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community-engaged research, teaching, and learning

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From the Editor

Lori Bradford

Welcome to the summer 2022 issue which features a collection of peer-reviewed essays and reports from the field for your interest and learning. While this was an open issue, in that it requested neither a common theme among the manuscripts, nor any particular arguments, we did find some important threads that provide opportunity for our reflection as community-based and engaged scholars.

In Sousa's essay on organic intellectuals, he explains how their existence and abundance can liberate our praxis from the traps we sometimes experience. He also masterfully reminds us about our privileged existence as researchers within institutions with disciplinary silos and colonizing knowledge systems and how we are not the only scholars. In fact, he emphasizes that because of the insulating shelter from society that the university provides, we are somewhat removed from the movements that can lead to real action outside the campus borders—the movements that we seek to engage with, promote, and inspire. Sousa's work is tightly connected to Osborne and Wilton's, which examines campus and community conversations defending same-sex marriage rights through the local press, in that organic intellectual activities happen in venues, locations, and geographical sites that are not colonized by university academics. The location of an organic intellectual, whether geographically or figuratively within popular theory, does not preclude academics from engaging with one in intellectual activities off-campus. In fact, interacting with organic intellectuals enriches community-engaged scholarship by expanding inclusion of knowledge systems and local knowledge, and by removing colonial structures that university- or researcher-driven projects reinforce. In order to overcome the university-based structural problems in advancing engaged scholarship, and its merit within institutions, Battachio and colleagues set out some tenets for institutions to decolonize, based on their experiences doing so within institutions. They profess the need to be committed to (1) community-driven research; (2) localizing research practices; (3) decentralized academics; (4) prolonged engagement; (5) community capacity building; (6) project deliverables; and (7) sustainability. These tenets shine through in the other works in this issue, as well as in Vogt's review of Carr-Stewart's *Knowing the Past, Facing the Future: Indigenous Education in Canada*. Vogt, an organic intellectual herself, highlights the importance of this new collection of essays that all educators should consider having as a part of their library.

Lori Bradford
Image credit: Victoria Schramm

Taken together, these insights and reflections will help readers of the *Engaged Scholar* take steps in decolonizing their scholarly practices. Caldwell and Leung, in their Exchanges, say it so well: “It’s all about relationship, right? It always just comes back to relationship, and I don’t think anything good can happen without relationship…” They assert that radical generosity in our practices of research and teaching can overcome the erasures of the past, be they theoretical, political, or colonial in nature. At the journal, we are building our own brand of radical generosity by providing readers and listeners with a variety of formats to access the work submitted to us. The ESJ remains open access and free to publish within; in each issue, we share the identities of authors and reviewers, as they self-identify; and we are piloting new formats with podcast reviews and podcasts of select article highlights so that we can listen as well as read about advancements in engaged scholarship. I hope you continue to enjoy the collections we publish for you.

Acknowledgements

The quality of our Journal depends on scholarly collaboration between the two groups of scholars, the authors and the anonymous peer-reviewers of their work. We thank both groups for their interest in and support of our Journal. We are especially grateful to the peer-reviewers listed below, who reviewed submissions to the current issue (Volume 8 Issue 3), for their time and commitment to excellent scholarship.

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Essays

Liberating Community-based Research: Rescuing Gramsci's Legacy of Organic Intellectuals

José Wellington Sousa

Abstract This article aims to provoke a discussion around conceiving community members as community-based research facilitators and leaders of their own process of change. It argues this is possible by rescuing Gramsci's legacy of organic intellectuals that is present in community-based research literature, particularly under the participatory research rubric. However, this perspective has been overshadowed by a strong emphasis on community-based research (CBR) as a collaborative research approach rather than a people's approach for knowledge production that leads to social transformation. Furthermore, such a view of community-based research is fruitful within an adult education and social movement learning framework. In a sense, social movements provide an environment that facilitates critical consciousness and the formation of organic intellectuals and in which communities and academics learn to better engage in partnership for community-led social change. In this context, CBR is still a collaborative approach, but one led primarily by organic intellectuals.

KeyWords organic intellectuals, adult education, community-based research facilitation

Community-based research (CBR) has been one of the preferred terminologies employed in the Global North to refer to a range of action-oriented research approaches, including Participatory Action Research (PAR), Participatory Research (PR), Action Research for Citizen-led Change and other less critical approaches (Etmanski et al., 2014). CBR is also the taxonomy promoted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Chair in Community-Based Research and Social Responsibility in Higher Education (Hall et al., 2016), which has great power to influence practice and policy worldwide (Grace, 2013). Nevertheless, from PAR to PR (Hall, 2005; Pyrch, 2012), and lately CBR, the approach has shifted from a strong emphasis on people-led practice (see, for example, Rahman, 1991) to the collaboration between academics and community members (see Hall et al., 2016; Strand et al., 2003). This is not a problem at first glance. In essence, regardless of taxonomy, action-oriented research has always been conceived as a collaborative inquiry. However, a problem emerges when the emphasis on collaboration overshadows the protagonism of marginalized communities in facilitating their own process of change. One of the implications of this shift is the vanishing of Gramsci's concept of organic intellectuals as a foundational element of CBR and its radical roots.

This article explores the concept of organic intellectuals as an attempt to liberate CBR by rescuing its community-led and social movement orientation. Through Gramsci's lens, community members are not only partners but also leaders and facilitators in community-based research processes. Furthermore, I argue that the field of adult education, particularly through the concept of social movement learning, provides a useful framework to understand the formation of ordinary people into organic intellectuals who are leaders in the process of producing knowledge for social transformation. I start by reviewing the concept of organic intellectuals. Then, I consider how the concept of organic intellectuals is interwoven throughout CBR. Lastly, I explore how community members rise as organic intellectuals by moving from spontaneous philosophy to critical consciousness and how adult education plays a critical role in this process.

Organic Intellectuals and Social Transformation

The adult education social movement's goal of creating a new social order, finds its roots in the thoughts of the political activist and Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci (Ledwith, 2020; Mayo, 1999). Gramsci's most influential concepts, such as "hegemony" and "organic intellectuals" (Boggs, 2010), were written in prison between 1929-1935 in the context of the increasing fascist threat in Italy and Germany (Hawley, 1980). Gramsci's notebooks focused on the Italian context but laid the foundation for an international political and ideological analysis that could explain advances of capitalism and failures of socialist revolutions in the West and the elaboration of counter-strategies (Forgacs, 1988; Hawley, 1980; Ledwith, 2020).

Gramsci took Marxism a step further by rejecting its determinism and explaining why the exploitation of a dominant class over subaltern groups does not intensify the class struggle that leads to revolution. His conclusion was that subaltern groups, "subordinate to the ruling group's policies and initiatives" (Green, 2011, p. 69), consent to exploitation (Gencarella, 2010; Green, 2011). For Gramsci, consent is a result of hegemony, which refers to ideological control exerted through institutions promoting a worldview spread through socialization and internalized as common sense (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). Peet and Hartwick (2015) elucidated that hegemony "mystifies power relations, camouflages the causes of public issues and events, encourages fatalism and political passivity, and justifies the deprivation of many so that few can live well" (p. 200). In essence, as Femia (1975) suggested, hegemony is how power operates in order to shape the cognition and feelings through which non-dominant groups perceive and analyze the struggles of everyday life.

Nevertheless, the existence of political passivity does not extinguish resistance and efforts of transformation. Gencarella (2010) clarified that "hegemonic orders are always in competition—rising, falling, incorporating, and being incorporated into others" (p. 223). This statement suggests that a Gramscian picture of society is a social space of struggle for hegemonic control, in which groups are in constant dispute to institutionalize their values, beliefs, and morality. The organic intellectual is an important social agent in this struggle for moral leadership. In general terms, Gramsci et al. (1971) proposed that every social group or class creates their own group of intellectuals from within. These agents support the class in achieving its hegemonic goals. For instance, the capitalist class creates "industrial technician, the specialist in political economy, the organizer of a new culture, of a new legal system, etc" (p. 5). According to Gramsci et al. (1971), these organic intellectuals are deputies who are responsible for organizing the "systems of relationships" (p. 6) that create an environment propitious to the advancement of their class.

In the same way, subordinated classes, such as the working class, are also able to create their own organic intellectuals. These intellectuals rise up among ordinary people, the civil society (Sumner, 2005), on the basis that "all [people] are intellectuals" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 9). Gramsci's statement rests on the understanding that there is no human activity in which people do not exert intellectual effort. He elaborated further by saying that:

> each [person] finally, outside [their] professional activity, carries on some form of intellectual activity, that is, [a person] is a "philosopher", an artist, a [person] of taste, [a person] participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is to bring into being new modes of thought. (p. 9)

In other words, Gramsci et al. (1971) was saying that the peasant, the woman, the proletariat, and so on, are all philosophers and as such they can function as organic intellectuals. Gramsci et al. (1971) explained that:

> The mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence, which is an exterior and momentary mover of feelings and passions, but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organizer, "permanent persuader" and not just simple orator (but superior at the same time to the abstract mathematical spirit; from technique-as-work one precedes to technique-as-science and to humanist conception of history, without which one remains "specialized" and does not become "directive" (specialized and political). (p. 10)

As Gramsci et al. (1971) suggested, the philosopher from the margins is a human being, a labourer, and also a political being. In essence, they become political through *praxis*, a radical interaction between theory and practice that makes one aware of themself as socially and historically forged. *Praxis* allows one to discern hegemonic strategies that produce consent. In essence, a critical consciousness leads to counter-hegemonic practices through intersectoral alliances in society (historical *bloc*), which creates a hegemonic cohesion (Ledwith, 2020) to dismantle structures of domination that result in consent (Hoare & Sperber, 2016). Indeed, the organic intellectual is a leader, a community organizer who is nurtured by the struggle of their own class and is committed to the cause of the group (Cassidy, 2008). Furthermore, as holder of a critical consciousness, their function is to lead their own people towards a critical consciousness through the revolutionary party, which provides education and culture and is the expression of the collective will (Hawley, 1980).

The concept of organic intellectuals contrasts with the notion of traditional intellectuals. Gramsci perceive traditional intellectuals as more independent from the struggles in the social space; they do not hold a political function. In essence, any political function or leadership performed by these intellectuals is "superseded by the more socially generalized ideological leadership of organic intellectuals" (Hawley, 1980, p. 588). For Gramsci et al. (1971), the ecclesiastics are the most typical of the traditional intellectuals who for many years were solely responsible for "the philosophy and science of the age, together with schools, education, morality, justice, charity, good work, etc." (p. 7). Nevertheless, due to the expansion of monarchical power, other kinds of traditional intellectuals arose in the form of scientists, scholars, and non-ecclesiastical philosophers.

Although traditional intellectuals do not function as organic intellectuals, they can work as catalysts of transformation by facilitating processes of consciousness raising and helping move the counter-hegemonic project forward. Yet, they are more likely to bail when facing pressure and persecution (Ledwith, 2011). Furthermore, the involvement of traditional intellectuals in grassroots struggles may create an opportunity for manipulation and a sense of entitlement, such as they are the ones who really know about the reality of the people and therefore can represent the community (Ander-Erg, 2003). Gramsci's (1971) proposition rests on the assertion that the oppressed themselves lead the dismantlement of structures of oppression and the creation of a new social order rather than the outsiders and/or vanguard groups as ruled by orthodox Marxists. Nevertheless, in Gramsci's original elaboration, it is the responsibility of the political party to channel the work of organic intellectuals, including connections with traditional intellectuals, in order to advance the hegemonic goals of the class.

Gramsci's thoughts were not popular until the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. His ideas had a strong influence on the American and European new left (Boggs, 2010; Hawley, 1980). Furthermore, Gramsci's concepts such as hegemony, organic intellectuals, popular consciousness, historical *bloc*, and *praxis* have gained relevance throughout the years, particularly in the fields of adult education and community development (Beck & Purcell, 2020; Ledwith, 2020). These concepts provide a framework and inspire models to organize and engage community groups in loops of critical learning and action in order to bring about transformation and build a more just society.

Gramsci's Legacy of the Organic Intellectual and Community-based Research

Gramsci's organic intellectual is relevant to this article because it is based on the understanding that marginalized groups are able to create their own intellectuals to lead and nurture the critical consciousness of the group. According to the introduction provided by Hoare and Smith (1971) in *Gramsci*, this proposition contrasts with Lenin's (1902) perspective of the intellectual who as an outsider, a "refugee" from the dominant class. Dominant class brings critical consciousness to the working class. Acknowledging Gramsci's contribution to Marxism and social change theory, how can his concept of organic intellectuals inform the endeavour of conceiving community members as CBR facilitators?

Antonio Gramsci
Taken from https://socialistaction.ca/2021/04/04/the-revolutionary-ideas-of-antonio-gramsci/

A starting point to answer this question relies on the assertion that academics in the Global North acknowledges that CBR is rooted in the PAR tradition of the Global South (see Etmanski et al., 2014; Hall et al., 2016). Greatly influenced by Gramsci's thoughts, the southern tradition evokes the scholarship and practice of authors such as Orlando Fals Borda and Mohammad Anisur Rahman, who trusted in the liberatory power of the oppressed. For instance, Rahman (1991) presented participatory research as a popular approach for knowledge production and transformative action. He stated that the participatory action research process is "to be one of the people's own independent inquiry, in which outsiders may be consulted at the initiative of the people" (Rahman, 1991, p. 17). Indeed, Rahman (1991) inverted the dominance of the binary researcher/community by recognizing ordinary people as being able to perform research and produce knowledge oriented by the transformation of their reality. Rahman's (1991) statement seems to echo Gramsci's (1971) notion of organic intellectuals.

Gaventa (1993) also characterized the participatory research movement as research performed by the people. Although Gaventa (1993) did not mention the concept of organic intellectuals, he demonstrated his understanding by clearly acknowledging Gramsci's idea that every person is an intellectual. In a sense, this conviction is Gramsci's starting point for the construction of the concept of organic intellectuals (Fischman & McLaren, 2005). Indeed, by acknowledging Gramsci's tradition, Gaventa (1993) affirmed the participatory research status of people's science and consequently affirmed the capacity of common people to transform popular wisdom or common sense into good sense. Building on the same Gramscian idea, Fals Borda (1992) affirmed popular knowledge as one of the foundations of PAR. He argued that popular knowledge is valid knowledge and useful to fix many deformed academic versions of history and society. It is also useful to defend the popular class against external and disorienting attacks. According to Gaventa (1993), this kind of knowledge does not fit the scientific structure but is a response to the domination of the expert. Gaventa (1993) also proposed the development of research centers controlled by the people instead of academics.

Indeed, there are many authors who referred to and/or acknowledged the contribution of Gramsci's organic intellectuals to CBR (for example, Bowd et al., 2010; Caraballo et al., 2017; Fals Borda, 1992; Hall, 1981, 1993; Korff & Rothfuss, 2011; Mayo, 2015; Selener, 1997; Stewart & Lucio, 2017). Despite the relevance of the idea of organic intellectuals to CBR's emancipatory and transformational vocation, this concept is seldom explored; it needs attention and elaboration.

In a personal reflection on the development of the participatory research worldview, Hall (1981) mentioned that the participants in the *International Forum on Participatory Research* held in Yugoslavia in 1980 were very interested in Gramsci and his concept of organic intellectuals.

Hall (1981) affirmed that while participants shared their field experiences, strengthened their international networks, and reasoned about guidelines and future practice, the exploration of the relationship between participatory research and organic intellectuals was a high priority. The discussion around the topic led to three positions on the concept with participants favouring the first and second positions. The first position conceives organic intellectuals as a collective expression of the working class, such as an organization that uses participatory research as a supporting tool. The second position is very close to Gramsci's original idea that an organic intellectual is an "individual member of the peasant/working class whose consciousness and technical expertise is raised through active struggle" (Hall, 1981, p. 11). Participatory research is one way to achieve such consciousness and expertise. The third position understands that organic intellectuals are radicalized middle-class intellectuals who engage in practical and/or intellectual work. In this case, participatory research is understood as intellectual work.

It is very important to highlight that Hall (1981) explained the notion of organic intellectuals in the participatory research context is placed outside of Gramsci's theoretical framework. Yet, Hall (1981) agreed that an organic intellectual refers to an inside person, a community member, who was nurtured by the reality of their people and rose as a leader. A little more than a decade later, Hall (1993) affirmed that participatory research is a tool for organic intellectuals to develop counter-hegemonic processes. However, Hall (1981) gave the role of participatory research facilitator to the outside researcher and maintains this perspective until now (see Hall et al., 2016). As a facilitator, the researcher is responsible for "building an indigenous capacity for collective analysis and action and the generation of new knowledge by the people concerned" (Hall, 1981, p. 10). By opposing the interests of their own class, this researcher can deepen the relationship with the community to the point where they become an insider and active contributor to the development of the community. Nevertheless, the role of this outside researcher and the fact that they could join the community as an insider seems to go against Gramsci's original idea. Gramsci et al. (1971) rejected the idea of any outsider, a "refugee from the bourgeois class" (p. 3), taking over the direction of the transformation process by providing theory, ideology, and leadership to the popular class.

Selener (1997) also differentiated between organic intellectuals and participatory research facilitators, but he presented a different idea of how organic intellectuals emerge. For Selener (1997), organic intellectuals can be "community organizers, farmers organizers, peasant or union leaders, etc." (p. 14), who create knowledge and articulate action for the liberation of their people. But Selener does not imply that these people are also responsible for facilitating participatory processes; the role of a facilitator, which is a subordinate role, is taken by social scientists who practice participatory research. Selener (1997) asserted that the researcher does not have to become a community member because the community is aware that the researcher is an outsider who is there to provide a service. The people are more concerned with the researcher's loyalty to the group. However, the researcher can be immersed in the people's reality to the point where there is no separation between community members and researcher; both are committed to the community struggle. The researcher then becomes the expression of what Gramsci calls an organic intellectual. In essence, Selener's (1997) understanding of organic intellectuals is based on Vio Grossi (1981), who proposed that the organic intellectual is formed when the researcher is immersed in the people's world. Then, the tensions between the researcher and the people disappear. In this, the researcher also gains the right to speak for the community.

Advocating for a people's science as the basis for social change, Fals Borda (1992) warned against this kind of academic-activist immersion. He advised that academics should be honest about their intentions and how their discipline can support the cause of the social group. While this position aligns with the proposition of Selener (1997), Fals Borda (1992) further explained that this becomes a problem when academics employ PAR to develop a science "for" the people instead of a genuine knowledge produced and systematized by the people in such a way that people can control and use it according to their own intentions. In order to mitigate this problem, he suggested that research and work reports, which may include different forms of communication such as film, music, zine, and so on, should be accessible to community groups. In addition, research techniques should be taught to the people (technical vulgarization) while encouraging them to perform their own investigation. Lastly, any decision made about the research process should be done in a dialogical way that seeks to break from the researcher-researched dichotomy and to stimulate community-led research, education, and action.

Scholars have taken the relationship between outside academics and community and ways to create more power balance between partners as the most important issues in CBR (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). For instance, Steward and Lucio (2017) are very assertive in trying to balance political commitment and objectivity in PAR. Meanwhile, academics strive to guarantee democratic participation of the researched community despite the constraints imposed by the neoliberal university. Steward and Lucio (2017) made the binary researcher/researched very clear but recognized the people's position as organic intellectuals, which is relevant to creating a counter-narrative and research agenda relevant to emancipation. In order to reduce knowledge asymmetry between academics and community, Morrison and Sacchetto (2018) proposed a double movement based on Gramsci. As academics and community members work together, communities move from common sense to good sense through critical consciousness and researchers break from over-rationalization (I discuss this movement from common sense to good sense later in this article). Nevertheless, these authors do not mention any effort for technical vulgarization, perhaps because it is not the context of their work. Yet, Steward and Lucio (2017) did acknowledge that one does not have to be based in the university to perform PAR.

Gramsci's concept of organic intellectuals is a fundamental element of CBR if it is to be conceptualized as "the people's own independent inquiry" (Rahman, 1991, p. 17). In this endeavour, at least two aspects of Gramsci's framework have to be taken into consideration. First, for Gramsci et al. (1971), it is the responsibility of the party to form the organic intellectual by channelling their activities and connecting them with traditional intellectuals. These traditional intellectuals, as Ledwith (2016) explained, are useful as catalysts for raising a critical consciousness and triggering transformation. Building on these thoughts, Rahman's (1991) proposition makes sense when he states that the community can invite traditional researchers to assist them in the change process. In this context, the community can take a form of collective representation, such as the party and/or a community-based organization. It would be close to the first position about organic intellectuals proposed in the International Forum on Participatory Research in Yugoslavia (Hall, 1981).

Second, considering Gramsci's (1971) description of organic intellectuals and second position of the participants in the Yugoslavian Forum (Hall, 1981), even though these intellectuals were formed by experiencing struggle and social transformation through CBR, these people should also be able to become CBR facilitators themselves. This idea is particularly relevant because, as Rahman (1991) stated, transformative strategies led by a vanguard body deemed as holder of an advanced consciousness "inevitably contains seeds of newer forms of domination" (p. 14). Therefore, consciousness-raising and knowledge production must be a grassroots-based process.

Gramsci's (1971) description of organic intellectuals as workers, organizers and thinkers suggests that organic intellectuals are facilitators of reflection and action for change so then, CBR can become a tool for such change, which becomes clearer when one compares Gramsci's description to how the literature refers to facilitators (see Diaz-Puente et al., 2013; Freire & Macedo, 1995; Ledwith, 2016). Chambers (1997), one of the most influential participatory development scholars, also shares this idea that community members should take over the CBR facilitation process in their communities. He affirmed that outsiders should share methods with community members; they should equip local people to perform participatory methodologies. In other words, as Kapoor (2002) explained, in Chambers's approach to CBR, even though outsiders work as facilitators, there is an expectation that community members will take over this role. However, one should be aware that Chambers's work is less radical. His approach does not imply any class-bound counter-hegemonic project nor a radical social transformation. Nevertheless, Chambers, and others under the rubric of people-centred development, advocates for higher level of community participation in development to the point that people can organize themselves for learning and action independent from external agents (see Kumar 2002; Negri et al., 1998).

Indeed, my intention is not to demean the role played by academic researchers in action-oriented research but to decenter it by rescuing the notion of CBR as "the people's own independent inquiry" (Rahman, 1991, p. 17). In this process, the traces of Gramsci's organic intellectuals found in the liberatory historical tradition of CBR also decenter it as an academic endeavour that includes community members. The class-bound Gramscian concept leads one to define CBR as a community-led change approach in which research is a part of it but not the main enterprise. In such an approach, the facilitation performed by those who are nurtured by the struggle of their own social group is relevant to the commitment to the cause as well as community autonomy. In light of this notion of the organic intellectual, how are these facilitators formed?

Spontaneous Philosophy and Adult Education: Tensions and Possibilities in the Formation of Organic Intellectuals

For Gramsci, the engine of history as well as transformation is founded on the philosophy of *praxis* whereby action and thought engage in a radical unit in such a way that one cannot be conceived without the other. Gramsci elaborated on this understanding based on his philosophical anthropology as a starting point. He conceived a human being as a social and historical being. In this sense, reality is created as a result of people's relationships with each other, which are determined by the accumulation of social practices throughout the years. Therefore, taking into consideration the historical accumulation of social practices, "every human being is defined by the ensemble of [their] social relations" (Hoare & Sperber, 2016, p. 82). In other words, Gramsci proposed that history informs how one conceives life in the present. This conception of life and its ethical attributes are what Gramsci defines as philosophy (Hoare & Sperber, 2016) or spontaneous philosophy (Gramsci, 1971). In essence, a person's process of consciousness raising starts by knowing themself as "a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in [them] an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 324). Then, this person engages in the active discernment of this inventory left by collective history.

According to Gramsci et al. (1971), spontaneous philosophy is found in the everyday life of ordinary people. It is found in language, folklore, common sense, and good sense. These elements are interrelated and are the starting point of critical consciousness. They are the source for ending consent and passivity.

Language carries worldviews and cultures within it and provides a constantly changing sense of how the world works; it reveals the historicity of groups at the same time that it is reinvented. In addition, members of particular groups are more likely to think and act alike by sharing the same language, not only in a grammatical sense but also in a conceptual sense (Gramsci et al., 1971). Gramsci et al. (1971) asserted that a language reveals a conception of the world. For instance, when a person learns a different language, they have access to different ways of seeing the world. Yet, Gencarella (2010) explained that choosing a second language to learn is a political engagement; it goes through a process of privileging a certain language and not another. Gencarella (2010) also elucidates that this political aspect of language is related to the idea of irradiation and conquest.

Language and folklore share a lot of characteristics. Gramsci et al. (1971) defined folklore as a popular religion, an "entire system of beliefs, superstitions, opinions, way of seeing things and of acting" (p. 321). Like language, folklore is an expression of history at the same time it is open for innovation. It expresses a group's concept of the world and may become an obstacle for different understandings of the world, including political engagement. In other words, folklore and language entail the dominance of certain beliefs to the detriment of others (Gencarella, 2010). Folklore is closely related to Gramsci's notion of common sense. According to Gramsci et al. (1971), common sense refers to "the conception of the world which is uncritically absorbed by the various social and cultural environments in which the moral individuality of the average [person] is developed" (p. 419). This is the "philosophy of the non-philosopher" as opposed to the professional intellectual. Common sense, like folklore itself, is a fragmented and stratified philosophical, scientific, and political idea, which can be used hegemonically to reproduce the ruling class.

Hoare and Sperber (2016) have illuminated that Gramsci establishes a clear relationship between everyday life and philosophy. In essence, people live their lives based on spontaneous philosophy (language, folklore, and common sense). However, Gramsci et al. (1971) explained that an organic intellectual emerges in the midst of a subaltern group when they critically analyzes spontaneous philosophy. Critical analysis makes what is fragmented into a coherent unit by leading to an understanding of the world as historically and socially constructed. In other words, it turns common sense into good sense. Gramsci et al. (1971) posed that:

> It must be a criticism of 'common sense,' basing itself initially, however, on common sense in order to demonstrate that 'everyone' is a philosopher and that it is not a question of introducing from scratch a scientific form of thought into everyone's individual life, but of renovating and making 'critical' an already existing activity. (p. 330)

It happens through the philosophy of *praxis*. The philosophy of *praxis* is the means for intellectual and moral reformation (Forgacs, 2000). In essence, Hoare and Sperber (2016) stated that when philosophy meets politics, theory and practice become a unit. In other words, *praxis* is the transformative unit formed by the theorization of social contradictions while the people themselves are aware of these contradictions in their everyday lives. This process of breaking from a false consciousness is the process of perceiving social contradictions as historical and social phenomena (Forgacs, 2000). Then, the people engage in action in order to transform the historically constructed system of social relations that forged them as marginalized and subaltern people (Gramsci et al., 1971). This process of changing the ensemble of social relations that constitute reality is what Gramsci defines as politics (Hoare & Spender, 2016). Yet, Gramsci et al. (1971) warned that an individual is not able to produce great change by themself. However, Gramsci emphasized that by coming together as a collective, people are able to produce a radical change and consequently a new kind of society.

Collectives such as the party or the worker's councils in Gramsci's context (Hawley, 1980)—the collective intellectual (De Nardis & Caruso, 2011) are responsible for leading people towards transformation through *praxis*. Yet, in general terms, this function of the political party has been contested (Beck & Purcell, 2020). For instance, Purcell (2005) explained that the old political party is unable to understand and respond to the demands of the post-industrial society. He stated that these demands are based on personal autonomy and oriented by human rights. This view transcends party-based politics. Perhaps the field of adult education, particularly through the concept of community development and social movement learning, provides a step forward in solving this tension and broadly articulates insights into the formation of today's organic intellectuals.

Adult Education, Social Movement Learning, and the Formation of Organic Intellectuals

In Canada, adult education is not only a field of study. Historically, it is also a social movement. For instance, Alex Laidlaw, a community developer, characterizes the golden age of Canadian adult education as “amateurs out to change the world” (Welton, 2013, p. 121). In other words, ordinary people were active citizens engaged in deepening justice, exploring cooperative ways of life, and creating a deliberative democracy without formal participation in university-based courses (Welton, 2013). Welton (2013) explained that countrywide community-based organizations were involved in the intellectual awakening through non-formal education. People were getting together to learn through study clubs, citizen forums, the radio, films, and so on. It was education, consciousness raising, action, and transformation. Welton (2013) mentioned that communities were also encouraged to assess their reality through research and strategic action in order to address community issues. However, this social movement and transformative orientation was weakened by a professionalized and institutionalized model (Welton, 1995). In addition, Hall and Clover (2014) stated that the field is constantly under the threat of university arrangement trends that insist on collapsing adult education into schooling.

The synergic relationship between community development and adult education is found in the concept of social movement. According to Morris (2005), the notion of social movement involves “a wide range of collective attempts to bring about a change in social institutions or to create a new social order” (p. 589). In essence, this concept is similar to how English and Mayo (2012) define community development. They state that the term is employed to “describe the activity of people working together for collective change” (p. 132). Morris (2005) explained that despite a network of formal associations constituting social movements, they are strongly defined by “a sense of group consciousness, a feeling of belonging and solidarity among the members of the movement” (p. 589). Solidarity also extends across movements. For instance, the feminist movement works across sectors by supporting other grassroots movements in addressing common sources of injustice (English & Irving, 2015). Yet, English and Mayo (2012) pointed out that a relevant issue in engaging in across-group sociality is to support each other in the struggle for social change without compromising the particularities of the movements. The authors refer to the World Social Forum (WSF) as an example of a movement of movements. Walton (2012) elucidated that the WSF is characterized by a “loose miscellany” (p. 195), an alternative political arrangement of autonomous grassroots organizations that come together as one anti-corporate movement.

Hall and Clover (2005) defined social movement as a site that brings forth new knowledge that articulates a conception of the world and practice. As a site of knowledge creation, Hall and Clover (2005) argued that learning is an intrinsic aspect of both the means and ends of social movements. According to them, social movement learning occurs through non-formal education within the movement with the purpose of educating both people who are actively engaged in the struggle as well as outsiders. In this context, CBR is a way not only to educate but also to change reality. Outsiders are also educated informally as a result of the movement’s action or simple existence. Hall and Clover (2005) further explained that because social movements provide a rich learning environment they work as epistemic communities. As such, community members engage in a *praxis* that intertwines "emotion, action and thought" (Arribas Lozano, 2018, p. 452). Eyerman and Jamison (1991) characterized social movements as cognitive *praxis*. Their understanding is based on the actors' experience of consciousness transformation in the struggle, which allows an articulation of collective identity. In this sense, according to Hall and Clover (2005), social movements provide a learning environment that facilitates both personal transformation and the transformation of the social order.

Social movement learning can occur through non-formal learning models such as community-based education (Clover & Craig, 2009; English & Irving, 2015; Moreland & Lovett, 1997) or community development (Hamilton, 1992). Hamilton (1992) argued that in order to make these non-formal educational initiatives truly community-based, projects and programs should be controlled by and serve the interests of community members or identity groups. Westoby and Shevellar (2016) agreed with Hamilton (1992) by saying that the community-based component in community-based education implies that learning takes place in the community while the community members take responsibility for the process. In this sense, community members engage in a dialogical relationship of equal exchange, mutuality, reciprocity, and commitment to change whereby the individuals are not collapsed into the collective (Westoby & Shevellar, 2016). According to Westoby and Shevellar (2016), this creates an in-between space for learning and action in which individuals learn technical, practical knowledge and create emancipatory knowledge in their community and as a community.

Gramsci et al. (1971) proposed that the political party holds the function of "challenging the activity of these organic intellectuals and providing a link between the class and certain sections of the traditional intelligentsia" (p. 4). In this context, the organic intellectuals of the subaltern class, such as the working class, are focused on the party. However, political parties are part of broader social movements. Political parties are link nodes of a social network of organized communities, groups, and formal associations that are engaged in learning and collective action, commonly for progressive change (Morris, 2005; Rubin & Rubin, 2008). Yet, these organizations do not have to be overtly associated with or committed to a political party and do not have to be formal, as they can just be a "concerted action group" (Morris, 2005, p. 589). In this sense, a contemporary understanding of the function of organic intellectuals in organizing and leading people towards a critical consciousness and action should include, but not be limited to, the role of the political party.

The concept of social movement learning provides insights into aspects of the formation of organic intellectuals. In this sense, social movements create an environment that facilitates the production of knowledge and worldviews that are the foundation of the engagement in the struggle for transformation (Morris, 2005). Social movements also provide an environment for people to critically analyze their life stories through a critical lens and create a social identity (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991). Eyerman and Jamison (1991) defined the process of critical consciousness and identity creation as cognitive *praxis*. According to the authors, this cognitive *praxis* is responsible for transforming "groups of individuals into social movements" (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991, p. 3). This process of formation involves non-formal learning through community-based education of which CBR can be a part. People can learn informally by their active involvement in the movement (Hall & Clover, 2005). Informal learning also happens through lived experience and resources available in the person's environment (Moreland & Lovett, 1997).

Therefore, the concept of social movement learning suggests that organic intellectuals are formed and nurtured by the rich learning environment of social movements; it involves interweaving adult education and community development activities that shape identities and subjectivities. In this process, spontaneous philosophy is transformed into critical consciousness that leads to transformative action. Social movements provide a way to make ordinary people into intellectuals who can engage in leadership roles, including, but not limited to, organizing their own people and engaging with them in cycles of research and action that lead to social, economic, cultural, and political transformation. In this sense, CBR becomes a community-led approach whereby organic intellectuals, with or without the support of the university, engage their community in research and action for social change.

Final Considerations

This article is an attempt to rescue Gramsci's legacy of organic intellectuals in CBR and consequently provoke discussion around how to liberate CBR. By acknowledging that the concept of organic intellectuals is a foundational aspect of CBR, community members start to be more than mere partners in the research process and instead become researchers, leaders, and CBR facilitators themselves. It echoes the southern critical tradition of CBR, in which ordinary people are able to produce knowledge with the purpose of changing their reality. Furthermore, although I am employing the concept of organic intellectuals to some degree outside of Gramsci's original framework, it provides insights into how to support oppressed groups who want to take control over their lives through research, critical education, and action.

In this community-led process, the community invites academic researchers to join their community effort in which the focus becomes community learning and empowerment for change. Hence, any other academic product becomes secondary. This emphasis challenges the academic political economy and consequently institutional priorities and culture, such as the centrality of students in community service learning, the individualistic "publish or perish" culture, and rigid deadlines. For some academics, this may be impractical, especially if they are fighting to achieve tenure.

Nevertheless, in order for this perspective to take place, CBR should be conceived as adult education, a community development model in itself within the context of social movements. In this sense, social movements become a fruitful environment in which communities and academics can explore ways of strengthening and practicing a subject-to-subject relationship to change the world as led by organic intellectuals.

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Pathways Taken by One Canadian College to Advance Reconciliation and the Creation of a New Reconciliation Engagement Program with Indigenous Peoples

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Abstract Canada-wide efforts are being made to close the gaps that exist in the health and wellness of Indigenous Peoples besieged by a past of cultural genocide, oppression, and exploitation. The purpose of this essay is to provide members of Colleges and Institutes of Canada (CICan) access to a proposed program to engage in reconciliation, with the objective of facilitating Indigenous community engagement through social innovation, training, and applied research. The proposed program is exemplified through the relationship built between Collège Boréal and Dokis First Nation located in northern Ontario. The proposed Reconciliation Engagement Program consists of two streams that encourage CICan members to utilize, among other possible decolonizing methods, the tenets of a Critical Indigenous Methodology to value and foreground local Indigenous voices. The first stream would consist of networking activities to establish relationships, understand Chief and Council's vision, and seek opportunities for capacity building within an Indigenous community. The second stream would be project-based so that capital costs and human resources can be accessed to complete each project. While proposing the new program is important, the present essay can also be used to exemplify how Canadian colleges and polytechnics can adopt a decolonizing approach during their engagement with Indigenous communities.

KeyWords reconciliation, college, social innovation, Indigenous Peoples

Terminology and Context

Our intent is to build mutually respectful relationships between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada. We hope to use the relationship built between one community college and one First Nation community as an exemplary pilot project to propose a new program designed to mobilize non-Indigenous peoples, through Colleges and Institutes Canada (CICan), to engage in the process of reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples. Our work and the proposed program must adopt an inclusive terminology given that our efforts for reconciliation specifically pertain to Indigenous Peoples. This term is used to collectively refer to all descendants of the original inhabitants of Canada, including First Nations, Métis and/or Inuit peoples (Kesler, 2020). Reconciliation is about restoring and maintaining mutually respectful relationships and can be further realized by collectively building bonds between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, which can involve innovation to create social benefits and outcomes through community engagement (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada [TRC], 2015). Innovation refers to practices that aim to solve societal issues and meet the needs of an evolving society in order to strengthen it and create exceptional outcomes. By building bonds and innovating together, non-Indigenous peoples can build relationships with Indigenous Peoples and establish permanent partnerships rooted in trust and reconciliation. CICan is a network of 136 postsecondary training institutions throughout Canada and their proximity to Indigenous communities across the country indicates that they can make reconciliation efforts (CICan, 2021). The purpose of the present article is to share the tenets of one Critical Indigenous Methodology and how they applied to the social innovation partnership between Collège Boréal, Dokis First Nation, and Shkagamik-Kwe Health Centre. When referring to the Dokis First Nation community with whom the Collège Boréal authors have been working alongside, we will refer to this community as a First Nation. While this project was located in northern Ontario, the tenets of our work together can be utilized to move towards reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples throughout Canada. According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, reconciliation can be fulfilled through "the awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that was inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviors" (TRC, 2015, p. 6). Once we have reviewed our work together, we will propose the creation of the Reconciliation Engagement Program to facilitate Indigenous community engagement so that other colleges and polytechnics in the CICan network can use social innovation, training, or applied research to engage in reconciliation.

General History of Innovation and Research

In early attempts at building relationships between Indigenous People and postsecondary institutions, such as universities and colleges, Indigenous People were exploited, especially in the realm of innovation and research. Inside Canadian university classrooms, some Indigenous students continue to face colonial violence affecting their healing and everyday living. Few students report having educators who use holistic approaches that acknowledge violence and trauma (Côté-Meek, 2010). In the realm of innovation and, especially in relation to research, there is mistrust of non-Indigenous researchers as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) articulated: "Research is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary. When mentioned in many Indigenous contexts it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful" (p. 1). Mistrust emanates from negative research experiences such as detached researchers, continuously being over-researched, and feeling marginalized (Blodgett et al., 2013). One renown example took place when community members believed they were participating in a diabetes study designed to improve their health when unbeknown to them, they were also being examined for medical disorders without consent (Sterling, 2011). Negative experiences occurred and continue to occur within research and outside the realm of innovation. An example of this problem is the Western reaction to the many boil water advisories that have been active for years in Indigenous communities

(Eggertson, 2008). The shocking revelation spurred Western researchers to find water management solutions to solve this problem. Castleden et al., (2017) pointed out that the Western gaze IS the problem, not water management:

> viewing First Nations as just one of many stakeholders, rather than the ones with the rights to those lands, is nowhere near the level of understanding or respect that's needed to create a relationship where something could be done in terms of real action. (p. 7)

Researchers, innovators, and, in this case, college representatives are at-risk of compounding these negative experiences by using ineffective strategies, such as a lack of communication from non-Indigenous peoples, jargon, and language creating barriers, insufficient involvement of community members, few benefits, and lack of cultural and community awareness (Blodgett, et al., 2010).

Indigenous leaders, Elders, and scholars have been increasingly vocal about these negative experiences and have provided guidelines for achieving positive experiences in research and innovation. Positive experiences have emanated when Indigenous Peoples are leading their own community-driven work, sharing community knowledge, and co-creating project outcomes. Meanwhile, non-Indigenous practitioners must focus on relationship-building efforts especially taking the time necessary to learn from community members, earn their trust, and respect their rights (Blodgett et al., 2010). Decolonizing practices are encouraged amongst non-Indigenous people to facilitate a sense of ownership for the community members solving the problems within their own environment (Schinke, et al., 2010). The authors favoured Schinke, et al.'s (2013) approach to establishing relationships and creating activities since one of the authors had experience using the approach with the Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve. This experience does not discount the potential of other decolonizing methodologies that also respect the rights of Indigenous People. For example, Marsh et al. (2015) used the Two-Eyed Seeing Indigenous decolonizing methodology, which shares principles that align with reconciliation such as honest communication, inclusion, community connectiveness, involving Elders, an advisory group, and a research committee.

While these principles lead to stronger relationships and important findings, they are founded in co-existence between Indigenous knowledge and Western knowledge. Arguably, decolonization can be a complete transformation where academics, in this case, Collège Boréal representatives are facilitators while Indigenous People are leaders in knowledge and project creation. Another useful decolonizing methodology is Indigenous cultural responsiveness theory and its prioritization of the spiritual realm and guidance from ancestors as research and innovation move towards reconciliation (Sasakamoose et al., 2017). It highlights three moves: (1) restore health and wellness systems; (2) establish a "middle ground" for engagement leading to mutual benefits for Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples; and, (3) transform services so they are culturally responsive (Sasakamoose et al., 2017). This transformation is possible under the forthcoming proposed reconciliation engagement program where colleges are expected to execute innovation, research, or training with Indigenous organizations.

History and Partnership Overview

In 2015, non-Indigenous academics from Collège Boréal wanted to apply to the new Social Innovation Fund (SIF) administered by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). SIF is accessible to members of CICan so they can be mobilized to complete social innovation projects on behalf of communities and organizations, in this case, Dokis First Nation and Shkagamik-Kwe Health Centre.

Dokis First Nation is a rural First Nation community, with a total of 1071 members and a residential population of approximately 200 members, situated 120 kilometres southeast of the large city of Sudbury in northern Ontario. The community is run by a Chief and Council that is responsible for the services rendered to its members, including the delivery of health, wellness, and physical activity programming. Recently, Chief and Council have assembled a community research team that consults with outside organizations, one being Collège Boréal, regarding collaborative and social innovation initiatives.

Shkagamik-Kwe Health Centre (SKHC) is an Indigenous Health Access Centre located in Sudbury, Ontario, that strives to create and deliver culturally safe health services to Indigenous Peoples from three nearby First Nations: Wahnapitae First Nation, Henvey Inlet First Nation, and Magnetawan First Nation. SKHC offers health care and community programs that are rooted in Indigenous culture and traditions to Indigenous Peoples to promote healthy lifestyles within each community. SKHC represents three First Nation communities in northeastern Ontario yet Dokis First Nation is not one of them. However, Dokis First Nation has community members that are employees or clients of SKHC, which means that there is a connection between this Indigenous health organization and the First Nation. Employees at SKHC were recruited because of their expertise in facilitating health promotion programming with Indigenous Peoples and the potential for our new programs to be incorporated and serve similar benefits in other local Indigenous communities.

Collège Boréal, a CICan member, is a francophone College of Applied Arts and Technology based in the City of Greater Sudbury, Ontario, but it serves many cities across the province through access centres in Hearst, Kapuskasing, Timmins, Toronto, and Windsor. This postsecondary institution aims to promote collaboration through applied research with community businesses and social innovation in partnership with community organizations. Representatives at Collège Boréal sought to collaborate with Dokis First Nation since most registered Indigenous students at Collège Boréal were community members.

Between 2015 and 2018, two applications to the SIF program were rejected, but on the third attempt, Collège Boréal was awarded grant funds. The two unsuccessful applications could have been viewed as failures that did not warrant any more resources from Collège Boréal, Dokis First Nation, or Shkagamik-Kwe Health Centre. Representatives from the college, health centre, and First Nation held the opposite view as they believed that they were establishing and developing a relationship. They had reached three years of engagement together where priorities were established, learnings were had, and resources were readied with the hope that one day they would gain the funds. This engagement occurred through regular meetings that eventually unearthed new innovation projects for the college to complete on behalf of Dokis First Nation. The first request was to build an enclosed facility near the outdoor skating rink so members could stay warm in winter conditions. The facility would have been a teachable moment for community members who wanted to be active, learn about carpentry, and coordinate a construction project. The project did not occur since there was no funding to mobilize the college's resources (i.e., first failed application). The second request was the construction of a community garden to encourage members of the First Nation to get together and eat healthy produce, which can be difficult to access from a remote First Nation. Once again, the project could not be completed by the college as a result of limited funding to mobilize their resources (i.e., second failed application). The common thread across each requested project was that they were spearheaded by the First Nation and the college representatives were expected to facilitate the requests by searching for funding to complete them. Each project could have created teachable moments and ensured that community members would be active even after the project was completed. In 2018, the third application was successful, so funds were available through the college for projects.

Currently, there are three active projects spearheaded by community leaders and facilitated by college representatives. First, the First Nation has access to 10 Fitbits to measure the physical activity levels of traditional activities such as the harvest and preparation of hide (see Battochio et al., 2022). As the college representatives learned, traditional feasts are celebrations of the harvest season and a means for appreciating the spirits of the forest and Creator (Kovach, 2009). The collection of data provided by the use of activity trackers is aimed at promoting and encouraging physical activity in users, in addition to providing a quantified measure of energy dispensed through traditional community activities. Second, the First Nation has received COVID-19 Guidelines. Under these guidelines and with access to appropriate protective material, such as hand sanitizer, disinfectant, and reusable masks for adults and youth, one exercise program in the First Nation was able to continue throughout the COVID-19 pandemic. Lastly, the First Nation has seen the initiation of the Red Cross Indigenous community swimming program, which occurred in the summer of 2021. Each requested project or active project is an example for other members of CICan seeking to establish and maintain relationships in nearby Indigenous communities.

Critical Indigenous Methodology

A Critical Indigenous Methodology was used to value and foreground local Indigenous voices and epistemologies within the partnership between Collège Boréal, Dokis First Nation, and Shkagamik-Kwe Health Centre (Swadener & Mutua, 2008). Emphasizing reconciliation, non-Indigenous people from the college used this approach to Indigenous engagement since it highlights the power of local knowledge for invoking meaningful transformation. Specifically, Indigenous members of Dokis First Nation and Indigenous employees from SKHC led the projects while non-Indigenous people from Collège Boréal took a supportive role that facilitated capacity building and completed projects in the First Nation community. To enact the Critical Indigenous Methodology, the team followed the guidelines prepared by Schinke et al. (2013) which included seven tenets. The tenets were as follows: (1) community-driven research; (2) localizing research practises; (3) decentralized academics; (4) prolonged engagement, (5) community capacity building; (6) project deliverables; and, (7) sustainability. Each tenet will be described before an example is given as evidence that the guidelines were followed to establish and maintain respectful relationships.

Community driven research

Effective partnerships between Indigenous People and non-Indigenous people must derive from the needs of the former, which can permeate through the objectives set and approach taken. When undertaking a Critical Indigenous Methodology, it is imperative to engage all partners in the community project with each partner individually contributing their expertise and knowledge to identify needs and develop a plan for solutions (Coppola et al., 2019; Schinke, et al., 2019). This approach allows for community capacity building, in which Indigenous People can benefit from social, environmental, and political improvement, thus promoting continuous development. In the current project, the needs of Dokis First Nation community leaders have been expressed over three years of community meetings starting in 2015 and project objectives were conceived to carefully address these needs. Non-Indigenous peoples were careful to decentre themselves and serve as facilitators so that the Indigenous organization could experience the betterment envisioned by its own leaders.

Locating research practices

Each First Nation and Indigenous organization possesses a unique variation of local behaviours, beliefs, traditions, and practices that should be included within the methodologies selected (Schinke et al., 2013). Localizing research practices involves understanding the reason for the project and how it should be undertaken so that Indigenous People are centred throughout. These details were captured in applications submitted to Collège Boréal's Research Ethics Board, the Chief and Council of Dokis First Nation, and the research committee of the SKHC. Once approved, monthly meetings have been held to provide progress updates, exchange data, discuss the interpretation of data, build consensus, update COVID-19 guidelines, and integrate community-relevant programs. Oftentimes, community meetings were held with youths, adults and Elders of the community joining as participants. Youth members were asked to engage in an arts-based method: mandala drawings. Mandala refers to an art form or image that is drawn within a circle to reflect one's experiences, in this case, physical activity reflections from youth living in Dokis First Nation. Adults participated in talking circles to share their views and build consensus amongst one another. All pursuant questions from non-Indigenous people were posed in relation to these stories and their vision. Data derived from these methods consist of the question whether youth programming aligned with the views of the youths (e.g., drawing) and their caregivers (e.g., words). The intent is to ensure that well-informed physical activity programs are developed for youths and adults.

Decentralized academics

The Critical Indigenous Methodology emphasizes the centralization of the community with non-Indigenous peoples taking a facilitator role by providing their skills and resources to support the community leaders in their community projects (Schinke et al., 2013). The goal for the non-Indigenous people in this approach is to support Indigenous community leaders throughout their initiatives, then gradually withdraw their aid in order to eventually leave the community independently responsible for the projects (Schinke et al., 2019). By accepting this focus and responsibility to the community, non-Indigenous people were contributing to an ongoing process of decolonization that promoted inclusivity and trust between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous people (Schinke et al., 2019). In the present project, non-Indigenous people have provided skills and resources while community leaders remain in their place as experts on Indigenous knowledge, traditions, and programming in Dokis First Nation. Over the last two harvest seasons, Indigenous People have been using Fitbits to record their activity levels and community leaders have been able to understand the activity levels (e.g., heart rate, steps) needed to harvest enough food for each winter in the First Nation. Non-Indigenous people from Collège Boréal were able to procure, train, and assist with data analysis throughout each harvest season.

Prolonged engagement

Prolonged engagement, such as allotting time and making efforts to forge relationships between Indigenous People and non-Indigenous people is important to allow for the development of projects that are based on authentic community needs and mutual trust (Coppola et al., 2019; Tobias et al., 2013). In the present project undertaken with Dokis First Nation, community leaders and non-Indigenous people from the college held monthly meetings for three years with hopes of garnering trust and learning social practices (e.g., community meetings, arts-based method). Community meetings were held so that members could shape the new physical activity programs at the community's pace as opposed to the timelines set by academics. As each project nears its completion, the expectation is for non-Indigenous people to put systems and structures in place so that community members remain engaged and all programs will be self-sustainable. As the COVID-19 Pandemic was underway, the meetings moved to an virtual platform to restrict the spread of the virus and prevent non-Indigenous people from entering the community. Even with these restrictions, the projects continued with greater engagement from community members.

Community capacity building

In selecting a Critical Indigenous Methodology, the intent is to support community members in a way that promotes and engages their resources to their full potential (Rich & Misener, 2019). When community leaders' voices are heard and their efforts are empowered then participation increases exponentially, leading to more engagement (Blodgett et al., 2013). Non-Indigenous people consistently recognize the community members' knowledge and the community's need for physical activity support. Dokis First Nation's leaders recruited community members to become participants based on their potential to make well-informed contributions to new physical activity programming. In these exchanges, community members are engaged in capacity building and understanding initiatives that will best serve their community for the present and into the future. One example is the institution of the Red Cross community swimming program that teaches Indigenous youth to swim and helps them train future generations to promote sustainability.

Project deliverables

The goal in completing community projects is to create mutually beneficial outcomes—for both the Indigenous community and Collège Boréal (Tobias et al., 2013). For the community, these outcomes can be practical, such as gaining knowledge on processes and project development, and resourceful, such as sustainable programs, equipment, material, or data to direct further research. There have been tangible benefits for Dokis First Nation, SKHC, and SSHRC through Collège Boréal. Dokis First Nation sought local programming where youths and adults could better utilize the outdoors including constructing and using hiking trails, or swimming in the nearby bay. To achieve sustainable programs, self-governance throughout each community project was encouraged through capacity building. Health promoters at the SKHC developed the research capacity to investigate and develop physical activity programs for partnering First Nation communities: Henvey Inlet First Nation, Magnetawan First Nation, and Wahnapitae First Nation. For SSHRC, the project constitutes Indigenous engagement aimed at improving the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. SSHRC also enabled non-Indigenous people at Collège Boréal to construct a new model so that other colleges and polytechnics could use community engagement to develop programming grounded entirely in Indigenous Peoples' understandings of physical activity. Thus, providing the framework for mobilizing an entire network of non-Indigenous people in Canada towards reconciliation with Indigenous People.

Project sustainability

Project sustainability answers whether undertaking a Critical Indigenous Methodology led to sustainable physical activity programs within the community (Schinke et al., 2013). Sustainability may also extend to the community leaders and members' willingness to engage in new community projects with not only Collège Boréal partners, but also non-Indigenous peoples hoping to extend other community programs (e.g., education or employment services). These outcomes depend on the community members' engagement and involvement throughout the process of research and the development of programs (Rich & Misener, 2019). When the project becomes personal to community researchers, engagement is more heartfelt and vigorous, which leads to positive outcomes (Blodgett et al., 2013). Project sustainability is determined through continuous evaluation and reflection of the program itself, as well as its outcomes (Coppola et al., 2019). Even though SSHRC funds are limited to two years in this instance, community-centred programs will always be required and, when they are called upon, non-Indigenous people will continue to support their delivery.

Proposed Reconciliation Engagement Program

We propose the Reconciliation Engagement Program to facilitate Indigenous engagement by Canadian colleges and polytechnics to advance reconciliation. The proposed program constitutes an example of Canadians, through CICan, engaged in the national process of reconciliation to improve relationships with Indigenous Peoples and move away from colonization in its present form. It is a program that will encourage college administrators, professors, and students to take action on reconciliation and place Indigenous priorities at the forefront. The importance of the inclusion of students in the program cannot be understated. It is imperative to give Canadian youth exposure to their country's actual history and demystify Indigenous organizations so that Canadian youth continue the movement towards reconciliation. Non-Indigenous people who seek to access the proposed program will be expected to meet at least one training requirement. The requirement is for the applicants to have completed the OCAP principles (i.e., ownership, control, access, and possession), Indigenous Awareness Training, or Tri-Council Policy Statement 2 prior to applying to the program.

With the ultimate goal of advancing reconciliation, we propose two streams deriving from one initial program to facilitate Indigenous community engagement by colleges and polytechnics in Canada. Engagement is designed around fulfilling the seventh signatory of "building relationships and being accountable to Indigenous communities in support of self-determination through education, training, and applied research" (CICan, 2019). The first stream of the new program consists of networking activities to build relationships and promote capacity building within an Indigenous community through a college providing funding to community members. The second stream is project-based so that capital costs and human resources are accessible to complete each project.

Stream 1: Colleges and Institutes of Canada Reconciliation Network

This stream allows for relationship building between Canadian colleges and Indigenous Peoples. It necessitates both parties gathering together in order to communicate directly about needs and to grow their partnerships. The networking initiatives, such as methods of communication, are to be decided by the Indigenous and non-Indigenous members involved as they deem most fitting for the establishment of their relationship. It is important to acknowledge the differences and the diversity of all communities to emphasize the importance of adaptability and responsiveness to the preferences of each Indigenous community that may be involved with the project. Utilizing the Critical Indigenous Methodology introduced within this paper is the first step when assuring respectful interactions and building solid relationships amongst all participants. Through the development of these relationships, Simpkins (2010) emphasizes the importance of listening for non-Indigenous people collaborating with Indigenous communities to ensure that accurate cultural representation is the backbone of the new relationship. The longstanding notion that cultures are learned and not a genetic disposition should be at the forefront of each research participant's mind to set aside predisposed cultural biases and really listen to what they are being told (Rosaldo, 1989). By taking the time to listen and learn throughout the creation of partnerships, they will notice the richness in the different ways of doing and thinking presented by each community. Honouring and respecting these differences is key to working alongside one another and procuring effective work and relationships for all involved in the project. The initial networking opportunities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples would also allow for a demystification of Indigenous communities created by Treaty segregation. Non-Indigenous peoples would gain a better perspective on Indigenous communities as well as the daily lives of the members. In conjunction, similar effects can occur if members of the Indigenous community have predispositions in regard to non-Indigenous peoples due to past negative experiences and interactions. Hence, this stream allows for positive relationship building amongst Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples which can lead to improvement in community engagement and the overall project success.

In addition to the networking component, this stream assures that both college researchers and community researchers would be compensated for their efforts by a salary. For the Indigenous communities in rural and remote locations, funds from the colleges would include food and travel for all participants to facilitate the proposed networking initiatives between the college and the community members. Funds could also enhance community capacity building by offering research and training opportunities for community members. In the present project, every participating member was compensated with a salary, along with mileage for transportation and food expenses throughout the meetings.

Stream 2: Colleges and Institutes of Canada Reconciliation Project

The second stream is designed to make CICan members and Indigenous communities accountable and provide the resources to advance reconciliation efforts that they agreed on during the networking sessions in the first stream. It will ensure that community projects can be accomplished, and it will remove conflicts and barriers that challenge Indigenous communities. For example, colleges and First Nations looking to initiate a project together could apply for funds to purchase the required materials and equipment. In the present social innovation project, funding was attributed to student salaries, and all materials and equipment. When community leaders of Dokis First Nation wanted to measure physical activity levels during the harvest season, Collège Boréal used the funding to provide Fitbit watches as activity trackers for participating community members. Colleges could also provide educational and manual support to Indigenous communities from teachers and students themselves. This stream would promote sustainable engagement in Indigenous communities, as well as enhance partnerships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Continuous engagement between colleges and Indigenous communities would be facilitated by this stream. With these two proposed streams, we believe that interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples could be strengthened, which will encourage them to advance reconciliation.

Conclusion

In our efforts to achieve social innovation with a First Nation community, we approached the project in the way that the proposed Reconciliation Engagement Program suggests. The approach was founded on decolonization and we had to create a safe and relatable environment to establish our friendship, which led to trust and new relationships. The efforts we put into building that trust derive from the proposed networking stream (i.e., stream 1). Such efforts consisted of compensating all partners with a salary, as well as allocating budget costs to monthly meetings to encourage communication between Collège Boréal and the First Nation community. We also put the second proposed stream into effect, allocating funding for materials and equipment to facilitate the projects undertaken by partners. These results demonstrate that through the proposed engagement program, non-Indigenous peoples can take steps towards reconciliation. The bonds and opportunities resulting from community projects of this kind strengthen engagement. We hope our work and the proposed program exemplify the following quote: "It will take many heads, hands, and hearts, working together, at all levels of society to maintain momentum in the years ahead. It will also take sustained political will at all levels of government and concerted material resources" (TRC, 2015, p. 8).

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Tana Roberts is a researcher that prepared the literature for the manuscript and regularly engaged with community researchers to begin implementing physical activity programming for youth in 2019.

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"Defenders of Perversion": Professing Same-Sex Marriage Rights in the Local Press

Geraint B. Osborne, Shauna Wilton

Abstract This case study provides an important socio-historical snapshot of the same-sex marriage debate in a small city in central Alberta between December 2004 and August 2005. We explore the relationship between professors and small-town newspapers in fostering democratic dialogues on key social issues through an analysis of faculty columns and the responding Letters to the Editor in a local paper. In so doing, this research focuses on two social groups located in a particular social environment, each representing a particular frame: the professors working in the local university who maintained an op-ed column in the local paper and supported a equality frame; and the general public living in Camrose and the surrounding rural area who supported a morality frame. This article contributes to our understanding of scholarly engagement in the town-gown context, the democratic role of the press, and how a particularly contentious social and political issue—same-sex marriage—was experienced and framed by concerned citizens in a small conservative rural city that is also the home to a liberal arts and sciences university campus.

KeyWords community engagement, same-sex marriage, frame analysis, media, democracy

On April 12, 2005, a letter to the editor appearing in the *Camrose Booster*—a community newspaper in the small rural city of Camrose, Alberta—took issue with an op-ed column, written by a political studies professor at the local university, that defended same-sex marriage and cautioned about hateful remarks towards gays and lesbians. The letter stated:

> [She] suggests the real question about perversion "marriage" is whether or not all should be equal under the law . . . she counsels respect for the mockers and destroyers of marriage. According to her, we must be careful not to make hurtful comments. . . . [But] the hatred of evil must be acceptable, or there is no morality, no difference in actions, nothing to be opposed in speech or otherwise. A moral person must hate evil. And I would suggest there is no greater evil today than that found in those speaking favourably of perversion.

This clash of views regarding same-sex marriage was typical of much of the back-and-forth between faculty members and many of the Camrose and area population in late 2004 and early 2005 as Parliament debated same-sex marriage legislation. While the same-sex marriage debate in Camrose mirrored some of what was happening across Canada, particularly in more conservative communities, it also demonstrated the role of academics in engaging the community through the local newspaper and providing information and dialogue crucial to the democratic process.

The same-sex marriage debate had been waged periodically in the local Camrose newspapers for several years but became particularly heated between December 2004 and April 2005 as the intent of the Canadian government to legalize same-sex marriage became clear. Faculty members at the Augustana Campus of the University of Alberta, a local liberal arts and sciences institution, were central participants in the debate. Faculty had published an op-ed column in the local newspapers since 1996, but no topic was more controversial than same-sex marriages, and faculty soon found themselves described as "defenders of perversion" by some of the more conservative public.

This case study is part of a broader research project examining the public role of professors and print media within small communities, the "town-and-gown" relationship between universities and the broader communities they inhabit, and the nature of the public discourse on important community, provincial, national, and international issues. Building on our previous research on the motivations and views of the professors who contribute to and support the column (Osborne & Wilton, 2017), we examine the nature of the public discourse on same-sex marriage in a small Albertan city (population 16,000 at the time) and the role of public intellectuals in shaping the debate. We argue that the faculty's engagement with the community through the column, and the letters they generated, contributed to the democratic role of the local newspapers in a small city in rural Alberta and shaped the debate around same-sex marriage in the community. In doing so, the dialogue between professors writing columns and the general public demonstrates the importance of faculty engaging with the public on key social and political issues.

THE CAMROSE BOOSTER
THE CAMROSE BOOSTER
THE CAMROSE BOOSTER
Happy Halloween
second thought
UPCOMING EVENTS
REFLECTIONS
Just SAYIN'
DEATHS
PREVENTION WEEK
Sounds of Fire Safety
THE BEAUTY OF Fall

Copies of The Camrose Booster, a local newspaper in Camrose, Alberta.
Photo by: Nathalie Bernard

The Political Context of the Same-Sex Marriage Debate

Much has been written on the same-sex marriage issue in Canada, especially its central legal (Glass & Kubasek, 2008; Hogg, 2006), political (Lahey & Anderson, 2004; Larocque, 2005; Matthews, 2005; Pierceson, 2005; Smith, 2005, 2007; White, 2014), and socio-cultural dimensions (MacIntosh et al., 2010; van der Toorn et al., 2017; Young & Nathanson, 2009), including the role of the mass media and especially the role of newspapers (Bannerman, 2011; Johnson, 2012; Lee & Hicks, 2011; Li & Liu, 2010; Pettinicchio, 2010). Larocque (2005) provides a valuable account of the key events and situates the emergence of same-sex marriage within the broader context of gay and lesbian movements. Indeed, in Canada, same-sex marriage became legalized following several Charter cases and debate within the courts, rather than among the general public (Bowal & Campbell, 2007; Hogg, 2006). It was through the courts that the legal framework for the emergence of same-sex marriage in Canada was constructed and the traditional definition of marriage was successfully challenged (Hogg, 2006).

Founder's Hall, Augustana Campus of the University of Alberta, Camrose Alberta.
Photo: Nathalie Bernard

In 2003, a motion from the Canadian Alliance Party—the formal opposition in Parliament—politicized the debate. This motion aimed to reaffirm the traditional definition of marriage as a union between one man and one woman, but it was narrowly defeated, with 137 votes against and 132 in favour (Overby et al., 2011). In December 2004, following the Supreme Court of Canada's ruling on same-sex marriage, the new Liberal Prime Minister, Paul Martin, announced his government would move forward on the issue. In February 2005, the government introduced Bill C-38, the *Civil Marriage Act*, which ultimately passed 158 to 133. The legislation received Royal Assent from the Governor General and became law on July 20th. Canada became the fourth country in the world, after the Netherlands, Belgium, and Spain, to legalize same-sex marriages nationwide (Overby et al., 2011).

The national conversation about same-sex marriage was intense but generally respectful and democratic. The media, long used as an entry point for people to participate in public debate and the political process, was an active site of dialogue and dissension. This was also true of the local papers in Camrose, in which faculty produced several columns on the issue of same-sex marriage generating diverse responses. Theorists working in the functionalist tradition have argued that, ideally, the media can promote democracy by keeping citizens engaged in the practice of governance by informing, educating, and mobilizing the public (Siegel, 1996). In their civic forum role, the media, especially local newspapers, can strengthen the public sphere by mediating between citizens and the state, facilitating debate about the major issues of the day, and informing the public about party leadership, political issues, and government actions (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1995; Nielsen, 2015). Theorists from Habermas (1962) to Sen (1999) have documented how the rise of the politically oriented public sphere in western societies was fundamentally linked to the development of the media. The existence of unfettered and independent media has been essential in the process of democratization, by contributing towards the right of freedom of expression, thought, and conscience. An independent media strengthens the responsiveness and accountability of governments to all citizens, and provides a pluralist platform and channel of political expression for a multiplicity of groups and interests.

Bannerman (2011) argues that Canadian newspapers played a key democratic role during the same-sex marriage debate by allowing groups with conflicting interests to take part and voice their positions, as well as creating a site for reflection and the identification of the common good. As such, newspaper coverage of the same-sex marriage debate fulfilled both liberal-plural and republican conceptions of democracy (Bannerman, 2011). The same-sex marriage issue represented a struggle over Canadian values and identity, and newspapers provided citizens, interest groups, and state elites the opportunity to publicly debate the extent to which same-sex marriage was either detrimental to family values or reflected Canada's commitment to tolerance and the accommodation of diversity. Bannerman's analysis of same-sex marriage articles in 14 major newspapers during 2003-2004 found that while both these positions were presented, by the end of 2004, the view that same-sex marriage was consistent with Canadian values of tolerance and accommodation had become dominant; however, smaller newspapers were more likely to position themselves against same-sex marriage.

Across Canada, the equality frame, supported by institutional activists, powerful political and intellectual elites, won out against the morality frame. The equality frame was used to defend same-sex marriage and reflected the position of the courts and the importance of the guarantee to equality within the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Matthew, 2005). The morality frame, on the other hand, was linked to religious freedoms and social conservatism (van der Toorn et al., 2017). Pettincchio (2010) contends that the equality frame won out for two important reasons. First, while Canadians were clearly divided on same-sex marriage, for most it was not the most pressing issue—polls ranked it 16th among many other salient issues (Pettinicchio, 2010). Second, because of the public's lack of interest in the issue, political elites and institutional activists for whom the issue was salient were able to successfully forward their equality frame. The entrenchment of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* provided a foundation for the increased importance of the equality frame in Canadian society. Ultimately, the broader public held the courts and the *Canadian Constitution* and the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in high esteem, making the morality frame less palatable to many Canadians (Pettinicchio, 2010).

While same-sex marriage may not have been a salient issue for the "general public" (Pettinicchio, 2010), we contend that it clearly was for *some* publics, one of which was the Camrose area in the traditionally conservative province of Alberta. In Camrose, Alberta, the debate was very intense, at least as it played out in the pages of the *Camrose Booster*. Camrose had been the subject of a *Globe & Mail* article in 2003 which found that while the same-sex marriage debate was nuanced across Alberta, Camrosians were found to be more opposed because of their "conservativism, rural roots, religious beliefs and fear of the unknown" (Mahoney, 2003, p. A6). People interviewed for the article acknowledged "feeling uncomfortable in the presence of gays or lesbians," believed that "homosexuality" was "wrong, plain and simple," and thought that same-sex marriage "upends time-honoured morals that are the foundation of society" (Mahoney, 2003, p. A6). As such, in general, the Camrose area public who were vocal in the local newspapers supported the morality frame on the issue of same-sex marriage, while the professors at Augustana adopted the equality frame in the column to argue in defence of same-sex marriage.

In examining academic engagement with the community and the democratic role played by local newspapers, this research focuses on two social groups located in a particular social environment: the professors working in the local university and the general public living in Camrose and the surrounding rural area. Obviously, these two social groups are diverse in their constitution, particularly their social, political, economic, and religious views, but the columns and letters to the editor suggest that these groups fall into two opposing camps: the cosmopolitan secular left versus the rural religious right.

The Social Context: Augustana, Camrose, and Conservative Alberta

Camrose is an excellent example of a *rurban* environment, a population centre sharing both rural and urban characteristics (Bonner, 1997; Pahl, 1968). The small city attracts a diverse range of citizens, although politically, it is quite homogenous. Camrose is located in central rural Alberta and its citizens share many of the unique political views and social values held by the people of the province. The political culture of Alberta is unique from the rest of English-speaking Canada as it is, and historically has been, based on socially and fiscally conservative views. Albertans and their government have traditionally supported free market initiatives such as lower taxes and fewer regulations on business (Norrie et al., 2002) and opposed progressive reforms, such as changes to the definition of marriage to include same-sex marriage (Lloyd & Bonnett, 2005; Rayside, 2008).

Rural Alberta is Canada's most conservative region. Most elections have seen the right-wing party of the day win all or most of the ridings in Alberta, often by massive margins (Parliament of Canada, n.d.). The hegemonic status of conservative politics in Alberta leads to diminished competition between political parties and little public debate on major issues. When ideological issues are debated, such as health care and same-sex marriage, Albertans tend to take a hard-conservative stance, speaking out against liberal social and fiscal values (Archer, 1992; Wesley, 2011). The 2001 census distinguished Camrose as a conservative and largely religious community with 85% of residents identifying as Christian, while 14% had no religious affiliation.

What makes Camrose unique among other similarly sized Alberta communities is the presence of a post-secondary education institution. Augustana Campus was, for the first 75 years, known as Camrose Lutheran College (CLC) and the founders of CLC were primarily interested in preserving Norwegian language and culture and in strengthening Christian belief (Johansen, 2012). This emphasis on strengthening Christian belief meant that for many years, the college was theologically conservative. Full degree-granting status was attained in 1984 and the college became a university college in 1985, when its first B.A. degrees were granted. The college changed its name to Augustana University College in 1991 to attract a more diverse student body. In 2004, faced with financial pressures, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC) agreed to conveyance and the college merged with the University of Alberta to become a separate faculty and satellite campus of the university, now known as the Augustana Campus of the University of Alberta.

In 1991, Augustana University College founded the Centre for Interdisciplinary Research in the Liberal Arts (CIRLA) based on the liberal arts belief that university education is best typified as a dialogue between itself and other groups in society and, also, within its own walls. In 1996, CIRLA faculty initiated a weekly column, "Educated Guesses," written by faculty in the local, and independently owned, *Camrose Canadian* newspaper After the *Camrose Canadian* was bought by the Quebecor media and telecommunications company, the column was picked up by the *Camrose Booster* and renamed "Second Thoughts." The Camrose Booster is independently owned and has a circulation of over 13,000 households in 21 communities. Interestingly, the creation of the column in 1996 coincided with a broader "upswing in interest in public intellectuals in English Canada" in the late 1990s (McLaughlin & Townsley, 2011, p. 345). Column contributors from various disciplines write on a wide range of topics, such as same-sex marriage, drug policy, evolution, euthanasia, music, religion, sports, and international relations. Our survey found that, for many contributors, the column is a tiny voice from a bastion of progressivism that struggles to be heard in the heart of conservative Alberta (Osborne & Wilton, 2017).

The academics at Augustana who write columns in the local papers agree with Said's (1994) notion of the public intellectual (Osborne & Wilton, 2017). Said views an intellectual's mission in life as breaking down stereotypes and advancing "human freedom and knowledge" (Said, 1994, p. 17). This mission often requires intellectuals to adopt the role of the outsider who questions social institutions, actively disturbs the status quo, and "represent[s] all those people and issues that are routinely forgotten or swept under the rug" (Said, 1994, p. 11). Augustana professors write columns largely out of a sense of responsibility, one that consists of providing knowledge and insight, leadership, and service, and breaking down barriers of intellectual elitism to a public that contributes financially to their chosen vocation. The professors' desire to be vocal through columns and letters to the editor reflects their views of the role of the "public intellectual," although many dislike this term and prefer public or engaged scholar (Osborne & Wilton, 2017). In a broader sense, they view themselves as contributing to democratic life by sharing knowledge and, ideally, creating a public space for a safe and civil discussion of the most contentious public issues. These views were certainly predominant in 2004–2005 when the Canadian government made clear its intention to legalize same-sex marriages. Our analysis of the columns and letters to the editor generated during this period reveals the important role of academics in shaping and framing the local debate.

Methodology

This article utilizes a case study methodology to explore the role of academics as public intellectuals in the same-sex marriage debate in the rural Albertan community of Camrose. Case studies such as this are noted for their ability to initiate the process of discovery (Yin, 2003a, 2003b). While researchers are limited in the generalizations that they can draw, case studies are nonetheless especially useful for intensively examining and understanding a single case, engaging in theoretical analysis, and generating insights and hypotheses that may be explored in subsequent studies (Gomm et al., 2000). The research for this case study began in the summer of 2010 after receiving ethics approval from the University of Alberta (Study ID: MS1_Pro00007931). The focus of this article is on the results of our analysis of the columns and the letters to the editor on the topic of same-sex marriage. During this period, the faculty wrote three columns on the topic of same-sex marriage. The columns generated 56 letters to the editor between December 21, 2004 and July 12, 2005, accounting for 35%, or just over a third, of the total letters concerning columns published between 1996 and 2017, suggesting it was a very "salient" issue for the Camrose public.

We began by searching for columns and letters that mentioned same-sex marriage, gays or lesbians, or homosexuality. At the time of the publication of the letters and columns, homosexuality remained a common term within the data, although it is dated and potentially offensive today. Once the columns and letters were identified, we used a grounded approach to coding themes within the articles and identifying key discourses. The findings from the data were then related to the existing literature on the same-sex marriage debate in Canada.

Findings

Our research focused on understanding the nature of the debate around same-sex marriage in Camrose and the role of professors in shaping that debate. The analysis of the content and themes of the letters to the editor during this period reveals two primary frames—morality and equality (as identified by Pettinicchio, 2010)—and seven subthemes, four within the first frame and three within the latter. The morality frame was characterized by four discourses grounded in tradition and religion that were concerned with the negative impact same-sex marriage would have on society: (1) labelling queer sex as deviance; (2) identifying the harm posed by same-sex marriage to individuals, social institutions, and society; (3) denouncing gay rights activism; and, (4) criticizing faculty and the university. While the equality frame was not as well represented as the morality frame within the letters to the editor, it was a significant voice in the debate over same-sex marriage in Camrose. The equality frame discusses the issue through the legal-political lenses of: (1) individual and group Rights; (2) hate speech and hate crime; and, (3) diversity and tolerance.

As mentioned above, the professors writing the columns championed the equality theme, with some support from the community, whereas the morality frame emerges from the letters sent in response to the columns. The following sections begin by outlining the trajectory of the debate in the newspaper before moving on to explore the frames and subthemes in more detail using quotations from the columns and letters as evidence. While it is difficult to assess the impact of these frames on public opinion, the discussion of the findings below demonstrates the central role of faculty, as public intellectuals, in the debate.

The debate

The same-sex marriage debate was initiated by a column in support of same-sex marriage that was written by a faculty member who was "really angry about the public discourse on gay marriage in Camrose and felt very much like an alien in the community" (Interview 6). In particular, she was upset with a letter from a community member that wondered what would "happen to the moral fiber of our country" should same-sex marriage be legalized. The letter admonished the government, stating "an entire generation is now growing up thinking there is nothing wrong with same-sex marriages!" (Letter 1, Dec. 21, 2004). In her column, Wilton argued that the same-sex marriage debate was a question of equality, not religion. In direct response to the earlier letter, she asked,

> Do we want to continue to build a country that is based on a foundation of respect for individuals and their inherent equality, or do we want an entire generation of Canadians growing up thinking it is OK to discriminate against minorities simply because they are different? (Wilton, 2005a)

Consequently, there was a flurry of letters to the editor in response to the column, arguing that since "homosexual sex" was "unnatural," chiefly because it could not lead to procreation, it was perfectly sensible to deny same-sex couples the right to marriage. As a result, a follow-up column was written by a faculty member on the social construction of sexuality challenging notions of natural and unnatural sex (Osborne, 2005). This column provoked outrage among members of the Camrose community, one of which accused the faculty member of writing for personal gain, while another called him a "perversion lover." This faculty member also received a personal letter in his campus mailbox written by an alumnus who dismissed the faculty member as a gay, young professor who could not possibly understand God's plan for "homosexuals." The faculty member found the letter "hurtful" and "an example of the invisible hostility of the community" (Interview 3). Moreover, the fact that the letter had been hand-delivered on campus, combined with the general tone of the letters to the editor, left the faculty member feeling "anxious," "creepy," and

> . . . suddenly visible and identifiably "gay" for the first time in my life. While I could not know how many people had read the column, this not knowing left me uneasy. Had this cashier read it? Did she recognize me? Was that "Have a nice day" laced with an undertone of "Get out of town, you dirty bugger, and don't touch my kids"? Walking in the late evenings, I imagine I felt for the first time in my life, the insecurity that women report feeling when out alone at night. . . . Was my disturbance of the "normal" patterns of desire something that needed to be removed or put in its place? These were all irrational fears that had not one single verifying example to support them, but they arose from the veiled, latent, or naked homophobia in the letters to the editor. (Interview 3)

This feeling of being overly vulnerable to the scrutiny of others is a major concern in smaller communities, where the anonymity of the authors and the ability to work and live in a community without frequently encountering people who know about you is a challenge. In fact, our previous research showed that the size of the community was one reason why faculty were reluctant to participate in the column when they felt that their views would be unpopular (Osborne & Wilton, 2017). Some of the public response was positive, however, with one letter stating,

> After the weeks of letters condemning same-sex marriage and judgmental statements about homosexuals, it is a relief to read the column on the Nature of Sex . . . [He] presents a logical and rational point of view that my husband and I both appreciated. (Letter 28, March 1, 2005)

The issue truly exploded in Camrose with a lengthy letter to the editor written by the town's only Ob/Gyn, who, writing as a doctor, argued that homosexuality is a "high risk sexual behaviour" and linked anal sex to the rise in HIV, herpes, and other sexually transmitted diseases. Furthermore, he alluded to anonymous bathhouse sexual encounters and sexual practices such as fisting, stating that "this is a far cry from healthy sex which is the ultimate expression of intimacy, so exquisite, that out of it, new life may emerge" (Letter 39, March 8, 2005). The letter, written in scientific language and offering to provide supporting scientific sources, implied that according to the medical profession, same-sex relationships were dangerous to one's health and society at large.

Responses to the doctor's letter varied. One letter, written by an English professor, called it a "hysterical scare letter" (Letter 29, March 22, 2005). Another professor at Augustana admonished the doctor for "using the power of scientific research and his position of authority to bolster these hateful stereotypes" (Letter 35, March 22, 2005). Yet another letter accused him of providing "glaring misrepresentations" in "order to support his vilification of homosexuals" (Letter 36, April 12, 2005). The most damning letter, however, came from Dr. Lorne Warneke, a Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. In his letter, Warneke challenged the evidence provided, arguing that the Ob/Gyn's partial and biased use of evidence, "written with a tone of anger and blame," was "nothing more than a thinly disguised expression of homo hatred" (Letter 40, April 5, 2005).

Others, however, were impressed by the doctor's comments and the authority of his position. One letter thanked him for being a medical professional with "the guts to stand up and explain the serious consequences of alternative lifestyles" (Letter 15, March 22, 2005). Yet another letter stated that the article

> convinced me that the difference in the risks to health, of those who *ignore* the boundaries provided for healthy sexual expression and those who *observe* those boundaries, is much greater than many of us realized. The documented evidence that he presents firmly establishes his claim that homo and hetero sexual practices are not equal. (Letter 16, March 29, 2005)

In response, Dr. Wilton wrote a column on the topic of hate speech. With the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the *Canadian Criminal Code* provided as context, she cautioned readers that "stating publicly that homosexuals are perverse, disgusting, unnatural and well-deserving of our homo-revulsion, comes very close to crossing the line between free speech and hate speech" (Wilton, 2005b). This column elicited a few letters, with one defending the hatred of "homosexuals" because they were clearly evil, and furthermore accusing Dr. Wilton of being immoral and evil and "speaking favorably of perversion" (Letter 19, April 12, 2005).

Dr. Ward later retracted his letter on October 5, 2005, stating, "I want to be clear that I was expressing my own views in the opinions I expressed in that letter. I was not purporting to speak for the medical profession as a whole" (Letter 41, October 5, 2005). This apology ended the public debate over same-sex marriage in Camrose. During the debate, the *Camrose Booster* noticed an increased interest in the newspaper, not only by the number of letters to the editor received, but by how quickly newspapers disappeared from the stands in the community businesses and organizations in which they were placed (Personal Correspondence). The following sections explore the debate in relation to the morality and equality frames.

The morality frame

Labelling "homosexuals" as deviants. One of the most frequently occurring themes in the letters involved characterizing same-sex marriage as "undesirable," "absurd," "abnormal," "sinful," and a "perversion," often from a self-proclaimed Christian position. For example, a frequent contributor wrote, "to refer to the union of homosexuals as marriage is blatantly absurd and it should be called what it is—'perversion marriage'" (Letter 13, March 1, 2005). Others, such as a Lutheran Pastor, provided Biblical evidence for their position:

> We need to let the Bible Interpret the Bible…. The Bible's clear teaching is of law and gospel, sin, and grace. This is also a clear teaching of the Lutheran Confessions. If we follow these important interpretive principles, we will I believe, know that same-sex marriage/union is not biblical and is not to be approved. (Letter 20, April 26, 2006)

What was more common, however, was the derogatory labelling or associating gays and lesbians with more questionable and harmful social behaviour. Homosexuality was referred to as "wicked," "an unhealthy addiction," "dangerous," and was as deplorable as "abortion," "polygamy," "child poverty," "domestic violence," "bestiality," and "incest." Gays and lesbians were viewed as "promiscuous," were compared to "alcoholics," "adulterers," "prostitutes," "thieves," and were deemed to be engaging in a "dangerous alternative lifestyle."

Identifying harm. Another common theme was the identification of the harm posed by same-sex marriage and queer sex to individuals, social institutions, and society. Letters expounded on how same-sex marriage would endanger the "moral character" of the country, negatively impact other social institutions, such as the family, religion, education, law, and healthcare, and even threaten Christmas. One individual who self-identified as an educator, wrote that same-sex marriage would affect society in "unavoidable ways" (Letter 2, Dec 21, 2004). Furthermore, this individual argued that "the school curriculum and the text-books will change" with the result that “workshops will flood the country on how to deal with ‘family,’ absent of values” (Letter 2, Dec 21, 2004). Children were viewed as particularly vulnerable victims. For instance, for one contributor

> Our children, by the way of heterosexual unions, will have to live with, socialize with, go to school with, work with people in these ‘new-age’ situations. . . . it is totally unfair to a tiny child, with no say, to be raised in a homosexual environment.” (Letter 4, Jan. 4, 2005)

The arguments around the potential harm to children were accompanied by arguments around the health risks, which became more pronounced after Dr. Ward’s letter. One of the of the most damning letters thanked Dr. Ward and added,

> It’s refreshing to see a medical professional having the guts to stand up and explain the serious consequences of alternative lifestyles. Much has been said by the gay rights movement; it’s important for them, and their supporters to realize the very real and deadly consequences of their actions. It’s not just about their rights anymore; it’s about the rights of unknowing victims of promiscuous behavior. (Letter 15, March 22, 2005)

Denouncing gay rights activism. Another common theme within the morality frame letters was a concern with the gay rights movement itself and what was perceived as “rampant liberal thinking,” “rights and freedoms run amok,” and a minority group “forcing their views” on the majority. One letter writer argued that the pro-same-sex marriage lobby was twisting the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* to suit their own agenda, which was

> . . . to shove the whole gay rights to marriage issue down our throats without any regard for our beliefs and opinions. Our opinions be damned; this much has been said by that gutless prime minister of ours; one who is bowing to pressure from a special interest group rather than listen to the majority of Canadians who believe the issue of marriage should be exclusive to one man and one woman. . . . I’d like to think that Canada is a free country, but obviously, thanks to the gay marriage issue, that is no longer the case . . . millions of heterosexual Canadians are no longer free to believe what we want. If we do, and are outspoken about it, we are labeled homophobes and bigots. I am sick and tired of special interest groups cramming their garbage down my throat. (Letter 3, Jan. 4, 2005)

Within this theme were letters pleading for various forms of social action to counter same-sex marriage. One individual argued, “It’s high time we stand together and fight for what’s right before this country slides further and faster into hell” (Letter 3, Jan. 4, 2005). There were also pleas for people to write letters to their local MLAs and federal government officials, to organize locally, and to hold and attend prayer meetings. For instance, one letter suggested "a twenty-four hour pray-a-thon" that would "show the commitment of our churches to keeping God's plan for marriage the plan for our country". (Letter 5, January 18, 2005)

Criticizing faculty members. The final theme identified in the morality discourse appeared in those letters directed specifically at the university members who supported and defended same-sex marriage and gay rights in their columns and letters. Professors were called "perversion lovers," "defenders of perversion," "evil," "nutty," "over-educated," "bleeding-hearted liberals," and as "lying" or being "highly subjective" in the columns they wrote. One faculty member had defended same-sex marriage, counselled against discrimination of any kind, and argued that the founders of the institution would be proud of the inclusiveness that now characterized the institution. She garnered the following response:

> It is disingenuous of her to pretend not to know that the founders of Augustana lived in an era when no one godly found sexual perversion in any way acceptable; so her hope that they would be proud to see students and staff practicing perversion is ridiculous. . . . I say this about her because she has put herself out there as a defender of perversion. (Letter 18, April 5, 2005)

Professors were viewed as betraying the religious, Lutheran roots of the institution. One individual scolded a professor who had explained in her column the role of the Supreme Court in upholding the Charter:

> Does she know that Augustana University was conceived, founded, and nurtured by God-fearing men seeking to serve future generations with a better education, and to develop in them a strong moral conscience in a true democracy, and to treat everyone with love and respect, even those of a different sexual orientation? I take my hat off to the farsighted Christian fathers of Augustana. Does she? And does she not feel that she is biting the hand that feeds her? (Letter 6, January 25, 2005)

While most of the letters favoured the morality theme, it was not completely uncontested. Several letters supported the equality theme espoused by the faculty in their columns.

The equality frame

Individual and group rights. The most prominent theme within the equality frame emphasized the importance of recognizing and protecting individual and religious rights and freedoms as identified by the Canadian Charter. Letters emphasized the importance of "equality," "tolerance," "minority rights," "religious rights and freedoms," and "democracy," and writers expressed being "saddened," "disgusted" or "angered" by the "backward thinking" of those opposed to same-sex marriage. For instance, one letter began by stating how "angry" they were at the "narrow minded" people who opposed same-sex marriage and added:

> Things are changing and people need to realize that gays and lesbians have just as much right to get married as straight people. What does it really have to do with them anyway? . . . It's really none of their business and I don't understand what all the fuss is about. (Letter 22, Dec. 28, 2004)

Others pointed to the fact that gays and lesbians contributed to their communities in a myriad of ways and deserved the same rights as heterosexuals:

> The recent letters in response to proposed gay marriage are saddening. Let us for a minute open our minds. I personally know of many gay/lesbian educators, business owners, volunteers, health and helping professionals in this community. Why should it be that these hard-working taxpayers have fewer rights to equality? (Letter 23, Dec. 28, 2004).

Some individuals reminded people that Canada was still a secular state:

> Trying to prevent people the right to marry the person they choose for religious reasons is a contravention of our religious freedom in Canada. This in no way is interfering with the freedom of religious organizations. They can practice their religion in any way they want. Just don't impose on others. (Letter 27, Feb. 15, 2005)

Other letter writers made historical references to illustrate how denying same-sex marriage and persecuting non-heterosexuals was undemocratic and dangerous. One individual, who could not "understand why anyone would want to marry another of the same-sex," nevertheless reminded readers that they lived in a democracy:

> Citizens have inherent rights. . . . The way others choose to exercise their rights is none of my business, as long as I am free to exercise my rights in a manner that suits me. What does concern me, is the possibility that people may be denied their rights, simply because others disagree with how they are exercised. (Letter 31, April 15, 2005)

Similarly, a letter written by an elderly woman argued that "giving same-sex couples the same rights she and her husband enjoyed" was not threatening at all and compared gay rights to women's rights:

> For the first year of my life, according to the law of that time, I was not a person. Due to the dedication and advocacy of a group of women who did not give up on their challenge to parliament to change the existing laws, I am now a person with equal rights to the men in our society. (Letter 28, March 1, 2005)

Hate speech and hate crime. The second notable theme with the equality frame was a concern for hate speech and hate crimes. This theme was expressed by people who found much of the tone and rhetoric in the letters of those opposed to same-sex marriage to be hurtful, hateful, and completely unacceptable in a country like Canada. These contributors recognized the importance of free speech in a democracy, but also realized there were important limits that must be recognized to ensure the safety of certain vulnerable and marginalized groups in society. As one contributor suggested:

> There are limits to freedom that prevents harm to others. That is why we have laws against slander and why we have laws against inciting hate towards innocent groups. We do not allow child mutilation or abuse of children and women for religious reasons. What religious people believe in their own minds is their business. They have no right to make all of society conform to these beliefs. Perhaps it is time to use the anti-hate laws to stop this verbal abuse of homosexual people. It seems like hate mongering to me. (Letter 27, Feb. 15, 2005)

Another letter, written by a sessional instructor at the university, wondered what the letters said about the identity of Alberta and reminded readers that while free speech was important, hateful words were to be questioned: “Although the words aren’t directed toward me, they make me cringe: ‘abominable,’ ‘foul,’ ‘perverse,’ and ‘despicable’ . . . I can’t imagine how a gay person living in this community feels after reading such letters” (Letter 34, March 29, 2005). This letter highlights the impact of this debate to the community and the impact of the debate on individuals. While faculty felt that they needed to speak out on the issue, there was also an awareness among them that in speaking out they were making themselves targets.

Diversity and tolerance. The final theme was concerned with promoting diversity and tolerance. It promoted a progressive agenda of inclusiveness that was deemed essential to democracy in general and to Canadian national identity specifically. Letters containing this theme were supportive of gay rights and the rights of others, including professors, to support same-sex marriage. Some used a range of political and religious arguments to promote their perspective. One individual wrote that instead of following all the Bible’s outdated rules, she was more inclined to reflect on her personal interactions with “many gay/lesbian parents who have raised open-minded, non-judgmental, successful, loving children” (Letter 23, Dec. 28, 2004). Similarly, a Lutheran Minister wrote a letter arguing that people condemning gay sex and same-sex marriage from a religious perspective were taking verses in the Bible “out of context” and that "current attitudes were based on outdated information, stereotypes, prejudices, cultural mores, and speculative fears about 'its' consequences" (Letter 30, April 5, 2005).

The debate in the *Camrose Booster* attracted the attention of the Federal Minister of Health, Ujjal Dosanjh, who as Attorney General of British Columbia had shepherded same-sex pension and family law changes in the 1990s. For him, same-sex marriage reflected important Canadian values:

> Canadians have always stood for the protection and defence of minority rights in this country. We do not intentionally deny someone a right because it is unpopular or controversial. That is not the Canadian way. We are the envy of the world in this regard.... Allowing same-sex civil marriage is an affirmation of Canada's commitment to equality for all. It will promote a society that advocates tolerance and understanding rather than the marginalization and segregation of its citizens. (Letter 25, Feb 1, 2005)

Finally, it is worth noting that some letters, while not necessarily favouring same-sex marriage, contained a theme that was sensitive to the importance of a plurality of views in a democracy which included the professors' columns in the newspaper. As one student contributor put it,

> I have a problem with the attacks on the professors' articles. They have the right to express their beliefs and I think it is healthy to have a debate on issues. Freedom of speech is one of the most important things that makes me proud to be a Canadian. It has been implied by some who have written in that students who attend Augustana are going to become brainwashed by their professors' beliefs. As a student at the University, I am happy to say that the Professors welcome debate and often encourage everyone to have their own beliefs. Never once have I been pushed towards believing something that I don't agree with. . . . I do not always agree with everything written in "Second Thought," but I respect their freedom to say what they believe. (Letter 33, Apr 5, 2005)

The Second Thought column went on its summer hiatus at the end of April, and letters on the topic of same-sex marriage ceased. Either people were weary of the debate, or more likely, they recognized that same-sex marriage was a done deal. However, the debate re-emerged briefly in March 2007 when the local United Church announced it was approving same-sex marriages. The *Camrose Booster* received a letter from one of the more vocal opponents to same-sex marriage who referred to homosexuals as "perversion addicts," and compared them to those who "practice incest and bestiality" (Letter 36, April 3, 2007). Two faculty members responded with their own letters, one congratulating "the Camrose United Church for their courageous and . . . Gospel-inspired decision to approve same-sex marriage" (Letter 37, April 10, 2007). The other took aim at the letter from the community member and questioned the newspaper's decision to publish the letter in the first place.

> I always encourage my students to analyze prejudice critically and to see the dangers inherent in it. To make unfounded derogatory statements based on one's beliefs about a certain group is to engender misunderstanding and hatred. I would like you to examine [the] letter of April 3, 2007, and imagine that instead of a nameless, faceless group called homosexuals, he had referred to a racial group, for example Jews or Aboriginals . . . let's imagine that the author referred to Jews, Aboriginals or myself as "perversion addicts" . . . comparing us to a list of criminals from perpetrators of incest to pedophiles. Would *The Booster* have printed that letter? No, of course not. Then I must ask why prejudice and hatred against homosexuals is acceptable in print? (Letter 38, Apr 10, 2007)

The following week, on April 17, 2007, Berdie Fowler, the long-time owner of the *Camrose Booster*, published the following notification regarding the cessation of letters to the editor on the topic of homosexuality and same-sex marriage:

> After careful, even agonizing consideration, I have decided not to print letters that debate the topic of homosexuality, same-sex marriage, and/or the religious beliefs relative to it. I think the subject is important, I believe in freedoms of speech and religion, but I have come to the conclusion that a community paper is not a proper forum in which to debate the topic of homosexuality—there are other more appropriate places. What tipped the balance in my decision to take this step was learning first-hand of the destructive impact—including physical harm—that some of the public discourse has on innocent children.

Fowler's comments challenge our argument surrounding the importance of debating controversial issues in local papers. The "physical harm" to which the editor was referring was the unfortunate assault perpetrated by a group of teens against another teenager at a local high school because her parents happened to be a lesbian couple. Although the teenagers who perpetrated the assault were expelled and eventually charged, the Camrose police refused to treat the incident as a hate crime. Other than a column on the "Outing of Dumbledore" (Harde, 2007), there were no more columns on same-sex marriage or gay and lesbian issues. Over the following years, a few other debates have erupted, inspired by columns on such topics as climate change and evolution, but none have reached the intensity of the same-sex marriage debate.

Conclusion

This article concerns itself with understanding how academic engagement with communities through the local print media plays a role in fostering civil debate that is essential to the democratic process. This case study provides an important historical snapshot of the same-sex marriage debate in a small town in Alberta, and sheds light on the important function of small-town newspapers in constructing and debating Canadian values. It demonstrates how newspapers create forums for debate and the expression of different perspectives. The *Camrose Booster*, by publishing op-ed columns and letters to the editor on the topic of same-sex marriage and gay rights, both promoted or catered to particular shared values among certain groups and provided a forum for bringing conflicting views into the open, where a common conclusion could hopefully be reached. In the end, however, the newspaper decided that the public and hateful nature of aspects of the debate went against democratic values and determined to limit debate on these issues.

Canadians were mostly divided on the issue by the time the *Civil Marriage Act* was passed. While the Canadian public, in general, may have thought other issues were more important, based on an analysis of the local press and letters to the editor in the *Camrose Booster*, same-sex marriage was a very salient issue for Camrose and the surrounding area. Most of the letters indicated that Camrose citizens supported the morality frame because they perceived queer sex as inherently deviant, gay rights as an abuse of the *Charter*, and same-sex marriage as harmful to society. Moreover, the morality frame depicted anyone who supported same-sex marriage as equally immoral. Meanwhile, the equality frame was defended by a minority including professors who felt they had a responsibility to provide an alternative voice and stand up for minority rights. This frame supported same-sex marriage by maintaining the primacy of rights and freedoms as defined by the Charter, cautioning against hate speech and hate crimes, championing diversity and tolerance, and identifying other more important issues.

In the end, it is unlikely that either group convinced the other to change their position, but the debate as played out in the newspaper allowed readers to be exposed to both perspectives and, potentially, change their minds or at least encourage them to formulate a compromise. What is clear, however, is that the same-sex marriage debate in Camrose demonstrated that there were people in Camrose who openly favoured same-sex marriage and were willing to defend the rights of gays and lesbians. As one participant put it,

> As a gay man it was hurtful to see some of the comments being made about gays and lesbians, but it was wonderful to know that not everyone felt that way and that there were people willing to stand up for us. (Interview 15)

It was shortly after the debate that the university was officially identified as a safe space for LGQBT individuals and ideas, and the group Augustana Queers and Allies (AQUA) was established on campus. Soon after, the Camrose Pride Community was formed and Camrose saw the development of Camrose Pride Week, as well as a number of key annual events for the queer community, including the "So You Think You Can Drag?" event at The Bailey Theatre and an All Ages LGQBT Dance Party at the Elk's Hall. More recently, in the spring of 2017, two letters were published attacking the inclusion of a gay character in the new *Beauty and the Beast* film. Unlike previous years, there was an immediate and significant public response with letters condemning any expression of homophobia, suggesting that the equality frame has been firmly adopted by many in Camrose.

About the Authors

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Reports from the Field

Leveraging Community-University Partnerships to Develop a Strength-Based and Individualized Approach to Humanizing Housing Service Delivery for Individuals with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD)

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Danielle Mattson, Nicol Patricny, Dorothy Badry, Richard Mugford,
Tracy Mastrangelo, Audrey McFarlane

Abstract This field report summarizes and advances key learnings for leveraging community–university partnerships addressing housing service gaps for high-risk, marginalized populations with complex needs. We describe our navigation of existing and forged intersections to develop a strength-based and individualized approach to humanizing housing service delivery for individuals with fetal alcohol spectrum disorder (FASD). Our account is framed by four questions: why community and university partners came together to develop a responsive approach through the CanFASD network; who became key stakeholders in the partnership; how our humanizing housing approach is guiding the navigation of complexities inherent in service delivery for individuals with FASD; and what insights about creating intersections are we applying to our community-university partnerships.

KeyWords housing service delivery, community-university partnerships, marginalized population needs, housing, fetal alcohol spectrum disorder

Why: Housing as a Human Right for All Requires a Responsive Approach to Service Delivery

Adequate housing has been described as essential to one's sense of dignity, safety, inclusion, and ability to contribute to the fabric of neighbourhoods and societies (Public Research Initiative, 2005). Canada has recognized that adequate housing is a fundamental human right by ratifying the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and has agreed to take appropriate steps toward realizing the rights set out in it. Yet, many Canadians struggle to secure adequate housing, and housing service gaps are especially pronounced for high-risk marginalized populations with complex needs, including individuals with fetal alcohol spectrum disorder (FASD), whose needs are not well understood in the homeless serving sector (Badry et al., 2018). FASD is a diagnostic term that refers to a broad spectrum of needs caused by prenatal alcohol exposure and the resultant injury to the developing brain (Cook et al., 2016). FASD is a life-long disability and roughly 4% of Canadians are formally diagnosed with it (Brownstone, 2005; Canada Fetal Alcohol Spectrum

Disorder Research Network [CanFASD], 2018). Because the disorder often goes undetected and can look and present differently between individuals, many lack the necessary supports to thrive in the community. Families and communities suggest that housing supports that offer a more personalized approach are more likely to support healthy outcomes for this population with complex needs.

Community organizations, in collaboration with specialized university-based researchers, have largely been leading the initiatives toward realizing the fundamental human rights set out in the ICESR. The Canada Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder Research Network (CanFASD) has been a leader as the first collaborative, interdisciplinary FASD research network in the world, with partners across the nation. CanFASD engages researchers, families, graduate students, practitioners, program leaders, frontline workers, and community members who receive services to advance research and service delivery—including housing supports (Badry et al., 2019). CanFASD worked with the university-based Alberta Clinical and Community Evaluation Research Team (ACCERT) to successfully partner with community members who provided the impetus to develop a responsive approach to explore the question: How might we support housing service delivery for marginalized individuals who have complex needs?

Our community–university partnership was founded on our shared beliefs that knowledge arises from multiple sources and that respecting this diversity must be a cornerstone of any work conducted. For this reason, we began by acknowledging what has been done previously in this realm, which involved reviewing existing research and listening to those with lived experience to inform our work. In our reading of literature, we sought to understand the gaps in housing services for complex populations. However, we were not limited to what might still be possible. By listening to our community and research partners, we sought to understand the gaps they perceived between research and practice for individuals with FASD. Together we started to understand the vast complexities of both the individual needs in the FASD community as well as the systematic and functional needs within the housing community. We committed to building a community-grounded place to move forward in a responsive manner. Although the description that follows is presented in a linear manner, it is important to note the iterative nature of this process as we engaged in multiple community consultations throughout this experience to harness the expertise of our community and university partners.

Who: Diversity Was Essential for Understanding the Complexities of Housing Needs and Partnership Roles

With a decade-long track record of forging successful community–university partnerships, ACCERT was well-positioned to draw from diverse and interdisciplinary expertise and experiences to advance the innovative thinking and practice this project required. A key mission for ACCERT is equipping graduate student researchers to address the complex issues they would encounter in their lifetime. For this project, our interdisciplinary team involved faculty members and students from psychology and measurement fields of study with members having expertise in neurodevelopmental research and best practices in working with individuals with FASD together with our evaluation and community-based expertise to support an interdisciplinary framework. Team roles were diverse and, in many cases, intersected spheres of influence; for instance, Pei is both a faculty member and senior research lead for CanFASD. She acts to bridge the policy, practice, and research roles and thus helped to set the stage for this partnership to emerge.

Critically, this project and the community–university partnership were initiated by and roles negotiated with local members of the FASD community who were speaking on behalf of and with individuals with FASD. As adults, unhoused individuals are vulnerable to traumatization on the street, and many struggle with a variety of mental illnesses and substance abuse problems alongside a great deal of stress and limited social support (Hulchanski et al., 2009). In addition to the complex difficulties experienced by individuals who are unhoused, those who also have FASD may present with deficits that affect their mental health and adaptive functioning, which in turn further complicates their access to and maintenance of housing (Astley, 2004). The number of unhoused individuals who have diagnosed or undiagnosed FASD is unknown; however, frontline experts report that a large proportion of the unhoused individuals they encounter are suspected to have FASD.

Together, the core partnership team (the authors of this paper) identified key community stakeholders who were well-positioned to provide insight for addressing the following questions:

- What are the current barriers to housing success for individuals with FASD?
- What factors are associated with housing success for individuals with FASD?
- How might a knowledge of the unique cognitive functions of those with FASD better inform housing practices?
- How might knowledge of the process of providing housing supports enhance proactive responses with the FASD community?
- What has facilitated successful housing for individuals with FASD?
- How might the co-creation of solutions among experts in different fields generate guiding practices for individuals with FASD on their housing journey?

How: Our Humanizing Approach Is Guiding the Navigation of the Complexities Inherent in Housing Supports for Individuals with FASD

Recognizing the complexities inherent to the interrelated systems of local, provincial, and federal initiatives, we employed a systems framework to inform the process of developing our humanizing approach. Five activities informed the development; embedded within this approach was an iterative process incorporating emerging insights, refinements, and identifying next steps (see Figure 1).

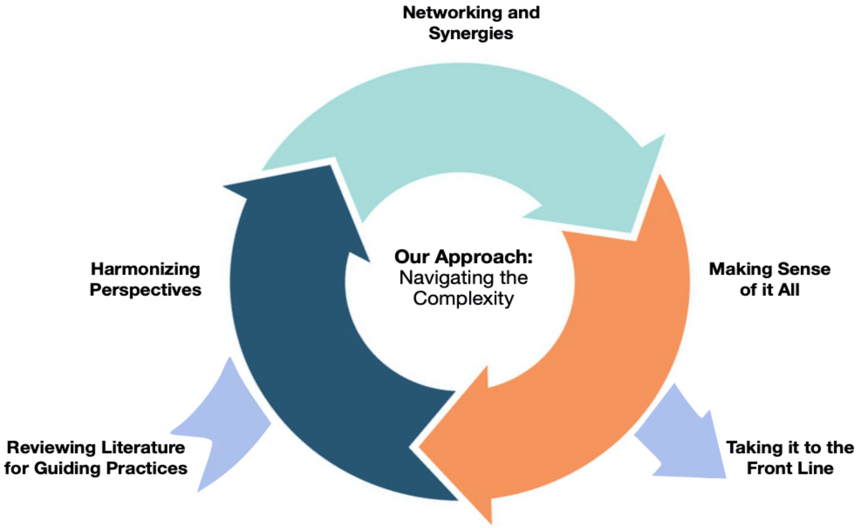
Networking and Synergies
Harmonizing Perspectives
Our Approach: Navigating the Complexity
Making Sense of it All
Reviewing Literature for Guiding Practices
Taking it to the Front Line

Figure 1. Five activities informing the development of our humanizing approach to housing supports.

Building upon our best practices for guiding service for individuals with FASD we completed an extensive literature review focused on guiding housing practices (Pei et al., 2021). From our review of 128 peer-reviewed articles, compelling evidence emerged for housing programs, particularly the Housing First model (Adair et al., 2017; Aubry et al., 2015; Stergiopolous et al., 2016; Woodhall-Melnick & Dunn, 2016). We identified key challenges for individuals with FASD with non-abstinence-based housing and lack of consistent and long-term support described as emerging factors related to housing tenure (Collins et al., 2012; Kirsh et al., 2011). The lack of empirically based housing research specific to or including individuals with FASD was noteworthy. There was much to learn and integrate with the knowledge created alongside our community partners about the unique needs of individuals with FASD.

Subsequently we held collaborative, multiday meetings focused on networking and synergizing that brought together relevant researchers, service providers, system planners, individuals with FASD, and caregivers of individuals with FASD to guide the group in an appropriate direction. Of particular importance was engaging individuals from two different communities of expertise—those from the FASD community and those from the housing community—to identify gaps and barriers in service delivery. The core partnership team initially identified and made contact with 66 potential attendees across Canada, with 40 agreeing to participate.

To begin, ACCERT provided a brief presentation on the state of the current research in the housing field alongside impactful presentations from community members describing the unique needs of individuals with FASD. Then the core partnership team facilitated small group discussions intentionally composed of individuals with diverse expertise and roles. Within these groups, participants tackled challenges in the field, considered strengths to be leveraged, and were charged with producing strategies or solutions for moving forward. Finally, the groups reconvened to share, identify key themes, and advance possible actions.

Approval for the research study embedded within the networking and synergizing activity was gained from the University of Alberta's Research Ethics Board and, subsequently, all appropriate measures were followed to ensure informed consent, protect confidentiality, and lessen power issues. Data was collected using surveys, documentation from discussions, and observations. The collaborative event and the chance to be part of the creative process appeared to motivate our community members to engage in action. They expressed their frustration with the status quo and desire to move beyond dialogue to create something that could catalyze practice shifts, stating: "Enough talking, let's make change!"

Following the networking and synergizing meetings, ACCERT led the in-depth analysis and created a summary that was shared within the core partnership team. A clear understanding emerged that a new approach to housing support was needed and to do so it was necessary to move toward a strength-based individualized approach in which attaining healthy outcomes was paramount. From the community perspective, this entailed a shift from a focus on problems to be solved, as they expressed that such a deficit lens makes the issue of housing individuals with FASD seem hopeless, toward identifying success experiences that might be replicated.

Hopefulness also emerged as a key perspective within these meetings. Fueled by hope, a readiness for action was expressed: "It will take time and hard work, but it is possible." While acknowledging that "the problem is complex," participants also asserted that "there is a will to change things." The meetings were viewed as a "great start to addressing the issue of housing and FASD" in collaborative action toward a harmonizing framework—a "strong foundation on which to build together." Attendees appreciated that this meeting allowed two sectors to come together, and they stated that "working on the operations level to develop a usable framework for housing is the best way forward."

As we shared our findings with the extended partnership and beyond, the feedback we heard was that community members wanted further opportunities to engage in collaborative conversations and to expand them to include housing landlords and government officials responsible for housing policy and practices. It became apparent through our intentional/strategic connections with leaders in the homeless serving sector that we had successfully provided a safe space for the voices of community leaders to be heard on working with this vulnerable, marginalized population. We heard that conversations were continuing within communities of practice, generating ripples within the larger practice and policy communities, and creating opportunities for continued discussion. Such opportunities included our meetings with provincial health services to explore the synergies between the work occurring between our projects. This synergistic collaboration led to us all visiting a permanent supportive housing program, successfully supporting individuals with FASD. Meetings even extended to a team who was creating a business case for housing individuals with FASD and a group considering specific architectural housing needs for programs working with individuals with FASD. Since this time, momentum for these meaningful conversations has been maintained through conferences, service meetings, and funding applications to enact and study novel ideas.

What: New Insights About Creating Intersections Guide a Responsive Approach to Housing Service Delivery

Contributions to the community from this work continue and the work and the synergies generated continue to influence practice and establish conditions for forging relationships that are bridges for innovation and community empowerment. We were also fortunate that the project timing aligned with government initiatives in which housing initiatives had been prioritized, thereby creating conditions for this work to align with policy and practice initiatives.

People Create Essential Intersections for Community and University Partnerships

Careful consideration in identifying and engaging key community and university stakeholders as well as clarifying our philosophy of practice at the outset was essential. This consideration allowed the partnership to engage with genuine curiosity and honour diverse perspectives essential for solving challenges related to housing and FASD. The community stakeholders were comprised of individuals from various backgrounds whose experiences and positions provided them with unique abilities to support the intersection of ideas in different ways.

Four key partnership roles emerged, each with unique characteristics: brokers, visionaries, innovators, and experts. Whereas the professional links of brokers within both the university and community settings afforded unique synergy opportunities, the willingness of visionaries to take risks while imagining different outcomes was integral in creating and upholding a safe space for shared discovery. Similar to visionaries, the willingness of innovators to try new things and think differently about their work in pursuit of optimized outcomes helped find new approaches to long-existing challenges often experienced by those with experiences related to housing instability and FASD. The valuing and recognition of those with lived experience as experts alongside researcher expertise allowed the final outcome to be relevant and applicable in the real world. Together the brokers, visionaries, innovators, and experts created intersections of ideas, experiences, and practicalities to imagine novel solutions based on existing knowledge and practices without being hindered by those same things.

Intentionality Creates Processes Conducive to Intersections of Ideas

By integrating diverse stakeholders and generative methods we were able to create intersections among ideas to advance our thinking; for example, combining the literature review with the content obtained in meetings moved us beyond traditional research evidence. The complexity of the presenting issue and lack of evidence to guide us required that we be innovative in our thinking by seeking evidence that might be obtained through opportunities for generative and integrative thinking. Systematic and ongoing data collection, in which all data was viewed as equal and meaningful, allowed for ideas to emerge based on consensus or emphasis rather than source. This approach contributed to credibility at all levels and reduced perceptions of valuing based on educational level or social/professional position.

As co-creators of knowledge, we created a safe space where everyone was equal in their learning, and it was safe to “not know.” In this setting, filling information gaps became the goal rather than the exception. The ensuing respect was characterized by expressions of appreciation between all attendees—many of whom quickly advanced from strangers, in some instances from two divided groups (i.e., housing and FASD, or families and support providers), into an integrated team within which each voice was necessary, valued, and respected.

Operating from a well-defined guiding philosophy, we spoke to the shared valuing of lived experiences, practical knowledge, and traditional research. We sought equity and balance during meetings. Small, diverse groups afforded each participant a position of relative expertise that fostered their willingness to contribute. We recorded all information provided and identified emergent themes and core ideas, which were integrated into the report then distributed for feedback. Through this process and with ongoing interactions with our stakeholders, we employed a process of negotiation, proposing, and altering in response to feedback. We quickly realized that we did not need to include every idea, but that we did need to include *some*. It was necessary that we take a stand and produce content that allowed stakeholders to see their voice and to suggest changes. We learned that co-creation requires some degree of structure and support to leverage the wisdom of the larger communities in strategic ways.

Momentum Creates Ongoing Opportunities for Expanding Intersections

In taking our housing framework beyond the project, we faced the most daunting challenge: distributing the materials in a meaningful way to facilitate uptake. Fortunately, we had set the tone for partnership and engagement that are foundational to this element. In our collaborative work, we were informed that a large document is rarely accessible to community members. Even though team members might appreciate the content; turning it into actions was another matter. Thus, we learned the importance of having component parts to our final project. Based on our process of co-creation, we generated stand-alone materials that allowed for program users to best access the information they needed within their program. This promoted tailoring of content and continued co-creation and engagement of the community as stakeholders identified key elements. Additionally, recognizing the power of our stakeholder group, we named all partners who participated in the document's development and ensured they received a copy of our findings that they could share; thus, increasing the probability that the contents would be more widely communicated. In essence, we shared ownership and empowered stakeholders to become advocates to continue building the community of practice that was catalyzed during this developmental process.

Conclusion: Successful Community–University Partnerships Require Readiness

The readiness of a community of partners, their willingness to engage in a collaborative process, and their commitment to move forward created the necessary synergies for innovation and impact around housing solutions for individuals with FASD. In particular, this partnership benefited from the political landscape of 2019 wherein the Governor General signed into law Bill C-97, which contained the *National Housing Strategy Act* and the federal right to housing legislation. A key outcome is the legislation creating new accountability bodies that will proactively monitor implementation of the right to housing and can investigate systemic barriers to accessing housing.

Relational approaches to housing demonstrate understanding of the complex interplay of individual, relational, societal, cultural, and historical factors that have resulted in the individuals' experience of being unhoused and allows for a true connection to be made so that person-centered work can occur. The interconnected nature of all that surrounds housing needs was reflected upon by community experts who not only called for systems-level change but were willing to become agents of change themselves. Together we learned that we do not always need to do more, we need to do it differently and without truly listening to one another we will persist down the wrong path. We understood the necessity of shifting from conventional, depersonalized categorical approaches to housing service provision and evaluation to instead offering a harmonizing, translational, relational, person-centered, process-oriented, and systems-informed approach for practice.

About the Authors

Dorothy Badry is a professor in the Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary with 16 years in child welfare. Research focus includes FASD and child welfare issues, suicide prevention in FASD, disability, FASD prevention, housing and homelessness, post-secondary education on FASD and child advocacy.

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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 own thoughts and ideas on the meanings and understandings of engaged scholarship, as practiced in local or faraway communities, diverse cultural settings, and various disciplinary contexts. We especially welcome community-based scholars' views and opinions on their collaboration with university-based partners in particular and on engaged scholarship in general.

In this issue, we are reminded as engaged scholars, who are called on to expand and intensify their connections with community, to show more care to those on the fringes of communities, be they communities of students we mentor; rural communities where we collaborate in joint action; or communities of scholars in which we debate our practices (Hoffman, 2021; Mirvis et al., 2021). One value being perceived as lost among our contemporary society, is that of generosity, and its intense cousin, radical generosity, which purports to make benevolence to all regardless of identity, with no expectation of return, one's ways of life (Kashani, 2019).

In the following exchange, Lynn Caldwell (member of the Engaged Scholar Journal Advisory Board, professor of theological ethics at St. Andrew's College and sessional lecturer in Educational Foundations, Women's and Gender Studies, at the University of Saskatchewan), and Carrianne Leung, Assistant Professor in creative writing, at the University of Guelph and writer of fiction, discuss radical generosity in the context of teaching in the Fine Arts. They remind us of how as engaged scholars, we carefully nurture generosity of thought, relations, and sharing in our work. They take that ethic one step further to show how radical generosity in the classroom rewards us with a well-informed society, and community of educators, activists, and change-makers.

"How are we in the World": Teaching, Writing and Radical Generosity

Lynn: Thanks for joining me for this, which seems like a weirdly formal thing to say. The intention is for us to talk about engaged scholarship and your work as an engaged scholar. I had a hard time thinking about how to frame this as a conversation beyond that as the purpose of it. As I said to you, the point is to have a conversation about critical work; for us to talk about your work as a writer and a teacher and a scholar, an educator; it's to think about writing and teaching and educating, and about the kinds of spaces that we create. It's the stuff that you and I talk about all the time, and we do talk about it, I think, as work.

Lynn Caldwell

So, this is just a bit of a preamble, to name what the invitation is for the conversation. I was thinking about how these conversations we have about teaching and about writing, or when we think about something like engaged scholarship, have a kind of urgency to them, right? I get this idea of these things as an important conversation. And I think about how to frame something around what's important about it, or urgent about it, without overstating or kind of exceptionalizing it.

I want to talk to you about that task itself: How *do* we characterize what these conversations are about? What is such a conversation about in a journal that is for engaged scholarship that connects universities, and classrooms, and communities, and all kinds of projects, together? That's the invitation, it's us having a conversation; but it's also sharing our exchange and your thoughts on this work, and on your work, with readers of the journal, with people who are engaged *with* conversations about engaged scholarship.

I'll ask you to introduce yourself too, but I first want to say that for me this is a conversation we've been having pieces of, off and on. It's a conversation we have as friends, and friends who are grad school friends, so that does characterize the connection we have and the conversations we have. But I also come to this as a reader of your fiction writing, so I am very conscious of that as part of what inspired me to want to talk to you for this piece. It's because I know you as a friend, I know you as a colleague, I know your work; and, I also have that kind of relationship as a reader of your writing, as someone who knows you as a writer of fiction.

How would you introduce yourself, for this conversation?

Carrianne: I'm not sure. First of all, thanks so much, Lynn, for inviting me to a formal conversation of what we usually do informally anyway. Yes, we met in the context of our grad studies, which already gave us a framework because we were thinking along the same lines, reading the same books, and thinking along the same lines of theory, and critique. But something that I really value about our relationship is that this notion of "engaged scholarship" can't even quite capture the ways in which you and I relate to each other, and the world, and our lives. For me, it's such a broad thing to think of this idea of engaged scholarship.

Carriane Leung

I think sometimes it's something strange for people to think of me doing my PhD work in Sociology and Equity Studies, and then turning to fiction. Whereas, for me, it's part of that same notion of being engaged, whether we call that scholarship, or creative work, or just life work. I appreciate the ways in which you and I have allowed each other space to just meander, and sometimes be able to break free of those containers. This is also really why I felt I turned to fiction writing; I felt I was too contained within the academic writing and research that we were trained to do. I could talk more about that later, as to what were the things that contained. It's not that I didn't see worth in that work, and I still very much do, in what we think of as conventional scholarship. But I needed more. I needed a different kind of meaning making, and maybe even a different audience to engage with.

I don't know if that's an introduction, but that's the best way I can think about what it is I do.

Lynn: I am nodding. There's a lot I want to talk about. So, here is a question because you do describe turning to fiction as a different way of writing and engaging different readers, and about the kinds of freedoms that come in that, as a kind of work:

When you do think of yourself as a writer, is being a fiction writer a prominent description? I guess I am still on this as part of introducing yourself, situating yourself. There's something important about you choosing and becoming a writer of fiction, and about being a fiction writer. And I know you are also a teacher of creative writing. A question I have around that is really what the primary way would be for you to identify yourself, as a writer. Is it fiction writing? Is it creative writing? Or is it just, writer?

Carrianne: I guess creative writing, if I'm pushed to have to actually say something. I think, for now it's creative writing, as a writer. I don't feel like I do much scholarly writing anymore, though I'm not opposed to it. It may happen again. But right now, I would say creative writing and not just fiction but also creative non-fiction, like the personal essay. I have been teaching creative writing as well, which is also a whole other thing from having taught Sociology, and Gender studies, which I have also taught. I've turned from that over the last few years to teaching creative writing. I think it's an interesting kind of space that I'm in that I can kind of straddle both worlds. And again, just like having finished my Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology degree, and then turned to fiction writing, it's pretty seamless for me. I see way more similarities than differences, and I see it as a real advantage that I'm able to have the breadth of these disciplines to play in.

Lynn: And do you find that with your students? When I say your students, I mean in all the kinds of spaces where you've been teaching or engaging with people around teaching and learning, or studying, writing. Do you find, or think, that students live, or find, that kind of seamlessness? When you think about the people that you've connected with as students, who are learning writing, or are learning *about* these connections between what we might think of as "social sciences" or that realm of scholarly writing, and creative writing… do they come with that same sense of connection between these kinds of spaces of writing and thinking?

Carrianne: Some do. Teaching in the Master of Fine Arts (MFA), certainly there is some grounding of what writing means in terms of a "call and response" practice. If you're in a formal writing program, such as where I am at Guelph, there's certainly a framework for this connection. Here, there's a plenary called "Writer in the World." So that notion of "you in the world, and creating from some place", is very much part of their training, and their thinking.

Maybe not so much for the undergrads. I think there are all kinds of romantic notions of what a writer is, still, and that's very much "set apart" from the world. And some ways, academics as well. There's a notion of the ivory tower, that there are these walls between the world, and us. I try very hard in my teaching, to remove those kinds of constructs. I teach that it's a kind of labour, of knowledge making and meaning making. And in both teaching social sciences, and teaching writing, I try to bring an ethics. In both practices, as a researcher and as a writer, there is an emphasis on attention. How do you attend the world? And what does that mean? What does that attention mean for us if we are writing the world? What is our agency in the critique of the world, as well as the making the world anew, through the writing? I think those are things that I aspire to bring in whatever it is I teach.

I've never done a writing degree. I haven't even taken a writing course in a university. I don't actually *know* what it that looks like for other classes, what kinds of conventions. I have some sense, and I read conventional and traditional kinds of pedagogy of creative writing, but I feel like I'm at a nice crossroads, where I am seeing more scholarship that's interrogating the ways in which creative writing has been taught. It's very much in line with the critiques of how sociology, and anthropology, and all the "ologies" are taught. It's a conversation that I can certainly engage with, and participate in, and think through, and I'm really interested in what all that means.

My first course teaching at Guelph in the MFA was a course called "Writing Decolonial Fiction," and in doing that, there was no way I could avoid theory; and I would never want to. So, I assigned Walter Mignolo first, reading from his work on decolonial aesthetics[1], and I think that was a surprise for some of the students who weren't used to this heavy-duty theory, but they were patient. We worked through it, and I think that opened a lot of spaces to then engage with what that could possibly mean. And I think that's just foundational to all writing. Whether you want to call something, and capture it, as decolonial fiction, or anything. I feel a particular responsibility.

In writing, there's this kind of hierarchy with what's called literary fiction seen as more like higher brow culture. And then there's the genre fictions, which can be speculative fiction, fantasy fiction, sci fi, romance… and it's not a kind of hierarchy that I want to reproduce. It's that question of, how are we in the world, and how are our stories created by that attention. and what we choose to attend to. And anyway, I'm not sure that answers the question, but that's the lines of what I think about.

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[1] The assigned work referred to here was an interview with Walter Mignolo in Gaztambide-Fernández, R. (2014). Decolonial options and artistic/aesthetic entanglements: An interview with Walter Mignolo. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, 3* (1), 196-212.

Lynn: Yeah, and it leads me to thinking about the question again in a different way, or about what it is that I'm even asking. I do have this curiosity. It has to do with writing, and with teaching, about how we find each other.

So, it's a question about how students come into a classroom or a program or a workshop. What is their expectation, understanding, of what you're going to find with the people you study, or in what you're reading, or with a teacher. I think about this as you were describing teaching the course on decolonial fiction and about some students having a sense of surprise about content, but also, I guess I'm speaking from my experience, too, from my own wondering and challenges around teaching. There's always that question of how do we figure out what the task is, the teaching task, and who the students are in any given moment.

There are these conventions around what a university is, or what writing is, what studying is, or what disciplines are, and yet of course they've been always precarious. They've always been fragile. They've been problematic. And there are, at the same time, long histories of writers and activists and scholars and students who have ruptured those constraints, all the time. So, we come into this work, this teaching, this writing with those conventions, those constraints, those disciplines still around, but they've also always already been troubled or remapped. It's a curiosity I have, and it's something that I worry about in my own teaching, not wanting to replicate the constraints.

Carrianne: I open every class with this idea of radical generosity. I state *my* intentions very, very clearly. I don't have, right here, the main things that I say; but most generally it's that I understand these spaces are not neutral. I understand that some of us come to these spaces where you know traditionally, intergenerationally, there has been violence. I understand that we do not share stories, that stories are not universal, that you may feel like something someone writes, you will respond very negatively to. And I ask for patience, understanding that new meanings and new stories cannot come if we are not there to receive them with the respect that they need. I say that we, those who are gathered here, have never been together in a space before, and so this is a space made anew, and that my hopes are that every time we come together, we are creating new world, new work.

The thing about creative writing classes is the backbone, *the* kind of spine of the courses, is Workshop. And Workshop has a sense of convention that came from what the first school in the US that did creative writing created. The Iowa School has this very well-crafted set of practices that is Workshop. And those ways have really harmed a lot of people who have historically been marginalized from writing and from having voice. So, I actually have something to work against. And a lot of the students, especially my undergrad students, don't have any history of that, so it's easy. I can clear the space completely and say, we're going to create what you need, in order to feel like you can develop work.

For some though… in an MFA course I was teaching, there was a student who really resisted removing what traditionally has been a "gag" rule, where the writer whose pieces are getting workshopped does not get to speak; that's the Iowa School model, and that's what I've seen replicated again and again. And I also ask that no value judgments be put. You can ask questions of the text. You can talk about observations, but you're not there to say, "I love this because…." or, "this resonated…," or all those kinds of loaded words. It's hard; it's really hard to do, and it's a practice we have to work really conscientiously towards. And I've had a student who really resisted that, and who just wanted to be told what was wrong, and had this idea of it having to be painful. Because a big part of that, tradition, was pain. That's working against a lot of things that I feel I need to very consciously attend to and try and facilitate, because that's just the way we are in the world. We harm each other. It's competitive; we don't care about process. We just want the outcome, and so I have it built in, in teaching writing, a way to be always resisting that kind of thing. It's in some ways easier for me because on everyday kind of level, I have to work actively against it, you know.

Lynn: I don't know a lot about the Workshop, or Iowa Workshop model, other than in the "listening in" kind of way. But what that makes me think about is that it's probably crafted as something that's intended to be liberatory and facilitative, of a kind of engagement. What am I trying to say? It's something to do with how you described your introduction of radical generosity, and what your intention is, and how you facilitate that, and really explicitly opt out of this "gag" rule for writers in workshops, or from students responding with value judgements. What I'm getting is that in different kinds of interventions that come in fields like education, or writing, or cultural studies or social theory—we do have all these practices that have been intended to disrupt hierarchies of knowledge and practices, and to bring people together, but those themselves can then create these conventions that are constraining. And that's something I hear about in the work that that you do, is that it that brings people together into the space we've never created before. It's work that draws on some practices that have facilitated those kinds of spaces, but also kind of troubles them as well.

So, my question in that, or my wondering, is about that intent that you're naming in radical generosity, and also in your draw towards fiction and creative writing. I am thinking about how the possibilities that this teaching can produce, and the intent in any given piece of writing you're doing, or any class that you're doing, are not things you can ever fully, accomplish. Like you have to do that practice all the time, and I don't know, but I think that being in these kinds of practices, like writing fiction, creative writing, and in these places of the university or of studying, means being in places full of histories of possibility and of liberation. But places where it's been done through that generating of pain. We have to also be critiquing those practices in the critical pedagogies too. I'm interested in whatever you have to say about this.

Carrianne: Why can't *care* be part of really good scholarship? We have students who come to these spaces, and the university is only a worthwhile space because it's well resourced. These spaces could happen anywhere, but it's just that universities are where we place the value in currency. We know what the neoliberal university is; we know it comes at a crossroads when more and more students who are marginalized historically from these spaces are gaining entry, right? So, the push to transform things from the classroom level and beyond is part of that same project.

The Workshop worked because those people who were in the workshops were a homogeneous group of white men. And so the ways in which the practice, the structures, and the people are shifting in these spaces need to be taken seriously. Because you let people in under the name and the banner of inclusion, or diversity, or whatever language, and don't expect things to then transform? And I think it's part of the whole package.

I feel really lucky to be hired on as a faculty member, in creative writing, at Guelph. But my PhD was in Sociology and Equity Studies, and in my department, in English and Theater Studies, there's not a lot of folks of color. So, I'm always conscious of that, and the spaces that I'll be in, and what I need to negotiate, with still my clear purpose of what it is I'm doing there, you know. We're just breaking things apart. Because I just don't think good work can come, unless we break the shit apart. In the crudest kind of metaphor I could use.

I do think that, yes, absolutely, the critique of the neoliberal university needs to be there now, more than ever; that energy is well spent. But I also would make myself completely despairing if I were to only think of the university as one space. I remember what Rinaldo Walcott[2] said in his class once. He said, you know, we're always saying that the university discounts the community, whoever we're thinking the community is. But we're in a classroom. We're all community, and we all have places in other communities, right?

So, I think of that world as way more porous than just the notion of the university as this one place, this place that reproduces all this harm.

I got a message, from a former student at OCAD years and years ago, just recently on Instagram. They're a designer, and they were in my course on, I think, consumer behavior (yeah, which I just kind of spun into a critique of late capitalism). And they were saying that that course was like their pivot to a whole new way of thinking about design and their work. And they're doing these *incredible* projects now.

I can never know. I don't pretend to know what I have control or influence over. The most we can do is like break shit apart, open these spaces up for students to be able to imagine something different, that they acquire some tools in terms of how to think about it, and then go on. I see that maybe more directly, because I'm teaching writing now. I see the work they produce; and it's brilliant way beyond what I would have been able to hope for or imagine for myself, in my role in their education, their formal education.

That might be a cop out of an answer, but more and more I feel like for my own mental wellness, and for the task that's ahead of me, I need to keep thinking about those things and to calibrate my energy towards them, and to know that I'm deeply implicated, because

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[2] Carrianne worked with Rinaldo Walcott as the supervisor for her doctoral work in Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at OISE/UT.

I'm getting paycheck from an institution that is very much bought into things that I try to undo. But that's the complexity of our lives right now.

Lynn: I think, any answer about what happens in an exchange in a classroom, or between a teacher and a student, or between intentions and what people receive, is that it offers something, and we all have to place ourselves in relation to that, as teachers, as the public, or as readers or as writers.

Carrianne: Yeah, I walk into a classroom. I know what I look like. I'm a middle-aged East Asian woman, and I know that a lot of students never have even had that happen. The negotiation is on so many levels of what limitations and possibilities could happen in that space. And in the course of twelve weeks a lot has to happen that can be worked into a learning objective, or some metric; and some things that can't. I think that we have to be keenly aware of that in the kind of practices that we have as teachers.

And, the good thing is I actually like teaching. I enjoy it. I really like the challenges of it. I really like people coming together and making spaces and creating. That was even so when I was teaching in social sciences. I really want to think about being co-creators of knowledge. That's just really important to me, or else it'd be really boring just to be there, dispensing whatever it is you know. It's not really that much.

Lynn: Boring does something; I think a lot about how we say what things do, like teaching. What does teaching do, and what does it do in ways that you don't take the measure of through the metrics of objectives only. When you describe starting with stating something like the meaning of radical generosity, and by framing things as "we don't, share the same stories," that just *does* something. I think that it's an obvious thing; it's in some ways stating an obvious. But it's an obvious that we don't often state in our every day.

Carrianne: Some of the most powerful moments I've had in classrooms with students is stating the most obvious. Because we don't do that enough. We're operating on assumptions and erasures that are very troubling and shape our realities of how we experience things. I think that that is really, really important: to just say it, honestly.

It's going to require some risk and vulnerability, because also in opening with radical generosity, I'm calling them *in* to responsibility for themselves and each other. I'm *not* saying "you're a student, and I'm an instructor, and you paid this much money for this course, so you can just sit back now and play your role." What I am proposing, and offering, is another way of being in this space with each other.

Lynn: I think we can wrap up soon but is there anything else you wanted to say in terms of what this kind of conversation is about or about teaching or writing? Or we can just end on the note of radical generosity, as a place to land.

Carrianne: It's all about relationship, right? It always just comes back to relationship, and I don't think anything good can happen without relationship. I think maybe that's part of what I'm trying to think about; it's how do I not perpetuate my own isolation and alienation from others, or whatever we call the world. I'm wanting to do things differently. I'm not saying that I haven't been doing that all along, but I think I'm being able to articulate it more into language, what is important to me and what I really hope to bring. And also, I'm not saying this always works. This is really, fricking messy, and often uncomfortable. But that's also part of that process: is there a way we can get through to somewhere else with that discomfort? I don't know. I think that's all I've got. It's hard to be generous in a time that's very ungenerous, and it's very hard to be radical about that generosity.

About the Authors

Lynn Caldwell has been a member of the *Engaged Scholar* Journal Advisory Board since 2018, is professor of theological ethics with St. Andrew's College, an affiliated college of the University of Saskatchewan, and serves as Academic Dean of the Saskatoon Theological Union. Lynn is co-editor with Carrianne Leung and Darryl Leroux of *Critical Inquiries: A Reader in Studies of Canada* (Fernwood, 2013). She holds a Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology and Equity Studies in Education, from OISE/UT in Toronto. Born in Meadow Lake, with family origins in Northern Ireland, Lilac, and England, Lynn has lived most of her life in Treaty 6 and the homelands of the Métis. Email: lynn.caldwell@saskatoontheologicalunion.ca

Carrianne Leung is a fiction writer and assistant professor at the University of Guelph in Creative Writing. She holds a Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology and Equity Studies in Education from OISE/University of Toronto. She is the co-editor with Lynn Caldwell and Darryl Leroux of *Critical Inquiries: A Reader in Studies of Canada*. Her debut novel, *The Wondrous Woo*, published by Inanna Publications was shortlisted for the 2014 Toronto Book Awards. Her collection of linked stories, *That Time I Loved You*, was released in 2018 by HarperCollins and in 2019 in the US by Liveright Publishing. It received starred reviews from Kirkus Reviews, named as one of the Best Books of 2018 by CBC, That Time I Loved You was awarded the Danuta Gleed Literary Award 2019, shortlisted for the Toronto Book Awards 2019 and long listed for Canada Reads 2019. Leung's work has also been appeared in The Puritan, Ricepaper, The Globe and Mail, Room Magazine, Prairie Fire and Open Book Ontario. She is currently working on a new novel, titled *The After* due to be released in 2024 by Harper Collins Canada. Email: carrianneleung@gmail.com

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Book Reviews

Knowing the Past, Facing the Future: Indigenous Education in Canada by Sheila Carr-Stewart (ed.) 2019. UBC Press. Vancouver, BC. 303pp. ISBN 978-0-7748-8035-0.

In her edited collection *Knowing the Past, Facing the Future Indigenous Education in Canada*, Sheila Carr-Stewart compiles a series of essays, including some of her own, that discuss the past, present, and future of Indigenous education in Canada. The book is divided into three sections. Part one, "First Promises and Colonial Practices," offers three essays on the history of colonialism and education in Canada. The second section, "Racism, Trauma and Survivance," discusses the impact of labelling Indigenous students. Lastly, the third section looks ahead to the future. "Truth, Reconciliation, and Decolonization" includes a series of five essays that offer information on what is currently being done for Indigenous students and the outlook for Indigenous education in Canada.

In her introduction, Carr-Stewart points to the need for reform in Indigenous education: "The provision of a quality education for Indigenous people remains an ongoing struggle" (p. 4). By including several authors experienced in the field of education, such as herself, Carr-Stewart's book is an important professional development tool for any teacher, especially in Western Canada. The contributors to the collection are varied and well-educated in the field of Indigenous studies. The choice and placement of the essays within the book provide an excellent chronological overview of Indigenous education across, primarily, Western Canada. However, there is a lack of Inuit perspectives on education and their residential schools experience. By providing an Inuk author on Inuit education in Canada, Carr-Stewart would strengthen the discussion of Indigenous education in Canada.

The Canadian prairie provinces have implemented Treaty education and include Indigenous perspectives throughout all curricula. For teachers not familiar with the history of residential schools, the origins and the impact on Indigenous people in Canada are all provided in the first section. Carr-Stewart divulges this history in her essay, "'One School for Every Reserve': Chief Thunderchild's Defence of Treaty Rights and Resistance to Separate Schools 1880-1925," by providing a specific example of how Chief Thunderchild continually fought for his people's treaty rights to education by having a single day school on reserve, yet in the end was not successful in his goal. Reading the first section, the average teacher would be able to educate themself very quickly, as well as be provided with a starting point of information to better teaching practices. As the title of the book states, Knowing the Past—i.e., the history and origin of Indigenous education—only serves to better the understanding for the teacher in the classroom.

The second section highlights preconceived notions of students that teachers need to consider and address in the classroom. This second series of essays is especially pertinent in education, since many teachers are not Indigenous, yet are asked to teach Indigenous viewpoints and perspectives. Being aware of potential bias and societal racism is integral for educators to better their teaching practices for the benefit of all students. Because the essays broach and educate teachers of the prejudice placed on many Indigenous students, all three essays included in the section are a must-read for any educator. The fifth essay of the book, “Laying the Foundations for Success Recognizing Manifestations of Racism in First Nations Education,” by Noella Steinhauer, provides real-life examples of internal and social racism throughout First Nations communities. Steinhauer effectively explains intergenerational trauma and difficulties in First Nations education by studying real people of all ages. As Steinhauer states, “changing the future will require a concerted effort by all parties” (p. 119), and by providing an explanation of the manifestation of racism in Indigenous communities, her essay is able to inform and educate teachers who are unaware of their potential bias in the classroom.

The final and longest section of the book discusses the current and future possibilities of Indigenous education in Canada. As is suggested by Lafond and Hunter in, “Curriculum After the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” the future of reconciliation and education is “… to begin a journey towards a curriculum based on a shared [settler and Indigenous] future” (p. 173). The final section is an excellent tool for any educator to see the injustices of Indigenous education in the past, such as the forced implementation of residential schools, and the steps being taken to rectify those injustices, such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Reconciliation and self-determination are integral to the future of Indigenous education in Canada, and the articles in this section emphasize the importance of Indigenous views and input into education, especially of Indigenous content in curricula. The final essays of the book provide Indigenous perspectives in education in three provinces, British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, thus providing a variety of ideas from across Western Canada.

As a Métis educator in the school system, it is refreshing to see the inclusion of an entire article that explores the difficulties the Métis face not only in education, but also in society. As Pratt and Lalonde share in “The Alberta Métis Education Council, Realizing Self-Determination in Education,” “in the present moment, our quest for self-determination takes place in a political context that situates the Métis perspective with education as a largely unexplored realm, with the exception of a few rare studies” (p. 268). Pratt and Lalonde’s article is significant since it not only highlights the history and importance of self-determination for the Métis, but explains in detail the steps taken towards “mapping out a journey towards self-determination” (p. 274), thus providing insight for other Indigenous groups, since “we are all learners” (p. 274). The inclusion of Métis perspectives in a book discussing Indigenous Education in Canada is integral for the resurgence and education of a previously hidden, and still marginalized, people.

Studies including the Indigenous perspective can sometimes be critiqued for utilizing a solely settler lens. The methods and research of western Europe are the foundation of studies in education, humanities, and languages, as is proven by Prochner in “Placing a School at the Tail of a Plough: The European Roots of Indian Industrial Schools in Canada.” Carr-Stewart, by including several Indigenous authors, is successful in establishing an Indigenous lens in her book. Furthermore, the essay “Iskotew and Crow: (Re)igniting Narratives of Indigenous Survivance and Honouring Trauma Wisdom in the Classroom,” by Fellner, adds to the Indigenous perspective by utilizing the traditional storytelling method. By explaining trauma through a narrative of “crowgirl,” Fellner further exemplifies the Indigenous view of education in the classroom.

In *Knowing the Past, Facing the Future* Carr-Stewart includes a concise and informative revision on Indigenous education with a primary focus on Western Canada. It is a book that succeeds in strengthening the knowledge of educators on Indigenous education in Canada. The book is an excellent addition to any teacher's resource library and should be included in the classroom of post-secondary teacher education.

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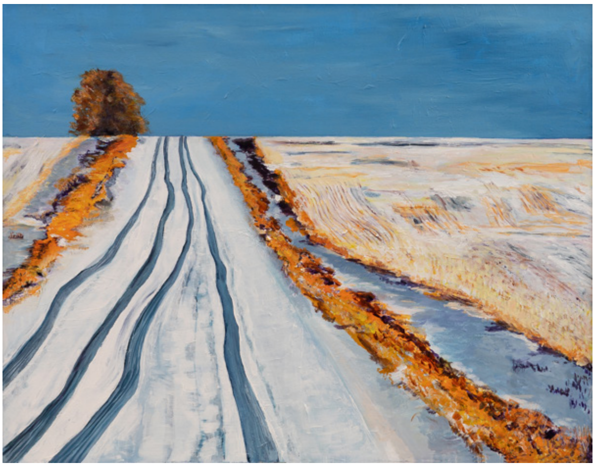

Somewhere in the Prairies

by Agnes Bellegris

I stood outside the passenger side of my car
And stared at the blank beauty of the bluebird sky.
The snow was damaged by the tire trail
Of a singular pickup truck in four-wheel drive
that had chosen to venture out on that snowy sideroad.
It had come and gone and left its tracks as a souvenir.
We were the only ones passing by now,
With two sisters and their little brother in the backseat.
They would have preferred to throw snowballs at each other
But the snow was too dry to mould in their hands.
Instead, they stretched their legs while I took my photo.
“Listen,” I said to the children. “What do you hear?”
“Nothing” they said. “You’re mistaken,” I replied.
We stood in silence and heard it again.
It was the breeze, singing its crisp swish chorus
As it kissed our cheeks. And when we moved our feet,
The snow’s gorgeous crunch song under our boots
Began its rhyme.
The prairie sky offered its delight too.
The geese passed by in a perfect V
Filling the air with their annual harmony.
In defence of nothing, the children agreed
That this visual feast was something in the sunlit blue
Sky and snow as far as our eyes could see.

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.

Our Mission
- to promote and support reciprocal and meaningful co-creation of knowledge among scholars, educators, professionals and community leaders, in Canada and worldwide
- to inspire and promote productive dialogue between practice and theory of engaged scholarship
- 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
- to serve as a forum of constructive debate on the meanings and applications of engaged scholarship among partners and communities

The Journal invites previously unpublished original reflective essays and research articles, review articles, reports from the field, testimonies, multimedia contributions and book reviews focusing on community-engaged scholarship.

We welcome contributions from community and academic partners, educators, researchers and scholars who pursue their work in collaboration with various communities in Canada and the world. For submission guidelines visit http://esj.usask.ca/index.php/esj/information/authors.

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