opportunities for building capacity for equality research and organizing. By analyzing CPS as an experiment in community-based intersectionality, the paper asks: How can academics, labour unionists, public sector workers, community activists, and service users, work together to understand and challenge the impact of austerity and

restructuring of public services on diverse groups of women? Our project positions the researcher not as a neutral and 'objective' observer, but rather as an active subject with an explicitly political purpose. The stated objective of CPS is to support collective mobilizations locally and nationally.

We begin with an overview of the national CPS project and its overarching structure. We then turn to the development of the Nova Scotia cluster, and discuss our attempt at adapting "multistrand" intersectional policy analysis (Hankivsky & Cormier, 2011) to a community-based context. This methodology takes a systematic approach to integrating intersectionality into every stage of policy-making, and requires that at each stage, questions of inclusion, representation, and equity are prioritized. Its highlights include: the use of community-based research in policy-making; consciously "putting oneself in someone else's shoes;" identifying commonalities across differently situated groups; and collective visioning of alternatives (Hankivsky & Cormier, 2011). While the multistrand approach was developed as a tool of formal policy-making, we used it to support local political organizing.

We argue that there are many challenges to carrying out this work including: power differentials; time and resource constraints; local internal political differences; and academic inaccessibility. However, it has created space for an innovative approach to community-based research that can guide participatory policy analysis and collective action.

Changing Public Services

Feminist research has shown that women are disproportionately and negatively affected by neoliberal restructuring of public services and austerity agendas (Brodie & Bakker, 2007; Cohen & Pulkingham, 2009). However, we know much less about the differential implications for women in varied social locations and their strategies of resistance. Much more work is needed to explore and develop the theories and methods of intersectionality to understand experiences with public services in Canada.

Changing Public Services was a four-year project, funded through a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) partnership development grant, to identify the impacts of changes in public policy, public sector employment, program delivery, and governance, on diverse groups of women in Canada. The overall objective was to create a pan-Canadian, bilingual network which would bring together community groups, unions, governments, and individuals to highlight and respond to impacts of changes in public services since the 2008 financial crisis, and to ensure future changes are effective and appropriate for service users and providers. The first phase began with initiating a network, made up of four regional clusters — Nova Scotia, the National Capital Region, Saskatoon, and Lower Mainland British Columbia — to accomplish the following:

1) identify and develop tools, connections, agreements, and strategies for tracking changes to public services and public sector employment;
2) use participatory tools to track and analyze the impacts of these changes on diverse groups of women over time (e.g. mapping, media analysis, storytelling);

3) identify combined and cascading impacts as a result of municipal, provincial and federal changes; and
4) collectively prioritize areas for further research and action.

The project was a collaboration between the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW), the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), and the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT). It was hosted at the University of Guelph and involved several other Canadian universities.

The research team members included a national project manager, a leadership circle of academic and labour partners, an administrative assistant, and two co-initiators and a coordinator for each regional cluster. The four clusters of the CPS network identified questions that were important in the region, and to the regional partners. Using the lens of intersectionality, each cluster foregrounded groups of women who may face unique barriers and opportunities (e.g., women with disabilities, immigrant women, women in rural areas) in the face of changing public services. Clusters developed their own scope and focus, which varied throughout the country.

Each cluster began by meeting with community partners to name and discuss concerns about the impacts of particular policy, program, and employment changes on women with diverse identities. These discussions were aided by ongoing national research through CRIAW including a study of the impacts of precarious employment on women in the public sector, an intersectional statistical analysis of women and employment, and a systematic scoping review on the impacts of changing public services on women, with emphasis on young women, women with disabilities, Indigenous women, lone parents, and immigrant women. Within and across regions, CPS developed tools and participatory processes to identify and track changing public services and their impacts. The objective was to increase all women's access to public services, and to help ensure diverse women can influence and inform public services. Moving forward, we aim to develop future research and action projects in our local communities. CPS has been communicating and disseminating the findings of this work broadly through fact sheets, articles, presentations, and social media.

The Nova Scotia Cluster

The network in Nova Scotia came together after a list was comprised of a variety of non-profit, social services organizations and unions whose work deals with the provision of, receipt of, and/or advocacy for, public services. A call out for partners to join our regional steering committee was originally sent to over 30 organizations and unions with representatives based primarily, but not exclusively, in Halifax. The groups were chosen specifically to give as much social and cultural diversity as possible. Although we were originally tagged as the "Atlantic" regional centre for CPS, it was clear early on that we did not have the resources to reach beyond Nova Scotia to other Atlantic provinces. In fact, the steering committee was mostly

Halifax-based, and even though many of the organizations involved are provincial, or even national, their head office is located in the Halifax region.

There were representatives from the following organizations:

- Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC)
- Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE)
- Canadian Federation of University Women (CFUW)
- Community Society to End Poverty in NS
- Service Employees International Union (SEIU)
- Nova Scotia Government & General Employees Union (NSGEU)
- Nova Scotia Teacher's Union (NSTU)
- Nova Scotia Nurses Union (NSNU)
- Canadian Federation of Students (CFS)
- Students Nova Scotia
- Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA)
- Women's Centres Connect Nova Scotia
- Women's Action Alliance for Change Nova Scotia (WACNS)
- Halifax YWCA
- Adsum House for Women and Children
- Dalhousie Legal Aid
- Avalon Sexual Assault Centre
- Nancy's Chair in Women's Studies, Mount Saint Vincent University (MSVU)
- Nova Scotia Citizens' Health Care Network
- Alexa McDonough Institute for Women, Gender and Social Justice

As will be elaborated later on, these partners were engaged to varying degrees. There was also a sub-committee that acted as a working group to address logistical aspects of the project. The cluster was hosted by the Alexa McDonough Institute for Women, Gender and Social Justice (AMI), a research and community collaboration hub at MSVU, which is well-suited to the intersectional, community-based outlook of CPS.

Intersectionality in Community

Intersectionality is at once a theory, a research methodology, and a strategic framework. Intersectional policy analysis operates at all three levels. Hankivsky and Cormier (2011) explain that,

> [the] goal of intersectionality policy analysis is to identify and address 'the way specific acts and policies address the inequalities experienced by various social groups,' taking into account that social identities such as race, class, gender, ability, geography, and age interact to form unique meanings and complex experiences within and between groups in society (p. 217).

Intersectionality is a tool that can applied by policy analysts and decision-makers, as well as by grassroots activists and social movements (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013; Chun, Lipsitz & Shin, 2013). CRIAW (2006) has developed Intersectional Feminist Frameworks (IFFs) that can "inform government policy *and* organizing strategies for activists" (p. 22, emphasis ours). Chun, Lipsitz and Shin (2013) refer to "social movement intersectionality" to highlight "the action imperatives of intersectionality" (pp. 917, 921) and Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall (2013) employ "political intersectionality." They explain that,

> The concept of 'political intersectionality' reflects a dual concern for resisting the systemic forces that significantly shape the differential life chances of intersectionality's subjects and for reshaping modes of resistance beyond allegedly universal, single-axis approaches. Political intersectionality provides an applied dimension to the insights of structural intersectionality by offering a framework for contesting power and thereby linking theory to existent and emergent social and political struggles. This praxis orientation demands that the realm of practice always already inform the work of theorists (p. 800).

Putting intersectional analysis into practice demands that activists/researchers avoid prioritizing one social category over another; break down the silos between policies; engage in reflexivity, self-awareness and scrutiny of privilege; and are attentive to lived experience and knowledge production (CRIAW, 2006; Clark et al., 2010; Dhamoon & Hankivsky, 2011; Hankivsky & Cormier, 2011; Hankivsky et al., 2012; Chun, Lipsitz & Shin, 2013). In an effort to operationalize these principles, research assistants at CPS put together an extensive overview of creative, intersectional, participatory research methods that was distributed to all of the regional clusters. These ranged from visual mapping (Waddell, 2012), to collaborative narrative (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning, 2000), to digital storytelling (Gregory et al., 2008). Because it fit well with the spirit of our steering committee's interests, we proposed the multi-strand approach to public policy analysis (Parken & Young, 2007; Hankivsky & Cormier, 2011).

Multistrand Intersectional Policy Analysis

The multi-strand approach is an intersectional research methodology that involves stakeholders from diverse social locations (gender, race/ethnicity, ability, religion/belief, age, and sexual orientation). It is an inclusive method capable of promoting equality through all stages of public policy: mapping, visioning, road testing, and monitoring and evaluation (Parken & Young, 2007; Hankinvsky & Cormier, 2011). Its various stages are outlined in the figure by Parken and Young (2007) on the following page.

In the first stage, Mapping, the participants take stock of who is involved and what they already know about the policy area. They share information from multiple perspectives. In the second stage, they engage in Visioning. They identify commonalities and solutions in order to establish what should be done. The third step is Road Testing, which demands that

participants actively consider how others would be affected by proposed policy solutions and to put themselves in the position of others. Monitoring and Evaluation, the final stage, involves reflecting on how to determine if policies are working and identifying equality indicators.

Two of these components were seen as especially promising for our purposes. Visioning, as it emphasizes imagining alternatives, is key to the social change focus of our project. As detailed earlier, one of the key objectives of CPS is to create a network for national and regional action. One of the other main elements, Road Testing, asks participants to put themselves "in someone else's shoes," which spoke directly to the essence of the conversations that were unfolding at our table.

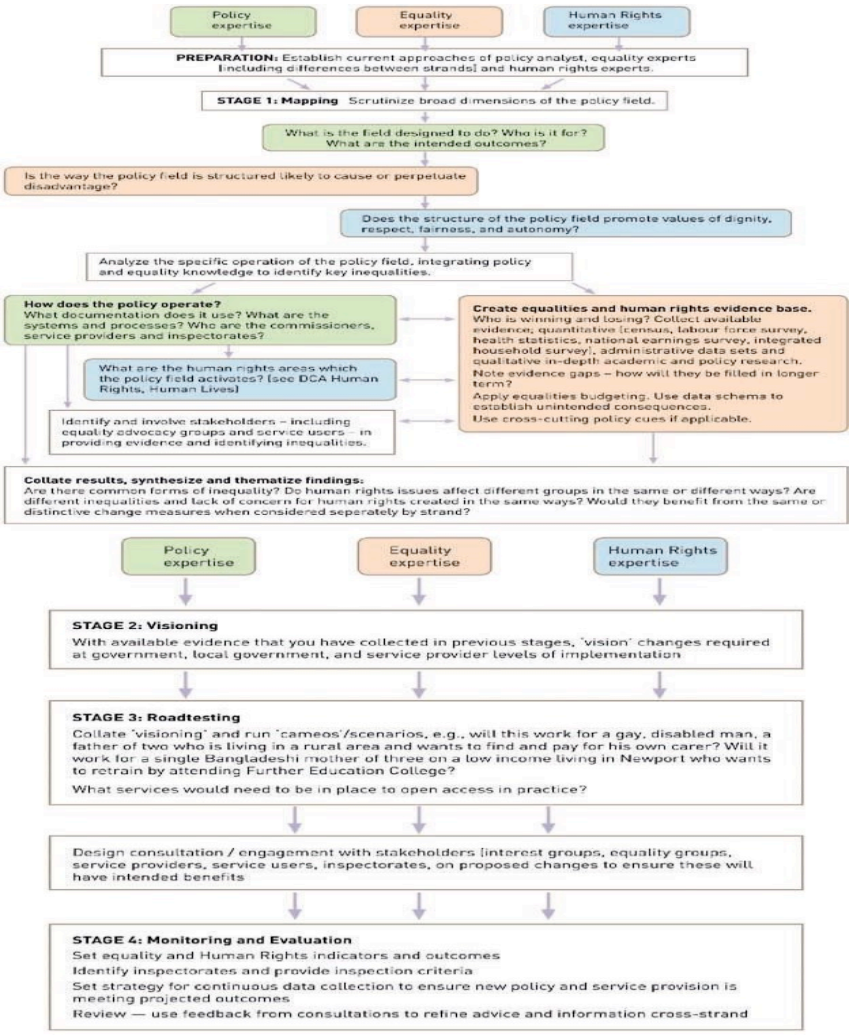

Figure 1. Multistrand Intersectional Policy Analysis, Parken and Young, 2007

At our very first meeting, we began with a general discussion of what we mean by public services and how changing public services are affecting our communities. One of our steering committee members, Fiona Traynor, who has extensive experience working in legal aid, made a comment that she wished there were opportunities for genuine discussion between the case workers who provide services and the recipients of income assistance who rely on services, as both are negatively impacted by restructuring and austerity. What started out as a spontaneous remark, we soon realized, actually got to the heart of what we were trying to do with Changing Public Services project, and had the potential for many other conversations including those between nurses and patients, or students, parents and teachers. It looked at public policy from various angles: public sector workers; service users; and the voluntary sector. And it asked us to engage in dialogue across differences in order to identify commonalities, bridge divides and build solidarity.

When it came to the question of how we would actually organize this, we decided that the multi-strand approach could be adapted for community-based research to provide some structure to service provider-service user dialogues that also engaged with the voluntary sector. To get a sense of the pressing policy issues for our partners, we had a discussion based on three broad questions:

1) What are public services to you?
2) What do you think should be considered public services?
3) How is your organization/community affected by changing public services?

Several recurring themes emerged including health care, child care, post-secondary education, poverty and income insecurity. After this brainstorming session, the consensus was that we would move forward with income assistance[1] as a pilot, with the goal of expanding this model in a range of other policy sectors if/when we were able to secure the larger partnership grant. The plan was to organize facilitated dialogues between public servants in the Department of Community Services, represented by the NSGEU, income assistance recipients, many of whom are being organized locally through Nova Scotia ACORN, and voluntary sector agencies and advocates. Once it became clear that this design might initially be too ambitious and confrontational, it was revised so that we would begin with separate, internal discussions among the various groups, and aspire to some joint cross-conversations later on, as trust was built. Our next task would be to invite some first-voice representatives from the income assistance community to join the steering committee and help us make concrete plans about how to structure the discussions and which questions to pose.

Here it might be worth stopping for a moment to map the provincial political terrain, as circumstances intervened that affected our research partnership and plans. On October 2, 2014 Liberal Premier Stephen McNeil brought about healthcare restructuring writ large with the passing of the Health Authorities Act (Bill 1). A highly partisan attack on labour, the Liberals tabled Bill 1 designating a central bargaining structure for all Nova Scotia healthcare

[1] With much debate about whether we should refer to 'income assistance,' 'social assistance,' or 'income security.'

workers, attempting to dictate 'who goes where' in the process. Bill 1 substantially weakened the Nova Scotia Government Employees Union (NSGEU) and the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), both whom support the NDP, while bolstering the Nova Scotia Nurses' Union (NSNU), who support the Liberals — pitting union against union.

All three of these unions are partners in the CPS project and their divisions were highlighted during the arbitration process over Bill 1. In arbitration, CUPE was arguing that central to their work as a decentralized social union organization, are greater opportunities for women to engage politically (both internally and externally). CUPE maintained that their members would likely lose out on leadership roles if forced to join with another union. The provincial government was succeeding in instigating strife among labour.

Then, after a much publicized and mandated mediation session in the spring and summer of 2014, together the four unions figured out a way to deliver what the province wanted through a multi-union bargaining structure, without divvying up its respective membership. The government turned down this proposal insisting upon carving up labour representation as it saw fit. In January, the Supreme Court of Canada added further drama, coming down with two important rulings. The Saskatchewan Federation of Labour and the Mounted Police Association of Ontario cases substantially bolstered fundamental rights for unions, ultimately pulling the rug out from Liberals by underscoring people's freedom to choose their own union and bargain freely. Followed by several attempts by the Health Minister and the Premier to "fire" an arbitrator retained by multiple parties, the unions were approached with an offer from the Liberals. On March 13, 2015 an agreement was reached to form a Council of Unions for the purposes of negotiating collective agreements for healthcare workers. The government had to accept a form of multi-union bargaining association – the same idea the unions proposed the previous summer.

As a result of Bill 1, which had threatened to divide labour in the province, these four unions are now inexorably linked. The nature of belonging to a union broadened for all four organizations as they were confronted with what the future might hold for the labour movement collectively if their solidarity was undermined. Ross (2008) argues that "a coalition among likeminded leaders and members must be forged to fight not only for socially progressive policies but also for a richer experience of union democracy that will raise the expectations workers have of their own and other institutions" (p. 150). And this was reflected in the investments and interests our labour partners have in this project that is now stronger moving forward.

In the short term though, understandably, throughout the highs and lows of the Bill 1 saga, participation in CPS ebbed and flowed. Since Nova Scotia Government & General Employees Union had been absent from the process over several meetings, preoccupied with the Bill 1 fight, we needed to reconnect with these partners, as the entire project rested on the participation of their members. In doing so, it became clear quite quickly that access to public sector workers would be difficult as the employer's expectations of confidentiality would make candor about their workplace challenges and possible personal contact with 'clients,' nearly impossible. We were facing the irony that the exact barriers to communication we were hoping

to break down were preventing us from doing so.

This raises a broader concern about the ability of researchers to gain access to public servants. There is much rhetoric among government agencies, departments, administrators and practitioners, lately about public sector renewal, reform, innovation, and transformation. It is a priority area for the Institute of Public Administration of Canada (IPAC), the Public Service Commission of Canada, and the Clerk of the Privy Council (Canada, 2008, 2012 and 2014; Ontario, 2012; IPAC, 2013). Other countries and global organizations, including the International Centre for Parliamentary Studies (ICPS), the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the World Bank, and RIPA International, are also interested in public sector reform and governance (U.N., 2010; ICPS, 2012). The crux of this discourse is that the 'new' civil service will need to directly engage with citizens and work in partnerships. Strangely, this is occurring when there has been unprecedented political interference, and cuts to public sector research in Canada (Voices-Voix, n.d; PIPSC, n.d.). Recently, numerous colleagues have described enormous difficulty getting access to federal and provincial public sector workers for interviews. There is an apparent lock-down on public sector participation in research and pervasive fear of job cuts and disciplinary action. The prospects for public sector 'renewal' are doubtful in such a climate.

There was certainly optimism in many circles that the defeat of Harper's Conservatives in the federal election would create a more open atmosphere for research and public service autonomy. The Trudeau Liberal Government's rhetoric about participation and inclusion as well as the resurrection of the long-form census were seen as positive signs. Nevertheless, there are now indications that this optimism is misplaced. Furthermore, the issues identified above continue to exist provincially and across political parties.

For the time being, we had to put the income assistance dialogues on hold, and revert to a more general discussion of public services in communities. We decided that organizational partners would host a dialogue session with their members/clients, where they would identify the issues they are encountering with public services (mapping) and share their ideas for change (visioning). We hope to return to the sector-specific approach in the future.

The Discussion Groups

The discussion groups were facilitated by CPS partners and typically held in a space that was familiar to participants between January 2016 and June 2016. CPS Nova Scotia Cluster research representatives were also in attendance and assisted the host facilitator. Nine discussions were held with: the Women with Disabilities Network, the Nova Scotia Nurses' Union, the NSGEU, the Canadian Federation of Students, Eastern Kings Community Health Board, CUPE Early Childhood Educators, the Immigrant and Migrant Women's Association, Indigenous women, and the Bridgewater Family Support Centre. Participants were asked to reflect on three questions:

1) Think of times in your life when you have relied on public services. Which public services have you relied on the most and why? (i.e. child care, education, health care, employment insurance, etc.)

2) During the past ten years, have you noticed any changes in public services? (i.e. how available they are, how good they are, how much they cost, etc.)
3) Do you think there are any public services that are missing, or insufficient? If so, how should they change?

Participants also filled out a voluntary demographic questionnaire. These groups included 73 women from a diversity of backgrounds, communities and organizations.[2] The conversations included those who self-identify as: Indigenous, non-Indigenous/settler, Canadian citizen, permanent resident immigrant, from a racialized group, from a non-racialized group, heterosexual, LGBT, female, transgender, with a disability, and without a disability. The participants spanned all age groups and were from low to high income levels. Some had children. They were primarily from the Halifax region, with some from other areas around the province. Some were employed, some were students, and some were unemployed. There were both public service workers and users.

These discussions yielded an enormous amount of data.[3] An audio recording of each discussion was made with the consent of participants. Research assistants transcribed these recordings, and research team members conducted a qualitative thematic analysis, coding each transcript by hand and conferring on their findings. The focus group discussion questions were open ended, and designed to cast an especially wide net in order to capture a broad range of experiences and concerns from a diverse group of participants.

The findings were summarized at a public event, the the Women's Research and Action Forum, on October 5, 2016 at Mount Saint Vincent University. This event was designed to bring research participants, community representatives, researchers, and students together to discuss the initial findings of the Nova Scotia Cluster's work, debrief the process, and plan next steps through a follow-up project, *Changing Public Engagement from the Ground Up*. The Forum (facilitated by Corrie Melanson) helped participants "step into the shoes" of women in different social positions through simple exercises to foster empathy and understanding. Participants read verbatim quotations from the discussion groups aloud, and worked in small groups to talk about what in these stories sounded familiar, and which aspects they were surprised by. By spending time clarifying the similarities and differences between the assembled women, participants were able to engage in a fruitful conversation about what public services that worked for women *in their diversity* might look like, and how they might feel to use. The day's activities are recapped in the *CPS Women's Research and Action Forum Report*, by student project assistant, Jennifer O'Keefe, which is posted on our project website.[4] The research is further analyzed and presented in a final project report, written by Mary-Dan Johnston, CPS Coordinator, also posted on the website.

[2] One group included men.

[3] This paper focuses mainly on the procedural aspects of CPS. For a more fulsome review of the issues and themes from the study, see the summary report at: https://www.criaw-icref.ca/en/page/changing-public-services--nova-scotia-

[4] See: https://www.criaw-icref.ca/en/page/changing-public-services

In addition to the final project report, locally, we produced three community-based tools: *Ten Reasons Why Universality is Important in Public Services*; *'Who Does What' in Public Services?*; and *Changing Public Services: Intersectionality and the Experiences of Women with Disabilities*. All of these materials are posted on the CPS website, and were distributed at a celebration event in the fall of 2017.

Challenges

Intersectionality requires perpetual internal reflection about power and privilege. Therefore, the balance of power and influence at the table is something we needed to remain aware of constantly. We endeavored to create a network over a hierarchy. Two of us were 'co-initiators,' or convenors, rather than directors or leaders. The co-initiators were drawn from community (Michelle Cohen from the Canadian Union of Public Employees) and academia (Tammy Findlay from the Department of Political and Canadian Studies at Mount Saint Vincent University). We had a diverse group of local partner organizations and individuals on the steering committee who signed on as co-partners and researchers. Regional clusters had significant autonomy to set their own research plans. Nevertheless, there are formal national partners and a "leadership circle" that set the overall direction of research and make decisions about finances, and academics are often at an advantage in relationships with community.

One of the strengths of this project is the support offered by national labour unions, and the opportunity to build relationships between local labour and community groups. At the same time, the labour presence did implicitly guide decisions about research priorities and approaches. Labour provided financial and in-kind support for CPS. We met in their space (the local PSAC office). They had paid staff to devote to the project. For some at the table who work in, or volunteer for, struggling community-based organizations, they seemed to have some ambivalence about the role of labour and what might be viewed as its relatively privileged position. Certainly some of the relationship-building CPS intended to foster was to bridge this gap between labour and the voluntary sector. As discussed below, the project could also help to complicate the way we view power relations and to contest competitive politics.

Another difficulty is related to academic inaccessibility. During one of our meetings very early on, Michelle asked why we were referring to ourselves as a 'cluster.' She noted that many people would be turned off by such academic jargon. Therefore, in our steering committee meetings, we had to stress that words like 'cluster' are effective for the purposes of grant proposals, but that we should feel free to refer to ourselves in other, more preferable ways. In another example, it was raised by participants many times that the marker of the post-2008 financial crisis was arbitrary, as austerity and neoliberal restructuring have been negatively affecting public services for decades. This discussion occurred both in the national gathering for the project and in our local meetings. Again, we agreed that the 2008 moment was more useful for research grants than it is for lived realities on the ground. Even in the context of growing emphasis on 'practical research' and university-community partnerships, these issues speak to the continuing disconnect between the expectations for academic success (particularly around research funding) and the needs of the broader community.

Related, academic participants have unique benefits of time and expertise that is both an asset and a liability. As seen below, academic resources can be shared in ways that can advance community development and social change. Nonetheless, scholars, even community-oriented ones, have research agendas and preferences they want to pursue. As Clark et al. (2010) suggest, "[i]t is important to recognize that research happens within institutions, embedded with hierarchies of privilege and that researchers attached to the university hold power in the research process" (p. 246). They stress that for university researchers, being part of an "intersectional research team" demands "reflecting on the location and position of themselves as academics" (Clark et al., 2010, p. 244).

University researchers also work according to different timelines, having the luxury of in-depth, inclusive discussion and careful deliberation. Many community collaborators want a quicker pace — less talk and more action. Standard academic processes are often quite foreign and slow-moving to those outside of a university setting.[5] A good illustration is research ethics, which undoubtedly delays getting things going. And while designed to be comprehensive enough to protect participants from risk, being asked to sign a nine-page Collaboration Agreement document full of legalese (as was required for CPS) is pretty overwhelming and intimidating! Clark et al. (2010) point to the tension between protection and inclusion that is raised by university ethics procedures, arguing that ethics boards give precedence to the former over the latter. Their intervention also raises concerns about the lines of accountability. They assert that,

> [e]thics is not something that we obtain from our funder or university REB [research ethics board] and then proceed to the research. Rather, we centralize the power of the community stakeholders by first engaging in a meaningful dialogue about the research ethics at a community level, and then move onto obtaining institutional approval. Through this process, we can better account for community-institutional power dynamics and consider ethical dilemmas that are apparent to community members but may be invisible within the institutional ethics process (p. 248).

This is very compatible with the inclinations of CPS. We soon learned though, that we could not really have a "meaningful dialogue" with community without first having ethics approval. As Clark et al. (2010) reveal, protection trumps inclusion. In the end, we struck a compromise where participants would become research collaborators, but this does limit initial input.

Other community-based researchers have identified similar challenges. The project Community First: Impacts of Community Engagement, was aimed at strengthening community-campus partnerships, and highlighting the "the needs, priorities, and expertise of the communities and community-based organizations involved" (Andrée, Findlay & Peacock 2018). Researchers from one of the project's demonstration partners, the Community Food Sovereignty Hub, analyzed the "entrenched research practices that centre academic power

[5] Interestingly, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, and Brynne (2018) found the opposite, with community partners wanting a slower pace with more time for relationship-building.

over funding, timelines, and definitions of community" they encountered (Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, & Brynne, 2018, p. 50). Dorow and Smith Acuña also emphasize the need for infrastructures of support needed for genuine community-university engagement that goes beyond instrumental approaches observed on many campuses.

Something else we have not fully grappled with in our work together, is the concept of 'intersectionality' itself. It is not an especially user-friendly term, and its definition is contested and ever-changing. The basic ideas of intersectionality have their roots in the everyday, bottom-up praxis of the marginalized (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013; Chun, Lipsitz & Shin, 2013). But the language itself can be alienating, and reinforce elitism. Some of the pillars of intersectionality might also need rethinking. One of its foundational principles is to start from the position of the most marginalized (Dhamoon & Hankivsky, 2011). This was a central rationale for choosing income assistance as our pilot area for research: to prioritize poverty in our assessment of changing public services. However, as we started to talk through the complications of this work, our partners from the Canadian Federation of Students raised a compelling question. Since we were ultimately engaging in methodological experimentation by trying to adapt Multistrand Intersectional Policy Analysis to our context, what are the risks to the participants? Is this the most ethical approach? Perhaps we should test it out first in collaboration with a less vulnerable community to work out the major wrinkles?

There are also practical limits to doing intersectionality. Intersectionality is concerned with the *process* of policy making, ensuring that "the voices of vulnerable and marginalized individuals and groups be represented" and preventing "policies that are worked out *for* rather than *with* politically excluded constituencies (Hankivsky & Cormier, 2011, pp. 219, 222). But what happens when the very people whose voices are most needed are least able to express them? In the case of our project, many of those most affected by changing public services were least likely to have the time and resources to participate. For instance, advocacy organizations working with Indigenous women and immigrant women have repeatedly told us that although this is an important project, they are just too stretched to be actively involved. Further, after multiple attempts, it was ultimately not possible to organize an African-Nova Scotian discussion group. The lack of voices of women from this particular community is a major limitation of this research, as African-Nova Scotian women have been on the front lines of expanding public services and ensuring universal access in the province. The reality is that there are structural impediments and limits to capacity that are beyond the reach of this project. Our CPS coordinators were funded for only three hours a week, and were working full-time jobs elsewhere.

The CPS group met regularly. Although the interest in the project was high in the beginning, with representatives from 17 different organizations attending our first meeting, that number later dipped to approximately seven to ten active groups. Each group's ability to participate in the project was directly connected to: their financial capacity to send paid staff; the structure of their organizations (as some only had volunteers who did not have the time); the nature of their work allowing time for anything outside of their core services; and their connection to the project. Since some groups could not see a direct link between the project and their

work, CPS did not become a priority. Often people did not give their availability through online scheduling, reply to e-mails, or even phone calls because they simply do not have the time to add anything else to their schedules. This is unsurprising since the participants in our project were sought precisely because of their lived expertise on the impacts of austerity. Based on their experience with community-campus engagement, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, and Brynne (2018) discuss the ways in which neoliberalization offloads greater responsibility for program delivery and restricts the political work of under-resourced non-profits.

There were a variety of challenges organizing a group as large and diverse as this. One was meeting times, since the commitments and ability of some members allow them to meet during the day as part of their work or they are retired, whereas others are volunteers or have work and commitments outside of their representative organizations. With such a large steering committee, there were often not the same people at every meeting, which made it difficult and time-consuming to get consensus on issues. We also struggled to continue to engage people without drawing an exact correlation between their work and what the CPS project was trying to achieve. What has become apparent is the complexity of the issues encompassed by CPS since there have been many different interpretations of what public services are, and how changes have affected a variety of constituencies.

Opportunities

At its heart, intersectionality is a means of collective struggle: "intersectional prisms can inform connections across privilege as well as subordination to better facilitate meaningful collaboration and political action" (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013, p. 804). Hankivsky and Cormier (2011) add that,

> there exists a unique 'challenge of creating complex alliances across intersecting inequalities.' At the same time, there has been increasing attention to exploring the potential of intersectionality as a coalition-building tool that unites individuals as they work toward a common agenda … identifying 'spaces for shared mobilizations' in a common pursuit of social justice (p. 227).

This was exactly Goal 1 of CPS: to identify and develop tools, connections, agreements, and strategies for tracking changes to public services and public sector employment.

CPS had an explicitly political orientation toward nurturing broad-based networks and solidarity locally and nationally for social movement mobilization. With a community-driven agenda and methodology drawn from feminist intersectionality, we were attempting to leverage academic resources for the purposes of community development and building advocacy capacity. The Nova Scotia cluster brought together different groups and fostered new conversations. We had some very rich discussions and had organizations around the same table that would not necessarily work together as partners in any other forum. A striking observation at our first meeting was the realization that many of the labour and community-based representatives in the room had rarely, if ever, met together. True to the

spirit of intersectionality, CPS offered a "gathering place" for debate and collaboration (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013, p. 788), where we could identify common challenges and strategies for change. We gave sustained focus to what we could work on collectively in the now and in the future. Some of this required facilitating very difficult conversations. But we believe it was worth the effort.

One of the contributions of intersectionality is that it urges us to problematize how we think about power and privilege. Power is always in flux. Hankivsky et al. (2012) emphasize that,

> [i]t is important to recognize the relational nature of power – i.e., that a person can simultaneously experience both power and oppression in varying contexts and at varying times. These relations of power include experiences of *power over* others, but also that of *power with* others (power that involves people working together as collective actors). In recognizing the shifting intersections in which power operates, intersectionality moves beyond what Martinez (1993) terms the 'Oppression Olympics,' which occur when groups compete for the title of 'most oppressed' in order to gain political support, economic resources, and recognition. Intersectionality thus rejects an additive model of oppression that leaves the systems that create power differentials unchanged (pp. 35-36).

In the Changing Public Services project, intersectionality helped us to navigate vulnerability and risk. Let's consider our original plan to host dialogues on income assistance. The implicit assumption about the dynamic at play was that despite some shared harm caused by austerity to public sector workers and recipients, those on income assistance who are living in persistent poverty are distant from the centre of power and privilege. Further, many community-based workers in the sector (primarily women) are located in under-resourced, non-unionized, precarious employment situations. Conversely, those who deliver income assistance are government employees with union protection. Yet by participating in this research, public servants could face a direct risk in that their jobs could be jeopardized.[6] Whereas in one context (service provision), public sector workers are in a position of power over their 'clients' in another context (research), they are vulnerable to the discipline and control of their employers. Even though it may be frustrating for some pragmatically-minded participants, by simply talking through various research methodologies, we learned important intersectional lessons. Clark et al. maintain that "investing time as a team to share your experiences/multiple locations, building a team that reflects the complexity of the community/issue you are entering and considering multiple locations from within and outside of various community locations" are critical to intersectional, community-based processes (p. 244).

Of course, this deliberative approach does not satisfy the immediate needs of participants, so the project was designed to work at multiple levels and timelines. Goal 2 was to: use

[6] Certainly those in voluntary sector service organizations face funding cuts on a regular basis, but this would be true regardless of their participation in the CPS project. Also, while increasingly under attack, advocacy is still seen as an acceptable part of their job.

participatory tools to track and analyze the impacts of these changes on diverse groups of women over time (e.g. mapping, media analysis, storytelling). Alongside the regional activities, the national team was preparing several tools and resources that could be used by communities in the short term. These included, as outlined earlier: a study of the impacts of precarious employment on women in the public sector; an intersectional statistical analysis of women and employment; and a systematic literature review of the impacts of changing public services on women, with emphasis on young women, women with disabilities, Indigenous women, lone parents and immigrant women.

An integral piece of the national research, particularly the systematic literature review, was the collection of as many community-based resources as possible, which are being added to the project's research database. We compiled any materials produced by organizations, such as research papers, factsheets, and internal documents because this is essential to democratic knowledge production. Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, and Brynne (2018) note that communities "have experienced the academy as an elitist institution with rules and regulations that work to legitimize certain types of knowledge and knowers" (p. 47). CPS values the indispensable, and under-acknowledged research that is done in communities and contributes to the creation and dissemination of new knowledge.

In this study of the impacts of changes in public services, it was possible to capture both individual and shared experiences that advanced Goal 3: identify combined and cascading impacts as a result of municipal, provincial and federal changes. Although the presence of others may have discouraged some participants from sharing particular details, the open-ended framing of the questions was meant to create an environment where participants would work together to tell a story about how changes to public services have had an impact on women. Through our conversations, research participants made generous and thoughtful contributions, sharing intimate details about their lives while connecting their personal experiences to wider political and social concerns. They listened to each other and developed ideas in collaboration. In some groups, the conversations broke down at times into laughter or banter, but participants generally found their way back to the subject matter quickly. This research methodology clarified the voices of individual participants, while also highlighting moments when the group comes together in discussion to form what Janet Smithson calls a "jointly produced position" (2000). In some cases, groups started to strategize about how they might act together in the future. For instance, through their conversation at the Bridgewater Family Support Centre, the women started to plan an education session on the history of social assistance policy, speaking to Goal 4: collectively prioritize areas for further research and action.

Having nurtured these real connections in the community, we wanted to build on them with another pan-Canadian project, *Engendering Public Engagement: Democratizing Public Space*. This project was born out of discussions about the upcoming 50th anniversary of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. There was interest in exploring contemporary public engagement strategies that could connect with women whose voices are often un-or under-represented in public policy. In Nova Scotia, our local initiative is called, *Changing Public*

Engagement from the Ground Up. In partnership with our CPS network, we are 'testing' a variety of creative community-led public engagement exercises. So far, these include a sharing circle of Indigenous women giving their reflections on the Walking with Our Sisters memorial, an interactive activity about social inequality with girls and young women at Mount Saint Vincent University, a panel discussion with Deaf Women and Women with Disabilities, and a podcast with women in rural communities.

Conclusion

Both community-engaged and intersectional scholarship are flourishing, but often independently.

The CPS project, aimed at understanding women's diverse experiences with public services, was a unique experiment in intersectional community-based research. In the Nova Scotia region, through collaboration between academics, labour, and community activists, we developed a model for collective action and research. In our work together, as we explored the promise of "multistrand" intersectional policy analysis, we struggled with questions of power and privilege, academic culture and institutions, and community capacity. Community-based networks are not immune from hierarchies between academics, between academics and community partners, and between community partners. Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, and Brynne (2018) make the important point that researchers must think carefully about "who community includes and whose communities are prioritized," as well as the diverse needs of differently situated community partners and the bias toward formal organizations over informal actors (53). We must be constantly mindful of inaccessible, inappropriate and/or exclusionary academic language, categories, cultures, expectations, processes, and methodologies.

We cannot expect individual research projects, no matter how well-intentioned or considered, to overcome institutionalized and structural social inequalities (Kepkiewicz, Levkoe & Brynne, 2018). Still, through CPS we were able to cultivate some new terrain for participatory policy analysis and advocacy that can be mobilized to resist austerity and to imagine alternatives. The project used academic resources to connect community partners and prompt conversations that were not happening otherswise in service of collective analysis and organizing. It revealed greater complexities in how and where power operates. It took seriously the responsibility of academics to make research useful and accessible to community and to advance multiple forms of knowledge. Through these learnings, we can being to shape a community-based intersectionality.

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Beyond Employability: Defamiliarizing Work-Integrated Learning with Community-Engaged Learning

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Abstract Within the context of an increasing interest in forms of work-integrated learning (WIL) among governments and institutions of higher education, this essay explores the relation between WIL and community-engaged learning (CEL) in order to argue that the structural and self-critique apparent in much CEL scholarship can serve as a model to WIL scholars and practitioners. CEL has undergone a rigorous process of self-examination in recent years, a process that has encouraged its advocates to think carefully about their core assumptions, appropriate learning objectives, and best practices in the field. In this way, we argue, whether or not CEL is classified as a form of WIL, it can serve to defamiliarize many of WIL's assumptions and to invite self-reflection in the field as a whole. In the first half of the essay, we provide background for the conversation, first in the Canadian context, and then in the broader scholarship of CEL. In the second half, we offer three case studies that illustrate both the distinctive characteristics of CEL and, in the last case, how these characteristics might strengthen the practice of traditional WIL.

KeyWords community-engaged learning, work-integrated learning, Neoliberalism, solidarity, reflection

For decades, universities have employed internships, co-ops, practical and field placements to prepare students for the demands of their future workplaces, particularly in the fields of education, health sciences, business, science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM), and other fields with a focus on pre-professional training. Such "work-integrated learning" (WIL) experiences are examples of the pedagogical practice whereby students learn through the integration of experiences in educational and workplace settings (Billett, 2009). WIL is facilitated for multiple reasons, including the goals of enhancing students' practical experience and "ease of transition" to the workplace following graduation. Many WIL experiences also aim to strengthen students' agency, sense of relevancy and connection with community, transferable skill development and intercultural competence. Aligned with the varied goals for WIL delivery, student success in these programs may be measured through varied means such as demonstrated professional competencies, in addition to their broader acquisition of such non-tangibles as practices of self-management and awareness of the labour market and community needs, and what one researcher has labelled their "pre-professional identity" (Jackson, 2016; 2017).

As government discourse increasingly emphasizes strategically connecting higher education

with industry and community to better facilitate alignment of educational preparation with societal needs, government actors are taking notice of the practice of work-integrated learning and are keen to advance this pedagogical approach in higher education. To cite just one example from our local context, in 2015, the Ontario provincial government appointed five academic, community and industry leaders to create the Premier's Highly Skilled Workforce Expert panel, with a mandate to develop a strategy to help the province's workforce adapt to the demands of a technology-driven knowledge economy. In June 2016, the Panel released its report, recommending that Ontario provide students with increased opportunities for skill development by ensuring that "every student has at least one experiential learning opportunity by the time they graduate from post-secondary education" (p. 27). Within this context, the Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development (MAESD), subsequently defined the term "experiential education" as authentic workplace experience connected to the student's field of study that is recognized and assessed by the post-secondary institution (MAESD, 2017). At the federal level, the Business and Higher Education Roundtable also recently recommended that "100% of Canadian post-secondary students benefit from some form of work-integrated learning prior to graduation" (BHER, 2016, p. 9). With funding at both federal and provincial levels being directed to advancements in work-integrated learning, attention to this student practice continues to grow as a desideratum for higher education in the early twenty-first century.

Historically, alongside co-op and internship models of pre-professional education, faculty in the social sciences and humanities in particular have employed curricular service-learning and/or community-engaged learning methods, often to reinforce course content but equally often to interrogate or radically disrupt it through meaningful and reciprocal engagement with community (see Butin, 2005a, 2005b). In this essay, we use the term "community-engaged learning" (CEL) to refer to a range of community-university engagements that aim to support both community priorities and student learning, including the more specific pedagogical approach known as "service-learning" (SL), which Jacoby (2014) defines as "a form of experiential education in which students engage in activities that address human and community needs, together with structured opportunities for reflection designed to achieve desired learning outcomes" (p. 1-2). We will typically use the term CEL because of its expansiveness and its shift away from the discourse of "service" in favour of "engagement," but will use SL when talking about literature in the SL field. Sometimes CEL or SL is classified as a form of WIL (Sattler, 2011). At other times, CEL or SL is positioned as alternatives to or even critiques of WIL. Occasionally, as in a recent white paper on *Rethinking Higher Education Curricula* by faculty at the University of Toronto (2017), CEL and WIL are treated together as distinct, complementary and overlapping species of some shared genus, specified as "Integrated Learning Experiences."

In this essay, we offer an exploration of the relation between WIL and CEL. Recognizing others' assertions of CEL as fundamentally different from WIL, distinguished by its intent to ensure equal focus on both the "service" being provided and the learning that is occurring (Furco, 2010), we attempt to unsettle any simplistic identification or conflation of the two

learning strategies. At the same time, we also explore the potential impact of CEL on WIL when they are considered in constructive relation. We observe that CEL has undergone a rigorous process of self-examination and self-critique in recent years, a process that has encouraged its advocates to think carefully about their core assumptions, appropriate learning objectives and best practices in the field. The fruits of this rigorous self-reflection may, we suggest, represent a useful resource not only for CEL, but also for the broader array of teaching methods and practices classified as WIL. In this way, we argue, if and regardless of whether or not CEL is classified as a form of WIL, it can serve to defamiliarize the practice of WIL, to challenge some of its leading assumptions about the role and function of integrated learning experiences, and thus to invite self-reflection in the field as a whole. Here we offer a few insights, informed by our teaching and engagement with CEL, along with their potential consequences for rethinking WIL. In the first half of the essay, we provide background for the conversation, first in the Canadian context and then in the broader scholarship of CEL. In the second half, we offer three case studies that illustrate both the distinctive characteristics of CEL and, in the last case, how these characteristics might strengthen the practice of traditional WIL.

Work-Integrated Learning: The Conversation in Canada

While there are several working definitions of WIL (BHER, 2016; Billett, 2009; Patrick, Peach & Pocknee, 2009), the main definitional criteria include participation in workplace activities, connection with academic curricula, and the reflective integration of learning in academic and workplace contexts. The use of the term "work" stems from the foundation of the field in co-operative education and professional placements, where the experience has been historically associated with student employment or tied to professional competency development of the particular workplace settings. However, it may also be interpreted broadly as referring to experience with community populations, organizations and/or industry outside the academic institution. "Workplace" activities range from the participation of students in the day-to-day activities of the workplace to community-partnered student projects such as applied research projects, project-based consulting or innovation/entrepreneurial developments (Stirling et al., 2016).

For an activity to be considered WIL, it is expected that the experience is "authentic" and "meaningful." Authenticity is measured by the alignment of the experience to real-world tasks and its proximity to current workplace settings (Bosco & Ferns, 2014). The meaningfulness of the activity is tied to the criteria for connection to the student's field of study, the quality of the learning experience, and the engaged contribution of the student within the workplace (Stirling et al., 2016). WIL provides students with the opportunity to apply what they have learned in class in a workplace setting, and in turn, to enhance classroom learning with lessons learned in the workplace. In WIL, learning outcomes may be academic and/or career-related. For example, they can include discipline-specific competencies, technological competencies, learning competencies, transferable competencies, or competencies of employability (U of T, 2017). While WIL is described as a pedagogical approach itself, it is often considered a practice

and is grounded in other learning theories in an attempt to enrich the educational quality of the experience. Experiential learning theory (Kolb, 1984), activity theory (Vygotsky, 1978), situativity theory (Dunning & Artino, 2011), situated learning theory (Anderson, Reder & Simon, 1996), and workplace pedagogy (Billett, 1996; 2002) are all theoretical frameworks that may be used to ground the pedagogical delivery and quality enhancement of WIL.

WIL is typically used as an umbrella term to describe different examples of practice outside the traditional classroom setting, and there is increasing pressure for a broad range of activities to be included in WIL typologies for higher education tracking and measurement purposes. The Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario's typology of WIL includes seven types of opportunities — apprenticeships, field placements, mandatory professional practice, co-ops, internships, applied research projects, and service-learning (Sattler, 2011). Building on this, emerging typologies of WIL published provincially, federally, and across institutional contexts (sometimes referred to as experiential learning typologies) increasingly encompass CEL and/or SL in recognition of the inherent element of community-engagement that they share. However, for reasons we will discuss in the next section, it is not uncommon for CEL practitioners to eschew the "WIL" moniker and reject the whole enterprise.

Critical Community-Engaged Learning: Four Distinctive Characteristics

CEL sits in complex relation to what some consider WIL's prioritization of a market-driven logic for education. Historically, higher education has traditionally placed a high value on volunteerism and community engagement as an element of character formation. Influenced in part by the educational theory of John Dewey (1938), educators in the 1960s and 1970s developed SL as a distinctive pedagogical tool that placed special emphasis on the role of experience and reflection in the educational process, and this term remains ubiquitous in the scholarly literature. In the past decade, Community-Based and Community-Engaged Learning (CBL and CEL) have been proposed as terms that more fully reflect the values of reciprocity and critical engagement that are central to this approach. Given CEL's emphasis on community engagement over employment preparation, and on the communal over the individual, CEL practitioners often resist the WIL label as a description of their pedagogical approach. Indeed, many may be motivated to use the CEL approach in part because of their opposition to the perceived neoliberal frameworks of WIL and, more broadly, the commodification of contemporary higher education.

Yet, CEL itself is also often heavily imbricated in the neoliberal project of "academic capitalism," to borrow Slaughter and Rhoades's (2004) term. Whether or not CEL is explicitly considered a form of WIL, there are CEL/SL practitioners and scholars who approach their work from a charitable model of service provision that emphasizes individual service over structural critique and solidarity, or who prioritize career benefits to students over community impact. In her survey of SL literature, to differentiate between what she identifies as "traditional" and "critical" SL, Mitchell (2008) describes the former as incorporating "service without attention to systems of inequality," stressing benefits to students over community impact, and the latter as "unapologetic in its aim to dismantle structures of injustice" (p. 50).

Out of the recognition of the ways that CEL/SL contributes to, and benefits from, neoliberal models, there has emerged a well-honed suspicion in a vibrant strand of CEL theory and practice, referred to by some as "Critical SL" or "Critical CEL," that relentlessly engages in a critical exercise: that of questioning its own existence and its own contributions to the neoliberal paradigm. We point to this important body of scholarship and practice because it informs our work and because we have not encountered the same emphasis on self-critique, nor the same valuing of self-consciousness about objectives, partnerships, student contributions and the purpose of higher education, in the literature and practice of WIL more broadly. We argue that the scholarship that has emerged out of Critical CEL can serve to helpfully illuminate areas of tension in WIL initiatives that may lead to improvements for all partners involved. Furthermore, we argue that this critical CEL scholarship can serve as a model for the next wave of WIL scholarship which will, we hope, engage in similar self-examination and self-critique.

From our review of the literature, we recommend the following characteristics of CEL, and Critical CEL in particular, for special attention concerning WIL:

Community-engaged learning is self-critical

Some of the most engaged theorists of CEL/SL are themselves its most strident critics. Randy Stoecker, for instance, has a long record of asking whether CEL/SL is a valuable enterprise given that, in his assessment, it benefits universities and students far more than community partners. Stoecker (2016) explains that his scholarship aims to,

> figure out a service learning practice that doesn't stop at totaling hours from time sheets, 'building relationships,' and providing a tick box for the university's community engagement Carnegie classification. [He] want[s] a practice that becomes part of real social change—that helps to end conditions of oppression, exploitation and exclusion in society. (p.4).

Mitchell (2008) also highlights how a supposedly progressive form of experiential learning ends up replicating problematic hierarchies of power when it emphasizes student development outcomes over social change. She has expanded upon notions of "critical SL" to offer a rigorous critique of "traditional" approaches to SL: for Mitchell (2008), practitioners of CEL are ethically obligated to employ a critical approach to SL which employs "a social change orientation, work[s] to redistribute power and develop[s] authentic relationships (p. 62)." Both Stoecker and Mitchell share concerns that the objectives and outcomes of CEL can reinforce the power of the privileged institution of the University and the marginalization of community members by simply understanding "community" as a site in which to educate students apolitically, without reference to the priorities of the community itself or broader social change.

CEL scholars and practitioners have also increasingly articulated specific concerns about how CEL has been co-opted by larger forces at work in higher education like academic

capitalism and neoliberalism (Brackmann, 2015; Clifford, 2017; Kliewer, 2013; Mitchell, 2008; Morton & Bergbauer, 2015; Raddon & Harrison, 2015). The incorporation of CEL into WIL-related discourses, which frame CEL as a way for students to gain employment experience, can be dismaying for those who engage in CEL pedagogy precisely because they want to displace notions of students as both consumers and products. They do this by engaging students in critical reflection and experiential learning related to structural inequities. As Clifford explains, "these trends to prioritize skills, credentials, products, and personal agency call into question the motivations, expectations, and practices by students in SL that are tied to social justice" (p. 8). According to Raddon and Harrison (2015), however, scholars who situate the incorporation of CEL in a broader neoliberal emphasis on market imperatives in higher education may not be going far enough. Raddon and Harrison (2015) argue instead, that the emergence of CEL in Canada is correlated directly to neoliberal changes to education more broadly: "service-learning is clearly fashioned in and by the neo-liberal turn of recent decades" (p. 137). As a result, we argue that critical CEL scholarship can model to WIL scholarship a two-fold self-consciousness and self-criticism. Much of the literature interrogates the value of CEL pedagogy itself while simultaneously locating how tensions in the pedagogy and practice may be tied to broader structural forces.

Community-engaged learning engages cognitive dissonance

Another key feature of critical CEL lies in its potential for re-framing or even disrupting the entire academic enterprise as it is traditionally practiced. As Howard (1998) has noted, the pedagogy can be considered "counternormative" in the ways that it interrogates what (and whose) knowledge counts, how it should be "delivered," and to what end (see also Clayton & Ash, 2004). Other scholars have also emphasized how some community-engaged learning practice allows for a shift from a more positivist approach to education and knowledge towards a model where knowledge is co-produced through the integration of classroom-based and community-based experience and the sharing of experience among students, faculty and community partners. In Butin's (2005a) words, "service-learning challenges our static notions of teaching and learning, decenters our claim to the labels of 'students' and 'teachers,' and exposes and explores the linkages between power, knowledge, and identity" (p. vii-viii). Such a challenge is especially pressing in the conceptualizations of SL that Butin terms "postmodern" or "anti-foundationalist." Unlike many models of WIL, which might frame the placement as essential for students to gain key workplace knowledge, skills, and abilities and to apply what they already know to a workplace situation, critical CEL scholars ask students to do something more challenging: to reconsider how they understand the concepts of knowledge, skills, and abilities altogether.

Community-engaged learning focuses on reciprocity and its relationship with community partners

CEL might also be distinguished from other forms of experiential learning by its focus on relationships between students, university faculty and staff, and community partners. This

emphasis on the relational, and, more broadly, on process over product, is a crucial feature of many CEL approaches. The dominant term that encapsulates this notion in the field is "reciprocity," which has been defined by Jacoby (2014) as,

> relating to the community in a spirit of partnership, [and] viewing the institution and the community in terms of both assets and needs… Reciprocity implies that the community is not a learning laboratory and that service-learning should be designed *with* the community to meet needs identified *by* the community" (pp. 3-4).

Every leading CEL theorist, and especially those engaged in more critical approaches to CEL, emphasizes the essentiality of reciprocity to CEL (Bringle & Hatcher; 1995; Bringle & Clayton, 2012; Butin, 2010; Furco, 1996; Jacoby, 2014; Mitchell, 2008). Indeed, for some, "reciprocity" is considered a defining characteristic of the pedagogy. In Furco's (1996) influential diagram of service-learning as a "balanced" approach, the engagement must be designed to equalize the "service" provided by the student with the "learning" gained by the student. Without this balance, according to Furco, the community engagement tips into either pure volunteerism, on the one side, or a form of work-integrated learning, such as an internship, on the other.

The very concept of "reciprocity," however, has come into question more recently in critical CEL scholarship because of the diverse ways that the term is deployed (for instance in its inclusion of everything from co-designed research to a quid-pro-quo transaction); skepticism that the concept truly reckons with the power dynamics inherent in community-university engagement; and concerns that it does not demand enough from university faculty, staff and students (Clifford, 2017; Dostilio et al., 2012; Hammersley, 2013; Hammersley, 2017; Jameson, Clayton, & Jaeger, 2010; Mitchell, 2008; Morton & Bergbauer, 2015; Stanlick & Sell, 2016; Stoecker, 2016). Critics are increasingly advocating for an even more relational mode of engaging in CEL. Clifford (2017), for instance, suggests shifting from transactions of "reciprocity" to relations of "solidarity" in CEL practice in order to "clearly define relationship building [with communities and community organizations] as the backbone of SL" (p. 13). Mitchell (2008) also emphasizes "developing authentic relationships," based on solidarity, a concept which "extends beyond the service relationship to a broader commitment to social justice; it reflects what is possible once the service-learning course ends" (p. 61).

An element of this critical re-imagining of relations with community partners is a concomitant re-imagining of the role of the student in the partnership. That is, one consequence of focusing on relations and process, over reciprocity and product, is a de-centering of student contributions. Much of the recent theory in the field takes up the complexity of how to understand what students are both providing and acquiring in CEL. Critics have expressed concern about the potential for CEL engagements to enable a sense of unearned, and problematic, "charitableness," in students (Heldman, 2011; Mitchell, 2008; Pompa, 2002). One of Pompa's (2002) key critiques of SL, for instance, is that it "can unwittingly become an exercise in patronization. In a society replete with hierarchical structures and patriarchal

philosophies, service-learning's potential danger is for it to become the very thing it seeks to eschew" (p. 68). For some, addressing this potential danger requires a very careful framing of, and preparation for, student contributions to CEL. Mitchell (2008) advocates attention in class to power imbalances between students and community members; Heldman (2011) describes her attempts to address student privilege through pedagogical interventions that are primarily tied to reflective assignments and activities; and Stanlick & Sell (2016) invite CEL practitioners to "name and avoid the superhero mentality and to focus instead on *connecting* and *sustaining*, with the goal of collective empowerment at the forefront" (p. 80; italics in original). Where WIL initiatives might emphasize student knowledge and skills — both in what students contribute and what students gain — critical CEL practice increasingly attempts to complicate and de-center the student role and to ask students to reckon with that complexity within a broader discourse that interrogates the community-university relationship.

Community-engaged learning places special emphasis on the reflective process

As is the case with the concept of reciprocity, many CEL scholars would consider the incorporation of student reflection as a definitional feature of CEL (Bringle & Hatcher, 1995; Hatcher & Bringle, 1997; Jacoby, 2015). Hatcher and Bringle (1997) describe reflection as "the intentional consideration of an experience in light of particular learning objectives" (p. 153). This emphasis on reflection emerges in part from the field's indebtedness to theorists of experiential learning, including Dewey and Kolb, who stress that *reflection on* experience, rather than experience alone, is necessary for learning. Much of the scholarship frames reflection as the space where students can learn from their experiences in the community, in part by connecting those experiences with course content (Ash, Clayton & Atkinson, 2005; Bringle & Hatcher, 1995; Eyler, 2002; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Jacoby, 2015; Mitchell, 2008).

While many forms of experiential WIL also typically incorporate some form of reflection, CEL often places particular emphasis on the reflective process, or on what many describe as "critical reflection." That is, in many CEL courses, the reflective process is itself subject to meta-reflection as are the other processes we have already identified as key to the field: the critical engagement with the pedagogy and practice, the disruption to traditional understandings of education, the building of relationships with community partners and the troubling of the student role in a CEL course. For theorists like Eyler (2002), Mitchell (2008) and Jacoby (2015), reflective activities and assignments are essential for enabling students to learn, in particular, about the structural causes for social inequities that they might encounter in their community engagement. As Jacoby (2015) puts it, "critical reflection raises *critical* questions which challenge us to consider multiple perspectives and to recognize complexity in a situation or issue that may initially seem to be straightforward" (p. 27). What might be said to distinguish reflection in CEL from reflection in WIL, then, is how it is often used in CEL not simply as a way for students to articulate what they have learned but also as a vehicle for critically considering the *complexities of the very learning process* that students are undertaking.

Engaging Communities: Three Case Studies

Thus far in this essay, we have spoken about community-engaged learning entirely in the abstract, as it emerges in the scholarly literature, and we have suggested four defining characteristics. Some of these characteristics and practices — notably, some forms of reflection — are already recognized in the wider literature on WIL. However, they have assumed distinctive importance and critical function in the context of CEL. We propose that whether or not CEL is classified as a form of WIL, it can serve to defamiliarize many of WIL's assumptions and to invite self-reflection in the field as a whole through application of CEL's reflexive practice of self-critique; its engagement of cognitive dissonance; its emphasis on reciprocity and relationship; and its focus on the reflective process. In this section of the essay, we turn from these principles to their concrete application in two courses that we have had occasion to teach: two case studies in CEL — one from the social sciences, and the other from the humanities. We offer these not as impossibly perfect ideals, but precisely as "typical" examples: ordinary courses, which both succeeded and failed in their learning objectives, but which nevertheless well illustrate the distinguishing characteristics of CEL. The third and final case study, based on a graduate placement course in Kinesiology, offers an initial attempt to incorporate wisdom from CEL into a more traditional, vocationally-oriented WIL context.

Case Study 1: "Neighbourhoods and Crime"

While CEL is eminently compatible with the neoliberal paradigm of post-secondary education, it also offers opportunities to teach students about neoliberalism and to think critically about how neoliberalism is reflected and reproduced — both in the organizations they are placed at and in the very notion of CEL. These opportunities will be discussed using the course "Neighbourhoods and Crime," which one of us (Brabazon) developed into a CEL course in 2016. The course is offered as a 12-week seminar for fourth-year undergraduate students in the Criminology and Sociolegal Studies program at the University of Toronto. Students in the course sign up for a 25-hour volunteer placement with a community organization in the Greater Toronto Area. These are typically organizations that provide targeted services such as job search assistance for the unemployed, group support for recent migrants, or multi-media programs for youth in stigmatized neighbourhoods. Students keep a log of their activities and reflections on their placements, and they integrate these reflections into their course papers. They also share their reflections with the class both through an oral presentation and in their interventions in class discussions.

The readings and class discussions engage students in a critical examination of how and why certain neighbourhoods are associated with criminality while others are not. Course topics include moral panics; segregation; gentrification; the differential treatment of crimes of the wealthy versus those of the poor; the politics of attempts to associate certain types of neighbourhood with crime; and the limitations of the various solutions to the problem of 'bad neighbourhoods' that are commonly proposed. Throughout the course, emphasis is placed on which questions are asked about in relation to stigmatized neighbourhoods and which questions are ignored, and from whose perspectives these questions are asked. In their analysis

of readings and field placements, students are encouraged to consider how neighbourhoods are perceived and evaluated from within and from without. Historical changes and recurring themes in the association of certain neighbourhoods with crime are considered throughout the course amid discussion of how shifting conceptions of society, of the individual, of relations between individuals, and of social institutions in the neoliberal period are brought to bear on these themes.

This critical and contextual social science approach provides a clear entry point for discussions of neoliberalism, and the course invites the students themselves to reflect upon how the neoliberal paradigm is reflected and reproduced in the social processes discussed in class, in the social context in which their placement organizations operate, and in the very notion of CEL. For instance, the placements provide an opportunity to observe the shifting conception of the state and the provision of social services in the neoliberal period that is discussed in the course readings. Students learn that, as government social spending has been cut back, NGOs — where many students have their placements — are increasingly providing social services to pick up the slack (Sinha, 2005; Perkins, 2009). Students are encouraged to use their placements to reflect upon the advantages and limitations of providing these services through NGOs versus government programs or alternative means, including the extent of change that is possible — for instance, individual vs. structural change.

Students consider how placements at NGOs can reflect and reinforce the culture of charity and voluntarism that has been celebrated in the neoliberal period (Perkins, 2009; Williams et al., 2012), which is rooted in the notion that the provision of community services is an act of generosity toward the less fortunate rather than a collective responsibility that bears far-reaching social benefits. Within the context of services provided by NGOs, students use examples from their placements to explore the differences between top-down and horizontal organizational approaches (Carniol, 1992) and to distinguish between the charity model, in which benefits are generously donated to 'less fortunate' communities, and the solidarity model, in which those communities' initiatives and campaigns are supported and amplified by the work of the NGO (Toomey, 2009).

Similarly, the course provides an opportunity for students to discuss CEL itself in the context of the shifting conception of the university from a public good toward the neoliberal notion of post-secondary education as a commodity that students purchase to increase their value as products on the labour market — their 'human capital' (Giroux, 2014). In the neoliberal economy, workers increasingly are expected to be trained and 'work-ready' before they are hired, which means that the cost and responsibility for job-training fall on individual workers rather than on employers (Lakes, 2011). Students in the course are encouraged to examine their motivations for participating in a CEL course in this context. They reflect on the pressure they feel to acquire 'workplace skills' and on what alternative benefits might be gained from this experience. Students also reflect on how volunteer placements can normalize the provision of social services through unpaid labour. This has created opportunities for discussion of how volunteering to do work otherwise done by paid employees can devalue the work of skilled community service providers, as well as how this can legitimize unpaid

internships and other 'work experiences' (Bach, 2012), which the students fear they will face for years after their graduation.

While many of the dynamics that constitute neoliberalism are taught to undergraduate students in broad strokes, the placements in this course provide students with real-life examples of how these dynamics are implemented, negotiated, and challenged in local contexts, including the variation, contradiction, and contestation that can occur in the process (Brabazon, 2017). This facilitates a robust understanding of the complexity not just of neoliberalism but of social systems and power relations more generally.

The students relate their placements to the patterns and theories discussed in class in a presentation and an essay submitted at the end of the course. They also submit the log they keep of their reflections on the placement throughout the course. In their logs, they have raised complex questions about their own role at the placement and about how to understand how their placement organization might be beneficial while also contributing to these neoliberal dynamics.

Their logs also illustrate how their perspectives have changed throughout the course. In the critical CEL tradition of questioning processes of knowledge production, students read researchers' accounts of stigmatized neighbourhoods (Lewis, 1975; Stack, 1970; James, 2010) and discuss the authors' methodologies and how the authors' positionality in relation to the neighbourhoods they examine might affect their approach and conclusions. Students are encouraged to consider their placement as their own participant observation field research and to be aware of how their positionality gives them 'insider' and 'outsider' perspectives. They are encouraged to note their preconceptions about the neighbourhood their placement is in; how they first perceive that neighbourhood, including what they see as signifiers of danger or safety and why; and how those they meet through the placement see the neighbourhood. They are prompted to note how their 'knowledge' of that neighbourhood changes over time, and they are encouraged to relate their reflections to class discussions of the processes of othering, essentializing, and racializing that shape the limited 'knowledge' about these neighbourhoods that underpins much of the policy directed at them (Katz, 1993; Wacquant, 2001).

In response to Stoecker's and Mitchell's respective concerns that service-learning often involves using communities to benefit students without educating them about the priorities of those communities, students in this course are encouraged to learn as much as possible about the priorities of their placement organization and the communities it is part of, as well as the struggles those communities have won and the barriers they still face. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the placements still benefit the students and the university more than the placement organizations themselves. The course still operates within the neoliberal paradigm of the university and of CEL, providing students with 'work experience' for the job market. However, within this framework, the course offers an example of how CEL can also create an opportunity for critical reflection on this paradigm and for decentring it.

Case Study 2: "International Development, Justice and Human Dignity"

Arguably, the practice of CEL and its specialized scholarship of teaching and learning are

associated most closely with the social sciences. This close association informs both its tendency to be positioned in terms of a neoliberal production of "market-ready" labour and the interpretive tools it offers for resistance. Both tendencies are well illustrated in the discussion of the course "Neighbourhoods and Crime," above, in which the course content directly engages questions of stigmatization, students' subject positions at their placements, and the neoliberal economy.

In the context of the humanities, both the rhetoric of commodification and the particular concerns raised by community engagement shift in subtle ways. These will be illustrated regarding the international CEL course, "International Development, Justice and Human Dignity" — hereafter referred to by its abbreviated title, IDJustice. This course, which one of us (Locklin) taught for over a decade as part of the undergraduate Christianity and Culture program at the University of Toronto, consisted of a one-term seminar on development theory, philosophical anthropology and critical theory and a one-term, 8- to 13-week placement with a grassroots community partner in Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe, or South or Southeast Asia, or in underserved communities in Canada. In the overwhelming majority of cases, students lived in the communities they served, usually in family homes but also in other forms of intentional community. Students completed regular reflections on readings and placement experiences, and the final course requirement was a major integration paper. The course was offered as one of several third-year offerings in a thematic cluster of courses related to "Christianity and Society," but it included students from a wide range of different subject areas who were at various points in their undergraduate careers.

Earlier in this essay, we discussed criticisms of the "charity model" of community engagement, as well as the implication of many practices of CEL with highly inequitable relations between university and community partners. To some extent, the IDJustice program was designed with this criticism in mind. First of all, the program emerged initially out of a partnership with an NGO associated with the international L'Arche movement, founded by the Canadian philosopher Jean Vanier (see Locklin, 2010). Core principles of this movement include solidarity and mutual vulnerability between those who are privileged and those who have been marginalized by dominant structures — in particular, in the context of L'Arche, persons with intellectual disabilities. Some students' international placements involved work in L'Arche communities; most students worked in educational settings, in cooperative agriculture, or in peacemaking. Nevertheless, for every student at every stage of the program, from recruitment to the final post-placement meeting, the instructor and several assigned theorists (including Vanier) critiqued instrumentalist conceptions of the placement communities, in favour of an ethic of engaged witnessing and creative accompaniment. That is, students received repeated reminders that they were being sent to live and work in solidarity with local change-agents, not for them to "make a difference" or to imagine themselves as the primary agents of change.

Secondly, as a course in the humanities, the IDJustice program was designed not to serve what Butin (2003) has called "technical" or "political" learning outcomes, but rather to disrupt student preconceptions, to foster "empathetic accountability" across boundaries of difference, and to encourage more sophisticated patterns of reasoning (Locklin & Posman,

2016). In Butin's terms, the community engagement embodied a "poststructural" or "anti-foundationalist" approach (Butin, 2005b); in engaging students, instructional staff often spoke in terms of perspective transformation (Mezirow, 1991; Mezirow, 2000; Kiely, 2004; Kiely, 2005a; Kiely, 2005b). During the placement, each student was paired with a reflection partner (usually the course instructor or another suitable academic mentor). The role of this reflection partner was to receive student reflections, to provide support where needed, and to press the student to relate their experiences to theory in ever more complex and creative ways. Importantly, these reflections also became sites for challenging the stereotypes that inevitably arose along the way.

Finally, over the decade that IDJustice was offered, the instructional team and Canadian collaborators worked assiduously to maintain consistent and transparent relationships with international partners, and to position host communities as co-learners and co-creators of the program (see MacDonald & Vorstermans, 2015). Prior to their international immersion, for example, students completed several workshops, including a presentation on their prospective partners' experiences and perceptions of students completing placements in their communities. Partners were encouraged to disclose to students their motives for participating in the program — which, more often than not, had less to do with the students' professional expertise and more to do with the partners' own long-term interest in shaping perceptions of their organizations in their local contexts and in international power centres like Canada. Insofar as possible, students in the program were encouraged to regard themselves reflexively, as objects of critical reflection, as well as reflecting subjects.

Despite all of these strategies, intended to disrupt neoliberal structures and instrumentalist approaches to the educational project, IDJustice was far from immune to a culture of commodification. Critics of study abroad, including international CEL, have drawn attention to the ways it can reinforce neo-colonialist structures of dependence and reify the privilege of global mobility (e.g. Zemach-Bersin, 2007; Larsen, 2015; Derris & Runions, 2016). These dynamics were clearly at play in the IDJustice program. Recruitment of student participants emphasized the potential for transformative experience: potential applicants were encouraged, in the language of our NGO partner, to "discover the world with the eyes of the heart," and advertising materials depicted Canadian students — often though not always white — beaming while holding children, milking cattle, or harvesting crops with members of local communities (who were almost invariably persons of colour). College publications celebrated students' willingness to make themselves vulnerable in their placement communities, and highlighted the ways their views of the world were transformed (Locklin, 2010). The primary commodity in this case was the experience and the promise of transformation, rather than professional experience and the development of contact networks. This did not, of course, prevent students from highlighting this unique experience on their CVs.

What distinguished the IDJustice program, precisely as a CEL course, was not that it had somehow managed to avoid its implication in unjust global structures. What distinguished it was a course curriculum that encouraged students to interrogate these structures. Not all students emerged from their placements with a transformed perspective on life; some wrote

final integration papers that offered sharp criticisms of the philosophy of Jean Vanier or the structure of the course, informed by their experience and the relationships they formed therein. Such processes of critical reflection often continued well after the conclusion of the course, based on subsequent correspondence with the course instructor and other animators of the program. When it succeeded in its course objectives — like all courses, it sometimes failed — the IDJustice program provided its participants with a kind of WIL, albeit one that valued failure as much as success and placed its emphasis squarely on the question of relationship. More than this, at least ideally, it equipped students with critical tools and reflective practices to pose questions of their experience and ever more clearly to articulate and interrogate their own motives, meanings, and values.

Case Study 3: Master of Professional Kinesiology "Placement 1"

Our first two case studies demonstrated key elements of Critical CEL. Our third and final case study demonstrates one way that these critical tools and reflective practices might fruitfully incorporate into a WIL course. While not structured deliberately as CEL, the characteristics of CEL identified above have inspired the development and delivery of a placement course by one of us (Stirling) within the Master of Professional Kinesiology (MPK) program at the University of Toronto. This placement course was designed to facilitate practice opportunities that enhance student learning and hands-on experience, as well as to provide meaningful exercise and physical activity opportunities for underserved community members. Inspired by Mitchell's (2008) critical perspective on the need to emphasize "solidarity" and partnership with community while addressing broader social justice needs, the impetus for this course galvanized from a personal relationship with a local centre providing programs and services for persons with intellectual and developmental disabilities. More specifically, the idea for the course practice stemmed from a shared passion with other families and clinical directors at the centre for improving access and opportunities for movement programming for underserved children and youth at the centre and within the surrounding community.

Distinct from traditional WIL placement models, where students are paired with a mentor in a community organization and given an opportunity to observe, assist, and practice as appropriate in a selected career path, this course's novel physical activity program was developed for student delivery, in partnership with community organizations. To create capacity for 40 students to gain meaningful practical experience within their field of study, the initial partnership formed with this centre fuelled a broader consultation leading to the identification of four communities of focus based on community-identified priorities and limited, or lack of, opportunity to access the services the MPK students could provide. Ultimately, the placement course's populations of focus included people with psychiatric diagnoses, community members living with chronic disease, concussed athletes, and children and youth with developmental disabilities. This case study will focus on the portion of the course tied to the practice with children, as it was the foundational community partnership driving the commitment to reciprocity across all course practice.

In partnership with the community centre and with a local public school, a physical

activity program, called S.M.I.L.E. (Sensory Motor Instructional Leadership Experience), was developed. An innovative 12-week physical activity program built loosely upon a pre-existing student leadership program at Acadia University, S.M.I.L.E. is intended to provide unique opportunities to participate in individualized physical activity programming for children and youth with varying ability levels. Each child is paired one-to-one with an MPK student to participate in adapted programming for physical literacy and fundamental movement skill development. Through delivery of the program, MPK students assess the movement skill development of the children, facilitate weekly exercise programming that is adapted to the specific level, interests, and overarching goals of each child, and develop mid-session and final reports for the families, teachers and clinicians at the centre highlighting the success of the children in the program.

This placement runs alongside the students' other academic courses to more strategically link the students' practice experiences with the broader MPK curriculum at multiple points of intersection with other courses. In particular, following each session students are required to document clinical notes and personal reflections on the practice. In class tutorials, the students are then challenged to think more critically about their experience in S.M.I.L.E. and are asked to reflect on how they are learning with and from the children in the program. In traditional service- and problem-based approaches to the prescription of exercise, the kinesiologist may see him or herself as an expert swooping in to solve an issue or assist a person in need. In this program, through critical dialogue, the students work from a strength-based approach and critique the philosophical underpinnings of the strength-based and the more traditional problem-based approaches to care. Importantly, using Howard's (1998) phrasing, the students also engage in a "counter normalizing" exercise where they come to question how popular movement assessment tools are developed. Specifically, they critically question how drawing samples from specific populations and contexts can influence the utility of such tools in diverse populations, as well as our perceptions of normalcy in kinesiology practice.

The ethics and morality of facilitating such a program and introducing families to opportunities that are not available to the children once the program is completed is frequently discussed. Influenced by engagement in the S.M.I.L.E. program and discussions of the need for social change, some students have taken action in their own practice since graduation. A few students have gone on to build new programs with this population in the community, sometimes as a targeted program and in other examples through the infusion of inclusivity and adaptive provisions to existing able-bodied children's programming, reflecting steps in the right direction towards more sustainable physical activity opportunities for this community.

While it is an open question whether this placement course would satisfy all of the requirements of critical CEL, it nevertheless reflects a number of CEL's core concerns, particularly insofar as it has been carefully designed to question the value of the practice the placement affords, and who is truly benefitting from the experience provided. It reflects deep learning from CEL colleagues and their concerns about framing CEL courses within the broader WIL narrative predominantly focused on workplace readiness. Such conversations provide important opportunities to re-think how and why we deliver practice in a professional

graduate program and to gain a renewed appreciation for the potential value of engagement with community well beyond the inherent professional skill development.

What is Engagement For? An Opportunity for Community-engaged learning to Influence the Traditions of Work-Integrated Learning

Our suggestion in this essay is not that CEL practitioners embrace the market logic that inheres in many WIL initiatives; indeed, it is almost precisely the opposite. CEL (and SL as its most pervasive pedagogical practice) has a deep history of both pedagogical innovation and self-reflexive critique, which seek to resist the commodification of our educational institutions and to interrogate the relationships of those institutions with vital community partners. It is this self-reflexive critique of aims and impact, and the practices that follow from it, that CEL can offer to emerging discourses of WIL.

At least arguably, the broader literature and practice of WIL do not reveal the same emphasis on self-critique, the same valuing of self-consciousness about objectives, partnerships, student contributions, nor the purpose of higher education that we find in the scholarship on CEL. This essay, then, has sought to invite our colleagues working in WIL to a moment of critical self-reckoning and to invite our CEL colleagues to engage these WIL efforts, as they occur on our campuses, with the tools of our CEL scholarship and practice. If CEL comes to be regarded as a particular form of WIL, as some expert panels and governmental bodies already regard it, then it is worth giving time and reflection to what distinctive insights it may have to offer. At worst, for CEL practitioners critical of WIL, this may appear simply to be making the best of a bad situation; however, as we have tried to illustrate in our third case study, it may also offer authentic opportunities for deeper reflection and transformed educational practice.

What is the purpose of engagement? The four authors of this study, trained in different disciplines, and teaching in vastly different programs, differ in our answers to this question. However, all of us share a commitment to rigorous self-inquiry as part and parcel of any educational endeavour. According to an emerging, professionalized model of WIL, one might see the placement site as one where students can gain experience in the skills and culture of a particular sector of the economy, or as an opportunity for them to apply what they already know to a workplace situation. Critical CEL asks students to do something more challenging: to reconsider what they consider knowledge, skills, and abilities to be in the first place. Perhaps we, as teachers in the contemporary academy, as citizens of wider professional and grassroots communities, and as participants in the broader conversation about the nature and purpose of higher education, may be well advised to do the same.

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Reports from the Field

Tenets of Community-Engaged Scholarship Applied to *Delta Ways Remembered*

Lalita Bharadwaj

Abstract This essay reviews challenges posed to community-engaged scholars regarding tenure/promotion processes in Canadian universities, with a note to characteristics of community-engaged scholarship that were developed by Catherine Jordan (2007) to address gaps in academic assessment of engaged scholarship. These characteristics are: clear goals, adequate preparation, appropriate methods: scientific rigor and community engagement, significant results/impact, effective presentation/dissemination, reflective critique, leadership and personal contribution, and consistently ethical behavior. These are then applied to a non-peer reviewed work that describes the cumulative effects of environmental change for people in the Slave River Delta Region of the North West Territories, Canada. The reader is asked to view *Delta Ways Remembered*, a 13-minute video employing an enhanced e-storytelling technique to share and disseminate traditional knowledge about the delta from a compendium of people as a single-voiced narrative. The purpose is to highlight the scholarship underlying non-traditional academic expositions not readily assessed under current paradigms of academic evaluation. This essay strives to illustrate how Jordan's characteristics can be applied to evaluate non-peer reviewed scholarly work, and also to share rewards and challenges associated with the harmonious blending of Indigenous and western knowledge addressing societal/environmental issues identified by the Indigenous community.

KeyWords academic review process, Indigenous communities, non-traditional scholarly work

Community-engaged research and teaching have steadfastly gained traction within universities across Canada over the last decade. It is encouraging that promotion and support of experiential learning opportunities that may lead to community-engaged scholarship (CES) appear to be an emerging priority. However, academic institutions continue to struggle both with supporting CES and with evaluating the quality and significance of the scholarly work derived from it (Gelmon, Jordan, & Seifer, 2013; Calleson, Jordan, & Seifer, 2005; Saltmarsh et al., 2009). Many universities and granting agencies emphasize interdisciplinary collaborative and community-engaged scholarship as core missions (Driscoll, 2008; Sandmann, Thornton, & Jaeger, 2009; Tierney & Perkins, 2014) and indeed, leadership in addressing complex societal issues through various engagements with the broader community is a uniformly accepted expectation of students and faculty of Universities in Canada and internationally (Barreno et al., 2013). The adoption of CES approaches to research is generally recognized both as beneficial for higher education and as a legitimate method for knowledge generation and mobilization (Saltmarsh,

Wooding, & McLellan, 2014). Many universities have adapted curricula and initiated reforms to disciplinary and cross disciplinary research and educational programming towards CES. This has been observed across Canada (Barreno et al., 2013) and specific examples can be seen at the Universities of Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Victoria, and McMaster, as well as others across the nation[1]. For example, several universities have supported experiential learning opportunities for students through community-engaged learning funds and course-based or one-time grants to faculty engaged in CES[2].

Although such initiatives are a laudable first step to encourage faculty already disposed to CES, it does not appear they can be readily geared toward faculty who do not currently implement CES approaches, as they must step out of traditional research paradigms for exploration of these opportunities. Furthermore, it does not appear that there is adequate institutional support for crucial supplementary aspects of CES, such as research-focused community engagement or research-related knowledge translation/mobilization activities. Institutional encouragement of faculty to work in this manner, or to modify existing research programs to include such approaches, are needed at this time. Targeted financial and human resource supports for faculty/community engagements have not, as yet, been fully developed.

Mechanisms to restructure faculty workload assignments from the entrenched disciplinary assignment of duty guideline allocations of time towards teaching, research, administration, and public service are vital supports for faculty. The restructures can provide faculty with the much-needed time to effectively build essential research relationships with communities, but they are lagging. Perhaps one of the most intractable barriers has been that standards for tenure and promotion across institutions typically fail to recognize the scholarship, value, responsibilities, and roles of faculty in and with communities. The interpretation and application of standards for reviewing CES faculty through tenure and promotion processes at various university levels (departmental, college, etc.) can be difficult. In 2013, the Faculty Assessment Workgroup (members of the Community Engaged Scholarship (CES) Partnership, a research and action partnership of eight universities and one non-government organization) finalized a record of CES in tenure and promotion policy documents of sixteen Universities and three colleges in Canada (Barreno, 2013). The group reviewed the language in vision statements, in conventional institutional positioning documents, and in the professional policies, practices, and recognition of CES for the purpose of tenure and promotion. They found that most institutions lacked specific policies to address CES, although they also concluded that CES is an active and established research area in Canadian universities. Workgroup members noted that CES was fundamentally absent from institutional verbiage around tenure and promotion (Barreno, 2013).

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[1] See University of Saskatchewan (https://www.usask.ca/engagement/), UBC (http://communityengagement.ubc.ca/), University of Victoria (https://www.uvic.ca/campusplanning/completed-projects/community-engagement/index.php), and McMaster University (https://community.mcmaster.ca/)

[2] See University of Saskatchewan (https://www.usask.ca/engagement/support/support.php#Funding), and University of Victoria (https://www.uvic.ca/news/topics/2018+community-engaged-learning-grants+news; https://www.uvic.ca/news/topics/2017+provosts-engaged-scholars-benoit-cullen-walsh+ring

Although universities typically state that they take CES into account in evaluative processes of tenure and promotion, research, and scholarship, the primary evaluation tools are overwhelmingly quantitative. Evaluative indices tend to be based predominantly on numbers of trained high-quality personnel (HQP), numbers of peer-reviewed publications, invited/non-invited lectures and conference presentations, citations, and research grants, as well as total research funding. Although, as for all faculty, there are quantitative aspects to such evaluation criteria — for example, citations (H-index and other indices), journal quality, granting agencies etc. — these are not generally well-disposed toward an effective evaluation of CES. Faculty are more often rewarded based on traditional quantitative and qualitative evaluation protocols, but not directly on the value of scholarship to communities or other relevant contributions made towards a societal concern in which faculty have engaged in CES activities (Gelmon, Jordan, & Seifer, 2013; Richards, 1996, Jordan et al., 2007).

Peer-reviewed publications, manuscripts, and books are the primary evidence of the impact of faculty under the category of research and scholarly work through the tenure and promotion process (Gelmon, Jordan, & Seifer, 2013, Jordan et al., 2007). There is no argument that publications in peer-reviewed outlets are excellent forms of disseminating research information to other academics. However, they are not necessarily the most appropriate channel of dissemination with the public, with policymakers, with community leaders and their members, or with various practitioners such as social workers or health care providers (Gelmon, Jordan, & Siefer, 2013). Thus, the rigid and rather traditional form of evaluation and interpretation of scholarly impacts in the tenure and promotion process poses structural challenges for community-engaged scholars.

Scholarship has been defined as discovery, teaching, application, integration, and engagement that has set goals, adequate preparation, appropriate methods, significant results, effective presentation, and reflective, rigourous, and peer-reviewed critique (Werber, 1992; Gelmon, Jordan, & Siefer, 2013). Similarly, CES encompasses all these characteristics with one major distinguishing feature. People from outside the academy meaningfully and actively contribute through all aspects of the scholarship, including study goals, research design and methodology, data collections, and knowledge transfer. Although the definitions of scholarship and CES are in great alignment, CES is often misunderstood, misinterpreted, or erroneously categorized as "outreach" and/or "public service". Outreach is primarily associated with the dissemination of information and applying academic expertise to benefit external audiences. Additionally, community-engaged scholars have, in some cases, been advised to position their work with communities within the public service categories of CV and promotion and tenure packages (Gelmon, Jordan, & Siefer, 2013; Driscoll, 2008) — clearly at the detriment to effective and fair evaluation of their scholarship.

After Ernest Boyer's revolutionary 1990 report, *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate*, the Commission on Community-Engaged Scholarship in the Health Professions was established in 2003 to create a more supportive and rewarding system for community-engaged faculty in the United States' health professions schools. A historical step toward addressing the challenges faced by community-engaged scholars was made in the United

States by Members of the Community-Campus Partnerships for Health (CCPH) as far back as 2007, with the development of the Community-Engaged Scholarship Review, Promotion and Tenure Package (the "Package"; Jordan, 2007). The Commission developed a set of eight characteristics, grounded in key competencies of CES and Glassick's six standards of excellence in scholarship, for the institutional evaluation of community-engaged scholarship (Glassick, Huber, & Maeroff 1997; Jordan, 2007). These eight characteristics are:

- Clear goals,
- Adequate preparation,
- Appropriate methods: Scientific rigor and community engagement,
- Significant results/impact,
- Effective presentation/dissemination,
- Reflective critique,
- Leadership and personal contribution, and
- Consistently ethical behavior (Jordan, et al., 2007).

The CCPH recognized that there exists, generally, a gap in standards for tenure and promotion, described as an absence of any mechanisms to acknowledge unique and various forms of scholarship, its creation, and its dissemination through CES beyond that of peer-reviewed numbers and impact factors. They noted that standard definitions of a "publication" and "impact" needed to be expanded in order to include varied scholarly outputs that both are meaningful to communities and add to the academic base of knowledge (Jordan et al., 2007). They also noted that the criteria for promotion and/or tenure are lacking in defining scholarly publication and its impact, Existing criteria has tended to define these terms in modes that discount outcomes co-created by community-engaged scholars and their partners, which in turn have essential community and broader public influences (Jordan et al, 2007).

A key feature of CES is the challenge to, and opportunity for, the community-engaged scholar to generate distinct and innovative forms of scholarly works (Gelman, Jordan, & Siefer, 2013). These may include websites, crafts, documentaries, plays, manuals, briefs, posters, or other expositions. However, since these formats of scholarship are not necessarily pee- reviewed nor readily received by their peers as serious academic scholarship, there exists a structural impediment for community-engaged scholars in the academy. As the drive for CES continues within academic institutions, it becomes increasingly important that mechanisms are established for the support, evaluation, and recognition of community-engaged scholarly work, including both traditional and non-traditional outlets of scholarship.

Delta Ways Remembered: A Case Study

In order to shed some light on the nature of scholarship behind non-peer reviewed community-engaged scholarly work, in the context of the academic promotion and tenure process, this essay will reflect on a non-traditional piece of scholarly work. It will do so under Jordan's eight characteristics developed to assist in academic evaluation. The purpose is to illustrate how Jordan's characteristics could be adopted by Canadian institutions for promotion and tenure,

as they are increasingly done so by academics in the United States.

To preface this essay, it would be helpful to view (13 minutes) the scholarly work *Delta Ways Remembered*[3]. This is a suitable example of a non-traditional piece of scholarship from the author's body of CES. While reviewing *Delta Ways Remembered*, I ask the reader to consider the myriad of interrelated disciplines (both academic and community disciplines) intricately woven into the scholarship. Also consider that the scholarship underwriting *Delta Ways Remembered* is highly interdisciplinary and thus cannot be evaluated under a single siloed discipline (art, sociology, history, drama, behavior, psychology, geography, linguistics, toxicology, environmental science, hydrology, law, journalism, etc). Review committees, at least at the departmental level, may be primarily composed of academics within the disciplinary field in which any faculty member was hired or trained, and who therefore may possess limited knowledge and understanding of CES. A concern of this type was raised by members of the CCPH who developed the set of eight characteristics within the "Package" and who recommended that institutions consider the inclusion of experienced community-engaged scholars as members of tenure and promotion review committees (Jordan et al., 2007).

Utilizing Jordan's elements, the scholarly activities involved in the creation of *Delta Ways Remembered* are herein explored and highlighted. The essay will reflect upon aspects of research leadership, HQP training, and the significance of publication, which are often applied criteria under which faculty are reviewed through the process of promotion and tenure in Canadian academic institutions. I begin with the first characteristic, "Clear Academic and Community Changed Goals", and proceed through each of them sequentially.

1. Were academic and community goals clearly defined?

Jordan (2007) states, "The scholar must clearly define and state the objectives of his or her scholarly work and basic questions of inquiry and that goals for community change must be articulated" (p.7). Jordan goes on to describe that the evidence of clear goals involves, among other things, stating the purpose of the work, its value to the community, and identifying significant questions in the area of research.

Delta Ways Remembered was part of a Collaborative Canadian Water Network (CWN)-funded project called the Slave Watershed Environmental Effects Program (SWEEP). The goal of the SWEEP program was to co-develop a community-based cumulative effects monitoring program inclusive of Western Science (WS) and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) Indicators for the assessment of cumulative impacts on the Slave River and Delta over time. In the Slave River and Delta (SRD) watershed, changing climate and various activities in the upstream Athabasca and Peace watersheds are impacting water quantity and are potentially affecting water quality. Communities in the Northwest Territories (NWT) are concerned about the health of the SRD. In 2010, the Slave River and Delta Partnership (SRDP), representing communities along the river, was formed to address the changes people were noticing both in their environments as well as in harvested foods from the river and delta. SRDP is a collaboration of First Nations,

[3] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XHjmcdNwVpE

Métis communities, and various agencies and organizations working, managing, and living along the Slave River. In 2011, a new partnership was formed between the SRDP, the University of Saskatchewan (USask), and the Government of Northwest Territories Environment and Natural Resources (GNWT-ENR). The partnership was to undertake an assessment of the health of the entire ecosystem. The SWEEP long-term goal was to improve the well-being of communities in the region by empowering them to monitor environmental change. Before initiating SWEEP, three guiding questions had emerged from the communities. *Are the fish and wildlife safe to eat? Is the water safe to drink? Is the ecosystem healthy for our children and children's children?* To help answer these community-derived questions, TEK and WS indicators of environmental change were co-created by the SRDP, USask researchers, and other community members using a "two-eyed seeing" approach (Bartlett, Marshall, & Marshall, 2012). In collaboration with HQP (both university and community-based), we co-developed the research framework that guided the engagement, partnership building and research process to meet the goals of this project. Our collaborative group developed the TEK indicators, and eventually disseminated the *Delta Ways Remembered* whiteboard animated video.

2. Was the preparation for the project adequate?

Jordan (2007) explains that "community-engaged scholars must demonstrate that they are knowledgeable and well prepared to conduct meaningful work" (p. 77). Evidence of preparation is provided through an investment of time and effort in the discipline, and in the development of community partnerships as well as community-engaged scholarship competency.

My traditional western science background is in the fields of physiology, pathology, and toxicology. My continuing professional development in CES took place in the field over 15 years, building relationships and research partnerships with many different communities in Saskatchewan, other parts of Canada, and Peru. My CES training and research program were informed in evolutionary fashion through every community-directed project with which I engaged. I had assumed a leadership role in virtually all of these projects. The previous experience in CES, specifically with Indigenous and rural/remote communities, informed the CES activities within the Slave Watershed Environmental Effects Program program. The SWEEP program was conceived in partnership with the SRDP, and the application for funding was a collaborative effort. In the autumn of 2011, an initial introductory meeting was held in Yellowknife with the CWN program directors, members of the SRDP, and several university faculty from various institutions. This included myself and another USask faculty member who had been conducting studies of aquatic toxicity in the area. The purpose of the meeting was to provide introductions of researchers to the Slave River and Delta Partnership, and for understanding of the nature of the funding call from the CWN. This was when I first engaged with the SRDP and learned of their research priorities. A USask SWEEP team formed, and we collaborated with the established partners in the NWT to develop a project in the Slave Delta region. Our team was soon awarded funding, and our collaborative journey towards addressing the three community-derived questions began. Grounding in the communities involved the building of trust, a fragile process. This required development of familiarity not

only between a university-based researcher and the communities, but also the management of significant communication amongst communities. The scholarship behind the *Delta Ways Remembered* was informed by an initial project visit to the NWT in spring of 2012, followed by at least three to four week-long visits per year within the five years of the project. Attendance at a number of community events outside research activities, as well as planned workshops in member communities of the SRDP, also informed the scholarly work. The goals, research processes, and methods of data collection were informed by and evolved through an iterative process following each engagement.

3. How methodologically-sound, rigorous, and transformative was the research?

Scholarly work, in general, should be conducted with appropriate methods and academic rigor. Jordan (2007) states, "community-engaged scholars demonstrate that rigor is maintained or even enhanced through community-engaged approaches" (p. 77). Jordan goes on to further explain, "The involvement of the community results in scholarship that is meaningful in the real world or community setting and leads to the production of better results or in the reframing of research questions for a study" (p. 78).

The development of the research framework, the traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) indicators of the monitoring program, and the *Delta Ways Remembered* video could not have been envisioned or developed without the valued input from community members in the delta region. The research process blended the six faces of Traditional Ecological Knowledge with Western Science, using a two-eyed seeing approach. An understanding of the faces of TEK for inclusion in the framework and development of relevant cumulative effects indicators, could not possibly be understood from anyone else other than those with lived experiences and intergenerational knowledge. The TEK indicators that were developed and illustrated in the video were a critical requirement of the overall monitoring program as articulated by the community, and they were a major deliverable outcome of this program. The community contributions to this scholarship would not readily be appreciated as a tangible impact in the present academic review paradigm. The TEK indicators formed the basis of the community-based cumulative effects monitoring program and clearly could not have been established without partnership and engagement with our partnering communities. Understanding of the faces of TEK was a challenge for conventionally trained academic researchers because TEK was a new concept for some and not well understood from the western scientific paradigm. The task of collectively understanding the faces of TEK, although difficult, significantly enhanced the development of the TEK indicators and the framework produced to guide the Slave River and Delta Partnership and other communities interested in conducting environmental monitoring programs[4]. Additionally, WS indicators ranging from identification and measurement of contaminants in the water, ice safety, and fish and wildlife health, were obtained by trained community members over a two-year period.

We refined research questions through conversations and dialogue over a two to three

[4] See http://cwn-rce.ca/report/slave-watershed-environmental-effects-program/

year period, requiring many personal visits to these communities. Discussions took place in many venues: band offices, in the field, on boats, on rivers, in delta channels, on trap-lines, in community homes, on walks with elders along the delta shores, and in schools at elder-youth gatherings. We collectively determined the best research approach and methods to meet project objectives, and we co-designed the method for collecting information for the development of the research framework and TEK indicators (including conversation and interview methods, community asset and other forms of mapping, and historical document reviews). In addition to semi-structured interviews with land users, elders and harvesters, workshops also provided venues for data gathering. Some workshops were scheduled for other reasons outside the objectives and goals of the Slave Watershed Environmental Effects Program program, creating opportunities for further engagement and the establishment of trust and familiarity. Although these events were extremely valuable for community engagement and research rigor, arranging for attendance at these gatherings posed scheduling challenges for all involved. Information to inform the goals and the scholarly outputs that followed, including the development of the video, could not have been accomplished without the commitment of both the communities and the academic team to meaningful engagement.

As always, the success of the scholarship required engagement of the community in fiscal control and accountability aspects of the research. The team worked collaboratively with both Metis and First Nations council members and band offices in developing hiring and remuneration processes for community research assistants (CRAs) — two in this case — and in developing the scope of their employment. CRAs were trained in methods of conversation, interview, and community-concept-mapping to facilitate coordination of elder and Traditional Land User interviews. Interview guides with elders from both Metis and First Nations communities, used to elicit conversations on sensitive topics of cumulative impacts, were co-developed.

The objectives of the project were also accomplished by incorporation of historical data collected by a USask research assistant (yet to be published) from numerous historical documents about the area. Through careful application of community and methodological protocol, potential researcher biases and presuppositions were eliminated from telling the overall story, verified through community consultation and feedback from Indigenous partners.

Delta Ways Remembered is not my story, but rather it is a shared and collaborative academic work and therefore not amenable to standard forms of academic evaluation. University tenure and promotion processes still struggle to evaluate co-creative and collaborative scholarship. The philosophy behind the current tenure and promotion process is individualism.

4. What are the project's significant results and impacts in the field and for the community?

The community-engaged scholar must go beyond stating positive results and should demonstrate the impacts on the communityand beyond. Jordan (2007) states, "Significance of impact could include policy change, improvement of community processes or outcomes, increasing capacity of community organizations or individuals in the community to advocate for themselves, or enhancing ability of trainees to assume positions of leadership and community engagement"

(p. 78). All these accomplishments are not readily measured and appreciated by the promotion and tenure process.

All through its inception, co-performance, dissemination, publication(s) and various outcomes, the SWEEP project has had an impact at community, University of Saskatchewan, and national levels. However, these impacts are not necessarily recognized as traditional scholarly outputs. For example, our video was featured in the *Building Bridges* Display[5], traveling to Cumberland House SK, Fort Chipewyan AB, Fort Smith NWT, Fort Resolution NWT, Yellowknife NWT, the Gordon Oakes Red Bear Student Centre at the University of Saskatchewan, and the Western Development Museum in Saskatoon. I spent significant time with this exhibit in the NWT and Alberta, travelling across the ice roads in February 2016. *Building Bridges* was presented to and viewed by ministers within the NWT government, and it was requested and is now part of the Montreal Science Centre exhibit on Indigenous Innovations Acting on Climate Change (IIACC). The IIACC, funded by UNESCO and the Pierre Elliot Trudeau Foundation, has travelled across Canada.

This scholarly output, in video form, has been viewed by virtually everyone in the Slave River Delta communities and has now been incorporated into the elementary and high schools curriculums of Fort Smith and Fort Resolution. It is also part of curricula at Aurora College in Fort Smith. While this type of accomplishment can be recognized by academic institutions, it takes time to come to fruition. The communities have benefited from the video because it has informed the development of a community-based cumulative effects monitoring program. It has helped to empower communities to carry out their own monitoring of cumulative impacts (CI) in the Slave River Delta. This is indeed an important and tangible example of research capacity-building at the community level. The delta communities are using the video as a tool to advocate for better CI monitoring of current and future resources and other developments. This could be recognized as impactful research, as a form of publication, and as scholarly work. It is not simply outreach.

Also noteworthy is that CES processes and outcomes are continually improved as a result of engaged scholarship. Communities have benefited from further funding and involvement in research. Most importantly, they (we) have a greater understanding, truly from an Indigenous perspective, of how the Delta has changed and how it may change in the future. It is a living perspective that one can neither obtain nor explain by flying over the region in a helicopter, by reading books, or by viewing through the lens of a single academic discipline or through the lens of a combination of western science disciplines. It took the applied CES approach to reach the Delta people's lived understandings of cumulative effects on the delta. These understandings could never be realized through traditional methods of environmental impact assessment.

Co-developed CES research skills and culturally appropriate methods of data collection/research processes in this work were transferred to high-quality personnel at levels of community, university, and government agencies. Other University of Saskatchewan researchers

[5] See http://www.usask.ca/research-groups/ddn/news/index.php

have recognized and are beginning to adopt these approaches. The research framework was applied, tested, and validated by a colleague and his research student for "Boreal Watershed Management Strategy Evaluating the Lake Athabasca Watershed", leading to a report prepared for the Saskatchewan Ministry of the Environment.

5. How were project results shared with academic and community audiences?

Jordan states, "Evidence of effective presentation might take the form of presenting at community events; publishing or broadcasting through local media; producing policy documents directed toward service providers, policy makers, or legislators as well as publishing in peer reviewed journals" (p. 78). The communication of results is a central component of what faculty do in relation to their scholarly pursuits. Communicating results, in the context of CES, must be shared with the community as well as within academia. In essence, the community-engaged scholar is expected to effectively communicate with a diversity of audiences and to possess the skills to accomplish it. Publication in peer-reviewed and/or professional journals is an expectation, but the community-engaged scholar needs to disseminate to the communities impacted by the CES. *Delta Ways Remembered* can be described as academic work of CES employing an enhanced e-storytelling technique to share traditional knowledge from a compendium of people as a single-voiced narrative. This idea was gestated through conversations held with elders in Fort Resolution and Fort Smith, where they were asked: *How would you like the results of this study to be shared?* They answered: *Not in a written report!*

In October 2014, before one of my flights home from Hay River and while waiting on the tarmack, I thought of creating an RSAnimate video as a tool to effectively present and disseminate the knowledge gained by our research. Back in Saskatoon, I immediately shared this idea with my Research Associate, and thence we partnered with the University of Saskatchewan's Education Media Access Production (EMAP), as well as the Drama and Fine Arts departments (both the illustrator and the narrator were BA students). This is the first time, to the very best of my knowledge, that RSAnimate has been used to disseminate findings from a CES scholarship endeavor of this type.

In the video, a collective Indigenous voice describes knowledges of their lives — land, water and water resources, health and lifestyles, governance, stewardship, and the cumulative effects of resource development in the Slave River Delta. An accompanying peer-reviewed publication describing the methodologies associated with this scholarly work was published in the International Journal of Circumpolar Health (Bradford & Bharadwaj, 2015). This journal was chosen with the community, as it was accessible to them.

The video was first presented to elders and council members in Fort Resolution, as part of the continuing process of verify the study findings and to consult on the effectiveness of the study dissemination. Although not a peer-reviewed publication, *Delta Ways Remembered* has proven to be impactful to Indigenous communities, to the Canadian public, and to the academic community.

Distribution and communication through the SWEEP program were continuous. The Slave Watershed Environmental Effects Program team met with communities and shared

results at scheduled and non-scheduled events. For example, members of the research team communicated results at annual "Water Day" events and co-presented findings with community members at various workshops and formal academic conferences held both regionally and nationally. Videoconferences and teleconferences were also used as appropriate venues to share information. A challenge in promoting the research findings involved needing to explain technical and complex statistical results to diverse community audiences. At times, project partners had to address community disappointment and, occasionally, a disbelief in the results.

Community venues are not typically seen as academic outlets. We found texting to be an effective means of engaging with community members and for arranging sharing times. A video presentation, made to present results at a workshop event with community members, was used when academics could not attend. The video itself was shared as part of a keynote presentation at the Fourth Annual Conference NSERC CREATE H2O Centre for Human Rights Research, held at the University of Manitoba.

6. What can be learned to improve scholarship and community engagement?

Jordan indicates that the community-engaged scholars must possess the ability to reflect on their work critically and to assess its impact and the planning for future work meaningfully. Jordan goes on to point out that evidence of reflective critique includes holding debriefing sessions with community members or seeking their evaluation of work completed.

Formal and informal meetings with community members continued throughout the program as a forum for debriefing and evaluative opportunities of our collaborative program. Maintaining a meaningful degree of face-to-face interaction posed financial, time-related, and HQP program challenges. However, we cannot overstate the importance of this level of engagement and communication. At each meeting, community members shared their perspectives on the directions of the program, as well as the results and the opportunities for use and dissemination of the findings. For example, the symbols, words, music, and other elements of the video were all informed, modified, and finalized through conversation with community members. Due to the challenges of travel for both the academics and the community members, in-person meetings were not always feasible and telephone/video meetings were arranged. Throughout the program, four major two-day workshops were held to seek community feedback and evaluations on the research progress, methodology, and results. Although we applied a new iterative research process throughout the program, workshops were essential for summative and formative evaluation. They also provided an opportunity for more formal discussions around research processes, methods, and results. Familiarity amongst partners and the building of trust were important and valuable outcomes. A final three-day workshop was held in January 2016, to share and discuss results from SWEEP through community-researcher presentations, as well as to identify and assess outcomes and milestones from the overall project, to identify and discuss opportunities for long-term continuation of SWEEP, and to collectively discuss preferred long-term governance options for the SRDP.

With the approval of the SRDP, the video was shared with Saskatchewan Indigenous communities at several workshops, community events, and meetings. The reaction from these

communities was remarkable, and there is great interest in applying this form of dissemination in future projects. We have applied this CES/RSAnimate approach to address water and health issues with the Yellow Quill First Nation[6]. The various methodologies in the CES and RSAnimate have been adapted according to community needs. For example, in the co-created work with Yellow Quill First Nation, willow charcoal on heavy unbleached cotton paper was used by the artist at the community's request, and symbols were placed in accordance with the Saulteaux guiding principle of the Circle of Life. Scholarly work continues with members of the SRDP and new research questions have evolved with new funding and research programs underway.

7. What kind of leadership and degrees of personal contribution were demonstrated by project coordinators?

Jordan (2007) indicates that community-engaged scholars must demonstrate that "their work has earned them a reputation for rigor, impact, and the capacity to move their discipline or community change work forward and serve in a leadership role". "Evidence to demonstrate leadership and personal contribution include invited presentations (conference and community), appearance in media, external service on committees or boards" p. 79.

Leadership has been demonstrated in a number of contexts in communities across the region, with some of the impacts having been described above. In relation to CES, one of the key aspects of leadership is the ability to devolve and delegate leadership roles and responsibilities amongst partnering communities, such that the leadership is shared within the context of the research. This may be accomplished by the adoption of methodologies for Cumulative Impact Assessment. Although faculty are expected to demonstrate reputation at national and international levels through publications, grant and manuscript reviews, invited lectures, etc., one can see that the particular form of scholarly work embodied in *Delta Ways Remembered* does not readily conform to these categories of academic assessment. Finally, the understanding and value of traditional ecological knowledge, the very subtext of the video, is a culmination of many aspects of leadership at community and individual levels.

8. How ethical was research and project coordination?

Jordan indicates that project coordinators must display consistently ethical behavior. This involves the recognition and value of community knowledge systems and incorporating them into the research process. Another aspect under this characteristic is the appropriate acknowledgement of community partners when writing and presenting collaborative work.

Sensitivity to social, cultural, historical, political, and economic realities is, in my experience, one of the significant considerations for ethical and effective performance and execution of CES *with* (not in, for, of, or at) Indigenous communities. A program of CES, including the Delta project highlighted here, should embrace respect and understanding of *community needs*, *protocol*, and *political realities*. Each of these three aspects is unique in various Indigenous communities.

[6] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NqGSm8xFR5A

On the aspect of *need*, Indigenous communities must always identify and prioritize research direction(s) in order to effectively solve them. In the research area of Water and Health, it is important to consider that community *needs* extend across a vast spectrum of issues including drinking water, infectious disease, flooding, governance, environmental contamination, health services, and more. It is not ethically responsible for me, or anyone for that matter, to enter into communities with *a priori* established research questions/objectives and to apply them on a single or pan-community basis. This, unfortunately, is still a very common approach of university faculty interacting with Indigenous communities, and the exigencies of promotion and tenure perhaps drive it. The existing WS approach is overwhelmingly and quite understandably viewed by Indigenous people as exploitative, as it most often results in single project-based engagement with communities rather than the development of sustainable research partnerships and programs that can transform existing issues. *Needs* within a community are highly complex and require interdisciplinary approaches and time. A key attribute of good community-engaged scholarship is the recognition of the interrelated disciplines, and implementation of creative (co-created) approaches required to address the various community research priorities. The Delta Project illustrates this characteristic. This is not readily recognized and acknowledged as meritorious under existing academic review paradigms.

The diversity of the research outputs from a CES program should be driven by community *need*, remembering that the ultimate goal is to meet community needs in a meaningful way. One of the most important tenets of CES is the involvement of communities in the entire research process, including dissemination, and so very tight-knit community participation is the *sine qua non* of effective CES research. It is therefore not particularly amenable to high levels of peer-reviewed publication and in some cases, as discussed above, not amenable to publication in high impact factor journals. The outputs under a CES approach, nonetheless, are highly impactful.

On the aspect of *protocol*, there is no field guide to protocol for the various Indigenous communities in Saskatchewan, the NWT, or throughout Canada. The careful overlay of community protocol considerations with academic protocols should be a significant consideration of each and every step in CES endeavours. This extends far beyond the acquisition of Ethics Certificates at academic institutions and collaborators. Often invisible considerations of *protocol* must be perceived and learned on the fly, at the very first step of engagement with Indigenous or Metis communities. Many of these considerations can be imperceptible to traditional WS academics.

The very first communication is with whom? And how? Telephone, text, in-person via a bridge (such as a political or advocacy organization)? At what level of formality? It is exceedingly easy to err on all sorts of nuanced communication levels, and the results can be catastrophic. The initial communication and engagement process has been, in my experience, different in every community. Once initial engagement is established, *protocol* considerations must be scrupulously revisited and reflected on by the community-engaged scholar, even beyond knowledge dissemination. For example, engagement initiation and shared communication of

research findings could variably involve presentation and dialogue with Chief and Council, sometimes with elders, sometimes with band offices, sometimes with a single councillor, sometimes with tribal councils, sometimes with schools, sometimes with all, and sometimes at the highest level of political governance within Indigenous and Metis political structures. At each step, all co-researchers need to be engaged! That's the part that is not understood by many, and the tricky part is that *protocol* is notoriously fluid, malleable, and ever- changing — one wrong move, and everything falls apart.

In the Delta research example, it is apparent the involvement of inexperienced Masters or Ph.D.-level students (let alone post-doctoral fellows and Assistant/Associate/Full Professors) poses a risk for miscommunication. Co-workers and high-quality personnel need to spend at least a year engaging with any Indigenous community before embarking on meaningful and impactful CES. The relatively low number of university HQP inherent to this type of CES can be seen as a potential impediment to successful advancement through the ranks in academic institutions. Moreover, the timeframe for graduate program completion is often out of alignment with CES activities and community expectations, and so there is an unspoken fairness issue (on many sides) in balancing the university's academic need for student programming with the community need for deliverables.

Regarding *protocol*, it is incumbent upon the community-engaged scholar to consider safety, primarily as an internal institutional matter, but also for the communities with whom a scholar interacts. Consideration must be directed to safety for researchers who may, by necessity, need to work alone. In many cases, conducting the type of research underlying *Delta Ways Remembered* as an individual, rather than as a team, facilitates interpersonal relationships with community members. A number of safety issues were encountered in the conduction of the Slave River Delta Project, including personal isolation and geographic isolation, long time commitments to travel, elevated risks associated with rural travel modalities such as snow sleds, boat, bush plane, using rented vehicles without adequate winter tires while on ice or gravel roads, dangerous and isolated roadways subject to disruption by migratory large animal populations such as Woodland Buffalo, forest fires, and more.

Examples of community *protocols* to be considered and carefully managed are legion, including the selection of community research assistants, rates of CRA renumeration, rates and forms of honoraria for elders, appropriate dress code, ceremony and tradition around gifting, the manner of communication (including the use of formal and informal vernacular, humor, and eye contact), protocols of community entry, the inclusion of elders and youth, procedures around death and trauma, and other scenarios an experienced CES navigates without thinking. For the community-engaged scholar, there typically is no place in university *Curriculum Vitae* for the documentation of such protocols, though they are inherently positive attributes to research.

In my experience, *political realities* present a third level of complexity for CES work with Indigenous communities. Research must be attuned to the political landscape, and must never interfere or influence in either tangible or perceived ways. For example, funding requirements of third-party stakeholders (such as government agencies) need to be carefully and skillfully

aligned with both community (Band and Council) and university interests. Since elections are generally held every two years in Indigenous communities, changes in Chief and Council often delay research program productivity. Political changes may require re-establishment of contacts and understandings with new governance — a time consuming process. Further, as was true in the Slave River Delta, communities may be composed of members of both Metis and First Nations backgrounds, and there is a need for a nuanced balancing and equity regarding involvement of individuals in research projects, as well as in employment opportunities.

Summary

I hope to have effectively highlighted the efficacy of Jordan's eight characteristics as they may apply to the academic evaluation of even a single piece of CES; in this essay, primarily through the review of *Delta Ways Remembered*. They can be applied to any single work of CES disseminated in any non-traditional, non peer-reviewed format, and indeed they can be applied to entire bodies of academic work embodying the principles of CES. Significant research leadership, inter-disciplinarity, collaboration, time investment, and careful relationship-building and trust development were required to bring about production of the video. The critical issue for the community-engaged scholar is that valuable and significant outputs are not always readily amenable to dissemination in peer-reviewed outlets, nor are they always amenable to publication in what are typically considered high-impact journals. A recommendation to the CES is to craft one's justification and support for tenure and promotion around Jordan's eight characteristics. Here I make three recommendations to academic institutions regarding CES and tenure and promotion.

The first recommendation is to include community-engaged scholars in the processes of adjudication where possible. The second recommendation is to grant formal consideration to non-traditional metrics in the adjudication of tenure and promotion files, particularly for community-engaged scholars. The third recommendation is to give expanded consideration to the definition of HQP trained by community-engaged scholars (including community leaders and members). Finally, with the review of this particular scholarly work under Jordan's characteristics, I hope to have highlighted some of the challenges inherent to recognizable scholarly outputs in CES.

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Exchanges

Exchanges

In the *Exchanges*, we present conversations with scholars and practitioners of community engagement, responses to previously published material, and other reflections on various aspects of community-engaged scholarship meant to provoke further dialogue and discussion. In this section, we invite our readers to offer their thoughts and ideas on the meanings and understandings of engaged scholarship, as practiced in local or faraway communities, diverse cultural settings, and in various disciplinary contexts. We especially welcome community-based scholars' views and opinions on their collaborations with university-based partners in particular and engaged scholarship in general.

In this issue, we profile the perspectives of young scholars. Here we feature a conversation between **Penelope Sanz**, who recently obtained her Ph.D. in Interdisciplinary Studies from the University of Saskatchewan and who serves as the Journal's pioneering managing assistant, and **Jayne Malenfant**, a 2018 Pierre Elliott Trudeau Scholar, Vanier Scholar, and Ph.D. Candidate at McGill University in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education. A young engaged scholar working with the homeless in Montreal, Jayne talks about her on-going study on how homelessness impacts young people's education. She looks at the challenges of accessing educational institutional support, an issue, she says, close to her heart as she was once a homeless youth herself. She reflects on the need for academia to open more spaces for young researchers undertaking engaged scholarship to involve the homeless youths themselves in the search for solutions.

Conversation with Jayne Malenfant, McGill University

Penelope: Can you please tell our readers about yourself, your work, and your scholarship concerning the homeless?

Jayne Malenfant
(Photo: Penelope Sanz)

Jayne: Right before my 16th birthday, I was living in Saskatoon. My mom left and I ended up on my own. Two months after that I was kicked out of school. I was at one high school, and they told me to leave because I had too many absences. So, it was not that I didn't want to go to school anymore. There were simply no institutional supports that would allow me to continue being a student with unstable housing. For two years I was out of school. I tried a few options such as going to another school and doing adult education. But it was difficult to juggle housing precarity, trying to work to pay rent, and to have a safe and stable place to sleep. Nevertheless, I finished high school in Saskatoon and moved back to Ontario to do post-secondary education. Today my research looks at educational engagement and educational barriers for homeless youth. My research asks, how well-organized are educational institutions to

support homeless young people who are unstably and precariously housed, living on the street or crashing on couches? This research is directly informed by what happened to me as a young person. I used a broad definition of what homelessness can look like for youth: there are many different ways to not have a home. I co-lead this participatory action research project with my supervisor Dr. Naomi Nichols, and we also work with four co-researchers who have experienced homelessness.

My Vanier and Pierre Elliott Trudeau scholarships have allowed me to do participatory action research, which can take a lot of time to do thoughtfully. The first two years of my PhD I had to take on several jobs, but my scholarships have allowed me to focus on my research. I also now live in the most stable housing of my life. These supports mean I can do research that is based on ongoing collaboration with community organizations, rather than just working with predetermined research questions, and popping in and out of the "field". We are not only looking at schools, but also child welfare, criminal justice, well-being, and mental health, and how all of these systems are interconnected in the lives of young people.

Penelope: Given you experienced homelessness at a young age, how does it inform your engagements and connections with youth?

Jayne: I have a very different experience compared to many of the youth we work with. I was precariously housed. Sometimes I was in a spot with 20 people, that wasn't necessarily safe. At times I was on a couch, that was anything but long-term. I didn't enter the shelter system or the child welfare system. That's been a tricky one because I'm coming in with my idea of what precarity would look like for me and it can be very different for other people. So, it has been difficult. But two things that I bring with me is relatability and "realness." It sounds unimportant. But when we're working together, it helps the youth. When I share parts of my own life, it makes me seem less of an expert or researcher who's coming in to educate people about what they already know, or to collect data. They can tell that my research is intimately connected to my life and the people I love who are still experiencing homelessness. This is my passion and a matter close to my heart. This kind of passion is not always easy to find because researchers have such a history of often trying to maintain that distance, objectivity or expertise. That is something I don't even really try to do. I am intentionally overtly political. I am very close to my research and I don't think that I could objectively approach this. I also don't know what it would add to the research if I did. I want to drive research that makes a change because I still see people I love losing their housing and I see how it affects them.

Penelope: Would you mind telling us about your Master's program and how it contributed to your current research?

Jayne: I did social anthropology at York University. I originally came to the university to do

archeology. I always wanted to be like Indiana Jones, but then I realized he was not the best archaeologist for a lot of reasons. In my Master's program, I realized that I knew things that professors didn't know. I was in a class, and the teacher was talking about migration and saying that there were no transient populations in Canada. But I was aware of hobo kids when I was younger, who would ride trains out west, and migrate around Canada depending on the weather and where they were. They were often homeless youth. So, I ended up writing in my Master's thesis about anarchist punks living outside of the city in Canada, and how they've created radical networks — across vast geographic space — of knowledge-sharing on surviving in the woods or the city. As I was looking through my interviews, I realized that almost everyone I had talked to had also experienced homelessness at some point. Sometimes what led them to leave the city was that, if they weren't going to be housed anyway, they wanted to at least be in the woods where they felt they could control more things. They will not get thrown in jail or get ticketed. My Ph.D. research is based on me noticing that housing precarity was common among them.

Luckily, I got a job as a research assistant at the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness (COH) at York University. I was about to quit academia then. I was finding it difficult to reconcile the things I knew in my life with official narratives and the way we are theorizing in academia. On my first day of work there, COH folks did a plain-language training telling me, "Stop writing like academics. You need to be engaging with the public." That was something the COH do well. They take research and make it available to people who are non-academics. It showed me that there are different ways of communicating your research to the broader public. That's when I realized that my research could actually be engaged scholarship, that it didn't have to be separated from my life.

Penelope: Now that you're pursuing community engagement, how do you understand your scholarship?

Jayne: That's such a huge question. One thing that I'm really excited about is that I've been trying to create a network of peers because I've seen how much value that offered to me. I'm thinking of someone I just chatted with, who is going into a Master's and has also experienced homelessness. For me to be able to guide and share what I know and say, "Oh, here's some grants and here's how this works. Here are the things that you can play with and push back against in different spaces and other things are always problematic." It's important to create a network of different scholars that can mentor each other, share research, act and think about how we can be changing the narrative. Then the homeless youth coming to know this network, and meeting other homeless youth in the university, might feel like they belong in these spaces. I am thinking of every university scrambling around diversity and hiring more Indigenous staff, or staff of colour and then miserably failing to support them. With young people who are experiencing homelessness, it also happens. Where they're asked to share their story, whether it's for research or not,

afterward, they're left on their own. So, this networking and mentorship that I'm trying to foster across Canada, I hope it will somehow provide some support, so people will stay, stick around academia.

Penelope: Have you resolved this internal conflict of being a scholar and, at the same time, an activist?

Jayne: No, no. It is every day. I know I've been thinking a lot ab-out how we translate knowledge from my conversations with our youth researchers and the decisions we make about the research together. But then I still do the thing where I'll go to a conference and make presentations about our collaborative research. For instance, at the 2019 Social Science and Humanities Congress, I'm presenting in a different way than I think I would present if the youth researchers were with me. I've been trying to work on that. It definitely switches things up. But even within myself I find myself contributing to the very things that I'm critiquing.

Penelope: Can you expound on that?

Jayne: I think of how I write academic papers. I was recently writing about how I take field notes now, compared to how I used to do that before. I used to write in codes and hide everything because I thought I was missing a piece of the puzzle. I had to spend a lot of time with my field notes. Now working on a participatory team of six, we have to share everything very explicitly. It is part of the learning process to share my notes with the team. My supervisor shares hers. We're all thinking through things together. Such a collaborative approach means having to resolve some of that discomfort of wearing different hats, and hopefully wearing the same hat in more spaces. What has been helping me partly resolve these ethical dilemmas of how research is created, and how knowledge is created in academia is working with the youth team. Often, they will say, "Why are you worrying about this? This isn't important. What's important is that we're getting things out there in every way we can." So, while I'm having this ethical dilemma about how our research is being translated within academic spaces, I think the youth co-researchers are just excited that people — teachers, nurses, social workers, students, the public--want to hear our research team go talk to them. We have been invited into spaces to talk about our research that none of us would have had access to otherwise. People want to read about our research project in Montréal, about my doctoral work, and doing this participatory research and listening to young people.

Penelope: You mentioned about the team you are working with. Can you elaborate more on your participatory action research?

Jayne: For me participatory action research was really important. Even though I have some experiences of housing instability, I wanted to connect with youth who are also affected but might have different experiences than I do, because of their different identities. When we started in September 2018, we were supposed to hire only one youth researcher. But

we ended up hiring four youth ages between 21 and 26. The youth researchers were all connected to the organization Le Bon Dieu dans la rue (or Dans la rue), which is an organization in Montreal that provides shelter to homeless youth, and started building a relationship with them for about a year. Dans la rue is where we conduct our research, and it has a day centre with counsellors, front-line workers, a school, psychologists, food — all the things we often can't offer as researchers but are necessary for our co-researchers and participants to be supported. Within the first year there, we got to know each other. We also came up with a design and what the research would look like with the organization.

In September 2018 we started a long process of training in research methods. We would have five-hour meetings often one day a week. Every week we discuss: "What is this research project about, what do we want to accomplish?" Each co-researcher would share why they were interested in doing it, what they think we might be seeing with other young people, and what they've noticed in different institutions. These include their own experiences with police and in schools. After three months of these meetings and getting to know each other, we started thinking about what our research questions and our interview script would be. We went through the ethics process by outlining the process to everyone, every step of the way. Sometimes they wanted to know what's going on. Sometimes they're not very interested in talking about the university ethics board.

We have kept the team tight with one another. Sometimes the co-researchers had to take a month off because they were precariously housed too, that things are going on in their life and that they need to sort out their affairs. Or, they want to take a break from the research because it's quite intense. We just keep the door open. So, if you're part of the research team, you can always be part of the research team. That has been our intentional policy that the research is participative in whatever way that makes sense for them. Before we started the interviews, the youth researchers have been recruiting interviewees. They are really good at recruiting. They know what's up and who might not be accessing services. Even if other homeless youths are not coming to the shelter, we can still get their perspectives and maybe why they are not accessing even Dans la rue's services.

Penelope: How many interviews have you conducted and how is your research project going now?

Jayne: We have conducted about 30 interviews so far. Many of those are multiple interviews with the same person. We are trying to get to the institutional histories of young people. We will ask people to start with their memories of an institution, say, their first memories of schools, and trace all the way to where they are in relation to this institution today. One thing we found while we were practicing interviews with young people is that one hour is often not enough time to go through a whole lifetime of institutional barriers. So, I or my supervisor, along with one of the youths will interview a person. The same team will

interview them up to three times so we can meet and dig into one trajectory through an institution. Then we can take a break or jump into the next interview. These young people are used to quickly rehashing their whole life stories about their experiences in accessing services. There's evidence that systems seem to think that they are working, but that youth are getting lost. In looking at the institutional history of young people, we can see possible interventions before they became homeless. The youth know what those are. They will say, "I've tried to access mental health in school and I couldn't." Or, "I just needed money for one month's rent, and I couldn't find that. That's how I ended up homeless for an extended period." But, often, they see it as them not knowing how it would have worked for them because they're 'bad'. It's clear from an institutional ethnography approach (which we employ) that these are institutional and systemic barriers that also are affecting some youth more than others. When we're with queer youth, youth of colour, youth with severe mental health issues, and youth who have intersections of these positionalities, our initial findings show that they have a lot more barriers to deal with.

Penelope: In this participatory action research, I'm curious about its action component? Has it been a linear process?

Jayne: It's not linear at all. One of the action pieces in my research I think is just working with the team and constantly re-evaluating what we're doing as a team. If something isn't working with the team, we stop and we do what we can to act in that moment. In terms of what we want to be doing as action, it is also being informed and shaped by each interview. Every part of it, as we're learning, we are realizing our findings are also things that many members of the team already knew. So, we are not waiting until we have a certain number of interviews when we can say, "We know this, we know what's going on." The youth know what is going on and the barriers they're facing. Any chance we have to mobilize in whatever way we can, we will be taking the opportunity. In a few days, the research team is going to give a talk to a bunch of teachers, nurses and, police officers about what and how they could be better supporting young homeless people. Part of what we also want to do is open that space more for young people, to be speaking in a more supportive environment. This action component is informed a lot by anarchist thought, and anarchist action, which encourages embodied activism.

Penelope: Are you saying, anarchist thoughts are actually what informs your scholarship and engagement? Like on the fly, are you conscious right away, that this is the anarchist me and this is how I'm responding to it?

Jayne: What I have been explicitly thinking about is how anarchist theory (and anarchist actions, which go hand in hand) is not an abstracted theory detached from our everyday life. My research has been playing with an anarchist theoretical and methodological approach to Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography (I.E), which I don't know if she would be

super cool with — maybe, hopefully. Anarchist theory and I.E. and PAR's conceptions of actions tie well together. One of the things about I.E. is that you are not trying to study people. You are trying to have research that serves the communities you are part of and working with. Through tracing out systems of power and demonstrating how we could be turning power into everyday activism to change the world in which we live in very immediate and tangible ways; to better understand the structures of power so that we can disrupt them and take them down.

It has been tricky. The whole project is about state institutions and policy, and we are also thinking of influencing policy. On the other hand, we're coming from this anarchist, grassroots perspective that is saying, well, "The state is continually failing, these hierarchies of power are damaging and causing violence to young people." So, we want to work explicitly against that. One thing that informs our work, from an anarchist perspective, is that we are trying to live the way that we would like to live. We try to proactively act today and not down the road and influence how we would like everyone to be acting. Also, most of our youth in the team is pretty anarchist already, which was not intentional when we were hiring them. We have a very non-hierarchical team. It's not as if my supervisor and I come down from the university and tell everyone what is going to happen. In fact, we try to explicitly make it the opposite. It is youth-led, and we are disrupting even the team's power dynamics. We try to make sure that there is consensus-based decision making every step of the way. We are also cognizant of damaging hierarchies that we are working within. Working with the youth researchers fosters part of what makes this project so great. We have this radical imagination of how things could be different. We do not see it as utopian. We see it as necessary. Things must change because youth are dying and suffering. So, part of that anarchist piece is recognizing the need for fixing systems while they exist, but that the systems themselves need to change.

Penelope: When you say, 'radical imagination', what do you mean by it?

Jayne: What I found is that each young person who we work with on our team and each young person whom we are interviewing, they already have radical imagination and they already have these ideas of what could have helped them and other young people. One thing I've realized while working with them is that we have more solutions than ever. Some of them are feasible. Others are wild things. For instance, one of the young people we were working with has a tiny house that she built. Her idea is that she would like to travel around and build tiny houses for all the homeless and outfit them with electricity and everything. This would be a way that each person could have their own space. There's also a lot of talking about taking down billionaires, "eat the rich" comments and calling for revolution. The youth are also thinking of wealth redistribution.

They are imaginative in their possible alternatives. When you are in that precarious

situation, you spend a lot of time thinking about your ideal life. For some of them, being homeless at some time is also like a form of freedom. When we are thinking of solutions, it is also not always stability or access to institutions. Sometimes it is getting rid of the institutions altogether and finding a way to survive in your community. There are things we are imagining today and, in the future, but there are also things that the young people are already doing each day.

Penelope: Any parting words before we conclude?

Jayne: I just want to emphasize that we do need people undertaking engaged, community-driven, and ethical research. Especially for young researchers like myself, who are working on social issues that directly impact us, it can be tricky to find a balance between entering academia and opening up spaces for ourselves and our peers, finding support and allies to ensure we can continue to do that work. For me, research is only one prong of many to address issues like homelessness, poverty, housing precarity—but it is an important one. I would hope that other young scholars can find the supports they need to do the research in these, often, unwelcoming academic spaces, and this research, in turn, can be used to build community and networks of resistance!

About the Contributors

Jayne Malenfant is from Kapuskasing, Ontario and is a PhD Candidate at McGill University's Faculty of Education. She is a Vanier and Pierre Elliott Trudeau Scholar, and co-founder of the Making the Shift Scholars with Lived Experience of Homelessness Network. She works on issues of institutional access for precariously housed and homeless youth, with a focus on schools as sites of prevention, and is particularly interested in youth-driven solutions to homelessness and anarchist and activist teaching & learning. Email: jayne.malenfant@mail.mcgill.ca

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Book Reviews

Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea: Indian Women as Cultural Intermediaries and National Symbols by Rebecca K. Jager. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015.

In her book, Rebecca K. Jager compares and contrasts the lives and legends of three Indigenous North American women: Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea. Jager's research answers an earlier call by Native-American historian and feminist scholar Clara Sue Kidwell in her 1992 *Ethnohistory* article, "Indian Women as Cultural Intermediaries," to revisit these stories from a non-Eurocentric perspective. Jager also builds on the theoretical framework developed in Richard White's landmark 1991 work *The Middle Ground*. Building on his model of native-newcomer relations in the context of frontier conquest and Western expansion, she re-examines the role of these three key individuals as cultural brokers through a gender lens, ultimately posing the question: why is each woman remembered so differently today?

In Part 1, Jager examines the lives of Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea in their pre-contact roles. She carefully considers and reconstructs their day-to-day roles and responsibilities and contextualizes their struggles after their paths crossed with Hernan Cortés, John Smith, and Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, respectively. In all cases, the women had extensive experience as mediators prior to contact with European men. They earned their place and cemented their reputations as skilled, talented women in their own right. Malinche was a multilingual and highly-skilled, intelligent interpreter with years of experience. Despite her youth, Pocahontas carried certain diplomatic responsibilities as Chief Powhatan's daughter. Sacagawea was a skilled guide and expert in the lands Lewis and Clark were charged with "discovering."

European records did not reflect the complexity of their positions because they failed to recognize "unfamiliar female responsibilities" (p. 47). Explorers did not comprehend the value and respect accorded to these women as generators of intercultural dialogue in Indigenous communities, whether in the context of Nahua Mexico, the Powhatan Confederacy, or Shoshone society. By contrast, their own communities viewed women's sexuality in an entirely different light, seeing it as a "powerful transformative force" (p. 48) that was advantageous in relationship-building. Little did colonists know that these women were "part of a diplomatic strategy to calm tensions, facilitate interactions and build strategic alliances during a time of uncertainty" (p. 105).

In the period preceding contact, their merits brought Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea to the foreground in the "foreign relations" scene of their own communities, long before any outsider recognized their value in this sphere. Jager also notes the damaging effects of Eurocentric accounts that imposed European gender norms, portrayed Indigenous women as overworked and oppressed, and gradually served to "justify the cultural genocide that occurred during the colonial era" (p. 119). By grounding their experiences in their own worldviews, she re-assigns them a sense of agency that is all-too-often missed in popular accounts of their lives. This essential step acknowledges that each woman *chose* to take part in building relationships with Europeans in some capacity. As such, she dispels the shroud of inevitability that surrounds the telling of Indigenous women's stories in the native-newcomer narratives.

In Part 2, Jager turns from reality to perception, from historical accounts to the myths

and legends that have arisen in the decades and centuries after the lived experiences of these three key women. Combining analysis of a variety of mediums, from novels and poetry to ethnohistory, from art to film and theatre, she traces the changing portrayal of these women. Why is Malinche, especially, remembered so differently from Pocahontas and Sacagawea? Mexican history in the Independence era and Revolution years largely determined the trajectory of Malinche in memory. As the first mother of a mixed-race child, she was remembered positively at first while Mexico sought to establish itself as a mestizo nation and consolidate its identity as a mixed Indigenous-Spanish population. But with the spread of Christianity and the rise of a uniquely Mexican Catholicism, Malinche gradually fell from grace to be replaced with a superior figure, the Virgin of Guadalupe. She was the Mexican Eve, instigator of the original sin of miscegenation and a traitor, not to mention an unvirtuous "whore" in the virgin-princess/whore-squaw binary that dominates portrayals of Indigenous women. More recently, Malinche has been reclaimed in Chicana narratives that emphasize, with modern sensibilities, her efforts as an advocate, evangelist, conflict mediator, and proto-feminist figure.

Meanwhile, Jager argues that Pocahontas and Sacagawea are remembered in a more positive light due to the differing nature of conquest in the United States. They aided the project of "Manifest Destiny." Pocahontas aided in the establishment of a European foothold in the present-day U.S. Sacagawea's involvement in the expedition with Lewis and Clark transferred knowledge about western territories, essential to colonial expansion. Although Pocahontas and Sacagawea are generally portrayed more positively in comparison to Malinche, their stories were manipulated and modified according the prevailing wisdom of the times. For instance, Sacagawea was recast as an icon in the suffragette movement. Upper-middle-class Euro-American women found in her a heroine, a proxy that could be used to illustrate a woman with feminine, domestic qualities who simultaneously served her "country." Jager summarizes the common denominator in these stories – the tendency to portray Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea in the Judeo-Christian trope of women as helpers to men. By giving them a part to play in the grand narrative of the colonial enterprise, the portrayals functioned to ease the colonial conscience.

Jager's work is a contribution to Indigenous history, gender studies, historiography, and myth-making. It exemplifies scholarship that departs from conventional historical accounts, from reliance on European primary sources and Eurocentric modes of thinking, writing, and story-telling. So much has been said and written about Malinche, Pocahontas and Sacagawea, but this work is the first to study all three of them collectively while also contextualizing and humanizing their struggles. Jager reminds readers again and again to be wary of perceptions that cast these popular Indigenous women in ways that deny their agency and the power they exercised to choose and shape their fates. *Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea: Indian Women as Cultural Intermediaries and National Symbols* is the product of a scholar telling the stories of Indigenous women while earnestly imagining herself in their shoes.

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Women and Gendered Violence in Canada: An Intersectional Approach by Chris Bruckert and Tuulia Law. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2018.

Conceived of as a teaching tool, *Women and Gendered Violence in Canada: An Intersectional Approach* brings an expanded lens to the literature on gendered violence, moving beyond the conventional focus on gendered violence as interpersonal violence perpetrated by individual men against individual women. The authors' intersectional approach pays critical attention to interlocking relations of power as creating different experiences of gendered violence for different groups of people. The book's authors, Chris Bruckert and Tuulia Law, research and teach within the discipline of criminology at the University of Ottawa and York University respectively. Both have published widely in the area of intersectional experiences of gendered violence. With its Canada-centric content, and its focus on issues that are increasingly important to students today, *Women and Gendered Violence in Canada* will be a valuable addition to Canadian undergraduate courses in many disciplines.

The authors describe their approach in the book as "intersectional and interdisciplinary" (p. 2). Those commitments are clear in every chapter of the book. Unlike many texts on gendered violence that emphasize patriarchy as the most important system of power in explaining gendered violence, Bruckert and Law argue that "the violence inflicted on women is not only rooted in patriarchy but in a host of interlocking social, political, and economic systems that work through and with patriarchy, including colonialism, neoliberalism, capitalism and national and global economies" (p. 9). Each chapter examines the workings of those systems in relation to the main theme of the chapter. For example, Chapter 7 shows how toxic workplace cultures, racism, barriers created by immigration systems, and ableism (among others) are systems that shape different women's experiences of sexual harassment, bullying, and microaggression in their workplaces.

While each chapter focuses on one central theme, such as violence in the criminal justice system, within the chapter are concepts, theoretical explanations, and examples from many different academic disciplines. In Chapter 11, which pertains to the criminal justice system, the influence of scholars, theories, and concepts from gender studies, philosophy, criminology, legal studies, Indigenous studies and critical race studies can be seen. This chapter is a great example of the value of the authors' interdisciplinary approach to creating more holistic understandings of the many different ways people can experience gendered violence.

Scholars of intersectionality often critique books that claim to use an intersectional approach for straying far from intersectionality's intellectual and activist roots, by de-politicizing analyses of identity. *Women and Gendered Violence in Canada* would not be subject to this critique. Bruckert and Law give appropriate credit and attention to the genealogical roots of intersectionality in critical race scholarship and the activism of women of colour. The authors explain their positionality in the introductory chapter and describe how this has shaped their approach to the book. Throughout the book, they remain attentive to the interlocking systems of power that shape and contribute to gendered violence. They are cautious to avoid the individualized, essentialized, or stereotypical discussions of identity that sometimes characterize other work

labelled "intersectional."

Bruckert and Law have split the book into four sections, reflecting four important themes (context of gendered violence in Canada, interpersonal violence, workplace violence, and structural violence). Each section has three chapters that explore different issues within the section's theme. For example, the interpersonal violence section has chapters devoted to everyday experiences of harassment, sexual assault, and intimate partner violence. Each chapter follows a similar format. The first part of the chapter discusses key concepts and historical or theoretical context, and is followed by sections discussing different dimensions of the issue, or how different groups of people may experience this type of violence differently. The section before the conclusion focuses on actions of resistance taken by people who have experienced gender violence and their allies, such as Black Lives Matters Toronto's intervention in the Pride parade and the Idle No More movement. Celebrating resistance is an important commitment within intersectional scholarship and helps to avoid the stereotypical representation of women and other marginalized folks solely as "victims" of violence that one sometimes finds in work on this subject. The authors also highlight the first-person experiences of gendered violence by sharing stories, quotations, and document excerpts written or spoken by people who have experienced the particular form of violence under discussion, such as Michelle Rempel's op-ed about everyday sexism in the Canadian House of Commons.

Women and Gendered Violence in Canada is intended as a textbook to be used in the university classroom. It would work well with undergraduate learners in a variety of different disciplines, including women and gender studies, criminology, sociology, and social work, among others. It would likely work best in an upper-level class focused on the topic of gendered violence, as it introduces learners to many theorists and concepts that are essential to a thorough understanding of gendered violence. This in-depth approach would likely make it less suitable for use in an introductory survey course. Each chapter ends with an exercise intended to prompt personal reflection and classroom discussion. These exercises are wonderful resources for instructors who want to integrate more active learning in their classrooms but may not be sure where to start.

Unlike other textbooks on this topic, Bruckert and Law have expanded the scope of what needs to be considered when discussing gendered violence in the classroom beyond the traditional focus on interpersonal (or domestic) violence and sexual assault. Their detailed exploration of gendered violence in its interpersonal, workplace, and structural manifestations alone makes this book a valuable intervention in this subject area and sets it apart from other textbooks. The rich description of interlocking systems of oppression in both contemporary and historical events, and the authors' commitments to a truly interdisciplinary approach should make this textbook a beloved resource for teachers and learners in many fields.

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Engaged Scholar Journal: Community-Engaged Research, Teaching, and Learning is Canada's online, peer-reviewed, multi-disciplinary journal committed to profiling best practices in 'engaged scholarship' informed by community-academic partnerships in research, teaching and learning.

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- to promote and support reciprocal and meaningful co-creation of knowledge among scholars, educators, professionals and community leaders, in Canada and worldwide
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- to critically reflect on engaged scholarship, research, and pedagogy pursued by various university and community partners, working locally, nationally and internationally, across various academic disciplines and areas of application
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Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea: Indian Women as Cultural Intermediaries and National Symbols by Rebecca K. Jager. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015
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Women and Gendered Violence in Canada: An Intersectional Approach by Chris Bruckert and Tuulia Law. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2018
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