Women of Colour Talk Back: Towards a Critical Race Feminist Practice of Service-Learning

by

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Abstract

The University of British Columbia (UBC) is exploring ways in which to develop and implement service-learning. This study explores the development of service-learning from a critical race feminist perspective. Service-learning is a form of experiential education. It is a strategy or pedagogy where students learn and develop through service experiences which are designed to meet identified community issues, and are collaboratively organized between academic institutions and communities. Critical race feminism, as an epistemology, sets out to understand how society organizes itself along intersections of race, gender, class and all forms of social hierarchies. Critical race feminist theory utilizes counter-storytelling to legitimize the voices and experiences of women of colour, drawing on these knowledges toward the larger goal of eradicating all forms of social oppression. The central question for this study is this: how can UBC develop partnerships with individuals and communities of colour that would support and enhance the well-being of such communities, in a service-learning context, when the institution remains a site of white, male and class-based structures, discourses and practices?

Through counter-storytelling, women of colour students, staff, faculty and non-university community members relay their perceptions and experiences at and with UBC. Their perceptions and experiences of systemic exclusion form the basis for the development of a service-learning model from a critical race feminist perspective in this thesis. The implementation of such a model would foster the development of respectful and mutually beneficial partnerships with individuals and communities of colour. This model calls for institutional accountability through institutional transformation from within, through the development of a Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development, and the simultaneous creation of an Office for Critical Community Service-Learning outside the Point Grey campus. According to this study, such development must be founded on critical race feminist principles of education for transformative citizenship. These critical race feminist principles would encourage a transformative project for education through an emphasis on the development of respectful relationships across social hierarchies, and a commitment to co-creating and sustaining just communities in search for a more humane and equitable world.
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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the fourteen women who participated on this study. I am truly honoured to have had all of you partner with me throughout this process. I have been humbled to witness part of your journeys and privileged in putting your experiences onto paper. Your spirits have accompanied me throughout this process, kept me strong, kept me nourished, kept me sane, kept me focused, and kept me hopeful.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The University of British Columbia (UBC) is exploring ways in which to develop and implement service-learning, which involves developing partnerships with disenfranchised poor communities in Vancouver. Such communities are primarily comprised of Aboriginal people, people of colour, women and people with disabilities. The purpose of this research is to develop a critical race feminist model of service-learning for UBC, one that would support and enhance the well-being of individuals and communities of colour.

Background

Parents, educators, policy developers, administrators, government and community organizations are demanding that higher education in North America reconsider its mission to only prepare students for careers; increasingly, there is a growing demand for the preparation of students for responsible life-long citizenship (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996; An executive summary of the citizenship education policy study, 1997; McGregor, 2002). Many universities are exploring ways to become engaged with local and global communities, and currently, many use service-learning to educate students for ‘citizenship’ and ‘civic learning.’ This form of engagement also assists in the revival of these communities and involves collaborative social problem-solving (Battistoni, 2002). A national service-learning movement has taken the educational community in the United States by storm over the last thirty years; such a movement is just beginning in Canada.

In her address to the 2002 Killam Annual Lecture, Dr. Martha Piper (2002), president of The University of British Columbia (UBC), speaks of the importance of preparing students for citizenship and building a civil society that fosters an innovative economy that is tolerant, culturally diverse and humane. Defined by Dr. Piper (2002), civil society is:

... a vigorous citizenry engaged in the culture and politics of a free society. In this definition, the key agent of influence and change is neither the government nor the corporation, but rather the individual, acting alone or with others to strengthen civil life. In turn, how individuals think about themselves and others, the values they espouse and enact, become the essential features of a civil society. (p. 4)

Dr. Piper speaks of the importance of developing citizenship amongst students, noting that it is individual citizens who will be the key agents involved in enhancing democracy and promoting
positive social change. Institutional leaders, educators and policy developers endorse such thinking and are beginning to conceptualize education for citizenship and civic responsibility (or civic learning) in higher education. Questions surrounding how we teach students about civic and social responsibility are surfacing. How do we do this within a classroom setting? Active participation in a democracy cannot be taught passively in the classroom. What has been shown to effectively foster citizenship and civic responsibility is volunteering in communities, in order to gain a greater sensitivity for the concerns of humanity (Eyler & Giles, 1999; Carpenter & Jacobs, 1994; O'Grady, 2000). Preparing students for citizenship and civic learning involves bridging the gap between what students learn in higher education and the application of that knowledge outside the academic context. In addition, educational institutions are also searching for ways to address civic disengagement of youth (Battistoni, 2002). Service-learning is a strategy that ideally addresses these concerns.

Through service-learning programs, students tend to come away with a better and sometimes more critical understanding of their own communities and their roles as citizens in working for change (Battistoni, 2002). Service-learning bridges academic learning and applied learning in community settings; praxis and theory are linked in meaningful ways to meet identified community concerns (Rochelle, Turpin & Elias, 2000). Service-learning is a form of experiential learning. It is a strategy or pedagogical tool where students learn and develop through service experiences linked to their academic programs. Both academic institutions and communities share in the collaborative organization of these service experiences, which engage with identified community issues (Eyler & Giles, 1999; O'Grady, 2000).

Eyler and Giles (1999) view citizenship education as caring for the disadvantaged, and collaborative problem-solving for social change. McGregor (2002) views citizenship as the ongoing contributions of citizens in solving community problems. Citizenship, therefore, involves making informed choices and decisions, taking action individually and collectively for the purpose of improving life for oneself and others. Citizenship generally entails rights and responsibilities; this is true for both civic and political engagement. It also includes a range of participatory activities, such as voluntary work and personal or collective engagement with local and global communities in order to address social concerns. Such engagement works to address and positively affect the well-being of those communities, and fosters human rights in order to eliminate human suffering (Andrzejewski & Alessio, 1999; Education for citizenship, 2001; An executive summary of the citizenship education policy study, 1997).

According to Howard (2001), civic engagement and learning is a form of “learning that contributes to student preparation for community or public involvement in a diverse democratic
society” (p. 37). This involves strengthening students’ sense of giving back, developing their social responsibility, preparing them for active citizenship, and encouraging them to engage in collaborative social problem-solving. Within the context of service-learning, education for citizenship provides students with opportunities for caring and contributing to the well-being of their communities. This, in turn, promotes civic learning and engagement.

Working in higher education in the US, Bringle and Hatcher (1996) have developed a model for implementing and institutionalizing service-learning, based on 44 institutions that participated in a Campus Compact Project on integrating service-learning with academic study. This Comprehensive Action Plan for Service Learning (CAPSL) identifies four constituencies that need to be included in any program or office for service-learning: institution, faculty, students and community. According to Bringle and Hatcher (1996), planning “needs to include self-assessment on the following items: (a) where the institution is and where it is going; (b) the institutional, student, and faculty culture, climate, and values; and (c) the resources and obstacles for developing service-learning in the institution” (p. 225). Broadly constructed, this involves:

- surveying institutional resources and climate
- surveying faculty involved with currently offered service-learning courses
- surveying students involved in service-learning, and their attitudes towards service and service-learning
- surveying existing university/community partnerships

Higher education institutions exploring the development and implementation of service-learning would, therefore, benefit from conducting a preliminary self-assessment. For this thesis, I have used a similar model for conducting research in order to develop a model for service-learning at UBC. Using qualitative methods, I interviewed individuals from each of the four constituencies – students, institutional staff, faculty and non-university community members, specifically recruiting women of colour who experience race, gender and class inequities. I have documented their

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1 The term ‘people of colour’ implies a notion of resistance, to fighting sexist-racism and white privilege. Aboriginal or Black people in Canada do not necessarily identify as people of colour (Bannerji, 2000). Razack (1999) states that the use of this term describes the politics of domination and subordination; the physicality of the encounter between the powerful and powerless, between white and racialized (non-white) peoples. The term ‘people of colour’ also speaks to the forging of an oppositional/coalitional anti-imperialist political conscientization (Bannerji, 2000). The federal government uses the term ‘visible minority’ for demographic purposes. This term, however, is considered by many people of colour to be demeaning as it forces them to accept a ‘white settler’ definition, and therefore undermines their ability to define themselves, particularly in terms of racial subordination (DePass and Qureshi, 2002).

2 The social effects of ‘race,’ despite the concept’s lack of scientific basis, and the social practice of racism, categorizes Indigenous peoples and people of colour as ‘other’ (Dei, 1996). This ‘othering’ of racialized groups is pathologized in specifically negative ways based on biological determinism of the White race as biologically superior to others (Dei et al., 2004).
perceptions and experiences at and with UBC in order to develop a social justice, or more specifically, a critical race feminist model for service-learning.

**Purpose of the Study and Research Questions**

The purpose of this research study is to develop a critical race feminist perspective, a social justice orientation, on service-learning and education for citizenship at UBC. Women of colour – UBC staff, faculty, students and non-university community members - have offered counter-stories about their experiences with, and at, UBC. These narratives or counter-stories, as methodology, are key to establishing a social justice approach to education for citizenship and service-learning.

Stories or narratives told by dominant groups that are white, male and elite are generally legitimized in the academy and society. Such narratives provide individuals from dominant groups with a shared sense of identity within society and its institutions. These identities and life experiences are also reflected by dominant structures and practices in the academy, and are viewed as mainstream, natural, and widely accepted as the ‘truth.’ Such reflections of ‘truth’ can determine and limit who gets to speak and who gets heard. Counter-stories are narratives of marginalized persons who experience social oppression. Such stories are often not legitimized in the academy and in society. Such counter-stories speak against the ‘truth,’ including those dominant narratives of meritocracy, neutrality, fairness and colour-blindness. These counter-stories move against normative dominant voices and perspectives, and in doing so, usually disturb and subvert the reality and mindset of these dominant perspectives. These voices are crucially important as they voice the experiences of the oppressed on the margins (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

By utilizing counter-storytelling, this project draws explicitly on the lived experiences of women of colour, thereby illuminating the intersectionality of race, gender and class oppressions in and with the academy. These counter-stories explore some key elements for developing institutional partnerships with communities of colour that would support and enhance the well-being of such individuals and communities.

The central questions for this study are:

- What perspectives and experiences do women of colour have at and with UBC, and how can these inform the development of a critical race feminist approach to service-learning and education for citizenship at UBC?

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3 Social justice is defined as “the elimination of institutionalized domination and oppression. Any aspect of social organization and practice relevant to domination and oppression is in principle subject to evaluation by ideals of justice” (Young, 1990, p. 15).
Building on these investigations, what are the key elements of a critical race feminist model of service-learning and partnership for supporting the well-being of individuals and communities of colour? How can such a model be implemented at UBC?

A Brown and Black Paper is being written to accompany this thesis. I also plan to publish this research so that it is available as a text for the purposes of informing and supporting the development of university service-learning initiatives from a social justice perspective across North American institutions of higher education.

Locating Myself

I locate myself as a woman of colour who experiences sexist-racism in society and within the academy. As the first woman of color ever to be employed in the 70+ year history of the Women Students’ Office (WSO) at UBC, I became acutely aware of my own isolation, fragmentation and lack of belonging in the academy. As I searched for an explanation for this, I noticed women students of color that I met, individually and in groups, spoke of similar feelings of pain, depression and lack of connectedness to self and to others. I also met with women staff and faculty at events and conferences who spoke similarly. It was what the students disclosed that particularly bothered me. They spoke about the lack of representation and role models in the curriculum and at the institution. They spoke of wanting more from education - one that would reflect and resonate with their own histories and lived experiences. In addition, they wanted to be intellectually stimulated, emotionally and spiritually fulfilled. Higher education was, for the most part, not engaging them in meaningful ways. It was because of what I was experiencing, and what I was hearing, that I felt compelled to continue working with and supporting marginalized individuals and groups in the academy.

It is serendipitous that my practice as a counsellor/advisor with the Women Students’ Office, and more recently as a diversity advisor with Access and Diversity, Student Development and Services, involves working with marginalized groups, particularly women. Much of my work in program planning and development involves creating counter-hegemonic spaces of support and self-validation, in addition to fostering critical thinking and strategies for social transformation. I also seek ways to utilize my power and privilege to forge solidarities with other individuals and

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4 Marginalization is viewed as a form of oppression where certain groups of people are excluded from useful participation in social life, and can thus be subjected to severe material deprivation and even extinction (Young, 1990).
5 Groups are a special kind of collectivity that may involve the differentiation of people according to cultural and social groups such as women and men, age groups, racial and ethnic groups, religious groups and so on (Young, 1990).
6 Counter-hegemonic spaces are places that allow people on the margins of society to problematize their marginality by interrogating hegemony and the delegitimation of their knowledges and experiences (hooks, 2003).
groups within the institution for the purposes of challenging hegemony\(^7\) and working collectively for social transformation. Such programs have included the Women of Colour Mentoring program, the Committee for an Inclusive Campus Community (CICC), the Equity Ambassadors program (in collaboration with the Equity Office), and the Inter-Community Dialogues program, as well as numerous seminars and workshops developed and delivered for the purposes of social and cultural transformation.

I first came across critical race theory (CRT) when I attended the Canadian Critical Race Conference at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto in 2002. Attending this conference was an uplifting experience, for I was immersed in dialogue about systemic racism\(^8\) and the exclusion of racialized\(^9\) individuals and groups in the academy and society. In addition, for the first time, I came into contact with community activists and academic scholars engaged in dialogue and inquiry about racism. As I sat listening to these people, I began to realize that in all the years I had spent at UBC, I had intuitively developed a social justice practice based on an examination and transformation of gender, race and class hierarchies. This conference was life-affirming for me.

Critical-consciousness\(^10\) paradigms of education, specifically critical race theory and anti-racist feminist\(^11\) education, guide my practice. Both theories stem from social justice principles which set out to understand how society organizes itself along race, gender and class lines and oppressive hierarchies (Dei, 1996; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) – where oppression\(^12\) is reinforced

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\(^7\) Hegemony refers to that dominance and authority of certain states or dimensions or markers over others (Minh-ha, 1989).

\(^8\) Racism, as defined by Lorde (1984) is “The belief in the inherent superiority of one race over all others and thereby the right to dominance, manifest and implied” (p.124). Dei et al. (2004) state that our societies now distance themselves from viewing racism as biologically determined in favour of belief systems based upon domination and oppression supported by social and cultural rationalizations for discrimination.

\(^9\) Racialized groups come to be viewed by the white dominant group as ‘other,’ people who are perceived as inferior, lack ability and are uncivilized because they do not belong to the ‘white’ culture, and therefore cannot succeed in society (Loury, 2002). As people, we are all raced. Skin colour is a visual marker of difference, which frames racialized people as ‘other.’ There are privileges and entitlements that are accrued to people from the white race, while the ‘other’ or non-whites, experience non-entitlements and disadvantages (Dei et al., 2004). In addition, Razack (199b) suggests that narratives by whites about racialized bodies are often characterized by a form of benevolence, seeing them as requiring salvation by more civilized Europeans. For the purposes of this study, racialization refers to disadvantages experienced by people of colour because of their skin colour, i.e. non-white people.

\(^10\) Critical consciousness refers to an understanding that political, economic and social forces disadvantage and marginalize certain individuals and groups in society (Rhoads and Black, 1995).

\(^11\) Anti-racism education calls for putting power relations at the centre of the discourse on race and social difference (Dei, 1996). My practice engages an anti-racist feminism, which affirms the centrality of race, gender and class, and targets all forms of social oppression.

\(^12\) Oppression refers to the disadvantage and injustice some people suffer because of everyday discriminatory practices (Young, 1990). Oppression is a term used “to emphasize the pervasive nature of social inequality woven throughout social institutions as well as embedded within individual consciousness” (Bell, 1997, p. 4). Social oppression exists when one group, knowingly or unconsciously, exploits another social group for its benefit (Hardiman and Jackson, 1997).
through the disempowerment and exclusion of groups by dominant or privileged groups. Both theories also have an activist dimension.

CRT looks at transforming the relationship between race, racism and power, and has three important implications (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Sleeter, 2002):

- It proposes that because racism is so entrenched in society, it is seen as ‘normal,’ the ordinary way that society does business.
- Eurocentric epistemologies and dominant ideologies of meritocracy, objectivity, neutrality and colour blindness are challenged.
- Counter-storytelling is utilized as a methodological and pedagogical tool in legitimizing members within oppressed groups to speak about oppression.

Critical race feminist theory (CRFT), as a category of critical race theory, puts power relations at the centre of the discourse on the intersectionality\textsuperscript{13} of gender, race and class, and uses counter-storytelling as a methodological tool. By centering the voices of women of colour, it legitimizes them to speak about their multiple identities and intersectional experiences of oppression. Closely linked to CRT is anti-racism education, which interrogates both structural barriers and social practices for systemic change. Theoretical discussions in both these paradigms are grounded in the lived realities and experiences of oppressed peoples, more specifically, racialized peoples.

As I continued with this social justice practice, I became interested in finding ways in which to legitimize this practice within the academy. One way I did this was by writing about my practice in higher education publications. I also enrolled in the doctoral program in Educational Leadership and Policy (EdD)\textsuperscript{14} at UBC, which provides advanced preparation for educational practitioners with leadership responsibilities “to engage in scholarly discourse about understanding, critiquing and improving practice in educational settings.” At this time, I was centrally involved in discussions around the development of service-learning at UBC, and was interested in exploring and writing about this as part of my research for the doctoral program from a social justice perspective. I was also curious about the experiences of women of colour in the academy, and I began to see that my personal experiences did not stand apart from the experiences of racialized women in the academy. I saw our collective pain and loneliness as the result of structural dimensions within the academy, which are set up to exclude and marginalize. The methodology of CRFT as a vehicle of investigation spoke directly to me. It is also an epistemology that calls for a critique and

\textsuperscript{13} Intersectionality involves the examination of race, sex, class, sexual orientation and other forms of oppression, and how their combinations play out in various settings (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001).

\textsuperscript{14} Program Overview, Doctor of Education in Educational Leadership and Policy, University of British Columbia, May, 1999.
transformation of institutional hegemony, both necessary for a liberatory praxis. Only this will allow for the full participation of women of colour in the academy and in society. I was definitely interested in using this as my conceptual framework.

I have, therefore, taken this opportunity, through the EdD program, to design a research project that has allowed me to bring a critical perspective to this study, based on my practice with women of colour in the academy. As UBC is exploring the development of service-learning, I wondered how this institution would develop partnerships with disenfranchised communities for the purposes of enhancing those communities. For these reasons, I am taking a 'critical' approach to my research, one that includes a critique of hegemonic discourses and practices. I believe that the voices of the marginalized, specifically women of colour at the academy, are central to this exploration.

UBC has been exploring ways to develop service-learning programs, which would involve partnerships with disenfranchised local communities in Vancouver. I wondered, based on my experiences and on the experiences of the women of colour I spoke with, how UBC was going to form these partnerships with racialized communities when the institution itself was perpetuating systemic injustices that maintained hegemonic discourses and practices. In other words, how were we going to form service-learning partnerships that would enhance the well-being of the individuals and groups in these disenfranchised communities when we were not doing such a good job of maintaining the well-being of racialized individuals and groups within the academy? How would we, as institutional members, collaborate with disadvantaged communities through service-learning for the purposes of meeting identified community issues and eliminating human suffering? How would we do this within the context of the everyday sexism, racism, classism that exists within the institution itself? In addition, how could we do this at an institution where social justice practice is not central to its mandate, but relegated to the margins?

The current political economy of higher education in Canada continues to reinforce notions of profit, individual enterprise and competition. With rising tuition costs, it is the poor and the disadvantaged who will be less likely to access education. In addition, education remains largely a site of white, elite, heterosexist, male and able-bodied privilege (Dei et al., 2004; hooks, 2003). Hence, disenfranchised communities within and outside the institution view educational institutions with skepticism. Institutions of higher education often promote knowledges that reinforce existing structures of domination. How then can such an institution demonstrate respect and build trusting relationships with disenfranchised communities facing race, gender and class inequities?

Dr. Piper (2002) suggests that we cannot achieve the ideal of citizenship and of a “civil society until we possess the kind of deep, extensive knowledge born of research that would enable
us to better understand ourselves, identify our values, define the problems, apply the solutions, and construct the prosperous and humane society we all seem to aspire to” (p. 8). This is the intention behind this research - to explore how institutions of higher learning that continue to support and reinforce social hierarchies of inequity, can develop partnerships with disadvantaged communities within the context of service-learning.

**Contextualizing the Research**

There are a number of academic departments at UBC already involved in academic service-learning. Some of these are located in the Faculty of Arts, specifically in Women’s Studies, English and Psychology, which are run independently of each other. The Women’s Studies program, for instance, offers a practicum course, which organizes placements in women’s organizations and links academic study to feminist practice in these organizations. Students, through the Community Health Initiative by University Students (CHIUS) in the departments of Medicine, Dentistry, Pharmacy, Nursing, Social Work, Physiotherapy, Occupational Therapy and others at UBC offer voluntary services in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside (DTES) through organized student community service. The Learning Exchange at UBC also offers volunteer opportunities to students who wish to work with community organizations in Vancouver’s DTES. This latter initiative is not an academic service-learning program, but more co-curricular based, as it offers alternative spring-break programs for interested students wishing to volunteer with schools and organizations in Vancouver’s DTES. In addition, a Canadian Association for Service-Learning has been created, of which UBC is a part. UBC’s *Trek 2010: White paper* (2004) speaks to the development of service-learning; *Looking into the future* (2004) speaks about preparing students at UBC for global citizenship by educating them to understand that we all live in an interdependent yet unequal world.

Research indicates that academic course work alone has little impact on the development of citizenship. The practice of citizenship has to be both inside and outside the classroom (Eyler & Giles, 1999; O’Grady, 2000). Nieto, in her foreword to *Integrating Service Learning and Multicultural Education in Colleges and Universities*, states that service-learning is a vehicle that offers students opportunities to provide ‘service’ in impoverished and disadvantaged communities comprised primarily of Black and Brown peoples. hooks (2000b) states that it is women of all races, and racialized people of both genders who are located in the ranks of the poor in North America. In other words, class is gendered and racialized.
In British Columbia, Indigenous or Aboriginal people, people of colour, women, and people with disabilities are the groups that predominantly experience poverty (British Columbia moves back on women's equality, 2003). New immigrants also experience systemic discrimination. Since the people who bear the burden of disadvantage are disproportionately racialized and gendered, O'Grady (2000) suggests that an analysis of power and power relations needs to be rigorous in service-learning in order to help students move beyond notions of celebrating cultures and acts of kindness. O'Grady (2000) emphasizes instead the need to understand the larger issues of social justice and inequities, in order to identify possibilities for social and systemic change. From a social justice perspective, this would involve understanding civic responsibility in a pluralistic, but unequal society. Without these theoretical underpinnings, service-learning could easily reproduce oppressive outcomes by perpetuating racist, sexist, or classist assumptions about the 'other.'

There is a vast amount of literature on service-learning, and most of it is dominated by the charity or status-quo paradigm – the mainstream model for the development of this pedagogy. It teaches students to care for the disadvantaged and address the symptoms of oppression, such as poverty and homelessness (Eyler & Giles, 1999; Carpenter & Jacobs, 1994; Roschelle et al., 2000). Some literature on service-learning does speak to the necessity of engaging critical pedagogy that would teach students to think critically about what it means to live in a democratic society characterized by race, gender and class stratification. In other words, students are taught to investigate, address and remedy the root causes (the structural barriers) as well as the symptoms of oppression (Daigre, 2000; Maybach, 1996; Marullo & Edwards, 2000; Wade, 2001).

I have not yet found any literature or studies conducted on service-learning utilizing critical race (CRT) or critical race feminist theory (CRFT). It is my belief that teaching for citizenship within the context of service-learning from such a social justice perspective will identify real possibilities for social and systemic change, both within the institution and in society. UBC is beginning to build relationships with impoverished and disadvantaged communities, particularly in

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15 The term Indigenous or Aboriginal refers to original inhabitants of a land where the people have a long-standing relationship – deep, spiritual and sustained connections and identities with those places (Dei, 2000). Aboriginal peoples of Canada are the original inhabitants of this land, and uphold their inherent right to self-government and self-determination (Monture-Angus, 1995).

16 Coyne (2002) suggests that such poverty cannot be blamed on a single factor. It is a result of a history of systemic discrimination and economic marginalization. In fact, Vancouver's Downtown Eastside Strathcona is one of the most impoverished communities in Canada.

17 While not all immigrants to North America are people of colour, there continues to be a great influx of immigrants of colour since the 1970s. Immigration policies that were in place before the mid-1970s restricted the entry of immigrants of colour (Joshee, 2002).

18 'Othering' is a colonizing process of objectification. Dominant groups construct 'others' as less than, inferior, indolent and immoral. Ogbu (1997) adds that, as a social construction, 'others' tend to be perceived by dominant groups as biologically, linguistically, culturally and intellectually inferior. Freire (1970, 1999) suggests that the reason why the oppressed as 'other' are viewed as savages, natives, violent, barbaric, wicked or ferocious and not oppressed, is because such perception justifies their subordination.
Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. This research project is intended to inform the development of service-learning at UBC, particularly with racialized communities, by illuminating the 'voices of colour' speaking about oppression and structural marginalization at and with UBC. After all, as Paulo Freire (1970, 1993) says, who better than the oppressed to legitimately speak about oppression, and therefore, social change. It is only with this understanding that authentic and genuinely trusting relationships can be formed across social hierarchies.

Significance of the Study

First, and most centrally, this study makes visible the lived experiences of women of colour at and with UBC. Very little has been documented about women of colour at this institution, or any institution of higher education for that matter. It is about time such voices are legitimizied and honoured in the academy and society. It is because of such delegitimization that I devote three chapters to making such 'voices' visible. This study, in utilizing critical race feminist theory, also adds to enormous amounts of existing research which speaks to the long-standing and continuing inequities in higher education and in our society.

This study brings a critical race feminist orientation to the conceptualization of service-learning and education for citizenship at UBC. Such a social justice orientation is currently lacking in the scholarship around service-learning. In doing so, this study addresses the larger systemic issues of social injustice in Canada, and in Canadian institutions of higher education. Racism, sexism and classism are deeply embedded in Canada's political, social and economic systems. The formation of Canada as a nation continues to be realized through dominant educational ideologies, that support cultural, political, social and economic inequities. This study, therefore, speaks of the need for institutional transformation, not only to remedy inequities from within, but also to prepare the institution for engagement with the larger issues of social injustice.

This study provides a framework necessary to develop and implement service-learning in ways that could support and enhance the well-being of individuals and communities of colour. In so doing, the study contributes to social justice research. The study also outlines several critical race feminist principles for institutional engagement with individuals and communities of colour, both within and outside its borders.

Systemic Limitations

Although the work conducted by critical race practitioners may be highly valuable, such research may be marginalized and not given the recognition it deserves by mainstream academe
(Vargas, 2003). People in power tend to ignore the importance of such research, prevent such research from being legitimized in the academy, deny the validity of such research, and also find ways to erase such research. There will be many spaces within the academy in which this research will be discredited. There will also be spaces of inclusion in which this research will be embraced. These latter spaces are ones that create hope for change.

So why do we, as social justice researchers, engage in such research? Despite the difficulties and often soul-destroying characteristics of institutional hegemony, social justice practitioners often conduct such research to validate and legitimize their own experiences. Many practitioners use this medium to legitimize the experiences of marginalized individuals and groups. They also do so because of their concern for the collective good of their communities, and their desire for equity and social transformation.

How should social justice research practitioners then proceed ethically in what sometimes are hostile academic environments? How do critical practitioners deal with the systemic limitations of this type of research? How do they continue to actively participate in social transformation against such forces? These are vitally important questions in the larger educational conversation about systemic oppression and social change.

As Bannerji (1995) states, we, as researchers, cannot be satisfied with simply writing about the world in which we live. We have to end the oppressive conditions and social organizations (not of our own making), which give rise to our experiences. As educational scholars, we have a responsibility to raise these questions, write about these experiences, and find ways to create change. This is our moral responsibility because we strive for a more humane and equitable world for others and ourselves.

**Outline of Thesis**

As an outline of this thesis, Chapter One provides the reader with some background and context to this research. Chapter Two outlines the origins of critical race theory in the US and Canada, and speaks to the evolution of critical race theory in education and the emergence of the critical race feminist movement. Chapter Three provides a comprehensive overview of service-learning, including exploration of both charity-based and social justice-based programs, and the historical evolution of education for citizenship in Canada. This chapter provides a conceptual foundation for a critical race feminist approach to education for citizenship and, therefore, service-learning. Chapter Four provides a discussion of critical race theory as epistemology and methodology. It discusses race-based methodologies and the use of counter-storytelling for social change. Chapters Five to Seven are analyses of the interviews. Chapter Five highlights the
perceptions and experiences of women of colour students, staff, faculty and non-university community members at and with UBC. These perceptions and experiences lay the foundation for the development of a model for service-learning from a critical race feminist perspective. Chapter Six provides a critical race feminist understanding of education for citizenship and service-learning. Chapter Seven speaks to the necessity of institutional transformation and explores the development of critical community service-learning at UBC. Such development is underpinned by critical race feminist principles of education for transformative citizenship, which is developed from chapter six. The last chapter summarizes the findings, explores implications for policy and future research, and concludes with a series of recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO: CRITICAL RACE THEORY

This chapter discusses the beginnings of critical race theory (CRT) through to the present, and provides a comprehensive review of CRT – its beginnings in law and its emergence as a site of scholarly inquiry in US, and more recently, in Canada. This chapter also discusses the emergence of the critical race feminist theory (CRFT) movement – the conceptual framework utilized for this study. Critical white studies also support CRT, which this chapter also reviews. Critical white studies is a parallel line of scholarly inquiry in which ‘whiteness’ is examined as a social organizing principle that maintains hegemony. And last, anti-racism education is briefly discussed, along with its relationship to CRT as a form of social justice education.

Beginnings

In 1977 a group of left-leaning white male professors within the legal academy formed critical legal studies (CLS). These academics began to critique the tenets of legal liberalism, such as neutrality, objectivity and individual rights. CLS was a multifaceted theoretical movement wherein its practitioners suggested that legal discourse maintained and legitimized unequal relationships and, therefore, the social status quo (Aylward, 1999). CLS attracted American and Canadian scholars of colour because it challenged the objectivity of law that oppressed people of colour.

Critical race theory (CRT), then, emerged as an analytical framework to address social injustice and racial oppression within the context of law (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). At the heart of CRT was a critique of racism in law; this critique was based on the premise that legal discourse had not taken into account the social reality of race and racism, and further suggested that law supported and reproduced racism. Proponents of CRT paid attention to people of colour by placing racial questions on the legal agenda which had not been placed there before, and which had not recognized how historical racism was legitimized by law (Aylward, 1999). In fact, critical race scholars, such as Derek Bell, went so far as to say that racism was and still is an integral, permanent and even indestructible component of our society. The LatCrit (Critical Latino Studies) and Critical Asian American Legal Studies movements, along with critical race feminism and critical queer
theory, then emerged from this line of critique, calling for critical race theory to be inclusive and accountable to these particular groups (Parker, 2003).

According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), "the critical race theory (CRT) movement is a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationships among race, racism and power" (p. 2). At the heart of CRT is the thesis that the social reality of race and racism has been ignored, and that dominant systems and practices continue to both promote and reproduce racism (Aylward, 1999; Dei, Karumanchery & Karumanchery-Luik, 2004). After all, "Racism is real – and in that reality, there are real material consequences" (Dei et al., 2004, p. 102). Practitioners of CRT point out that racism is not the result of individual pathology, but an ideological set of practices and discourses that seeks to economically marginalize people of colour through the process of racialization (Darder & Torres, 2004).

In addition, CRT attempts to understand oppressive structures and hierarchies in society in order to foster individual and societal transformation (Tierney, 1993). CRT, therefore, also explores strategies and counter-practices for dismantling the hegemonic structures that give rise to its consequences (Darder & Torres, 2004). CRT has now disseminated to education, and is giving rise to theoretical, conceptual, methodological and pedagogical strategies that seek to account for the role of race and racism in education. Further, like anti-racism education, it has an activist component, with the goal of dismantling and eliminating racism and all forms of subordination and oppression (Matsuda, 1991; Sleeter, 2002).

The CRT movement began in Canada in the 1980s and followed along the same theoretical lines as in the US. Indigenous scholars and scholars of colour began to articulate their dissatisfaction with legal discourses that did not include analyses of race and racism in the political and legal structures of society (Aylward, 1999; Monture-Angus, 1995). Carol Aylward, a Canadian scholar, suggests that unlike the US, where most people would acknowledge that racism exists, many Canadian people deny the very existence of racism. Canadians generally wish to portray Canada as a country of racial and cultural tolerance in an effort to maintain a Canadian identity as multicultural. After all, Canada was the first nation ever to implement a Multicultural Act in celebration of the diversity of all its peoples.

Through the 1960s and 1970s, Canada’s liberal policy on immigration brought many people of colour into the country in expectation of capitalist industrial growth (Bannerji, 2000). The issues raised by these immigrants were primarily around legal discrimination in the practice of immigration and family reunification, and job discrimination by Canadian employers. The Canadian

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19 Subordination refers to structural phenomena that immobilizes, delegitimizes and diminishes groups (Young, 1990).
government's move towards a multiculturalism policy was directed more at appeasing the discontented and fearful white Canadians than the discriminated 'others' as new immigrants. Questions of social justice and discrimination were rearranged into issues of tolerance for cultural diversity through the implementation of this policy. As Bedard (2000) suggests, multiculturalism was put into place to relieve white anxiety and guilt about their colonial past. Multiculturalism became an effective mechanism to manage and preserve racialized class divisions (Darder & Torres, 2004).

The Canadian multicultural policy tended to hide questions of discrimination and racism, and seemed to imply that if racism existed, it was merely the action of a few misguided individuals. This positioned racism at the individual level, and ignored the way it functioned systemically in everyday society. This denial of everyday racism resulted in the creation of a so-called tolerant society (Jiwani, 1999). In this understanding, racism was not seen and continued not to be connected to the larger systems that distributed jobs, power and wealth (Lopez, 2003). Bannerji (2000) points out that this strategy does not recognize or legitimize the power relations and unequal relationships inherent in our society. As Senator Oliver (2004) points out, if Canada is viewed as an extremely tolerant country, then why do people of colour continue to experience discrimination? And if racism is not a problem, then why are people of colour grossly under-represented in employment within our social and political institutions? Senator Oliver (2004) notes that there is also a glass ceiling, or job ceiling, that prevents the advancement of people of colour into managerial positions across institutions in society.

CRT scholars believe that race, as an analytical tool, can deepen the analysis of educational barriers for people of colour, as well as illuminate how these people resist and overcome these barriers. In general, CRT addresses three key practices of oppression (Aylward, 1999; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000, 2001; Gotanda, 2000; Lopez, 2003; Matsuda, 1991; Parker, 2003; Sleeter, 2002):

- First, it proposes that racism is a normal fact of life, the way that society does business everyday. As such, racist ideologies and assumptions are ingrained within structures and systems so as to be almost unrecognizable. Racism has assumed normality and thus invisibility in our daily lives, which is why people fail to see it.

- Second, it challenges Eurocentric epistemologies as the normative standard by grounding itself in systems of knowledge that offer tools for dismantling these ideologies. CRT challenges liberalist views of individual rights, fairness, meritocracy and equal opportunity, objectivity and race-neutrality or colour-blindness. The latter ideology is based on the liberal notion that all individuals
have the potential and freedom in society to contract with each other. It also suggests that everyone can attain material wealth if they work hard. Critical race theorists argue that these are not just unattainable ideals and a blatant form of discrimination, but that these claims of neutrality are actually harmful to racialized peoples. They drive racism underground and camouflage the self-interest, power and privilege of dominant groups in society. In addition, a colour-blind constitution supports the supremacy of white interests and denies systemic racial subordination. Again, this belies the power and impact of racism as it exists today. Critical race theorists, therefore, ground their research in systems of knowledge that stand in contrast to dominant ideologies by illuminating 'othered' shared historical and experiential knowledges.

• Third, it utilizes counter-storytelling as a methodological and pedagogical tool to legitimate stories of oppression by members of oppressed groups, specifically, stories of race and racism, and to shatter the dominant ideological mindset. CRT draws explicitly on the lived experiences of people of colour by including such methods as storytelling, family history, biographies, parables, testimonies, chronicles, and narratives. The 'voice of colour' thesis holds that oppressed groups can talk “back to messages, scripts, and stereotypes that are embedded in the minds of one’s fellow citizens, and, indeed, the national psyche” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 28). These stories are seldom told nor legitimized in the academy or society. They are consciously, or unconsciously ignored or downplayed because they do not fit socially accepted notions of truth and reality. In CRT, counter-storytelling is viewed as legitimate, appropriate and critical to understanding, analyzing and teaching about racial discrimination, and is an important method for recognizing the embodied and experiential knowledges of people of colour.

Sleeter (2002) writes of challenges to CRT, which include charges of essentialism in personal stories and narratives. Critics argue that CRT is an essentialist paradigm rooted in identity politics based on race, and, therefore, does not take into account the myriad encounters that shape individual experiences. However, critical race scholars argue against an analysis based solely on race. “Although race is fore-fronted in CRT, it is viewed as a fluid and dynamic concept and as one of the many components that are woven together to form one’s positionality in a shifting set of relationships” (Sleeter, 2002, p. 21). CRT acknowledges the ways in which race intersects with
gender, class, and other elements of identity. It is not essentialist, as a myriad of experiences are unveiled through counter-storytelling.

Second, critics of CRT scholars question the objectivity of stories and narratives. These critiques question CRT’s call for alternate ways of knowing and understanding by raising doubt about the capacity of subjective knowledges to be able to make valid claims on truth - historically felt to be possible only through objectivity. However, CRT scholars such as Sleeter (2002) take a counter-stance, stating that CRT critics refuse to acknowledge Eurocentrism as a dominant mindset in research. At issue here is the question of what counts as truth and who gets to decide. Critical race theorists use counter-storytelling as a way of challenging unequal power relationships, in particular, racial oppression and the status quo, by analyzing the myths, presuppositions and truths of the dominant culture that render people of colour one-down and invisible. Starting from the premise that dominant culture constructs its social reality in ways that promote its own self-interest, these scholars set out to construct a different reality. By writing and speaking against these constructions, critical race theorists hope to contribute to a better, fairer and more equitable world (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000).

**Critical Race Theory Today**

Contemporary discourses on critical race today address issues of capitalism, power and identity, as described below (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

**Capitalism**

The US economy has advanced rapidly since the 1980s, but Indigenous communities, communities of colour and immigrants within this economy have fallen behind. We can say the same is true for Canada. It is primarily the white, male and elite who have benefited from neo-liberalism and capitalism. Critical race scholars have put their minds to combating liberal, capitalist notions of colour-blindness, meritocracy, universality and neutrality by challenging these notions (Dei, 1996; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Monture-Angus, 1995). Their critique of the notion of meritocracy includes the argument that merit is far from the neutral principle it purports to be. Critics, for example, challenge the idea of standardized testing and demonstrate that tests are coachable, and can, therefore, reward those from higher socio-economic levels.

A second dimension of capitalism that is criticized involves the distribution of material benefits in society. Racism, sexism and classism certainly advantage the material security of many white men and the elite in society, but at the same time, support a culture of poverty amongst women.
and the racialized (Banks, 2001; Dei, 1996). Since women of all races and racialized people are primarily located in the ranks of the poor, class is, therefore, gendered and racialized, clearly illuminating the economic inequities faced by these marginalized groups (hooks, 2000b; Stefancic, 2001).

Other critical race theorists analyze the distribution of environmental dangers and biohazards. This movement critiques ‘internal colonialism,’ where installations such as toxic waste sites, radioactive tailings, and sewage treatment plants are disproportionately placed in Indigenous communities and communities of colour. Corporate spokespersons defend these actions by saying they go to the best markets, which provide the best financial arrangements. Civil rights activists take the stand that if these corporations take advantage of a community’s financial vulnerability, they are engaging in predatory racism. From an international perspective, Williams (1995) states that Western countries engage in ‘environmental racism’ when they profit from dumping toxic waste in the southern hemisphere, such as in African countries.

A third dimension of capitalism within critical race analysis is globalization. Some theorists link disadvantaged situations for local communities of colour with workers in ‘third or majority world’ countries and, therefore, suggest that both must be addressed together. Sweatshops and other exploitative conditions in overseas factories generally affect poor, colonized people of colour, primarily women and children. Critical race theorists point out that “the reason these wages are low and the new jobs attractive is that US and European colonialism have robbed the former colonies of their natural wealth, suppressed the development of local leaders, and conspired with right-wing dictators to keep the people poor and disorganized” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 111). In the same light, local communities of colour in North America suffer at the hands of very similar forces, and as such, their fates are inextricably linked with their international counterparts.

Immigration law is the final area of capitalism targeted within critical race analyses. The US tolerates and sometimes abets repressive regimes, often in countries whose wealth it, and other colonial powers, plunder. People from these countries, primarily people of colour, flee poverty, harsh treatment and repression and want to immigrate to North America and Europe, where immigration policies limit entrance (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). These very people, when granted entrance, are then made to feel forever grateful and obliged to their new country of immigration with no acknowledgement of the West’s complicity in the economic and political processes that produce migrants and refugees, particularly people of colour from the South (Razack, 1999a).
Another set of issues within critical race theory revolves around addressing racism in the criminal justice system; increasing voting and political representation; combating hate speech and striving for the recognition of language rights (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Some critical race theorists argue that the disproportionate criminalization of Indigenous people and people of colour is, in part, due to the way crime is defined. Acts such as marketing defective products like automobiles, are not considered crimes. However, things that young people of colour do, such as congregating on street corners smoking and drinking, high speed cruising in cars, or scrawling graffiti in public places, are highly policed. According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), white-collar crime such as embezzlement, consumer fraud, bribery, insider trading and price fixing, amongst others, causes more property loss than all street crime combined. Yet ‘racialized’ street crimes are made out to be a threat to North American society (Jiwani, 1998).

Other theorists address racial profiling that penalizes law-abiding people of colour, and alienates youths of colour. Some legal practitioners urge juries to lessen sentences for young people of colour if the jury believes that the police system, for example, is racist, or that the young people in question would be of more use in the community than behind bars. Imprisonment leads to disenfranchisement\textsuperscript{20} under US law, depriving felons of the right to vote, even after serving their time.

The final issue within the context of power is hate speech\textsuperscript{21} and language. According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), courts in the US afford relief for victims of hate speech. Some theorists suggest criminalization is an answer to those perpetuating hate speech, as hate speech contributes to social images and the social construction of the ‘other’ as deviant and dangerous. Critical race theorists have been tackling some of the most common policy objections to hate speech regulation.

Another speech-related issue concerns the rights of non-Anglo speakers to use their native languages in the workplace, in schools, government offices, etc. Critical race theorists’ point out that language is an essential part of culture and identity, and to enforce English-only statutes by repressing the use of other languages is a violation of the US First Amendment and a continued form of colonialism.

\textsuperscript{20} Disenfranchisement is defined as the taking away of citizenship rights, including the right to vote (Gage Canadian Dictionary, 1983).

\textsuperscript{21} Hate speech includes the rain of insults, epithets, and name calling that many people of colour face on a daily basis (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001).
Identity

According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), there are two broad schools of critical race scholarship. One school, the ‘real world’ school, writes about issues such as globalization, human rights, race, poverty, immigration and the criminal justice system. These writers are more apt to be academic theorists as well as activists. They set out to understand, analyze, critique and change conditions that impact communities of colour. This group engages in both theorizing and political activism to achieve social and racial justice (Tate, 1997). Another school of theorists, known as discourse analysts, focus on systems of ideas and categories that construct racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). These theorists emphasize issues and are likely to examine the role of ideas, thoughts and unconscious discrimination.

The lines between the two schools of thought are not rigid, but overlap. The real world scholars are usually impatient with the discourse analysts as the latter spend most of their energies in constructing arguments in support of their theories. The discourse analysts justify this by suggesting that the chains of racism are usually mental and suggest that liberation will unlikely occur unless these demeaning patterns of thought, speech and behaviour are thrown out and replaced with new concepts. Despite these differences, CRT remains a dynamic force in the US, and in the Canadian legal and cultural landscapes.

More recently, scholars have discussed relations of theorists and practitioners inside critical race theory itself. For example, the emergence of critical race feminism stems from such discussions. These discussions center on the exclusion of women of colour from the CRT movement, which is predominantly populated by male academics. Another discussion is focused on whether LatCrit is essentially Catholic, and if so, how this may affect gay or lesbian Latinos whose lifestyles remain marginalized by the Catholic Church. Discussions emerging from the critical asian american and critical queer theories have led to ‘break-out’ movements similar to that of critical race feminism.

Critical Race Theory in Education

CRT remains new as a topic of scholarly inquiry in education (Tate, 1997) with a limited amount of research utilizing it as an analytical framework. CRT theorizing in education is the second wave or second generation of critical race studies (Vargas, 2003). The connection between CRT and education provides a race-based interdisciplinary theoretical framework for analyzing the study of education, laws, policies and administrative procedures that have a detrimental impact on racialized students in education (Parker, 2003). Critical race theory in education could lead the way
to understanding how racism also affects the practice of education. The future of CRT depends on educators exploring its possible connections to racism in schools and universities and with communities of colour (Sleeter, 2002). This requires a personal understanding of these experiences, from a lived or ‘voices of colour’ perspective, followed by the social transformation of such institutions.

The use of CRT in educational research is appealing for several reasons. It encourages researchers to problematize dominant ideological rules that support notions of neutrality, meritocracy and colour-blindness in education. It is also useful as a platform to name and interpret the realities of oppressed people that have not been understood using other methodologies. As a methodological tool it speaks to social transformation and change by challenging dominant conceptions of truth, fair-play and justice (Carter, 2003).

CRT plays an important role in legal circles but it has yet to make significant inroads in areas of education, such as educational administration, politics of education and policy studies (Lopez, 2003). Power and influence largely remain in the dominion of white, middle-class men, and the vast majority of marginalized groups do not participate in these kinds of political and educational activities. CRT has, therefore, yet to establish a hold within education because of these structural limitations.

Critical Race Feminism

In her introduction to Critical Race Feminism: A Reader, Wing (1997) states that critical race feminism is not yet an organized or distinct movement. It has grown out of the relatively young CRT movement, which has predominantly been theorized by male academics, where the experiences of women of colour have been mostly excluded. The CRT movement has presented perspectives on people of colour that have assumed that the experiences of women of colour are the same as those of men of colour.

Historically within hegemonic feminism, gender oppression is at the centre of analysis (Aylward, 1999). Feminism was initially viewed as the ‘white women’s movement’ because it was based on the binary gender division male/female alone. However, gender discrimination is only one of the systemic barriers that women face. Women of colour, for instance, have long understood that race, one’s culture, gender or class could also be factors in denying access to resources (Sandoval, 2000). According to Lorde (1984), the women’s movement ignored differences of race, sexual preference, class, ability and age, leading to a worldview that presented homogeneity of experience. This denied women of colour entry into the mainstream women’s movement. In other words, the
women's movement did not 'race' patriarchy, by overlooking the fact that social oppression affected women of colour differently.

The women's movement had shortcomings, as white women ignored their own privilege of 'whiteness' and defined the term 'women' based in terms of their own experiences. Harris (2000) explains that this gender essentialism developed because of the notion that there was such a thing as 'women's experience,' which could be described independently of other dimensions of experience and identity, such as race, class, and sexual orientation. By excluding the experiences of non-white women, they left wholly unexamined the realities of women of colour (Razack, 1999b).

Within the white liberal women's movement, women of colour became the 'other,' sometimes not seen at all. Issues of race, class and sexual orientation were ignored, or footnoted in books or relegated to the margins (Harris, 2000; Thornhill, 1995b). The claim to 'sisterhood' by white women, in fact, did not exist. Thornhill (1995b) suggests that racism and, therefore, the exclusion of women of colour from the white women's movement, undermined and weakened their collective power. Feminist essentialism paved the way for critical race feminism to appear (Crenshaw, 1995).

Critical race feminists initially targeted legal discourse because mainstream white liberal feminism failed to deal with women's realities of racism and classism in particular. Critical race feminism challenged the multidimensional power relationships shaped by white supremacy, capitalism and patriarchy. It went on to represent racialized women not as victims to be saved, but as actors and agents of change (Luther, Whitmore & Moreau, 2001). Critical race feminism thus initially emerged in response to recognition of the oppressive impact of law, education and public policy that marginalized the lives of women of colour.

Critical race feminists are anti-essentialist, calling for a broader and deeper understanding of the lives of women, particularly women of colour, based on the nature of their multiple and intersecting identities. Critical race feminism extends beyond the existing writings by well-known women of colour. This thesis is just one example of the many other studies currently being undertaken to document and analyze the wide variety of perspectives and experiences of women of colour.

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22 Collins (1991b) suggests that sisterhood generally refers to supportive feelings of loyalty and attachment to other women stemming from shared experiences of oppression.

23 White supremacy is an ideological system of race-based biases that North American society is based upon. Just as both women and men are socialized into patriarchy, white people and people of colour are also socialized by white supremacy through education, media and popular culture (hooks, 2003).

24 The concept of essentialism describes the idea that there is one authentic experience that captures the experience of all within a group, e.g. that there is one authentic female experience that speaks for all women (Romany, 1997).
Critical White Studies

Only recently has the primary characteristic used to assign privilege has been subject to scrutiny through the study of ‘whiteness’ as a social organizing principle. Lopez (2000) reminds us that, from the earliest years in North America, being a white person was a condition of citizenship. Courts constructed the category of ‘white’ in a two-step process. First, courts constructed the bounds of ‘whiteness’ by deciding on a case-by-case basis who was not white. The second step in the construction of whiteness more directly contributed to the development of the white character as ‘superior.’ Those who were non-white were regarded as ‘other.’ Bedard (2000) suggests that through histories of colonialism and imperialism, white people came to define and know the ‘other’ through negative racialized imageries. These became institutionalized as oppressive practices over time. The media, as well as government policies and practices, reinforced the xenophobic attitudes of the ‘other’ in the early 1900s to keep Canada a white man’s country (Grace & Helms, 1998). Whiteness has held, and continues to hold political, economic and social power.

Whiteness remains the centre of discourse in education (Bedard, 2000). It is a construct that is considered to be natural, an unmarked racial category, but also an inherently superior category, one that goes unseen, and, as such, is taken as normal. As ‘whiteness’ is normed, those with white privilege gain the power to define ‘difference,’ and then relegate those who are ‘different’ to the margins (Bannerji, 1994; Dei et al., 2004). ‘Whiteness’ brings unearned privileges to those who own it. This mythical construct stands at the centre of racial inequality in North America (Lopez, 2000). White skin colour is infused with meaning and markers of privilege where white people do not have to think about how race positions them as dominant in society. The North-American world view is thus framed through the “racelessness of White skin” (Dei et al., 2004, p. 84).

It is because of such privileges that Lopez (2000) states that white people are more deeply implicated in preserving the racialized social status quo. This is because “whiteness remains the centre and retains its control through 'othering,' a process that demeans the efforts of others” (Tyson, 2003, p. 22). White privilege is continuously asserted through sites of dominance, with claims to white innocence and the denial of systemic oppression serving as a mechanism of racism. Dei et al. (2004) states “We recognize that the creation of an open and equal-opportunity system with effective and positive social outcomes for all groups requires the disrupting and rupturing of

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25 Privilege is defined as “a special advantage, immunity, permission, right, or benefit granted to or enjoyed by an individual, class or caste” (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, cited in Wildman and Davis, 2000).

26 Whiteness, according to Lopez (2000), is a social construct, a function of what people believe, that is tied to our colonial history.
the dominance of Whiteness and White racism... anything short of this goal will only serve the status quo” (p. 82).

As a white woman, McIntosh (1992) articulates precisely what white privilege provides for her. “White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurance, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear and blank checks” (p. 33). McIntosh identifies 46 conditions available to her as a white person that her African-American co-workers, friends and acquaintances cannot count on. Some of these include the normalizing effects associated with having one’s race widely and positively represented in the media; the security of knowing that one’s race will not hinder or prevent access to resources such as law, medical and social services; skin colour privilege means never having to experience the daily physical and mental suffering intrinsic to a racialized existence. Her description of these unearned privileges provide insights into the advantages that most white people tend to experience in social contexts. It is the work of scholars such as McIntosh, that has led to the development of critical white studies.

Critical white studies acknowledge these freedoms and advantages, and critical white scholars take responsibility for the fact that the white privilege they enjoy may contribute to systemic marginalization of racialized ‘others.’ Critical white studies, therefore, examines whiteness and its privileges, and interrogates the silence, denial and fear that surrounds issues of racism and privilege. Critical white studies scholars call for in-depth analyses of how oppression is constructed through whiteness, including how white people access power and deny such power to ‘others,’ thereby oppressing the racialized ‘other’ (Dei et al., 2004).

Anti-Racism Education

According to Bell (1997), the goal for social justice education involves ensuring the full and equal participation of all individuals and groups in society. Such a vision ensures the equitable distribution of resources in addition to ensuring that all members are physically and psychologically safe from harm. Young (1990) defines social justice as “the elimination of institutionalized domination and oppression” (p. 15). She states that social justice should not only focus on the redistribution of goods and resources, but it should also focus on the structural dimensions that give rise to such asymmetrical distributions. Therefore, social justice education examines all dimensions of domination and oppression, including the collusion of systems, rules, practices and relationships that maintain the hegemonic status quo.

Anti-racism education is a form of social justice education that addresses the social and political inequities in Euro/Canadian/American contexts (Dei, 1996). Like CRT, anti-racism
education centres its discourse on race and actively challenges Euro-centered privilege. It recognizes that hegemonic systems construct a powerful narrative in which racialized bodies represent inferiority, deviance and criminality, as well as many other harmful stereotypes. Anti-racism education also centres race and its intersectionality with class, gender and sexuality, termed ‘integrative anti-racism,’ through the analysis of intersecting oppressions. Anti-racism, like CRT, recognizes that people are treated unequally based on the racialization of their bodies (Dei, 2000b), and that such constructions are systemically produced and reproduced.

Anti-racism education is “an action-oriented strategy for institutional, systemic change to address racism and the interlocking systems of oppression” (Dei, 1996, p. 25). Its educational agenda is to rupture the status quo through social and personal commitment to political activism. In this sense, the identities of anti-racist educators are more in line with ‘real world’ scholars and CRT activists. Anti-racism activists use their power and privilege to challenge and rupture dominant systems and practices of oppression that lead to the marginality of racialized individuals and groups. At its core, anti-racism education questions the role that the state and societal institutions play in producing and reproducing inequalities (Calliste, 2000) – “It acknowledges that Canada is a capitalist, racist and patriarchal society and that universities, as state-regulated and state-funded institutions, are structured to perpetuate those relations” (p. 145).

Anti-racism education, therefore, acknowledges that education is a site of social inequities. Anti-racism education, like CRT, challenges the myths of meritocracy and equal rights by critically examining the structural and systemic barriers to self and group actualization (Dei, 1996). Like CRT, anti-racism education fosters an educational agenda for social change. CRT, on the other hand, addresses social justice within law, and more recently education, and utilizes counter-narratives as methodology to critically examine the every day lived oppression of people of colour. CRT is also committed to being inclusive and accountable to the diverse individuals and groups it theorizes about, including the subjects of critical race feminism, critical queer theory, and LatCrit studies and others.

Summary

This chapter provided a comprehensive overview of critical race theory – its beginnings in law, both in the US and Canada, and more recently in education. It remains a new site of scholarly inquiry in education. This chapter also discussed some limitations of CRT and the emergence of movements within CRT, such as critical race feminism. This study utilizes critical race feminism as its conceptual framework in exploring ideologies of education for citizenship, and uses it as a foundation for developing a model for service-learning at UBC.
CHAPTER THREE: SERVICE-LEARNING

This chapter provides a comprehensive review of the literature on service-learning and education for citizenship. Several definitions of service-learning are provided to highlight some common themes. Two main paradigms of service-learning are explored: the status-quo or charity-based paradigm, and the social justice or transformative paradigm. The charity-based model fosters the development of citizenship skills through caring for the disadvantaged to help alleviate some of the distress or symptoms of oppression. The transformative model fosters the development of citizenship skills through caring for the disadvantaged by actively challenging and transforming institutional structures and practices, i.e. the root causes, as well as the symptoms of oppression. This chapter concludes by offering a critical race feminist perspective of education for citizenship and, therefore, service-learning.

Service Learning

The term ‘service’ primarily speaks to contributions in, and to, the community. Such contributions improve the quality of life for an individual, group, neighbourhood or community. There are other terms also used to describe this work of service – public work, community development, social capital and community action (Howard, 2001). Colleges and universities are significantly expanding service-learning opportunities in the US (Kahne, Westheimer & Rogers, 2000; Kelly & Wolf-Wendel, 2000), and this movement is just catching on in Canada.

Members of the Southern Regional Education Board in Oak Ridge, Tennessee coined the term service-learning in 1969. The philosophy of service-learning, a form of experiential education, is informed by the works of John Dewey, Jean Piaget and David Kolb, with reinforcement from Paulo Freire, in combining action and reflection in the work necessary to better the lives of all people through social change (O'Grady, 2000). Student participation in community service through service-learning is both a resource to enhance the quality of life in communities, as well as a resource to stimulate student’s academic and civic learning through education (Howard, 2001).

According to several authors (Belbas, Gorak & Shumer, 1993; Eyler & Giles, 1999) there are many definitions of service-learning. Because of this, no one definition of service-learning satisfies everyone. The US federally legislated National Service Act of 1993 (as quoted in O'Grady,
2000, p. 7; Belbas et al., 1993; Community-Campus Partnerships for Health, 2002; National Service-Learning Clearinghouse, 2005) includes the following key elements in their definition of service-learning:

1. Students learn and develop through active participation in thoughtfully-organized service placements that meet actual community needs, and that are coordinated collaboratively by educational institutions and community.

2. Service-learning is integrated into the students' academic curriculum and provides structured time for a student to think, talk, or write about what he/she did and saw during the actual service activity.

3. Service-learning provides students with opportunities to use newly acquired skills and knowledge in real-life situations in their own communities.

4. Service-learning enhances what is taught in school by extending students' learning beyond the curriculum and into the community, which helps foster the development of a sense of caring for others, specifically the disadvantaged.

Bringle and Hatcher (1996) view service-learning as “a credit-bearing educational experience in which students participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs and reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of civic responsibility” (p. 222)

Eyler and Giles (1999) state that “service-learning should include a balance between service to the community and academic learning and that the hyphen in the phrase symbolizes the central role of reflection in the process of learning through community experience” (p. 4). The authors go on to state, “any program that attempts to link academic study with service can be characterized as service-learning; non course-based programs that include a reflective component and learning goals may also be included under this broad umbrella” (p. 5).

According to O'Grady (2000), most definitions highlight four common themes often mentioned in service-learning – (a) institutional collaboration with community, (b) the importance of reflection, (c) active learning and (d) the development of a sense of caring. From a social justice perspective, two additional themes are included – (e) promoting a sense of civic responsibility among students and (f) collaboration with community with the aim of ameliorating social problems or oppression, causes and symptoms. However, service-learning must comply both with academic programs and with community-based agencies in defining what learning is relevant and important. As Howard (2001) suggests, “the service must be relevant to the community and to the content of
the academic course, meaningful to the community and to the students, and developed and formulated with the community” (p. 23).

Service-learning is, therefore, seen as a marriage between academic learning and collaboration with community to meet identified community issues. This is different from volunteerism where the focus is on providing service to an agency or agencies, and includes any activity that the agency needs. Service-learning is also different from cooperative learning or internship. Such programs provide work experience for the student, usually skill-based, within the context of professional education, and is sometimes compensated with money. Generally, cooperative learning internships do not identify the development of civic learning as a learning outcome. These internships emphasize student goals more than community goals, while service-learning is equally attentive to both community and student agendas. Service-learning involves a reciprocal relationship between the attainment of academic knowledge and content, and community-based experiential learning. Educational institutions and non-profit community agencies organize such partnerships. Service reinforces and strengthens the learning, and learning subsequently strengthens the service through meeting identified community concerns (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996; Howard, 2001; O’Grady, 2000; Prentice & Garcia, 2000). In this way service-learning can be a potent civic educator when it accompanies proper preparation and adequate academic reflection (Battistoni, 2002).

Academic service-learning (Howard, 2001) distinguishes itself from community-based service, student community service, co-curricular and other service-learning models, which are also experientially based programs. Student-community service is ordinarily accomplished by a student organization volunteering at local schools, without an involvement in the learning agenda. Academic service-learning and co-curricular service-learning make intentional efforts to engage students in planned and purposeful learning related to their service experiences. However, co-curricular service-learning usually involves alternative spring-break programs, and has the goal of raising students’ consciousness and providing familiarity with issues related to various communities. Academic service-learning, on the other hand, involves student community engagement, which integrates the academic program with service experiences for developing both academic and civic learning. This involves course-based learning, community service and reflection (McGregor, 2002).

Although much of the language describing service-learning appears politically neutral, O’Grady (2000) suggests that service-learning is as politically laden as any other educational approach. In much of the literature on service-learning there is an absence of an analysis of power which, in itself, indicates a particular ideology behind the notion of service in education, often reflecting a missionary philosophy to education. This philosophy promotes caring for others or
doing something for the less advantaged, based on the concept of charity. As important as this is, that is, caring and helping the disadvantaged, these types of programs do little to promote active participation in challenging and undoing the stratification of power that produces social inequalities and, therefore, disadvantage (Marullo & Edwards, 2000).

There is a growing popularity of service-learning in higher education. The growing value of this strategy holds much promise for renewing higher education and community development locally and globally. O'Grady (2000) suggests that the key here is to maintain the focus on collaboration with community for the purposes of community development, and social problem-solving through the identification of community issues, along with the other key components such as reflective activities and the integration of the service with curriculum.

Service-learning programs generally fall within two broad paradigms – the status-quo paradigm, and the social justice paradigm (Marullo & Edwards, 2000). Much of the efforts around service-learning are promoted on grounds that such programs will support citizenship development in students who, in turn, will contribute to a solid foundation for democracy. The vast majority of service-learning initiatives in the US emphasize volunteerism and charity, but do not teach about social movements, do not analyze the political, social and economic structures that produce inequities, and do not actively promote systemic change (Kahne, Westheimer & Rogers, 2000).

**Charity or Status-quo Paradigm**

The focus of the majority of research on the effectiveness of service-learning projects has been on the growth of the student, with specific attention to their personal, social and learning outcomes (Kahne et al., 2000). This paradigm teaches students how to be responsible members of society by providing services to the community, and by caring for people by addressing the ‘needs’ or symptoms of oppression (Maybach, 1996). Kelly and Wolf-Wendel (2000), Kahne et al. (2000) and others suggest that such programs aimed at ‘doing for’ community are more aligned with charity than social change. Such charity-based programs are also the most supported form of service-learning in the US (Kahne & Westheimer, 2001; Wade, 2002). The assumption behind this paradigm is that students engaged in community projects help people ‘in need,’ and ‘do for community’ while enhancing their own learning as it relates to academic objectives, with an emphasis on the student as ‘server’ and community recipient as ‘served.’

It has been suggested that one of the greatest benefits of service-learning is that students have the opportunity to learn in ways that are parallel to the learning that they will do throughout their adult lives in the workplace and community. Service-learning is known to contribute to greater
self-knowledge, spiritual growth and other rewards. It also increases a sense of personal efficacy and self-confidence in students, and seems to result in an increased desire to include service to others in one's career plans (Eyler & Giles, 1999; Prentice & Garcia, 2000). Students involved in service-learning report that working with community and fellow students brings about an appreciation of different cultures, an increase in tolerance towards others and the reduction of stereotyping. Students also report a greater sense of civic responsibility and citizenship, and often identify a desire to help those who are disadvantaged (Eyler & Giles, 1999).

Eyler, Giles, Stenson and Gray (2001) summarize service-learning research over the past several years. This summary, which includes an extensive bibliography, reports the following: (a) the effects of service-learning on students and the effects of particular program characteristics on students; (b) the impact of service-learning on faculty; (c) the impact of service-learning on colleges and universities; and (d) the impact of service-learning on communities. The summaries are reported below and are complemented with additional findings from the Executive summary: How service learning affects students (2000). This latter study collected data from 22,236 college undergraduates attending baccalaureate-granting colleges and universities in the US.

A) Impact of service-learning on students:

1. Personal outcomes:
   • Positive effect on students’ personal development such as sense of personal efficacy, personal identity, spiritual growth, moral development, and personal values.
   • Positive effect on interpersonal development and the ability to work well with others, enhancing leadership and communication skills.

2. Social outcomes:
   • Positive effect on reducing prejudice and stereotypes, and facilitating cultural understanding, appreciation of diversity and getting along with others.
   • Positive effect on the students’ sense of social responsibility and citizenship skills in wanting to help the disadvantaged, and an increased awareness of the world.

3. Learning outcomes:
   • Positive impact on students’ academic learning such as problem-solving, analysis and cognitive development, critical thinking skills, and, especially, writing skills.
   • Impact on students’ academic learning as measured by grades or GPA is mixed.

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27 At a Glance is a report supported by the National Service-Learning Clearing-house based in the US. This Clearing-house supports the development of service-learning from K-12 and higher education by assisting with materials, references, referrals and information.
• Positive impact on students' degree of interest in the subject matter.
• Improves students' ability to apply what they have learned in the real world.

4. Career Development:
• Contributes to career development in a service field.
• Ongoing plans to participate in service to others after college/university.

5. Relationship with Institution:
• Reports of stronger student/faculty relationships than those who are not involved in service-learning.
• Improves student satisfaction with college/university.
• Students engaged in service-learning are more likely to graduate.

B) Impact of service-learning on faculty:
• Satisfaction with quality of student learning.
• Greater commitment to community-based research.
• Increasingly integrate service-learning into courses.
• Encourages faculty to be innovative and creative in their teaching.
• Lack of resources act as barriers to providing service-learning.

C) Impact of service-learning on the institution:
• Colleges and Universities report increasing institutional commitment to service-learning as pedagogy.
• Service-learning increases student retention.
• Institutions report enhanced community collaborations and partnerships.
• Contributes to an institution's outreach efforts to communities.
• Sharing of resources by contributing thousands of hours of service to people in need, non-profit agencies, private sector companies, non-governmental and governmental agencies.

D) Impact of service-learning on communities:
• Community satisfaction with student participation.
• Service-learning providing useful service in communities.
• Communities report enhanced university relations.
• Service-learning helps with community education.

Overall, as indicated above, a small amount of research has explored the impact of service-learning programs on communities. However, little attention has been paid to the role that communities play in enacting the goals of service-learning programs. Kelly and Wolf-Wendel (2000) suggest that if service-learning is to meet its goals of improving student learning, addressing community issues and preparing students for civic involvement, it is critical for service-learning educators and developers to pay closer attention to the role of communities in this endeavour.
The status-quo paradigm of service-learning embraces the charity model. This model does have an effect on the development of citizenship skills. Students generally experience a detached sense of beneficence for the community by helping alleviate some of the distress, or doing something for the less advantaged (Marullo & Edwards, 2000; Sleeter, 2000) as well as learning to appreciate diversity. Even though this model does engage in identifying and meeting immediate community concerns, it reinforces the idea that a disadvantaged or subordinate group or culture requires ‘fixing;’ that such groups have something to learn; and that the academy can step in to help address identified problems. The emphasis on helping is a paternalistic one that maintains superiority and ‘power over.’ It does not address the systemic factors that create the ‘need for help’ (Kahne & Westheimer, 2000).

The charity paradigm of service-learning, therefore, promotes a view of citizenship that involves the transfer or reallocation of resources such as money, food, shelter, knowledge, labor, time, etc. to individuals or groups who have fewer resources. Food is donated, shelters constructed, urban community gardens built, re-cycling programs developed, and neighbourhood playgrounds are designed for children living in poverty. Such activities allow students to make a difference as a part of learning in the academy. They become better citizens by making a difference in the lives of others while they advance their academic and career goals (McGregor, 2002). Charity-based programs, however, are less likely to actively engage students in challenging and transforming the systems and practices that create the ‘problem of poverty’ (Marullo & Edwards, 2000). Such charity approaches to education for citizenship are supported by neo-liberal notions of caring for and helping those disadvantaged, through service (Varlotta, 1997). As important as these actions are, such ideologies do not aim to reduce systemic inequities, or the subordination and oppression of marginalized people.

If students, through this charity-based paradigm, serve the homeless and enjoy the rewards of volunteering, but do not study the various causes of homelessness, what lessons are they learning? Kahne and Westheimer (2000) suggest that charity and volunteerism will always be an important support for our society and for humanity. They argue that it is not sufficient, however, as it does little to shift the systems that maintain such power relationships. In doing so, the service-learning movement may become yet another anemic application of a potentially-powerful strategy for social transformation (Claus & Ogden, 2001). They state, “It [service-learning] also has the potential to become a transformative social movement, but this will only be realized if we view it as such” (p. 69). Ogden (2001a) suggests that to focus on the act of service itself is to miss the point, because it does little to promote active participation in social and political change.
Eby (1998) states that educators, students, administrators, faculty and community agencies widely praise service-learning as they believe it is a strategy capable of reviving communities and restoring human relevance to the academy. Limitations to service-learning have surfaced, with criticism implied by such labels as McService, quick fix service, and happy-meal community service. Community agencies are beginning to raise significant questions about the benefits of service-learning to communities – particularly pointing to the need for a social justice framework which is missing in much of the work around service-learning (O’Grady, 2000). It is also crucial that service-learning educators and developers consider more closely the role that communities want to play in the development of programs to ensure that such programs actually identify and meet socially based issues.

Kelly and Wolf-Wendel (2000) conducted an extensive review of the literature and found a lack of attention to community perspectives on service-learning programs. Jones (2003) also suggests that research on service-learning has largely focused on student-learning outcomes, with little attention given to community agency perspectives. Often the intent of service-learning is to meet the needs of students and the academy. The needs of community agencies often come last (Eby, 1998). In addition, many programs look at service-learning as a way for higher education ‘to do for’ communities as opposed ‘to do with’ communities. Taking this first view of service-learning in itself renders invisible the possible contributions that communities could make to the development of such programs. The authors suggest that if service-learning were to truly involve higher education in real-world problem-solving, then communities must be an integral and active partner in these efforts.

**Transformational or Social Justice Paradigm**

Maybach (1996) suggests that few service-learning initiatives focus on the needs of community, and few build programs around a model of accountability and social justice. Fraser (1989) also suggests that ‘needs’ interpretation is politically contested in that it is usually people in the dominant groups that get to interpret such ‘needs’ in their own interests, which work to maintain ‘power over,’ and continue to disadvantage subordinate groups. So, while service-learning programs may meet the ‘needs’ of institutional and student goals, such outcomes may limit service-learning’s power to effect broad-based societal changes from the perspectives of the disadvantaged themselves (Wade, 2001).

The social justice paradigm is one that embraces a service ethic emphasizing a scholarship of engagement and collaboration to address both the symptoms as well as the root causes of
disadvantage (Marullo & Edwards, 2000; O’Grady, 2000; Rosenberger, 2000; Sleeter, 2000). This paradigm, grounded in a critical pedagogy, teaches students how to responsibly investigate what the individuals in a community define their concerns to be (thus removing the provider/recipient role). Such programs foster ‘doing with’ community as opposed to ‘doing for’ community (Kahne et al., 2000; Kelly & Wolf-Wendel, 2000). Students learn how to be involved in service in a mutually empowering and collaborative relationship, how to care with and about people, how to address and ameliorate the root causes of oppression, and how to actively participate in social and political transformation (Daigre, 2000; Maybach, 1996; Marullo & Edwards; Wade, 2001).

The social justice paradigm differs from a charity-based model focused only on addressing symptoms of oppression, which according to Freire (1970, 1999), is oppressive in itself because this does little to substantially alter the structures that maintain oppressive conditions. Responding to human ‘needs’ is important, but if the social policies that create such ‘needs’ are not understood, addressed and challenged from the perspectives of the disadvantaged, the status quo remains, and little changes to transform the lives of the disadvantaged (Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; 2000; Marullo & Edwards, 2000; O’Grady, 2000). In addition, Wade (2001) suggests, “While meeting individual needs in the community is an important aspect of effective citizenship, democracy depends on citizens’ willingness and ability to examine current social problems, evaluate how they have developed over time and consider new directions in creating a better society” (p. 1). Many proponents for the transformative paradigm, therefore, speak to the necessity of societal transformation.

This transformative vision is what Freire (1970, 1999) describes as ‘true generosity;’ fighting to destroy the causes that nourish ‘false charity,’ and dismantling the colonial and patriarchal structures and relationships that give rise to disadvantage. Freire (1970, 1999) describes true generosity as:

Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in false generosity of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression. (p. 36)

True generosity, he suggests, should address the symptoms as well as the root causes of oppression. To fully understand the root causes, the voices of the individuals in the community must be heard and responded to, and partnerships need to be formed through ‘working with’ in order to achieve collaborative social transformation (Daigre, 2000; Maybach, 1996; Marullo & Edwards, 2000). Again, Freire (1970, 1999) states:

Who are better than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressed society? Who suffers the effects of oppression more than the oppressed? Who can better understand the need for liberation? They will not gain this liberation by
change but through praxis of their quest for it, through their recognition of the necessity to fight for it. (p. 27)

A social justice approach to service-learning conceptualized through a pedagogy of the oppressed is one that mutually collaborates with the oppressed in the struggle to regain the oppressed's humanity. This paradigm requires equal input from both partners, the institutions and communities, with the disenfranchised communities playing a vital role in planning how the oppression is to be eliminated (Daigre, 2000; Maybach, 1996; Ogden, 2001). This social justice paradigm politicizes students to become active participants in a more just society (Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Marullo & Edwards, 2000).

O'Grady (2000) states that the ability to coexist in community is at the heart of our survival as a democracy. She argues that we need to find ways for people with different perspectives to make collaborative decisions, form a sense of connectedness, and engage in a joint struggle for social justice. Few writers articulate service-learning from an anti-oppression approach. Much service-learning discussion emphasizes reducing prejudice, appreciating diversity and getting along with others. Ogden (2001) emphasizes the importance of a transformative paradigm of service-learning:

Service for the individual edification and self-esteem is shallow. To transcend this, service learning must move into considerations of the bigger picture, taking action in world that is interconnected. This means not simply treating someone’s hunger by feeding him or her but respecting his or her humanity and considering what we all share. It means considering the root of the hunger and always thinking about why we are engaged in service, what brought us here and where we hope to go. (p. 192)

Transformative paradigms of service-learning require an activist dimension. Charity or direct service-based programs do have a positive impact, but are limited in scope. Transformative programs can achieve long-term and lasting social change. Such programs foster civic participation that challenge and actively works for social transformation. As such, transformative programs are more difficult to establish.

The transformative paradigm of service-learning is, therefore, both a method of inquiry and a mode of political action for social change (Williams, 2002). Such programs help identify root causes of social problems and promote collaborative efforts in ‘doing with’ communities, in order to ameliorate social disadvantage (Kahne et al., 2000). Charity-based programs view communities as having ‘needs,’ whereas transformative based programs view communities as equal partners involved in addressing social problems and identifying solutions (Kelly & Wolf-Wendel, 2000). Both charity- and transformative-based programs are founded on ideological conceptions of education for citizenship. It is the type of ‘citizenship’ that universities hope to foster that determine
which paradigm of service-learning is developed. Educational institutions must, therefore, first explore what types of citizenship they wish to foster among students. This ideology of education for citizenship then becomes the foundational basis for developing service-learning programs. The next section of the literature review explores the development of education for citizenship in Canada.

Education for Citizenship

In the West, the concept of 'citizen' evolved from ancient Greece and Rome. Citizens, as members of those societies, played a central part in building a civil society by sharing and participating in the operation of common affairs. They did this primarily by voting and shaping how they were governed. The establishment of voluntary organizations, private clubs, scientific and literary societies enabled the citizens to express their views and shape their society (Holford, 2001; Sears, 1996).

In the West, British theorist Marshall (Marshall & Bottomore, 1950, 1992) was influential in forming modern conceptions of citizenship. He defined citizenship as "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community" (cited in Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 5). Marshall put forth three elements or values of citizenship that constitute benefits for a common good in a civil society (Marshall & Bottomore, 1950, 1992, p. 8):

- The political dimension – referring to the right to participate in government by having the right to vote, or participate as a candidate in local or national elections.
- The civil dimension – comprising the rights to individual freedom: liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property, the right to conclude contracts, and the right to justice.
- The social dimension – ranging from the right to economic welfare and security to the right to share in the social heritage and life according to the standards of society.

According to Marshall (Marshall & Bottomore, 1950, 1992), civil rights were in place for all citizens in the West by the end of the eighteenth century; political rights included 'all' the adult population by the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Social rights, as the latest phase in citizenship evolution, have been in continuous evolvement over the last 250 years. Kymlicka (1996) suggests that Marshall's conception of the social dimension was based on concern about the exclusion of the working class, and on concern for their socio-economic standing. It was the hope that individual citizens would eventually have equal status, equal rights and duties (Yuval-Davis,
1997), and since then, Western democracies have been the envy of many nations. Bottomore (Marshall & Bottomore, 1950, 1992) points out, however, that Marshall’s concept of citizenship was gender and race blind, lacking a social justice analysis of the rights of citizenship for ‘all’ persons. In reality, democratic rights of full participation have not been made available to all North Americans. According to Strong-Boag (2002), for example, only relatively few North Americans have had the experience of full citizenship – notably men, European in origin, middle class, heterosexual, able-bodied, etc. Aboriginal people, women, the racialized, the poor, gays and lesbians, the disabled, etc. or the majority of people within such these nation-states, have been excluded from full citizenship. This is what Razack (1999a) terms ‘internal border control,’ a nation-state mechanism, which excludes people from citizenry. However, such marginalization of historically disenfranchised groups are often viewed as isolated cases, and not seen as a result of the lack of commitment by an entire nation to fulfill the values and tenets of democracy (Darling-Hammond & Ancess, 1996).

The History of Citizenship in Canada

Canada became an independent country in 1867. So much of early Canadian history has been defined by a desire to create a national identity parallel to that of the British Empire (Joshee, 2002) as the dominant culture. In fact, Canada inherited the two greatest colonial empires, the British and the French (Jiwani, 1998). Razack (1999a; 2000) and Bannerji (1995; 2000) refers to this Canadian national identity as a ‘white settler society,’ upholding Anglo-European culture as the universal, hegemonic basis for nation state formation. In fact, immigration policies were grounded on the principle of a ‘White Canada’ (Grace & Helms, 1998; Jiwani, 1998; Thornhill, 1995), where European settlers became the ‘original’ inhabitants and, therefore, the most entitled to the fruits of citizenship (Razack, 2002).

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, Canada saw legislation that limited access to the rights and privileges of citizenship for certain groups of people. The institution of slavery lasted in Canada for close to two hundred years. The British Empire abolished slavery in 1883 (Aylward, 1999). It was in 1917 that some women obtained the right to vote, primarily the wives, sisters and daughters of the Canadian military. In 1919, enfranchisement extended to white women in Canada.

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28 According to Nieto (2000), “Culture consists of the values, traditions, social and political relationships, and worldviews created, shared, and transformed by a group of people bound together by a common history, geographic location, language, social class, and/or religion” p.139. Tanaka (2003) simplifies this by saying that culture refers to shared meanings.

29 According to Razack (2002), a ‘white settler society’ is one established by Europeans on non-European land through the dispossession and extermination of Indigenous peoples by the conquering Europeans. White settler societies then continue to be structured by a racial hierarchy.
Men of Chinese origin were disfranchised in 1885, and in the early 1900s men of South Asian and Japanese origin were added to the list of those who could not vote. Citizens of colour could not participate in the public sector because one had to be on the voters’ list to hold public office (Joshee, 1992). Rights of citizenship were granted to people of Asian ancestry only after the Second World War.

By 1920 it was also clear, according to government records, that the project of assimilation and integration of Aboriginal people into Canadian society had failed. The Canadian nation aimed for the transformation of Indigenous society by imposing its Anglo-European system of government, law and education on Aboriginal people (Nicholas, 1996). This process of assimilation destroyed many Aboriginal cultures and communities. When assimilation and integration into ‘white society’ did not happen, a new citizenship act in 1961 conferred blanket citizenship on all Aboriginal people without their consent, and without the requirement of enfranchisement. In addition, in 1969 the Canadian government proposed to extinguish all of its ‘Indian’ treaties (Kymlicka, 1996).

All these forms of legislation, which limited access to the rights and privileges of citizenship, were created for the many ‘minorities’ of the country. Kymlicka (1996, p. 17) categorizes minorities within culturally pluralistic nation-states, such as Canada, into national

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and polyethnic

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. These minorities become incorporated into mainstream political communities through colonization and voluntary migration:

- The colonization of previously self-governing peoples, such as the Aboriginal and French in Canada, was accomplished when they became identified as national minorities. May (1998) reminds us that Aboriginal peoples were historically colonized against their will, and Nicholas (1996) adds that while some Aboriginal people have accepted the idea of citizenship today, most consider themselves belonging first to their land, and then to their own nations. Aboriginal people have generally resisted becoming citizens of Canada. In addition, the two founding peoples are generally claimed to be the Anglophones and Francophones, which does not include Aboriginal peoples (Bannerji, 2000). There exists, therefore, a racialized inequitable structure of national minority

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30 The term ‘national minority’ refers to the assimilation of previously self-governing, territorially concentrated peoples, such as Indigenous peoples, into a larger state, while these people desire to maintain themselves as distinct societies and autonomous in self-government (Kymlicka, 1996, p. 27). Canada consists of more than one nation (Aboriginal, English, and French), and is considered a multination-state.

31 The term ‘polyethnic minority’ refers to individual and familial immigration of ethnic groups, who assimilate but do not separate and strive for self-government from the nation-state. These polyethnic groups seek to modify institutions and laws of the mainstream English and French speaking societies of Canada to make them more accommodating and inclusive (Kymlicka, 1996, p. 30). Canada is both multinational and polyethnic.
citizenship in Canada that Aboriginal peoples are further subjected to (Razack, 1999b).

- The voluntary migration of individuals and families from distinct ethnic groups,32 (non-white people) is also part of this incorporation process. More recently immigration into Canada has primarily been comprised of people of colour.

Razack (2000) reminds us that it is the people of European origin, of the dominant culture, who see themselves as the country’s original citizens, and as the ones who are responsible for its development. Monture-Angus (1995) states that the notion of two founding nations forming Canada obliterates Aboriginal peoples, their histories and relationship to the development of this state. Aboriginal peoples and people of colour whose labour and exploitation built this country are ‘white washed’ into oblivion. Because of this and other factors, most Canadians would deny the existence of widespread racism since the historical policies and practices of exclusion remain hidden, thereby enabling support and reinforcement of racial discrimination (Aylward, 1999; Calliste, 2000; Dei, 1996; Monture-Angus). As Razack (1999b) states, most Canadians do not consider Canada implicated in racist policies and practices:

In the Canadian context, the imperialist as savior of Third World peoples is an important construct in nation-building. Canadians define themselves as unimplicated in the genocide of Native peoples or the enslavement of African peoples, a position of innocence that is especially appealing because it enables Canadians to imagine themselves as distinct from Americans. (p. 89)

The institutionalization of systemic discrimination began to surface when Canada signed the United Nations’ Charter in 1948, and Canada began to lay the foundations for multiculturalism.33 In 1971, Canada adopted a federal multicultural policy, which seemed to be the answer to national unity, international understanding and ethno-cultural survival. In practice, however, multiculturalism in Canada encourages celebration of folk-dancing and ethno-cultural cuisine, making invisible the inequities experienced by polyethnic minorities (Thornhill, 1999). Multicultural policies and programs have not examined the social, political, economic and historical factors that construct and frame racism (Dei et al., 2004). While there is support for the principles of multiculturalism in Canada today, this exists alongside assimilationist and racist attitudes and the continued

32 Razack (1999b) points out that Canada is depicted as a haven for immigrants fleeing poverty, war and exploitation, a place where opportunities abound. She adds that what is often absent from this narrative is any acknowledgement of the West’s complicity in the economic and political processes that produce migrants and refugees, particularly people of colour from the South.

33 Multiculturalism began in the late 1960s and 1970s with increasing immigration of people of colour from non-Christian countries. Most group differentiated policies have arisen under the multiculturalism umbrella aimed at accommodating these disadvantaged groups into Canadian society (Kymlicka, 1996).
institutionalization of systemic racism (Dei, 1996; Joshee, 2002). More and more polyethnic minorities are demanding that systemic discrimination be addressed.\(^{34}\)

Canada prides itself for its history of human rights protection and for encouraging the inclusion of diverse groups into the fabric of society. In reality, however, widespread material inequality, and gender and race stratification characterize the socio-political landscape. This view of inequitable citizenship is rarely addressed (Yuval-Davis, 1997). Monture-Angus (1995) suggests that it is possible to create a constitution which respects the true nature of Canadian identity, that is "not only about two founding peoples, but also about the original peoples and more recently, a commitment to multiculturalism" (p. 160). Attempts to address inequities, however, are often viewed as threats to democracy because they are viewed as mechanisms to dismantle and take over, rather than as a celebration of its core commitment (Darling-Hammond & Ancess, 1996).

**Historical Context of Education for Citizenship**

Nation-states such as Canada and the US exercise political and legal jurisdiction over its citizens (May, 1998). One of the main objectives of nation-states is to create good citizens, and it is generally the education system that carries this responsibility (Sears, 1996; Nicholas, 1996). There is a wealth of literature on educating citizens for democratic life, but the bulk of this literature does not address the depth and scope of the marginalization of disenfranchised groups. Citizenship education has been, and continues to be, elitist or class dominated, and blind to gender and race domination.

Citizenship education has historically embraced an assimilationist ideology, aimed at educating students to fit into an Anglo-Saxon Christian (Adams, 1988; Banks, 2002) and male (Bernard-Powers, 1996) conception of the 'good citizen.' According to Joshee (2002), citizenship education has been part of the educational agenda, driven by the on-going task of nation-building and often based on universalist and imperialist values. One of the early aims of citizenship education was to eradicate diverse cultures and languages of people. Many Aboriginal people, because of this assimilationist ideology, lost their cultures, languages, and identities, and many have had their communities destroyed. Residential schools were put into place to do just this – to 'create' Aboriginal children as 'white citizens' and, therefore, useful members of society, and to

\(^{34}\) In his report to the Canadian federal government, Doudou Diene writes that racialized minorities are less concerned today about programs designed to recognize them and offer spaces to host cultural activities. They are more concerned about eliminating racial discrimination that prevents them from participating fully in Canadian society (Commission on Human Rights, 2004). Strong-Boag (2002) adds that a sense of alienation lies at the heart of Canadian society as a pluralistic one. When individuals and communities do not recognize themselves in public institutions as participants in democracy, they are likely to feel that such societies are not their societies.
eliminate Aboriginal cultures (Barman, 1995; Battiste, 2000; Chrisjohn & Young, 1997; Milloy, 1999; Monture-Angus, 1995). Educators utilized the civilization-savagism model through schooling to hasten the evolutionary process of citizenship, and to eliminate tribal sovereignty (Adams, 1988).

As a result of the Canadian residential school legacy, Indigenous peoples today have the highest rates of impoverishment, incarceration, suicide, family violence and breakdown, and substance abuse (Barman, 1995; Chrisjohn & Young, 1997; Monture-Angus, 1995). In addition, they experience some of the highest rates of chronic disease, disability, infant mortality rates, unemployment, and the lowest educational achievement (Andersen & Kirkham, 1998; Allison & Vining, 1999). These normal reactions to conditions of prolonged oppression manifest in an inverted pyramid of social, economic and political marginalization (Chrisjohn & Young, 1997) and widespread social and psychological upheaval (Battiste, 1998).

Educators such as Monture-Angus (1995) and Joshee (2002) assert that the Canadian State continues to maintain a colonial relationship with Aboriginal people through the renunciation of inherent Aboriginal status and rights. Kymlicka (1996) further states that while government policies towards Aboriginal peoples have run the gamut of genocide, segregation and assimilation, "the one constant is that governments have never genuinely recognized Aboriginal peoples as distinct peoples with cultures different from, but not inferior to, their own" (p. 22). In fact, DePass and Qureshi (2002) state that the majority of Aboriginal people view citizenship as a form of subordination within the nation-state which has resulted in their deculturation, alienation and dependence. The harsh socioeconomic realities that have followed the uprooting of Aboriginal peoples, and the continued denial of Aboriginal sovereignty by the Canadian government's refusal to honour treaties and resolve land claims, continue to maintain profound injustices (Razack, 1999b). This historical disregard for land rights reflects persistent discrimination against Aboriginal peoples (Commission on Human Rights, 2004).

Prior to the 1960s, immigrants to Canada were generally expected to shed their distinct heritage and assimilate into existing cultural norms, those of Anglo-Europeans. The Canadian government viewed the idea of nation-building through the inclusion of polyethnic immigration as untenable. Through identity eradication, assimilation was viewed as essential for political stability (Kymlicka, 1996; Nieto, 2000). In addition, students' identities such as race, social class and language were devalued as 'inadequate and negative' in the academic environment because they were not of the Anglo culture (Nieto, 2000). Immigrants to Canada had the choice of assimilating into two dominant cultures. English and French language imperialism in Canada was, therefore, enacted and maintained through immigration and naturalization requirements (MacKay, 1993). Two of the major goals of education, before federal multicultural policies were put into place, were to
eradicate polyethnic groups of their ethnic traits, and to force them to acquire Anglo-Saxon values and behavior.

In the 1970s, under pressure from polyethnic groups, Canada rejected the assimilationist model and adopted a more tolerant and pluralistic policy, which encouraged immigrants to maintain aspects of their cultural heritage (Kymlicka, 1996). The federal government established ‘Cultural Enrichment Programs’ to encourage the learning and retention of heritage languages. The government initiated these programs in response to the changing demographics and ‘ethnic demands’ that spoke of the importance of linking language to the development of cultural identity. Polyethnic minorities also advocated for language maintenance to promote the overall cognitive development amongst ‘ethnic’ students, strengthen community and family ties, and maintain a sense of well-being. In addition, the Canadian government saw heritage languages as a national resource with respect to the nations’ economic and diplomatic role globally (Cummins, 1994; Kymlicka, 1996). This was not the case for Indigenous languages.

The government eliminated the support for heritage language programs in the 1990s as part of fiscal restraint policies. The lack of support in educational policy today for linguistic pluralism, and the continuity of education’s purpose to assimilate Aboriginal students, students of colour and immigrant children into existing social structures, continues to reflect a view of education for nation-building (Nieto, 2000; Olneck, 1995). In addition, by tying bilingualism and biculturalism to the federal social fabric, and by legitimizing the racialized construct of Canadian-ness as ‘white,’ the colonial conditions for restricted access and opportunity to Canadian political and economic life is maintained. Only two languages and the dominant culture of ‘whiteness’ are seen to effectively represent the nation-state. Other languages and cultures are not to be tolerated within the nation-state but to be contained within the private domain (May, 1998). Doudou Diene (Canadian Commission on Human Rights, 2004) states that this ‘colonial mentality’ of British and French superiority still exists.

The adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 led educators to use this document as a basis for discussions on both democratic citizenship and social justice in Canada (Joshee, 2002), including freedoms, justice, due process, dissent, the rule of law, diversity, equality and loyalty. Anti-racism and social justice approaches in education developed at this time. During the 1980s and 1990s, a number of school boards across Canada developed policies on anti-racist education. This was, however, short-lived and demands by polyethnic groups for ethnic revival were viewed as divisive and unfeasible (Kymlicka, 1996).

Education for nation-building, or citizenship education, has therefore been regulated and realized by the underpinnings of imperialism and colonialism (Adams, 1988; Joshee, 2002;
Nicholas, 1996; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Education has primarily been supported and reinforced by scholarly disciplines and scientific paradigms that continue to promote imperialist discourses through the myriad representations and ideological constructions of the ‘other’ (Bannerji, 2000; Dei, 1996; hooks, 1994; Nieto, 2000; Razack, 1999; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). The organization of school knowledge and hidden curriculum, and the representation of difference in the portrayal of unequal relationships support a white, patriarchal, elitist system of values (Dei et al., 2004). This cultural chasm continues to reinforce ‘whites’ as civilized, and Indigenous peoples and peoples of colour as ‘other,’ as ‘savages and barbaric’ (Adams, 1988).

This cognitive imperialism\textsuperscript{35} or cultural racism (Battiste, 2000) has had serious implications for all students, but, in particular, for racialized students. These students are demoralized and stripped of their spirit to participate because “they often find the school culture alien, hostile and self-defeating” (Banks, 2002, p. 2). They are often assigned to transitional classes, failed, and then accused of lacking motivation, attention and academic ability (Battiste, 2000). Many children also learn that what occurs in school is irrelevant to their lives (Nieto, 2000). This social stratification, supported by classism, sexism, and racism, still operates as a major barrier to educational access for marginalized groups (James & Manette, 2000; Nieto, 2000). Yet, education is a precondition to most forms of employment, and, therefore, income (Monture-Angus, 1995).

Today, even though many racialized people have acquired the skills, language and culture of the dominant mainstream, society still denies them structural inclusion and full participation. As DePass and Qureshi (2002) state, racialized people learn to believe in the promises of full citizenship and membership within Canadian society, but this is in dissonance with the daily realities of their lives. Systemic barriers function to prevent the respect for, and upward mobility of racialized people in society (Dei et al., 2004). As Razack (1999) and Bannerji (1995) point out, the lower echelons of the labour market are highly racialized and gendered in Canada. Systemic exclusion is embedded, supported and reinforced by our educational, political and social institutions (Aylward, 1999; Banks, 2002; Dei, 1996; Nieto, 2000; Razack, 1999b). Institutionalized discrimination manifests itself in significant gaps in incomes (Reitz, 1998), lack of access to education and employment, physical violence and incarceration. Imperialist discourses of superiority also crystallize the thoughts, actions and behaviours of citizens, leading to discriminatory or prejudicial assumptions and behaviors in every-day practices (Ng, 1993). The continued denial of access to employment and the erection of job ceiling barriers within institutions and organizations serve as obstacles to political, social and economic equity for racialized peoples,

\textsuperscript{35} Cognitive imperialism is a form of cognitive manipulation that disclaims ‘othered’ knowledge bases and values (Battiste, 2000), thereby denying certain people their languages and cultures by maintaining legitimacy of only two languages, cultures and worldviews.
and provide evidence that systemic racism is deeply entrenched (DePass & Qureshi, 1995; Senator Oliver, 2004).

DePass and Qureshi (2002) frame the experience of racialized people precisely. They state:
Within a narrow exclusionary perspective, citizenship becomes a prize to be guarded. Accordingly, the doors and gates to Club Canada, as well as the fences and boundary lines around Club Canada, present visible and invisible barricades that appear quite formidable to most people of colour. Once one is within Club Canada, an exclusive perspective means that full rights of citizenship, and the opportunities to partake of the social and economic goodies on the table in the dining room are jealously guarded. Either intentionally or unintentionally, some of us may be classified, ranked, and then granted somewhat more prescribed and limited rights and privileges in Club Canada. Some people of colour may be admitted into the house but relegated to eat in the kitchen. We are not allowed to sit at the table and eat in the dining room with relatives and guests. We suspect that some of us may be allowed into the dining room but primarily in the limited capacities of caterers, servers, maids, nurses, and cleaners. (p. 183)

Citizenship, therefore, continues to racialize unequal membership within Canada as a ‘white’ nation by excluding Aboriginal peoples and peoples of colour (including immigrants) from full citizenship. DePass and Qureshi (1995; 2002) add that full citizenship and acceptance are granted relatively more graciously by the nation-state to immigrants and their descendants from European countries, and more reluctantly to immigrants and descendants of peoples from countries of the southern hemisphere, who are predominantly racialized. In other words, citizenship does not necessarily bring social, political and economic equity for people of colour even though it may grant residency in Canada. As Bannerji (2000) claims, the state ascribes agency to those who are seen as legitimate and full citizens and constructs ‘others’ as peripheral. “There is in this process an element of racialized ethnicization, which whitens North Americans of European origins and blackens or darkens their ‘others’ by the same stroke” (p. 6). Dei et al. (2004) agree by stating there is an implicit assumption that ‘whiteness’ continues to underlie who is really Canadian.

It is because of a response to these systemic disadvantages that special legal or constitutional measures, above and beyond the common rights of citizenship, extend to certain groups through group-specific rights (Kymlicka, 1996, p. 27). These include:

1) The right to self-government and self-determination for Aboriginal peoples in controlling health, education, law and resource development. May (1998) adds that by virtue of this right, Aboriginal peoples are free to determine their political status and direct their economic, social, cultural and educational development.
2) Polyethnic rights through the development of anti-racist policies as part of Canada’s multicultural policy, including public funding for ethnic associations,
magazines, festivals, and for the provision of immigrant language education in schools.

3) Special representation rights particularly in legislatures, which are dominated by middle-class, able-bodied, white men, to be more inclusive of racialized peoples, women, the poor, the disabled, and people with different sexual preferences.

Kymlicka (1996) goes on to state that group-specific rights (or differentiated citizenship\(^{36}\)) have always been a legitimate component of the liberal tradition. These are meant to challenge the assimilation process by reforming public institutions to become more accommodating and less discriminatory. However, as group-specific rights have escalated, the state's support for public reform has diminished – which Kymlicka (1996) calls benign-neglect.

**Education for Citizenship Today**

Education for citizenship today favors an agenda that supports the promotion of social responsibility by preparing students for responsible citizenship, including global citizenship. Reports that support this resurgence in citizenship education (*South Hall Exchange*, 2001; *Looking into the future*, 2004; Wall, Denis, Moll, Marita, Froese-Germain & Bernie, 2000, cited in Joshee, 2002, p. 22) ask that policy makers, researchers and educators explore the meaning of active citizenship in Canada as a country that is ethnically, linguistically and geographically diverse, and open to the influences of the world. The majority of Canadians also agree that the role of public education is to provide a well-balanced education in preparing students for citizenship (Wall et al., 2000, cited in Joshee, 2002, p. 22). The Citizen’s Forum, commissioned in Canada, list seven values of citizenship (cited in Kymlicka, 1996, p. 187):

1) a belief in equality and fairness
2) a belief in consultation and dialogue
3) the importance of accommodation and tolerance
4) support for diversity
5) compassion and generosity
6) attachment to the natural environment
7) commitment to freedom, peace, and non-violence

\(^{36}\) Differentiated citizenship is viewed as the adoption of group-specific, self-government and polyethnic rights (Kymlicka, 1996).
Several other policy documents, national and international, speak similarly (e.g. Education for Citizenship, 2005; An executive summary of the citizenship education policy study, 1997; Wall et al., 2000, cited in Joshee, 2002, p. 26). The National Council for Social Studies (cited in National Service Resource Center, 2004) suggests a few additional characteristics of citizenship, such as:

1) accepting responsibility for the well-being of oneself, one’s family and the community
2) acquiring knowledge of the people, history and traditions that have shaped their local communities, the nation and the world
3) seeking information from varied sources and perspectives to develop informed opinions and creative solutions
4) asking meaningful questions and analyzing/evaluating information and ideas, and using effective decision-making and problem-solving skills in public and private life
5) actively participating in civic and community life

Yet, none of these documents give an in-depth analysis as to how students are to go about developing these competencies. McGregor (2002), however, categorizes these elements of citizenship education into three main areas: the civil, political and social. The civil refers to community involvement, learning about and caring for the disadvantaged through service. The political refers to using these learnings in making informed decisions and taking action through political participation locally, nationally and/or internationally. The social refers to developing socially and morally responsible behaviours at work, play and home that reflect the values of citizenship.

When educators ask college students to identify citizenship skills they have learned through education, students generally speak of voting, obeying the law and paying taxes (Andrzejweski & Alessio, 1999). So while the development of citizenship and civic responsibility are highlighted within educational policies, it seems that many students, and educators for that matter, seldom describe the development of citizenship as part of their learning (Smith, 1994), and students are failing to make the connection between citizenship, politics and human rights (Westeimer & Kahne, 2000).

The 1990s ushered in an era of neo-liberalism (Joshee, 2002) with a mandate to cut spending and eliminate government deficits, and with multicultural and social programs first to be cut while group-specific demands for rights escalated. The renewal and interest in citizenship education in Canada at present is due to an interest in social cohesion and not in restoring funding or reinstating dismantled equity programs (Bernard, 1999). Jenson (1998) suggests that this focus
on social cohesion is a response to the consequences of neo-liberal policies and programs aimed at increasing social solidarity and restoring faith in the institutions of the Canadian government. Since liberal justice requires a sense of common purpose and mutual solidarity, social cohesion is seen as a process of developing a community of compassion, shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within Canada (Bernard, 1999).

Tanaka (2003) suggests that this new attention on the need for social cohesion seeks to promote social order by returning to a Eurocentric focus of education at the expense of national and polyethnic minorities. It is noteworthy that group-differentiated rights have often been feared and seen as undermining this sense of shared civic identity. DePass and Qureshi (1995) claim that gatekeepers and representatives of the Euro/Anglo social strata tend to view people of colour as not being able to fit in, and if they do, they are seen as a threat to the nation's identity and its social and economic stability. Henry, Tator, Mattis and Rees (1995) suggest that the gatekeepers, in defending these views, construct a history of nationalism which ignores or erases the impact of colonization and conquest, and produces a history that suggests Canada has evolved as a tolerant society, which in fact is under threat by 'aliens – the racialized minorities.'

The way to develop a shared civic identity is to have a common (or undifferentiated) citizenship (Kymlicka, 1996). Hebert and Wilkinson (2002) suggest that the state's desire for social cohesion is a challenge in a pluralistic society. They further argue that citizenship should recognize and include the contributions of diverse individuals and groups in developing a democratic state. Calls for social cohesion through common citizenship that prescribes compassion and return to basic values, in a multination-state such as Canada, would in fact support the culture of the 'white' majority. This 'assimilated' notion of citizenship would contribute to exclusive perspectives of citizenship (DePass & Qureshi, 1995) and maintain democratic racism (Henry et al., 1995). Common citizenship as depoliticized, with a lack of attention to social justice, is one of the major challenges presented in this new lens to social solidarity (Joshee, 2002).

It is no coincidence that this renewed interest in citizenship education has coincided with cuts to social programs – not so benign a neglect. This new direction of citizenship education is aimed at the mobilization of individual citizens (Yuval-Davis, 1977) to take on the responsibility for the state in addressing the 'needs' of the disadvantaged. Bernard (1999) agrees that in eliminating or reducing the state's role in addressing systemic inequities, the responsibility for social programs and the welfare of communities falls onto the members of that society, specifically on citizens. Citizenship then stops being part of a political discourse focused on addressing the structural barriers to full participation and, instead, becomes voluntary involvement fueled by appeals to community for assistance. Inequality thus takes on a charity framework rather than a social justice
one and becomes the responsibility of individuals and volunteer groups. "With social problems defined as requiring charitable attention, citizens must develop shared values, mutual trust, and the willingness to care for those less fortunate. The development of these characteristics, then, would become the focus of citizenship education" (Joshee, 2002, p. 23). Monture-Angus (1995) describes this as the missionary philosophy to education, one that has led to devastating consequences for Aboriginal people and people of colour.

The push for group-specific rights by Aboriginal peoples and peoples of colour, and the corresponding dismantling of group-specific and equity programs, along with the nation-state’s call to individual citizens and volunteer groups to care for those disadvantaged, might thus operate as a new form of colonialism. The State, through ‘benign neglect,’ willfully neglects its responsibility of social citizenship for disadvantaged or marginalized citizens, in particular racialized and poor peoples, by replacing social programs and transferring this responsibility onto its advantaged and elite citizens as personally responsible citizens. Many people within marginalized groups already take on the responsibility of caring for their disadvantaged members.

This notion of the personally responsible citizen is aligned with the politics of the right, which directs the character education movement. This movement promotes community service and emphasizes an individualist notion of citizenship – someone that votes, has a good job, pays taxes, obeys the law, and provides service or gives to charity. Merging altruism with citizenship, good citizens perform community service as charity (Kahne et al., 2000; Kahne & Westheimer, 2001). This approach represents the ‘colonial’ concept of the good citizen (Schudson, cited in Westheimer & Kahne, 2002). According to Varlotta (1997) this is part of the liberal rhetoric of citizenship and democracy which still operates by supporting and reinforcing sexism, racism and classism. This orientation to citizenship in promoting the personally responsible framework, disadvantages national and polyethnic minorities who no longer have the structural mechanisms to address their historical and continued oppression. These changes are creating a new national culture, and as Razack (2000) reminds us, the power to block these emerging counter-narratives is very important to the maintenance of imperialism.

Many have expressed grave concerns regarding this depoliticized view of education for citizenship. First, a society that depends on volunteers to address the needs of the disadvantaged does not view social welfare rights as a basic citizenship right of its members (Joshee, 2002). Second, as Funiciello (1993) states, establishing ‘institutionalized begging sites’ by handing such privilege to volunteers and their organizations, is never a solution – people lack the normal means of access, in particular, income. Charitable organizations then spend time and effort on obtaining money from the nation-state to run these places, which shifts focus away from ‘helping the poor’
and towards sustaining the institution. So the organizations’ very survival depends upon the existence of poor people. The poor and disadvantaged, therefore, get to support the employment of the privileged. Third, as stated previously, the ‘benign neglect’ of a state’s responsibilities in asking individual citizens to care for the less fortunate could very well be a morphing into the colonial agenda.

Funiciello (1993) claims that the underbelly of this ideology of ‘caring for those less fortunate’ is racist, sexist and classist, as the disadvantaged are usually women, Aboriginal people, people of colour and immigrants who are disproportionately represented in the ranks of the poor. People who volunteer through charitable organizations, on the other hand, are usually the elite or ‘pillars of society’ (Sears, 1996), who, by reason of birth or wealth, see themselves especially ‘fit’ for the business of rule. As Razack (1999) has pointed out, the elite or white citizenry see themselves as the country’s original and true citizens and, therefore, legitimize themselves for the business of developing the nation-state.

Such a parallel may also be drawn with regard to the development of service-learning in higher education. The charity paradigm of service-learning involves the participation of active, personally responsible students as citizens, who are economically successful (middle-class) in a capitalistic society, led by educators who are usually white and male, fulfilling her/his citizenship duties (Yval-Davis, 1997). The ‘white’ national psyche of the nation-state, and therefore education, depends on a view of racialized bodies as degenerate and uncultured (Razack, 1999a). In addition, the ‘elite’ is usually loyal to the state, intolerant of political extremism and ‘those’ seen as deviating from social norms, such as criminals. In this worldview, welfare recipients and poor people, who are primarily gendered and racialized, are considered inferior, dirty and uncivilized; the more ‘advanced’ and ‘civilized’ people can thus reconfirm their own superiority through helping those less advanced. Racism, sexism and classism rely on such assumptions. Razack (1999b) also points out that this narrative, the white people as savior, is centuries old.

The ideological constructions of racialized people as ‘other’ continues to support and reinforce imperialism, capitalism and patriarchy. The framing of citizenship education as a reliance on an altruistic form of ‘giving something back’ to communities or to ‘those less fortunate’ sets up an ideology, which maintains hegemonic relations. These particular points of view within education, along with the political agenda for social cohesion, seems to serve these very ideologies in maintaining and reproducing a gendered and racialized stratification. So what would a critical race feminist approach to education for citizenship entail?
A Critical Race Feminist Approach to Education for Citizenship

In Canada, national minorities, particularly Aboriginal peoples, have resisted attempts to impose common citizenship on them. The demand by polyethnic minorities for representation and equal opportunity has been based on the need to address systemic discrimination and achieve inclusion. "The common rights of citizenship, originally defined by and for white, able-bodied, Christian men, cannot accommodate the special needs of these groups. Instead, a fully integrative citizenship must take these differences into account" (Kymlicka, 1996, p. 181). Imposing common citizenship onto minorities is likely to increase conflict. "If anything, attempts to subordinate these separate identities to a common identity have backfired, since they are perceived by minorities as threats to their very existence, and have therefore resulted in even greater indifference or resentment (Whitaker 1992, as cited in Kymlicka, 1996, p. 185). This new lens on citizenship education which would promote a sense of solidarity and shared values for the common good will likely continue to promote racial and national injustice. From a critical race feminist perspective, promoting a sense of solidarity and common purpose in a multination-state will involve politicizing citizenship through inclusion rather than subordination and exclusion of national and polyethnic identities.

It is clear that the charity framework and depoliticization of citizenship, combined with cognitive imperialism in education, in preparing students for responsible citizenship along humanitarian and charitable lines is critically tied to colonial relations in maintaining the social status quo and the subordination of racialized peoples. If people are all equally human, with some simply not as intelligent, hardworking or advanced as others, then no one need take responsibility for inequality. The 'civilized' can confirm their superiority through helping those disadvantaged (Razack, 1999b). Adams (1988) reminds us that the colonization and assimilation of Indigenous peoples was commissioned as a humanitarian effort to solve the 'Indian problem.' In other words, the colonizers, in determining what the disadvantaged 'needed,' perpetuated genocide. As O'Grady (2000) suggests, without the theoretical underpinnings provided by an anti-racist and anti-colonial analysis, citizenship education can perpetuate racist, sexist and classist assumptions about the 'other' and "reinforce a colonialist mentality of superiority" (p. 12).

Aboriginal people in particular have highlighted the limits of democracy and the colonial underpinnings of nation-state formation (May, 1998). Education has long been a means of oppression for Aboriginal people and people of colour through nation-state formation (Monture-Angus, 1995). A critical race feminist conception of education for citizenship would argue that schools are a mechanism of cultural, social, political and economic distributions acting to reproduce unequal social relationships and support an elitist, Eurocentric, male-dominated, political, social and economic structures (Aylward, 1999; Banks, 2002; Dei, 1996; Kymlicka, 1996; Nieto, 2000;
Razack, 1999b). By politicizing education for citizenship, justice oriented citizens need to critically assess and challenge these systems and structures that maintain the status-quo.

Nation-states must re-imagine themselves along more plural and inclusive lines. In this approach, education for citizenship requires that individuals collectively work to evaluate, critique, challenge, change and create public institutions in order to promote social justice (Westheimer & Kahne, 2000). Wade (2001) suggests that a socially just society is one where all members have their basic needs met. In addition, all individuals would be physically and psychologically safe and secure, and able to develop their full potential so that they could all interact democratically with others.

From a critical race perspective, education for citizenship provides a vision of education in transforming society. Such a perspective would challenge the continued universality of imperialist values and colonial relations embedded within our public institutions, which continue to maintain and secure a racial hierarchy of inequity (Razack, 2000). With this ideology and understanding, a critical race feminist approach to service-learning can be developed.

**Critical Race Feminist Approach to Service-Learning**

Rosenberger (2000) asks, “To what extent does service learning contribute to the creation of a more just and equitable society?” (p. 24). It would seem that the charity or status-quo paradigm of service-learning, in supporting and maintaining colonial relations of power, would likely sustain hegemonic systems and practices, and perpetuate economic injustices based on race, class and gender. As O’Grady (2000) suggests, it is imperative that an analysis of structural politics in education be rigorous in order for policy developers, educators and students to strive for social change. Without these underpinnings, service-learning programs may foster an attitude of paternalism on the part of the institution as ‘server’ and one of dependence on the part of those ‘being served.’ These programs may also enhance student’s feelings of self-worth and ‘feeling good’ for contributing to society, but contribute little to understandings of systemic inequities and social injustice. “Responding to individual human needs is important, but if the social policies that create these needs is not also understood and addressed, then the cycle of dependence remains” (O’Grady, 2000, p. 13).

A critical race feminist approach to service-learning and education for citizenship can potentially serve as a vehicle for systemic change within education and society at large. This conceptualization is more likely to encourage students to actively engage in the political process of social transformation. Educational conversations within this context would critically explore
citizenship within a democratic but unequal society in order to transform such social structures. From a critical race feminist perspective, as Rosenberger (2000) suggests, education for citizenship would entail recognizing the difference between beliefs and actions that dominate and oppress people, and actions that liberate and transform society. This calls for a problematization of the existing reality of social injustice, where this reality, rather than oppressed people, becomes the object of analysis, and where people are all called upon to support transformation of this reality. Service-learning from this perspective requires that education teach about the systemic nature of social inequality, including its sources, histories and manifestations in order to redress injustices (Densmore, 2000). Claus and Ogden (2001) summarize this by saying that a critical perspective to service-learning is closely linked to changing the world, rather than adapting to it.

Service-learning, from a critical race feminist perspective, would provide a compelling approach for social transformation. As part of a larger political change strategy, this would involve a process of politicization that would put entire communities, both individual and institutional, on the path to becoming active agents of social change, and would be an investment in our future.

**Institutionalizing Service-Learning**

As a reflection of Canadian society and all its institutions, education generally continues to remain a vehicle of oppression in reinforcing systemic discrimination (Aylward, 1999; Banks, 2002; Dei, 1996; Dei et al., 2004; Monture-Angus, 1995, Razack, 1999b). In addition, the mistrust between institutions and locally-based communities stem from histories of exploitation (Campus Compact, 2000). Institutional ‘research’ is also inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. Research institutions have been a site of struggle between the interests and ways of dominant knowledges and the interests and ways of resisting of the ‘Other’ (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Enos and Morton (2003) also suggest that institutional partnerships with disenfranchised communities are based on views that perceive communities as the domain of problems, and institutions as the domain of solutions. All of these conditions exasperate mistrust between communities and educational institutions. How then does UBC and other institutions of higher education build partnerships with disadvantaged communities based on these histories, social hierarchies and sites of differential knowledges?

Before any planning can occur, institutional leadership must set the stage and change the agenda through the institutional vision and mission (Cox, 2001; Maurrasse, 2001). Once accomplished, institutions of higher education can set the processes in place to fulfill this mission through organizational goals and strategies. Much of the literature on institutionalizing service-learning suggests that the primary agenda should be one of creating mutually beneficial and
respectful partnerships. According to the Comprehensive Action Plan for Service Learning model (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996) this would require listening to the communities with which an institution wishes to partner. From a CRFT perspective, this would involve including and legitimizing the experiences and histories of people of colour in the development of such partnerships. The creation of these authentic partnerships would likely require institutional transformation in working across social hierarchies, and the inclusion of ‘othered’ sites of knowledges. According to Jacoby (2003), given the elitist, conflict-driven and competitive culture at colleges and universities, authentic partnerships with communities will likely not occur unless institutional leadership addresses these historical power differentials.

Why are institutions of higher education embracing an engagement agenda? Defined by Holland (2001), “The engaged institution is committed to direct interaction with external constituencies and communities through the mutually-beneficial exchange, exploration, and application of knowledge, expertise, resources and information” (p. 24). Holland and Ramaley (2001) suggest several reasons for engagement through partnerships – to strengthen the democratic way of life; to encourage students to become involved in the public life of their communities and become responsible citizens; to practice and model good civic responsibility; to commit to engagement as a tool for campus transformation; to address economic and community development challenges to societal problems; to revive the communities surrounding post secondary institutions; and to increase the regional relevance of the institution. Embracing an engagement agenda would also require an institution to initiate transformation from within by improving the fit between the components of the organization and communities to be partnered with, and by fundamentally redefining its identity, values and mission.

Mohanty (1997) suggests that any collaboration across social hierarchies must involve a critique of hegemony. A social justice or CRFT approach to institutionalizing service-learning, therefore, must entail a critique and transformation of hegemonic structures and practices so that authentic partnerships with disenfranchised communities can be developed. These are the types of partnerships that would enable colleges and universities to meet their goals for student learning and development while also creating outstanding partnerships to address and solve local, national and global concerns.

If goals of service-learning include reviving communities through citizenship education, transforming society to eliminate oppression, and enhancing the well-being of marginalized peoples, we must develop ways of challenging and transforming hegemony. Monture-Angus (1995) suggests that structural and systemic change is the only way in which meaningful and substantive long-term change can be secured. Social change agents must also understand how oppressive
relationships operate and sustain themselves through continued constructions of the ‘other.’ This understanding can only be obtained from those who experience the oppression, by listening to the oppressed (Freire, 1970, 1993). With that understanding begins the work of re-organizing institutions for the transformation necessary to begin collaborative work with racialized communities.

**Institutional Transformation**

The Comprehensive Action Plan for Service Learning (CAPSL) (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996) proposes that a small group of key individuals (administrators, faculty, students, staff and community members) with interest and motivation in the development of service-learning be included in the initial planning stage for institutional self-assessment on: (a) where the institution is and where it is going; (b) the institutional, student, and faculty culture, climate and values; and (c) the resources and obstacles for developing service-learning. This study has begun to address this form of assessment from a critical race feminist perspective.

Bringle and Hatcher (1996) suggest that faculty champions must be found, that is, those already involved in service-learning programs, to share their experiences and strategies for program development. A strategic plan for implementing service-learning can then be developed, along with institutional commitments such as budget, office space and the hiring of personnel, with the identification of a person to assume leadership and administrative responsibility for initiating and establishing programs. The integration of service-learning into the general education of the institution is the goal. In addition, an office for service-learning should involve itself in program evaluation and institutional outcomes, and publish results in professional journals. Administratively then, “evidence that service-learning is institutionalized would include having service and service-learning as explicit parts of the institution’s mission, long-range plans, institutional assessment, and hard-line budget allocations” (p. 227).

In short, institutions must develop the infrastructure including a centralized space, policies, procedures, staff and budget, that would build the capacity to initiate, respond to and evaluate, in collaboration with the respective communities, service-learning programs and partnerships. Bringle and Hatcher (1996) also suggest promoting a common understanding of what constitutes service-learning through brochures, news releases, faculty workshops and presentations. Highlighting a prototype course at the institution to model a service-learning course and its curriculum can support these educational activities. Instructors, students and community members involved with this course
can serve as advocates of service-learning to speak about the programs and identify how course components, such as reflection and evaluation, can be structured.

There are a number of challenges, however, for institutional transformation. There often are substantial differences in the cultures and even operating procedures of institutions and communities, differences such as race, class and educational backgrounds (Marullo & Edwards, 2000). Institutions may have to rethink some fundamental issues, such as how and what knowledge is created, what role faculty might have, how curriculum should be designed to foster civic responsibility, and how to be more effectively involved with communities for the purposes of social change (Ramaley, 2001; Alter & Book, 2001). Engagement, however, must take into consideration the histories of exclusion that inform contemporary social relations and hierarchies, as such norms are embedded within the culture of the institutions themselves. However, Campbell (2003) argues that most institutions of higher education in Canada lack a concrete commitment to diversity and inclusion. In addition, Cox (2001) states that institutional transformation with regards to integrating social diversity is often strongly resisted because it may be perceived as a threat to the hegemonic social structure, creating barriers to institutional transformation. Marullo and Edwards (2000), Bishops (1994) and Dei (1996) agree that institutional elites who benefit from the status quo have a self-interest in opposing such transformational initiatives, and have the resources to back them. This in itself would make such a task extremely difficult. The literature on institutionalizing service-learning does not speak to such issues.

Cultural diversity training might be necessary in order to shift institutional norms. However, even though there has been a great deal of work done on this type of training in organizations, returns on its effectiveness are not encouraging and such training has failed to produce any lasting impact. Cox (2001) suggests that institutional cultures are often toxic because the histories and contemporary realities of oppression shape power relations, making the reality of diversity unsustainable. Razack (1999b) adds that the inadequacy of the ‘cultural diversity’ or ‘cultural differences approach’ to training is not so much that they are wrong, for culturally specific practices must be taken into account, but that the emphasis on cultural diversity too often descends to a superficial reading of differences that makes power relations invisible and keeps dominant cultural norms in place. Additionally, and more importantly, the idea that cultural diversity is to be acquired and practiced by dominant groups through training and education also replaces any concrete attempts to diversify institutions through the employment of disadvantaged individuals. Theories about cultural diversity are also developed and facilitated mostly by white theorists and practitioners. All of these factors, in addition to resistance, make institutional transformation a challenge. The long-term preparedness of higher education to develop lasting partnerships with
disenfranchised communities is dependent upon its ability to change internally (Maurrasse, 2001). This would require transformation along many fronts, and again, much of this is not covered in the literature.

**Faculty**

Since service-learning is course-driven, the involvement of faculty is crucial. An office for service-learning would involve itself in getting faculty interested and providing support to initiate programs and make curriculum changes involving experiential learning activities (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996). Marullo and Edwards (2000) and Tierney (1999) suggest that the key to institutional transformation is to call on those interested and already involved with service-learning to speak about the benefits. More importantly, faculty for service-learning from a social justice approach must rigorously be sought out, if long-term sustainable commitment to social change is ever to be realized.

For service-learning to be institutionalized, institutional barriers that faculty face must be addressed. Such barriers include the additional workloads created by developing service-learning courses, and the lack of tangible supports and compensation (Battiste, 2002). Institutions of higher education are not often designed to support community-based involvement and, as such, do not reward ‘service’ (Maurrasse, 2001). In addition, research dominates faculty climate as the primary measure of performance (Holland, 2001). Therefore, in order to institutionalize service-learning, not only should service be part of the institution mission, faculty also need these service components legitimized as central academic and scholarly enterprises.

The literature does speak to some strategies for enticing faculty involvement. Supports for faculty might include providing teaching assistants, creating advisory groups, and granting special privileges such as release time and conference opportunities. Outreach or community-based research and service might be referenced in faculty promotion and tenure guidelines to demonstrate support. Commitment to engagement can also be demonstrated by supporting interdisciplinary research-based work with communities (Holland, 2001).

**Students**

Service programs have been shown to build a greater sense of community on campus (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996). Students usually involve themselves in voluntary services and organizations across campuses, and students may also be actively involved with their communities
independent of their campuses. Students may also be involved in service-learning programs developed by faculty, which may be institutionalized for instance, by meeting degree requirements. Academic credit related to service activities increases its attractiveness to students, particularly for commuter students.

The nature of the student climate, culture and attitudes with regards to service activities are also important to know for the development of service-learning. It is also valuable to have students involved in planning, by participating as members of an advisory committee, planning course activities, and assisting in the development of campus wide support (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996). As students become more familiar with these programs, they can assume leadership roles as student assistants for courses, become site coordinators, and participate in program evaluations. Recognition of student involvement is also important, and might include internal or external publicity, scholarships that reward service, and co-curricular transcripts that summarize service or service-learning experiences that are typically not recorded on university transcripts (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996).

**Institutional - Community Partnerships**

Jones (2003) suggests that mutually beneficial institutional partnerships with communities through service-learning must enable student-learning objectives to be realized while advancing community agency goals and activities. Most of the literature on institutional partnerships with communities for the purposes of establishing service-learning programs is written from institutional points of view. Some of these include Campus Compact (2000), Holland (2001), Jacoby (2003) and Ramaley (2001), which speak of three critical components to building mutually beneficial partnerships: designing the partnerships; building collaborative relationships; and sustaining partnerships over time.

**Designing Partnerships**

According to Bringle and Hatcher (1996) “universities must provide strong leadership, articulate clear goals, and maintain supportive institutional policies to develop these partnerships” (p. 234). These authors outline three characteristics for effective institutional-community partnerships: (a) mutually beneficial interaction between the institution and community, (b) interactions guided by institutional choice and strategy, and (c) interactions designed to be of value and importance to both partners.
How are communities defined? Campus Compact (2000) suggests that communities are ‘geographic’ as well as ‘of interest,’ in that groups of people may unite because of a common location or connect with each other intellectually, professionally, or politically. The definition of community used in this research is from Campus Compact (2000) where “community refers primarily to the immediate neighbors of the college or university – schools, religious institutions, small businesses, big businesses, and community-based organizations. Partnerships are the result of collaborative efforts between these organizations and the university or college community” (p. 3).

Eyler and Giles (1999), Battistoni (2002) and Marullo and Edwards (2000) all emphasize the importance of developing mutually beneficial institutional partnerships with communities. Communities are, therefore, seen as vital in guiding such service activities (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996). It is crucial that service-learning partnerships be developed and formulated with the community. The charity-based paradigm of service-learning that emphasizes ‘service to’ or ‘service for’ community is usually viewed by communities as disempowering and paternalistic. This, in addition to the ‘lab’ approach where communities are treated as subjects of study, as well as the histories of exploitative institutional research projects conducted on communities, has resulted in mistreatment of communities and, consequently, mistrust on the part of communities (Maurrasse, 2001; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

Service with communities, in which the community representatives and faculty co-develop what the students will do in the community, is, therefore, a principle of good practice (Howard, 2001), where communities and their residents are respected for their knowledges, experiences and wisdom. This requires the campus acting as a good ‘institutional citizen,’ where the institution approaches the community, or vice versa, as a partner in education rather than just a placement site where clients are to be served. “Partnership underscores mutual interdependence and helps create an understanding of community- not as those with problems but as the group to which we all belong” (Battistoni, 2002, p. 54). For these reasons, social justice paradigms of service-learning, where partnerships are designed around ‘doing with,’ are empowering to both communities and institutions.

University and community partnerships must be based on mutual collaboration. However, universities must also understand that community organizations are already burdened with heavy workloads and demands on their time. Developing partnerships with communities would have to take this into account. In addition, providing orientation to the communities and the specific organizations with which students will be placed, as well as co-developing desired learning outcomes and inviting community–based organizations to play a teaching and evaluation role, must
all be negotiated together. Logistical issues such as transportation for students, scheduling placements and liability risks also have to be addressed (Battistoni, 2002). Truly mutual collaborative relationships might involve joint strategic planning, curriculum development and co-teaching mechanisms.

**Building Collaborative Partnerships**

Campus Compact (2000) has identified benchmarks for the three critical components in building partnerships. These partnerships “strive to meet the needs of a community, as defined by the community, that are of high quality and sustained involvement, that involve presidents, students, faculty, staff and community members. In such partnerships and individuals can learn and practice civic skills” (p. 2). In addition, all involved in the partnership should expect to be changed by the experience of engagement. Service-learning relationships are, therefore, formed through collaborative and authentic conversations between members of institutions and communities that create a common vision in addressing community issues, and that strengthen both environments when resources and skills are pooled for each other’s benefit.

Partnerships require time to build and maintain, requiring personal and emotional investment. Building relationships are initially more process-oriented than task-oriented, thus requiring time and running the risk of being viewed as unproductive or touchy-feely (Langseth, 2000). This in itself may prevent relationships from forming. However, taking the time necessary, strong relationships can be built, underpinned by “trust and mutual respect; equal voice; shared responsibilities; risks and rewards; forums to support frequent and open communication; clear lines of accountability; shared vision; and mutual interest” (Campus Compact, 2000, p. 6). In this paradigm, institutional and community partnerships are co-creators, co-owners and co-evaluators of their joint efforts (Langseth, 2000) in which service-learning programs are developed around ‘doing with’ communities.

Marullo and Edwards (2000) suggest that in order to build collaborative relationships based on trust and equality, institutions would be required to relinquish some control to their community partners, and to ensure that the concerns of the communities are given highest priority. Langseth (2000), however, suggests that when institutions embark on building relationships with communities for the purposes of service-learning, their lack of attention to power differentials and to the institutionalized Eurocentric values often creates harm and distrust. Jones (2003) adds that if

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37 Engagement, as defined by the literature, is reciprocal, requiring the creation of a shared agenda, and must be beneficial to all partners (Campus Compact, 2000; Alter & Books, 2001; Ramaley, 2001).
these power relationships are not acknowledged, these partnerships will likely replicate social inequities. Institutions, therefore, need to invest energy in exploring the histories, social relations and conditions that structure groups unequally. There is, again, very little in the literature that speaks to partnerships from this perspective. Most, if not all, educational institutions are organized according to a competitive model rather than a cooperative one. Campus Compact (2000) suggests that for "partnerships to succeed, an organizational model that places independent thought as its locus may need to be replaced with one that highlights relationships" (p. 13).

There are some advantages for communities in partnering with institutions: institutions usually have available a wealth of economic and physical resources such as purchasing power, employment opportunities, lecture and conference spaces, and athletic facilities. Institutions can offer communities access to these institutional resources. Universities also have links to other public institutions such as government and hospitals, thereby augmenting possibilities of collaboration.

Communities also possess a wealth of resources. They possess leadership and contacts with other communities who can lend credibility to the work of an institution in building collaborations for service-learning. Community groups may also be experts in regional issues, often knowing how to navigate racial, gender and class differences within communities, and often have staff that speak in many different languages (Campus Compact, 2000).

**Sustaining Partnerships**

One of the challenges with institutional-community partnerships is the academic arrangement of three or four semesters in an academic year, and the high turnover of students which may not be conducive to the more continuous kind of relations and level of service communities require. In addition, having community staff members engage in research or in co-teaching elements of service-learning programs might be seen as a diversion from the very high demands of their jobs (Marullo & Edwards, 2000). Other issues, such as the lack of rewards, recognition and incentives for communities in such collaborations require addressing. All of these factors have to be discussed during the planning stages, and continuously addressed, if partnerships are to be sustained.

Partnerships also require evaluation on the following: the impact on the participating groups, particularly the community, the products of a partnership, and the processes by which work is accomplished. Evaluation works best when integrated into daily operations and when it becomes a tool to improve the partnerships, guide future work and modify existing practices (Campus Compact, 2000). Institutional staff should develop effective means for gathering regular feedback from students in order to meet academic objectives. Regular community feedback about the nature
of these partnerships should also be sought (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002). Assessing the impact that teaching and service-learning programs have on students, particularly the student as citizen, is also essential (Marullo & Edwards, 2000).

Marullo and Edwards (2000) suggest that all educational institutions that support community service should have advisory boards. These advisory groups should be comprised of students, staff, faculty and members from community groups. They could monitor these partnerships and guard against inappropriate dependency, power differences in decision-making, and exploitation (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002). Last, affirmation or celebration of partnerships including public presentations of the partnerships, publication of articles and celebrations of successes and outcomes of service-learning programs are also viewed as important in sustaining these partnerships (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002).

Community-Campus Partnerships for Health\textsuperscript{38} (CCPH) (as quoted in Jacoby, 2003, p. 14) has developed partnership principles, which neatly summarize some of the major key elements in designing, building and sustaining partnerships between academic institutions and communities. These principles are:

- Agreed upon mission, goals, and measurable outcomes.
- Develop mutual trust, respect, genuineness and commitment.
- Build on identified strengths and assets, and also areas that need improvement.
- Balance power among partners where resources are shared.
- Establish clear, open and accessible communication where the priority is to listen, develop a common language, and clarifying the meaning of terms.
- Establish roles, norms and processes with input from all of the partners.
- Ensure feedback to, among and from all stakeholders in the partnerships with the goal of improving the partnership and outcomes.
- Share the credit for the partnership’s accomplishments.
- Take time to develop partnerships.

Maurrasse (2001) states that the recent community-building movement involving educational institutional engagement with communities has emerged as a promising approach to societal transformation and economic equity. This approach involves communities and their residents, institutions and their staff and students working collectively to solve social problems and enrich lives. Kelly and Wolf-Wendel (2000) offer five additional recommendations for the

\textsuperscript{38} CCPH is a non-profit organization in the US whose mission is to foster partnerships between communities and educational institutions that serve to improve health professionals education, civic responsibilities, and the overall health of communities (Jacoby, 2003).
development of such partnerships from a community-centered approach: connecting through commonalities; blurring of boundaries between institutions and community organizations; considering the positionality, history and power relations of all involved in service-learning relationships; encouraging reciprocal assessment; rethinking service missions to include and reward service; and developing genuine community partnerships (p. 774-776).

Institutionalizing service-learning from a critical race feminist perspective, must first be founded upon recognition of the historical relations of social inequities, and must attend to the power differentials between institutions and community organizations. Second, hegemonic structures and practices must be transformed in order to develop accountable, respectful and authentic partnerships; otherwise these power relationships are likely to replicate social inequities with racialized communities. Developing mutually beneficial and respectful service-learning partnerships necessitates institutional accountability in dismantling hierarchical divides, and an authentic commitment to community enhancement and sustainability, both within institutions, and with partnering communities.
CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH APPROACH

This chapter provides a discussion of the importance of social justice research to education. Social justice research is about disrupting hegemonic research methods in order to make oppressed subjects the centre of knowledge production. By doing so, inequities are made visible, addressed and remedied. Critical race theory is introduced as epistemology and methodology, and, also introduces critical race feminist theory as the conceptual framework for this study. This chapter then reviews the participant selection process, and outlines the methods for data collection and analysis. Chapter Four concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the study, and makes some recommendations for future research.

Social Justice Research Approach

Historically, the critique of qualitative research came from those who were quantitatively oriented, alleging that qualitative inquiry was not pure science and, thus, unable to verify truth statements (Anfara, Brown & Mangione, 2002). Mainstream quantitative research, as a dominant form of inquiry, was said to remain value-free, impartial and objective. Dei et al. (2004) suggests that claims to such neutrality secured authority and validity, claims which social-science theorists have objected to more recently (Harding, 1991). The latter theorists claim that mainstream research is known not to be bias-free or neutral, as it is centered upon Eurocentrism as the dominant form of inquiry. These dominant value-laden paradigms and knowledge systems become institutionalized within mainstream popular culture, political, social and educational systems while simultaneously claiming objectivity and neutrality. Such mainstream research is based on unconscious value-judgments, interpretations, and biases in describing what is observed, and these pervade the entire research endeavour (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000).

For Harding (1991), objectivism, with its conception of value-free, impartial and dispassionate research, has primarily eliminated investigation into the interests and social values of the marginalized. Furthermore, marginalized people often do not get opportunities to conduct research, and if they do, their knowledges and findings are not taken seriously since they are often not considered competent. Marginalization of, and exclusion from the research agenda has included
many groups, including working-class individuals as researchers, women, people of colour, religious and sexual minorities (Collins, 1991b). In doing so, research paradigms have tended to support, reinforce and benefit from areas of investigation that privilege the experiences of mainstream individuals and communities (Banks, 1994). Aylward (1999) suggests that changing the world requires breaking away from the mental chains of dominant knowledge forms, claims to truth and universality by clearing the way for the creation of ‘othered’ knowledges.

Griffiths (1998) suggests that there is a fence in social-science research that protects mainstream-knowledge production and claims to universality. She states that knowledge is inextricably connected to power structures in society – knowledge acquires its meaning from the political position of the ‘knowers.’ As social justice researchers, we must ask questions about knowledge forms that establish certain forms of research as the ‘truth.’ Whose values are these, and whom does it benefit?

The neutrality of such mainstream social-science research has been challenged by postmodernism, by women’s studies and ethnic studies movements of the 1960s and 1970s (Banks, 1994), and the challenges have occurred by centering Eurocentric, male, heterosexist and elite knowledge paradigms (Harding, 1991). These social justice movements, marginal from the experiences and subject positions of the mainstream, take account of the experiences and subjectivity of ‘others.’ According to Pillow (2003), approaching theory and research as though they are gender-less or race-less perpetuates a reproduction of Eurocentric and male privilege, reinforcing its own assumed neutrality. Harding (1991) labels this form of research as ‘weak objectivity’ in producing truth claims viewed as objective, without a critical examination of the position of the ‘knowers’ and their relationship to the power structures in society.

Griffiths (1998) suggests that social justice research should be openly and explicitly about naming values and the political position of the researchers. She goes on to argue that social justice research needs to ‘take sides’ in order to improve educational research. Three principles guide social justice research (Griffiths, p. 12):

- There is no right or wrong answer in social justice research. It concerns processes, not outcomes. It is characterized by constant change, evolution and adjustment, and lays no claim to objectivity or neutrality.
- Each individual is a valuable and recognized as part of the community as a whole. The good of the individual has implications for the good of the community. Educational research for social justice is about personal and political good, about improvement, about human betterment.
• As people create themselves in community, they also create themselves against sections of those communities as persons with gender, race, social class, sexuality and disabilities. This draws attention to the importance of structural injustice. Educational research for social justice depends on an examination of these structures and a search for the re-distribution of goods.

**Critical Race Theory as Epistemology**

The demand of proof of the breadth and depth of social oppression usually originates in spaces of resistance, which contest dominant knowledge paradigms. Critical race theory (CRT) is one such epistemology of social justice research in which ‘othered’ knowledge forms are produced and legitimized. Carter (2003) calls it an ‘epistemology of specificity.’ This is a body of knowledge and perspectives that re-thinks the oppressed subjectivity of racialized peoples in North American contexts (Dei et al., 2004). The methodology is also the rationale for the way in which a researcher retrieves such knowledge.

For Pillow (2003) race-based methodologies like CRT offer an epistemological shift – a change in how we come to believe such knowledge and how we use it in our daily lives. The shift raises questions that are central to educational research – e.g. what counts as knowledge, what is the purpose of research, and who can be a ‘knower.’ Romany (1997) suggests that subjective epistemology offers an alternative vision to liberal notions of objectivity by highlighting the centrality of the political, economic and cultural history in which the oppressed subject is born. Such locations and experiences are usually delegitimized within the academy. In this ‘canonical’ literature, people of colour have always been spoken for through dominant observations and interpretations of their experiences (Williams, 1995). We are made to believe that such stories, told by those in power and therefore legitimate, are universal. Such dominant knowledges make claim to universal truth and principles. In addition, Lawrence (1995) states that stories told within dominant discourses have systematically excluded people of colour. Matsuda (1995) states that people who have experienced discrimination must be the voices to which we listen. These would be grassroots researchers and educators who are able to relate theory to the concrete experiences of oppression – the epistemology of subjectivity.

Lawrence (1995) writes that, as racialized academics, we must learn to trust our own senses, feelings and experiences and give them authority. Such knowledges lay no claim to neutrality. He advocates for racialized scholars to assume the position of subject in order to speak from the lived experience.

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39 CRT epistemology is a new way of seeing and producing knowledge. Methodology is the lens that is used to produce this knowledge, and methods are the different ways of data collection (Pillow, 2003).
experience of oppression. Collins (1990) has done just this in theorizing Black feminist thought. This is knowledge that is created in rejection of, and opposition to, the claimed universality of standard European academic knowledge. At the core of Black feminist thought lie theories created by the experiences of Black women. CRT follows the same lines. It is an epistemology that positions the experiences of people of colour at its centre. It offers counter-stories from the lived experiences of people of colour that serve to critique the values and assumptions of our social and political organizations. Through counter-storytelling the oppressed take back and honour their narratives. Razack (1999b) states that education for social change is not about acquiring new information. It is about disrupting the hegemonic ways of seeing, in which oppressed subjects make themselves dominant.

CRT explores alternatives to discriminatory rules, policies and practices, and offers solutions to ameliorate conditions of disadvantage (Aylward, 1999). It focuses on the marginalized positions of racialized people in an oppressive society that supports the educational inequality for racialized students. This critical gaze is necessary for a liberatory praxis (Dei et al., 2004). CRT argues that the past makes a difference and one cannot ignore the history of exclusion. The past is instrumental in informing unequal relations today and must be taken into consideration to remedy injustice (Parker, 2003).

In addressing research issues, qualitative studies in education defines CRT as a framework that is "a set of basic perspectives, methods and pedagogy – that seeks to identify, analyze and transform those structural, cultural and interpersonal aspects of education that maintain the subordination of students of colour" (Parker, 2003, p. 152). CRT is, hence, a movement in education that makes the study of race its central enterprise, with critical race feminist theory (CRFT) making the intersectionality of race, gender and class its central enterprise. The thesis central to CRFT is that sexism, racism and classism are much more than just isolated instances of overt discrimination. Rather, such systemic exclusion is structural, embedded within institutions, manifested through policies, practices and rules that claim to be neutral, but that systemically disadvantage and subordinate women of colour.

CRT and CRFT share assumptions that are different from dominant ones. Those with power and privilege (generally white, male and the elite) run the social system. The system, in turn, supports such privileges and systemic discrimination is the result. In a larger political and economic context, many of the 'problems' that people of colour experience, specifically women of colour, have to do with lack of access to economic and political resources and opportunities, rather than a lack of ability or motivation. If one believes that society is open and fair, offering equal opportunities to everyone, one tends to frame those who do not succeed in terms of what they lack –
lack of ambition, lack of intelligence, lack of hard work and motivation, lack of competence and ability etc. And these fit precisely the common stereotypes and social constructions of racialized people (Sleeter, 2000).

CRT and CRFT also both emphasize interdependent communities rather than individual rights. The promotion of individual rights reinforces a soulless, alienating vision of society made up of individuals, some who succeed and ‘others’ who don’t because they are incapable. The primary concern in such a capitalistic paradigm is protection of security and property, and not the interdependence of individuals as community members. This makes it impossible for us to even imagine what a non-hierarchical society founded on cooperation and love would look like (Aylward, 1999; hooks, 2003). It is a connectedness with others, however, that prompts action for social change in bettering the world (O’Grady, 2000).

**Critical Race Theory as Methodology**

CRT research methods require a deconstruction of dominant rules, policies, principles and practices by challenging their neutrality and objectivity (Aylward, 1999). Deconstruction exposes and confronts institutionalized discrimination that marginalizes people of colour, and in doing so validates their experiences of disenfranchisement. “Critical Race Theory attempts to expose the ordinariness of racism and to validate the experiences of people of colour, which are important bases for understanding laws that perpetuate their disenfranchisement” (p. 35). By exposing supposedly neutral principles and concepts, the true nature of power relationships is unmasked.

In deconstruction, the first step is turning things inside-out to make the oppressed side visible (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). The hidden or invisible becomes visible as it moves from the background into the foreground, from the margins to the centre. It is through the process of telling the ‘counter-story’ that dominant stories are challenged, critiqued and refuted. Such counter-stories may be disturbing, annoying and even frightening for the privileged who do not experience such disadvantage, and who desire to maintain their privilege (Harris, 1997). The unveiling of such counter-stories illuminates binaries of domination/subordination, superiority/inferiority, and displaces them in favour of something newer, wider and more inclusive – a reconstruction.

Dei et al. (2004) suggests that deconstruction employs a criticality that determines the causes and factors that contribute to social oppression. This is one of the main tasks of critical research, to delineate the factors contributing to oppression in the hopes that this interrogation produces alternative strategies for change. These alternative strategies inform the reconstruction for inclusion. For this study, deconstruction questions focused on asking women of colour about their experiences of power relations at UBC. Questions asked were:
➢ Tell me about an experience at or with UBC that relates to gender, race, class or other elements of power relations?
➢ What gets in the way of your being seen, heard and respected as a contributing member of this institution?
➢ How do you cope?

These stories illuminated subjective experiences of subordination and social oppression at and with the institution, as well as stories of support and life-sustenance. Questions around life-affirmation were also asked, such as:

➢ What supports your well-being at this institution?
➢ What supports your being seen, heard and respected at this institution?

The responses to such questions informed some key elements to systemic reconstruction.

CRT and CRFT also offers solutions or alternatives to institutionalized discrimination by asking questions that will advance the causes of disenfranchised people (Aylward, 1999). Dei et al. (2004) state that such reconstruction offers alternative solutions to hegemonic oppressive practices. Reconstruction questions focus on exploring alternatives to the existing rules, principles, policies and practices that will advance the cause of people of colour, specifically women of colour.

Questions guiding the process or reconstruction included: what harm might result to people of colour in maintaining the status quo? What benefit might result to people of colour in challenging and transforming the status quo? What strategies could be used to confront or challenge systemic discrimination? Specific questions used were:

➢ How would you feel respected and valued at this institution?
➢ What supports would you require to enhance your well-being?
➢ If you were President of this institution, what changes would you implement at UBC in the first six months; in the following five years?
➢ What would service-learning and education for citizenship look like that would benefit individuals and communities of colour?
➢ How should service-learning be developed that would support and enhance the well-being of people of colour?
➢ How could mutually beneficial partnerships be developed across power relations?

I used in-depth, semi-structured and focused interviews to gather information from the women at UBC and in the community to determine the key elements for the development of a model for service-learning at the institution (see Appendix iii). The counter-stories told spoke of
experiences of subordination and marginalization by women of colour. These counter-stories also illuminated ways for reconstruction and hope. As hooks (2003) suggests, reconstruction serves as pedagogy of hope. It was essentially these understandings that informed the present research into developing a model for service-learning at UBC, and that provided insight into how institutionalization might occur in ways that would support and enhance individuals and communities of colour.

Insider-Outsider Research

Banks (1994) suggests that even though values are embedded in social science and educational research, objectivity remains an important goal. Though elusive, all researchers should strive for this ideal. Harding (1991) suggests that to enact ‘strong objectivity’ is to value the ‘othered’ perspective as ‘knowers’ who can critically examine dominant ideologies of knowledge construction and dominant systems in which they practice. Collins (1991b) suggests that this ‘outsider within’ perspective located on the margins of academic settings, produces a distinctive analysis of gender, race and class that enacts strong objectivity. Such scholarship promises to enrich contemporary social discourse by revealing aspects of dominant reality obscured by traditional approaches to research.

CRT and CRFT shifts the locus of power in the research by situating ‘subjects’ as ‘knowers.’ “Raced-based methodology work describes and provides a way for the ‘raced’ academic to think about their unique roles as researchers and theorists. These are roles that exist in both/and relationships including insider/outsider” (Willow, 2003, p. 186). For example, Black feminist thought is produced by Black women’s standpoint – “in essence an interpretation of Black women’s experiences and ideas by those who participate in them” (Collins, 1990, p. 15). This position reclaims Black women’s knowledge, self-definition and self-valuation generated from everyday experiences and ideas (Collins, 1991b). Such a standpoint in the face of dominant knowledges and ‘othered’ images is an important way of resisting the dehumanization central to such systems of domination and provides a social justice praxis for changing the world.

Unequal political, social and economic systems support the marginalization of individuals and groups. Relations of ruling, which reinforce and reproduce social oppression, support these systems (Smith, 1987). Bannerji (2000), hooks (2000) Razack (1999b) and other critical educators would say that the three main relations of ruling in North America are white supremacist capitalist

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40 Smith (1987) uses the term ‘relations of ruling’ to identify the complexity of dominant organized practices, including government, law, business, professional organizations and educational institutions that exist as multiple sites of power. Primarily texts, images, and popular media that reinforce dominance as objectivity mediate these relations of ruling.
patriarchy supported by multiple sites of domination. Since education is the states’ vehicle for nation-building, these same relations of ruling apply in the academy too. It is these relations of ruling that have to be uncovered, critiqued and made visible, and it is usually the insider/outsider researcher, in utilizing deconstruction and reconstruction strategies, that begins the identification and transformation processes to alleviate oppressive conditions.

Bannerji (1995) and Smith (1987) suggest that insider/outsider research is produced in resistance to such relations of ruling. This involves their subject locations as ‘othered’ researchers within the project of domination. This work, therefore, pushes the boundaries of what is acceptable to do and talk about, and disrupts the idea that one should not study one’s own community. This view in itself challenges traditional research. Insider/outsider research is, therefore, a “method of investigation, in so far as it searches history and social relations to trace the reasons for and the forms of our oppression” (Smith, p. 82). It is central to a subjective epistemology.

As a woman of colour, employed by the very institution in which I am conducting research, I claim to be an insider/outsider researcher. I have chosen a race-based epistemology and research methodology to make sense of my own lived experience as a racialized woman, but more importantly, to validate the experiences of other racialized women, as these counter-stories are rarely articulated and made visible. In addition, not only does this study serve as a vehicle to express the lived experiences of women of colour in and with the academy, it is also a way of honouring their resistance to systemic domination and relations of ruling. Conducting insider/outsider research also ‘legitimizes’ what we experience and observe on a daily basis. It is said that most often those who are producing race-based methodologies are racialized subjects themselves as the ‘other,’ and Tyson (2003) suggests that it is this very understanding of lived oppression and struggle to make a way out of it which propels us as racialized researchers to problematize and challenge such dominant ideologies. Insider/outsider researchers can critique and disrupt the status quo, sometimes at a great cost to their well-being, while also contributing to social justice research.

Equally important to acknowledge is that race-based methodologies arise because existing dominant theoretical models and methodological discussions are insufficient and inadequate in explaining complex racialized histories and lived experiences. By adding different voices to the canon of knowledge and different ways of viewing the world, emancipatory research is generated. Emancipatory research engages in the process for social change, for the greater good of our communities (Carter, 2003; Tyson, 2003). This work engages its methods, methodologies and epistemologies in telling stories that have gone untold and need to be told from the perspectives of these subjective locations. There is a focus on different questions, adding new information, and shifting thinking not only about research issues or subjects, but also challenging the normative
hegemonic framework (Willow, 2003). Emancipatory research methodologies not only work to expose racism, sexism and classism, but also work to give voice to differing discourses that seek social change.

According to Vargas (2003), there is a duality in conducting insider-outsider research. On the one hand, as insiders, this research speaks to the experience of the racialized ‘insider’ perspective; on the other hand, as racialized ‘outsider,’ this research seeks to inform the discipline of education and academe about how race functions in order to transform the practice of education. Insider/outsider researchers in the academy use their locations of power, privilege and social advantage from within to work for social change. The inclusion of multiple voices from multiple social locations is also a powerful way to rupture hegemony and to address questions of inequities. The more researchers do this, the greater the force of such research in challenging and rupturing the status quo.

My position as an insider/outsider on the margins of academe is a place of resistance, a location of social oppression. It is also a position for engendering social transformation in education by challenging the very systems of domination and practice that I live with on a daily basis. As an insider/outsider researcher, this duality propels me to be an active agent in bettering the world. This duality also offers hope, something most insider/outsider researchers desire.

Counter-Storytelling

People of colour in North American society speak from their lived experiences framed by social oppression, and many educators of colour use storytelling as pedagogy for social change. These stories create a space for participants of colour to speak about their experiences, “to the experience of the world that is not admitted into dominant knowledge paradigms” (Razack, 1999b, p. 36).

Stories told by dominant groups provide them with a shared sense of dominator identity, an identity seen as natural, valid and normal, and widely accepted as the ‘truth.’ People of colour who tell stories, however, are often considered ‘outgroups.’ They are typically located on the margins of mainstream voices and perspectives, whose lived experiences have been suppressed and devalued. The counter-stories move against normative dominant voices and perspectives. In doing so, they also create bonds, shared understandings and meanings as counter-realities aiming to subvert the reality and mindset of dominant groups who justify patriarchy, elitist and racial constructs and practices (Delgado, 2000).
Counter-stories of lived oppression are primarily about exclusion, which potentially challenges the status quo by uncovering relations of domination and opening up spaces for these oppressed voices (Razack, 1999b). Using counter-narratives as methodology serves to document the experiences of oppression and discrimination that should be recognized and heard (Parker, 2003). Counter-narrative or counter-storytelling is an essential methodology of CRT and CRFT. Storytelling is about subjectivity, but it is often uncritically “understood as sentimental, personal and individual horizon as opposed to objective, universal, societal, limitless horizon; often attributed to women, the other of man, and natives, the other of the west” (Razack, 1999b, p. 37). Conceptions of knowledge, as mentioned earlier, have historically relied on positivism or traditional research founded upon a framework of dominance. Stories by women of colour through CRFT disrupt this framework by placing the intersections of race, gender and class at its centre of analysis (Romany, 1997). Counter-storytelling makes explicit the implicit rules of relation (Carter, 2003) by debunking the myths of neutrality and objectivity (Aylward, 1999). hooks (2003) suggests that such subjective knowledges are also liberating and life-sustaining.

Uncovering previously silenced voices and experiences is arguably important in additional ways: “Thus narratives are valuable in the study of race because narratives link the individual experience in all its subjectivity to the common experience that we qualitatively measure. The subject and the object cannot be separated; both are needed to forge a knowledge of race” (Vargas, 2003, p. 10). The social world of race, gender and class oppression might be experienced similarly. However, there are neither uniform gendered-racial identities, nor universal gendered-racial experiences. CRFT as methodology is, therefore, anti-essentialist. No narrative attempts to universalize or essentialize from these experiences. Razack (1999b) suggests anti-essentialism is antisubordination, and is a politics of accountability. Through the complex tracing of the social narratives of racialized people, we learn how to identify and interrupt dominant policies and practices that deny such people their human rights.

**Myths of Race-Based Methodologies**

Race-based methodologies are often dismissed as ideological and political, rather than given serious attention as legitimate research methods, methodologies and epistemologies. According to Pillow (2003, p. 190), there are several misconceptions regarding race-based methodologies:

- Race-based theories and methodologies are viewed as new to mainstream research. However, it does have a long and rich history. Its invisibility and the masking of this history is one example of how epistemological racism works.
However, as an epistemology on the margins, dominant forms of theory and research continue to be viewed as truth and real, and the race-based work as weak.

- Race-based methodologies are also described as a trend, a historical shift or a counter-stance. This suggests that this methodology is temporary and short-lived. These methodologies, however, do offer counter-stances or counter-voices that challenge dominant theories and voices. In doing so, they also produce different kinds of knowledge.

- Race-based methodologies are often accused of being politically motivated. It is seen as work that engages the politics of identity for certain individuals or groups, political propaganda, and not real research or theory work, or is methodologically flawed because it is subjectively based. Certainly this work is about creating space to re-claim identities, but also is work about challenging the hegemonic research, which is politically situated itself. In doing so, it defines the limits of dominant scholarship that keep injustice and inequity in place.

Race-based methodologies and epistemologies have been in place for a very long time. They have not been given the legitimacy deserved, as they remain marginalized and systemically discredited. Nevertheless, many critical scholars continue to use these as a means of challenging claims to truth, and for verifying their own lived experiences within hegemonic systems of domination.

Selection of Study Participants

Building on the afore-mentioned CRFT framework, I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with fourteen women of colour (UBC students, staff, faculty, and non-university members) who are involved with or interested in the development of service-learning at UBC. I posted flyers at UBC and in the communities neighbouring the UBC campus inviting participation. These flyers described the project, explained the selection criteria, and provided contact information (see Appendix i). I also gave flyers to colleagues for distribution within their networks. Participants who identified as women of colour self-selected to be part of this study. They contacted me by telephone or email. Snowball sampling was also utilized where participants suggested others who might be interested in participating.

The women of colour interviewed self-selected to participate in this study. Women who self-identify in this way usually have a critical and politicized view of the academy and society
based on their social location within a white settler society. Not all racialized women identify as women of colour, and some view Canada as a tolerant state that values diversity. Such women may not have been drawn to participate on this study. In other words, had the study called for the participation of ‘visible minority women,’ it is plausible that some of the women identified as participants may not have spoken of systemic discrimination and social oppression. As Dei et al. (2004) suggest, many racialized people remain blind to the reality of their oppression as they have not engaged in a critical gaze of their lived experience within systems and practices of domination. I believe putting out a call for women of colour to participate on this study drew those with a critical and political understanding of systems of domination and exclusion within a North American context.

It just so happens that the diversity of women of colour students, staff, faculty from UBC, and non-university members, were nicely represented in this study. I audio-taped all interviews after obtaining written consent from the participants (see Appendix ii). Four were undergraduate students, two were graduate students, making a total of six UBC students. Three of the women were staff members and two of the women were part-time faculty members at UBC. Two of the fourteen women were non-university community members, and one of the women interviewed was a faculty member at another institution of higher education in Vancouver.

Research Design

My research design included one primary method: interviews that created a space for hearing counter-stories with regards to the perceptions and experiences of women of colour at and with UBC. I utilized CRFT as epistemology and methodology where racialized women spoke of their oppressed experiences and locations at and with the academy. Through deconstruction questions, their counter-stories illuminated how systems, rules and practices perpetuate oppression against them. CRFT also examines ways in which systems can be transformed. Therefore, counter-stories of support and life-sustenance spoke to the potential reconstruction of the academy. By utilizing CRFT and interviewing women of colour, a critical race model of service-learning has been developed that challenges hegemony, and that would respect, support and enhance the well-being of individuals and communities of colour both within and outside the institution.

I have specifically interviewed only women of colour because I was interested in addressing the multiple intersectionality of systemic marginalization, specifically race, gender and class. In addition, I was interested in utilizing CRFT as methodology, which specifically calls for examining the experiences of women of colour. Most importantly, I wanted this study to centre the voices and experiences of women of colour at and with the academy.
Data Collection and Analysis

I developed semi-structured interview questions for this study. As these interviews proceeded, I adjusted the questions to draw out further experiences and counter-stories, or new reflections through probes, for the development of a critical race approach model for service-learning at UBC. Examples of questions asked were:

- What issues do you think concerns individuals and communities of colour?
- What would ‘care’ for disadvantaged individuals and communities entail?
- What would you hope service-learning placements in communities of colour would teach students?
- Knowing this, how should UBC institutionalize service-learning?
- How would UBC equip itself to do this?
- What would you tell policy developers for service-learning to pay attention to?

I also adapted questions and followed-up on areas of inquiry during the interviews, suggested by the participants. Some examples used were:

- If you directed or were in charge of a community organization, what would respectful mutually collaborative relationships look like?
- How do you develop relationships across social hierarchies?
- What would be some key elements to institutionalizing service-learning at UBC?

Because service-learning is a new concept, I also provided participants with broad definitions of this term as well as of the term education for citizenship (see Appendix iii). I asked questions with regards to terminology in order to explore alternative language that better fit with a critical view to this development at UBC. Some questions included:

- What comes to mind when you think of the term service-learning/education for citizenship?
- In your opinion, how useful are these terms?
- What might best define these terms from your perspective?

I interviewed participants individually at a time and location suitable to them, and each interview took approximately 1 1/2 hours. I audiotaped each interview while taking notes. I conducted all the interviews personally, and received support in the transcription of these interviews by way of a transcriber, who also agreed to maintain confidentiality. I sent a printed copy of the first interview transcriptions to all the participants. I also informed them that they could obtain a copy of their audiotape if requested, but none decided to do so. I surface mailed or emailed interview
transcripts, and the participants were invited to review them for accuracy. I maintained confidentiality and anonymity through the use of numerical coding and pseudonyms.

I sought a second interview after analysis of the first for any clarification of information, exploration of undeveloped areas and reflections, questions, and for confirmation of findings. I re-interviewed twelve out of the fourteen women in person, and again, these interviews were arranged at a time and location suitable to the participants, and took approximately 1 hour. I conducted follow-up interviews by email for two of the fourteen women because they were two of the last women interviewed, and their interviews were quite comprehensively complete. A few changes/suggestions were made over email.

Once I heard and read the transcription of the interviews, I analyzed these women's stories in relation to the two key questions asked of this study. The first question focused on experiences at and with UBC, experiences of power relations, and the supports that were helpful to the women in dealing with everyday experiences of social oppression. The second focused on ideologies of education for citizenship and service-learning as pedagogy that would support and enhance the well-being of people of colour. Based on their perceptions and experiences came suggestions for the development of a critical race feminist model of service-learning at UBC.

Anfara et al. (2002) suggest that qualitative strategies in the design of methods rarely speak to how member checks have been achieved for trustworthiness.\textsuperscript{41} It is for this reason that I sought collaboration with the participants at various stages of this research to ensure the trustworthiness of our interviews and analysis. I wanted to make sure that the analysis accurately represented our conversations, and that I had maintained confidentiality as requested. I, therefore, sent the women interviewed transcripts of their first interview for clarification, adjustment, and elaboration of topics discussed. I conducted a second interview to go over any issues requiring clarification, or issues that required further expansion or explanation both on my part as well as the participants. This was done in order to ensure that the participants and I had an accurate understanding of their perspectives and experiences. Both interviews engendered a research environment where I as researcher, and the participants as researched, co-constructed the meaning of our dialogue as much as possible. It is what Carter (2003) calls the scaffolding necessary for counter-storytelling as methodology.

Eleven out of the fourteen participants were available and willing to read the analysis chapters to ensure respondent accuracy. Out of these eleven women, seven responded with minor suggestions for the analysis or changes to quotes. Griffiths (1998) suggests that taking data and

\textsuperscript{41}Trustworthiness, or validity, deals with the notion that what the researcher has observed is, in fact, the truth (Anfara et al., 2002).
analysis back to the participants is a way to check for accuracy. As a woman of colour working at UBC and also experiencing systemic exclusion daily, I wanted to avoid projecting any of my experiences or any unexplored biases onto the analysis. To ensure trustworthiness, this last step ensured plausibility that the analysis matched the lived experiences of the women interviewed (Anfara et al., 2002). In this sense, this research study has remained a joint enterprise ensuring an accurate representation of the participants’ perceptions and experiences. This form of researcher/participant collaboration is consistent with conducting research for social justice research.

Limitations of the Study

A CRT approach to any study requires ‘voices and experiences of people of colour’ in understanding the laws, structures, policies and practices that perpetuate systemic discrimination against them. This study, in utilizing CRFT, interviewed fourteen women of colour, where intersectional issues related to race, gender, class and all forms of social oppression were central to their perceptions and experiences. Their counter-stories explored the depth of their experiences with regard to multiple forms of social oppression at and within the academy. Other studies utilizing CRT may add further depth and breadth to this body of knowledge by including the perceptions and experiences of specific racialized groups, such as women of colour with disabilities, and men of colour.

I believe being an insider/outsider research practitioner provided scaffolding which may have provided some sense of shared experience, enabling these women to talk with little hesitancy about their daily lived experiences of oppression. However, even though confidentiality and anonymity were maintained, some women found it threatening to speak about their experiences, particularly as UBC students, staff and faculty. Several requested that specific counter-stories or details of such stories not be re-told for fear that they would be recognized by their peers, managers or directors. They felt that such recognition might place them in further jeopardy of experiencing backlash, and, perhaps, of becoming open to charges of insubordination by the institution. Dei et al. (2004) and Razack (1999b) state that racialized people confront huge dangers and risks when speaking out about race within their own institutions, and the consequences of so doing must always be carefully calculated. There are personal, political, emotional and spiritual consequences for doing so. However, as Harris (1997) suggests, accepting and embracing such risks is a central part of social transformation, which is what many racialized researchers take upon themselves to do. This is part of a resistant politics for transformative social change, a politics that is founded upon a vision of hope.
The counter-stories told by the women of colour are certainly specific to UBC. Can these be transferred to other institutions of higher education? I think that even though these stories speak to experiences specifically at and with UBC, the themes generated can be transferred to other institutions of higher education. After all, many institutions of higher education in Canada generally remain sites of white, male, heterosexist, able-bodied and elite privilege. Since the methodology of CRFT makes visible the daily, lived experiences of social oppression, such experiences, within the context of higher education, can be broadly transferred, as race, gender and class oppression are enacted in the academy and in society.
CHAPTER FIVE: EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN OF COLOUR AT AND WITH UBC

This chapter addresses the demographics and multiple identities of the women of colour interviewed for this study. Their identities and experiences locate them within a marginalized political, social and economic context in Canadian society. Through counter-stories, the women spoke of their perceptions and experiences at and with UBC. They relayed stories based on intersectional and multiple sites of oppression, in particular, race, gender and class inequities, that frame their lives. Their counter-stories also illuminated life-sustaining spaces. By speaking about their perceptions and experiences, hegemonic structures and relations of ruling were unveiled. The women interviewed talked about those hegemonic structures and practices that prevented them from participating as legitimate, equal and contributing members of the institution. The deconstruction and reconstruction of this hegemony forms the basis for outlining a template for the development of service-learning at UBC from a critical race feminist perspective.

Demographics

I do not detail the biographies of the individual women I interviewed in order to protect their identities and maintain confidentiality. Rather, I provide a summary of their demographics. Women of colour are highly under-represented in the ranks of faculty and, in particular, management and upper management levels of employment at UBC, and, therefore, even the smallest disclosure of biographical information might make them easily recognizable. The women of colour students, staff and faculty interviewed for this study are representative, however, of a diverse range of educational faculties and university departments.

Fourteen women, who identified as women of colour, were interviewed as part of this research project. They were all Canadian, and described their cultural backgrounds as Chinese, Philippine, Korean, Caribbean, Haitian, Jamaican, Jamaican-Costa Rican, Black, African, Kenyan, South Asian, Indo-Canadian, Indo-Ugandan-Canadian, East-Indian and Mixed Race (part European ancestry). For some, their roles at UBC were also multiple in that some staff or faculty interviewed were, or had been students, and some were community members who were, or had been, employed at UBC.
The women interviewed ranged in age from twenty-five to fifty-nine years. Of the fourteen women interviewed, six were UBC students. Four of these students were undergraduate, and chose identification pseudonyms Ranjit, Toni, Minou and Xara. Two of these students were graduate students, who chose the pseudonyms Zaira and Aggie. Three of the women interviewed were staff at UBC, choosing the pseudonyms Anna, Bobbie and Soma. Two of the women were part-time faculty members, pseudonyms Quibbo and Aisabee (these two women had dual roles at UBC). Two of the fourteen women were non-university community members and chose pseudonyms Clara and Maya. And last, one of the women interviewed was a faculty member at another institution of higher education in Vancouver who had been a student at UBC, and she chose the pseudonym Karina.

**Identities**

All fourteen women interviewed identified as ‘women of colour.’ The term ‘women of colour’ is a politicized term that signifies a certain lived experience within the North American political, social and economic context. This also represents an identity of non-white immigration, as settlers on First Nations land. They spoke of their identities as being fluid and multiple.

Their multiple identities\footnote{These are not separate persona or persons, as Bannerji (1995) and Wing (1997) illustrate - these multiple identities make and represent all of them, all the time, altogether, as one multiplicative being.} were comprised of dimensions such as cultural, ethnic or place of origin (e.g., Chinese, Korean, Philippine, Haitian, African, South Asian), sexuality, class, education, age, marital status, place of employment, etc. Some of the dimensions of their social identities were obvious, such as gender or the colour of their skin. Other dimensions were less visible, and their disclosure of these aspects of their identities or social locations, such as sexual orientation, class or social status, depended upon the context they were in. Such spaces of disclosure required a respect and acceptance for who they are, as Soma explained:

*So, while I speak from how I identify, my social location helps me to form where I feel safe in the world [and] where I don’t feel safe in the world, what settings I might speak to certain things about, and what settings I might not say anything in...*

For the women interviewed, multiple inequities based on race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, and so on, are experienced simultaneously. The identities of these women and their lived experience with and in the academy forms the basis for developing a model for service-learning from a critical race feminist perspective.
**Women of Colour**

The term ‘women of colour’ was adopted by all these women to speak of a specific politicized location within North America, and in this case, Canada. They acknowledged that this term was a social construct that illustrated their lived experiences of social oppression within the context of a white settler society, i.e. where colonialism, white supremacy, capitalism and patriarchy frame ‘the dominator culture.’ In addition, the national origins of some of these women are from countries that were also colonized, and where their ancestors were oppressed. Identifying as women of colour illustrated the gendered and racialized social, economic and political organization of their subjectivities. As subjects of oppression, their self-disclosed identities included any one or more or the following – gender, race, class, sexual orientation, age, colour, religion, disability, etc. Maya explained the organization of systemic exclusion based on race:

*Systemic and institutional racism exists in Canadian society where positions of power and privilege are largely held by white men. Marginalized groups, which include people of colour, are commonly excluded from these positions.*

The women interviewed spoke of the importance of not essentializing their identities and experiences as women of colour, yet also noted a political affiliation with other women of colour experiencing subordination through sexism/racism/classism. The women interviewed spoke of the solidarity and strength that they share in the margins, a commonality and celebration of experiences in these counter-hegemonic spaces. Karina put this succinctly:

*[Identifying as a] woman of colour, because definitely in terms of race, the visibility of colour leads you to associate yourself with the term because you are seen that way. Also, in some cases, I feel empowered by that word as well. It’s not only a definition that others have for me. It aligns myself with certain experiences of other women of colour. It provides a relationship of contiguity with certain other communities, which I like, and in terms of our experiences, there are some number of shared experiences as women of colour. Though, of course, I am aware of different levels of identity, different intersections of oppressions as women of colour.*

Xara, identifying as a woman of colour, experienced a similar experience of location:

*A shared kind of space and I would like to say history, but history is also different, but in terms of experiencing racism and sexism, and sharing that kind of space.*

Anna felt that the links of common experience formed the foundation of shared and supportive relationships, a sisterhood:

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43 Universities are premised on an ideology of whiteness, patriarchy and classism, as the dominator culture, which functions to colonize, marginalize and silence racialized students, staff and faculty (hooks, 2003).

44 Bannerji (2000) also speaks of the importance of not essentializing the experiences of women of colour. However, she states that women of colour experience a type of political agency that provides validation and support through disclosure of their life experiences within our dominator society. This political agency is also celebrated in challenging the hegemonic organizations.
When I hear other women referring to each other as ‘women of colour’ together, to me it’s ok [what] we’re doing here. We’re doing something constructive. We’re connecting on a very base human level, in the face of divergent politics or ideologies and that’s something I’ve grown to appreciate.

For Clara, however, the term ‘women of colour’ offered a fictitious sisterhood. In her experience, tensions, conflicts and competition between and amongst women of colour on the basis of their different social identities and lived experiences, particularly around class, often created further oppressive relationships. However, the term ‘women of colour’ served its purpose in terms of a language of identity:

The issues really stem from the similarity with the concept, “well, we’re all women, we’re all women of colour.” That there’s a level of sisterhood or similarity that many times I don’t actually think is really there. There are so many different dynamics at play...and at the same time, it’s a functional language to use, you know?

Ranjit did not necessarily like the use of this term either. In her perspective, this term implied an essentialism, a homogenization of experiences:

I identify myself as a woman of colour, although I... I find that term is inadequate. I did want to say that because it suggests homogenizing exists between women of colour when there isn’t really.

However, Ranjit did say that she also identified with the term because of a sense of solidarity in being constructed as ‘other’:

To me, being a woman of colour means that I am always conscious of... I’m always conscious of an ‘otherness.’ And that ‘otherness’ is broadly grouped together as ‘women of colour,’ that category. So, you know, even if I know nothing about the background of another woman, if she’s a woman of colour, I’m probably going to have an affinity towards her. Just on that basis.

For some women, such as Bobbie, identifying as women of colour also involved challenging systems of domination and oppression which impacts all of humanity. Bobbie stated that she speaks up when she experiences oppression, and challenges hegemonic systems of domination for all people. By so doing, she continuously speaks about her experiences and those of others on the margins, in an attempt to centre these experiences. In doing so, she ruptures systems of domination:

That I see myself, I guess from a political perspective, that as a woman, as a person who is of an ethnic minority, that there are times when I have to speak up about who I am, what my rights are, issues around equity, not only for myself, but for other people in similar situations where the university or society in general may place me at a disadvantage or marginalized way. Then I need to speak up about those issues. Also, representing myself in positive ways; that there may be differences for me as a woman of colour, but there are values to what my differences are. So trying to place myself centrally as opposed to on the margins and being just as valued as the dominant culture...that there are many people and we all have differences, and centralizing
those differences as opposed to being in relation to, being less than the dominant group.... it's challenging that relationship.

Anna spoke of the importance of honoring the term ‘women of colour,’ a tribute to the generations of women in her family lineage, thereby shattering the stereotypes that were brought about by ‘othering’:

...there are so many things tied to that [otherness]. How Asian women are objectified and are portrayed, and how that is completely opposite from my life experience. For example, the submissive, quiet, naïve Asian woman is not my experience because all our mothers and aunts and grandmothers were these hardworking women, with these stout arms, who could keep going all night cooking, cleaning, whatever. They were tough. They were not submissive... To me, part of being a women of colour is trying to do justice to my women ancestors... or to vindicate the stereotypes, dismantle them somehow.

Aggie stated that the term ‘woman of colour’ was not one that was used or associated with, in her country of origin. She only identified with this term as a Canadian in a white settler society. She also stated that being a woman of colour in this society implied a perpetual immigrant status, one of not belonging to the Canadian state:

I grew up not walking around the world thinking, “I’m brown, I’m light.” It’s just not in the construction. And it was when I came to North America that clearly it’s like, “Don’t forget you’re not white!” “Oh, OK!” I remember an experience when I was in.... Ontario.... I was doing some work that was human rights work. This person said to me, “So, what are you? And I remember thinking, “Well, I’m a....” “No, I mean what are you?” So it was... what country, what race.

Xara, like the others interviewed, also experienced an ‘othering’ based on skin colour. Her response to questions of “Where are you from?” would challenge the basis of the white settler mindset:

[If] somebody were to ask me, you know. “Where are you from?” there’s normally another meaning behind that question. What do you mean “where I’m from?” like meaning “You’re not Canadian,” so what are you? So I normally respond, “No, no, I’m from Vancouver” just in opposition to that.

Feminist

Gender oppression was not viewed as the central determining factor for the oppression experienced by the women interviewed. Feminism involves an analysis of the intersectional and

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45 In hegemonic feminism, gender oppression is usually the overriding dimension and basis for subordination (hooks 1994; Hurtado, 1996).
multiple forms of oppression in addressing women’s rights and equality, and advocates, therefore, a struggle against all forms of oppression. Aisabee defined feminism:

_Feminism for me is definitely, in terms of where I work and how we define it, it’s about really being able to fight and find that social justice at multiple fronts._

For Toni:

_My version of feminism also includes a struggle against all forms of discrimination. So whether that be against racism, homophobia, ableism, ageism — all kinds of discrimination that seem to limit people in society as they try to just make it in the world. When I think of myself as a feminist, I consider myself as someone who’s fighting against all those forms of discrimination, but I specifically don’t say humanist because I think that within all of those sub-groups, people with disabilities, or people who are gay, or people of colour, that women are still, within those groups, marginalized more than men._

And for Ranjit:

_And I see myself as a feminist, as a radical feminist, and by that I mean I challenge male violence against women; rape, homophobia, classism and ableism._

**Sexuality**

Some of the women interviewed identified themselves as Queer, dyke and bisexual; several identified as heterosexual. The disclosure of ‘hidden’ identities depended upon whether spaces were Queer friendly. Aisabee shared her views on disclosure:

_How I identify is solely in relation to where it is possible for you to identify. What I mean by that is I would not identify as a Queer person if I felt the space did not understand what Queerness is._

Aisabee consciously did not use the term ‘safe spaces’ because she stated such spaces are not often a reality for many people from oppressed locations. Working in settings where such ‘difference’ exists often involves discomfort, conflict and risk on the part of the marginalized. Aisabee, Quibbo and others felt that safety could not be guaranteed in the classroom, especially when ‘othered’ knowledges and experiences are made visible.

Soma self-disclosed her experience around sexual identity:

_I, myself, consider myself to be bisexual. That’s not something I would say to everybody, anybody depending on where I am and who I’m comfortable with... And so it’s not everyone that I’ve shared that with, whereas I know if I was in a room full of people that were of similar backgrounds or had, who were out in terms of their_

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46 hooks (2003), for instance, suggests that the principle of risk in the classroom and within the academy is worth striving for, acknowledging that one learns and grows under such circumstances. The presence of conflict need not be negative, but its meaning and experience is based on how it is dealt with.
sexuality and didn’t have any [discomfort], I would feel much more comfortable sharing [myself].

Settler

Some of the women stated that they identified as being settlers on First Nations land. As Canadian citizens, they acknowledged that Canada is a colonized state where the Indigenous people have not yet achieved self-determination and complete independence. Aisabee shared some thoughts about her location and privilege within this colonized white-settler society:

I do feel I have settled on this land. I don’t feel that I’m a colonial power, but I feel that I’m a settler who is very much getting tons of privilege from this land, and the land that is still Canada never [having] achieved independence. I feel that [Canada is] still very much a colonial state where the colonizers still occupy the land.

Soma also spoke of the majority occupation of Canada by immigrants, both white and non-white. She also shared her revulsion of the exclusion of Indigenous people in shaping Canada:

As immigrants for many generations, we have taken over a nation without their [Aboriginal peoples] permission and taken over their land. I think that’s appalling, and we don’t find ways to work with them from their perspective in terms of what they need and how they want to be included or not. Whatever, [this] is really appalling.

Resisting Whiteness

Some of the women identified with a resistance to white dominance or supremacy. In Aggie’s view, hegemony was centered on white domination. Resisting this dominance and ‘talking back’ to the practices, beliefs and attitudes of this national psyche were a means of defining herself. In addition, turning to her cultural/ethnic community for replenishment and support was a way of coping with the trauma of resisting dominance:

For me, it’s white culture. So for me, on the one hand, it’s resisting that. It’s the energy I have to put in terms of my awareness to say, “No, I don’t necessarily believe that. No, I don’t necessarily have to be that.”...On the other hand, it’s defining myself. ...As to why I go to the community? It’s also, for me, the place where I get, on the one hand, a relief from the dominant culture which sometimes is like paddling upstream you know. The energy I’m putting out in order not to move into the dominant energy, and flow of ideas and feelings.

As a mixed-race person Zaira stated she has lived with internal conflict and tension as a result of the white-supremacist capitalist ideology. This ideology promotes a binary way of thinking and being, of having to be either/or, and not both. Because of these neo-colonizing, systemic, binary
forms of thinking, she is unable to claim her location within a mixed-race heritage, which leaves her in pain:

As myself, being a mixed race person and a woman of colour, yeah, I see that as problematic because I'm not allowed to claim both [being white and a woman of colour].... It's also problematic, I think, not only because the system doesn't allow it, but also the system, in terms of when you're filling out forms, it asks you what background you are: Asian, European or whatever, visible minority. Mixed race isn't there. So, where do I put myself as a coloured person? It's problematic because if I'm claiming mixed race and coloured, (when my mixed heritage includes European ancestry), then people accuse me of well, "How can you do that and not talk about or admit being White?" I think those kind of comments reflect an us/them, either/or mentality because it views that in claiming one identity, I am denying the other. Again, there is a re-centering of Whiteness that occurs here.

For some of the women, such as Ranjit, identifying as women of colour illuminated a consciousness of subordination based on skin colour, a basis for subordination that white people do not experience. Ranjit articulated her experience of being racialized:

It is a consciousness of my skin colour, and it's a real consciousness of how other people see me. I remember having this conversation with a white woman once, and I said, "You know, I'm always conscious that I'm not white. I'm always conscious of my skin colour." And she was stunned! She said, "I'm never conscious about my skin colour. I never think about the fact that I'm white and, not just in terms of white, but I have white skin colour." And that just stunned me! And it made me realize how different we were in that respect.

This difference that Ranjit articulated was not merely the skin colour, but the social relations that keep her and other women of colour one-down. This 'difference' is the basis of unequal power relations that is very much the reality of their marginal lives.

Identity and Accent

Some students viewed their accent as a dimension of identity that was also 'othering,' a dimension of intersectionality within race, gender and class that further disadvantages women of colour in the academy. For Karina:

It [white dominance] originates from colour and it originates with me from accent as well. Because I wasn't born here, and so I don't have a Canadian accent, and so the

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47 McIntosh (1992) writes about this white (and male) privilege, a privilege that is akin to having a passport, an invisible knapsack, which allows white people entry and access to social and civil rights without even knowing it.

48 In this context, Vargas (2003) suggests that almost all people of colour feel that discrimination, due to colour, is something they must painfully contend with daily, whereas the majority of white people are unable to see racial discrimination, much less see this as a social issue. In addition, Lopez (2000) adds that the characteristics of hair, complexion, and facial features of people of colour still influence access to opportunities and resources.
accent differentiates me as coming from somewhere else...And so it is colour, it is accent. And it is racial features; so racialized features.

Karina added that being a woman of colour with an accent often delegitimized her. In the academy, she is perceived as ‘less than,’ ‘one-down.’ Experiencing this added disadvantage requires further efforts to challenge oppression by having to fight for recognition and legitimization, even if this entails utilizing class advantages to challenge gendered and racialized constructions:

In a lot of them [experiences in the academy], I am actually fighting for recognition. And the accent and the colour become a kind of a barrier...I almost have to stress to many people that I have, that [there] are certain honorary things that you have to stress to for people to pick up and give you a certain status, and one of them is constantly stressing that I have a Ph.D., and I teach. It sort of...legitimizes me to them. And you have to sort of constantly qualify who you are and assert that you have a certain education and that you are a person of knowledge, kind of thing, because they associate you with, just there is a certain assumption with the colour and a certain assumption with the accent...It reflects a class status. But class does to a certain extent empower you in situations. It gives you an honorary status.

Some of the women, such as Minou, attempted to change their accent at an early age in order to ‘fit in.’ What she attempted to do as a child was to become a ‘white’ Canadian, at least in terms of accent:

So it meant that when I left the house, I adopted the Canadian persona. So I would clean up my accent. I made an effort to speak English without an accent. When I was younger, I had a bit of one [accent] and I was self-conscious of that.

Speaking ‘proper’ English is more likely to advantage individuals in providing class credibility over someone speaking with a ‘different’ accent, this difference being in relation to whiteness.49

Experiences at or with UBC

All women spoke of multiple experiences of being ‘othered’ and stigmatized daily in, and with, the academy.50 These experiences were identified as traumatizing to their physical, emotional, intellectual, social and spiritual well-being, and as having a profoundly detrimental impact on their professional and personal lives. The women interviewed faced marginalization, humiliation, shame,

49 Tanaka (2003) suggests that issues such as speaking English with an ‘accent’ supports the notion that those persons are not true or rightful citizens.

50 Delgado (2000) suggests that race-based stigmatization is “one of the more fruitful causes of human misery” (p. 131). Thornhill (1995b), hooks (2003) and Carter (1991) state that the day-to-day reality for women of colour in the academy involves overcoming hurdles, constantly having to negotiate the institutional landscape, mediating confrontations and fighting to survive a relentless onslaught of racialized ‘micro-aggressions.’ Yet, when women of colour within the academy articulate these micro-aggressions, they run the risk of being labeled ‘emotional,’ ‘hysterical,’ ‘irrational,’ ‘unprofessional,’ ‘angry’ and accused of ‘playing the race card.’ This forever stigmatizes them.
isolation and suffering daily. They expressed feelings of anger, frustration and disappointment at being managed, controlled, restricted and devalued in terms of their knowledge and intellect, their lived experiences, interests, and leadership capabilities, resulting in trauma-based symptoms such as depression, low self-esteem and low self-confidence.

The women interviewed stated that the existence of systemic racism, sexism and classism is mostly denied in society and at educational institutions such as UBC. Yet the truth of the matter is, the impact of such social oppression is a lived dehumanizing reality for all racialized peoples.

Quibbo explained the basis for racism:

*What is fashionable for people to do now is to disclaim any credibility, any credence to the notion of 'race' by saying [that] biology has proven that there is no such thing, [and] its an invalid category, and think that's the end of the story. I'm saying there is no biological category of race, but historically social categories have been formed based on false biological premises; however, the legacy of that is that it has material consequences! [These consequences] are lasting and have set the world's population into a racial hierarchy. You see it globally in the global stratification of labour especially, and you see it in the local.*

Xara shared the impact of academic racism, sexism and classism arising in her every day experience at UBC. The impact of these violations in the classroom further subjected her to an onslaught of denial and charges of irrelevancy:

*For example, at UBC, like in my classes, I'm starting to realize the assumption is...well, I'm concerned with issues around gender and race and such, but when I talk about it, it's a hobby horse that I'm on right? Where as if a white male is talking about white men, you know, that's just the way it is [normal]. So my issue is external to whatever it is [the dominant discourse] – it's not relevant.*

Many women spoke of the lack of women of colour role models in faculty at UBC, and the low representation of women of colour in management and senior management within the institution. In addition, many stated that the curriculum, in general, did not represent the knowledges and experiences of racialized peoples. The academy was viewed as a hostile environment.

Minou substantiated her very real experience of hostility at UBC:

*I found that it [UBC] was a hostile environment. There would be lots of sexist, racist, homophobic, all sorts of comments, and at the beginning [of my study] I did not have the language to identify what those specific things were, and what was problematic.*

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51 The roots of systemic oppression are deeply entrenched in society and in the academy. Razack (2001) refers to this as academic imperialism – a colonial space supported by policies and practices within the academy. According to St. Lewis (2001), academic imperialism is shaped by knowledge that is constructed to exclude. She states, “In fact the minute we enter the academy we literally enter into ‘the belly of the beast.’ We enter a place that by definition has to be a hostile environment” (p. 75).
Xara was the only woman interviewed who spoke of an institutionally mandated space that supported her life experience and nourished her, where she felt respected in sharing her history and lived experiences of marginalization. One of her academic class was structured so that students could form their own tutorials or discussions groups and discuss the course content in relation to their own experiences. A few women students of colour organized their own discussion group, coming together to engage and share. This was life affirming for her:

Through most of my education, because of the hegemony, you don’t learn about yourself, right? Its all kind of white male history,...[I] just had the opportunity to learn about something you can identify with for once – to be able to voice your experiences as well as.... really encourage [you] to tie your experience to what you are reading. The professor had an extra tutorial.... like once a week.... optional, for students who just wanted to talk more about it, and it ended being three Black women who’d gone to the class every week. It was a great class.... You know, you learn about racism and sexism in terms of maybe the individual interactions. You don’t learn about the power systems in place...you learn about multiculturalism. So racism is just, you know, the one person using the racial slur against you, or individual kinds of prejudices. This [class] was an opportunity to learn about the greater systems rather than just “Slavery was bad. It’s now over and we’re better for it.” It was great.

For the most part, though, higher education was viewed as a vehicle of oppression, regulated and realized by underpinnings of white supremacy, capitalism and patriarchy. Clara stated that she would never consider ever going to UBC because:

... UBC was a very, very white, very, very sexist, very, very right wing, so sort of a all-round, much more, not as liberal a thinker, not as leftist or not as open to what I considered to be [a place that encourages] critical thought.

Several strong recurring themes emerged in their counter-stories: Being ‘othered’ and racialized; experiencing a lack of critical awareness of systemic inequities; resistance to addressing issues of race, gender and class inequities; lack of community support and role models for women of colour and racialized people in the academy; and a lack of representation in higher levels of employment, education and the curriculum. The political, social and educational context of the academy was viewed as unwelcoming. They stated that the systems made it difficult for them to participate equally, preventing them from fully contributing to academic life.

All the women strongly advocated for institutional change in this regard. In order to do so, Quibbo suggested that institutional change at UBC must put racism on the agenda for academic inquiry and discussion:

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52 As is often noted by educators (Dei, 1996; James, 2003; Razack, 1999b), the political, cultural and educational contexts of educational institutions and universities operate in ways that usually negate the experiences of racialized peoples, and in doing so reinscribe them as ‘outsiders,’ thereby making it difficult to establish themselves as legitimate, equal and contributing participants within these institutions.
Racism has yet to be on the agenda and until it is being treated as an object of scholarly inquiry, and as an item or a factor that determines in part our behaviour, right, there will not be any respect or acknowledgement of conscious and unconscious racism. Until racism becomes an object of scholarly inquiry, there will be no conceptual tools to address the racial malaise which [impacts] our psyche and poisons human relations.

Visible, yet Invisible

All the women spoke of the paradoxical situation of being visible, yet invisible. This was experienced as ‘othering’ and ‘racialization.’ Minou’s succinct comment was:

Being a woman of colour is certainly evident. It’s not like I can pretend I’m not. I’ve said before, it’s not like that I can come home or go out and take off my skin and blend in...I definitely feel that I’m marginalized. I feel that I’m not present, [that] what I have to say is not valid unless I can back it up by some academic papers and things and whatever. So, I’m not validated...

The experiences of ‘othering’ were experienced as trauma to the body and soul.

‘Othering’ and Subordination

In a society where ‘good’ refers to the powerful and dominant, the subordinate occupy a place of inferiority. The encounters and relationships between the dominant and subordinate turn oppressed peoples into objects, as ‘others’ to be dehumanized and held in contempt. The women interviewed spoke amply about such experiences, and used the terms ‘racialization’ and ‘othering’ synonymously. They viewed these constructions as the negative dimension within the good/bad binary system of hegemonic relations, implying an inferiority, incapability, deviance, corruption and dangerousness. Aisabee explained how this binary system of powerful/powerless plays out:

It is about power dynamics, dominance and privilege, where you are definitely the weird one, you are the one that maybe nobody wants to be your partner in class; you are the one who may not access ED positions (Executive Director positions). There are particular barriers that you are dealing with constantly, which I believe if particular privileged white women were to deal with these barriers, they would snap in a second.

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53 The invisibility is serious because that which is not seen, deliberate or conscious, cannot be addressed, discussed or changed (Wildman & Davis, 2000).

54 Razack (1999) and Bannerji (1995) both claim that Canada, as a white settler colonial state, maintains a social economy that continues to create the myths of imperialism through the ‘othering’ of racialized peoples.

55 Lorde (1984) suggests that most of Western European history and colonization conditions people to see human differences in opposition to one another; that is, colonizer/colonized, dominant/subordinate, superior/inferior, good/bad. This either/or thinking (Freire, 1970, 1999) is crucial to sustaining racism and other forms of domination, as they are founded upon relationships between the oppressor and the oppressed. In order for the minority oppressor to dominate the majority oppressed, they must divide the majority oppressed and keep these divisions in order to remain in power. This type of thinking and behaving is at the heart of the white-supremacist-capitalist-patriarchal ideology and engenders power over, competition and exclusivity (hooks, 2003).
Racialization was seen as a marker in constructing people, involving attributions based on skin colour, and intersected by hair texture, language and accent. In concert, they systemically discredit. This marker of racialization is often termed ‘difference.’ Such constructions of difference actually maintain power relations because it is based on divergence from the centre, from the dominant. Karina shared such a de-construction of racialized difference:

*I think racialization is how a person comes to be categorized as a certain race, and it’s definitely a power relationship. The markers of a person such as language and accent would give them some invisible privileges [or] disadvantages. It is very systemic because it’s not just individual: people gain assumptions through their school, through their homes, things like that. So, I would say racialization is a process by which a person is categorized as a certain race, and it comes from a number of areas, and it’s part of the system as well.*

The impacts of being ‘othered’ or racialized are realized as daily micro-aggressions. Marginalization and exclusion are daily struggles that cannot be opted out from. Aisabee shared how such disadvantage is experienced:

*Let’s say you are a white middle-class white woman. If you don’t like something, you can walk away and go into another place. I don’t think that women of colour or Aboriginal women have that opportunity. If we were to walk away from everywhere that made us a little bit upset, we would have no other places to go.*

Karina illustrated the enormous weight of everyday of oppression and disadvantage:

*Even though, ironically, my occupation is associated with English, many people are not sure that I am in command of the English language as much as I am....I’ve constantly been asked where I learned English. That’s why I have to remind people that I have a [graduate degree] in English.... I’ve had a student say to me in a class, “I know my housekeeper is from the Caribbean, and she sounds like you and she looks like you, and do you know her?” And things like that, which are very disconcerting again, but it’s not the student. It actually reflects the fact that students can say these things to you, it reflects a certain assumption....They are just reflecting sort of again, racialized perceptions and assumptions that they feel they can make to someone like me...quite a few times things like this slip through that are unconscious, and that I’m just flabbergasted by, and sometimes I argue and sometimes I don’t... I just say that there are some battles that you fight and some you just don’t.*

What Karina was illustrating is how both white people and people of colour come to be socialized through colonial constructions of ‘other.’ Her accent and skin colour delegitimize her from being a person who fully comprehends the English language, let alone teach the language. As

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56 Bannerji (1995) asks us to consider where such ‘difference’ resides. This ‘difference’ is not something that is intrinsic to the ‘other,’ but is constructed on the basis of divergence from the dominant, from the norm, from the mainstream. With this in mind, Razack (1999b) suggests that ‘difference’ has become a social and historical construct that must be de-constructed for us to understand how relations of power are sustained systematically.

57 A characteristic of being part of a privileged group is that individual members experience the comfort and choice of opting out of struggles against oppression (Wildman & Davis, 2000). But individuals and groups who deal with oppressive forces and practices on a daily basis have no avenue for reprieve.
a woman of colour, she has no authority to teach English. Bluntly, as Karina stated, “You can be the colour or face of the person to whom English is marketed to, but not the face of the person who teaches it.”

Aggie spoke of the colonizer/colonized binary, and elaborated on the sense of entitlement colonizers carry:

So, to be ‘colonizer’ is really the arrogance, the oppression, the assumption that what I say has value, the space I occupy is entitled....I recognize that when it comes to a crunch, I’m the dominant. I have more entitlement.

Zaira spoke of this location of domination as ‘the looker,’ the one who engages in colonizing gazes. She illustrated some of the behaviours that ‘the looker’ is entitled to, behaviours manifest from unearned privilege:

Someone who is looking at me and making an opinion of whatever it is, whether it’s positive or negative or neutral. But often times, I think it’s very easy to, it’s too easy to be a colonizing’ looker’ in the sense of looking at someone and judging the book by the cover basically. But in a way that is not just judging a book by its cover, or judging a person by his or her appearance, but in a way that is dominating, especially if its expressed verbally or in body language....dismissive, like you know, dismissive with a hand, dismissive with looking away, not making eye contact, you know, busying the hands with doing other things. Verbally, “I don’t have time, or, you’re just a label.” [These are] such kinds of colonizing gazes.

This is what Zaira was saying when she spoke of ‘the looker,’ a person with dominance who carries a sense of entitlement in observing another, and having credibility in making judgments based on their observations.

Xara shared an example of how such a relationship based on power differences, of this good/bad binary, played out between her white instructor and herself:

I just got the impression right off that she [the instructor] didn’t expect much of me. That you had to prove yourself. I know some people kind of rise to that, having to prove themselves, but it was a big distraction for me, from the actual work that I wanted to do, and I didn’t realize it until the last few months when I decided I’m not going to listen to her anymore and now I can really get into the work. So, I was constantly trying to please her and what she really thought I ought to be doing, rather than what I wanted to do, and that was a really negative experience altogether.

Most institutions of higher education are organized around the principles and practices of the dominant culture, reinforcing hierarchies of power and control. This culture causes students to fear instructors, and, therefore, students often seek to please them. This is what Xara noticed in

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58 Bannerji (1995) suggests that there is a look, a ‘gaze’ that constructs racialized bodies as inferior, “into signs of differences tinged with inferiority” (p. 101).

59 hooks (2003) suggests that when racialized students realize that teachers and peers in predominantly white settings view them as less capable, they then begin to feel and perform in ways that makes for ‘confirmation bias’ where the student performs badly, which in turn confirms the teachers’ expectations.
herself and spoke about. Even though she was doing what her instructor expected of her, she was not doing well. Once she challenged this fear of not pleasing and listening to her instructor's ideas any further, she became more comfortable and wrote confidently about a subject that was meaningful for her.

The perceptions and experiences of 'difference' are usually based on dominant groups 'othering' subordinate groups, which are then systemically sustained. Underlying such 'othering' is fear. Zaira substantiated this:

I think that when people don't understand something, it's feared, it's ostracized, it's marginalized, and it's inflated into things that it may very well not be.

The Surveillance of 'Othered' Bodies

Some of the women interviewed spoke of being policed and scrutinized by those in positions of power – being watched, tracked, made to account for their whereabouts, judged and evaluated negatively as evidence of personal deficiencies in not meeting dominant standards of practice. The women stated that this excessive scrutinizing forced them to push themselves up and beyond what was expected of those with privilege. They strove to be super-women to meet these dominant standards or expectations of them. They challenged themselves and worked harder so that they were not viewed as having personal and professional deficiencies.

Ranjit, for example, felt that she was constantly being watched, stepped-on and undermined by her director, who happened to be a white woman. Ranjit stated that the work she did with this student organization was always checked and double-checked by the director. She was told that her work was inaccurate and incorrect. She got the impression that the director expected her to be her 'assistant,' and not the 'assistant director.' In addition to being watched all the time, whenever students of colour came in for assistance, she would be asked by the director whether these persons were family members or personal friends. The implication here was that she knew every person of colour at UBC, and that she was relying on family and friends to keep her in business. This baffled Ranjit - yet, she could not imagine suggesting the same to the director:

[With] every white person that comes in, I'm not going to say, "Well, are they your family member?"

60 Lorde (1984) suggests that every person in this North American society is conditioned to respond to human differences with fear. These differences, usually based on power differences, are 'othered' by dominant groups. People generally handle differences in one of three ways: they ignore them; copy them if the differences are part of the dominant society; or destroy them because these differences are subordinate. She goes on to say that as a society, we have no real understanding for relating across our human differences as equals.

61 Schick (2002) suggests that hegemonic social relations mark out places of privilege, which necessitates surveillance against the 'other' to prevent loss of privilege.
Ranjit went on to say that the director would also often interrupt her while she was busy with a client, and many times take over, suggesting that Ranjit was incapable. Ranjit felt undermined and disrespected by this behaviour:

*Somebody would be asking me a question and I would be helping them just fine, and she [the director] would come in with this solid, resonating voice and just interrupt, without any regard for what I've said.*

**Oppression and Backlash**

The women interviewed described working hard at the university, in their classrooms and in their workplaces, to challenge these ‘othered’ constructions. For example, Ranjit decided to work even harder and for longer hours at her position as the assistant director of this student organization. She also forced herself to be assertive and not allow the director to interrupt her, thereby, demonstrating her commitment and capability. However, all the long hours of hard work actually backfired, and she was denied a promotion. She explained:

*And in the end that actually backfired. Because when I applied for the directorship, she [the director] said that I was unable to say ‘no’ to people. I was unable to set limits.*

Despite the extra effort to support their work ethic and to prove their capabilities, women of colour are generally neither rewarded, nor promoted. However, for a white person, this hard work would be viewed as a virtue. The interviews pointed to an invisible form of systemic oppression, or border control, that keeps racialized people ‘outside’ positions of leadership.

Aisabee spoke further about backlash:

*So, I do think that if you have been labeled as a trouble maker, a feminist...a political person, someone that does not support the system, which is, if you look at the word “terrorist,” those are the same definitions. So, you're basically a terrorist to the campus.*

Aggie suggested that challenging the system puts one at risk of losing their position:

*I mean where I work, it’s a completely racist system. Who’s hired, how ideas from people of colour are taken [or not]; how people of colour are judged; whether you’re going to play and follow the rules or not; and when you don’t, you’re out. Who’s in and who’s out is very clear....So, the colonizer experiences the colonized that way – it’s just a given. When you begin to disrupt that and shake that up, there are consequences...To me, systematically, it’s scary. It has some real, concrete consequences.*

For example, Anna’s challenge to the system by engaging in anti-racist practice was met with a reprimand:
In my program, for example, just trying to do things from an anti-racist perspective, and what that means is providing training and resources, that’s seen as crossing some kind of boundary, forcing students to go somewhere [which is challenging assumptions and stereotypes] where we shouldn’t be forcing them to do that, which is the official word I’ve gotten. My perspective is how can we not inject that kind of understanding in ‘multicultural’ relationships?

There are many consequences in challenging the status quo. These are made manifest in poor grades, poor performance evaluations and lack of opportunities for promotion or professional development. There is constant pressure to conform. Racialized people experience oppression on multiple fronts all the time. If they do not conform, but challenge the status quo, they are punished. This backlash is evidence of further oppression. For Bobbie:

Then there are different ways that I get disciplined. So, whether it’s in a performance evaluation, or not getting opportunities for whether it’s professional development, or promotion, or access to other things. There are many ways I feel that I get held back because I don’t fit into those mainstream ways.

Some of the women interviewed also stated that when they made complaints about racial discrimination, they experienced harassment, retaliation and further reprimands at the hands of their supervisors. Bobbie spoke of just this:

Far too often at the university, race doesn’t matter. So, anybody who’s experienced racism or tries to raise issues around racism, is often silenced or not validated.

**Oppression as Trauma**

Racialization was viewed as deep disrespect, as trauma and even hate for people of colour. The women associated their experiences of racialization as an assault to their emotional, social and spiritual well-being. This manifested in physical disease (and dis-ease), and left them feeling unworthy and dehumanized. Recovery from the trauma of racialization is often difficult and sometimes impossible as it leaves deep emotional scars. Aisabee explained how racialization had affected her family and herself:

There is a direct impact on a body... some are very overt. So, you know, my great-grandfather could physically show me scars on his back of when he was hit as an indentured labourer. But it is also a story that I carry through me, with me, around me in my body. That our bodies become racialized in a way that the current system, the same system, the colonial system, continues to happen...basically being persecuted because of your racialization...for no reason, absolutely no reason, you

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62 Doudou Diene reported these very findings of systemic exclusion in his report to the Federal Government of Canada (Commission on Human Rights, 2004).
are being beaten or stomped on or being made to feel crappy or worthless, ashamed of who you are...of everything.

Ranjit also spoke of the trauma of being ‘othered’:

Obviously it is in relation to something and it’s through interaction that you feel ‘othered’....I always think of it as sort of eye-contact, gestures, how they look at you, how they treat you, what they say, their tone - the interaction. It’s how people relate to you. I think that people can kind of do things to make you feel validated and confident and respected, and they can do little behaviours that make you feel the opposite...I think ‘otherness’ is when the other person sees you as smaller than you are, less important than you are.

Racist, sexist, classist and homophobic beliefs and assumptions become part of the conscious or unconscious racist, sexist, classist and heterosexist behavior. Often this behaviour is manifested in not hearing the ‘other.’ Maya shared the nuances of this invisibility:

When I’ve worked within institutions or organizations which have been predominantly white, I’ve encountered situations where I haven’t been acknowledged...i.e. no eye contact, no greeting. At these times I’ve felt excluded and invisible. I could count on one hand how many times white people have been interested in hearing about my experience as an immigrant or as a woman of colour. They are simply not interested. Even when I’ve tried to talk about my experiences, I haven’t felt heard.

The women interviewed stated that the experience of being racialized, sexualized and ‘othered’ is very real and its impact on the body and soul is damaging.

**Lack of Institutional Awareness of Systemic Inequities in Higher Education**

Stories from the interviews illuminated an institutional lack of critical awareness with regard to systemic inequities. Sometimes systemic discrimination was overt, as disclosed by Karina:

*I handed a resume in once, and somebody from the department said, “Look who’s stealing our jobs.” And that was said in a joke, but I think for someone like me ‘stealing our jobs’ are very loaded terms.*

Asked what she meant by ‘loaded terms’ Karina replied:

*It’s loaded because it’s a trigger. It disrupts your, maybe it disrupts the event that you are going to attend, and it just makes you feel very frustrated that again, it’s a question of legitimization that you’re not regarded as legitimate, and these comments are not, may not be made to other people. And why are you being targeted when you haven’t even got the job...*

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63 Romany (1997) speaks of such behaviour as reinforcing social invisibility, usually because of limited contacts with the ‘other’ thereby generating fear and distance. hooks (2003) states that hatred forms around what or who is unknown and ‘othered.’ These fearful constructions of inferiority, deviance and dangerousness become learned differences based on markers such as racialized and sexualized bodies (hooks, 2003).
The everyday systemic inequities and the continuous micro-aggressions, accumulated over time, were experienced as dehumanizing by the women.

**Education as a Vehicle for Nation-building**

Institutions of education, such as universities, being state sanctioned and funded, support and reproduce inequities. In addition, the ideology of the white settler nation-state is reflected and supported by the academy, where classrooms and interactions mirror the everyday world. The educational environment is thereby perceived and experienced as unwelcoming and even toxic for racialized students, staff and faculty.

Aisabee’s comments:

*What gets in the way [of education] is actually the nation, the state. It’s the institutionalized, very embedded policies, by-laws, norms of societies and laws of societies. Those things have been constructed to really protect a particular group of people.*

Asked what she meant by the term ‘nation-building’ Aisabee replied:

*Well, there are two parts in 'nation-building. 'Nation-building, particularly if we take the Canadian state, there are systems that are created to maintain that nation-building, and that’s based on the hegemonic relations...Academia, I believe, plays a major role in nation-building, and they [instructors and administrators] even get paid to teach people to nation build. So, I think there’s that part of nation-building. There’s also the part where the nation gets built with the labour of racialized people, which is really interesting. Because almost every [the colonial] system was built by the cheap labour and exploitation of [racialized] people, whether it’s the railway, or bridges or warships.*

Zaira seemed to agree with this as she spoke of education as being a tool for the purpose of educating citizens to do what the nation-state requires:

*... the immediate thing I think about is education in the national education system whose purpose is to pump out another person that will do as the government says....And that’s why [I] obviously find it problematic.*

UBC was certainly viewed as an institution that continues to support the ongoing task of nation-building though the centering of Eurocentric and male-dominated knowledges. Though the women agreed that there are programs and courses that provide alternate spaces and critical dialogue, in general, education was seen as reinforcing the status quo. Toni stated:

*I don’t think our education, as it stands, really does very good justice to non-white groups in this university. I think we really get a very Europeanized history of the world....that’s not to say we don’t have courses or programs that relate to other*

64 Dei (1996) and Calliste (2000) states that universities support and reproduce inequities. As a result, higher education is structured in ways that dehumanize disenfranchised students (hooks, 2003).
cultures and histories, but in terms of what we really celebrate and what is really promoted, I think it is European.

Nation-building was also seen to have another component. For adults, exercising their freedom to work outside the home requires that another adult becomes responsible for taking care of any children. Given the hierarchical relations in North America, it is usually poorly-paid women of colour who support the freedom of choice for white women and couples to participate in the labour force. Aisabee spoke to this third dimension:

So this thing between white women and women of colour is really interesting...that she [the white woman] needs to be domesticated in the home, to be kept protected, and she needs to provide children for the state. And that is really, really important for nation-building. That she needs to provide purity and white children to keep those numbers and that's what white supremacy is about...But she can only do that, or the nation-building can only do that, as they have the racialized women come in to support her [as a domestic workers], you know.

Aggie added boldly that education is a ‘lie.’ She explained that what is taught, who teaches, who is supported, who has voice, is not inclusive of all people in the academy. She stressed that while education supports and advantages white students, it disadvantages ‘othered’ students, thereby negating who they truly are:

Well, that's education of white, dominant culture and whoever enters there, adjusts to that....The very premise of it is not encompassing of Aboriginal people and immigrant people [of colour].

The structures, policies and practices at UBC were experienced as maintaining the status quo, and keeping communities of colour marginalized and disenfranchised.

Lack of Commitment to Curriculum and Pedagogical Transformation

The women interviewed stated that UBC, in general, lacks institutional commitment to diversity and inclusion, particularly with regard to curriculum and pedagogical transformation. Diversity is usually responded to by teaching a bit of this, and a bit of that, as add-on approaches, but there is little rigorous reorganization of the curriculum. In addition, student and volunteers usually coordinate many of the events held to celebrate and make visible the issues around diversity at UBC. The women relayed that most of the curriculum is still grounded within a white-patriarchal-

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65 This exploitative employment of women of colour ensures that future generations of elite whiteness are nurtured and provided for through the labour of racialized women (hooks, 1994; Razack, 1999b).

66 Densmore (2000) suggests that without altering the political and economic structures and practices in which educational institutions are embedded, education is likely to perpetuate a society where the oppressed remain impoverished and disenfranchised.

67 This is confirmed by findings from Campbell (2003), who states that most institutions of higher education in Canada lack a concrete commitment to diversity and inclusion.
elitist system of values that disappears or erases ‘othered’ world-views. This has a devastating result for all students.

When students challenge the curriculum or teaching practices, instructors often insult or reprimand them. Minou experienced such marginalization when she offered a different perspective in a term paper for one of her courses:

So, I got the paper back, got a bad mark, and the professor wrote that I was too angry, too bitter [and] that I shouldn’t be bringing in my personal experiences – that they had nothing to do with the paper. I think I was writing about the institution of slavery, so I went to see the professor and I said, “Well, actually it is related. This is a legacy that I live, and it may have happened 400 years ago, but it’s still a collective, today in memory for us.”...He said something like I was always playing the race card in class.

The above quote is an example of how some instructors treat students when they challenge the ‘objectivity’ of the curriculum. Minou did not write about the history of her people from the dominant historical perspective. She wrote about her history from the perspective of a racialized woman. From this perspective, historical relations of power and subordination continue to impact her life. She wanted to illustrate this in her written assignment. Reprimanded, however, and accused of playing the race card, Minou attended fewer and fewer classes. This is another example of how the academy fails racialized students.

All students who participated in this study spoke of experiences where ‘othered’ or ‘alternate’ worldviews were disregarded, minimized, not responded to by faculty or not encouraged. These everyday events led to discomfort, disappointment, frustration and anger. When racialized students of colour tried to further these conversations by challenging Eurocentric and patriarchal notions of knowledge and truth, they were labeled as angry, ranting, seen as having a chip on their shoulders, or deliberately playing the race card.

It would seem that many faculty do not have the skills to process different, and sometimes conflicting perspectives. Toni relayed an experience in a classroom where a heated discussion had taken place amongst the students in her class regarding First Nations knowledges. The faculty member did nothing to help facilitate discussion or alleviate tensions.

The professor didn’t do anything about it...I think, he had a role whether he agrees or not, to facilitate that discussion in a way that would make First Nations people feel safe to be able to make those kinds of comments [in sharing First Nations knowledges and experiences].

Some other women interviewed stated that the intent of creating ‘safety’ in the classroom was an illusion, something that could not be assured, particularly in talking about conflictual classroom situations where ‘othered’ experiences and knowledges were encountered. In fact, they
suggested, conflict is a given as hegemony in the classroom is being disrupted, and therefore faculty should be trained how to navigate such terrain.

Ranjit also experienced intellectual racism in the classroom. She spoke of the necessity for curriculum transformation and systemic change in order to make education accessible and applicable to racialized students:

_I don't always want to feel like I have to be the one who puts their hand up in classes. “Oh, you know Professor, do you realize that your white model once again does not apply to me.” Particularly, because it is not just me who feels this way.....The only thing I can think of is systemic change. For example, if the professor's not willing to see it, if the professor doesn't even create a platform for that discussion to happen, and you're the only person in the class that's constantly saying, reminding, or thinking that alternate worldview, then there's no avenue for change. What is the point of always putting your hand up and saying and reminding?....There must be institutional backing._

The participants interviewed suggested that the institution should work to transform the curriculum so that it does not reflect biases or reinforce systems of domination. Some of the women suggested UBC adopt smaller class sizes and the use of alternate pedagogical strategies that affirm the presence and voices of every student, in order to enhance a shared learning community. Minou spoke of pedagogical strategies that would be affirming for her:

_I really think that class size, the amount of time allotted for discussion is really important and plays a huge role in getting heard or getting alternate material, because the classes are more like the teacher talks to you, and it's not based on some kind of collaborative discussion where students should learn from each other._

Students interviewed also spoke of interactions with instructors and other students that indicated a lack of critical awareness of systems of power and privilege that support who has access to resources and education. This is Toni's experience with another student:

_She was quite mad that there had been spots reserved for Aboriginal students in both medical and law school. So myself and another friend, who is Metis, were talking about this with her, and we were just talking about research and people of colour in general, and affirmative action in trying to help the imbalances that have been there. She just couldn't believe it, couldn't understand it...And that was a really frustrating discussion because there was no room for her to listen to our experiences, or experiences of people that we knew were attempting to get into law school or medical school, and having their knowledge totally invalidated because it's not the knowledge of the LSAT...if you followed her words through, it's saying, "Well, if you've had a spot reserved for you, that means you mustn't have worked very hard to get there."_

These women interviewed also spoke of resisting the dominant norms in which they were enmeshed. These testimonials speak volumes to the consequences of resisting hegemony.
Low Representation of Racialized Faculty

All participants remarked on the very few faculty of colour employed at UBC. They viewed this as another form of systemic discrimination. The students interviewed also stated that such systemic exclusion is experienced as an indicator that racialized students should not aspire to such class status. Having representation, however, was inspirational for Ranjit when first met a racialized professor:

You know, seeing my science professor who has a doctor preceding her name, inspired me. I thought, “Oh wow, it’s really possible.”

Ranjit further suggested that institutional change occurs through the hiring of diverse peoples. She felt this was crucial for her as a student, even more so than changing the curriculum:

I frankly don’t think we need so much education if I could just physically see people of colour in positions of leadership...

Xara suggested that more racialized faculty be hired, particularly those who would teach critical discourses examining the histories of dominance and subordination, as she found it difficult to locate such courses. She found the academic culture to be Eurocentric, male, and heterosexist, and spoke to the importance of changing this:

Definitely in terms of the professors that you have, mostly white, and [that’s] the perspective that you get. You really need to search out for a class if you want to study race relations or anything that is ‘othered’, ’right? You’d really have to search for it. So in that it’s [the academic culture] not just white; it’s white, male, heterosexual...

Representation in the ranks of faculty was seen as important for mentoring, supporting and guiding students of colour. The students spoke of their desire to be understood without the need to explain what they were experiencing in the academy. They wanted to feel comfortable in exploring critical questions in a supportive environment, which did not threaten them, which stimulated them intellectually and affirmed who they were. For many of the women interviewed, however, this did not, for the most part, exist at UBC.

Karina put all these needs together:

68 There is generally a lack of commitment to hiring faculty of colour at post-secondary institutions (Campbell, 2003). Dei et al. (2004) state that many department instructors in post-secondary institutions are white and that racialized faculty makes up less than 5% of educators. On the other hand, racialized students often comprise 50% or more of the student population in many post-secondary institutions. According to the Equity Report (2003) at UBC, faculty of colour comprise 9.28% of full professors, 12.91% of associate professors and 19.34% of assistant professors. These percentages do not distinguish how many are men and how many are women, and are not inclusive of Aboriginal faculty, whose representation is significantly lower. Schick (2002) suggests that having diverse bodies and knowledges on university campuses threatens established knowledge, hierarchies and power structures. Therefore, racialized faculty are few in number. Unfortunately, our educational system continues to employ a disproportionately high number of white teachers who still utilize ‘othered’ imagery in their classrooms (Bedard, 2000).

69 Luther, Whitmore and Moreau (2001) state that racialized students are drawn to similar faculty members as role models, as experts in mutual areas of interest, as personal advisors and research supervisors.

70 Allen (1997) suggests that students of colour deserve to have teachers of colour in the academy who will listen, mentor them, motivate them to do their best work, and validate their life experiences. Students of colour deserve teachers who will provide insights into how to deal professionally and sanely with the problems of systemic discrimination that
First of all, it [UBC] would need that the different departments would hire people of colour. If there aren’t people of colour in the faculty, how are you even going to find a mentor? And it should not just be one token person, because I’ve seen that before, and the person just gets burdened with everything, with teaching race, with mentoring people, and it’s just too much. I think we need, just as there is a diversity of white people, so should there be a diversity of people of colour, and the hiring should not just be one or two people. It needs to be quite a few. So that there is choice, and because all people of colour again are not one, and they have different politics and different sort of knowledge of these areas. So, I would say that you would need a diversity of people.....Because it’s not just what you study, but it’s the people in the faculty are going to expose you to other people in that field, and that’s very important to get jobs, and that’s very important just to keep in touch with what’s happening out there. I got a lot of this information though email from again friends, rather than [the institution or faculty], and list serve groups on the computer rather than people who were being paid by my tuition fees [such as faculty].

The women faculty interviewed stated that there is a lack of understanding of the demands made on faculty of colour. Much of what these faculty do goes unnoticed, such as the ongoing support and encouragement that is provided by them to the many racialized students seeking their support. This hidden work is in addition to the community involvement projects, and research and publishing activities they are also engaged in. Here was Karina’s experience:

When we meet with students these days, we don’t have enough contact with them...and I have to say in their defense [faculty], I have to say they didn’t have the time as well. They are over-burdened and they are being given a lot of responsibilities and stuff....They probably would spend more time if they had more time.... that should be part of people’s teaching duties, and they should be compensated for it.

Faculty women of colour who were interviewed also stated that demands by colleagues, through requests to be guest speakers to different classes, usually on topics of race, ethnicity or cultural issues, further exacerbated an already heavy workload. On the one hand, racialized faculty are seen as experts in their fields as diversity or race experts. On the other, this essentialism as ‘native informant’ burdens and further marginalizes them. The additional work consumes energy and time, leaving little time for activities supporting tenure and promotion. It was suggested by all they are likely to face in the academy. In addition, all students of colour deserve to have such supports, mentoring and validation from all teachers, not only those of colour.

71 Luther, Whitmore and Moreau (2001) indicate that much of what the small numbers of racialized faculty do in addition to their regular workload goes unnoticed. Having equitable representation of racialized faculty is central to the attraction, retention and successful completion of programs for racialized students.

72 Aboriginal faculty and faculty of colour experience more difficulty in accessing tenure track positions once employed in higher education. Conditions leading to this include a lack of policies and appropriate practices geared to attract and retain racialized faculty; the lack of data banks that locate those who are qualified for positions in various disciplines; tokenism operating to allow a limited number of racialized faculty into academia; and typecasting racialized faculty into specified positions, for example into ethnic minority studies, race relations positions or ‘issue’ based courses (Bannerji, 1995; Christensen, 1994). All of these factors marginalize racialized faculty and make such positions less attractive for them to apply to. In addition, Kerl and Moore (2001) state that there are huge costs associated with such marginalization, costs that range from having one’s research and teaching located on the margins to being punished for speaking out about inequities.
of the study participants that more faculty, particularly Aboriginal and people of colour who bring a
critical analysis of power relations and an understanding of decolonizing the institution and
curriculum, be hired in order to create a critical mass of such scholars at UBC.

**Low Representation of Racialized Staff in Management and Senior Management**

The women interviewed clearly spoke of women of colour being primarily located in the
lower ranks of employment at UBC. They stated that there are some very real discriminatory
practices in place that prevent people of colour from being hired and promoted into leadership
positions. These discriminatory practices are often topics of discussion among racialized people
in the academy. The women interviewed confirmed that employment equity policies at UBC have
mainly benefited white women. In specific, they spoke of UBC’s lack of commitment to hiring,
retaining and promoting staff of colour into management and senior levels of management within
the academy.

Many of the participants spoke of ‘gatekeeping’ practices within UBC that prevent
racialized staff from being promoted. How does gatekeeping work? Homogeneous social groups,
primarily white employees, often meet outside work for social events and dinners, and sometimes
celebrate holidays or festivities together. Information about vacancies or opportunities for
advancement in departments is exchanged in these social groups. When job vacancies come up at
UBC, departments are known to hire personnel that they either know, or people that will ‘fit in.’
In addition, hiring or interviewing committees are also often homogeneous and white in make-up.
White people are therefore more likely to be hired than racialized people are, and more likely to
attain leadership positions. The women reiterated that the upper echelons of UBC remain
restricted. Soma gave an example of this:

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73 According to Luther, Whitmore and Moreau (2001), having a critical mass of a group in an institution is a means to
equity.
74 It is well documented that the majority of support staff and service workers in the academy are non-white (hooks,
2003) supported by historical relations of social hierarchies.
75 The Equity reports from 1999 and 2003 are the only Equity Office Reports at UBC which tabulate comparisons
between of women of colour and white women in UBC’s workforce by EEOGs (Employment Equity Occupational Groups).
These reports reveal that women of colour are more likely to be employed, than white women, in four out of the fourteen
EEOGs, these being sales and service, clerical workers, administrative and senior clerical workers and semi-professionals
and technicians. There are very few women of colour reported in senior, middle and other management locations, or as
university teachers and professionals. According to these reports, this confirms that women of colour are at a further
disadvantage and face greater systemic discrimination with regard to employment at UBC.
76 Again, it is well document that racialized staff are often excluded from informal networks that maintain the social
strata, where contacts are made through activities such as having lunch together or socializing over drinks and dinner after
work (Luther, Whitmore and Moreau, 2001). This type of informal mentoring inadvertently excludes Aboriginal people and
people of colour (Christensen, 1994), reminiscent of the historical exclusion of these groups.
77 Calliste (2000) states that gaining employment and promotion through the ranks to administrative positions is
not based on merit. She suggests that one must be a member of a privileged group, to be perceived as being able to ‘fit in’ or
suitable at the institution, one who helps to maintain the status quo. ‘Fitting in’ amounts to hiring people that will fit into
the institutional social strata of white or ‘Anglo-conformity’ (Christensen, 1994).
78 The more prestigious and higher paying jobs remain white, whereas the lower levels remain racialized (Razack,
2002).
For example, management hire people that they know versus posting positions for short-term positions, one year maternity leaves, etc. with the rationale that it’s easier than posting a position. [i.e.] advertising to the broader community for appropriate candidates. The result is that those individuals who are already known get more opportunities than the unknown. White candidates get hired for short contracts, gain valuable on-site job experience, ‘fit,’ and then get hired when the permanent positions come up. This is a typical UBC hiring practice, and is discriminatory.

Quibbo, even though very well qualified, experienced systemic resistance to being placed in a leadership position. She described this economic discrimination as based on a construction of her as ‘other,’ and, therefore, seen as not fitting in:

In the workplace, I’m not seen to ‘fit in.’ My presence seems to cause discomfort and mistrust. People have said, “she makes me feel uncomfortable.” I’m not perceived to be suitable for leadership positions where I would be giving orders, or [where] I would be seen in authority over a white person. This is all part of the underground discourse, which translates itself into actuality. You get mysteriously passed over for leadership positions in favour of a white person who is less qualified and less competent. The galling thing is that you are expected to train and prop that person up. There are not usually questions or comments about my competence and my qualifications. There’s all of this sort of almost over-excessive praise for the professionality and for the competence and stuff. However, questions that are always brought up are, “Will she be easy to work with?” [and] “We can’t have her being in authority!” “She is not on side.” “We can’t count of her blind loyalty.” “She will pull ranks.”

Several women interviewed stated that UBC does have a large representation of people of colour working at the institution, but not in management or senior management positions. They are primarily located in low-paying occupations. Aisabee spoke of her perceptions:

I think the institution needs to have much more representation of people of colour in positions of power because we certainly have lots of people of colour in the institution, but they’re not in positions where they’re influencing students. They’re actually men and women who are bowing down to students, who are picking up students’ garbage.

All of the staff and faculty interviewed also noted that white women are quick to be promoted or parachuted into leadership positions without these positions going to open

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79 Economic discrimination also occurs through ‘job ceiling’ practices that limit access and employment of racialized people into desirable positions, including positions of leadership (Ogbu, 1997). Because of these discriminatory practices, racialized candidates who are eminently qualified lose employment opportunities and advances in employment (hooks, 2003). Such people, even with educational qualifications who should be positioned within the ‘meritocratic’ circuit and gain returns from their education, experience disadvantages and discrimination.

80 Doudou Diene reports that racialized groups tend to be overrepresented in the ranks of poverty and unemployment, and in low-paying occupations (Commission on Human Rights, 2004). Racial discrimination continues to exist with people of colour trailing behind white people in terms of employment and income. It is interesting to note that Kunz, Milan and Schetagne (2000) report that people of colour generally have higher education levels than white people. In spite of this, they still trail behind white folk with regards to both employment and income. In addition, people of colour and Aboriginal people are less likely to hold management positions. Those who do have management jobs generally hold these because they are self-employed. The lack of attention to systemic discrimination in employment for racialized people across institutions and organizations amounts to a 'hidden' affirmative action in favour white individuals (McLaren, 1997).
competition. Bobbie spoke of a white woman who had not been at UBC as long as she had, and who had been promoted ahead of herself. This woman, however, had little understanding of diversity and minimal amounts of social justice experience required for this particular position.

Bobbie shared:

*So what I see more of, especially in the M and P [Management and Professional] positions, there are more and more white people coming into those positions. Even up to director levels, there are more white people, and white people who don't get it [diversity and social justice issues], and so that work that we're doing requires an understanding of diversity and anti-racism, inclusive approaches, global awareness, and I find that that's not happening."

Bobbie stated that such women are mentored and provided with opportunities to develop their management skills by being promoted with institutional support, for example, because senior leadership approves and places them in these positions. In turn, such opportunities enable them to apply for other management positions within and outside the institution. Since they have developed management level skills, they are more likely to be hired into other management positions.

Racialized people are not given such opportunities and mentoring, and, therefore, remain confined to their positions. When management opportunities arise, they do not have the skills to apply for such positions. Soma also stated that key employment positions that require filling, such as directors of units, are not usually posted but handed out by senior leadership to white women, usually without appropriate qualifications, skills and competencies. Thereby, the white dominator system remains intact.

Aisabee spoke of this form of career and economic discrimination as gate-keeping, job-ceiling or border control. She also spoke of her anger in being witness to the critical mass of people of colour employed in lower ranks of employment at UBC, yet the people of colour with money are welcomed to invest at UBC:

*You know, the Chan Centre for example. We need that man's money to build that building [Chan Centre]...but still the gate-keeping continues to happen. Who picks up the garbage, and who is our clerical staff, and there's a ceiling....there's a huge excess of racialized peoples [in lower positions]...The invisibility of queer women of colour, disabled women of colour, because people who are racialized but also have other [intersectional] identities is completely invisible in academia. But the visibility of white people who are queer and with disability is happening, right? So it's interesting. It would also be interesting to look at how people with multiple identities, especially some of the major ones, in terms of equity, how that is different around racialization and whiteness."

Bobbie suggested that if these issues of economic discrimination and job ceiling practices were not addressed, UBC would lose a significant portion of their racialized staff and faculty. She
also stated that, since anti-oppression or anti-racism education is not generally supported, the institution would lose racialized students in particular:

\[ \text{Antiracism work is definitely missing at UBC, and unless the issues are addressed, we are going to lose students, we're going to lose staff, and we're going to lose faculty.} \]

Racialized people are valuable human resources, and play a significant role in establishing and maintaining high standards of practice. If the institution does not keep records of employment, retention and promotion of racialized groups, the denial of racism is kept alive. The reality of systemic discrimination has a detrimental impact on all people. Bobbie spoke of this reality:

\[ \text{...if these issues are not challenged, if they're not addressed, it has a huge impact on the university. So, whether we're able to attract students that are not part of the mainstream, whether we're able to retain those students, whether we're able to attract and retain staff and faculty of colour. Within the lower mainland, we cannot have a university that is all white, so if the needs of students, staff and faculty of colour are not being addressed, if they're not challenging inequities for this group of people, it does not look good on the university. So, if students, staff and faculty of colour continue to leave the university, what does that say?} \]

Many of the study participants questioned whether UBC is able to retain students, staff and faculty of colour. There seems to be no mechanism for collecting such data at UBC.\(^{81}\) It was the impression amongst the women interviewed that people of colour employed at the institution are promoted less often than their white counterparts, that they leave at a higher rates than white employees, and that racialized students have a higher attrition rate than their white counterparts. These disturbing accounts require addressing. Not to commit wholeheartedly to ensuring employment equity for people of colour at UBC (and other disenfranchised groups) undermines equity, maintains hegemony, and allows inequities to be concealed and systemic discrimination to thrive.

**Internationalization and Racialization**

Many people of colour who come to Canada for the first time often find that a racial identity is thrust upon them. Many have never been labeled a ‘visible minority’ before, and suddenly upon entering Canada they experience racialization. Many international students who attend UBC and who are students of colour are labeled such and treated as ‘other.’ This form of culture shock is also exacerbated by the everyday subtle racialized experiences that are often difficult to identify and

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\(^{81}\) Once employed at UBC, all employees are sent employment equity surveys which request voluntary information on whether they represent one of the four employment equity target groups: Aboriginal, women, people with disabilities and visible minorities. Even though the response rate for these surveys is high, around 75%, some employees do not disclose their identities. Their fear of disclosure revolves around who will have access to such information and whether such data might be used against them. Therefore, demography employment data is not thorough.
hard to put into words. These collective experiences often manifest in low self-esteem or
depression, and many students find themselves doing poorly academically. Anna spoke to this
issue:

...all of a sudden, [international students] are racialized minorities in Canada, and it
can be shocking to the system, and you know, it's something subtle, yet powerful.
Subtleties that they were receiving left, right and centre in how they were being
treated, whether it is by services on campus, other students, [or] people in the larger
community. And it's hard to articulate what's going on when they don't have the
experiences, and then they're left alone to deal with issues that more often than not
will be internalized or pathologized as their own personal issues as opposed to
greater social problems.

When racialized international students seek help, if they do, they are sent to counselling
where these symptoms of distress are pathologized by Eurocentric counselling paradigms. These
therapeutic interventions that depoliticize and individualize their concerns are also a form of racism,
because the students are perceived to be in control of their destinies. If they are not doing well, they
may be accused of not trying hard enough. In addition to the culture shock that international
students experience coming to Canada, their identities are sometimes white-washed and assimilated
into European identities. Anna shared a story about a time when one of her student leaders
suggested to a newly arrived international student that he ‘Anglicize’ his name to help him fit in.
Anna saw this as an ‘anti-racist’ teaching moment and educated her Canadian student leader:

And I took him aside and I said, “I know you’re trying to make him feel comfortable
and that was great...How would you feel if someone told you to change your name
because they couldn’t say it? What does that do to their identity? They have enough to
deal with let alone letting go of their name...What do you think that would be like? We
can’t be ethnocentric around English.”

Some women interviewed also suggested that UBC views international students along class
lines – that is, UBC invites international students primarily on the basis that these students bring
valuable monetary resources to the institution. There is little understanding of what these students
might need, however, and so few supports are put into place for them specifically. Karina shared her
experience as an international student, and how she had to search for supports in order to survive:

That UBC had no understanding of what it meant to come from a country where
exchange rates is so low where you can’t have money to see your family. It’s not like
your parents are paying for your education. You’re trying all kinds of different means
just to keep yourself surviving...So, I would say the [lack off] mentoring was also in
terms of class lines, which is how international students [are] seen at UBC. They are
seen as dollar signs, and self-sufficient, and they can afford everything, or not
because those class lines make a difference. Money makes a difference. If you cannot
afford a computer, and you have to stay all night at UBC, which I did, and at that time
computers were not as cheap as now. It impacts your safety issues. It impacts your
mental state because you’re up there all night. You lack just basic resources.
These women also shared that many racialized international students, particularly women, mostly obtain low paying laboured positions for the purposes of financial support. Karina shared that many international students of colour, especially from Africa and India, take on jobs at UBC that often no white students would take. In addition, international students who do obtain employment at UBC usually obtain low paying positions, often forcing them to work several jobs in order to make ends meet. Most of these students, no matter what their backgrounds, or how many degrees they may hold, take on several low paying jobs in order to survive. She stated:

> These jobs would be, I think, marketing, telemarketing. They would be mainly in terms of working at gas stations, working as cleaners....certainly fundraising, or things like that. Where again, it's not, it's ironical because you're helping the institution, but at the same time, the money is not going to you. You're getting paid minimum wage.... it's ironic again that certain racialized people would be in that setting, fundraising for UBC.

Other stories were shared about institutional resistance to acknowledging systemic discrimination faced by international students, particularly race and racism. Sadly, some of the participants, such as Bobbie, spoke about the fallout from speaking about racial discrimination. She shared that a number of racial incidents had recently occurred that targeted international students at UBC. She disclosed that the university had not responded in a timely nor appropriate manner to these incidents. In turn, these international students had spoken to their families, friends and school counsellors from their home countries about these traumatic experiences, thereby portraying UBC in a poor light.

> I'm thinking of a recent incident that a group of [international] students of colour experienced, and issues of racism that they experienced. They're not domestic students, and the impact for the university in not addressing these students' needs, in not only not addressing the issue, but also not addressing it in a timely manner, means these students talked to their family members, talked to their friends in their home country in a way that does not look good for the university. They talked to counsellors in their schools back in their home countries who have a fair bit of power and authority in terms of directing students to universities in other countries. So, we're losing potential students. We may lose some of these students as well as shedding a very negative light on the university on the fact that a racist incident occurred, and the university did not respond appropriately.

### Barriers to Anti-Oppression Education

Some of the staff interviewed in this study facilitate education for diversity and social justice across the campus, including work that involves internationalizing the campus. They stated that

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82 Bannerji (1995) informs us that all labour in Canada is gendered, but all forms of gendered labour are ‘raced.’ This is not surprising since European capitalism has been ‘raced’ throughout history.
there is much resistance to social justice education, and to addressing race, gender and class oppression by management at UBC. Bobbie shared such an experience in the development of a social justice workshop. Her supervisor, a white woman, who did not have the academic nor embodied understanding for utilizing an integrative social justice approach, said that developing the workshop with such an approach was ‘dangerous’ and ‘immoral.’ Bobbie shared:

I was told that this approach [social justice] was a dangerous approach, and that I better be careful, that it was ‘immoral.’ Which horrified me! I was shocked. In fact the conversation continued where I tried to convey the importance of this kind of work, the importance of students understanding who they are in relation to the rest of the world and other people, and so I was told again that it was ‘immoral.’ ...Now, I’ve since had a discussion with my supervisor about this, and she refused to talk about it. I asked for clarification. I said I was really surprised and didn’t understand where that came from, didn’t understand what she meant by it, and that I was open to hearing what she meant by that so that I had an understanding. Perhaps I misunderstood her intention, or what she was trying to get at, and I wanted some clarity, but she didn’t want to go there. And she in fact said that she herself was uncomfortable discussing it, and that she felt ‘unsafe’ discussing it. So, for her to turn around and say that she was unsafe, I didn’t understand why, why she felt unsafe. She’s the one that has the power to, she’s the one in a powerful position.

Such attitudes from people with power and privilege shame oppressed individuals and contribute to experiences of oppression. Such shaming also constructs dominant values and morals in the workplace where white dominance and morality inform how work should be carried out. Such management practices are hurtful, devaluing and degrading, and maintain the subordination of ‘others.’

Bobbie shared how this impacted her:

I felt like I was being disciplined. I felt like I was being put in my place. I felt like I was being shut down. I felt that what I was trying to accomplish in this workshop was not of value and that it was inappropriate. And using language, very strong language [by my supervisor] to tell me that it was inappropriate and that I was out of line.

In a later conversation, Bobbie’s supervisor did apologize for using the word ‘immoral,’ but refused to elaborate on why she did so and ended the conversation. Bobbie did not use the language of being ‘othered’ or ‘racialized’ in this instance, but used the term ‘trouble-maker:’

I guess the language that I’ve been using is I haven’t fit into the mainstream. So I guess that’s just another way of articulating it because I haven’t fit into what was expected of me within a mainstream understanding of what I’m supposed to be doing in this job, so therefore I’ve been labeled as a trouble-maker...

83 Such discourses in academic spaces function in ways that privilege whiteness, where white dominance and morality inform what is worth knowing and worth doing (Schick, 2002). hooks (2003) states that systematic shaming, as oppression, colonizes the mind and the imaginations of racialized peoples. Those who shame, crush the spirit of people who strive for social change, and practice a form of emotional violence. According to hooks (2003), this is psychological terrorism.
Aisabee shared a similar experience when she was employed as a coordinator for a specific program at UBC, engaging student leaders. As the coordinator, she regularly attended workshops delivered by counsellors/advisors on topics such as time and stress management, study and presentation skills, etc. As a woman of colour, she was alarmed that the content of these workshops did not reflect the lived experiences of racialized people, women, of poor people, and other such marginal groups. She stated:

*The majority of them [the workshops], the content did not reflect racialized people, people of colour, single mothers, First Nations people. It did not reflect a lot of things and I would be really uncomfortable.*

Many workshops were centered on individualistic, white, elitist values. Aisabee noticed that many racialized students, including international students who attended these workshops, left feeling discouraged because they could not put into place the suggestions made during the workshops. So, for example, a study skills workshop which had as its focus finding quiet time and locating and setting up study spaces in one’s home to maximize study efforts, did not allow for inclusion of differences. Some of the students in attendance were not given the opportunity to talk about obstacles related to their international status as students. Aisabee had picked up the students’ non-verbal discomfort, and had spoken to them after the workshop. Some of the students felt that they would not be successful Canadian students because they could not financially afford to change their living circumstances in order to ‘study effectively.’ In turn, many internalized these perceived incompetencies and felt that something was wrong with them. Aisabee explained:

*It was interesting because most of the students [taking these workshops] were of East Asian descent, and there was a whole level of racialization. There was a whole level of them feeling that in order to be Canadians, they had to take these workshops. They had to take this program; this program would make them a better Canadian student, and they would try really hard. But all that it did was bring down their self-esteem more and made them question their values.*

**Lack of Commitment to Institutionalizing Diversity**

The stories from the interviews illuminated institutional resistance to addressing issues of oppression, in particular, race and racism. Institutions typically deny the presence of systemic oppressions, and may, directly or indirectly, imply that personal success is totally dependent on individual enterprise; this often leads to blaming the victim. By doing so, marginalized and disenfranchised individuals and their communities are seen to be directly responsible for their lot in life, thereby, promoting negative stereotypes of the ‘other.’ Bobbie spoke of such a construction:
When practices are inequitable or discriminating at times, one rule for everyone as opposed to addressing issues that may be different for a First Nations woman, versus a woman with a disability, versus a single woman or a woman who is in a violent relationship. So how are these practices and policies discriminating and maintain the status quo as opposed to assisting people to get themselves out of this situation?

Mainstreamed policies and practices, lack of authentic inclusion in the academy with decision making influence, promotion of diversity for celebratory purposes, lack of mentoring and supports for people of colour, and reliance on racialized people to provide alternate knowledges were all viewed as evidence of systemic denial and lack of commitment to institutionalizing diversity at UBC.

Mainstreaming

The women interviewed in this study viewed mainstreaming as the centering of policies and practices around white, male, elite and heterosexual perspectives. They further noted that institutional deviation from this in providing specialized services for marginalized groups, whether for gender, race, class or sexuality, is often viewed as inequitable by the institution. In fact, the institution regards provision of special treatment to marginalized groups as a liability risk, for example, refusing to advocate for special services because to do so would make the mainstream community feel excluded. These women spoke of multiple experiences of being silenced or constructed as ‘problematic’ whenever they spoke up about issues of oppression and the need for specialized services. The women in this study repeatedly stated that white people in leadership positions often viewed the topic of race as contentious and dangerous, and colour-blindness or race-neutrality was viewed as the dominant standard of practice at the university.

Anna gave an example of a time when women of Asian ancestry were being sexually targeted and raped in Vancouver. Some staff concerned about safety for women on campus called a meeting to explore ways to enhance safety for women at the institution. At this meeting, safety for women in general was supported, but discussions on safety for racialized women triggered discomfort. Some women at the meeting suggested drop-in or discussion groups in Mandarin, Cantonese, Japanese or Korean, facilitated by someone speaking these languages. These suggestions were quickly dismissed in favour of mainstream strategies. Anna stated that the response she and her colleagues received from management was:

Oh no, we don’t need to do that. English is fine...If we can’t include all the students, we can’t just have specific groups like that.

According to the women in this study, the neutrality and universality of mainstream policies and procedures is experienced regularly. They argued that resistance to creating institutional spaces...
and supports for marginalized groups, and resistance to using multiple languages for discussion groups, websites, pamphlets, etc. maintains the status quo. By doing so, the institution does not foster the development of an inclusive campus. Bobbie shared her experience of this:

"For me, it's taking the white, middle class perspective. That that is normal, that that is the approach we all need to take. Why do we need to talk about race? Why do we need to talk about gender? Why do we need to talk about any of these 'isms.' We're here for all students, and so we'll treat them all the same.... That there's one norm, one way of doing things, and that any deviation from that is in fact not equitable. I've heard this recently. If we try to deviate from providing the same for all students, then that's not equitable, and then we're liable. And that's a huge concern for me. We need to acknowledge those differences.... and how do we work with those differences.

Resistance to Authentic Inclusion

Often programs and events that are life-sustaining and important to racialized people, such as Black History month, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination etc., are coordinated by these very people in the academy, usually on a voluntary basis. This is a form of tokenism, as such programs and events are not institutionalized. These ‘othered’ histories and knowledges are not integrated into the everyday teaching and learning environment at UBC. This resistance to institutionalized diversity and authentic inclusion also has a significant impact on internationalization at the university. Global communities reside within the institution, and within our local neighbourhoods, and if such resistance exists towards the integration of these knowledges and experiences, then that speaks volumes to the continued colonial paradigm of education.

The women interviewed spoke to this resistance to diversity and inclusion as unwelcoming and discriminatory. Anna shared her views on what internationalization meant to her, and how this has not been supported at the university:

"At this campus....I am not really sure what that [internationalization] means, because my experience of internationalization means of course you're going to have everything in different languages because you have people who can speak [different languages]. You have people who are comfortable with that, and it's not taking away from English.

Anna compared UBC with institutions she attended in Japan. She felt disappointed and discouraged that UBC would not utilize the multilingual skills of staff and students for the purposes of translation and communication across differences. She shared:

"When I was in Japan, the government programs had translators who were translating into English, Japanese, French and Arabic. I thought. "Oh my God, this is amazing; this is exciting. This regular human being is able to do this?""
Diversity as Celebratory Events

Many events that promote diversity at UBC, such as Black history month, Africa Awareness and International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, are primarily organized by AMS (Alma Mater Society) groups and racialized students at UBC, with support from racialized staff. These events take on the ‘add-on approach to diversity’ in filling the educational and life-sustaining needs of these marginalized groups. Such events are considered important by racialized students, staff and faculty, not only in terms of creating community at UBC, but also for bringing in the alternate knowledges, histories and lived experiences of racialized peoples not represented in education and in the curriculum. For Toni, participating in Black History month was really important for she found like-minded people she could critically dialogue with, people she obtained support from. She noted, however, that because of the lack of institutional commitment to decolonizing the curriculum, attempts by students to change the curriculum would probably be met with much resistance:

But I’m also aware that it’s [Black History month] only one month out of the year, and it’s not really challenging. I mean, I am trying to put on events that will challenge people in their thinking, but it’s very much outside the realm of everyday learning. I just wonder what or how different my experience would be if what I was actually trying to do was to put Black History Month into the curriculum, or somehow [I] was trying to change the curriculum so that there was better teachings about the history of Black people in Canada and North America, and I imagine that I would come up with a lot more resistance to that.

Such ‘add on’ events are further marginalized because they are held only once a year, or every other year, depending on volunteers being available. In addition, many of these events take on a multicultural or celebratory approach to promoting diversity and inclusion. These short, intermittent events are seen as stop-gap measures in education for racialized students. Such programs and events are critical in order to build community and challenge institutional racism. More importantly, the women interviewed stated that teaching needs to go beyond this celebratory approach to diversity and inclusion, to understanding the complex and diverse histories that inform contemporary power relations, as Toni so eloquently stated:

We’re putting on a dance, or we’re putting on a talk here, or there’s some kind of music show – or things that are really, really important, and I would want them to happen, but that does not necessarily challenge people to think about how does that still fit into the larger community? When people aren’t dancing and singing and stuff, what are their day to day experiences?

84 This in itself is a challenge within a research institution. Faculty also experience barriers in adding to already establish curriculum.
Minou, on the other hand, talked of how degrading and disrespectful this diversity as celebratory paradigm was to her:

*I mean sort of like “Lets enjoy each other’s food, and lets go to the Chinese New Year Festival, and then to the Caribbean Festival in July, and then go to the Powell Street Festival for Japanese culture” and things like that where it’s surface, very tokenizing and quite frankly, belittling. I’m more than that. I’m more than my food and great costumes and dances.*

**Lack of Mentoring**

One of the most important strategies of support for women of colour in the academy is mentoring. However, because of the low representation of racialized faculty, mentoring becomes inaccessible, as Karina shared:

*What I lacked was mentoring from faculty, especially I think in terms of UBC, I pretty much was left by myself for many things. And so, what felt disempowering, in terms of race and class and gender was the lack of mentoring, and the lack of people who really didn’t understand where we’re [racialized students] coming from, on the higher ranks of the faculty.*

Karina went on to say that the supports she did receive from the institution were friendships developed with racialized clerical and support staff, those women ‘lower down in the hierarchy.’ In addition, the spaces in which she felt validated, supported and nourished were not institutionally sanctioned spaces. The spaces valued by her included spaces where staff worked, where staff took interest in talking to her, where staff were involved as volunteers in creating programs that fostered diversity and inclusion in the academy. She shared:

*The things that empowered me, ironically I felt supported by people who are lower down in the hierarchy. I would count on those secretaries, administrative secretaries, support staff. They were highly, highly the people that I would recommend. They were the ones who I really spoke to and ironically those were the ones who I got support from. Not necessarily in terms of issues of race, but just in terms of more contact and more interest, okay. But of course this was not academic mentoring. This was just friendships, and things like that, and other space outside of the classroom was the women of colour mentoring program...the library. I would acknowledge the library at UBC as one of the most powerful supports in my life, and ironically, that’s a thing and not really a person. So, I just spent a lot of time in the library reading books. So, I would say that books are very empowering to me.*

Many racialized students and faculty spoke of the lack of mentoring in the academy. They felt that the academy was failing them.⁸⁵ Students found themselves searching for mentors wherever they could. Karina re-affirmed this experience:

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⁸⁵ Monture-Angus (2001) states that the lack of mentoring, particularly for new faculty or graduate students possibly wanting to teach in academia, is a covert strategy that operates to deny success to ‘outsiders.’
I’m not sure whether it was race, gender or other factors of networking skills, but I was outsider in terms of these know how things, in terms of these networking things, so I saw that I was not going to get that [mentoring and networking] from these people, so I went outside to seek that.

Ranjit, at first could not believe that a racialized woman could ever be a faculty member. Yet, having such a person teaching a course at UBC, she found herself suddenly becoming engaged. She shared the importance of this to her:

And you know, I was stunned. And I double-checked that she has a ‘doctor’ beside her name....[During the course] I found myself asking questions. I found myself engaged, and I found myself really interested....I would never do that before. You know, no way!

The women interviewed stated that increasing the numbers of racialized faculty would, in fact, advance the standards of education by providing richer and broader learning experiences.

Native Informant and Tokenism

The women stated that acts of tokenism, such as hiring the one or two people of colour to the ranks of staff or faculty, protected the institution from having to be challenged, and, thereby, having to address systemic discrimination. In addition, employing only one or two racialized people in any department and asking them to assist in understanding and managing diversity or providing information about ‘their group,’ amounted to their further marginalization by burdening these individuals in asking them to speak as native informants. The women also stated that if one person of colour existed or had been hired in a department, then that department would be perceived as diverse, or proactive in promoting diversity. In addition, having hired the one person of colour meant that there was no further necessity to hire from that racialized group. Ranjit made an interesting point with regards to this form of tokenism:

They’ve got the one Pakistani, so there’s no more room for the Bengalis because they’re all the same. [In the same vein] we’ve got the one lesbian so we don’t need the gay man, or we don’t need the bisexual woman. You know, we’ve got the person whose got the disability, a visible disability, so we don’t want the person with the invisible disability.

Ranjit added that we do not hear the same rhetoric at the institution with regard to white people. For example, if there is one British person employed, then one does not hear that another British or European person is not needed because one already has been hired. Permanent commitment to supporting diversity is often an illusion, given that people of colour are often over-

86 Native informants, according to Razack (2001) is an anthropological term where the native informant is the person who helps the anthropologist negotiate his or her way through the ‘alien’ culture.
extended and near burnout because of the multiple demands on their time, or, because funding for social justice programs and projects are granted temporarily, then pulled away. If racialized people are not hired in numbers at all levels of the institution, and programs of support are not institutionalized, both remain temporary and tokenized.

The women interviewed acknowledged that the student population at UBC has become more diverse, yet the institution remains exclusionary in terms of programs, curricula and pedagogical approaches, largely because these are informed by European, male, elite values, expectations and traditions. In the interviewed women’s perceptions, there seems to be little commitment to institutionalizing diversity.

Internalized Oppression

Many of the women interviewed spoke to racialized people doubting themselves and their self-worth because their daily experiences tell them that they are not respected or granted the same kind of courtesy accorded to the dominant others. They were reminded over and over again that they were ‘less than,’ lazy or unintelligent, and they began to believe and internalize these constructions of ‘otherness.’ They spoke of feelings of isolation, self-hate, humiliation, and low self-worth because they were constantly being reminded that they fell short of dominant expectations, spoken of as ‘high standards.’

For example, Ranjit, who had experienced racism in her position at her workplace where her director policed her, found that as she started to build a relationship with an instructor of colour in one of her courses, she worried that her instructor might also be watched and, therefore, risk losing her faculty position. She said:

*I'd always go up to her after class and I started emailing. This is the first professor that I had started a relationship with...Yes, I have a really nice relationship with her. And you know, I'm always wondering, you know, I have to be careful because she's brown and I'm brown, I don't want anybody saying that she's helping me or favoring me, or anything because we're brown....I don't want to jeopardize her position in any way....by just being seen with her particularly.*

Ranjit was speaking of internalized racism – questioning the qualifications and ‘realness’ of a professor of colour. However, she also found herself engaged and communicating with this professor in ways she had never done before, but she was also scared that this ‘relationship’ might jeopardize the professor’s position at UBC. Ranjit challenged her own thinking around this by

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87 James (2003) suggests that ‘diversity’ represents nothing more than a public relations enterprise that yields support and financial benefits for publicly funded institutions to justify their continued claim to government funding and in raising tuition fees, particularly for International students.

88 Delgado (2000) suggest that these destructive messages leave racialized people with few choices – either to hate themselves, or to have no send of self at all.
asking herself whether white students ever questioned themselves in the same manner when they talked to and developed relationships with white instructors. She recognized that she was doing so because of internalized oppression.

Xara shared what her educational experience at UBC was like at first, especially when what she was learning did not fit or resonate with her lived experience. It was only after taking some alternate courses that she started challenging her internalized oppression and stopped blaming herself for perceived inadequacies. She shared:

As I went through the education system, a lot of the time the questions I had and what I wanted to learn weren’t being addressed. So I thought maybe there’s something I’m not getting. “I’m not intelligent enough.”...once you start to realize that the system is [oppressive] so you are ok. “It’s not me” It’s a real blow to your self-esteem, not just in that your stories aren’t being heard, but you’re always constantly second guessing yourself...and you’re like, “I know there’s something wrong with what he [instructor] just said....

There are also people of colour who lack critical awareness about issues of oppression, as well as white people who do possess such critical awareness. People who are colour-blind, for example, state that systemic oppression does not exist, or minimize its existence and its impact. In asking Ranjit whether all faculty and staff of colour is supportive of raising critical awareness of systemic oppression, she said:

No....and there’s a lot of people of colour that have a lot of internalized racism. And I can recognize it a mile away, and I’m not going to go near that person. Right? Because they expect you to minimize race as they are.....when I think of people with internalized racism, I generally see people who see themselves as white. You know, they think that you know that because they’re Canadian, or because they dress like a Westerner, or whatever, that means, people will see them as white. And because they feel that way, they think they are being treated that way....just because nobody’s said a racist [slur or] something, then the racism doesn’t exist....they really don’t see the systemic racism, and if they do, then they’re willing to conform to it.

Bobbie also spoke of the discomfort she experienced in not using social justice and anti-oppression language in her workplace. This is because of the marginalization, in particular, the sexist-racism, that she experienced daily at the university:

And it’s interesting that I hesitate to use these words. I think over the years I’ve been conditioned to not use certain language because then I get labeled, and so this is very interesting for me, and how guarded I am with my language with what I say, and how much filtering I do in my head.

hooks (2003) suggests that white supremacist thinking and action is learned by every person in North America, in addition to people from former colonies of European imperialism. Teachers of any race can teach this ideology. Racialized teachers with internalized oppression are no better instructors or mentors than are white teachers with internalized oppression. These are the people who are co-opted into seeing things in terms of race-neutrality or colour-blindness, and conform to the systems of domination.
Aisabee’s comments illustrate how internalized oppression works to perpetuate systemic oppression.\(^90\) She said:

*And as we racialized people are in particular high classes, like when you go to New York, many South Asian women, upper class, their domestic workers are Tamil, who are poor.*

Some of the women interviewed spoke of feeling small, insignificant, and irrelevant, even though they tried really hard to fit in. Many of the women interviewed stated that they are constantly engaged in internal reflection and dialogue around unlearning internalized oppression. As Karina shared:

*And that’s what I’ve done right now...doing learning with people of colour because they are going to carry the same stereotypes and internalized racism, and they, including me, a lot of them have unquestioned assumptions about class and sexuality too. So, I’m working on that.*

Karina spoke specifically about mimicry\(^91\) as internalized oppression, and how this works in her life as a racialized person teaching English in higher education:

*English has a colonial history. So there is a sense of having specialized in a field which has a colonial inheritance. So, I’m acutely aware of that. At the same time, you get into a situation where you think about the fact of mimicry of things, like that where you have mastered the master’s language so to speak, but you still aren’t legitimized and that’s for me, it’s a problem on several levels. One of the problems is that you’ve gone though the ropes of being legitimized, and you still aren’t legitimized, so you just wonder when it would be that... “Oh, when you get this degree, then you will be accepted. Or when you learn this language, you’ll become Canadian like everybody else” or whatever. So, it becomes a kind of mirage. You’re just trying to reach somewhere you don’t know exactly what is going to be held against you later, and what is going to be accepted!*

### Lack of Institutional Supports for Communities of Colour

All the women talked of the lack of community, mentoring and role models for women of colour at UBC. Many of the study participants searched for programs or events that would provide life-sustaining support, networking and mentoring for them at the university.\(^92\) Toni, for example,

\(^90\) As hooks (2000) suggests, women of privilege (most of whom are white but not all) continue to invest in the sustained subordination of working class, poor women, most of whom are racialized. In other words, most women of colour are located in lowest paid labouring positions in North America (Bannerji, 1995; Lorde, 1984), and there is a historical basis for such racial stratification.

\(^91\) Bhabba (1994) speaks of the concept of mimicry, the idea that racialized colonized peoples almost become the same as, but not quite - white (p. 89). This is a dimension of colonization in which the colonized as ‘other’ is molded into becoming the colonizer. However, because the colonized can never be the colonizer, in order words, can never be white, the colonized as racialized continues to be seen and constructed as the ‘partial representation’ and, therefore, still inferior. The colonized subject continues to feel inadequate and inferior, even though they have done everything to become the colonizer. This also then gets internalized.

\(^92\) Disenfranchised groups will often seek to form community with those like themselves by bonding on the basis of their subordination (hooks, 2003).
talked of the importance of the Black community to her, and because she felt the Black community was invisible at the university, she felt strongly about her need to contribute to the creation of such a community by coordinating Black history month. In fact, people of African ancestry have suffered disproportionately from the historical processes that have created a legacy of unequal social relations. Academic institutions are also a part of this legacy, and Quibbo suggested that for students of African ancestry to feel welcomed and respected, UBC must make available courses such as African geography, African history, African philosophy and African religions. She noted that such courses are currently invisible in academic programs at UBC. She shared her experience of not belonging:

*I feel that I’m being drowned by the discourses on visible minority and on Blackness. I want a sense of place! I want a sense of belonging to some culture, some place! It’s like this ghostlike existence in the academy for me.... And I actually live a life of isolation in a crowd of people here. Looking back, I don’t have any friendships in my workplace. I have polite relationships, but there are no friendships in the workplace. Isn’t that sad?*

All the women interviewed stated that few supports are institutionalized at the university. Some spaces of support occur by default because their employment involves working with racialized individuals and groups, and some find supports in short-term programs initiated primarily by people of colour at the institution. Although limited, these counter-hegemonic spaces are viewed as critical for the well-being of people of colour, where stories and experiences are shared, support and networking takes place and strategies explored for coping with marginalization. As Soma explained:

*I think it’s important to have a place to just vent and deal with and express the emotion, and the feeling behind it, and then to be able to revamp and strategize and have a shared understanding of what’s the best way to approach these things here [at UBC]. How does it work, how has it been successful, how it hasn’t been [the strategies]. Who is supportive and who isn’t, to sort of get a sense of that.*

Some of these spaces at UBC include International House, where many racialized students, both domestic and international, volunteer with program initiatives. Other such spaces include the Equity Office and the Women Students’ Office (which recently folded into a new unit called Access & Diversity), which offer supports to disenfranchised groups through collaborative programs. Ranjit shared the first time she went to such a program. She was petrified of going, but she pushed herself into attending, and it was life-altering for her:

*When I was a first year student at UBC, ...they had the women of colour network...or mentoring program, [and] it was in the First Nations Longhouse....And I went and I was terrified, you know! And I saw this circle of women and I said, “I’m not going to go in.” But something just made me want, made me go in. And I think maybe because*
they were all [women] of colour. And I walked in and I insisted that my sister go with me, and she was really, really terrified and scared, and she also went. And I don’t know even what I said, but it was the first time actually, I wasn’t, I wasn’t shy. That was one of the things that I’ve noticed...not to blame my shyness on white people, but yeah, I do notice that when I am around people of colour, my voice doesn’t shake, ..I can speak articulately, I have opinions.

Ranjit was expressing consequences of being ‘othered:’ a lack of self-confidence that comes from being marginalized, feeling inadequate, and feeling unsafe to express perspectives and opinions. However, being with this group of women of colour, she felt safe and let down her boundaries. She felt a sense of belonging and confidence:

_We know somewhere deep down inside of us that it’s not safe to talk...You know that there’s a circle of women of colour and you’re safe. For that little while._

Some women took it upon themselves, as volunteers, to create community and supports for them and other racialized people at UBC, by organizing events such as Black History month. Toni found several departments at UBC willing to offer financial assistance and support in coordinating this event:

_The fact that I had all the support from different levels of the university, the Equity Office was immensely supportive of me, was really good indication that there are people in the university, and there are opportunities to promote this._

Other women, such as Minou, located supports through networks, friendships and organizations that supported women’s causes outside the institution, and by reading academic and fiction pieces written by women of colour. She shared. “It is [a matter of] survival, being at UBC.” There were, however, supports available through short-term programs and community-building events at UBC. According to some of the women interviewed, these programs come and go since they are not institutionalized. However, many of the participants of this study also worried about the well-being of the people initiating and planning these programs – the extra burden on top of a regular workload that might lead to burnout. The risks, both personal and professional, that such individuals took to build community for racialized people at UBC, without institutional support and commitment to establish some permanency around such programming, were of real concern. Ranjit talked of such concerns:

_I think that groups like the women of colour network is really important. And I think it is really important that I don’t have to worry about the person who made it happen. Like if it’s a woman of colour, you know, or a person organizes something [with] some department at UBC, I don’t want to have to be worrying about her welfare. Right? I just want to feel comfortable that her department and her institution is supporting her, and you know, I can be free._
All the students interviewed stated that many students of colour seek out locations or programs for volunteer or paid positions where they feel safe, where they are encouraged and validated for their values and experiences, spaces that are ‘race-friendly.’ There were some examples of such social spaces of support. Some events planned and held at UBC such as the Canadian Critical Race and Asia Pacific Conferences, again organized primarily by racialized people on a volunteer basis, were such counter-hegemonic spaces. Anna stated:

*Like at the Critical Race Conference, some of the presenters and the volunteers came from Asian, Asian North American heritages, and just having a few of us sit around and sharing those experiences, I was just “oh, this is what I’ve been missing.”*

Other programs or initiatives such as the Inter-Community Dialogues Program were also mentioned as offering spaces of support, in particular, because several racialized staff facilitated workshops. The white facilitators were noted as having critical perspective on issues of oppression, and recognized as being supports also. Racialized staff encouraged racialized students to attend these workshops for support and validation of their experiences. Anna shared:

*We basically got our students to try and attend the Inter-community dialogues, which was co-facilitated by a lot of people of colour doing different issues on campus. The other [events of support] was getting involved in a variety of conferences....[such as the] Asia Pacific and the Critical Race Conference.*

Spaces and events, such as lectures on ‘Race’ at Green College were highly commended in bringing critical scholars to address the UBC community. These events provided spaces of support, which, in turn, enhanced the well-being of people of colour at UBC, particularly students. Toni shared:

*I know there were a number of what sounded like really incredible lectures happening at Green College dealing with racism and the construction and deconstruction of race and racism and things like that...So I definitely commend the university for having things like that...I mean, I think for my own personal well-being, when I was able to go to talks and discussions that addressed racism, or just even talked about different ways of thinking about the world and cultures and societies...it would make me feel so much better about who I am...*

The women interviewed shared a common concern about having to locate supports either within or outside the institution. Some found networks within their own departments and faculties, and some found supports outside the institution, as Bobbie shared:

*I have built up a very strong network of people who I connect with, who are mutually supportive, who are there to hold me up when I need to be held up. I would say that that is the most important thing for me, [that is] to have my support network...Some*  

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93 Subjective knowledges of oppression can be liberating and life-affirming (hooks, 2003). The sharing of such knowledges and experiences usually occurs in the margins.
are people that are also at the university. Some are not. Most of them are people of
colour. Some of them are white allies.

For many other women interviewed, supports were found outside the institution. For
example, Ranjit found her supports through volunteering in a number of local women’s
organizations. Aggie found her own community to be self-sustaining:

So my communities, I go there as relief in terms of that resistance [resisting the
dominant culture], but it’s also a place that’s life-giving for me....I’m comfortable,
I’m not ashamed...what I mean is not needing to restrict myself in my own
expression. Not only that, it’s acknowledging, it’s giving a place and a validation of
that personhood. Because I feel that way, I’m more able to contribute as a co-citizen
of this little community....So, I think it’s a physical space; it’s a mental space, and it’s
also actually a futuristic space for me, because it allows me to live some possibilities.

A few women identified self-imposed isolation as a strategy to resist the marginal and
traumatizing experiences of the academy, using this as a time to reflect and replenish themselves.
However, for the most part, spaces of support for marginalized groups were seen as crucial to meet
the specific needs of each community. Karina summarized these needs as:

I believe even with a community, that different spaces have different needs. And you
need to let it go. Let those people have their needs met. One space cannot cater to
everyone. And you should let people have different spaces, and of course come
together because there needs to be community times when people communicate all
together as well, or at least in different combinations. So they need to have that.

Centuries of racist, sexist, classist and heterosexist practices are institutionalized in the
academy. In addressing inequities, these histories are legitimized, as Soma suggested:

I think that there probably needs to be some more legitimization of issues, and that
they’re addressed both amongst faculty and staff on campus. There needs to be more
acknowledgement and recognition that there are issues of racism that occur; that
there is a sense of ostracization for women of colour; that they [women of colour]
need to be included as equal colleagues and not excluded, possibly exploited; and
people need to go out of their way [to address these inequities], and UBC needs to go
out of its way to do that more.

Even though these supports are crucial to maintaining the overall well-being and affirmation
of the women interviewed, many admitted that they are hyper-vigilant about maintaining a sense of
self that is confident. Quibbo talked of this constant state in trying to maintain her dignity, validity
and sense of self:

I cannot allow myself to be seen with less authority than I want to convey. I can’t
permit myself to be seen as if I don’t have it together because the forces of marginality
and inferiority are such that it is a constant struggle to maintain some dignity and
some equanimity.
In spaces of support and solidarity, oppressed people start to talk about and recognize hegemonic systems that frame and maintain oppression. Anna summarized the necessity for such spaces of support:

*Getting together to talk about it [one’s experiences], to debrief, to strategize, to understand and support. That’s made a big difference [for me].*

In these moments of critical awakening, marginalized people acknowledge social oppression as part of their daily reality, and come to see that they can no longer deny such oppressive forces. It is in such spaces that strategizing for institutional transformation occurs. Many of the women felt, however, that it was not in the interests of institutions to provide such spaces, and they speculated that these spaces of critical discourse were perhaps seen as a very real threat to the dominant structures and practices. So even though the women interviewed spoke of the necessity of such spaces, they also thought it would be unlikely that the institution would provide such spaces of resistance and critical discourse.

In summary, this chapter has illuminated the ways in which the political, social and economic contexts of educational institutions and universities operate in ways that usually negate the experiences of racialized people, in particular, women of colour. The women interviewed spoke amply about daily micro-aggressions and assaults on their physical, social, emotional, intellectual and spiritual well-being. In addition, they spoke of the lack of institutional awareness of systemic inequities and the lack of commitment to institutionalizing diversity, a lack which allowed the perpetuation of racialized and gendered barriers. These forms of systemic exclusion reinscribed them as ‘outsiders’ making it difficult for them to establish themselves as legitimate, equal and fully contributing participants within the academy. However, they also spoke of life-affirming spaces and hope. Chapter seven speaks to such hope.

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94 Dei et al. (2004) suggest that oppression serves to isolate, disengage and disconnect. Group solidarity creates a sense of belonging and safety essential to coping with the daily micro-aggressions of oppression (Collins, 1991b).
CHAPTER SIX: SERVICE-LEARNING AND EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

This chapter highlights issues raised by the women interviewed regarding the development of service-learning and education for citizenship at UBC. Education for citizenship was seen as a potential foundation for a transformative vision of citizenship that would support and enhance individuals and communities of colour. Within this context of education for transformative citizenship, the interviewed women further speculated about what the development of critical community service-learning model would look like from a critical race feminist perspective. Such a perspective, they felt, would be founded on social justice practice, and involve critiquing, dismantling and transforming systems and practices of domination. This chapter concludes with the interviewed women's thoughts about the opportunities and challenges for the development of this pedagogical strategy at UBC.

Service-Learning

Very few of the women interviewed were familiar with service-learning. Those who were had an understanding that service-learning is a form of experiential education that links theory to practice in community settings. Bobbie shared her understanding:

My understanding of service-learning is the connection between theory and practice. So what students learn within the formal classroom and then taking that into the community and applying that to community work that benefits the community or the organization that the work is being done in, but then also the student benefiting from it through the learning of their own. So, reflecting on what they are applying within the community and then how it shapes who they are.

However, in reading the definition of service-learning provided with the interview questions, many women were excited and felt positive about the development of this learning strategy at UBC. The women viewed this type of pedagogy as a holistic form of education in applying cognitive learning (theory) to every day living or real life experiences (praxis). In addition, they valued the concept of the academy working in collaboration with communities, even marginalized communities within the institution, to address the social issues that such communities face. Soma articulated the importance of connecting theory to praxis:
I’m actually very excited about service-learning and as part of my role here, I’m really excited about making links between some of the movements that are happening on campus with creating opportunities for students in different departments who perhaps are working on a thesis, whatever level it might be, that they might be able to do a practicum or live service-learning experience with the community on campus as part of their work, so that they get sort of hooked on lived experience. It doesn’t just have to be off campus. It can be both or either, but that would really, I think ground peoples’ education in real life experience. I’m very excited about that, and I think also it would further the links between academia and practice.

Service-learning has the potential to develop students as ‘whole’ persons. By linking theory to practice, the women interviewed liked linking the cognitive with the experiential through an integration of mind, body and spirit. They also considered this an important strategy in getting the stories and experiences of disenfranchised communities within and outside the institution heard. They felt this was important for three reasons: first, the pedagogy of service-learning would make visible the hegemonic systems that marginalize individuals and communities; second, hearing these stories would educate the Canadian elite about the experiences and concerns of disenfranchised communities; and third, service-learning could potentially create powerful collaborations between academic institutions and communities in remedying systemic issues.

There was some skepticism, however, with regard to the development of service-learning at UBC. As an academic institution, UBC was seen as an ‘ivory tower,’ physically and emotionally disconnected from communities and the everyday world of the marginalized. Bridging this ‘disconnect’ would require much time and resources, both human and financial. Second, concerns were raised about the hegemonic structures and practices that inform the knowledges produced and legitimized at UBC. Such knowledge ‘othered’ disenfranchised individuals and communities. This being the case, questions were raised about what such partnerships might look like, at what cost, and to whom. What was also feared was the development of a charity-based paradigm of service-learning, where the dominant transfer resources to the disadvantaged and also seek to receive something back, reinforcing the server/served hierarchy which supports and maintains hegemony. This paradigm of service-learning was feared to be a strategy that would continue to oppress the marginalized.

**UBC’s Interest in Service-Learning**

Many of the women interviewed were hopeful that UBC’s interest in service-learning was founded on engagement with communities for the purposes of fostering understanding and collaboratively addressing social issues. Minou was one who shared this hope:
I'm thinking because it's [UBC is] starting to talk about how it's a world class university..... I'm hearing the word internationalization, things like that from documents like Trek whichever, 2000 it was. I think maybe [UBC] is feeling some pressure from groups who are saying, "Look, this isn't enough," and also because I think UBC has decided to make a commitment to working with the community.

In fact, many of the women interviewed thought the development of service-learning at UBC stemmed from this vision of Trek 2000, the predecessor to *Trek 2010; White paper* (2004). Soma, in reference to Trek 2000, stated that she thought institutional engagement with communities would require institutional transformation. This transformation would require a critique of hegemony as well as diverse representation in the planning and support for such a development:

*I know that there's certainly a strong emphasis on the pillars of the Trek document in this [UBC] community, and so there's certain strong emphasis around building community and recognizing that we're not an island onto ourselves....I think the UBC administration is opening up and awakening to that, but it's certainly going to take a lot of changing and shifting because it means moving from somewhat of a hierarchical structure to a more level playing field. People are still in different positions of power and authority, and making decisions at different levels. But those decisions [should be] informed by players at the table who are made up of diverse community members so that the decisions and process are not paying lip service to community, but that there is a real communication, and a back and forth, sharing of direction, ideas and decisions that are being made.*

Quibbo also felt that UBC's interest in service-learning had to do with implementing parts of the Trek 2000 policy document, given its emphasis on building links to community. She said:

*I would ascribe, perhaps a desire [for UBC] to implement that part of the Trek 2000 that talks about community, connection, building links with the community. I think that's the language. I think that would be an operational definition of that; service-learning program would be an operational aspect of that.*

Some viewed UBC's interest in service-learning as a genuine interest in making education more holistic, meaningful and practical, a process that might support life-long learning. Anna stated:

*It strikes me as a more holistic approach to education....real life, daily application of what we're learning as opposed to just droning on about facts and figures, and trying to sound smart, and not doing anything with it...I would think that [UBC is] just trying to make it [education] more relevant...To the students and also the faculty. If I were a teacher, I certainly would not want to stay in the classroom all the time. I'd like to see some practical application....There has to be something more, a more holistic approach to why we're here and learning what we're learning.*

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Yet others, such as Toni, thought that this interest in service-learning might be because communities of colour were increasing demographically in BC and Canada. This, in turn, would mean a more diverse representation of marginalized communities on campus. Toni suggested this might mean that UBC was open to learning how to support these diverse student groups:

I'm thinking, well, that's because they're finally realizing that there's getting to be more and more students of colour here [at UBC], and they really need to start doing something about addressing those concerns in the community.

Aggie felt similarly, stating that maybe education was no longer meeting the needs of all students. She added that perhaps the banking system of education was no longer working, and, in addition, thought that the focus of attention should be placed on the needs of racialized students:

A lot of paying students are from other countries, um, so it's the demand, perhaps for adjusting to that [diversity]. I think also that there are influences in the university...There are individuals and groups and spaces in the university that will, that are committed to that [service-learning]. I think that it's good education...the kind of top-down, kind of banking system of education just doesn't work. So I think there's some awareness of that.

Others suggested that UBC was beginning to acknowledge and see the link between decision-making at institutions and the impact of these decisions on communities, and was learning to seek input from these communities. Maya, however, had some strong reservations about UBC's interest in partnering with communities, particularly with communities that were already self-sustaining. She stated:

I feel strongly that if a given community has adequate funds, resources and support, it could easily meet its own needs. The idea of a scholastic institution playing a role to meet a community's needs is both racist and patronizing.

Some of the women interviewed thought UBC's interest in service-learning had to do with 'keeping up with the Jones,' motivated to doing something of this nature because it was becoming popular at other institutions. Some felt that, since UBC had an international image to sustain, this interest in service-learning had to do with getting on the 'popular band wagon.' Many of these women were suspicious of UBC's interest in service-learning and its increased visibility in doing 'nice' things. Karina shared her view on this:

I have a level of suspicion. Why is UBC interested in it? It's not necessarily because they want to learn about the community, and they have been adrift from it, but it may be because they want to exert their power. It's like, "We want to be known everywhere, so, and we want to get more money from the government or corporations because we're doing all these nice things."

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96 According to Freire (1970, 1999), the banking concept of education is one that is an act of depositing knowledge into students by teachers. Students, as depositories, are containers or receptacles to be filled by the knowledge holder, the teacher.
Xara also shared similar thoughts. She had, however, misgivings about the charity-based ideology that would frame this development. Since educational institutions exert power and privilege over the disenfranchised, she suspected that UBC would continue to perpetuate dominance through adopting a missionary approach to service-learning. She shared:

*I have a kind of cynical notion of, some of it [service-learning] being fashionable and also I think a slight awareness of the privilege that is here [at UBC] and kind of living in your ivory tower kind of thing. So the feeling that you do kind of have to, what happens here [at the institution] has to be relevant to the community. Yes, my cynicism though is that it is a missionary kind of approach [that will be adopted].*

The women iterated that government funding for social and equity-related programs has recently been cut, and the call for charity is now falling on individual citizens and groups, including educational institutions. They suggested, therefore, that volunteerism or the development of service-learning might serve as stop-gap measure to ease social crises. Such new developments may be one more attempt to deliver social services and programs with minimum cost to government. So, what better way to address this social crisis then by calling on institutions to develop programs to meet such needs? They suggested that the development of service-learning programs in higher education would also require additional financial support. This, for them, created a paradox – government cuts funding to equity based and social programs, while at the same time considering possible funding increases to support institutionally based service-learning programs.

It was a great concern for the women interviewed that educational institutions become the recipients of the funding gained through the removal or reduction of government funding for Canada’s social welfare programs. The interviewed women felt that funding of service-learning programs might indirectly support the dismantling of social services and, thereby, potentially further entrench systemic inequalities. The women interviewed spoke of holding government accountable. Karina suggested:

*I also think that not only at UBC, but in terms of the whole idea of charity in Canada and BC, especially that when government starts pulling out services, then you have to question the idea of charity falling on whose shoulders? We’re still paying taxes and where is the money going? If we’re not paying enough taxes, then we need to think about the whole taxation system again, because if the government is removing charity and putting it at the personal level, I think it’s really going to create a lot of problems because it’s going to be seen to be left up to people’s individual desire and institution’s desire and motives as to where to give the charity...*

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97 Maurrasse (2001) and Thrall (2001) suggest that with government cuts to social programs, non-profit organizations, individuals and institutions of education are now taking on many social services. In fact, politicians view volunteerism as a solution to cuts to social programs. Densmore (2000) suggests that community service efforts and service-learning programs are now responding to such gaps in social programs. However, Thrall (2001) states the supervision and support of more volunteers required by such organizations requires more, not less, financial support.
Minou went further in her analysis. She hoped that UBC would not adopt an imperialist attitude towards the development of service-learning. Doing so would support and perpetuate the division between ‘the haves’ and the ‘have nots,’ the powerful and the powerless. She stated:

*You can’t work with the community and come in with an imperialist attitude...I guess coming in and going. “Oh, look at you guys, you need help” or “Your community is struggling, your community has no resources, what you’re doing is not looking for jobs or doing these things, so let’s help you with that by providing these ‘back to work’ jobs or job search things” that don’t really work, but that’s another conversation. So, just a notion of “We’re superior, we’re coming in to fix your community.” So I’m hoping that in this dialogue of trying to be community minded that they [UBC] understands that there are these [power] issues.*

All the women interviewed hoped that the development of service-learning at UBC would be based on a foundation of social justice and social transformation. This ideology would work towards dismantling systems of oppression and eliminating the division between ‘the haves’ and ‘have nots.’

**Terminology: Service-Learning**

There were a number of reasons why the participants of this study were asked whether they were familiar with the pedagogy of service-learning. The term community service-learning is being used at UBC with the Learning Exchange, and service-learning in the Trek 2010; White Paper (2004). Based on their own experiences of race, class and gender subordination, what terminology might fit better, and how should this experiential strategy be developed to support and enhance the well-being of communities of colour? This was an opportunity to have some dialogue around the ideology of such pedagogy to be developed at UBC.

There were many mixed reactions to the term ‘service-learning.’ Many of the women interviewed for this study had never heard the term before. Many wondered what it meant, such as Quibbo:

*But institutions of learning are about learning, so I’m not sure what ‘service-learning’ means. Is it learning in the service of, or is it learning to serve?*

Zaira also wondered about this term. She had an idea that this strategy had to do with ‘serving’ somehow, but questioned who was serving whom, and who would benefit. She questioned some of the implied power dimensions:

*I guess what I’m trying to say is that the notion of ‘service’ has a power dimension imbedded in its meaning, and depending on the context, could be either the ‘server’ or the one being served [that] benefits from the greatest learning. And why is it that we in the notion of service-learning within a community, one would want the student to do...*
the most learning and receive the greatest benefit? Doesn’t that in itself reflect a power imbalance? Or is that desired because the assumption is already there that the community is a great place of knowledge of which the student needs to learn from or even with or through. The latter changes the power picture.

Some women felt that the term illustrated a form of learning for the purposes of being good community members. Aisabee shared her first impressions:

*When I heard the term service-learning, I felt it was about learning how to be a good community member – a genuine, compassionate, ethical community member.*

Some women thought that such a strategy, once developed, would help foster a sense of humility in higher education. Soma, for example, stated that academic institutions are normally viewed as educational spaces for the acquisition of knowledge and status, but developing engagement with its communities would shift this view and bring humility back into academe. She shared:

*I think it’s a good title. I think that service-learning speaks to serving and providing service for, and I think that we all have a lot to learn about our own pride and becoming more humble in how we serve our communities, and how we serve the people that we work with; how we serve our students; how we serve our clients and, how we serve our families...It brings the humility back into it [education], the humbleness. Its not so much about just going out to get an academic education and develop an elitist profile because you have more education than other people, but its bringing it back to practice, and looking at well, so I have this education and what am I going to do with it now?....So I’m speaking from my own perspective and I think that’s a really important component [giving back to community] that in our very big sort of commercial, marketing, business world that those concepts get lost, and everything gets focused around making money and having title and prestige. I really think it’s important to impress upon our youth, who are going to be left with taking care of this community, whether it’s the environment or the economy. There is really something essential in giving back to the community, about giving service.*

Soma spoke of service as being ‘in relationship,’ a way of being-in-the-world with respect, compassion and engagement, a willingness to be with and for the ‘other’ at all times. Even though she had some misgivings about the term service-learning, she stated that she would not want this strategy to be developed around the ‘haves’ giving to the ‘have nots,’ or the charity paradigm of service-learning, as this would perpetuate the hierarchy of domination:

*... if we educate the community at UBC that service isn’t about do-gooder charity work, where the person doing good is considered better than the person receiving, so it creates a hierarchical distance. If we’re offering a service because we want to do some learning and other people are going to benefit by it, it’s not because we’re the experts and the receivers aren’t...But I really continue to be concerned about the word [service-learning] and how it’s used, and it’s important that we move away as a society the mentality of giving to the ‘have-nots’, and therefore we’re better than the have-nots’....That there’s a mutual exchange and that both [institution and
community] are equally important and equally benefit. One isn’t more than any other... And really, academics have a lot to learn from the community that cannot be grasped through theoretical frameworks.

Minou was also ambivalent about the use of the term service-learning and the ideology behind it. She shared:

*For me, it feels like you’re learning while doing some kind of service. So, I find it encapsulates what exactly is happening. [However] I think because I’m worried that ‘service-learning’ will start meaning, “I as a person with power, going into the community and doing all these things. I’m doing service because you can’t do it, or whatever.” I’m just worried that it starts to lose what it should mean.*

Many other women interviewed also felt that the term service-learning was problematic because it conjured up the notion of the ‘haves’ giving to the ‘have nots.’ This charity-based paradigm was seen as supporting unequal power relationships, a situation where the university would be providing ‘service’ to communities, thereby making the communities ‘recipients’ of this service. Many women commented that this terminology had a cold institutional ring to it, and that the term also felt patronizing, demeaning and disrespectful. Again, they asked, service for whom?

Zaira spoke of this subtle implication in the terminology:

*Well, service implies submission, and I guess that’s what I find problematic about it. Service implies that there’s already embedded power dimension to it.... I think it can potentially be problematic, particularly if the thinking is that the student from the academy is there providing service for the members of the community, for the purpose of the members of the community to be growing or [being] educated for citizenship.*

Karina felt similarly. She saw several problems with this terminology. The first problem, she felt, was that service-learning sounded market driven, implying a capitalist notion of education. Second, she felt the term service had an obligatory and benevolent sense to it, a connotation of giving and getting back so that the server might feel better about oneself. And third, she felt the term reflected a power dynamic, with the server/served in actuality being coded as superior/inferior:

*One type of connotation [service-learning] is very market driven. It sounds like the new thing that’s coming to push, to be used in universities and colleges and schools about efficiency and functionality and consumer oriented, because service is associated with consumers and so it’s more commodified, with providing a service. It goes in that kind of language, which I don’t really like. The second thing is that services has a sense of obligation attached to it. Okay, there is a ‘server’ and a ‘served.’ So there is a power relationship. There is a sense of helping and helped.... If you are serving a community, you start becoming self-righteous, like there is a sense of benevolence, or I’m doing this good for someone else. And there’s always a status*  

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98 Ogden (2001) suggests that we must ask the question “Service for whom and for what?” Implicit in this concept of service is an element of power and hierarchy. As an action-oriented strategy, service responds to a perceived imbalance as it is ‘need-oriented,’ manifesting in an exchange between the ‘server’ and the ‘served,’ between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots.’
difference then... There isn't a sense of equality, there's a sense of somebody 'served' and somebody 'serving.'

All three of these factors seemed, to her, to imply a hierarchy which she feared might support the status quo. To Karina, an educational ideology that supports the status quo maintains colonial relations of power. She stated:

There is already a sense that we are the academics and we have all the knowledge, and we're giving it to them [the communities]. It replicated the colonial power hierarchies almost that you know you're going to teach the proletarian... or you're the intellectual that [is] going to [go] there [to the communities] and do stuff...

Clara suggested that the term service-learning conjured up notions of the colonial missionary perspective. She shared:

[Service-learning] brings to me the example of I guess what church groups have historically done, which is feed and clothe people, but not actually shift, seek to shift the power dynamics, particularly in people who are oppressed in their lives. That's where I go "woo-hoo!"

In addition, Minou suggested that the term service-learning seemed anthropological, where those in power would go and serve those disadvantaged, and in doing so, would observe, write and document these observations and call this universal knowledge. She shared:

To me it sounds more missionary, more anthropological, like "we're going in and we're going to do this, but we're also going to sit and observe and take notes and leave." You know?

Many of the women interviewed feared that the term ‘service-learning’ might be framed around a missionary or charity agenda, that of the privileged or elite ‘serving’ communities, providing resources, observing and making claims about those communities.

Aggie found the term service-learning inconsistent with notions of learning that focuses on reciprocity. She was very concerned about the asymmetry of power that existed between educational institutions and communities, and was worried about how these would play out in the building of these relationships. She searched for words that would open space and allow for creativity within the complex process of building relationships across social hierarchies:

In terms of equal partnerships, there's a symmetrical reciprocity, but in terms of [service-learning across social hierarchies] that we are in different places, having different contributions, then it's asymmetrical, not in a linear balanced kind of way. So I don't know what to do with the word reciprocity because I used to use that as my way of addressing this kind of partnership.
Clara suggested that the ideology of popular education would be more appropriate for a pedagogical strategy that aims at shifting power relations and aligning with communities to challenge systems of domination. She shared:

*What I think is important is popular education. So, I think that's the framework that I keep coming back to. When we have access to tools and information, the best use of that access, particularly if we're engaged in work that in trying to shift power relations in society, or trying to give voice to marginalized peoples in society, that we really need to work from a popular education standpoint, where, like I've said before, it is the voices of people who are having the experience who share the information, develop strategies about their own lives.*

The interviewed women suggested many alternate terms that they felt would be more consistent with the idea of service partnerships built specifically to challenge inequities. Terms such as 'popular education,' 'community education,' 'education for community caring,' 'community development,' 'community service-learning,' 'experiential learning,' 'exchange learning' and 'critical learning' were terms suggested. For these women, such terms illustrated an engagement of reciprocity and learning that occurs both ways, with a clear understanding that power underpins relationships across social hierarchies.

The term 'critical community service-learning' was thought to reflect, by most of the women interviewed, an interactive and collaborative partnership that engaged in work necessary to shift power structures and relations. It also suggested to them the idea that communities are sites of knowledge. Such a term, it was felt, would highlight reciprocity where learning and knowledge exchange happens both ways, with communities playing a central role in sharing knowledge. The women insisted that reciprocity was key to the development of collaborations that could effectively identify and resolve disadvantages experienced by communities. For most of the women interviewed, the term 'critical community service-learning' seemed a more appropriate term for this pedagogy.

**Education for Citizenship**

Most of the women interviewed for this study had heard the term *education for citizenship*. Those that did, understood this to be a value-based term fostering liberal notions of citizenship,

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99 According to Bishop (1994), the aim of popular education is to facilitate the liberation of marginalized people. Razack (1999b) states that popular education involves facilitating dialogue, valuing the disenfranchised participants’ experiences as the foundation for creating new knowledge and solutions to problems.

100 Many women echoed the words of Jane Kendall (cited in Rosenberger, 2000, p. 25) that the term service conjured up notions of inequity between the 'servers' and those 'being served.' It suggests that one group of people have resources to help those disadvantaged. It does little to promote collaboration for social justice in alleviating root causes of disadvantage.
such as obeying the law, paying taxes, being kind and respectful to one’s neighbours, and being charitable to those less fortunate. The latter part of this ideology was of primary concern. The missionary or charity emphasis on citizenship were viewed as patronizing and seen as supporting and reinforcing colonial systems of oppression. The interviewed women suggested that education for citizenship required more than acts of kindness. In suggesting this, the term education for citizenship was also problematized.

**Terminology: Education for Citizenship**

There was certainly more discussion about the term education for citizenship than service-learning. Some of the women interviewed for this study liked this term and felt that it resonated with being kind, neighbourly and giving. Karina had a positive reaction to this term:

*Now, that’s more positive....Citizenship has a ring beyond the classroom, so I like that. Like you’re not just studying at UBC, or whatever, you have to go out and contribute to the country, or whatever.*

Quibbo, too, was familiar with this term. She stated this was more of a common sense term, a term that was well known amongst educators, and she shared her views:

*Education for [citizenship]. That has a more historical meaning, so, I don’t have any difficulty with that. My common sense understanding is ...education is important for citizenship because you want a literate citizenry who understands democracy, who can exercise their vote in an informed way; citizens who have to make choices, and therefore who must learn the tools to make informed choices. Citizens are educated to understand their rights and responsibilities for self, family, community, the nation and the world.*

Anna also identified with this term. She stated:

*Whatever environment or setting you’re in, it’s making whatever we learn [an] application to how we interact with others, which is citizenship I think.*

For many of the women interviewed, education for citizenship was also identified with liberal notions of belonging to a nation-state. Citizenship invoked ideas of belonging to a country, of having the right to vote and exercising certain roles within society, such as having rights to education and social programs, keeping the neighbourhoods safe and clean, re-cycling garbage etc. Bobbie suggested that in education for citizenship, students could examine their roles as citizens, and what it means to be an active member of society. She shared:

*...for students to actively think about who they are as individuals within a society, within a country, and what is their role as citizens, as active members of that country or society. So, what active role do they play as a member of that society?*
The term ‘citizenship’ was also viewed as having a legal status, one associated with patriotism. For some, education for citizenship referred to what new immigrants go through in becoming Canadian citizens, that is, learning about the Canadian constitution and history in order to pass the citizenship examinations, or getting a passport to legitimize their citizenship status. Maya, who taught newly arrived immigrants, shared her definition:

As an ESL teacher, I come across many immigrants who are studying to become Canadian citizens. The content includes Canadian government, Canadian history and geography, Canadian systems and society. The term ‘education for citizenship’ is commonly used for this type of study.

Ranjit had a similar understanding of the term. She explained:

I just thought, you know, does this have to do with my Canadian citizenship? .....you know because of all the questions that I’d been thinking of, one of the things that came up into my mind was, you know when you become a Canadian citizen, you have to prep yourself. You have to know about the anthem and all these things that new immigrants are kind of practicing over that I don’t even know. You know. And that’s what I thought. Education for citizenship, how to be a proper Canadian citizen.

The language of educating for citizenship also conjured up childhood memories of schooling that endorsed character-building for democratic life. Anna noted that the term ‘educating for citizenship’ was one she remembered early on in elementary school. She shared:

I think in elementary school, we got in our report card, and that was [what it meant to] be a good citizen; clean out the pencil sharpener; get the chalk dust out of the erasers without being told; put your coats away; you’re a good citizen...

Those who found the term familiar from these early childhood experiences stated that once having learned this at school, this ideology carried through into their lives. This manifested later in terms of caring and helping disadvantaged communities through such efforts as supporting local businesses, supporting community centres, having respectful interactions with their neighbours, and creating safe neighbourhoods. Toni shared her immediate perceptions:

Well, I think of citizenship as the ability of people to be contributing members of their society. So when I think of education for citizenship, I think of...teaching, giving people the tools in order to be able to do that, so that they can provide for themselves and in turn provide for their communities.

For some of the women interviewed, however, the term ‘education for citizenship’ had a negative connotation, and did not resonate with the idea of caring for people, particularly disadvantaged people. Ranjit explained:

Battistoni (2002) suggests that such development relies on taking civics courses, or schools assigning citizenship grades on report cards based on students’ neatness, politeness, kindness and obedience to school rules.
I don't understand how that has anything to do with caring for communities – disadvantaged communities. If that's, if this is what it's all about. You know. If we're interested in helping oppressed groups of people, I don't see how the, how those three words have anything to do with that.

Soma also felt similarly, stating that, for her, the notion of education for citizenship had little to do with caring about community. She stated:

The term doesn't give me that meaning [caring for community] at all... [It's] more about educating students to be aware of government, legislation, how things work and how to vote and how to be model citizens, which could sort of reflect the trend towards globalization so on and so forth, which doesn't really address community. And it strikes me that international students at UBC might misunderstand this terminology and confuse it with actually obtaining Canadian citizenship.

For Zaira, this term did little to illustrate the caring involved in understanding and relating to the lived experiences of disenfranchised people. She shared:

...a term like this [education for citizenship] does nothing at all to really engage students to understand really how to relate to other people. How to understand other people.

The interviewed women also raised the question about why the term ‘community’ was not included in the terminology around ‘education for citizenship.’ After all, they noted, this ideology is based on caring and helping communities, particularly disadvantaged communities. As Maya suggested:

I think maybe the reference to ‘community’ should be incorporated into that. But I’m not sure how, you know.

For Toni, the term ‘social citizenship’ seemed to be more in line with notions of caring and working with disadvantaged communities. Social citizenship seemed to further enhance the liberal notions of citizenship in addressing issues such as accessibility to education and social programs. In ensuring accessibility, all people living within a nation-state would have opportunities for enhancing their lives, and, therefore, could partake in full citizenship. In elaborating on the construction of social citizenship, which seemed to be founded on social justice principles, Toni stated:

Does citizenship also mean your ability to get adequate housing, your ability to get work that will pay you enough so you can support yourself and your family? To me, that's what [social] citizenship means, but that's also a fairly recent definition. I know that I used to think of ‘citizenship’ as just strictly, “Am I Canadian or not?” but not necessarily thinking about what that would entail for different people...When I think of social citizenship, I think of it as an extension of when we think about citizenship. I mean, I think that people think of citizenship as having allegiance to a country; they have that passport or that right to stay there, they have a right to vote...those are the things I think people think of as ‘citizenship.’ So, when I say ‘social citizenship’ I
include in that citizenship the ability or access to have all those things, to get the right to vote, not only just the right to vote or have your passport, but to partake in all the things that society has to offer. So a good job, education, nice parks, access to go camping, or even access into certain areas of the city. So I guess when I say 'social citizenship' I mean this very holistic understanding of how to be able to be a citizen in your own country in all the ways, and to be able to partake in all the things that your society can offer equally with everyone. I think when that's attained to the highest limit, you know, to me you've achieved social citizenship.

For many of the women interviewed, the term ‘education for citizenship’ was problematic because it lacked a critical and a social justice foundation. It did not reflect the historical policies and practices of inclusion and exclusion that have existed in Canada, and did not acknowledge the impact of these histories on social relations today. In addition, questions were asked about what and whose values underpinned this term. Karina suggested that these values were based on colonialism and patriarchy. Teaching education for citizenship would require challenging these values:

What is the values of citizenship that we are talking about? And are those values unchallenged? In the sense of okay, we’re supposed to teach these values, but are these values themselves coming from a certain class, religion, race....What does citizenship mean and whose values those are? Citizenship has a meaning. The word citizenship has a meaning of inclusion and exclusion because there are people who can’t be citizens. There are people who are stripped of citizenship.

Clara had a very distanced reaction to the term ‘education for citizenship.’ Being born Canadian and having grown up in poverty, she could not identify with a Canadian identity and all its privileges, including holding a passport. Furthermore, any mention of citizenship and nationhood was repulsive to her. She explained:

[For] someone who has predominantly lived in poverty and been a person of colour who’s had to negotiate not feeling part of the membership of Canada, so yeah ‘citizenship’ is a very interesting word, and it is in the context of nationhood, which I am so all for the destruction of nationhood. So probably that has something to do with my stand-offishness with the term. I just don’t have any sense or desire to relate with [the term citizenship].

Soma seemed to agree with this in suggesting that citizenship was fraught with inequities. To her, the term ‘citizenship’ spoke of certain rights and privileges of belonging to a nation-state, which she felt was not the reality for all people. She stated:

There’s the definition of citizenship [where] you apply and get your citizenship, but I think its fraught with inequities and with not just confusion, but false truths. To become a citizen doesn’t mean you are a citizen in the way that I think a citizen should be. A person who contributes to their community is a citizen of that community, participates in and regardless of whether or not they hold formal citizenship of their country they live in. The lack of rights for those who choose not to take out formal
citizenship creates divisions among community members, e.g., those who can and cannot vote.

Education for Citizenship as Charity

With the current neo-liberal agenda, the practice of caring for the disadvantaged, or the ‘other,’ seems to have moved out of the government discourse and into more of an individual, communal and educational discourse. In problematizing the notion of ‘education for citizenship,’ Bobbie, as a woman of colour, talked about her perceptions as a marginalized person requiring charity. For her, such an ideology would continue to ‘other’ her:

As a woman of colour, it makes me feel that I don’t have what it takes to care for myself, or that I need somebody else’s assistance, or that I don’t have my own power or my own ability to do that. That I’m ‘less than.’ So it doesn’t make me feel very good, generally speaking. It doesn’t feel empowering.

Bobbie suggested that she would feel empowered if given opportunities to share her experiences of disadvantage, and her opinion and expertise with regards to changing systems that disadvantage, and having these opinions and perspectives heard and respected. She recommended creating opportunities to hear about the lived experiences of systemic oppression, and developing collaborative ways in which to challenge and change such systems.

All the women interviewed for this study felt that the idea that Canada is a tolerant country where systematic discrimination does not exist, was a myth. The women talked amply about the many ways in which they and other marginalized people are oppressed. These myths, they suggested, deny and obliterate the myriad ways that people of colour are discriminated against in Canada. Aggie spoke of Canada being built and sustained through the systemic discrimination of racialized peoples, a white settler society built and sustained by privileging whiteness. She stated:

You know, you don’t look European, so right there. It’s like a couple of rungs down the ladder, and then you speak...the accent, so then there’s that. Then they are discriminated against by how their experiences are interpreted. So, if you have done this in your country [of origin], well obviously it doesn’t have the same value as here. We know that from immigration, from immigrants who’ve come, they [Canada] want all your credentials, but the moment you step in here, that’s the last you hear of it. I think just at the perceptual level of the body...drives me crazy because it’s like there’s nothing I can do about that. So, to be given or not given...opportunities or power based on just that perceptual body level — what is that? ...That’s racial — it’s your colour of skin, it’s your height, it’s how you speak, and then there’s other layers, and

102 Through the educational discourse, the ideology of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy constructs the ‘other’ as unable to know what ‘they’ really want, thus reinforcing a politics of charitable recognition (Bannerji, 2000). hooks (2000b) suggests that in such gestures of ‘charity’ are mechanisms of condescension and shaming that further assault the psyches of the poor.
then we find out that you’re also of a strange religion and you also eat strange food, and all of that. Discriminated upon by not only what you are, but by what you’re not. You’re not European!

Aggie added that face-to-face overt discrimination was something she could handle. It was the systems and practices, the covert, the everyday micro-oppressions, she felt, that kept racialized people from attaining full citizenship. She spoke of the construction of such ‘othering:

At a personal level I can defend myself from the personal prejudice or racism. But it’s that systemic domination that prevents full person hood or full citizenship....It’s [also] a mental construction and [that is] how that is carried out in the actual day-to-day structures of the organization.

Anna explained how systems of domination perpetuate the subordination of racialized people. She pointed out that such subordination is supported in multiple ways in society. She further explained by saying that a single mother would likely not make as much as her male counterpart, but would likely face many burdens, such as childcare, reliable transportation to and from school or work, and taking care of family members. These multiple care-taking responsibilities would make it less likely for her to contribute fully as a citizen to Canadian society, even though she is primarily contributing to taking care of her family’s needs:

If you’re a single woman, a single mother, there aren’t enough resources for you. When you get into gender issues about pay equity and job opportunities against this woman, so even if she has a job, she’s probably not making as much as she could be or should be. With the cuts to child-care, health and education, and she’s probably struggling for the resources to overcome [poverty], and the problems keep coming. If she’s out on the street, it’s not for a simple reason....You can’t get a job if you don’t have childcare, and you can’t get childcare if you’re living in a poor neighbourhood that doesn’t have facilities. Or if you can’t get to the childcare because they don’t have enough money for a buss pass, or transit is too expensive, or doesn’t run at the time because they have to do shift work, and it doesn’t run early enough for them. It can’t just be, “Oh, get them a job.” You have to take care of these five other things so that it actually works.

Providing charity to such a woman would do little to change her life circumstances. Anna suggested that systems require transforming so that such a person could contribute fully to society. She acknowledged that women do contribute to society in invisible yet unrecognized ways through care of children and elderly parents.

Clara had experienced such marginalizing life circumstances herself, particularly with government officials, and through systemic processes that contributed to her feeling like she did not belong to Canada, even though she was born in this country. She spoke of her experiences of being ‘othered’ within this white settler nation-state and being treated with disdain:
I think in part because I’ve accessed the welfare system throughout my life. For some reason, I’ve been in predominantly white communities where I’ve really, it’s been reinforced by interactions I’ve had with systems and individuals that somehow I don’t belong here. Born here or not, is irrelevant. That otherization, that Canada is actually colonizers, white people who’ve come and whether they’re English or French speaking people, but if you’re not white then you’re not part of Canada.

All the women interviewed suggested a need for a transformative framework of education for citizenship and political action, which would require a critical examination and transformation of the structures and practices that perpetuate oppression. The women suggested that education for citizenship requires thinking beyond charity, the short-term or band-aid approach that only addresses symptoms. For them, a critical educational approach would involve caring for individuals and communities in ways that addressed not only the impact but also the root causes of oppression. Quibbo suggested what this might look like:

So, for example, if we’re talking about access to education, certainly the present situation where fees have gone up exponentially, where government programs for funding and loans have been minimized, then we must have discussions around class and the ways in which class has been permitted to keep power in the hands of a few, and keep the majority poor. These discussions would be essential to our classrooms. These discussions would inform the kind of political action that we ought to be taking. To say that in order for us to be of real service in an educational sense, to the communities, then we have to ensure access to this higher education. We have to speak out that the present situation reduces access.

With systemic discrimination existing in Canada, utilizing charity as a way to address the marginalization of racialized peoples was viewed as disrespectful, disenfranchising and maintaining the white, patriarchal and elite status quo.

Deconstructing Citizenship

All the women interviewed stated that Canada is a country that is portrayed as being one of the best countries in the world to live in because of its multicultural policies. However, from their perspectives and experiences, this was not the case. They felt, instead, that citizenship was structured inequitably. Aggie stated that the illusion of tolerant multiculturalism was an outright lie because as soon as the disenfranchised start pushing for human rights, they were punished:

To me, there’s something the matter with that, on the one hand. But it also reflects the skill that Canada has to appear like this [tolerant]. So, I think that that’s the most difficult; it’s paying lip-service to groups, the tokenism, the a ‘little bit of this,’ but the moment you start asserting and start pushing your agenda [challenging the system],

103 As Kahne and Westheimer (2001) suggest, citizenship in a democratic society requires that individuals work to create, evaluate, criticize and change public institutions and programs.
there's a closing down. So that's so harmful because it really gets at people's self-image. It's a very subtle form of [oppression]...Really, it's very sinister because it's like saying, “We acknowledge and recognize you, and then we really don't.”

Minou gave an example of how she experienced being a second-class citizen. Even though she is Canadian, she felt that she remained a perpetual immigrant in the eyes of others. She noted that people were constantly asking her where she was from. Many people of colour are asked this regularly, as though they do not really belong, as though they are not true citizens of Canada, a nation made for white settlers. Minou shared:

*The fact is words have power, and 'citizenship' is a pretty strong word because there are people that don't have citizenship. And citizenship is a privilege, and what kind of citizenship are we talking about? I mean, according to the rules and the paperwork, I am a Canadian citizen, but I don't actually fit into the margins of what's considered citizenship if I get constantly asked where I'm from.*

As stated earlier, many of the women interviewed found the term ‘education for citizenship’ and its liberal ideology of charity in helping those less fortunate, as problematic. One of the major concerns was that citizenship in Canada has excluded many groups of people, and continues to marginalize these people through discriminatory policies and practices. Because of this, Aisabee stated that maybe students should be taught to deconstruct citizenship and therefore ‘resist’ citizenship:

*Being a responsible member in the society you live in is a very dangerous thing, because according to the state, when you do get your citizenship and become a Canadian, that means upholding the laws of the state and upholding your allegiance to the Queen and her ancestors. That’s what it would mean.*

From a patriotic and colonial standpoint, being a citizen involves protecting the nation-state, and believing that the nation-state knows best for all its citizens. Protecting the nation-state sometimes involves a blind belief in what the state dictates. As Aisabee explained, citizens are required to protect their nation, even if that nation has oppressed them and continues to oppress people in other parts of the world. She explained:

*And you can see this so clearly with the United States. That as much as the poor and coloured have been discriminated in the States, many still stand by their president as he bombs another country. And that’s the danger of citizenship, right?*

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104 Canada is portrayed as a country that is tolerant of diversity, where every person has rights to citizenship (Alyward, 1999). Unfortunately, for many people of colour, Aboriginal peoples, women, the working poor, and other marginalized groups, the concept of citizenship rights is elusive. Historically and currently, they are constantly reminded that they are second class citizens, and their treatment attests to the fact that they have never been afforded full citizenship (Lopez, 2003). They are rendered ‘one-down’ by a white, capitalist, patriarchal political, economic and social system that marginalizes them everyday.
Aisabee was hopeful, though. She spoke of possibilities through the mobilization of social movements that promoted a critical analysis of ‘education for citizenship’ to re-create citizenship that would transform society.

Maya, who taught ESL in the communities, stated that ‘education for citizenship’ teaching materials required new immigrants to learn about Canadian geography and politics from a Eurocentric point of view. She found this to be very problematic, and added that ‘othered’ histories are missing from these curricula. She stated:

‘Education for citizenship’ includes teaching about Canadian geography, history, the government, systems and society. The curriculum content is Eurocentric, and excludes, to a large extent, First Nations and immigrants of colour history and experience. So I make an effort to supplement the content by including these histories and experiences.

Xara, as did all the women interviewed for this study, stated that education for citizenship requires an understanding that the disadvantages marginalized people face are not the result of their own doing, that they are not responsible for their lot in life, or lazy or incapable. She believed that their experiences of subordination are a result of the systems that marginalize them, and stated that transformation begins by hearing the stories of marginalized people:

...the idea that people are there [marginalized] because of their own doing. So, again a lack of acknowledgement that there are systems in place that lead them there....Imagine you are born, you don’t get enough to eat, you grow up, if your family is on welfare, the welfare person always comes to your house and wants to know why this is like this, why isn’t your mother working, are there any men here? So constantly devaluing you and you go to school and you’re devalued, and soon enough, you don’t want to be at school anymore. You drop out of school and what are your options? You’re going to get a minimum wage job...

Bobbie suggested that teaching students ‘education for citizenship’ in service-learning placements should involve understanding the systems that result in the ‘othering’ and marginalization of oppressed people, which impacts their sense of self and how they go about their daily lives. She suggested:

I would ask that the, they [students] understand why that [marginalization] happens, to look at the bigger picture and to understand what factors within our society result in people being less fortunate.....How we treat people of colour, how we perceive people of colour, the racism that people of colour experience. How does that impact their ability to be confident to find work, to get access to education, to have the same potential as a white person....So, understanding what those barriers are that keep them, if you want to use that same language, keep them less fortunate.

All the women interviewed affirmed the need to politicize education for citizenship. Otherwise, they felt, the dominant structures and colonial relations would continue to maintain the
status quo and perpetuate practices that result in the subordination of marginalized peoples. Not doing so would be a form of neo-colonialism, as Karina suggested:

*It's neo-colonialism. It's the global politics of the world that will be replicated again...It's the replication of colonial structures which is a certain system that's imposed on others, but that removes the power of the other person.*

The women interviewed spoke of the crucial importance of deconstructing and decolonizing citizenship to transform education and, therefore, society. All of the women stated that a form of transformative citizenship offered hope in efforts to engage with communities in making this a better world. Many felt that transformative citizenship connected to social responsibility and alliance work needed to transform society. Some women suggested using terminology specifically around social justice, sustainability and transformation. Some came up with terms such as ‘education for social citizenship,’ ‘education for global equity,’ ‘education for global citizenship,’ but many agreed that ‘transformative citizenship’ should be central in such terminology, since they felt this would most directly speak to the processes of systemic and social transformation necessary for the inclusion of all people across social hierarchies. Many of the women interviewed argued that ‘education for citizenship’ required terminology that would reflect a critique of the hegemonic structures of domination that keep marginalized individuals and groups from attaining and realizing full citizenship and equity. Many suggested ‘education for transformative citizenship’ as a term that might better capture the transformative nature necessary for social change. Karina summarized what most of the women felt:

*I would like a more critical perspective on citizenship, and even more so on service-learning.*

**Education for Transformative Citizenship**

From the perspectives of the women interviewed, education for transformative citizenship was viewed as education involving an ethic of care necessary to foster equity in creating a better world for all people. This would involve challenging systems of domination, understanding that dominance and oppression are relational, sharing power and privilege for social transformation, counter-storytelling and re-circulating ‘othered’ knowledges and histories, and commitment to sustaining just communities. These were viewed as necessary dimensions in ‘education for transformative citizenship’ within critical community service-learning.
Challenging Colonial Histories and Dismantling Mythology

According to all the women interviewed, education for transformative citizenship must involve a critical examination of the hegemonic structures and practices which support and reinforce the marginalization of racialized people. In addition, they argued that such structures and practices must be dismantled and transformed. According to some of the women, hegemonic systems and practices are built on a culture of dominance, particularly in countries governed by capitalism. They felt that capitalist practices perpetuated simple correlations between binaries of power/powerlessness and superior/inferior.105

Aggie suggested that by challenging capitalist binaries, one starts to create justice:

Well, for me, I think it’s to deconstruct. It’s to really be aware and abandon binaries and hierarchies......It’s anti-oppressive education; It’s creative justice.

The dominant histories told and re-told in Canadian education have been those of Europe - the colonial enterprise. The women interviewed felt strongly that this uni-dimensional historical worldview be challenged, and that ‘othered’ histories be counter-told and circulated as a means of challenging this dominant practice. Aggie suggested the following:

I think that starting with the Aboriginal story, I think starting with the story of Canada...And telling the stories in different ways.

Soma also felt that the telling of ‘othered’ histories has been forgotten or misplaced. The women felt that through counter-telling and legitimization of such knowledges, discriminatory policies and practices that have been in place in Canada throughout history would be made visible. She spoke to the importance of telling stories of Canada’s history of exclusion, including the exclusion of Eastern European immigrants to Canada, in order to deepen empathy and understanding for communities of colour marginalized today:

.....before Canada was Canada, it was full of Aboriginal communities that are more people of colour than they are white, however you want to define them. Whatever label or artificial construct you may give that. Then, the dominant community of white people, the mainstream community being white, Canada then opened its doors to bring people from different cultures in. There’s been many, many years of rejecting those people.....So, many, many communities in different parts of the country have been shut out; signs saying, ‘no people from this community allowed,’ and I think, historically, we need to know that. Students need to remember that that happened, and understand that some of that happened to them and their ancestors. That even though they may be white and blond and blue-eyed now, because of their grandparents, or their great grandparents, this is how they were treated and oppressed. So, to bring that home and to recognize that you’re now doing to new immigrants and/or citizens

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105 Tanaka (2003) states that in a capitalistic society, somebody must be at the top in order for somebody to be at the bottom. Being at the top signifies successes. In order to do this, oppression has to be preserved, otherwise capitalism falls apart.
who've been here for many generations, and maybe have a different skin colour, you're still doing that to them [discriminating against them]. Whilst for you, because you happen to be blond and blue-eyed, you're not getting it anymore. There needs to be ongoing education so that we don't continue to oppress and discriminate.

Challenging history would also involve listening and respecting 'othered' experiences, and creating space for dialogue. Maya suggested what this might entail:

[It] could be their political experiences, their immigration experiences, their experiences within Canadian society, the challenges they face overcoming barriers such as racism, language, poverty, recognition of their education and experience, and employment. UBC should promote an anti-oppressive environment, and make education more accessible to disenfranchised communities.

Bobbie agreed with this, and suggested that creating inclusion in education would require valuing and respecting the experiences of marginalized people as well as their different histories and ‘othered’ sites of knowledge. She suggested that constructions of ‘othering’ be challenged so that when individuals approach tasks differently, or speak with an accent, or have different credentials, they be valued for who they are and not be judged on dominator-based standards that construct them as inferior. She suggested:

I'm thinking of within the university with students for example. They may have different approaches to doing certain things, and understanding that, and acknowledging that, as opposed to holding them back or considering that as some sort of deficit. So acknowledging what they bring to, whether it's a university or to a multicultural country, and how that can be enriching to what we are so proud of in our multicultural policy, as opposed to having one standard, and if you don't measure up you're deficient in some way, and that being a huge barrier.

Maya suggested that education for transformative citizenship must create more of an inclusive and representative view of Canada, its peoples, and their contributions by ensuring that different histories are made visible in the academy, in particular, the curriculum. She stated:

I would include an accurate representation of the First Nations and Aboriginal histories, cultures, experiences and contributions, as well as those of immigrants of colour communities, in the curriculum. I would also include content on diversity and equity. As well, I would include content on women's roles and their contributions in history, since this has been significantly minimized.

Maya also spoke of the importance of challenging dominant practices that subordinate people. She shared an example of her work with newly arrived immigrants in the community, stating that these immigrants were often coerced into Anglicizing their names in order to ‘fit in:’

I don't know if you're aware, but in certain communities of colour, immigrants are being coerced into changing their names to English names. They are told, somewhere along the immigration process, that their names are difficult to pronounce, and that this would pose a barrier in attaining education, and employment. This practice
is extremely racist and disempowering as it strips these immigrants of their identities. If someone asked me to change my name, it would be a huge deal....my name is a large part of my identity, and it would be devastating for me to give it up and adopt a name from a totally foreign ‘white’ culture. When I encounter immigrant students in my classroom who have adopted English names, I emphasize to them how important it is to retain their original names, how beautiful they sound, and how easy they are to pronounce. I make it a practice to only use their original names in the classroom.

The interviewed women suggested that there are many mythologies in Canadian society that perpetuate stereotypes of ‘othered’ people. Some of these myths place the burden of subordination squarely on the shoulders of marginalized peoples. Such myths conceal the impact of systems of domination on the lived experiences of marginalized peoples. Clara gave some examples of what these mythologies promote:

- Mythology such as ‘people who are poor are lazy.’ That there is enough jobs for everybody to work. The kind of mentality that somehow individuals devoid of a system that we live in are insufficient to make it, and therefore deserve to be treated poorly either by systems or individual people.

Clara argued that it would be important for educators to engage in dialogue in order to make these systems of domination visible. She suggested:

- ...there are global structures and global interactions; there are national structures and interactions; provincial structures and interactions; citywide structures that all contribute to the marginalization and displacement of peoples.

Challenging colonial histories, dominance and binaries through critical dialogue would also encourage and expand different world-views. Xara saw possibilities in being able to talk across differences and social hierarchies:

- [Sharing] experiences with other people and knowing other people and just different stories. It limits their [those privileged] world to a very small one. Because I mean, most of the world isn’t white and privileged. There’s a whole world out there that they could get to know if they could be aware of that.

### Charity as Exploitation

The women interviewed also stated that giving through charity was a form of exploitation of the oppressed. The charity paradigm, they felt, did not examine the root causes of disadvantage, promote active civic responsibility, or engage in social change. According to the women, it

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106 Claus and Ogden (2001) state that often service-learning programs become focused on altruism and acts of goodwill in which those providing service feel good about themselves for having done something for others less fortunate. Freire (1970, 1999) states that such ‘false generosity’ or charity of the elite selectively doing ‘good deeds’ reinforces the myths that the subordinate are lazy, inferior, and should be grateful for such charity. hooks (2000b) suggests that this is a form of spiritual materialism where the privileged seek recognition for their good deeds by helping the poor, but rarely intervene on challenging the structures of class exploitation.
promoted, instead, a sense of noblesse oblige, a detached beneficence,\textsuperscript{107} in that people were encouraged to feel righteous about giving to the less fortunate. The interviewed women believed that the charity paradigm of service-learning helped maintain the colonial and patriarchal hierarchies, and, therefore, the social status quo.

All of the women suggested that this charity paradigm, where the ‘haves’ give to the ‘have nots,’ addressed only the symptoms of oppression. Some went so far as to say that the charity paradigm was exploitative, and was useful only to alleviate privileged people’s guilt.

Karina stated that education for citizenship should not be about enhancing one’s self-esteem or one’s sense of self-worth by offering charity to those less fortunate, because this would be about pity and benevolence. In other words, by providing charity to the less fortunate or the poor, the person providing service in order to feel ‘good’ would reduce the dignity of the person receiving the service. Karina explained:

*I don’t want them to use the poor to question how great [life is for them], because many students say, “by going there, I learned how lucky I was, and how grateful I should be for my benefits.” And I feel that it’s very exploitative to use the poor to comfort yourself. Okay? Or to use another person to say, “look how nice I am, and I should be very happy about that.” ...It’s just like the villain and hero scenario. You use the negative [disadvantaged] person, the negative term to adjust your own self-worth, and I don’t like that at all. So I would really want students to be questioning their power, and to be examining their power relationships with different communities, rather than using the ‘other’ people to confirm their self-worth.*

Minou felt similarly. She was concerned that the charity notion of citizenship would continue to promote a psychology of pathology. She felt that such a notion would encourage a view that it was the marginalized’s own fault for not working hard enough. Minou spoke of the importance of making systems of domination visible, and she referred to the relationship between domination and subordination. She shared:

*Well, I think I want students to go in there [the community] understanding that what they’re doing in that community not only benefits that community, but themselves, and that a community that’s in need is because the dominant community has all the resources. As it’s not distributed evenly [and] that’s why this community is in need, and it’s not a failing of that community...I’m just thinking of when people go and volunteer in organizations in the downtown eastside, or in women’s organizations and they come back going, “I feel so good about that!” You should, not that you should be feeling worse, but that you should be understanding that this shouldn’t be happening [subordination and disadvantage]. That this [is] structural, this problem shouldn’t exist, and the reason why you have this privilege is because somebody else doesn’t have it.*

\textsuperscript{107} Coyne (2002) states that sometimes people who are motivated by benevolence can do harm to the disenfranchised if they are not aware of the day to day systemic realities of oppression.
Xara had been involved in a UBC course that took her to the downtown Eastside of Vancouver, which seemed to her to be characterized by a missionary philosophy. She explained how she experienced this:

*I was in a student directed seminar and we did go down a few times to the [downtown] store and my, it was interesting and it was a great idea and unfortunately for the people who have been in the class and stuff, it was a kind of missionary thing, you know? Going in and helping the community, and maybe not recognizing that it [communities] has something to teach you... You know, to go in and say ok, "this is what’s wrong with you. I know how to fix that so this is what we should do.”*

Clara, Karina and others talked of this as a neo-colonialist ideology. Clara felt that it was important to continue with organizing food banks, etc., in order to address symptoms of oppression, but felt strongly that one needed to go beyond what she called a ‘tyranny model’ which perpetuated and reproduced poverty. She suggested politicizing this paradigm by actively promoting participation geared to social change:

*...it's absolutely not that people don't need to be fed and provided with clothing and the kinds of daily needs that we need to have taken care of. Doing that alone does not mean that we’re going to find ourselves in a better situation, or that people’s lives will be transformed and that hopefully not have to be caught up in that level of poverty or despair for the remainder of their lives, however short or long that might be. It’s not that it’s bad work, it’s just that there’s another piece of it that I think is really critical, and I’m just sort of really critical of the tyranny model, and that’s what it comes back to me for. That we’re either doing it for something of an ultra-sense of charity, or we’re doing it for our own needs and deepening our own personal understanding, which I think is good too! I think it is good to deepen our own personal understanding; I just think then that part of our responsibility is to do what we can to contribute back... addressing the systems. Using the tools, the power and the privilege that we have then in situations where we’re an outsider to really push on behalf of the community and support the community.*

Karina suggested that ‘helping’ the disadvantaged should be about creating systemic change that advantages the disenfranchised:

*I think they [the advantaged] would not be grateful for their advantages so much as to make advantages available for others [the disadvantaged].*

The women interviewed for this study felt strongly that education for citizenship move from the charity, tyranny or exploitation approach of addressing only the symptoms of oppression. They argued instead for a transformative model of social responsibility that would challenge, dismantle

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108 Bannerji (1995) calls this the space of advanced capitalism – a set of ideas and practices of the ‘doer’ in providing charity to the disadvantaged as ‘inferior,’ or the ‘done unto,’ by continuing to support colonial practices of imperialist-as-saviour.
and transform structural inequities. With such a paradigm, everyone would be affected and transformed.\(^{109}\)

### The Relationality of Domination and Oppression

The women interviewed for this study stated that understanding that domination and oppression, or privilege and disadvantage are relational, was an important dimension in educating for transformative citizenship. They felt that it was important to understand that hegemonic social structures reinforce gender, race, and class stratification to enforce privilege and subordination. They pointed out that hegemonic systems assign superiority to identities of maleness, whiteness, eliteness, heterosexuality, ableness etc. through the construction of binaries that marginalize oppositional identities. This either/or thinking, they noted, is central to race, class and gender oppression.

Binary systems of domination and oppression, of advantage and disadvantage, are inextricably linked.\(^{110}\) For one to be advantaged, the ‘other’ remains disadvantaged. Karina illustrated this relationship by saying:

> It [advantage and disadvantage] seems to be in opposition, that’s because you’ve gained something someone else has lost. I wish the dimensions wouldn’t be so. It is in a sense ‘othering,’ in that sense because you have by gaining certain power, you have disempowered someone else. I think we need to find a way out of a circle like that. I don’t know how it’s going to be achieved, but I think we can, by recognizing this kind of dynamic and to create ways in which we don’t have a playing field like that. Where one person’s advantage is to another person’s disadvantage.

The women interviewed stated that locating one’s power and privilege within these binary systems of domination involves being responsible and accountable for one’s privileges. This would involve using one’s power and privilege to challenge systems of domination for the purpose of social transformation.

Aisabee explained the relationship of domination and subordination between advantaged immigrants (white and non-white) and Aboriginal peoples\(^{111}\). She suggested that the majority of

\(^{109}\) Again, hooks (2000b) states that charity is good, but supporting and creating social change infuses lives with purpose and dignity. The lives of all, privileged and disadvantaged, are transformed through such an endeaver.

\(^{110}\) Freire (1970, 1999) suggests that hegemony is set up such that the oppressors get to dominate, believing the subordinate are inferior. In addition, in order for the oppressors to keep their material benefits, they must continue to subjugate others. Maintaining this relationship of domination and subordination preserves the status quo where the more powerful preserve their power and material advantages. Collins (1991b) suggests that this either/or thinking is central to race, class and gender oppression, as people, things and ideas are categorized as different and inferior from the dominant oppositional identity. These differences not complementary, as the halves of the dichotomy do enhance each other. Rather, the halves are different and opposed to one another, with one half constructed as superior to the other. When we stop thinking and evaluating along the lines of hierarchy and can value each person as equal members of a community, then we break with the culture of dominance (hooks, 2003).
Canada’s population are immigrants living on First Nations land, land that was taken away from Aboriginal people to the advantage of all immigrants:

That so much of the rights we [immigrants on First Nations land] have today was taken from somebody [First Nations people] and has not even yet been negotiated back in any way.

Minou explained further how this relationality of advantage and disadvantage between First Nations people and immigrant people manifests:

I think I can certainly recognize that when I was taking a walk with my roommates on Musqueam territory, and realized that what you see at the front along Salish is not where First Nations communities are living. It’s on the reserves where it’s all dilapidated, where they live in fourth world conditions. Why is that [such discrepancy] when we are living in a first world country or continent? There is no reason for that.

These examples illuminate the relationship between domination and subordination. Bobbie summarized this relational link, and suggested that people need to recognize their positions of advantage in order to make responsible and ethical decisions, and to avoid subordinating already marginalized ‘others:’

I don’t think any of us exist in isolation, and so how does a decision that I make impact the people around me, and then how does it impact people in society, globally? ... Again, making responsible decisions, decisions that are ethical not only for individuals, but also environmentally, economically. We, I think, in the western world have a lot of privileges, access to so many material things, but having an understanding of how we have access to that, [and] what is the ‘third world’ giving up in order for us to have access to everything we have? ....and that’s what I meant when I said we have access to so much here in the Western world, but on whose backs, ...or based on what countries and people giving up in order to survive within their own lives. So what do people in China give up in order to work for minimum wage, in order to create things for us, in the Western world to consume?

Bobbie suggested that, in seeing ourselves as interconnected, equity and justice would be fostered. If not, she stated, “there isn’t going to be anything left for any of us.” In other words, she argued, the continued exploitation of the disadvantaged will destroy the world, and, therefore, everyone is relationally linked.112

Minou elaborated further, identifying an even broader understanding of global relationality. In doing so, she made links to service-learning:

111 Razack (1999b) also uses such an example of the relationality of dominance and subordination. She states that without the ongoing genocide of Aboriginal peoples, non-Aboriginal people would not have the luxury from which to pursue freedom of choice.

112 hooks (2000b) adds that genuine solidarity with the disenfranchised is founded upon understanding that interdependency sustains the life of the planet One person’s freedom is another person’s loss of freedom. If one loses, we all lose!
I think that sometimes we forget that what we do here has consequences and repercussions elsewhere, and to sort of have that broader understanding...I want, when we go in to do service-learning, that we understand that it’s all our collective responsibility without placing the onus on communities of colour. I think sometimes we forget [and] we tend to place responsibility on the people who are suffering from these inequalities. We say, “You know, it’s your responsibility because you’re suffering from it.” But really it’s all of our [responsibility].....I think we seem to think that happens [disadvantage and suffering] over there, or to those people, or to whoever, without realizing that in order to support the lifestyles that we have to have, that SUV (if we drive one) or to live downtown, it means that somebody else is working for no cents or several cents an hour to make those goods that we buy and consume and think is very important [to us].

Zaira also talked about this relationality, and spoke of this from a local context:

...there’s a local context to it, and I think it’s just really critical to find that local context. Like for example, our sweatshops here that are loaded with visible minority persons who are either are here and have huge difficulties with the system not allowing them access to employment, equitable access to employment. There may be professionals [here in Canada] in the country in which they were born....The sweatshops could be anything from, I’ve seen anything from working with steel, stacking up steel sheets, to making clothing, to putting buttons on items.

Minou added that it would be crucial for everyone involved in critical community service-learning at UBC to understand that oppression affects everyone:

It’s just like environmental degradation. We might think that it has nothing to do with us, but the air qualify affects all of us who are breathing it, right? Oppression affects everybody...I mean it affects the people [disadvantaged] it affects most, but at the same time, you’re benefiting from the [same] system. So, just because on Musqueam land there are people living on pretty much fourth world conditions and that has nothing to do with you? Well, the community starts to feel despair, and loss of hope, and angry, and all of a sudden there’s a big riot, and this is still not your problem? I feel that it is.

Having unearned privileges and access to resources was seen as a direct result of someone else experiencing unearned disadvantage. Clara wondered how to get such understanding across, particularly in education. She questioned:

But how to get people to see that or to make that link, or to think that’s in any way relevant to them and their lives, or that they have some responsibility or accountability for recognizing that privilege necessitates under-privileging?

Zaira talked about being responsible in sharing one’s privilege, which in turn, would provide privileges to ‘others,’ thereby, creating a more equitable society. She shared:

Yeah, and it comes back to that notion of privilege and using, being aware of one’s privilege to not use it just to further oneself. Because it disadvantages others, but using it to further other people, to advantage other people...Because when it advantages other people, it advantages me.
The women suggested that being accountable involves locating one's power and privilege, and using such advantages to challenge systems of domination in order to effect social transformation. They felt that sharing power and privilege allowed for an alternate paradigm. Participants, in summary, emphasized the importance of understanding that everyone is inextricably linked.

Anna talked of the importance of locating one's own privilege, and understanding that shifting binary systems would occur through challenging one's own location of privilege. She stated: “It would be challenging yourself, about how you’re part of the problem you’re trying to fix.” In other words, understanding that if one does not challenge the advantages he/she has, then one is complicit in maintaining systems of domination that subordinate ‘others.’

Locating Oneself and Sharing Power for Social Transformation

The women interviewed suggested that we are all implicated within systems of domination, since as we can all locate ourselves as having privileges, and, simultaneously being oppressors. Being accountable, therefore, involves locating oneself within systems of domination and understanding one’s unearned privileges, and taking responsibility to critique and change these systems. All the women viewed sharing power and privilege as an important dimension of education for transformative citizenship.

As Xara suggested, having awareness is the first step towards interrupting the cycle of oppression. Having advantage and disadvantage varies from context to context. Since everyone is, at times, both oppressor and oppressed, privileged and disadvantaged, all people should be able to relate to experiences of oppression, and can, therefore, find empathy for the lived experiences of subordination. As Xara explained, “You’ll always find things in which you can relate to with the person just by listening to them and talking to them.”

The women also suggested that experiencing oppression makes people more likely to identify with the experiences of ‘others’ and their locations of oppression. In empathizing and identifying with these locations of disadvantage, individuals might be more likely to share power and privilege and challenge systems and practices of oppression. Soma explained:

...it’s important that even as a woman of colour, I still have to recognize that I have my biases and stereotypes, but because I have [an education] and I have a certain

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113 Razack (1999b) states that when we recognize how we are implicated in the subordination of ‘others,’ our strategies for change have less to do with being inclusive than they have to with being accountable.

114 Hurtado (1996) indicates that as individuals we all carry within us a blueprint of the dominant culture’s oppressive patterns that influence everyday living. We learn this blueprint in a myriad of ways, including our socialization into this dominance through institutions of education, through the media and popular culture. Minh-ha (1989), therefore, states that power has to be shared so that its effect may continue to circulate. Naming one’s location is also a tool to render visible what hegemony has kept invisible.
income, I'm privileged and that sets me up in a hierarchical position with more power, given the way that our society is constructed. I have to be cognizant of that, where I go and whom I'm with. That's important.

Minou suggested that this understanding needs to undergrid the development of critical community service-learning:

-I mean, if you feel that you don't have responsibility, you're going to be in [service-learning placements] with a benevolent attitude, and things like that. But if you're coming from a place where you understand that it is your responsibility to ensure that everyone has equal access to the resources you get to enjoy, whether you've been handed that privilege or you've had to fight for that privilege; the fact is that you have that privilege [that] someone else doesn't. You need to make sure that other people, that structures are set up in a way that everyone can access it.

Karina shared that in the development of critical community service-learning at UBC, she would want students to understand that sharing their power and privilege is central to this paradigm:

....I would want students to learn is to question their own location...to question their own sense of how useful they are, to let other people sometimes do the leadership roles. So, it would be more of students questioning their power.

Bobbie stated that sharing power involves 'walking the talk.' She liked using the phrase "Lift as you rise, versus oppress as you rise" in thinking about how to level the playing field by sharing power and privilege. All the women stated that sharing power and privilege for social transformation would require all privileged individuals to act in solidarity with the disadvantaged, and to invite the voices of the oppressed to shape the development of critical community service-learning. Such partnerships, they felt, would ensure the participation of all citizens in working towards the common good.

Caring for Social Transformation

The women suggested that understanding the relationship between advantage and disadvantage, and sharing privilege, requires an ethic of care. As Quibbo shared:

-Well, you know if we don't care about these [disadvantaged] people, then we're going to have a world full of conflict and insecurity....If we look at Vancouver, for example,

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115 As Freire (1970, 1993) states, revolutionary or transformative change is not about escaping oppressive situations, as painful as these may be, but understanding, critiquing and transforming the oppressor deeply embedded within all of us, which knows the oppressor's tactics. Lorde (1984) states that the blueprints of domination and oppression must be altered within ourselves at the same time we work towards dismantling and altering systems of domination. We have to be the change we want to see in the world (Williams, 2002).

116 Razack (1999b) states that caring is as important as critical pedagogy. It is what underpins risk-taking for social change. Noddings (1984) suggests that education has placed too little attention on issues of caring. She states that individuals must try to consider the life and experience of those whom we are caring for, in which "the other's reality becomes a real possibility for me" (p. 14). An ethic of care is one that engages us in acting upon our world together so that we can all live comfortably and equitably. Battistoni (2002) suggests that in this way caring moves us from personal to civic engagement for social change.
if we don't care about what happens in the downtown eastside, pretty soon, the people in Shaughnessy will have to be gated communities. Because those people who live in the downtown eastside, and they're hungry and they need – I'm not talking about being in need of drugs, but I'm talking about needing basic material things like food and shelter and money.....If they do not have those basic needs met, then the people in Shaughnessy and West Vancouver will not be safe and secure.....Our society will not be a safe one if we don't care.

For Clara, collective caring was part of her value system, a system that she claimed was different from the value system of the mainstream, which often seems to be more about caring for the individual. She shared some of her beliefs about this form of caring:

_I work from a belief that everyone's lives are enhanced when you seek to enhance the lives of those who are most marginalized in society. So as a basic underlying value and belief that I hold, my work stems out of that._

Zaira suggested that caring underpins the breaking of relational chains between domination and oppression:

_Because we're all each other's community...The world is too small to think, I don't know, the effects that we do here in Canada for example just through the capitalist system. If we want to look at it, say across national borders, say for example on a really large scale, the trade that occurs between Canada and another country and its impacts on another country are detrimental, how can I not care because I am part of producing that detrimental effect by being a consumer of whatever is being traded that's coming from that country. So, how can I not care?_

All the women spoke of the importance of developing a transformative model of critical community service-learning at UBC. They saw this model as one founded on humility and caring in order to achieve social justice. They felt that the charity-based model implied benevolent arrogance. Bobbie shared the importance of humility in learning:

_I guess that the biggest thing for me is students walking away with a sense of humbleness or humility, which I think is really important piece of. I've never really put it into words when I'm doing this work, but have always thought that we need to go into a learning environment with a sense of humility. That humility needs to precede learning, and until you can have that sense of humility, I'm not sure how much learning can really happen. You need to be open to the fact that we don't have all the answers, and we don't have all the information, and that you can walk into a brand new situation and realize, "I don't know anything about this," but then be able to walk away and to acknowledge that you have learned something, whether it's about yourself being the oppressor or the oppressed, or not having an awareness of something, and that awareness has been increased, or maybe a sense of discomfort and walking away and realizing how uncomfortable that situation was, and then asking yourself why? So that constant critique of yourself and your experience, and ongoing sense of humility around your position, around you role within the context [of] the immediate world, the larger global world....I mean I think, at the core of it for citizenship is creating that sense of humility._
Commitment to Co-Creating and Sustaining Just Communities

Many of the women interviewed suggested that commitment to sustaining just and sustainable communities should also be viewed as a dimension of education for transformative citizenship. This would essentially involve working together, with each other, to transform education, and therefore the world.\textsuperscript{117} It was suggested, for example, that active participation in civic engagement for social change might involve locating ongoing community funding for disenfranchised communities. It was often acknowledged by the women interviewed that communities know well how systems disenfranchise individuals and groups, and that lack of funding is a huge barrier to addressing these issues.

Some of the interviewed women shared ideas about how just and equitable communities could be sustained. Aggie suggested that critical community service-learning should involve collaborations between institutions and communities in order to develop effective service-related policies, and in order to seek funding from government agencies. She suggested:

\textit{Well, if there are a group if immigrants who want a space and funding in order to do this or that, that needs to be supported completely....Not you know when they send out people to see if you're worthy of their funding. I mean it is so annoying because it's really checking you out to see if you're going to be compliant or obedient, or that you're not doing this or that. It's all this sort of vigilance right, and control, so we're back to that foundational thing. But I think cities and whoever the funders [are], the funders need to fund those people who are saying to you, "We're trying to build communities so that our people know where to go in order to function in this society."}

Some women felt that the development of critical community service-learning relationships would help build capacity so that individual community members would have the time and resources to do their jobs. As Minou suggested:

\textit{Maybe the help that we'll be providing will be capacity building because sometimes communities don't have the resources, like the people resources even to do these things. I find that sometimes, even simple examples, when you do a practicum at an organization and they're [the community] extremely happy to have a volunteer come in and do the bits of work that they don't have time to do. Even if it's in that capacity, to build the capacity, to build the base, to solidify it for the community so that the community can really do what needs to get done.}

Maya talked more specifically about community needs. She spoke of the importance of funding to run programs such as ESL, counselling, and settlement services. She explained how and why such communities would require sustained funding:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{117} As Freire (1970, 1999) suggests, this involves an encounter in which all persons are co-subjects in communion to create just and sustainable communities.
\end{flushright}
One of the challenges many of these communities face is having adequate funds, resources and support to provide relevant programs and services to meet their needs. Some of these programs and services include English language programs, assessing housing and community resources, childcare, parent support groups, counseling, legal and other settlement services. Many communities of colour find it challenging to obtain and secure funding in order to provide the necessary programs and services to their members. As a result, these members end up seeking programs and services elsewhere, or in many instances, not having their needs met.

Anna also recognized the importance of developing and sustaining critical community service-learning partnerships in order to maintain just communities. She offered:

"...a part of that is creating the relationship. We're not just doing a project. It has to be sustainable. There has to be continuity. There's no point in creating a service-learning experience that's just a one-hit wonder, but it should be ongoing so it can be improved up, and actually track what the impact is. Again, looking at the big picture."

The women suggested that the development of critical consciousness through critical community service-learning was important because it would be able to inform the way in which this pedagogy could be transformative, rather than adaptive to the status quo. The interviewed women also argued that critical community service-learning practices need to be guided by the community partners. This, they felt, would signify a transformative step in community development and sustainability.118

**Critical Community Service-Learning**

The development of critical community service-learning at UBC was viewed as a hopeful strategy in addressing the dominating systems that marginalize individuals and communities of colour. In addition to this, critical community service-learning was also seen as an opportunity to advance anti-oppression education at the institution. As Toni suggested:

*I think I would tell the university that they have to keep in mind that in doing this [developing critical community service-learning] and in creating partnerships with communities of colour, that it's not just for celebratory reasons. It's for reasons of actually looking at how these communities may or may not be marginalized within the university setting, and what has to happen on a day-to-day basis in classrooms with professors and students...that seriously addressed the concerns that these communities have.*

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118 Maurrasse (2001) suggests that a high value needs to be placed by universities on digging deep roots in communities, to sticking around and maintaining consistency, and on listening to stakeholders. In addition, community partnerships must seek to provide respectful and effective community problem-solving strategies where educational institutions must advocate for the community, work as allies with community, and help change legislation through the use of university resources in support of such endeavors.
It was strongly suggested by the women interviewed that the development of critical community service-learning advance understandings of discrimination and marginalization based on unequal power relationships in society. They further argued that the impact of systemic discrimination on gendered and racialized individuals manifested in real material conditions such as lack of education, unemployment and underemployment, poverty, incarceration and ill health.\textsuperscript{119}

Bobbie shared her perceptions of the employment status of many racialized people:

*I go into fancy restaurants at times, and who's in the kitchen? People of colour, you know, who are most likely earning minimum wage so that patrons can enjoy very expensive meals and lavish evenings...* I think that's a interesting piece where people of colour are visible, but also in a lot of ways very invisible and behind the scenes, breaking their backs working long shifts, working in multiple jobs... just barely making it. And working for those who have a lot of privilege – they [the privileged] are the consumers of all of that.

Bobbie also suggested that the multiple and intersecting experiences of racism, sexism and classism on the lives of racialized people, in turn, impacted their confidence to find work, to get into higher education, etc., thereby reinforcing the 'othered' stereotypes that people of colour were not capable of doing better. This then often became a self-fulfilling prophecy and a reality for racialized bodies.

The women interviewed for this study generally stated that critical community service-learning needed to be developed within a transformative paradigm, one that made visible the complex social dynamics and inequalities that exist in Canadian society. In turn, they hoped that the academy and disenfranchised communities would work collectively to challenge and transform the systems that oppress and disadvantage many communities in Canada and globally.

**Opportunities**

The interviewed women also felt that there were many opportunities for the development of critical community service-learning at UBC. First, this strategy was seen as an alternative to mainstream education, driven more by marginalized groups and those committed to social justice and social transformation. Second, a transformative paradigm of service-learning was viewed as important in linking critical theory to the practice of dismantling hegemony, and in linking academic institutions to their local, national and global communities.

\textsuperscript{119} In addition, Hurtado (1996) suggests that people are affected much more by discrimination as they do not have the power and resources to ease the impact of racism, sexism or classism on their lives.
Dissolving Hierarchical Boundaries

Critical community service-learning was viewed as a strategy that could potentially dismantle the systems of privilege that create unequal relationships in society. As Quibbo suggested:

*It's going to dissolve [the boundaries], if it works well, a lot of boundaries...Or it could, on the negative side, it could make the boundaries stronger!*

Bobbie saw great possibilities in critical community service-learning. She hoped that the university would become closer to and more respectful of disenfranchised communities. This would require institutional transformation, in that the university would need to become more inclusive and accessible. Bobbie also felt that institutions needed to recognize their complicity in the continued oppression of disenfranchised communities. She suggested:

*I think another reason for doing service-learning is to acknowledge that what happens within the university does impact people in the community. So, trying to demonstrate that there is a link between theory and practice.....I think it can bring a community and a university closer together, create more of a connection, and so both valuing each other.*

Aisabee felt that academia should be all about education for social change. She explained:

*The very best thing that service-learning could hope to do...would be to break down the binary between academia and community. ...If that binary is challenged of community/academia, of practice and theory, of whiteness and otherness, it shakes the whole foundation of [nation-building], of everything. Of straight and queer, of poor and rich...what academia would get from the community is so much more than what the community would get from academia...If academia would genuinely and respectfully create an exchange with the community, I think that what we would end up having is more of us critical [thinkers]. We would have academia do what it was supposed to do, what we had hoped it would do...which is to give education and awareness to our students and not rip them off.*

Becoming Allies

Many of the women who participated in this study thought that institutional administrators, faculty and students might be inclined to become allies with disenfranchised individuals and communities through critical community service-learning endeavours. The disenfranchised communities could then truly rely on academia to collectively and actively work for systemic change. Toni gave an example of how privileged students, through small steps, could advance social change. She suggested:

*You know, I often think that it's a lot easier for white people to talk to white people about racism because they're more often going to listen to each other. Men are going to listen to men when they talk about things that are sexist, or you know, what men
shouldn't do and so on and so forth. So, I think particularly for white students participating in service-learning, that are then taking their experiences and talking to their families and friends or people that they're working with, or just even casual conversation on the bus...they definitely have more of an arsenal now to talk about racism. And you know, sometimes people are more willing to say racist stuff in front of their own kind because they think you'll agree with them, and so something that somebody might never say in front of me, they might say in front of a white person who's gone through this service-learning, that now this kid can say, "Hey, wait a second, I've actually worked with the very group you're talking about, and my experience was this, and actually the issues are this, and maybe there's a different way to think about it." I mean, I think it's on that day-to-day level, that's where change comes in.

Clara thought that, through critical community service-learning engagement and by hearing and witnessing stories of the oppressed, students, staff and faculty would more likely understand the complexities of oppression, and speak up on behalf of the marginalized. She shared:

> What the hope to me is, and the reasons in engaging in any kind of social change work is to expand our understanding and deepen our understanding of the complexity of the interconnection of oppression through dialogue, through witness. Sort of generally seeing, hearing and experiencing....And also, as I said, again to work as an ally and take that and be able to speak up, speak up when we see poor-bashing in the media, speak up when policies are detrimental to racialized people or particularly detrimental to Aboriginal people or you know? Just to be able to engage with that.

**Acknowledging Different Sites of Knowledge**

All the women interviewed expressed the importance of challenging hegemonic academic knowledges. Developing and institutionalizing critical community service-learning would offer different histories and sites of 'othered' knowledge. Again, this would be transformative for the academy. As Karina explained:

> There are different types of knowledge in the world. So I think [on] those levels of knowledge that, and the community would be empowered in that sense too, because they probably have knowledge in areas that we don't [in the academy].

Zaira also hoped that critical community service-learning would enable UBC to become a more inclusive and respectful site of higher learning, where different sites of knowledge and epistemologies were valued and enhanced, especially global knowledges. She shared:

> Well, I certainly hope UBC becomes a more open place of learning where for example, when international students come, their ways of knowing and epistemologies are valued and not put over there in International House like it belongs outside of the taken-for-granted hegemonic ways of knowing that are perpetuated, taught and reproduced here....But what needs to happen is that more privileged individuals and groups at UBC are brought into the framework of International House to listen, dialogue and act on how all this talk about difference and diversity can in reality be a
source of strength. This is just a small piece of what can be done to actually incorporate more diverse ways of doing...

Linking Education to Communities for Justice

The participants hoped that critical community service-learning would close the hierarchical gap between UBC and its communities. They also hoped that partnerships would create and sustain dialogue across social hierarchies, and that the lived experiences of marginalized peoples would be better understood. They expressed that, by working together, they would be able to make this a more equitable world. Minou hoped that in creating these partnerships and dialogue, education would be more holistic and linked to local and world events. She shared:

*I see a lot of opportunity for dialogue between the communities concerned (provided it's done respectfully). I think there are a lot of students who are very much interested in something more than just the regular education. I know for myself, there is that need....It just doesn't make sense to be studying in isolation from world events.*

Minou elaborated by saying that a more holistic educational system would be respectful and accessible to all students, including the disenfranchised:

*We're disconnected from the realities of everything and as academics, we sit here in our ivory towers (well, those of us privileged enough anyways) and I would really like to see that their [policy developers/educators] underlying motive is to take education to the community, back to where it does belong. I think my understanding is that education didn't used to be this closed up, walled off, inaccessible. But now it's gotten to be that only privileged students or individuals can have access to education.*

Quibbo suggested that linking education to communities through critical community service-learning would re-orient education to the importance of social justice. She was hopeful about this, hopeful about the possibilities of social transformation, of breaking down hierarchical boundaries that created inequities and kept people apart and intolerant:

*It's a whole reorientation of values, disposition towards humanity and an incredible set of skills, and an honesty about dealing with power differentials, an honesty about dealing with our own prejudices, an honesty in accepting when we simply cannot do anything about some situations. You see, my imagination is running away with me as someone who has done volunteer work in some parts of the community....Once I did community work with Rape Relief, and some of the situations really had a varied impact on me. Sometimes the situation was so dire that I would be sucked right in and I was overwhelmed by it. Other times I would be very angry at the person for seemingly engaging in manipulative behaviours and indulging in counter-productive behaviours, and my intolerance for that would just come to the fore. There were times when I would be angry at the system; there were times that I would be angry at history and the legacy of that history and how people are sort of just left to fare in this. So I don't think service-learning is for the faint of heart!*
Validating Students of Colour

It was interesting that some of the students interviewed perceived critical community service-learning as a pedagogy that would validate the experiences of students of colour at UBC. Perhaps this is not surprising since all the women interviewed spoke of few life-affirming supports at UBC. Many of the women interviewed recognized that students of colour, through their service placements, would hear about the lived experiences of racialized people. They speculated that if these students gained insight into such experiences, it might help validate their own lived experiences of oppression.

Xara, for example, shared that she was one of very few students of colour in her faculty. This, in addition to the lack of representation of her own people’s knowledges and history in the curriculum, meant that she often found that her lived experiences were not reflected or validated. She thought that critical community service-learning would benefit students of colour at UBC in particular, because it would be an opportunity for these students to identify with the lived experiences of racialized people in the communities.

Ranjit suggested that in addition to the validation students of colour would experience, many would take on leadership positions and become ‘whole’ persons. By having their experiences validated, they would gain more self-confidence. In addition, through critical community service-learning, all students would learn to understand dominator systems in society. This, in turn, would enable all students, and not only the racialized students, to speak against racism, sexism and classism. Having other students address these issues would free up racialized students from being burdened as native informants, which would likely free up energy to pursue other interests within the institution. She shared:

To take on positions of leadership. To be a whole person. You know. We’re not, I’m not always interested in being the person with the race problem. I don’t always want to have to pick up my hand…point out what this ‘white’ reference frame has left out once again. I think it [UBC] would be much more inclusive, it would be much more whole….it would be a sense of wholeness, it would be a sense of security and growth, I think.

Minou stated, however, that if service-learning were offered as ‘add-on’ volunteer activities, rather than being institutionalized in the academy, students of colour would actually be excluded from participating. She argued that this would occur because of the complex and marginal lives that students of colour live – having to travel long distances to get to UBC; having family care commitments; being single parents; or having to work two or more jobs at minimum or low wages in order to survive financially. Minou felt that these lived realities would prevent students of colour from participating as volunteers, and would continue to privilege the elite students. She shared:
Unless UBC makes a concerted effort to make sure that students of colour are able to do these kinds of work [service-learning placements], because it looks like it would just be regular white students doing that. Why I say that is if you’re doing service-learning, if it’s added above and beyond to your course work, students of colour tend to have to work [for financial assistance] or feel the pressure to take care of family, or things like that. How much time do they have to invest in service-learning? ...I guess I was thinking that for this to truly work, it needs to be able to work for everyone and not for a particular group of students who might be more privileged to invest that time...

Challenges

The social realities of systemic discrimination within the institution are often denied. This was addressed in the stories the women told about their experiences and with UBC. This being the case, the social realities of oppression in society would also likely be denied if service-learning were to be implemented without a critical foundation. The implementation of such a charity paradigm, in effect, would be disrespectful and demeaning. As Aggie suggested:

I think it’s making sure that well, if those in power and those who influence policy and make decisions have not clearly understood the [critical] values behind this, I don’t know that it’ll work. So, I think there is a process there of engaging those people.

The possibility of institutionalizing a charity paradigm of service-learning at UBC was of concern to all the women interviewed. Xara summarized this well:

Yeah, my concern like I’ve been saying is that it turns into, it can be exploitative in the way, the missionary idea of going in and ‘saving’ the community from itself.

Maya suggested that the institution equip itself to partner with communities through critical community service-learning by engaging in anti-oppression education and training. If this did not happen, the institution would likely continue colonizing and oppressing racialized individuals and groups. Such strategies for institutional transformation were, however, viewed as an enormous challenge. Maya summarized:

Power relations between the institution and communities would need to be addressed. Many communities already function from a place of disempowerment, and so could possibly be influenced by the institutions’ agenda. [Second] there’s a high possibility that the institution may not have adequately analyzed and addressed its own issues and policies around oppression, prior to engaging with communities of colour. If this were the case, it would be highly detrimental to the communities in question, and would jeopardize the objective of the program.

Many of the women interviewed stated that they would be willing to engage policy developers and educators at UBC in addressing the importance of institutional transformation.
Aggie was one who said she would not, and was not willing to put herself through that type of trauma. She suggested that other people who are committed to the struggle for social change take up this challenge with a resistant institution such as UBC, but not her. She said:

*I'm not going to put myself in that anymore. I've done that in the past. I won't do it. Someone else can do it, but it's so dangerous; it's such a dangerous space. I'm not sure I want it! It's not good for my soul.*

In saying this, Aggie was clearly setting boundaries around what she was and was not prepared to do. She was very appreciative and respectful of individuals that were willing to engage the institution in changing hegemonic practices, but she was not willing to do so anymore.

**Resistance to Transformative Paradigms**

One of the other challenges to the development of critical community service-learning identified by the interviewed women included perceived resistance to engaging a transformative paradigm. Since critical engagement would involve critiquing and challenging systems of domination, they thought individuals would be pushed past their comfort zones.

Fear and discomfort is usually disconcerting, even though these are often opportunities for growth. However, fear itself can be immobilizing. As Anna stated:

*I think because service-learning implies taking an action, it implies challenging what you're comfortable with and stepping a little beyond that to do something more to grow, to develop. Maybe see things in a very different perspective, which can be very scary. As educational as it might be, it can be quite overwhelming, so I could definitely imagine resistance.*

Soma also suggested that resistance would be a challenge, particularly from some people in leadership who she perceived as blind to social inequities. Challenging the status quo also could be perceived as dangerous. She shared:

*For people who don't see the inequities [and] who don't want to acknowledge that they're there, or who are in denial. For people who don't want to change because change is hard, and that resistance thinking, that no matter how bad something is now, at least its familiar and we know it. So, to stay with what's familiar maybe horrible [but] it's better than change because change is hard for most people.*

Some of the other identified challenges to the development of critical community service-learning included concerns around the continued oppression and 'othering' of people of colour. Some of the participants qualified this by saying that these concerns might be mitigated, depending on who went into the communities, and what knowledges they brought back.

Toni raised concerns about the continued exploitation of communities of colour. She stated that if academics and students went into disenfranchised communities and did not educate
themselves about the colonial histories that underpin unequal power relationships, their perceptions and experiences would likely continue to be informed by dominant ideologies of the ‘other.’ In other words, service-learning would take on a colonial or charity paradigm, an anthropological approach that would maintain white supremacist capitalist patriarchy. This, in turn, would continue to inform the dominant and legitimized colonial knowledges in the academy. She stated:

*The idea of just sending someone to go into a community and start learning from them, and taking that back out...I’m kind of reminded of anthropology where particularly there [were] white anthropologists, often male and often white....coming into these communities of colour and picking and choosing or just bringing in their own biases and experiences, talking to a few people, deciding who the community is, what it is they need, and then supposedly taking that back into wherever it is that they’ve come from. And writing about that and teaching the rest of us about who and what that community is [from this colonial perspective].*

### Maintaining Power Over

The interviewed women also suggested that critical engagement with communities would require institutions to first examine their own power in relation to disenfranchised communities. Not doing so would, in fact, be a barrier to engagement. In reflecting on UBC, they further suggested that there were many dimensions to this power, not only in terms of race, gender, class, education etc., but also in terms of the institution’s physical location, which was situated somewhat apart from communities. As Karina suggested:

*As I mentioned before, the location of UBC and the fact that people at UBC have all these degrees – Ph.D. and MA’s and whatever. And so there is [an] automatic power dynamic built in which has to be addressed and acknowledged, and not circumvented...there’s a systemic advantage that UBC has, and it has to acknowledge that and see that as it’s strength in that it would get it’s way more because it has, you know [power].*

Minou shared similar concerns about UBC’s engagement with disenfranchised communities, particularly with regards to a charity and imperialist agenda. She explained:

*I’m thinking of UBC going into the downtown eastside or into First Nations communities with a missionary attitude...its frightening because I think and here is where my concern lies....the missionary attitude again would be coming in with, “We’re the good, moral citizens coming to fix your problems.” Whether it’s gambling, drinking or you know, housing issues and things like that. So coming in and saying, “We’ll come in under the guise of helping you, but really what we’re saying is that in order for you to succeed, you need to cultivate these moral qualities and we’ll help you figure out what those things are.”*

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120 Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000) also point to concerns with anthropological colonial research that provides a totalizing description of a certain reality, a reality that is considered the ‘truth,’ where the researchers speak for the ‘other,’ thereby, blocking alternate and challenging voices.
The majority of concerns raised by the women interviewed were about the potential development of a charity framework of service-learning. Without the theoretical underpinnings of a transformative paradigm, they felt that service-learning could easily reproduce and reinforce racist, sexist and classist attitudes and stereotypes. If the charity framework for service-learning was to be implemented, then it was felt that it would be better if service-learning were not developed at all. As Ranjit put it:

*If it’s not done right then it just makes change even harder. It’s better that it not be don’t at all.*

A few of the women, such as Aisabee, did not think that the powerful/powerless binary characterizing academia and disenfranchised communities could be changed because it would not be in the academy’s interest to do so. She felt that those in power were reluctant and resistant to letting go or sharing power, for fear of losing their power.\(^{121}\) As Aisabee shared:

*But it is not in academia’s interest to do that. Yeah, it’s not in their interest to make, to bring alive the stories of the community, the marginal stories of the community, or even the most common stories of the community.... That it would be destructive for academia to do that and it might give student ideas.*

**Time and Budget Constraints**

The interviewed women identified other challenges to developing critical community service-learning. These had to do with concerns around the university engaging in service-learning partnerships on a short-term basis.\(^{122}\) Sustainable partnerships through service-learning were seen as requiring multiple and ongoing resources such as people, money and time for setting up. Many of the women interviewed were quite skeptical as to whether UBC would have the patience, endurance and capacity for developing such partnerships, and for offering the required financial and human resources. As Toni explained:

*I think just the obstacle of the university looking very short-term at what it can get out of this. I think it’s going to take a lot of money, a lot of people power, a lot of time and energy spent interacting with people, and you’re not really going to see any kind of change too early on... I think they [UBC] look very, very short-term, and you just would have to have faith, and I don’t know how long the university would be willing to wait for it.*

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\(^{121}\) According to Dei (1996), in a context of political and economic risk and insecurity, those with a vested interested in maintaining material advantage and privilege are the most likely to feel threatened by destabilizing forces, thereby, creating barriers to institutional transformation.

\(^{122}\) Battistoni (2002) suggests that time and resource constraints could create barriers to institutional engagement with communities. Enos and Morton (2003) add that one-time projects are typically a drain on a community’s resources as the planning and coordinating generate more work than is seen in returns. Such short-term placements place significant stresses on the resources of both institution and communities.
Soma suggested that the institution be really mindful about developing partnerships with communities for critical community service-learning. Without paying attention to time, resources and other such elements needed for setting up sustainable partnerships, communities might be set-up and faced with unrealizable expectations. If their expectations were not met, these communities would feel betrayed, angry and further marginalized. She shared why she thought this:

If you send a little pocket of help, that community starts to feel more confident, feel like they’re getting something. They’re in poverty [and] they want more. We need to be careful [that] we’re not setting them up. That we’re not going to cut them off after a student moves off. Then they walk with nothing and they feel even more betrayed than before. So, we need to be not just well-intentioned, we need to be looking at the volunteering consequences of our actions of going into our communities that’s not fair. In some ways, it’s better either to just say, “What we can do is just one day of this,” and not “we’re going to give you a whole year.” ....We have to be clear whenever we do community support like that, that we aren’t setting the community up for having expectations even with just one day. They’re going to want more, and what resources can we give them? So, it doesn’t mean we shouldn’t do it, but we have to be really mindful of how we do it. It’s going to illicit some outrage if it’s not followed up.

Some of the women interviewed suggested that outside consultants be hired to assist with the process of building relationships, because of the histories of mistrust between research institutions and disenfranchised communities. Aisabee shared some ideas:

It would mean a real long term [partnership development]. It would have to be long term, like three years of setting up a program and setting up evaluation, and having somebody, a consultant or somebody working to develop this, to make this work.

Anna added to this, and suggested that taking time to develop these relationships would build the foundation for gaining the trust necessary to address issues identified by those communities. She suggested:

...a long term vision as opposed to quick, quick projects, because if you can take time to build the relationships, anything you do after that will be much more effective....It’ll take a bit of patience to have a foundation, and that way everyone will be building trust...

The women suggested, therefore, that the planning and development of critical community service-learning would require long-term planning, time and resource commitments.

Institutional-Corporate Interests

For some of the women interviewed, there was a lack of trust that UBC was at all interested in the development of respectful relationships and dialogue with communities, which was seen by

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123 Wade (2001) also suggests that developing partnerships and working for social justice involves a focus on long-term change rather than immediate observable benefits.
them as necessary for the development of service-learning. Many suggested that the institution was
driven by a corporate agenda that was contrary to the values of building relationships with
disenfranchised communities. Communities, they felt, may also be very weary of being ‘research
subjects.’ For many of the women, the very language of ‘service’ conjured up power differentials,
‘institution-as-saviour,’ and they stated that these would likely create additional barriers to building
relationships. Clara expressed her concerns by saying:

...from my witnessing of recent actions of the administration of UBC, for example,
with legislating or with engaging with the provincial government and having staff
legislated back to work, I don’t think that there actually is a lot of room within the
governance of the institution to engage in a way that is more about community
building, and less about corporate development interest. So, from where I stand and
from my historical knowledge of UBC, or my historical perceptions of UBC and other
universities and colleges as well, because I think there is this swing towards
corporatization in education....I don’t perceive that the majority of the institution has
an interest in developing critical thinkers and making the world a better place. You
know, I don’t see that as being really a mandate of the institution.

Some women were skeptical about UBC’s interest in developing and institutionalizing a
transformative paradigm of service-learning. They did not have the confidence that such pedagogy
would be developed at UBC, one that would teach and share knowledges in a manner that would not
reinforce existing structures of domination, and, thereby, perpetuate race, gender and class
hierarchies.

In summary, critical community service-learning, engendered by a critical consciousness
and active participation in transforming dominant systems and practices, was viewed as having the
potential for community and societal transformation. ‘Critical community service-learning’ was the
terminology that was viewed as being aligned with a transformative or social justice paradigm of
service-learning, and that promoted a clear understanding that power underpins relationships across
social hierarchies. Critical community service-learning was also viewed as a pedagogy that would
teach students to critically examine what it means to live in a democratic, yet unequal society,
characterized by race, gender and class stratification. It would also teach students to responsibly
investigate and address the root causes as well as the symptoms of systemic oppression. This
would require teaching ‘education for transformative citizenship’ grounded in principles of social
justice, in order to challenge the ideologies of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy. Critical
community service-learning was also viewed as a potential pedagogy for linking the goals of higher
educational institutions with the goals of communities in creating a sustainable and equitable world.

124 Langseth (2000) suggests that because of institutional corporate interests, communities may view educational
institutions with cynicism. Disenfranchised communities sometimes view institutions as elitist, white and wealthy. In
addition, corporate interests tend to maintain the dominator values in higher education (hooks, 2003).
CHAPTER SEVEN: INSTITUTIONALIZING CRITICAL COMMUNITY SERVICE-LEARNING AT UBC

Through counter-storytelling, the women interviewed continued to relay their perceptions and experiences of systemic exclusion at UBC, and suggested some key elements to the development of a service-learning model from a critical race feminist perspective. The implementation of such a model would foster the development of respectful and mutually beneficial partnerships with individuals and communities of colour. This chapter outlines two major elements for institutionalizing critical community service-learning. The first calls for institutional re-visioning and transformation through the creation of a Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development. This centre would be one significant step towards addressing social injustices at UBC by highlighting the need for, and development of, social justice education and social transformation policies. The second would involve simultaneously establishing an Office for Critical Community Service-Learning, mandated to develop institutional partnerships with communities of colour in order to support and enhance the well-being of those communities.

Institutional Development for Critical Community Service-Learning

In many Canadian institutions of higher education, neo-liberal values of business, capitalism, competition and profit infiltrate all levels of institutional life, and efforts at advancing the rights of historically disadvantaged groups, such as Aboriginal people, people of colour and women, remain relegated to the margins. So the question then that arises is this: how should an institution such as UBC develop partnerships with disadvantaged communities, when such communities remain relegated to the margins within the institution, and the larger socio-political landscape?

The women interviewed stated that the institutionalization of critical community service-learning at UBC would require a critical examination of the hegemonic structures and practices in place that continue to support the marginalization of racialized people. In addition, transformation of these hegemonic structures would be necessary so that the institution no longer contributed to
social oppression. Systemic inequities within the institution itself would have to be challenged and transformed before institutions such as UBC would be able to take up genuine and respectful relationships with disenfranchised communities.

Aisabee shared her views on what the institution would need to do in order to prepare itself to build partnerships with communities of colour:

\textit{Looking at one-self and seeing marginalization within academia, right? I mean, how can it understand outside, when you know, there's no movement at all for racialized people within academia.}

\textbf{Institutional Citizenship}

Institutional development that involves re-visioning and transformation requires the inclusion of all people. The interviewed woman felt this was key to institutional citizenship. Institutional citizenship, they added, would need to be founded upon the principles of education for transformative citizenship, so that every person within the institution would be working for social change. The women viewed such transformation as central to the development and implementation of critical community service-learning at UBC. In fact, institutionalizing critical community service-learning demanded this.

How did the women interviewed define institutional citizenship? Toni shared an eloquent metaphor:

\textit{I have always imagined that if God took on a human form, he/she would look like a person who has all the characteristics of those groups most marginalized - woman, of colour, disabled, queer, etc. So my model for service provision would be the same because I would want people to see that my program recognized all levels and intersections of marginalization, and that was what I want my program to be trying to alleviate.}

Minou suggested that institutional citizenship should be centered on questioning hegemony – who gets in, and who does not; who makes decisions, who does not; who is heard, who is not. By doing so, institutions might be able to be held more accountable for ensuring practices of inclusion. She suggested:

\textit{Well, I guess starting basically with “Who’s allowed in? Who is at UBC? Who becomes a UBC student or citizen or faculty member?” There’s all sorts of things}

\textsuperscript{125} hooks (2000) states that “the enemy within must be transformed before we can confront the enemy outside” (p. 12). As Hurtado (1996) suggests, the only way to dismantle oppressive practices is through the dissection of just those social structures.

\textsuperscript{126} Dei et al. (2004) suggest that re-constructing educational institutions would require a radical re-visioning of the status quo in order to eliminate the barriers that marginalize groups face, especially racialized groups, through a transformative agenda. The focus of this transformative agenda would be on dismantling the asymmetrical power relations that run between and among social groups.
that make you able or not able to work here. Like there are plenty of people I know in
the community who have excellent knowledge of women’s’ issues, on community
issues, and who could teach, but who can’t because they don’t have a degree, or
things like that. So starting to model that this environment [UBC] where we truly
believe in inclusivity.....

Quibbo stated that the Trek 2000 document laid out some goals that could be considered a
form of institutional citizenship. However, like any form of citizenship, she was concerned about
who was included, and who was excluded from Trek’s vision and mission. She shared her concerns
about this, seeing a parallel between institutional citizenship and nation-state formation:

I think the Trek 2000, for all its limitations, does set out the menu of choices, so to
speak, and does set out the goals and attempts to measure the goals, operationalize
the goals in measurable terms, and it does an annual check-up on how its doing. In
terms of my own disappointment with the Trek 2000, is its geo-politics...It’s on the
one hand claiming that it’s a world-class university and committed to
Internationalization, but on the other hand, defines its world as Asia, the Americas
and Europe...I would say that the institution as citizen is very much influenced by its
historical legacy of inclusion and exclusion and discrimination. It has good parts of
it, but it betrays some members of the community, the UBC community...its exclusion.
It sends a clear message – which people are desirable and which are not. To me,
that’s a template of the history, of the colonization and enslavement and stuff.

Quibbo outlined the basis for institutional citizenship – an understanding of the histories of
inclusion and exclusion that inform the politics of social inequities today. She suggested:

I would say that institutional citizenship, especially an institution of higher learning,
ought to be aware of its history, not only its history as a university with an 800 year
history, but its history as producing bodies of knowledge that both create and inscribe
social inequalities. What we have are epistemological inequalities if you can come to a
world-class university and there are some bodies of knowledge that are not present,
not part of the discourse, right? So yes, parts of the Trek 2000 are a very enabling
document, if you are the chosen, right? If you are the chosen, it’s very enabling, but if
you’re not the chosen, there’s no place for you there.

Ranjit spoke of institutional citizenship as transforming hegemony and dominant norms:

Our whole idea of ‘normal’ would just change. The tables would turn. That’s how it
should be. It shouldn’t be just one group of people controlling the resources and
ensuring that it doesn’t matter how many other communities they get in there [at
UBC], [where] the actual centre of control stays within one group.

Soma spoke of institutional citizenship as creating a respectful living, working and learning
environment for each and every person, no matter what their location. She suggested:

[Every person] along with their diversity, feel equally welcomed and included, and a
part of the institution. That they don’t feel less powerful because of their role, or their
academic credentials, or their colour, or gender, or ability. That from the President to
the director, to frontline staff, to faculty members teaching, to the person who cleans
the carpets, everyone should feel equally a citizen and welcomed and respected for who they are. Because somebody has the job of cleaning carpets, doesn’t mean you walk by them and don’t say “good morning.” That’s about citizenship, that we treat everyone [with respect].

Maya defined institutional citizenship as creating an institution of higher learning accessible to any person:

*An institutional environment that would make education accessible to all, including marginalized groups; model and promotes race, class and gender equity; encourage and sustain diversity; create and sustain political, social and cultural awareness and sensitivity; maintain the right of freedom of association, speech and expression; and provide a safe, comfortable and respectful learning space.*

Aggie summarized succinctly what institutional citizenship meant to her:

*As space, as voice, as stories, as narratives, as a creative future!*

The women interviewed spoke of the importance of creating educational partnerships with disenfranchised communities, underpinned by principles and values of social justice and social transformation. This would strengthen the civic responsibility of educational institutions to be actors for social change. It was, therefore, suggested by the women interviewed that UBC create a Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development to ensure that this process of ‘internal’ transformation would occur in tandem with the establishment of an Office for Critical Community Service-Learning.

**Principles of Education for Transformative Citizenship**

The counter-narratives of the women interviewed referred repeatedly to institutional reconstruction and accountability, as well as to the development of critical community service-learning, both of which were required to be underpinned by principles of education for transformative citizenship. These principles were felt to be crucial for the kind of institutional revisioning and transformation necessary for building authentic and respectful institutional/community partnerships across social hierarchies.

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127 *Looking into the future* (2004) speaks of principle competencies required for global citizenship. It is interesting to note that students at UBC refer to the idea of citizenship as extending to a global context. The principles of education for citizenship developed in this study transfer easily to practices of global citizenship.

128 Darder and Torres (2004) speak of ‘cultural citizenship’ in advancing the rights of all people to full citizenship. They state that cultural citizenship is a political strategy that disrupts systems and practices so that no one is left marginalized, and where every person is extended the rights to full citizenship. “Key to this concept is a critical universalism that fundamentally respects the particularities of populations while working to dismantle structures of inequity that interfere with the exercise of human rights” (p. 23).
This study has culminated in the identification of nine principles (see Figure 1) that can guide the development of education for transformative citizenship, and which specifically speak to the need for ensuring the full participation of people of colour at and with the institution.

Figure 1. Critical race feminist principles of education for transformative citizenship

The nine guiding principles are as follows:

Principle 1 - Recognizing that education continues to serve as a vehicle of social oppression.

Principle 2 - Fostering a transformative and inclusive vision for education and society.

Principle 3 - Demonstrating citizenship by ensuring representation.

Principle 4 - Developing respectful relationships across social hierarchies.

Principle 5 - Caring (Ethical Caring) for social transformation.
Principle 6 - Understanding the relationality of domination and oppression.
Principle 7 - Locating oneself and sharing privilege for social transformation.
Principle 8 - Creating a community-centered agenda.
Principle 9 - Co-creating just and sustainable communities.

These nine elements of education for transformative citizenship are essential in creating an emancipatory and transformative project, both, within the institution and in the development of critical community service-learning. Institutionalizing critical community service-learning at UBC requires a critical examination of the hegemonic structures and practices that subordinate racialized people. Establishing a Centre for Anti-Oppression, Training and Development would do just this. Through institutional transformation, such a Centre would engage in the decolonization of the academy and the disruption of the discourse of the racialized ‘other’.

Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development at UBC

The women in the study felt that the dominant systems, policies, rules and practices within the university that supported and reproduced gender, race and class hegemonies were protected. This, in turn, reinforced the dominator society. The women suggested, therefore, that the university had to make structural changes if it was to make education, resources and services accessible to historically disadvantaged groups, and especially if it planned to engage with such communities. They also suggested that institutional re-visioning must include fundamental questions about the perpetuation of injustice and power inequities in society.\(^{129}\) The interviewed women felt this would require a critique of the hegemonic systems, and that this might be accomplished through exploration of the histories, social relations and conditions that structure individuals and groups unequally. As the women pointed out, institutional transformation-from-within must aim at improving the fit between the components of the organization and outside communities, in order to create mutually beneficial partnerships.\(^ {130}\) The women in this study insisted that it was essential that UBC take it upon itself to transform from within.

What does transforming from within entail? According to all the women interviewed for this study, institutional transformation at UBC would involve ensuring equitable racialized representation in the ranks of faculty, equitable representation of racialized staff in management and

\(^{129}\) Razack (1999b) suggests that in order for any sort of trust to be established between educational institutions and disenfranchised communities, institutions would be required to be accountable, “a process that begins with recognition that we are each implicated in systems of oppression that profoundly structure our understanding of one another. That is, we come to know and perform ourselves in ways that reproduce social hierarchies” (p. 10).

\(^{130}\) Maurrasse (2001) adds, if social responsibility to communities is not seen as essential to these partnerships, communities will remain marginalized, and will likely not embrace such engagement.
higher management positions, authentic and respectful inclusion and engagement of different sites of knowledge and experiences, and the cultivation of transformative education and practices where every person at the institution would be treated with respect and dignity, and encouraged to challenge and change the dominant forces of oppression. An inclusive institutional community, they argued, would strive to deconstruct unequal social relations which privilege some groups over others, and to fundamentally alter the structures, policies and practices that create racial, gender and class hierarchies for the benefit of some, at the expense of others. Institutional transformation would, therefore, require two main conditions: that all individuals felt that they were treated with respect and dignity, and valued for their contributions; that all individuals were enabled to give their life meaning by contributing equally to their institution.\textsuperscript{131}

All the women interviewed spoke of the importance of such institutional transformation. They spoke to the necessity of moving beyond marginal activities that celebrate diversity, which often require the voluntary participation of racialized students, staff and faculty, which are often left up to them to coordinate. Even though well-intended, the interviewed women felt that structural social inequities would not be resolved by such activities. Zaira was hopeful that a physical centre of sorts could be created to provide a self-affirming space for people of colour at UBC, much like the First Nations House of Learning. She explained:

\textit{Well, I think the approach has to start with having a space and having recognition for that space by the university, to have a centre for whatever you want to call it: Intersectionality of Oppressions, for Race, Class, Gender, Sex, Age, Ability, as many names of oppression as you want. But I think there needs to be that physical space, and everything else about space; mental, intellectual, physical space that is recognized and acknowledged, and encouraged, supported....}

She went on to suggest that such a Centre would be a model for other institutions of higher education across Canada:

\textit{I think it would be critical to start the centre at UBC first, and whether, I mean ideally then it would be great to have similar centres throughout the province, throughout the country that can link into the centre here at UBC, and centres that have already developed as anti-oppressive or as intersectionalities of oppression kind of centres in places like South Africa or India. I think that kind of cross-border, international networking between centres that focus on social justice work through anti-oppression/decolonizing forms of analysis and action is definitely something much more needed at UBC in order for UBC to undergo processes of transformation. There is so much UBC can learn from experiences of peoples in Majority World countries, especially when many of those individuals have now moved to this country and subsequently facing marginalization and/or exploitation. at other universities.}

\textsuperscript{131} Cox (2001) suggests that a respectful and inclusive environment is one “in which people from all social and cultural backgrounds are respected, where they are able to reach their full potential in organizational contribution and personal goal achievement, and where the power of diversity as an organizational resource is fully captured” (preface).
The women interviewed, therefore, recommended the development of the following key elements in the creation of a Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development: leadership to establish the vision, direction and goals for institutional transformation; ensuring employment equity for faculty and staff of colour; curriculum and pedagogical transformation; access and equity for racialized students; anti-oppression education and training; and aligning systems and practices for authentic inclusion (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development: Theory and practice in search of the common good

**Leadership**

Leadership was viewed by the participants of the study as essential in establishing the vision, direction and goals for institutional transformation necessary for the development of critical
community service-learning at UBC. They suggested that even though commitment from the top was necessary, it was not the only condition for organizational change. Organizational or institutional change, they felt, required the participation of many leaders throughout the organizational structure who ‘walk the talk,’ and who understood that such transformation required long-term commitment.

Many of the women suggested that educational institutions must see themselves as citizens with a responsibility to its communities. Soma suggested that the only way institutional transformation would occur at UBC was if this responsibility was recognized and acted upon by leadership. She stated:

...that message should come from the top down. The president of our institution should say that it’s [institutional transformation] important, and that it’s mandatory, and that it’s to be done, because it’s only when the message comes [from] top-down that it gets heard and respected, and everybody comes on board. So, I think that we have to have people on top, on board. I think that the only way that we’re going to change the inequities in our society is by being willing to address it and [in] opening peoples’ eyes.

Anna also suggested that re-visioning for institutional transformation and the development of critical community service-learning would require a mandate from leadership. She stated:

...it’s got to come from top-down, especially because it’s something you’re getting off the ground. It’s not something that’s a one-off programming. It’s a whole system, and if you don’t have the support from the top, and someone leading, really leading it from the top and saying, “This is how we’re doing it. This is how we’ll support all staff that do it.” If that doesn’t happen, and anyone who does it on their own, or does it at the middle, or frontline level, like a student, it’ll be like another glass ceiling.

Some women suggested that such internal transformation would need to involve the reinstatement of equity-related programs and services that had been dismantled at UBC over the last several years. Aggie shared her view on this:

I would look at what’s been dismantled and bring back what rightfully shouldn’t have been dismantled.

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132 Leadership is the most essential element for change, for without it, nothing of any significance happens (Cox, 2001; Marks & Shaw, 1995; Maurrasse, 2001; Nadler & Tushman, 1995). However, some organizationalists such as Wheatley (1994) would say that change is difficult to initiate from the top, as those in power are reluctant to give up their power. Change, however, can occur with pushes from groups of committed individuals or champions within a system.

133 Leadership, therefore, requires honouring the civic responsibility of higher educational institutions through commitment to institutional citizenship and transformation (Maurrasse, 2001).
Ensuring Employment Equity for Faculty and Staff of Colour

All the women interviewed spoke about that lack of faculty representation of persons of colour, poor retention, and systemic resistance to the promotion of racialized staff into management and senior management positions.\textsuperscript{134} Aggie suggested that if institutions of higher education were committed to supporting transformative education, then institutions, such as UBC, must lay the foundation for ensuring equity in employment. She suggested that this would be modeling institutional citizenship:

\begin{quote}
I still say recruit people from all cultures, take a look at your numbers and your proportions and your resources. And you know, do it, if you are really committed to all your citizens having a place and a voice in that space. But if there's any hesitancy there, you're not going to get it [social transformation].
\end{quote}

Anna continued in the same vein, suggesting that institutional transformation would also require the employment of critical thinkers. She suggested:

\begin{quote}
...make sure that we hire people who have a social justice, critical perspective on things, in all the key areas. Employment equity, faculty, curriculum, student services. Across the board, start right at the top [with leadership]. That's what I would do and really take equity beyond the four target groups, and beyond what is here at UBC. The people we're hiring, the students, and that would change the whole dynamic on this campus. Because right now, it's pretty old-style.
\end{quote}

Many of the women interviewed spoke about systemic discrimination and biases in the hiring, retention and promotion of racialized faculty and staff at UBC. Toni shared her views as a student, and made some suggestions for challenging systemic discrimination. She spoke specifically of the relationship between challenging inequities and valuing racialized people:

\begin{quote}
I would say that the university needs to hire more professors of colour. I mean, I think certainly when I look around, the people who are cleaning the floors and cleaning out the garbage are mostly people of colour, often immigrants, just from talking to them, just from [their] accents. But those aren't the same people I'm seeing being professors, and you know, it's nice to see yourself reflected at some of the higher levels of a society, and that's not to say that these men and women who are doing these other jobs aren't worthwhile, but it would be nice...Maybe they have a teaching degree where they come from and they would like to be able to [teach]... I think the university really needs to look at its hiring practices, what are the criteria that it's
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{134} According to James (2003), the homogeneity of faculty members, and the lack of rights and entitlement to equitable treatment and equality of opportunities for racialized staff are of great concern in many institutions of higher education. Bannerji (1995) states that the exclusion of non-white people is not accidental, that this is part of the social organization of nation-building in Canada. In addition, a major characteristic of racial discrimination is exploitation of racialized peoples, denial of access to privileges and opportunities that are otherwise available, and blaming exclusion of racialized people on their inferiority (hooks, 2000). Racialization is seen as a badge of inferiority and a justification for the denial of opportunity and equal treatment through the process of ‘othering’ (Delgado, 2000). Senator Oliver (2004) suggests that a holistic approach is required to ensure employment equity for racialized people. Such an approach should also address systemic barriers in ensuring the advancement of people of colour. This would require transparent and equitable promotion practices, career development programs and leadership accountability for meeting diversity goals.
requiring for tenure, for non-tenured profs or teaching assistants? Are they the types of criteria that have a bias towards people of European descent?

Soma shared similar views. She stated that there were many people of colour that were well qualified for management positions but who were systematically left out of the so called ‘meritocratic’ circuit. She stated that many people of colour were just barely tolerated within the institution, and insisted that this needed to change. She explained:

...to have more equity around employment. To be seen for their experience and their education rather than for their face, or their name, or their accent. So, to be given equal opportunity and access to positions both that fit their educational background, but also that move [them] up the ladder in terms of positions of power and within a hierarchy ... I think people [of colour] need more in terms of being included and not just tolerated.

Soma offered some suggestions for the hiring of racialized faculty and staff specifically:

....I would want to begin to really look at what the hiring practices are, and how does the institution go about appointing faculty? What kind of search do we really do for hiring staff and faculty? How broad do we open, do we advertise in local mainstream papers, or do we advertise in different languages and different papers? As well as globally? ....To ensure that we’re reaching out to every possible community. That community knows that we’re not just looking out for white males; that we want to diversify and we want to bring in people who have the experience and who can teach to come and do that.

Some of the women reiterated the fact that there was no method of data collection at UBC for tracking the retention of racialized staff. The lack of regular records on where racialized people, including Aboriginal people, are located within the institution, and on the retention and promotion of such people, conceals their economic marginalization, and supports the denial of economic injustices. The women interviewed stated that such findings must be reported annually.

Anna wondered how UBC’s President and senior administrators could ever address issues of economic marginalization if such data did not exist. She asked:

If they [the president and senior administrators] can’t see the systemic barriers, whether it’s racism or sexism, any form of marginalization.....and accept that that’s the experience [of marginalized employees] and not deny it...Because if they don’t see that...they cannot make any changes to how they do things. They can’t really understand the impact. They can’t see why all these good people of colour are leaving....So, seeing it as, “Oh gosh, this woman of colour who is the only woman and [the] only person of colour in this white, male-dominated office....OK, so how do we change it [the dominant culture]? Well, we better make sure that this office takes care of these hiring practices.

The students interviewed spoke of the importance of racialized representation across the academy, particularly at the faculty level. They suggested that representation is a very simple notion
— just as it is important to have gender representation in faculty, for mentoring, support and as role models for women students, it is just as important to have race representation.

Ranjit spoke of just this, but also stated that she would not want to see token representation, i.e., being the only one person of colour hired:

*Be representative of your students. Be representative of the lower mainland... Take a look at who’s registering for your classes and make sure that the instructors are represented. That’s one thing. And also, I don’t want it to be, um, tokenism.... I want it to be real, and I want it to be valued.*

When students see themselves reflected in the ranks of faculty, they feel welcomed at the institution, and can aspire to pursue such careers. They are likely to remain at the institution since they have role models. Additionally, when racialized students see racialized people at all levels of the academy, they know that such people are valued and respected. Ensuring representation and employment equity for racialized people was viewed by the women interviewed as critical for institutional transformation, and, in particular, for the development of critical community service-learning. Representation of disenfranchised communities at UBC was viewed as demonstrating institutional citizenship. This was also seen as a needed measure for creating credible partnerships with disenfranchised communities.

Many of the interviewed women also suggested that in having UBC develop partnerships with communities of colour, racialized people would also be able to provide ‘insider’ perspectives, which would assist in the formation of sustainable relationships. A critical mass of such people would also minimize the times these individuals would be called on as native informants.¹³⁵

Minou spoke of just this, arguing that racialized people, as critical thinkers, should be involved in the development of critical community service-learning with communities of colour because they would have these ‘group membership’ perspectives. Otherwise, the process might be highjacked by potentially disrespectful relationships, engaged in by well-intentioned people:

*I think this is where it’s important that it should be students of colour, the community of colour itself, faculties and teachers of colour, because when you’re coming from a historically marginalized position, even if, unless you can find someone who has the critical analysis who’s from the dominant group, you can see your whole process hijacked. Probably not a good term, but you can see that all being derailed by the interests of someone who’s not from that community, who doesn’t share that group membership. So, I think it’s very important.*

¹³⁵ Sleeter (2000) suggests that having organizations or institutions staffed or represented by communities that they serve creates sites for learning ‘insider’ perspectives on those particular communities. These ‘insider’ perspectives, as well as the inclusion of community organizations in the development of service-learning, develops capacity in decision-making for meaningful social change (Ogden, 2001).
Toni also spoke of the importance of racially representative individuals being involved in building partnerships with disenfranchised communities. She shared:

*I guess I’m thinking, if you have a First Nations community, and someone from that community is at the school [UBC] now, would there be ways to have them work with their community to find out what it is that that community wants and needs, and how is it that the university can create education to help provide for that.*

Some women insisted that ensuring representation of racialized people across all levels of the institution, and having such people involved in the development of critical community service-learning, would also facilitate the perception of ‘safety’ for disenfranchised communities, particularly for those communities that have had a history of mistrusting educational institutions. This would be a first small step to building trust. Bobbie emphasized the importance of such representation:

*So, you have a diverse range of people at the university and the community also seeing that the university as pro-active, and open to diversity, and respectful of different approaches. So the community is also then coming to the university and seeing it as an institution that values what they have to offer.....So that the community sees itself reflected and sees their histories, their perspectives, different approaches, being innovative.....So that they feel safe to be a part of that university community. I think it would create a bridge, a closer connection between the community and the university if there was that kind of reflection and representation, as opposed to the institution out there on the peninsula. “They’re all white and that has no meaning for me. What do they have to do with me?”*

Clara also shared a similar perspective. As a community member, she spoke strongly of the necessity for UBC to reflect diverse communities within its structures and practices. She said:

*I think if you want to operate in a manner that is going to engage the community at some level, you need to be reflecting the community within the structure and community at the university.*

It was, therefore, seen by the women interviewed as important that people involved in the development and planning for critical community service-learning at UBC be representative of the disenfranchised communities that UBC wished to partner with. In addition, it was deemed necessary that the people involved with the development of critical community service-learning have an understanding of the histories of social oppression, and of how these inform systemic inequities today.

The women suggested that UBC promote critical discourses about the oppression of historically marginalized groups in order to understand these lived experiences within Canadian society. This understanding would facilitate the development of critical community service-learning.
in ways that would support and enhance the well-being of those individuals and communities, as Toni suggested:

*Say for example, the First Nations community – there’s a huge over-representation of them in the criminal justice system. Well, I think it would be ridiculous if the university attempted to work with First Nations communities without having an understanding that many people either have been in jail themselves, or have family members who have had interactions with the police and been in jail, or have these criminal records that they have to deal with, have issues around prison and maybe Canadian authority. I just think that all that stuff would be really important to know and have somewhat of an understanding or a grasp on it if you’re going to then turn around and help those communities get their voice into a university or an educational setting.*

Karina similarly believed in having racialized staff, in particular, involved in the development and implementation of critical community service-learning at UBC, since these people would be representative of communities. Because many racialized staff are located in clerical and semi-clerical positions, she suggested that these people should be sought out for the planning and development of service-learning strategies. She suggested:

*I think the support staff is from various communities themselves and probably have a better idea of things. So, you would need people involved from the support staff..... There are lots of people who work at UBC even as cleaners and people who sweep the floors who probably come from communities that UBC has no [idea] they’re not even tapping into their own [resources]. Have they ever listened to the voices of cleaners themselves at UBC? I mean, that itself would be, you know, an eye opener themselves.*

Even though many of the women interviewed thought that having racialized representation from the university would provide credibility and assistance in the navigation of institutional partnerships with disenfranchised communities, others also viewed this as problematic. Not only do very few racialized people work in higher levels of employment at UBC, these people are also few and far between. Asking them to assist in the planning and building of these relationships, and using them for their ‘authority of experience’ or as ‘native informants,’ could be seen as essentialist, which might further marginalize them. In addition, relying on only those few individuals would also over-burden them to the point of burnout. The bottom line for the majority of the women interviewed was the need for hiring more people of colour at the institution, and hiring them in positions for the development of critical community service-learning. It was, however, seen as crucial that people representing the institution in the development of critical community service-learning have a critical understanding of social oppression.

Diverse representation in the planning stages, including racialized individuals, was seen as progressive and creative, a view expressed by Anna:
Well, if we're trying to develop service-learning, we're going to need as much information, creativity and innovation as possible. You can only get that if you have a wide range of perspectives [and representation].

**Curriculum and Pedagogical Transformation**

All the women interviewed stated that the curriculum across the academy required de-colonization, by which they meant, integrating alternate and 'othered' perspectives into all curricula. They also stated that inclusive teaching strategies must be developed so that all voices would be heard and respected within the classrooms and beyond. Quibbo spoke to these issues:

*I'm afraid that even after thirty years of discussions on multiculturalism, we still find many courses where the syllabus is as if these discussions had never really taken place. Where there are no inter-textural conversations or whatever, so that we still read the one Euro-text. In my way of thinking at this point, we should be reading many texts simultaneously so that we get a healthy talk and response, or writing and response....Now, in any literature classroom, we should be reading literatures in English. And I stop here. I don't want to say instead of English literatures, but I would say as well as English literature. So that the curriculum will have to be re-organized, say in literature, wherein we have courses that are introductory courses which bring together many literatures....In fact, this does happen in some courses."

Quibbo was suggesting that multiculturalism should not be in binary opposition to Western Eurocentrism. A diversified curriculum, as Quibbo suggested, should integrate all perspectives. The academy should not, for example, offer Eurocentric courses on literature, and separate courses on 'multicultural' or 'othered' perspectives. She felt that this only forced students to choose, and reinforced capitalist ideologies of competing needs. Integrating 'othered' knowledges, including Eurocentric knowledges, was seen as the way to go.

Quibbo went on to say that she thought many students at UBC felt a sense of accomplishment at attending this institution, but that many also experienced themselves as strangers in the academy because of the Eurocentric, male-centered curriculum. As a student, Minou shared

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136 Bannerji (1995) suggests that curriculum and pedagogical transformation has to do with de-colonization of the self as well as institutional de-colonization. However, without institutional support, instructors who engage in de-colonizing their classes often do violence to themselves by choosing this pedagogic path.

137 O'Grady (2000) suggests that curriculum should be structured around critiquing the structures of oppression, and engaging in educational strategies for social transformation. This should include using inclusive classroom strategies, which would utilize different sites of knowledge, and drawing all students, including students of colour, into conversations that would allow for the transformation of all students.

138 Curriculum transformation, however, is a challenging task, as it requires many levels of institutional approval before coming to fruition.
the following experience upon first attending UBC. She noted that there was a disconnect between her lived experience and the subject area she was pursuing.\footnote{\cite{thornhill1995b}} She shared:

In fact, I was noticing that I was doing poorly as I started to realize that it [education] wasn't working...there was a disconnect between who I am and what [UBC] was teaching.

Aisabee saw a need for critical pedagogical transformation, and, therefore, the need to hire critical scholars to teach. She felt that this was already happening in pockets across the institution, but urged UBC to hire more critical scholars. She explained:

I think the first thing is that we need to stop having lies in the books and the content. I think the content needs to really shift. I think there's some really amazing courses [at UBC], but they make about 1-2% of the courses on campus. Even if there's a course that's talking about Black History, it does not mean that the pedagogy is respectful of Black History, right? That for me is not just about hiring people of colour, but it's also about who is being hired. If we're hiring people who are playing right into the structure, that that serves the state very well.

In saying this, Aisabee was suggesting that scholars who were not critically inclined, whether white or racialized, would continue with the ongoing task of nation-building, that is, promoting curriculum and pedagogy fitting for a white settler society.

Toni suggested that faculty needed to educate themselves as to who their students were, and become educated about the lived experiences of oppression and marginalization for people of colour. Toni felt this could be accomplished by diversifying the curriculum and utilizing inclusive teaching strategies. She suggested:

There's a lot of different communities of colour in Vancouver. You can't become an expert or very knowledgeable in all of them, but I definitely think some kind of basic understanding about racism and marginalization that happens in our schools and in Vancouver would be very beneficial to lecturers, and having them look at who their students are, and who are the students of colour out there, and are there students of colour talking or bringing up their experiences. "What is in my curriculum, and does what I say simply reflect a so-called majority perspective."

As a community member, Maya also spoke of the importance of curriculum transformation. Even more important to her was the belief that self-transformation was essential for individuals involved in critical community service-learning, so that they would not continue to perpetuate stereotypes and biases. She suggested:

According to Thornhill (1995b), students of colour often experience education like an out-of-body experience, always feeling that something is missing, forever being reminded that they are “outsiders,” disconnected and disembodied from what is happening within the classroom and the academy. For many disenfranchised students, universities continue to be a place of disconnection (hooks, 2003).
In preparation to partner with communities of colour, the academic environment would provide a forum that would enable faculty and students to examine, analyze and address their own issues around oppression. The curriculum content would be diverse enough to include non-Eurocentric, feminist, and anti-oppression pedagogy, and analyses. As well, the content would make global and local links around issues of globalization and north-south inequity to gain a better understanding of the lived experiences of immigrants and people of colour. Diversity and equity studies would further enhance this understanding.

Some of the women students interviewed made suggestions about supportive curriculum and pedagogical strategies. Minou noted that student-directed classes have supported her educational needs:

One of the things I appreciated was the student directed classes that they [UBC] were offering, so students could design the curriculum. I think they [UBC] could offer more of those, or make it a bit easier for students to get involved in the student directed class work where we could meet our own needs.

All the women interviewed stated that pedagogical practices should value everyone’s presence and experiences in the classroom. In addition to this, the women interviewed argued for pedagogy that emphasized wholeness of body, mind and spirit, as well as the knowledge gained not only from texts, but also from the lived experiences of marginalized people.

Quibbo suggested creating pedagogical strategies and learning moments to enhance a syllabus:

Not to abandon your syllabus, because your syllabus becomes a framework, but the syllabus is the beginning. But many, many, many things happen in every meeting, in all classes – unexpected things. Some of which are just so spiritually enhancing when you see insights that have been made, breakthroughs in thinking, students surprising themselves and you see them actually being surprised that they have whatever insight. Students being completely shattered by new knowledge and information about their world and the world. All of these are the stuff of classroom, and for which you have to have the disposition and the frame of mind and spirit to make these be learning moments.

Quibbo also thought that critical community service-learning would require a pedagogy of engagement, an engagement of mind, body and spirit. She explained:

140 As hooks (1994) suggests, the contributions of all people are resources that enhance the capacity of classes to create learning communities.

141 hooks (1994) goes on to say that bourgeois educational structures, as is the case in the majority of institutions of higher education, tend to denigrate notions of wholeness and uphold ideas of a mind/body split, which supports the compartmentalization of knowledge.

142 Sleeter (2000) suggests that engaged learning is a full-bodied, emotional learning experience. She goes on to say that schools and universities attend to the mind by compartmentalizing learning and by keeping bodies and emotions separate. Service-learning, as an engaged pedagogy, has been known to be more holistic.
You have to have for me, for service learning to be truly a service, it has to engage the head, the heart, the gut, and the spirit. It cannot be a cerebral exercise!

Some of the women stated that it was all very well to suggest transformation of the institution through de-colonizing and fostering inclusive teaching strategies, but this was unlikely to occur if university faculty were not required to attend teacher training in order to obtain such skills. Such teacher training was, however, available at UBC, and faculty could attend if interested. Soma compared instructor training to training for other professions such as medicine and law:

...just because they [faculty] have a lot of learning and knowledge doesn't mean that they can teach. Anyone that’s hired as faculty, or to teach, needs to go through some training like the rest of us do, and not just be afforded the right to teach simply because they have a PhD. They need to go through some training, and that training should include perspectives around equity and marginalization, and how to begin to integrate those concepts within their courses, so that they make an effort to reach out to the student, the minority group of students of colour in their classes. That they’re not just calling upon the white students in their class that they feel more comfortable [with], you know what I mean? ...and to become more familiar with their own biases and their own stereotypes that they’ve grown up [with] and playing a part in [reproducing].

The interviewed women suggested that university students would probably insist on pedagogical transformation if critical community service-learning were instituted at UBC. Learning new knowledges from disenfranchised communities, they felt, would equip them to challenge the more traditional Eurocentric male-centered curriculum and teaching pedagogies. At the same time, being equipped with this new information might also ‘other’ them. Aisabee explained:

If there was a program where young students are going out in the community and they’re learning things. Say they have a program like that [service-learning], and they come back into academia, because that’s the other part about the program – practicum students or whatever [organized practicum placements]. They learn these really amazing things, and then they come back and then they engage in mainstream classes, and they realize how all of sudden, they’ve become the ‘other.’ Whether you’re white or not, it’s like you’re bringing in this information that is troubling to the class and to the teacher because it’s just not getting in with the curriculum, or it’s not fitting in with the language in the classroom.

Many of the interviewed women strongly suggested that instructors at UBC needed to participate in decolonizing the academy. They suggested the use of pedagogical strategies that affirmed the presence of every student and each student’s right to speak in multiple ways. Such
pedagogy would be rooted in the assumption that everyone brings to the classroom experiential knowledge that can enhance all learning experiences.\textsuperscript{143}

Quibbo spoke of the importance of using engaged pedagogy in the classroom, with instructors taking responsibility for providing a framework for engaging the mind, body and spirit:

\textit{I think that within the classrooms now, as they’re being comprised of differences...I think instructors have to take some really serious leadership in how classrooms, discussions, and assignments and so on are managed. Because people, instructors have to mediate the power relations. Instructors have to take responsibility for providing a framework in which dissenting and opposing and different ideas are brought into the classrooms in a structural way. I think it is unethical for instructors not to prepare for these differences, and then, when there are different peoples in their classroom, to say well, to let the responsibility fall on the people of difference to bring that difference to the table and to carry it, and to carry in the opposition of their classmates. And then, at the end to give a polite “thank you.” To say “How wonderful you were in the class and how much you enriched us.” I hate that talk. It’s so paternalistic. It is so unethical. I can’t even begin to tell you how it irks me. And, I think that is abdication of responsibility. It’s time to transform the curriculum and to bring the scholarly voices that have been missing into the curriculum. And to conduct the classroom process with the full expectation that there’s going to be, that there are going to be emotional responses to things... there’s going to be anger; there’s going to be sadness; there’s going to be grief; there’s going to be pain because the social history of the past 500 years have not been a cakewalk for all of the world’s population.}

Bobbie also wanted this type of engagement in the workplace also:

\textit{I would want all students to have an opportunity to walk away with a positive experience of the university, with a sense that their unique needs have been met. So based on their different learning styles, different values or perspectives, that a real effort has been made to value what they bring to the university and they felt that they had an opportunity to contribute and to share their own perspectives. For staff as well, a similar sense of valuing what they have to offer, whether it’s a different approach to their work. I think we can have similar goals, but different ways of getting there and that those things would be valued as opposed to our differences resulting in us being marginalized.}

Quibbo suggested that, as a result of curriculum and pedagogical transformation, classrooms might turn into sites of conflict, tension and even hostility. She argued, however, that conflict and discomfort was part of the transformational process for growth.\textsuperscript{144}

Some of the women interviewed, particularly the students, stated that often one person of colour in the classroom would be forced to talk for ‘their group’ and assume the role of ‘native

\textsuperscript{143} Dei et al. (2004) writes that the teacher-student relationship should facilitate an exchange of diverse ideas and multiple sites of knowledge, where education is a shared opportunity for growth, where the instructor learns from the student as much as the students learn from the instructor, and all learn from each other.

\textsuperscript{144} Rather than fearing conflict, educators have to find ways to view and experience such emotional releases as catalysts (hooks, 1994) for new thinking and for growth, otherwise marginalized students are silenced.
informant.' They noted that this was another way that systems of domination worked in the academy and the classroom. By way of explanation, they pointed out that their experiences of marginality did not necessarily make them an expert. Nevertheless, instructors often asked them to make suggestions for improving inclusivity in the classroom, thereby, placing a heavy and perceived unfair burden of responsibility on them.

In general, curriculum and pedagogical transformation were seen as necessary to promote education that would teach students to be concerned about unequal social conditions and engage them in social transformation. The women insisted that transformative or engaged pedagogy should involve critical examination of taken-for-granted norms (status-quo) of thought and behavior that distributed power and privilege unequally.

**Access and Equity for Racialized Students**

All the women felt that the university had a role in promoting equality in society by ensuring access and equity for all students desiring a higher education. They were concerned, however, about escalating tuition costs and the high level of student indebtedness. Many of the interviewed women felt that these posed a huge deterrent for many students, mostly for those from poor socio-economic backgrounds, many of whom were racialized.

The women worried about which students would be afforded an education, and which would be left out. They pointed out that, once in the system, racialized students also tended to have more difficulty than white students did in securing scholarships, and even graduate assistantships. The women felt that lack of institutional support in terms of the provision and allocation of scholarships and graduate assistantships put these students at a further disadvantage.

According to the women in the study, racialized students often find themselves working at multiple jobs, usually in low paying positions, in order to financially maintain themselves. These multiple jobs are necessitated because of systemic discrimination, which, in turn, impact their academic performance. Minou shared just this experience:

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145 Using the 'authority of experience' for asserting voice is a form of essentialism (hooks, 1994) that marginalizes racialized students.

146 Not engaging in curriculum transformation, and maintaining Eurocentric worldviews, amounts to intellectual racism (Bannerji, 1995). Curriculum transformation is fostered through an engaged pedagogy, which is a journey of spiritual growth, where learning happens together, through dialogue, in reciprocity, with emphases on the well-being and growth of all involved in the process (Freire, 1970, 1999; hooks, 1994).

147 Transformative education is an organized effort to help individuals to challenge presuppositions, explore alternative perspectives, transform old ways of understanding, and act on new perspectives (Mezirow, 2000).

148 Universities exist as part of an undemocratic system by privileging those who have the means to access education (Brathwaite, 2003).
[Professors] not understanding that as a woman of colour, there are pressures that I have. Like whether that’s economic – women of colour aren’t always in the best economic positions. So for me that meant that I was on student loans, that I had to work 30 hours a week [during] my first 2 years at UBC, while being full time. And so professors not making that concession, and not understanding, and seeing it as, or I perceived that they were seeing it as “oh, women of colour...are just slackers. They don’t do their work, they don’t want to do work, and then they expect these breaks.”

Minou sometimes dealt with experiences of marginalization by missing classes. Even though she sometimes experienced invisibility in her classes because she would be ignored, at other times she felt very visible. She described occasions when she had felt very visible; these occurred at times when she had been perceived as being lazy and incapable for requesting ‘illegitimate’ concessions, or labeled as ‘angry’ for challenging dominant ideologies and labeled as ‘unmotivated’ for skipping classes regularly. For Minou, though, skipping classes was also a form of resistance and a form of coping. She felt dammed if she did attend classes regularly, and dammed if she didn’t.

Toni suggested some ways that UBC could promote financial access to UBC students of colour:

>You know I think maybe there are people of colour who would say, “We need better access; we need easier access.”...We need more affordable housing nearer to the university. We need courses offered at more convenient times for those of us who have to work, or are parents. Maybe even for immigrants coming [to UBC]...I can see the university needing to provide more English as a second language to facilitate immigrants being part of the university and learning.

Soma shared some specific strategies for improving financial access for racialized students:

>I think we need to open our doors more to welcome students of colour who otherwise wouldn’t feel welcomed here....maybe there should be scholarships. There should be some number or a percentage of spots that are designated for bringing in people who represent First Nations communities, or who represent people of colour.... if we’re admitting 70 students to a program, and we’re just going to go with everybody who has the highest marks, chances are people who’ve had lots of support and wealth in their families are the ones who are going to get in there, whereas people who are sort of single mums struggling with poverty issues, and race issues, have many discriminations to fight along the way. Their marks may not be as high because they don’t have support systems in place. So they need recognition for that.

Some of the interviewed women noted that lack of funding puts racialized students at risk. They explained by saying that these students’ ability to concentrate is frequently impaired because of financial constraints, thereby putting their academic programs in jeopardy. It takes longer to complete programs when students experience financial duress. Having to work multiple jobs,
students are sometimes unable to take advantage of career development opportunities, such as presenting at conferences or attending career fairs\(^\text{149}\).

Gearing some scholarships specifically for students of colour was seen, by the women interviewed, as an important way for institutions to acknowledge the systemic marginalization that these students face. Toni spoke of just these issues, and suggested:

*I don’t think it’s just a coincidence that there are more white people who have higher paying jobs in our society... definitely if people don’t have enough money [then] that’s going to translate into the types of places that they’re going to be able to live in, the time they’re going to have to study, and I think that having more scholarships, for example for people of colour, would at least in some way recognize that people of colour often have to work harder to get in the same places that white people do. Sometimes the way that translates is having to work more jobs because you don’t have access to higher paying jobs... so there should be scholarships there [for racialized students].*

Some of the students participating in this study spoke of the various ways in which class and race intersected to compound their experiences of marginalization and affect their academic success. They pointed out that the residential area in and around UBC was expensive, with high rents. Many students, but also staff and faculty, cannot afford to live at or close to UBC. Consequently, many students have been forced to travel long distances, leaving them little time to devote to their studies. This, in turn, has affected their academic success. Toni elaborated on how poorer students fare in comparison to students who have family and financial supports:

*In the end, you know, it’s like comparing somebody who doesn’t have to work while they’re going to school, doesn’t have to pay any room or board. Or if they do, they have a lot of financial help for that [family support], and so are able to concentrate on their studies and do really well. Comparing someone who doesn’t have those [advantages] who has to also work part-time, may or may not have a child to look after, may or may not have those family support networks, is coming further because they can’t afford to live closer, and so doesn’t have as much time to concentrate on their studies.*

Xara also suggested that institutional supports be put in place for students of colour. She recommended a physical space similar to the First Nations House of Learning, a place for Aboriginal students on campus. She suggested that such physical spaces would help support the academic success of racialized students:

*Marginalized students can get the support they need so that they can get into... university and get the education, and so that while they are here, they aren’t being marginalized further. I think probably the First Nations House of Learning is a way to kind of do that in terms of not marginalizing people within the institution itself.*

\(^\text{149}\) It has been well documented that without institutional support, students of colour face a constant struggle for survival (Thomas-Long, 2003).
Again, women interviewed for this study raised questions and concerns around the lack of demographic information about the student population at UBC, particularly the racial demographics of students. Several key questions were raised: who are the students at UBC, and what are their needs with regards to education and services? Participants noted that there was no data regarding the retention or attrition of students. There was, simultaneously, a high level of suspicion that the acquisition of these demographics would reveal high rates of attrition for racialized students. The need for this demographical information was seen as important in determining where the institution might be failing certain groups of students. As Anna suggested:

First, the institution would have to know who their students are. Exactly what their needs are, where they’re coming from, and I don’t think we’re there yet. My understanding is the university doesn’t even track equity groups, the visible minority groups.

The success of critical education relies on students being able to challenge the systems of operation that are dominant. The women interviewed noted that people who have doctorate degrees, but who lack effective teaching, communication skills and critical thinking skills, often teach many classes. Very few instructors were seen to engage with, and value what students brought to the classroom. The women suggested that pedagogical strategies would require decolonization.

**Anti-Oppression Education and Training**

The language of diversity is prominent in universities such as UBC, both in administrative and pedagogical spheres. This discourse on diversity claims neutrality, a level playing field, outside of hegemony. The women interviewed expressed concern about this language of neutrality, and suggested that education and training needed to be specifically founded upon anti-oppression principles, which would promote recognition of the social organization of unequal power relations.

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150 hooks (2003) states that in no other realm of corporate North America would such incompetencies be tolerated. It is tolerated in higher education, she suggests, because the consumers are young persons, perceived as having no rights. “Subordinated by a hierarchical system that indoctrinates students early on, letting them know that their success depends on their capacity to obey, most students fear questioning anything about the way their classrooms are structured” (p. 86).

151 Bannerji (2000) suggests that diversity sensitization or training has displaced equity-related programs that specifically address sexist, classist and racist social power relations. She adds that the discourse of ‘diversity’ is crucial in maintaining the relations of ruling because it protects white supremacist capitalist patriarchal ideologies and practices already in place.

152 According to Cox (2001), even though there has been a great deal of work conducted on diversity training, returns on its effectiveness are not encouraging, and such training has failed to produce any lasting impact as training and education are not sufficient in engendering change. This is primarily because diversity training is not aligned with other concrete attempts to diversify institutions through the employment, retention and promotion of disadvantaged individuals. In addition, even though cultural diversity training is important, taking the ‘cultural differences’ approach, where difference is thought to reside in the individual rather than in the social context, does little without an understanding of how the treatment of subordinate group members are socially organized to sustain existing power relations (Razack, 1999b). This would suggest that racism and oppression are a result of attitude, behaviour and individual ignorance. Attitudinal change
The women stated that there was no question that changes in employment composition were important steps to transformation. However, hiring individuals from marginalized groups, they felt, could not occur in a vacuum. They pointed out that education and training was not adequate in itself to effect social change. The hiring, retention and promotion of people of colour in the academy had to be supported by anti-oppression education in order to support and foster inclusive working, living and learning environments.153 They also suggested that each person must do the political work of changing oneself as a preliminary step towards changing education and society.

The women also suggested that the institution must become knowledgeable about the communities they wished to partner with, particularly about the histories of these communities.154 Without these knowledges, education and training would likely do little to prepare the institution to develop relationships with communities of colour. Aisabee shared her view:

I think the institution would need, whether they were students or they were the instructors themselves or administrators, they would need a lot of learning. There's a lot of stuff that they don't know about communities, communities in general and then about particular communities, communities of colour.

Some of the women interviewed for this study spoke of anti-racist education; others spoke of anti-oppression education. All the women interviewed, however, spoke of making these educational decolonizing strategies a requirement for all students, staff and faculty at UBC. Anna suggested:

I wish it would be like some sort of campus wide training and awareness. Everyone just has to take a week off or something, and everyone just has to do some sort of professional development and training. I don't like forcing people to do awareness [training], but on the other hand, in terms of leadership...this is what's necessary here... Diversity training, anti-racism, [anti] homophobia, pick an 'ism, 'anti-oppression training...it would take a few years...but it's kind of understood that that's what it means to work and live on this campus. You have to go through this training and get this kind of [inclusive] organization.

Soma felt similarly, suggesting that she would want such education and training to be mandatory at UBC, particularly for faculty:

I would begin to implement some of this that I talked about, like letting all faculty know that there's mandatory training, and it's do or die time. They either attend or they're out the door....That training would involve looking at their own biases and they can

without systemic transformation would do little to dismantle the systems and practices of oppression (Dei, et al., 2004; hooks, 2003).

153 Systems theory for organizational development suggests that elements of a system are interdependent, and that changes in one element requires adjustments in all other systems if the organization is to function effectively and to prosper (Kofman and Senge, 1995).

154 Maurrasse (2001) suggests that students, staff and faculty are not automatically knowledgeable or skilled in the dynamics of community engagement. Education and training are, therefore, necessary for university members to become familiar with their community partners.
do it in a safe group of their own peers, that's fine. That it can be done with somebody with their level of education if they need that initially to feel safe, and if that helps them to get on with the concepts. But that learning has to begin, and that training is there, and that is part of everybody's contract, part of the HR policy, and that they either do it or they're out the door, and it doesn't matter what their tenure track is. It we're going to be an institution that's so called working on globalization and justice for everyone, then you guys need to get on board with this....we could lose a lot of brilliant minds because a lot of people are not going to do anything that's mandatory, and they're going to go to places where they don't have to do that, and its ok....So there are risks.

Xara also felt that all instructors, as part of their job requirement, should be taught critical theories and critical thinking skills. She said:

Maybe there should be something so that the profs are required to, in addition to having some teaching skills, be able to have some kind of critical race or gender or sexuality analysis.

Some, such as Quibbo, suggested that racism be treated as an object of scholarly inquiry through the creation of a Centre of Race and Ethnic Relations:

In the same way that Women's Studies and Gender Relations has been an area of scholarly inquiry in that there is a Centre for the research and the study of it, and there are courses to do with it, in the same way there could be a Race and Ethnic Relations Studies [Centre].

Others spoke of institutionalizing first-year level courses for all students so that they would be exposed to the transformative education necessary to challenge systems of domination in education and society. Such training would be developed and facilitated by the Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development. Zaira shared her view on this:

....I have talked quite a bit about having feminism 101 as a pre-requisite in first year. Or anti-oppressive education, or a combination of the two together. You know, them being together, being the same almost....Having a centre for the intersectionality of oppressions.

Clara agreed and spoke to the importance of teaching and integrating such critical dialogue in first year courses. She shared:

But for me in order to ensure that people are critically thinking...it has to start right away, like in the first year. You can't wait until the 3rd or 4th year....I mean think just in the same way that there's an expectation that [student] needs English or History, or all the things that you're supposed to have studied in the first year as a foundation for your ability to then function the rest of your degree. Yeah, having some kind of interdisciplinary program that was about critically engaging, I think would be phenomenal.

Only one of the women interviewed felt no hope in shifting hegemony. Aisabee suggested that hegemonic structures and relations were so deeply embedded in society and education that it
would likely take a revolution to change. She compared institutions of higher education to the military:

*Sometimes we say, that in terms of anti-oppression workshops and work [education and training] there’s been so many done on campus, and that doesn’t mean anything. In terms of really big shifts in academic, see for me I believe like, if there’s a revolution...I see the educational system in a colonial state more powerful or equal to the military state because it is the system which ingrains the hegemonic relations, without a physical weapon, [and] is so dangerous. I’m not sure how we undo that in academia because there’s so much hierarchy, and there’s so much power. Even within marginal spaces we’re replicating in academia those very patriarchal powers...I don’t think it can be changed, I’m sorry to tell you....People can sit through 10,000 anti-oppression workshops and still have a very strong colonial, patriarchal mentality.*

For the most part, however, the women interviewed desired the creation of a Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development at UBC in order to increase efforts in addressing and remedying social oppression in the academy and society. Such a centre would strive to develop strategies to create a welcoming and inclusive working, learning and living environment at UBC for all people. As such, this centre would provide a space and life-affirming supports to racialized people.

**Aligning Systems and Practices for Authentic Inclusion**

In order for UBC to create a welcoming and inclusive working, living and learning environment, the women in this study suggested that the institution needed to find ways to encourage respectful authentic inclusion with decision making influence across all levels of the institution. This would involve ensuring racialized representation across all levels of the institution, and anti-oppression education and training. They argued that it would also involve the alignment of systems so that they were inclusive and collaborative, and respectful of all voices in decision-making.

Ranjit emphasized the importance of diverse inclusion at all levels of the institution:

*[Ensure] more inclusivity, not just in terms of race, but inclusive as a whole, to women, to people with disabilities, to, you know, gays and lesbians, then we should see those people coming to the table.*

It was repeatedly noted in the stories that were told by the women interviewed, that systemic discrimination, in particular racism, is often viewed as the exception and not the rule. Many of

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155 Razack (2001) states that racism structures every single encounter between people of colour and white people, and that viewing racism as the exception is a rejection and denial of these everyday encounters and practices. Such denial is then supported by the 'cultural differences' paradigm of connecting across difference, where 'othered' people are seen to have
these women also noted that sometimes people of colour were invited to the decision-making table as tokens. As tokens, their inability to ‘fit’ was typically attributed to their ‘cultural differences.’ Once invited, their already disenfranchised voices often continued to be excluded.

Although the inclusion of diverse voices is crucially important, the ‘add-on’ approach, that is, simply adding a racialized or ‘minoritized’ voice is very rarely about authentic inclusion. Under these conditions, relationships of power and domination continue to be perpetuated in these very spaces of so-called ‘inclusion.’ These voices continue to be marginalized, not heard, nor respected – and so they are made invisible again. Bobbie spoke of such an experience:

_The dominance I’m talking about is the way the university system is structured, how we communicate, what is communicated, when it’s communicated, what is considered valuable, what is considered important....[this] structure is made up of men, white men as well as white women, and very few women of colour, people of colour in general. And so from a gender perspective, from an ethnicity or a race perspective, I don’t fit into that majority. So what I represent, my perspectives of what issues I bring forward based on those categories [of marginality] are not part of the dominant structure, the way of being, or way of speaking or perspectives._

Many of the women interviewed stated that when they were invited into such spaces of so-called ‘inclusion,’ they often found that only white voices were acknowledged, heard and respected. For them, this meant ‘it’s business as usual.’ In these situations, the women would assess the situation and decide whether they would speak or not. If not, they often relied on their white allies to represent their views at the table.

Aisabee stated that she would do an environmental scan at the beginning of such meetings to decide whether she would speak or not. This would depend on who was present:

_I’ve been so cautious now of where I speak...I assess who’s in the room. First thing I do is I assess who’s racially in the room. Then I assess class...and then I go through a scan, and go ok, “this is how much I’m going to give today.” If I feel I have no ally in the room, I will just be silent. That will be a moment when I’m being silent obviously. The representation of people is a level of silence, of how much you can speak._

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problematic cultures, sexualities, disabilities, gender or races. This notion of ‘difference’ is underscored as negative connotations of inferiority, deviance, inability to perform or adapt, weakness and so on (Jiwani, 1998; 1999). In other words, the reasons for their marginalization is attributed to their differences from the norm, and not on racism or sexism as a form of violence.

Bannerji (1995) calls adding on these minority voices as ‘bourgeois democracy.’ The discourse on ‘difference’ also has to be problematized, and we need to ask who is different from whom? This ‘difference’ is politically significant because ‘different from’ means ‘unequal to’ (Schick, 2002). This ‘difference’ is a social construction based on the ‘others’ divergence from the norm. Dei et al. (2004) states that ‘different’ is constructed in terms of being different from the oppressor. Such dynamics, therefore, create power relationships that are oppressive. As Lorde (1984) suggests, the dominator society conditions people to see human differences in opposition to one another; that is, dominant/subordinate, superior/inferior, good/bad. This form of thinking engenders competition and exclusivity.
The women in the study repeatedly pointed out that even though their disenfranchised voices were invited to the table, their contributions were often viewed as unimportant, and were inferiorized and ignored.

Bobbie suggested some ways to promote inclusion of different perspectives:

*By listening. By understanding what that person has experienced, or needs, or brings with them. By providing support, by asking them what they need, and trying to find ways to meet those needs. By understanding that if I have a certain level of privilege or power, how can I use that to assist the student or the other person, whether they're a student or not.*

Aggie stated that the dominant society in North America valued efficiency over relationships, and that the goal of efficiency often fueled dialogue. As she pointed out, these were the kind of dominant values that would have to be negotiated when developing relationships across social hierarchies:

*So, if you [as dominant] value efficiency and I value relationship, then it’s going to inform how we do things....So I think it’s the connection between values, the differences in world-views, what’s valued as how we are as people in the world, how we function and how we see the world function, and then how we actually have structures that support that...Because I think people of colour [who] come from non-European cultures, and that have values that are really often in conflict, in contradiction to efficiency, such as relationship for example....So again, objectively you cannot say these are positive or negative, but when the structures prevent you from being individualist or collectivist, then you’re not being a full person.*

Aggie suggested that the creation of inclusive spaces should involve strategies that challenge dominator relationships. She termed such spaces as ‘interspaces,’ ‘third spaces,’ ‘spaces for difference.’ Such spaces would be constructed for creative engagement around goals for interconnectedness, rather than adhering to a linear, adversarial or competitive model of engagement.\(^{157}\) These spaces would be inclusive and lateral, not hierarchical or top-down. However, she suggested that when working with conflict and difficult situations, there might be a temptation for group processes to revert to more familiar dominating systems of interaction. Aggie felt this would need attending to, stressing that people might easily slip into ‘familiar’ patterns of communicating when stresses were high. She shared:

*For sure, and I think what would get in the way is if when we are struggling with the creativity of something, of a new framework of these interspaces, and I’ve seen this in women’s groups, is you fall back to what’s familiar. So, that’s the danger...I think it’s to keep on having the framework in front of us. “It’s not going to go like this; Let’s*

\(^{157}\) Minh-ha (1989) suggests that this would involve the creation of interdependent spaces where such spaces belongs to no one, or no one dominating group. This also involves a process of recognition, which ensures that no person remains invisible (Graveline, 1998; hooks, 1994).
keep moving out laterally. Let’s keep interconnecting and don’t let those old models get in the way.

The women interviewed also suggested that the institution needed to start using critical language such as anti-oppression, antiracism, equity and social justice, as part of the transformation process. They argued that if UBC cared about its image and organizational culture, and was worthy of being the best university in all of Canada, then such language would need to be made visible in policies and practices. Bobbie said the following:

That it [inclusion] works from an antiracist, anti-oppressive model. That it’s inclusive. That there’s an opportunity for everybody to be heard, be listened [to], acknowledged. To allow space for different opinions, different perspectives, different approaches, and that everybody there is a valued member regardless of how they identify themselves..... Using the language that’s necessary....the language of antiracism, anti-oppression, equity and social justice.

Maya summarized what inclusive and collaborative relationships might look like:

Mutually beneficial collaborative relationships would model equal power sharing, and would be inclusive, respectful, supportive, and function in a non-oppressive environment.

For many of the women interviewed, working to create authentic inclusion, particularly in partnerships with disenfranchised communities, would require time, commitment and patience. Such partnerships, it was suggested, should be created using an anti-oppression framework. Clara spoke of the importance of using this framework:

For me, if it’s not inclusive, sort of an anti-oppression framework that looks at race, class, age and ableism, then it’s not going to be a space that I want to really work in. That, for me, is about time. It’s about this organization taking the time to develop relationships with the disability community, with the Aboriginal community, with the communities that we are somehow disconnected from....So, yeah, I think universities and community organizations have quite a gap that’s existed for quite a long time, and...because the university is the predominant power, there’s a lot of work that they [the university] needs to do in reaching out. Changing mechanisms about how they operate or engage with the community, recognize the community, value practical work, [all] that needs to be demonstrated. That then the trust level of community will start to form to be able to work on a more trusting alliance kind of way.

Clara shared a difficult experience in creating an anti-oppressive, inclusive process within her community organization. As she outlined, the organization had grappled with how to transform itself structurally in order to ensure the inclusion and participation of a student with a chronic illness. She discovered that creating inclusion is about transforming structures. She shared:

One example might be with one of the first practicum students I had. She has a lot of health concerns and one of the things that we really needed to negotiate was how she could be involved, and how she could actually carry out the work that the program
expected of her to be carrying out, and that I expected her to be carrying out, given her health concerns where there were weeks where she was unable to be involved or unable to participate. So, for me, one of the dynamics that [was] raised in a discussion in the organization was how do we ensure that we are an accessible organization as well? When we want to be effective for all feminist women to be involved in the organization, how do we make sure that women with disabilities, women who are dealing with illness, chronic illness, are able to participate in a meaningful way. Meaningfully inclusive way and at the same time, that the organization keeps on going and isn’t at a standstill each time someone needs to take a break or says, “actually, I can’t do that piece of work.”

As Clara noted, rather than seeing the student as the ‘problem,’ the organization had been forced to re-envision itself in order to create an inclusive environment for this student.

All of the interviewed women hoped that institutional transformation would involve education, training, as well as support of the alignment of systems and practices for the end goal of authentic inclusion. In these ways, dominant structures and practices would start to shift.\(^\text{158}\)

With regard to developing partnerships for critical community service-learning, Soma recommended that such collaborations be directed by a community-centered approach:

*There’s a process for communication that is agreed upon, that its not the traditional boardroom style meeting with a chair and minute [taker] and who says what. The meeting is designed by the community and both partners to say how it needs to work. That it is reflected of how communities sees meetings happen. That’s very important!*

The creation of a Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development was viewed as a mechanism by which such a systems-level approach could be developed in challenging and changing hegemonic systems within the institution. It was clear from the interviews that the women in this study believed that without such transformation, UBC would most likely continue to maintain and perpetuate systemic inequities that would not serve the respectful development of service-learning placements and activities with communities of colour.

**Office for Critical Community Service-Learning at UBC**

The women interviewed hoped the development of an Office for Critical Community Service-Learning would occur in tandem with the development of a Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development at UBC (see Figure 3). They stated that this would also require a clearly mandated vision, direction and set of goals from leadership. In addition, they felt that the development of such an office would require the involvement of students, staff/administrators, and faculty at UBC, as well as community members from partnering

\(^{158}\) It is suggested that organization transformation is a shift that must occur all the way to the core of organizational culture – a systems level approach (Cox, 2001; Kofman & Senge, 1995).
community organizations. The women hoped that such an office would be centrally involved in designing, building and sustaining institutional/community partnerships for critical community service-learning. The women also hoped that this office would be founded upon critical race feminist principles of education for transformative citizenship. The ultimate goal for critical community service-learning, they felt, was to have students develop a critical consciousness and to engage in social transformation practices that would lead to more just and equitable society.

Figure 3. Office for Critical Community Service-Learning: Principal activities for collaboration between communities and institution

Budget and Resources

The women in this study felt that leadership commitment to the development and implementation of critical community service-learning at UBC would require the provision of hard-line budgets and resources. They argued that these financial resources would have to include the costs of the following: creating a physical space for such an office, hiring staff, developing
curriculum materials, education and training, and include all other costs related to supporting partnerships with disenfranchised communities.

Toni emphasized the importance of financial resources:

*Funding, I think the university would have to seriously allocate some resources...to both the ability of people from the university going into the community, to the community [for] things like daycare, or things like an interpreter. To seriously put money into having that actually work for people...either providing more buildings, more classrooms for other kinds of coursework to take into effect. To take these kinds of things, to be able to teach these kinds of things, and I think to put more money into hiring more people from those communities.*

The women interviewed also spoke of the importance of ensuring that the institution and partnering communities shared resources. The women suggested that UBC could provide the human and financial resources for establishing supports necessary to make this development a reality. Communities were also viewed as having a wealth of experience and resources, such as knowing how to work collaboratively and non-hierarchically with diverse communities, and having personnel available to speak in many different languages. The synergy for collaborative possibilities was viewed as exciting.

**Respectful and Accessible Space**

The women interviewed viewed the physical location of UBC in Point Grey, an elite and privileged part of Vancouver, as problematic. UBC’s location in Point Grey is a class marker, one that creates both physical and psychological barriers to ‘housing’ such an office. As Karina explained:

*It’s [UBC] in Point Grey. It’s in one of the richest neighbourhoods. When people drive into UBC, they go across a golf course, and all that, and just again, if we’re talking about unconscious things like race, there are unconscious class markers at UBC.*

Many of the women felt that the present location of UBC in Point Grey would not be an appropriate location for establishing such an office. Situated in an elite part of Vancouver, these women argued that the present campus location would disempower and further marginalize racialized people, many of whom were poor. Karina shared:

*It’s really important [to pay attention to location] because for some people going to UBC, [it] is very disempowering, since it is located in such an elite neighbourhood.*

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159 Communities are also a troubled space in terms of the availability of human and financial resources. Communities are also very diverse such that no one community represents all communities (Campus Compact, 2000).
An office for critical community service-learning located away from the present Point Grey campus, as a satellite office for UBC's service-learning endeavours, would better facilitate accessible collaborations with disenfranchised communities. Maya spoke of this:

*I think UBC needs to be more accessible. It's an isolated location on the extreme West Side of Vancouver, which is not easily accessible. I don't think UBC is making a great effort to reach out into the different communities or have their campuses in different areas of Greater Vancouver to make itself more accessible.*

Anna agreed with this, and specifically spoke of accessibility in terms of transportation:

*I would move the campus to the middle of downtown...If somehow, the campus was in a more urban setting, where it was more part of that community, where people are coming and going....Geographically, I think that's a problem [UBC's Point Grey location] because its not accessible.....Its hard for them [community members] to get there. I think that's one of those implicit barriers. So I'd move it.*

The women interviewed, therefore, suggested that the physical location for such an office needed to be accessible by public transport in order to enable community members to attend classes, meetings and planning sessions. They felt it was important that this office should be centered around the lives of community members. In addition, they recommended that such an office be equipped with childcare facilities, and have a social and kitchen space where food could be prepared and shared.

Minou offered some specific suggestions with regard to making UBC more accessible to different communities:

*I think just simple things like can the university be more accessible to mothers with young children? I know there's the daycare and things, but not everyone can afford the daycare, and I don't know if there's a process in place to subsidize or not, whatever. Maybe community members might feel actually [that] the grounds aren't accessible in terms of differently abled people. Some might feel that learning in a classroom is not appropriate. “Let's hold classes in our own community.” You know, things like that....Would people decide that actually having a rigid three-hour schedule doesn't work for me? Let's have something flexible where it's a combined class and action kind of.*

The women also suggested that the activities for academic teaching and learning be housed within this office. They pointed out that students would also find this location accessible. The women envisioned this centre as a hub for community organizing and activities, and for academic endeavours with the communities.

Minou suggested that if this office were located in community, then it actually would be 'the centre' of education at UBC:

*And really make it a 'centre,' not this off-shoot over there. I guess when I say 'centre' I mean in several senses. It is the centre. This is what's driving what UBC is doing,*
whether it's how UBC is sustaining itself as a community, how it's participating in community, and how it's bringing in community.

Building Relationships across Social Hierarchies

Knowing that power hierarchies and unequal relations underpin social life, how could institutions and disenfranchised communities collaborate in order to take action on matters of concern to these communities? All the women interviewed spoke of the importance of paying attention to power dynamics in building relationships with disenfranchised communities, and saw this as crucial for building honest, genuine and respectful relationships. They repeatedly pointed out that this would be of primary importance to the development of critical community service-learning at UBC. Without conscious attention to power differentials, they argued, building relationships in haste would most likely continue to perpetuate and support asymmetrical power relations that would eventually be detrimental to, both, communities and the institution.

The women were clear that an understanding of the asymmetrical power relationships that existed between institutions of higher education and disadvantaged communities should guide the establishment of any institutional-community relationships. Clara suggested that the first strategy for addressing stratification should be to honour and respect the work being done in the communities, and not to ‘other’ community-centered work. She suggested:

To make our [community] program more effective or more useful then, for the community, for us to be able to have a working relationship that recognizes and reflects the respect that we have for the work being done with the community.

Similarly, Soma suggested that institutional partnerships with disenfranchised communities needed to acknowledge the mutual teaching and learning that can occur between communities and institutions of higher learning:

That service-learning would be about learning from a community as much as giving to a community. That there’s an exchange. That the students have to give, but that the community has something to give them [also].

The women also spoke of the importance of communities taking leadership in directing the partnership. This would require adherence to community-centered protocols around food and clothing, and honouring community values around building relationships. Anna suggested:

160 Langseth (2000) suggests that far too often institutional partnerships with communities for the purposes of service-learning do not adequately focus on building relationships first. Most focus on finding the ‘right programmatic fix,’ and do so with haste.

161 As Walker (1999) suggests, it is the understanding that stratification, not the differences, prevents authentic and respectful connection from taking place.
Creating the relationship and whatever that takes. In terms of a cultural perspective. This is something that to me sometimes could be a subtle thing in terms of etiquette and protocol. Are there refreshments provided, or are you just sitting down with paper and pen and getting to work right away? Is it only about work, or is there allowance for sharing personal stories or checking in affective states?

Toni made some additional suggestions with regard to developing these partnerships from a community-centered approach:

What are the times that people are available? Do we need interpreters to come in? Are there things like daycare and stuff that need to be provided, or what can I do in order to give people the free time to be able to discuss with me, what I can do that is going to include their community in the learning that’s happening at this institution.

Some of the interviewed women reiterated that building relationships across social hierarchies involved becoming educated about the history of colonial relations, and understanding how this history informs contemporary social relations. For these women, this meant that the institution would need to understand its role in nation-state formation, for which systems and practices are set up in ways that disempower racialized peoples.

Toni emphasized the need for UBC to recognize and acknowledge systemic inequities that impacted communities of colour:

Addressing issues of power dynamics between people. Education about the history of that particular community. How is it that they happen to be where they are and why they’re in Canada – whether they’ve come here or they’re from here. What is their social position?…Are they over-represented in the prison system of the criminal justice system? …Are they under-represented in the universities, in certain types of jobs? Or over-represented in other types of jobs?

Minou also elaborated on the importance of understanding the histories of colonial relations, and of understanding the impacts of these histories in society today. She said:

Yeah, it really is [important] because people don’t seem to make that link. We’re taught that history is back there. What happens from now to our end is really what counts, but it isn’t. That’s not it. We don’t just appear in a vacuum. Social relations didn’t just occur in a vacuum. There is a context, there is a wider picture to it.

Aisabee gave a very clear example of the effects of such colonial histories, and the impact of oppression on generations of racialized people. She shared:

You know, the disproportionate groups of women who are living in poverty, who are racialized, that the trauma of that through generation and generation…you can see it. It’s very clear. You know you can walk in the neighbourhood [downtown Eastside], and you know [that] this just didn’t happen yesterday.
Aisabee was suggesting that there is a long legacy of disconnection to self and community because of these colonial histories. The impacts of such histories are self-hate and the alienation of people from their communities.\textsuperscript{162}

So, how do institutions break from the colonial agenda in order to build relationships across social hierarchies? The women suggested that truly listening to what communities identify as their concerns enhance the possibility of building sustainable, long-term relationships and trust. Zaira suggested that listening requires honesty and genuine openness on the part of the privileged, so that challenges are seen as opportunities for self-transformation. She shared how she works on self-transformation:

\begin{quote}
I have to open up myself to becoming vulnerable to whatever it is. Vulnerable to being criticized, vulnerable to being judged, vulnerable to being alienated, and in that, opening up to being vulnerable. Maintaining a level of confidence in myself without becoming defensive or offensive in my demeanor, in my body language, in my words, in my actions.....Yes, being open to being challenged, being open to be judged and evaluated and criticized without becoming defensive. It’s a continual process through and just because I might have been able to do this once doesn’t by any mean I can every time. There’s a lot of effort, energy, risk-taking involved. It doesn’t always end up I get a very positive, loving response. And why should I especially when I’m viewed as the dominant in the picture? So institutions have to be prepared to take a lot of flack.
\end{quote}

Quibbo also spoke of the importance of honesty and openness in addressing injustice. She shared:

\begin{quote}
Going back to my own history, it’s bred in the bones! One speaks up when there is injustice. One tells, if you’re asked question, you’re truthful about it. Values such as justice and truth and honesty and integrity were drilled into me, so I cannot smile at you if there’s nothing to smile about. Its not that I’m being unpleasant, but a smile means a smile, it doesn’t come on and off like, right? I will try to be gentle with people. I hope I exercise some courtesy, but surely I’m not going to say I can’t speak the truth to you because it is not Canadian? So, if you’re talking about difference, multiculturalism and anti-racism, we’re going to have around the table, learn to talk with this difference.
\end{quote}

Maya identified some basic behaviors necessary for building relationships across social hierarchies. She suggested:

\begin{quote}
The first think when you acknowledge somebody is making eye contact, greeting the person, taking time to maybe ask the person, talk to the person and maybe find out what’s happening with them. In meetings, when you say something, it should be heard
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{162} Collins (1991) points out that disconnection to self and to communities is a result of colonialism and capitalism. The tyranny of domination, or capitalism, in meeting the needs of the privileged, that is elite European males specifically, has resulted in a lack of community for disenfranchised groups such as Aboriginal peoples, people of colour, poor people, women (Graveline, 1998). Such capitalism thrives on the backs and labour of such people.
and maybe acknowledged as well as validated... at times when I've made certain suggestions within the organization.... its almost like at the next meeting its not mentioned. So it's ignored basically. So, I think by bringing the issue up again and working around whatever the issue was [is] validating.

The women spoke about being open to seeing different realities of oppression and using one's power and privilege to disrupt hegemonies that support systemic disadvantages.163 Karina shared how she does this:

> It means seeing the space where the [disadvantaged] person faces things that you don't. Seeing the privilege that you have, and the advantages that you have and try to, I think, unlearn some of those. To be aware of those and to unlearn some things that you carry around as unquestioned assumptions... It's more about recognizing the privileges that you gain in a system where assumptions are made on your behalf, and not the other person's. So in effect, you and the system are complicit with each other, and the [disadvantaged] person you are speaking to makes you think about those complexities and those spaces where they don't, [where] their voices aren't heard or their experiences and existence is not recognized.

Building relationships across social hierarchies, according to the women interviewed, would involve building alliances, or coalition building. From their perspectives, co-creating community occurs through the respectful sharing of histories, naming of issues, acknowledgement of power differentials, validation of personhood, and through collaborations.164

Aggie underscored the importance of acknowledging asymmetrical power relations.165 In her opinion, if this asymmetry is taken advantage of, or power is used inappropriately, then relationships will express itself in some form of domination/oppression:

> We don't have to be the same, but if one of the party takes advantage of that asymmetry, then you're into that power. But if you don't, then it's very different. Then it's accepting that the world is asymmetrical, that there is chaos in the world, and that there is never going to be uniformity. Yet, there is something that can be quite equal about it in the sense that, "I accept that asymmetry, and I still respect that person or that community."

Having worked in and with marginal racialized communities for sometime, Clara shared what this form of relationship-building across social hierarchies would entail:

> That for me, really looks like spaces where everybody who's coming to the table is a critical thinker. They're ready to engage in recognizing the power and privilege that they hold, as well as sites of oppression that they might also be identified with, and be

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163 There is an also imperative and ethical duty to disrupt and challenge simple acts of privilege (hooks, 1994).

164 Battistoni (2002) suggests that coalition or alliance building occurs when we first acknowledge the diverse identities and interests within a group, and then build ground together in addressing matters of mutual concern.

165 Maurrassé (2001) also agrees that it is critical to take account of uneven power relationships in the development of service-learning. Given the relative power educational institutions have, there is a need to address these power dynamics between institutions and communities in order to forge more effective ways to enable the voices and the interests of communities to drive the partnerships.
ready to engage across the dynamics of oppression and power and privilege that might happen in coalition space or alliance building space. Which we either don’t have the time to do with most of the coalition and alliance building work that I’ve been a part of because we’re coming together around very specific issues that are timely that need us to carry out action or program or something within a set time frame. And I think it takes a prolonged time to build a level of trust that is required to work in alliance.

Based on her past experience in engaging in alliance work within communities, Clara was not so optimistic about the success of coalition work. She did not feel confident that strategies for building relationships across social hierarchies would be fruitful. She shared:

I don’t know if this is just a very disheartened time. Maybe I’m not feeling really faithful in our ability. But I don’t know right now. I’m actually in a moment in time where I’m actually finding myself more and more wanting to focus on more similar people. Narrow down the focus of who I will or when I will work with different groups. I very rarely work here, in my job here, these days with mixed groups—men and women. There’s been some recent experiences I have, and I’m just so exasperated with the sexism that is rampant in activist communities that I don’t really want to work with men. Have to, don’t really want to. Similarly in feminist organizing with women, I’ve had some really awful experiences of people really, really resisting me. They call themselves feminist, but really, really resisting organizing across race and class and ability, and I’m disheartened and somewhat overwhelmed by it at this time.

It was re-iterated again and again by the women interviewed that developing critical community service-learning must involve representation from the communities that UBC partners with. It was also emphasized that respectful group processes and guidelines need to be put into place so that the binaries of dominance and subordination are not perpetuated. Aggie summarized:

So, how do you create a team? You actually hire people from these communities and you kind of have good quality, but you also want to give those communities a chance, and you want to have procedures. Procedures and rules that won’t perpetuate the colonization, the abuse, the oppression, you know!

The interviewed women were clear that building relationships for critical community service-learning needed to involve the co-creation of community, where real divisions across social hierarchies were acknowledged, addressed and negotiated with respect. They felt that this could only occur when relationships were underpinned by a commitment to an authentic alliance, and to the development of social justice strategies aimed at transforming the world.

166 It was noted throughout this research that community organizations also experience difficulties in coalition and alliance building projects.

167 Freire (1970, 1999) suggests that building respectful relationships across social hierarchies is part of revolutionary praxis for unity, by both acting together for "in unshakable solidarity" (p. 110) for social change. Every person in this relationship is therefore changed in this process.
Community-Centered Agenda

All of the women pointed out that, due to the very fact that institutions have tremendous power and privilege, they must be willing to relinquish power, in order to build relationships across social hierarchies that support and enhance the well-being of disenfranchised communities. For this reason, they further argued that critical community service-learning required a community-centered approach, as did the development institutional/community partnerships. They noted that in order to fully understand the root causes of oppression, the voices of these disenfranchised individuals and communities had to be heard.

As Aisabee suggested, due to the long histories of exploitation, leading to mistrust, communities were often skeptical about partnering with institutions of higher education:

*I would say that communities, marginal communities, are very scared of the university and are very cautious of treading in those places.*

Most of the women suggested that the concerns of communities must be placed front and centre in the planning process, and those communities should have control of the service-learning agenda for students.

Anna suggested that leadership for engagement is a shared process. She explained:

*First of, the leadership should definitely not necessarily come from the institution or an administrator just in terms of again, not perpetuating a really hierarchical process, or unbalanced process in terms of who has influence and power in creating the service-learning structure.... It has to be shared. It can't just be the institution dictating what it wants to get out of the partnership.*

Without community involvement in the planning and development of service-learning, partnerships would not likely be sustained in the long-term, as Soma explained:

*Well, if we don't have community members at the table, then whatever decisions are made are not going to be sustained; they're going to fall flat on the table.... they fall apart if we don't have community involved especially if we design something for the community where the community's going to be involved or impacted.*

Ranjit agreed, and elaborated:

*It needs to grow right from the centre of the community...what is their strength and what are their issues, and have it grow right from the centre no matter how long it takes, because otherwise it's always going to be top-down or it's always going to be institutions or universities, people who've done the theories, people who've read*

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168 Coyne (2002) defines a community development approach as community-centered, where the lived experiences, thoughts and wisdom of community members are fully expressed, where everyone is valued for their skills and their contributions. She adds, “Community-based development is what happens when a group of people comes together to make decisions and take action to build on their strengths, address issues that emerge in their community, and improve their community in the best way for them” (p. 38).
about it and heard about it and have ideas about it... [This] won't work, so I think it needs to grow from within.

Bobbie also agreed:

*It begins with marginalized voices; to get those perspectives that aren't always there. So, whether that's in the community, or at the university, so rather than a top-down approach, it would be bottom-up.... Then they're [community] actively involved in the process, and that they continue to have voice, and they continue to guide the direction of the [service-learning] program.*

Aisabee, who worked for a feminist non-profit organization, spoke of the importance of learning as much as possible about the particular disenfranchised community, and of the importance of unlearning dominance:

*One of the ways that can work if there would actually need to be, through academia and this community, a very strong consistent, respectful system put into place... There is a level of respect you need to have where you do as much learning and reading as possible before you engage in it [partnerships]. If academia is to put something like that in place, they [the academy] would have to have that [preparation].*

Karina also suggested that communities must define what their needs were, and that institutions needed to listen closely to these voices and not impose their dominant agendas on the communities.169 She felt that this would require an understanding of the relationship between dominance and subordination, and would require that institutions shared their power and privilege in order to work collaboratively with communities to address their specific concerns. She suggested:

*I really think the key elements would be listening and asking what the needs of the community are as opposed to imposing UBC’s needs on others, or what they think other people need. I would think the key elements also is in the sharing of power, and this is again, I stress it constantly because it is very hard to share power when you are used to a certain way of doing things and a certain status.*

Minou had similar things to say about the importance of UBC giving up power in order to be responsive to the community agenda. She stated:

*UBC cannot go to a community and say, “We’re doing it this way to help, to collaborate with you, but it can only be done our way.” There has to be a process of letting go and understanding that maybe the community knows much better what it needs, and in that way UBC can be responsible and not going in with their own agenda. I think that might be difficult for UBC. I mean it would be difficult for anybody really, so, probably even more so if UBC is coming from a position of power...*

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169 Coyne’s (2002) study speaks to ways in which communities are silenced. She suggests that one common ways is when educational professionals tell community members what is right for them. This results in intimidation and silencing of community voices.
Minou also stated that in addition to giving up power, UBC would have to be self-reflective, and understand that it would always be somewhat of an outsider:

Which would look like a self-reflexive process...with an understanding that when you’re doing this kind of work, especially if you’re coming in from a position of power, that you need to understand that you’ll never really be a part of that community. You’re going to be an outsider. You need to feel ok with that when you’re going in. That the work you’re doing is collaborative. Not “I’m doing this work because you can’t” [Instead], “I’m doing this work with you.”

Many of the women interviewed stated that communities knew exactly what their needs were and what had to be done, but often did not have the resources to take action. This was, they felt, something that UBC would have to understand. As Aggie shared:

The communities, they often know what to do. They don’t have the money. So, to start on the premise of well, “They need to learn,” well, they don’t need to learn. They know exactly what is needed, but who’s listening, right?

Maya shared similar views. She added that institutional-community partnerships might easily slide into dominant ways of operating because of internalized oppression, or colonialism. She suggested that institutions should keep listening to the voices in communities:

It’s important for the institution to listen to members of the community and let them take the lead. Certain communities who have experienced colonial relationships may be skeptical, and untrusting of the institution. As well, in communities that experience internalized colonialism may be hesitant and/or uncomfortable in taking the lead. Listening to communities, and gaining a critical understanding of these dynamics would be necessary to achieve healthy partnerships, and equal power sharing would need to be fostered and sustained.

Bobbie added that partnerships must be built on respect and be based on anti-racist, anti-oppressive approaches. This would ensure that community voices were heard and respected. She stated:

...my concern would be [if I were a community member], “Am I just part of an experiment? How am I being taken advantage of.” So that would be important for me is that I’m making a, that I’m a valued member of the team, the program. That I’m not being taken advantage of. That the institution isn’t appropriating what I may have to contribute. That I’m respected, and again, going back to how the group works, that we’re all functioning from an antiracist, anti-oppression approach, and that it is truly a collaborative process, and that if I have something different to say, then I’m being heard.

McKnight (1996) also states that the language of ‘need’ defines individuals in disenfranchised communities as deficient or lacking. ‘Needs’ is also seen to reside within individuals rather than the system, failing to recognize the political, social and economic factors, which create such ‘needs.’ This in turn reinforces assumptions and constructions of the ‘other.’ Eby (1998) suggests that this understanding of ‘need’ ignores resources and strengths already based in communities.
Clara felt that utilizing popular education in identifying community issues, exploring solutions to these problems, and even addressing systemic issues, would be the best strategy to use in creating a community-centered agenda. She suggested:

...in my version of popular education, you really strive to work with the community to identify issues, what's wrong, the problems and strategies for coping with those problems, and [exploring] potential solutions for addressing those problems....So, your strategies for coping daily and then your solutions or your plans to try and address the structural systems that create the problems.

The women interviewed also suggested that continuous dialogue would need to occur between communities and the institution in order to sustain community-centered approaches to development. If UBC partnered for the purpose of fulfilling its agenda alone, this would be exploitative and considered a continued form of colonization. Toni emphasized the importance of communication and respectful understanding as key to this process, adding that it would take time to create trust:

You'd obviously have to have a lot of communication between the two [institution and community], and it would have to occur in a form and time when people from those communities are available. It would have to happen in a manner that's safe. I think, and I guess by that I mean that people from the community feel that they can put their issues and concerns forward without feeling as if they're going to be marginalized....I think it's especially hard because dealing with communities of colour and First Nations communities, who may often have been marginalized quite frequently by the university, it would probably taken them a while to feel like it's ok, that this is real and it's ok to voice my concerns, and to say what I feel is going wrong here. Those things can take years before people even feel safe to go to the place, and....it would really, really be important to impress upon the university that that's a very strong reality and they [UBC] would just have to wait it out, and have faith in it.

The women interviewed from the communities spoke of the importance of communities having control in decision-making for the development of critical community service-learning partnerships. Communities were described as being very self-protective. They knew what issues and concerns they faced, and they knew how to go about addressing these. They had to be respected, therefore, for the work that they were already doing. Aisabee explained:

We've very protective of our community. We're very protective of who will walk in and who will walk out, and who will appropriate what. I worked in the downtown eastside and researchers always wanted to come in and interview the women, and we are really very protective, and it was our role as a board to do that, although it was a very maternal role and a very dangerous role. But it was a role I felt we had to play. I think in that sense the community needs to be respected for their time and work they are doing.

Some of the women interviewed argued that, in practical terms, utilizing a community-centered approach to the development of critical community service-learning would involve creating
accessibility mechanisms for community participation. They felt this could be achieved by providing interpreters, arranging child-care and transportation, and by providing food. Aisabee shared her experience, both, with UBC and in her community:

*When I was at UBC, we never really dealt with those things [accessibility]. We never had ASL interpretation and yet we are much poorer in the community and we provide that way more, and from all the work that I’ve done with women, the thing that women say from the community, “If you want us to be included, if you want us to come, we need childcare, we need food, we need it to be accessible, we need transportation.” So I take all that seriously in the work that I do and actually refuse to speak publicly unless those things are provided.*

Bobbie suggested that if UBC did not pursue the development of partnerships with communities from a non-hierarchical, anti-oppression and community-centered approach, then many communities would probably not participate in the development of critical community service-learning.

*If I [as a community member] felt strongly enough about this project with the university, and...we don’t see eye to eye, then I may take it to somebody else at the university and try to state my position. “I value the program, that these factors are important for me to be included in the project, and without that...unless you’re on board with them, then I’m not interested in participating.”*

As the women saw it, critical community service-learning required that the communities themselves direct the partnership and play a vital role in planning how community issues were to be addressed and solved.

**Preparing the Institution for Critical Community Service-Learning**

How can an institution such as UBC prepare itself for critical community service-learning in ways that will not perpetuate inequities? Maya suggested that the institution would have to acquire an understanding of how systemic inequities manifest in oppression and disadvantage. She explained:

*The challenges of communities are as diverse as the communities themselves. New immigrant communities of colour, for example, face multiple barriers and challenges. They struggle with racism, classism, xenophobia, language acquisition, adapting to a foreign culture and environment, finding suitable work, isolation, poverty and trauma, to name a few.*

Preparation for critical community service-learning requires that the institution critiques its own hegemonic systems and practices, and partner with communities in visionary ways that would not perpetuate the subordination of community members. Aggie suggested:
I think the model of education, that [the service-learning] program has to be very creative and well designed based on whatever critical education theory and community processes and community education. And some new theories and some new frameworks about academic and community relationships.

Soma suggested that preparation begins with understanding and developing empathy for the lived experiences of partnering community members. She suggested:

...developing a frame of reference from the people at the grassroots level so that you're walking in their shoes for a bit to understand exactly where their perspective comes from and looks like.

The women interviewed suggested that such planning and development requires diverse representation from the institution, including students, staff and faculty, as well as community members as stakeholders. In this way, diverse views would be represented and one token person would not be relied on to speak for the entire community. Soma explained:

*We need diverse people at the table. By ‘diverse’ I mean different things. I don’t just mean people who work in different departments of the university or the administration, or the campus, but people who are affected by whatever the issue is. So, it could be students, it could be parents of students, it could be students who are parents, it could be people who commute, people who live on campus, staff, faculty, and then within all of those, it includes people from different race and ethnic backgrounds, people with different abilities, people of different sexual orientation, people of different gender – all the diversity that we can think of, and age as well. All the different representations so that we’re not expecting one person to represent the whole community so to speak, but that together, as a diverse group, we have many varied opinions and life experiences, and that really enriches what we can bring to the table. Then, we’re planning and working from a place that is informed, and where we may have disagreements, but then we get to a place of then sharing and feeling that we’re connected....we really come together.*

All of the women interviewed felt that some sort of preparation was needed - education and training of faculty and students - before they engaged in any critical community service-learning programs.\(^{171}\) Most importantly, though, students require preparation for entering disadvantaged communities. As suggested again and again by the women interviewed, such preparation would need to include the anti-oppression education and training of any participants involved from the institution. Minou shared her views on importance of this:

*You never send people out to do whatever kind of work without proper training. You don’t have doctors practicing without having the training, without putting in the hours. So I don’t see why you would send students into the community like that. It’s not fair to the students and the community – especially the community. It really isn’t*

\(^{171}\) Howard (2001) suggests that preparing students is important to provide them with support for entering the community. This involves an introduction to the community and its geographic area, to the agency and its staff and clients, and to the work that the students will undertake.
fair, and students should know what they’re getting into. Why, for example, they might feel that the [community] environment is hostile. It could be there’s historical reasons for that, you know? Then the student leaves thinking all people of colour are bad, you know? Or the community starts thinking, “We really don’t need any more patronizing academics coming into our community.” Yeah, it needs [education] to be done. Even if it can’t be offered as a course, then it should be a mandatory workshop thing before you send the students out.

Soma spoke of the critical importance of not sending those students who clearly had negative biases and assumptions, into community placements. She suggested that students with such biases needed to be challenged. Otherwise, they might further burden and marginalize partnering community members. She stated:

*We don’t put somebody into a placement who has some clear biases and unable to confront them or deal with them. You just don’t do it. The benefits and the needs of the community need to come first. The needs of the service-learning contract and the student and the institution come second. That would be my bias.*

Maya agreed with this, and added that working collaboratively with communities would require a lot of experience on the part of the student. She wondered how UBC would equip itself to form such collaborative relationships. Maya spoke about the need to actively engage theory to practice. She shared:

*Because first of all, I think working with the community needs a lot of experience. Being right there and you know, I don’t think a student just from theory learning or whatever they have can actually go there and just meet that specific need. I think it will take a lot more than that.*

Aisabee shared her own experience of being a student at UBC, and later, of working in community. She stated that while she was a student at UBC, there was nothing that prepared her for the role that she currently had in the community. It was only the marginal spaces of support on campus for women of colour at the time that she was a student that provided her with some of the tools necessary for working with marginalized communities.

*There was nothing, nothing that prepared me in the studies at UBC for the work that I do today. The only thing that contributed was the marginal spaces that we created on campus. [Other than that] there was nothing. Nothing.*

Aisabee went on to explain the necessity and importance of some foundational anti-oppression education to prepare students from institutions of higher education to work in disenfranchised communities. Without this education, she feared the community members themselves would be asked to provide such education, as she currently does:

*I work right now with about seven UBC students, and I’m just starting to explain to them what heterosexism is, which I think is something academia should have taught.*
Anti-oppression education was seen as critical for understanding the many systems of oppression that marginalize individuals and communities of colour. Toni spoke of the necessity of institutional transformation, which she saw as a critical, preparatory step in the pursuit of partnerships with communities. Toni spoke of this:

*I think I would tell the university that they have to keep in mind that in doing this [developing critical community service-learning] and in creating partnerships with communities of colour, that it’s not just for celebratory reasons. It’s for reasons of actually looking at how these communities may or may not be marginalized within the university setting, and what has to happen on a day-to-day basis in classrooms, with professors and students that seriously addresses the concerns that these communities have.*

Quibbo suggested that the institution begin with a pre-implementation phase, which might include the development of the necessary skills and knowledges for working with different communities. She suggested that these skills and knowledges would serve as scaffolding, supporting the development of partnerships:

*Well, I guess if to begin with, since this is going to be a planned project of an institutional project, I would expect that there would be some design of pre-implementation phase. What sorts of skills, what sorts of knowledge, what sorts of attitudes do we as UBC personnel need in order to work with different communities?...I would think that that whole set of knowledge should be very much central. Except that this time I think it should be infused with a whole dollop of cross-cultural, intercultural, and historical knowledge about the different groups, and I think if this were done ahead of time, where there was a language that people shared in order to name the dynamics that are happening, or not happening, and to help themselves, because we have to all share the responsibility for each other.... So, its like scaffolding....So, in preparing to work with communities, we have to think about what kind of scaffold do we need to build, and that is something that people have to sit down and talk about...*

Karina argued that preparing UBC for partnerships with communities would require that the institution understand that community concerns likely were the result of systemic inequities:

*I guess there would have to be an awareness of local issues. Just UBC would have to go and figure out what are the local issues. And in a way that’s why maybe this is good. Because we are kind of sequestered over there in our own little world, and we have no idea about a lot of things that are happening outside. So, it would need, UBC would need to spend a lot of time listening to peoples concerns.*

Anna reiterated the need to honour the knowledge-base of communities, which she felt would be foreign to the institution:

*Often at the community level, there’s a wealth of experience that the university won’t have. In terms of knowing how to work within different communities, or inter-communities.*
Aisabee summarized the importance of preparing the institution for critical community service-learning:

*First of all, I think that when UBC does these things [service-learning], it should not just go and do them, like you have to almost prepare students. Again, when you go to another country, you can't just go there and teach people... You need to have a certain amount of self-learning and self-reflection before that, before you go and do things, not just go and do it. And you need to be able to be open, to be open to the fact that you're going to be questioned, and that your tools and your frameworks may not be applicable... It would be good for the institution to realize it's limitations... and you have to listen to the voices of others, and let them have a leadership position as well.*

For some of the women in this study, preparing the institution for critical community service-learning would require a call for faculty champions already engaged in community partnerships. Such partnerships already exist in faculties such as dentistry, pharmacy, medicine, counselling psychology and social work. As Soma suggested:

*We already have service-learning happening on campus, but it's just not called that. So, it would be important to speak to those communities on campus doing that. Like the faculty of social work who regularly have students do academic work and then go out to the community and do a placement and are serving communities. To dialogue with them... [so that] we're not reinventing [the wheel] or calling it something else. [That] we're learning from their mistakes and not repeating. Also, not creating competition for placements that we're working together to collaborate. So, there are lots of faculties on campus that are doing [service-learning], not just one. They're all doing it – dentistry, for example, so how do we work together? Is it a matter of just recalling it or renaming the meaning of all these practicum placements as service-learning? Can we house them all under one title and integrate issues of equity in there?*

**Sustainable Critical Community Service-Learning Placements**

The women involved with community organizations that were already partnered with UBC identified a number of concerns for their communities. Their concerns were primarily related to the time allocated for community placements, in comparison to the time allocated for theoretical learning. They believed that a fuller understanding of the social issues faced by communities would require a more extended immersion in those very communities. Clara, for instance, had students from UBC working with her community organization for approximately four hours a week over the period of one academic term – approximately three months. She questioned whether such limited time in community placements could foster an in-depth understanding of anti-oppression practice. She, and other women from the community, suggested that to support critical community service-
learning placements, extended time commitments would be required to ensure that, both, community organizations and students in these placements would benefit. Clara explained:

_In terms of recognition and support of the program within the university itself, one of the questions that I’ve raised again and again over the years with the, I guess, the two different professors I’ve worked with during the program, is why, or how they expect women [students] to engage in practicum and really develop some kind of in-depth understanding about the practice of feminist work in four hours a week? … I’d say probably just at the point when students are potentially going to start to get some kind of picture, then the program is over … So that kind of structural dynamic I have questioned about – the value of feminist thought and feminist practice with the school [UBC]._

For Clara, as a feminist practitioner, the practice of feminist or anti-oppression organizing was central to community-based education, and she did not believe that the limited hours students were required to engage in community placements would benefit either the community or the students. Clara also stated that even a four-month placement might be inadequate in giving students a full understanding of what it meant to be working within a community organization. She explained:

_For me, it’s more about potentially that value of practicum work than the theoretical knowledge base that’s being developed [cognitive education]. So in terms of partnerships with community, that’s one of the dynamics that I have to evaluate every year – whether I think simultaneously students will get enough out of their experience of how many hours … as well as the [community] organization getting the benefit of that persons [students] time as well. That it’s an effectively mutually beneficial experience, I guess._

Clara elaborated by noting that many of the students placed in her community organization stayed longer than the one academic term of four months. Many students stayed past the end of the term in April, and worked until the mid or the end of May to carry out pieces of work that they commenced in January. Clara explained that students often did this in order to fully engage with the work and the organizations. She suggested that it was important that the university make the institutional changes needed to enable the establishment of sustainable partnerships with communities.\(^{172}\) She argued that extensive time commitments were necessary for students to really be able to engage with the issues, and to work effectively with communities.\(^{173}\)

Clara went so far as to suggest that mutually beneficial partnerships might require placements of five days a week for one whole academic term (such as co-op placements that occur

\(^{172}\) Maurrasse (2001) also states that institutionally, course schedules are not designed for year-long relationships with communities.

\(^{173}\) Many in the field, such as Battistoni (2002) suggest integrating community service-learning as a requirement for graduation offers a solution to these concerns. Another solution would be creating a community service-learning major or minor, which would allow for extended placements in communities in order to integrate the theory and practice necessary for transformative citizenship.
over an entire academic term), or two days a week over a period of an entire academic year\textsuperscript{174}. For this purpose, she also thought that an Office for Critical Community Service-learning should be located within communities, where theory and practice could be integrated within the context of community. She shared:

*Three months is just a really tight snippet where organizations might be in crisis, or they might be operating really well, but the dynamics of particularly community-based and community driven work comes into effect, you need a bit more time to really witness and engage with that, or learn something about that dynamic in the practical sense, right? Because I think we do a lot of learning theoretically [in the academy] about what that [community practice] looks like, but there’s a difference when you get into the streets. My thing would be that they stretch it [service-learning placements] over a year…. I think [academic] terms should be done in the community. You should, and I still think that’s short, but I think being in the community and actually, where possible, sticking with a particular organization or a couple of organizations day in and day out.*

**Collaborative Teaching, Assessment and Evaluation**

The women interviewed for this study thought that service-learning programs would benefit from co-teaching strategies, in which the views and expertise of both the academy and communities could be shared.\textsuperscript{175} Many women thought this would help reduce the hierarchical positioning between institutions of higher education and the communities they were involved with\textsuperscript{176}. Minou suggested that sharing the work of teaching, assessing and evaluating critical community service-learning programs would encourage the practice of sharing power and privilege. She spelled out how this alliance work could be fostered:

*Yeah, I think for it to truly be community driven and participatory, to be any alliance kind of framework, the community has to be actively involved in whatever process, whether it’s the teaching or facilitating process. Whether it’s the evaluation or the disseminating of how this evaluation is going to get done.*

\textsuperscript{174} Williams (2002) describes institutional partnerships with communities that support the academic structure and agenda, those where placements provide exposure to community service for the duration of the academic term, as ‘thin’ placements. ‘Thick’ placements, on the other hand, ground students deeply into the politics of community experience, where placements provide deep experiences within communities that benefit those communities. Eby (1998) suggests that ‘thin’ service-learning placements have the potential to do harm to individuals because short-term relationships are developed. These relationships may be very significant to individuals residing in disenfranchised communities, particularly women and children. The ending of service-learning relationships may be traumatic, adding to the fragmentation of poor communities. All of these factors have to be taken into consideration in building partnerships.

\textsuperscript{175} Kelly and Wolf-Wendel (2000) suggest that too often service-learning relationships create ‘us and them’ divisions in not collaborating on the strategies and goals for service-learning.

\textsuperscript{176} Jones (2003) suggests that institutions must recognize the expertise that exists in many forms and sites within community organizations, and that recognizing this requires a shift in thinking. An example of this would be recognizing that community staff has the expertise to teach about issues facing their communities.
Mutually collaborative relationships might involve joint strategic planning, curriculum development, co-teaching, research, assessment and evaluation. Many of the women felt that participation in this array of activities might be onerous for community members, and they believed that community members should be given monetary compensation equivalent to that provided for faculty at UBC. Others thought that some form of acknowledgement, other than money, might also be agreed on. In general, the interviewed women felt it was crucial that partnered community members received compensation equal to that which institutional academics and staff received for such educational endeavours; they also believed this was vital for sustaining mutually beneficial partnerships. Aggie suggested:

*I think the compensation might vary. I mean, for myself, maybe it’s not being paid. Maybe it’s recognition of some sort, maybe it’s increased participation, maybe it’s, you have a column in the newsletter.*

Clara wondered how communities would be involved in the development of critical community service-learning, and how they would be valued and recognized for their contributions in supporting the education of UBC students:

*There’s a whole other piece of that picture which is an emphasis on the community to support the educational experience of the students and the dynamic of I guess, in part who gets recognized for the work, or how that work is valued in the context of UBC and educational institutions. Are we just places where students can go and engage in service-learning, or who are we in the development of programs? Who are we in the choice of who gets into programs? A greater level of responsibility than with the partnerships that they’re [UBC] trying to build in the community.*

Clara had concerns about recent government cuts to women’s organizations. As a member of a small and poor organization in the community, she wondered about institutional-community collaborations, and about institutional accountability within these collaborations:

*So one of the dynamics for me that plays out is, if there’s an expectation that the community needs to engage in a level of training with students, how is the university financially compensating the organization for that? The students are contributing [financially] to the university for the experience of being in the community, so there’s an interesting dynamic in there, and there’s something in there that need to be a bit explored further for me. That’s one level, so there’s the financial aspect, which to me is also about some level of recognition about the kinds of work that is valued, and who gets valued for the work. And then... simultaneously we’re trashed by most of [everyone], just all over the place, the media, the provincial government at this time, etc., and how then does UBC step up [as an ally] for the [community organization]?*

Clara spoke of the importance of financial support to individuals in partnered community organizations. She suggested that community members needed to be involved in developing and implementing the educational agenda for critical community service-learning. She added that
community members needed to be centrally involved in the work of curriculum development, education, and in the training and supervision of students so that the practice of anti-oppression work could be aligned with community-based principles and values.

Soma agreed with Clara, and emphasized the need for communities to have control over decision-making with regard to the co-teaching and supervision of students. She stated:

*Have the community define what that means for them and how they would like it to happen. That the community decides who supervises the students, and it doesn’t necessarily mean that it’s going to be someone who has the same education or higher education. They could have less education......The academic institution may have to provide their own supervisor that meets those credentials or their standards so that that’s also in place. But when they’re in the community, they need to follow the direction and will of the community. Otherwise, it won’t work.*

Maya did not think that community members would necessarily have the time to participate in co-teaching, given that many community providers worked several jobs in different places and for low wages, and were, therefore, often stretched and close to burn-out. She did feel that, ideally, co-teaching and evaluation would be a good thing, but she felt it might not be feasible because of already heavy workload demands on them. She stated, however, that she would like to see communities involved with teaching and other related activities, in order to meet the educational needs of students engaged in critical community service-learning placements. She said:

*Joint teaching and evaluation would be effective considering its feasibility. Teaching components could be included while the student is working with a community.*

All the women strongly stated that the learning agenda for critical community service-learning needed to include recognition of the structural issues that impacted the disenfranchised. In addition, they argued that critical community service-learning needed to include an activist element, so that the academy, and students, could serve as advocates for communities.

Joint assessment and evaluation was also viewed necessary to determine the success of these partnerships and critical community service-learning programs. These were seen as important in determining what the students, institution and communities were getting out of the partnerships, and for identifying how these partnerships needed to change and evolve in order to improve. Many women hoped that both the communities and institution would be involved in the development, data collection and analysis of service-learning programs. Clara suggested:

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177 According to Cox (2001), one of the key principles of any organizational endeavour is the need to include both research and measurement as necessary elements. Successful and effective partnerships must involve mutually agreed upon strategies for assessment (Jones, 2003). Communities may be interested in participatory action research and collaborations with educational institutions, where they are intimately involved in identifying the research projects that would best serve their needs and goals (Battistoni, 2002).
Again, I think everyone [community and the academy] would need to be involved in developing and assessing and evaluation....because that’s how you learn to get a clearer picture. Because everyone has a kind of different stake in it, in the program.

Collaborative assessments, it was suggested by the women, may help institutions to move from a model of ‘doing for’ by engaging communities more directly affected by service-learning programs, and by having communities determine how to respond to findings. They also felt assessments might help provide another form of ‘voice’ for community members. The women noted that assessments of critical service-learning projects were crucial for generating information that could be used to better redress identified issues. Collaborative teaching, assessment and evaluation were all viewed as essential for the development of sustainable partnerships.

Advisory Committee

The creation of a critical community service-learning advisory committee at UBC was also viewed as an important element in the development of critical community service-learning. It was suggested that such an advisory committee be initiated at the presidential level, and include individuals from the communities, instructors, staff and students. A diversity of voices would also ensure collective representation. It was suggested by some of the women interviewed that the terms of reference for such a committee should include joint strategic planning for the development of critical community service-learning at UBC, providing recommendations, guidance and feedback, and more generally, fostering respectful dialogue between institutions and communities. Minou thought that a 'steering' committee should be set up. She said:

Even it its like a 'steering committee' where people from various organizations or communities or initiatives, or whatever, who've been involved, who really want to make sure that the integrity of the project or the, however it looks like, stays intact. To keep it going. It's not going to be, "We'll send people in and we'll sit around the table and decide." It will take active work.

Clara felt that an advisory committee at UBC should have some leadership and decision-making capabilities, and be charged with overlooking the development and implementation of this educational strategy. She suggested:

Obviously, I think, to legitimize the dialogue and to support the program to engage in that kind of dialogue with community. There needs to be some infrastructure, some mechanism for honouring that within the university setting itself.

Soma also spoke of the importance of having community voices as part of such an advisory committee in setting policy. She suggested:
I guess I would want to make sure that they [UBC] are consulting with community before the development of policy. That they have community members on the task force [advisory committee] as they develop policy, as equal members....And that there’s diversity in that group so that members are representative.

Women in this study spoke of the importance of having critical thinkers involved on the advisory committee. They believed such individuals could be found within departments and units that were already involved in critiquing hegemony. The women identified such spaces as the Equity Office and International House at UBC, spaces where people of colour were currently involved in anti-racism and anti-oppression work. Toni spoke about these links:

I would imagine that offices like that [Equity Office, International House], that are very specifically geared towards undoing some of these imbalances, or creating opportunities, would be some of the places I would turn for support. And for their access to the different communities...I think that I would argue that most people in those offices and buildings are part of marginalized groups anyway, and that those departments are often marginalized.

Others suggested locating individuals who are known for their anti-oppressive educational strategies and approaches to building sustainable partnerships. Such individuals, it was suggested, could be found in Education, Sociology and Women’s Studies. Student groups and organizations at UBC were also mentioned as possible supports for the development of critical community service-learning. By participating on an advisory committee, these people could monitor partnerships and guard against exploitation of disenfranchised communities and power differences in decision-making processes.

In summary, institutionalizing critical community service-learning at UBC requires an examination of hegemonic systems in place that subordinate racialized people. Establishing a Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development would do just this. Through institutional transformation, such a centre would engage UBC students, staff and faculty in decolonizing the academy. This could be accomplished by ensuring employment equity for racialized staff and faculty, curriculum and pedagogical transformation, access and equity for racialized students, anti-oppression education, training and development, and the alignment of policies and practices for authentic inclusion. Simultaneously, an Office for Critical Community Service-Learning could be established, situated away from the Point Grey campus. The creation of such an office would require a mandate from senior leadership, budget and resources to create a physical space and hire staff, assurance that such a space would be respectful and accessible to all involved, and the development of sustainable relationships across social hierarchies by centering community concerns. The institution would also need to prepare for the development of such partnerships by devising mechanisms that would ensure that critical community service-learning
placements benefited both communities and the institution. These mechanisms might include collaborative teaching, assessment and evaluation, and the guidance and support of an advisory committee.
CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study proposes a model for the development of service-learning at the University of British Columbia (UBC) from a critical race feminist perspective. This proposed model will involve building collaborative partnerships and service-learning placements with disenfranchised communities for the purpose of addressing identified community concerns. Who are these disenfranchised communities? Typically they are individuals and groups located in the ranks of the poor. In British Columbia, individuals and communities who are disenfranchised are predominantly Aboriginal people, people of colour, women, and people with disabilities (*British Columbia moves backwards on women’s equality*, 2003).

Higher education, however, remains a vehicle for nation-building where white, male and class hegemonies continue to be supported through cultural, political, social and economic inequities. Systems of capitalism, profit, individual enterprise and competition also reinforce these inequities. Efforts at advancing the rights of the disadvantaged remain relegated to the margins. So the central question for this study has arisen from this dissonance: how can this institution of higher education develop service-learning programs and partnerships that meet community concerns, when it seem oblivious to inequities within the institution itself?

Summary of the Study

Utilizing critical race feminist theory, fourteen women (UBC students, staff, faculty and non-university community members) who identified as women of colour were interviewed for this study. They identified with the term ‘women of colour.’ This identification supports their lived experience within a gendered and racialized social organization in a North American political, social and economic context. Their multiple and fluid identities were comprised of dimensions such as cultural and ethnic origin, colour of skin, accent, racialized features, sexuality, class, education, age, marital status, place of employment, as well as identity dimensions and experiences of feminism, settlers on Aboriginal land, and resistance to white dominance. Their ages ranged from twenty-five to fifty-nine years.
These women spoke of daily racialized micro-aggressions, oppression and trauma to their physical, emotional, intellectual, social and spiritual well-being. They relayed experiences of inequities, supported by dominant practices of surveillance, monitoring and hostility towards them. They disclosed feelings of anger, pain, frustration, shame, humiliation, isolation, disappointment and deep sadness resulting from their marginalization. They spoke of their exclusion and the disadvantages that arose from racial, gender and class distortions and stereotypes. These manifested in experiences of disrespect, invisibility and dehumanization. The women stated that academia supported and reinforced cognitive and academic imperialism, which further marginalized them. They also spoke of life-sustaining spaces within and outside the institution, spaces of possibility and hope where critical thought is engaged. The following were some of the strongest themes that emerged from their counter-stories.

The women spoke of being visible, yet invisible: they pointed out that they were visible because of markers such as gender, skin colour, language, accent and hair texture. These markers of identity or racialization constructed them as ‘other,’ which, in turn, deligitimized them within the dominant worldview. These very real acts of racialization excluded them from being heard, respected, promoted and so on, effectively negating their very presence. Such ‘otherings,’ they felt, were constructed on the basis of stereotypes, through which they were seen and treated as inferior, incapable, lacking leadership capabilities, unintelligent, deviant, immoral, angry, trouble makers, lazy, dangerous and perceived as being ‘enemies within.’ Such perceptions systemically discredited, dishonoured and dehumanized them. They spoke of grave consequences to being ‘othered,’ leading to political, social and economic disadvantages and inequities within the academy.

The women spoke of being surveyed, policed and scrutinized, of being watched, tracked or made to account for their whereabouts. In addition, they spoke of often being evaluated by their superiors or supervisors according to standards of dominant practice, and being judged as falling short of these standards. To counter such assumptions, stereotypes and ‘othered’ constructions, they worked even harder and pushed themselves beyond what was expected of them in the hopes of not being perceived and treated as having personal and professional deficiencies.

Even though the women interviewed worked extremely hard to challenge these ‘othered’ constructions, they often experienced further oppression. Their hard work was viewed as problematic, and their contributions were often made invisible. They were reprimanded for going above and beyond the call of duty, and told that they could not set boundaries. Perceived as not having management skills, and being incapable of leadership, they were not considered for promotion or leadership positions. When they challenged such hegemonic practices, they were further marginalized by being reprimanded, given poor performance evaluations, offered few
opportunities for professional development or other types of rewards, and risked losing their positions. They were also labeled ‘trouble makers.’ These systemic obstructions were viewed by the women as practices serving to deny them access to and full participation in ‘Club UBC,’ a white, class-based and male-dominant arena.

Their invisibility, through erasure, and lack of being valued, heard and respected for their contributions and capabilities left them feeling unworthy. These deep emotional scars had a profoundly detrimental impact on their personal, academic and professional lives. They described it as soul-damaging. Their counter-stories illuminated a general lack of institutional awareness to systemic biases and inequities. These systemic practices of inequity supported and reinforced hegemonic practices and relations based on social hierarchies of race, gender and class. In spite of all of this, the women found life-sustaining supports that provided them with the necessary nourishment to continue and forge on. They participated in this study with a sense of possibility for educational and social transformation.

The formation of nation-states such as Canada is realized through myriad ways, including education, which supports an ideology of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy that perpetuates cultural, political and economic inequities. The academy was viewed as mirroring this, and was experienced as unwelcoming, even toxic for racialized students, staff and faculty. These women viewed UBC as an institution that continues to support the ongoing tasks of nation-building by supporting Eurocentric and male-dominated knowledges, where ‘othered’ knowledges are often delegitimized or relegated to the margins of the institution.

The women spoke of curriculum still being grounded within a dominant system of values that renders invisible ‘othered’ world-views. They spoke of the need for rigorous reorganization of the curriculum at UBC to make it more inclusive of different sites of knowledge. In addition, they strongly believed that most faculty lacked skills in affirming and supporting ‘othered’ knowledges and experiences in the classroom, thereby discouraging racialized students from engaging in critical dialogue across different sites of knowledge. They also stated that UBC employs very few racialized faculty in proportion to the numbers presented in the diverse student population. Having a critical mass of racialized faculty was viewed as a means to equity. Having a critical mass was also viewed as important in preventing the burnout of the few employed racialized faculty. Such burnout occurs because these few racialized faculty are often the sole support for racialized students who require mentoring not available from white faculty. Burnout was also related to their disproportionate participation as guest speakers or consultants for diversity and equity-related issues in the academy. Students confirmed that they desired racialized representation in faculty as role models, for mentoring, support and guidance. Having equitable representation of racialized
faculty was also viewed as important to the attraction, retention and successful completion of programs for racialized students.

In addition, the women stated that employment equity policies at UBC have primarily benefited white women. They spoke of white women being parachuted into positions of leadership by senior leadership, who were also predominantly white, because these white women were viewed as good ‘fits.’ They referred to the low representation of racialized staff in management and senior management positions at UBC and suggested that there was a lack of commitment to hiring, retaining and promoting staff of colour into such positions. Economic discrimination occurred, they felt, because of ‘job-ceilings’ and ‘gate-keeping’ practices that limited access and employment of racialized people into desirable positions, including those of leadership. Because of such practices, people of colour who were eminently qualified, were not generally considered for advancement or leadership opportunities and were, therefore, excluded from the so-called ‘meritocratic’ circuit. It was also noted that there is no mechanism for collecting data on the experiences and retention rates of racialized students, staff and faculty at UBC, which hides such systemic inequities and discrimination.

International students also experienced discrimination, in particular racism, which exacerbated their experience of culture shock. Such experiences generally manifested in loneliness, depression and low self-esteem. The women interviewed stated that international students are generally perceived as being wealthy and, therefore, viewed as ‘assets’ at UBC as they are able to pay enormous international student fees. However, these racialized students experience systemic inequities and discrimination with very few institutional supports in place for their well-being and academic growth. In addition, racialized international students who do obtain employment at UBC, do so in low paying positions, which often requires that they work several jobs in order to survive. Women in this study pointed out such experiences of discrimination are not often taken seriously by the University.

The women interviewed stated that there was resistance, in general, to promoting social justice dialogue, education and training at UBC. Attempts to integrate such work is mostly resisted and discredited by being viewed as immoral or inappropriate. Workshops and seminars provided to students, staff and faculty in general are typically founded upon hegemonic worldviews, which often exclude the lived experiences of the racialized. The counter-stories told by the women interviewed illuminated much resistance by the institution to addressing issues of social justice and systemic discrimination. Mainstreaming policies and practices, and the promotion of diversity for celebratory purposes, were viewed as strategies for maintaining the hegemonic status quo. According to their
experience, UBC was viewed as an institution that has not made a firm commitment to institutionalizing diversity.

Life-affirming events and programs for racialized people are often initiated, organized and coordinated on a voluntary basis by racialized people themselves, particularly students and staff. Such events and programs are, therefore, not institutionalized and, thereby, are marginalized. Institutionalizing supports for the diverse needs of students, staff and faculty, particularly the racialized, is frequently viewed as discriminatory. The women interviewed stated that events, which promoted UBC’s diversity, were perceived as taking an ‘add-on’ or celebratory approach to fulfilling the educational and life-sustaining needs of racialized people. These events, primarily supported by the volunteer efforts of racialized people, were nevertheless seen by the women in this study as important in providing alternate or ‘othered’ knowledges, histories and counter-stories at the academy, and in providing a sense of community at UBC. Such counter-hegemonic spaces allowed them to problematize their marginality and share healthy coping strategies.

The low representation of racialized faculty, low representation of racialized staff in management and senior management positions, and the general lack of supports for racialized people at UBC all contributed to the women’s feelings of alienation and lack of belonging. This low representation of faculty and racialized staff in management and senior management has led to these few racialized people speaking for all people of colour. In doing so, such people end up serving as ‘native informants’ and tokens. The general lack of institutional accountability to employment equity was seen as a form of denial of the existence of systemic discrimination, and as preventing the success of racialized people.

The daily lived experiences of oppression and marginalization has led many racialized people to experience low self-worth, depression and isolation. Many are forced into conforming to systems of domination through institutional polices and practices deemed to be race neutral or colour-blind. Doing so was experienced as soul-destroying. The women interviewed spoke of the significant lack of community, mentoring, role models and life-affirming supports in the academy. Counter-hegemonic spaces were viewed as critical for the physical, emotional, intellectual, social and spiritual well-being of people of colour. The women spoke of only a few such spaces within the academy.

From the counter-stories that the women shared regarding their experiences at and with UBC, the political, economic, cultural and educational contexts operated in ways that usually negated, minimized or denied their daily experiences. Such experiences made it difficult for them to establish themselves as legitimate, visible, equal, valued and contributing participants of the institution.
Recommendations: Institutionalizing Critical Community Service-Learning at UBC

The institutionalization of critical community service-learning at UBC requires a re-visioning of the academy in order to address and remedy social and economic injustice. In order for any sort of trust to be established between educational institutions and disenfranchised communities, institutions would be required to be accountable. Accountability requires a critique and dismantling of hegemonic systems, and an exploration of the histories, social relations and conditions that structure individuals and groups unequally. If such accountability and social responsibility to disenfranchised communities is not central in the development of service-learning partnerships, then communities will likely remain marginalized and might not embrace such engagement. It is, therefore, essential that educational institutions take it upon themselves to transform from within.

Two major elements were recommended for institutionalizing critical community service-learning at UBC from a critical race feminist perspective. One of these key elements calls for institutional re-visioning and transformation through the creation of a Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development. The establishment of such a centre would be a significant step towards addressing social injustices in education, and towards promoting social transformation at the academy in ways that could support inclusive learning, living and work environments for racialized people. The second key recommendation was the establishment of an Office for Critical Community Service-Learning away from the Point Grey Campus, in order to help develop institutional partnerships with communities of colour that would support and enhance the well-being of such communities. Both these key elements, it was suggested, should be underpinned by principles of education for transformative citizenship.

Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development at UBC

This study indicates that UBC, as an institution of higher education, supports and reinforces existing structures of domination. Political, social and economic inequities rely upon racist, capitalistic and patriarchal ideologies, which ensure unequal access to opportunities and resources for marginalized, and in particular, racialized people.

The first step towards institutional transformation would require a critical examination of the hegemonic structures and practices that continue to maintain the social status quo. The second step would require institutional transformation by way of dismantling oppressive hegemonic practices and structures in all their forms. These steps would serve as a form of institutional citizenship by
which the academy would ensure inclusivity, accessibility and accountability in redistributing power and uprooting social hierarchies.

As the women interviewed suggested, a Centre for Anti-Oppression Education, Training and Development at UBC would be able to focus institutional efforts towards the elimination of social oppression in the academy and society. Such a centre should strive to develop structures and strategies for creating a welcoming and inclusive working, learning and living environment for all people at UBC. In addition, such a centre would be the hub of social spaces and activities at UBC that would support social justice work. It was also suggested that such a centre could be a model of transformative leadership at UBC that might be replicated at other institutions of higher education, thus creating real possibilities for societal transformation.

The following five key elements to institutional transformation at UBC were developed from the interviews. The first key element speaks of senior leadership at UBC establishing the vision, direction and goal for organizational transformation. Such re-visioning should be founded upon the understanding that organizational transformation requires long-term commitment. This also requires leadership 'walking the talk' by being socially responsible, ensuring equitable policies and practices and mandating institutional transformation.

Second, the enforcement of employment equity for racialized staff and faculty was seen as essential for institutional transformation. The women in the study viewed having a critical mass of faculty of colour as a means to equity. In order to support efforts aimed at institutional transformation, UBC needs to employ more faculty of colour who are critical scholars and who will assist in decolonizing the institution and transforming the curriculum. Having equitable representation of racialized faculty is central to the attraction, retention and successful completion of programs for racialized students. Increasing the numbers of racialized faculty was seen as necessary in order to remedy systemic discrimination, and to more accurately reflect the demographics of British Columbia’s population and the UBC student population.

A critical mass of staff of colour already exists, but most work in lower paid positions at UBC. UBC needs to hire, retain and take some deliberate steps in ensuring the promotion of staff of colour into management and senior management level positions. Because of job ceiling practices, which systemically discriminate, people of colour are highly under-represented within management positions at UBC. Institutional citizenship would be demonstrated through appropriate representation, and by providing role models for racialized students in the academy. Such steps would also honour the practice of ‘meritocracy’ in hiring and promoting racialized people who do possess the education, qualifications and experience necessary for such positions.
Ensuring representation through employment equity practices would also illustrate a respect for diversity, thereby engendering trustworthiness for engagement with disenfranchised communities. The women interviewed also suggested that UBC needs to collect demographic data related to the hiring, retention and promotion of racialized staff, and report these findings in such a manner so as to ensure systemic discrimination does not remain hidden. UBC’s administration should take such findings seriously and work towardsremedying systemic inequities in employment.

Third, as reported in the interviews, curriculum at UBC generally remains Eurocentric and male-centered. Racialized students spoke of often being ‘outsiders,’ disconnected and disembodied from the academy. Curriculum transformation involves engaging in educational strategies for social transformation, which would include decolonizing the curriculum by integrating ‘othered’ sites of knowledge. They suggested that pedagogical transformation emphasize the integration of body, mind and spirit. They also proposed that pedagogical transformation foster engaged pedagogies and inclusive teaching strategies that value and respect all voices. To ensure this, all university instructors should be trained to teach and practice engaged pedagogy.

Since education is a basic human right, the university has a role in ensuring access and equity for all students desiring higher education. With rising tuition costs, education is rapidly becoming inaccessible to students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, many of whom are women and racialized. Once in the system, racialized students tend to have more difficulty securing scholarships and graduate assistantships. Because of systemic discrimination, they often have to work two or more jobs with low-paying wages. And often, they have to travel long distances, as they cannot afford to live on or close by the campus. All these factors place racialized students at a further disadvantage, and at risk of not doing well, or even failing. A way of addressing this is to provide specific scholarships and bursaries and develop access programs that would support the interest and needs of racialized students. Strategies to accomplish this might include more affordable housing closer to campus, more courses offered at varied times and days of the week to accommodate work and family commitments, and ASL supports. It was also suggested that UBC gather demographic information as to: where racialized students are located, what their needs are with regards to education and services, and rates of retention and attrition, in order to provide better supports.

Fourth, systemic transformation through anti-oppression education and training with all students, staff and faculty was also viewed as important. The support of ongoing systemic ‘unlearning’ through education for personal transformation is crucial for any long-lasting change. This should be supported by institutional measures in ensuring employment equity, curriculum and
pedagogical transformation and encouraging inclusive working, living and learning environments, was viewed as necessary for social transformation in the academy. Such transformation is necessary in preparing for engagement with disenfranchised communities.

Fifth, in order to create a welcoming and inclusive working, living and learning environment at UBC, the institution would need to redesign systems and practices to ensure the inclusion of diverse people and voices with decision making influence. It was suggested that transformation of institutional systems utilize anti-oppressive frameworks that ensure non-hierarchical, collaborative and authentic, inclusive practices where all voices are respected and heard.

From a critical race feminist perspective, institutional transformation would require the following: a mandate from leadership, assured employment equity for faculty and staff of colour, curriculum and pedagogical transformation, programs and strategies to ensure access and equity for racialized students, anti-oppression education, training and development across all disciplines and through all levels of the institution, and the alignment of systems and practices for authentic inclusion. Such re-visioning and transformation would provide UBC with the credibility to partner with disenfranchised communities, particularly communities of colour, for the purposes of critical community service-learning. Such institutional transformation should also support the establishment of an Office for Critical Community Service-Learning at UBC.

There are offices and units already functioning at UBC that are mandated to do many of the activities outlined for institutional transformation. Such units are Organizational Training and Development with Human Resources, the Equity Office, Teaching and Academic Growth (TAG) Access and Diversity, and Student Financial Aid/Enrolment Services. Rather than create a Centre where all of these dimensions of institutional transformation would be addressed, it might be worth considering creating cross-functional strategies that would link the work of these units in decolonizing the academy and aligning systems and practices for authentic inclusion. The issue of creating a physical location and counter-hegemonic space for racialized people to gather and meet for social and intellectual sustenance would also have to be addressed.

Office for Critical Community Service-Learning at UBC

The development of service-learning requires planning around what kind of citizens the institution aims to develop. From a critical race feminist perspective, the development of missionary or charity-based service-learning programs that support a server/served hierarchy, the ‘have’ giving to the ‘have nots’ in ‘doing for’ community, is a strategy that would support and reinforce hegemonic relations of domination. As important as this paradigm is in ‘helping the disadvantaged’
by alleviating the symptoms of disadvantage by providing some of the basic necessities of life, the women interviewed clearly viewed the charity or status quo paradigm of service-learning as maintaining race, gender and class hierarchies which would continue to disenfranchise individuals and communities of colour.

Thus, the dominant or charity ideology of education for citizenship was seen as maintaining an imperialist attitude towards the racially disenfranchised, underpinned by attitudes of superiority and supported by constructions of ‘other.’ The women in this study argued that this ideology is centered upon a detached beneficence in preserving the self-worth of the privileged and advantaged (those providing service), reinforcing an imperialist-as-saviour paradigm that was perceived as patronizing, demeaning, disrespectful, exploitative and dehumanizing for the disenfranchised as racialized. It was evident from the interviews that an analysis of power and power relations needs to be rigorous in service-learning, to help students move beyond notions of celebrating cultures and acts of charity, to understanding the larger issues of social injustice in order to identify possibilities for social and systemic change. From a social justice perspective, this would involve understanding civic responsibility in a pluralistic, but unequal society.

The women interviewed suggested that UBC should aim to foster a transformative conception of education for citizenship, grounded upon principles of social transformation. A transformative ideology of education for citizenship would involve a critical examination of hegemonic structures and practices that perpetuate and maintain social hierarchies, and dismantling and transforming systems of oppression to eliminate the division between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots.’ Such collaborations would be founded upon anti-oppressive principles in ‘doing with’ community and not ‘doing for’ community. Education for transformative citizenship was, therefore, viewed as a politicized ideology necessary in challenging the continued universality of white, male and elite values and relations that maintain and secure a racialized hierarchy of inequity. Not doing so was viewed as a form of neo-colonialism that would continue to support and reinforce a racialized inequity of citizenship.

‘Critical community service-learning’ was regarded as the paradigm that best fit with a transformative view of education for citizenship, which provides a vision of education for the purpose of transforming society. This critical pedagogy was seen as a form of experiential education, fostering social transformation for the well-being of all disadvantaged groups, and specifically, for individuals and communities of colour. This development was viewed generally as exciting and positive, in addition to having the potential to develop students as ‘whole’ persons by linking theory to everyday experiences of the world. By doing so, it was hoped that there would be more of an integration of mind, body and spirit, making education more holistic, meaningful and
practical, and supporting life-long learning. Critical community service-learning was also viewed as a pedagogy that might bring humility back into academe.

The women interviewed hoped that the development of critical community service-learning would involve reciprocity between institutions and disenfranchised communities, with a clear understanding that power dimensions underpin relationships across social hierarchies. It was suggested that critical community service-learning programs need to teach students to critically think about what it means to live in a democratic yet unequal society, characterized by race, gender and class stratification, and explore ways in which to responsibly investigate, address and remedy the root causes as well as the symptoms of systemic oppression.

In order to institutionalize critical community service-learning at UBC, it was suggested that the institution establish an Office for Critical Community Service-Learning outside the Point Grey campus. The women proposed that such an office should also be founded upon critical race feminist principles of education for transformative citizenship in order to address and remedy unequal power relationships. By doing so, critical community service-learning would support and enhance the well-being of disenfranchised individuals and communities, specifically communities of colour.

The development of an Office for Critical Community Service-Learning would require the involvement of students, staff and faculty at UBC, as well as community members from organizations to be partnered with. The following key elements were considered necessary in the creation of an Office for Critical Community Service-Learning. These elements are not linear, but interlocking and circular.

The creation of an office at UBC would require a mandate from senior leadership at the presidential level. It was recommended that leadership ensure diverse representation from UBC students, staff and faculty as well as community members from disenfranchised communities to be partnered with, in designing and implementing critical community service-learning from a community-centered approach. Leadership commitment to the development and implementation of critical community service-learning would require hard line budgets and resources. This would be used for the creation of a office, the hiring of staff (including community staff), development of curriculum materials, education and training, and other costs related to supporting educational partnerships with disenfranchised communities, such as child-care, transportation, interpreters and food.

The location of such a satellite office was thought to be best located in the disenfranchised communities themselves, a space that would host both classes and placements for students. They suggested that all planning and implementation be orchestrated around this satellite office. The
Point Grey campus was viewed as inaccessible and a visible class marker that would probably create discomfort and disharmony for disenfranchised individuals. It is important that the location of such an off-campus office be accessible by public transportation to enable community members, students and faculty to attend classes and meetings. In addition, such a space should house child-care facilities, kitchen and social spaces.

The women interviewed stated that building relationships across social hierarchies must acknowledge that power relationships also exist between institutions of higher education and disenfranchised communities. In order to build trusting and respectful relationships, it was first suggested that the institution educate itself with respect to the histories of colonial relations in Canada, and the impact of such histories on social relations today. Further, women argued that the institution needed to recognize its role in nation-state formation by maintaining a white settler society in which racialized people are systematically disempowered and excluded. Second, the women recommended that the institution respect and honour the work already being done in such communities, and take responsibility for educating itself about those communities.

Third, the interviewed women insisted that partnerships must occur from a community-centered approach, which would reflect community protocols around things such as provision of food, type of dress, and follow community values for developing relationships. Fourth, they also noted that learning must happen both ways, where both are transformed in the process. Fifth, the women recommended that community members be supported for their participation in the development of critical community service-learning, i.e. with child-care subsidies, interpreters, food, or transportation vouchers.

Sixth, the women also suggested relationships needed to be founded through practices of listening, validating, openness, honesty and responding respectfully to community concerns. Seventh, partnerships had to be formed with the understanding that the relationship between dominance and subordination is a part of the capitalist binary system of superiority and inferiority. This would require that privileged participants use their power to challenge and disrupt hegemonic systems and practices. Last, the women suggested that the institution needed to demonstrate citizenship through ensuring representation of racialized bodies and critical thinkers throughout the planning, development and implementation of critical community service-learning at UBC. Building relationships across social hierarchies was seen to involve alliance or coalition building, enabling the voices and interests of the disenfranchised to drive the partnerships. This was seen as requiring resources, time and patience.

The women interviewed suggested that the institution must be willing to relinquish power so that the development of critical community service-learning occurs from a community-centered
approach. Such engagement would be based on empathy, respect and reciprocal relationships, with an understanding that unequal power underpins such relationships. This would ensure that the concerns of disenfranchised communities would be placed front and centre in the planning process, and demonstrate an understanding and respect of the fact that these communities know what issues require addressing, and how to do so. Otherwise, partnerships would likely be unsustainable.

Placements, they suggested, would require extended immersion in communities in order to achieve a deeper understanding of the social issues that such communities face. Organizing placements for four hours per week over one term was viewed as inadequate and inappropriate. Both students and communities require invested time commitments that recognize the importance of such partnerships, immersion in social justice activism and anti-oppression practice, support of community-based programs and the building of mutually beneficial and sustainable partnerships. Critical community service-learning placements should be organized similarly to co-op placements. This might involve placements over five days per week during a term in a community organization, or two days a week over an academic year in the same community organization. And if classes were taught at these locations, there might be a way of integrating academic curriculum to service-placements over a pre-determined number of years.

The women interviewed felt that it was important that communities be involved in the planning and development of critical community service-learning at UBC. Such involvement could involve co-teaching alliances for both curriculum development, teaching and reflection activities. Co-teaching would be advantageous in decreasing power relationships between UBC and its community partners by utilizing the expertise of both community members and activists as well as academic instructors in developing curriculum, teaching, supervision of students, research, assessment and evaluation of service-learning programs. It was emphasized that the learning agenda for critical community service-learning be founded upon understanding the structural or root causes of social oppression, as well as its manifestation in symptoms such as poverty.

They also suggested that community members be provided with some form of compensation, agreed upon by that particular community and institution, to honour and value community members for their contributions and involvement in supporting such endeavours. Such compensation could be monetary, equivalent to what university instructors and staff are paid. This would establish respectful and mutually beneficial partnerships. Joint assessments were seen as necessary to explore what the students, institution and communities were gaining from the partnerships, and to improve critical community service-learning placements and partnerships.

The creation of an advisory committee at the presidential level was also viewed as essential, to overlook the institutionalization of critical community service-learning at UBC. Such a committee
would consist of UBC students, staff, faculty and community members as critical thinkers and representatives of diverse communities, who would partake in joint strategic planning, and provide recommendations and guidance to the development of this pedagogy. The advisory committee would be responsible and accountable for ensuring that partnerships were based on respect and reciprocity, in order to support and enhance the well-being of those communities.

Critical community-service learning is a strategy for developing and promoting education for transformative citizenship. This explicitly involves practices for remedying injustice, particularly those structural in nature. With this strategy, students are made to critically assess social, political, and economic structures that marginalize racialized peoples, and to consider collective strategies for change that address the root causes as well as symptoms of oppression. A transformative paradigm of service-learning goes beyond charity, and requires an understanding of how structural privilege enables certain groups (that is, predominantly white, male and the elite) to access resources and opportunities not usually available to those that are marginalized, thereby preventing and excluding the disenfranchised from participation as full citizens. The ultimate goal for critical community service-learning is to provide opportunities for students to develop a critical consciousness. The creation of educational partnerships with disenfranchised communities should, therefore, be underpinned by ideologies of social justice, sustainability and social transformation. The integration of guiding principles from a critical race feminist perspective would enable just this.

**Implications for Policy**

Social policies are generally created to promote certain purposes or values, or to achieve certain effects or outcomes (Ball, 1990). Gewirtz (1998) suggests that social justice policies have been under-theorized mainly because policy studies have rejected or marginalized social justice concerns. Hence, educational policy research generally continues to contribute to and support the existing hegemonic systems and practices that legitimize educational inequities (Tate, 1997).

When social justice orientations are utilized for social policy research, they often recommend the transformation of hegemonic systems through the redistribution of social and economic resources; hence, there has been a general aversion to such policies (Paquette, 1998). This aversion exists because the dominant neo-liberal politics underpinning hegemonic systems are inherently sexist, racist and classist, and promote a view of the capitalist economy as functioning efficiently, allowing for equal rights, access and success to those who work hard. Essentially such politics support the rationale of a colour-blind meritocratic society. In addition, in this worldview it is believed that such policies aimed at the re-distribution of goods, or equalizing opportunity and outcomes for disadvantaged persons, result in economic inefficiencies commonly cited as 'lowering
the standards.' Furthermore, it is felt that perceived economic inefficiencies would require additional financial and human resources in order to have these social policies monitored, which in turn, would likely overburden the administration of organizations and institutions. Dominant politics also tend to be founded on the belief that social reform policies institutionalize the inequity of 'reverse discrimination' (Williams et al., 1999), furthering resistance. All of these arguments favour the more traditional approaches to policy research and development.

Why are social justice orientations to social reform viewed as threatening? Dei (1996) suggests that those in power, who have a vested interested in maintaining material advantage and privilege, are most likely to feel threatened by destabilizing forces, such as social policy reform through the redistribution of political, social and economic power. Marshall (2000) states that because social reform policies challenge and threaten hegemony, this often leads to resistance and backlash. Therefore, social policy reform does not always lend itself easily to being developed and implemented (Paquette, 1998).

However, there are a growing number of social policy approaches that draw attention to the ways in which inequalities are produced and reproduced systematically to prevent self and group actualization and development. One such methodology supporting a social justice orientation to policy development is policy archaeology (Scheurich, 1994). This is a radically different approach from general, traditional policy studies, by examining systems that are the causes of social and educational problems. Scheurich (1994) suggests that in traditional policy approaches, one assumes that a social problem is a ‘disease’ requiring a policy solution. The manifestations of social oppression such as poverty, ill health, unemployment, incarceration, and so on, are examined in search for solutions to help address and alleviate these ‘symptoms.’ Traditional approaches to policy development address the symptoms of social problems. Policy archaeology, on the other hand, studies the construction of the liberal social order or hegemony producing and reproducing social inequities.

This study, from a critical race feminist orientation, also calls for a social justice approach to policy development. The findings of this study call for a transformative paradigm of service-learning to be institutionalized at UBC in order to support and enhance the well-being of communities of colour. It is important to note, however, that the implications of the study are not restricted to UBC but are applicable more widely as educational institutions across the country generally remain sites of hegemonic domination. Policies for institutionalizing critical community

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178 Policy archaeology identifies the grid or network of social regularities as organized systems of policies and practices, including government, law, education, business and professional organizations that exist as multiple sites of domination and power that create and maintain social hierarchies (Scheurich, 1994).
service-learning, therefore, are likely to demand a commitment to addressing and ameliorating hegemonic systems and practices within that produce and reproduce gendered and racialized inequities.

This research has demonstrated the need to develop a transformative conception of citizenship among students. This calls for a social justice or transformative orientation to the development of critical community service-learning. Otherwise, service-learning programs would likely continue to maintain and secure a racial hierarchy of inequity by supporting the social status quo and reinforcing a neo-colonial agenda.

Policy development for the purposes of critical community service-learning across all educational institutions requires an understanding that white supremacist capitalist patriarchy undergrids the liberal social order in society, and, therefore, education. An analysis of power and power relations is, thus, crucial to understanding how the liberal social order reproduces oppressive outcomes and continues to maintain a gendered-racialized hierarchy of inequity and, therefore, unequal citizenship. Critical community service-learning advocates for a social justice orientation to policy development in order to render visible the fact that political and social institutions support and reinforce sexist, racist and classist structures while continuing to marginalize individuals and communities of colour. As Gewirtz (2001) suggests, policy for social reform must be concerned with the treatment of all members. A critical and politicized service-learning program would promote a transformative ideology of education in search of the common good.

Social reform policy cannot be achieved without explicit institutional commitment to the strategy and to developing systematic efforts to implement it. A gender, race and class analysis provided by critical race feminist theory is a crucial starting point for such transformation. This analysis is founded on an epistemology that is at variance with the dominant one. A critical factor in successful implementation is the commitment of senior leadership to policy development and implementation, as well as to the establishment of effective accountability mechanisms. Such mechanisms should embrace ‘equality of outcome’ measures, such as affirmative action programs, that are direct interventions to prevent disadvantage in the workplace (Gewirtz, 2001). In addition, mechanisms should also include ‘equality of condition’ which would commit to fostering equality in the living, working and learning conditions of all members of the institution. All of these conditions should culminate in every person being entitled to economic, political and social democracy, and not for just a few (Darder & Torres, 2004). Otherwise, the majority of people, as marginalized, will continue to experience ‘spirit murder.’ The development and implementation of social reform policy, therefore, undergrids hope in transforming the political, social and economic opportunities for all people in our society.
Implications for Future Research

An important direction for future research lies in a more thorough understanding of ideologies of education for citizenship that would underpin service-learning programs. Before service-learning programs are developed and implemented, it would seem pertinent to conduct research to establish what form or type of citizenship the institution desires students to develop. In this research, some attention has been brought to bear on the necessity of developing social justice or transformation-based service-learning programs that would support and enhance the well-being of communities of colour. The objectives of such programs would be aimed at institutional and structural change for the purposes of addressing and transforming hegemonic systems and challenging the root causes of social problems.

Research on service-learning must, therefore, attend to the different beliefs and capacities of citizenship development. Attention should also focus on the need to distinguish service-learning activities aimed at reinforcing charity - which supports and reinforces the social status quo, from those concentrating on root causes of social problems - and the need for social transformation. For instance, citizenship ideologies stemming from the personally-responsible citizen would be likely to develop charity-based programs. Citizenship development aiming to improve and transform society for the betterment of all would direct the development of transformative service-learning programs.

The different theoretical and practical approaches to varying conceptions of citizenship, as well as their political significances, have largely gone unexamined. Future research can also enrich our understanding of service-learning and citizenship education by focusing on the question of whether beliefs regarding citizenship have changed, and if so, whether these are linked to recent neo-liberal policies of fiscal tightening.

The review of the literature has exposed a lack of attention to community perspectives on service-learning programs. Little attention has been paid to the role that communities play in enacting the goals of service-learning programs. If service-learning is to meet its goals of addressing community concerns and issues and preparing students for civic involvement, it is critical for service-learning educators and developers to pay closer attention to the role of communities collaborating on community-based research.

Service-learning can also be researched in its engagement with other socially oppressed groups – Aboriginal people, people with disabilities, and the Queer community. Such research should attend to conceptions of citizenship, which in turn, would identify which paradigms of service-learning need to be developed for the well-being of these specific groups. The results of such research might confirm the findings from this study, that is, that transformative paradigms would be more likely to promote education in search of a common good for all.
Final Words

This study speaks to the necessity of developing a transformative project for education in search for a more humane and equitable society. Service-learning requires educational institutions to partner with disenfranchised communities to collaboratively address and alleviate some of the most acute social problems, such as hunger, homelessness and poverty. Such social problems are symptoms of underlying social oppression and systemic inequities that perpetuate economic injustices based on race, gender and class. The forces of social oppression are soul-destroying. The reality of micro-aggressions as relayed in the interviews clearly illustrates this point. Charity is valued and necessary to address the symptoms of oppression. However, addressing systemic inequities that underlie these symptoms creates and supports social change, and would be capable of infusing the lives of these people with purpose and dignity. Only then can we all participate as full and equal members of society. Therefore, both root causes and symptoms of oppression must be addressed and remedied.

Institutions of higher education have an ethical responsibility to address and remedy such inequities, rather than continue to operate as a vehicle for nation-building. This project calls for active participation with community through an understanding that we live in a pluralistic, but unequal society, where political, economic and social power is unequally distributed. In addition, institutions of higher learning produce bodies of knowledge that both create and inscribe social inequalities. Such epistemological inequalities, where some bodies of knowledge are visible and legitimate, and ‘others’ are not part of the discourse, are systemically institutionalized. No institution of higher education can ignore the diversity of people(s), the multiplicity of culture(s) and the plurality of knowledge(s) within society. Consequently no knowledge-based institution can ignore any longer the particularity of its own resident epistemology. Again, this has been repeatedly illustrated in the interviews.

Institutions of higher education ought to be sites of learning open to new ideas and differing points of view. These institutions should also be sites that are open to diverse knowledges and respectful relations across social hierarchies in order to model the development of workable solutions to social oppression. Critical community service-learning, as an experiential pedagogy, has this capacity. It could be a significant force in challenging and transforming systems of domination in education and society for the good of all people. It could also be a model for addressing and resolving social oppression, and for promoting just and sustainable communities, founded on interconnectedness, collaboration and hope. Such a pedagogy would be an investment in our future.
In her opening remarks to the 2002 Global Citizenship Conference at UBC, Martha Piper stated (as quoted in *Looking into the future*, 2004, p. 8):

If we want to live in one world, in one small inter-connected world, we must all assume and fulfil the responsibilities as citizens of that world....Our goal must be therefore to education global citizens who see themselves not simply as citizens of a local region, but also as human beings bound to other human beings in the ties of concerns and understandings.

How succinctly Dr. Piper summarizes the content of this research. She speaks to the possibility of every person acting as agents of social change, accountable to all others as interconnected, relational human beings. This study has spoken boldly about this understanding of our connectivity with others in the context of developing partnerships for service-learning, and this also applies to global partnerships and relationships. In essence, the principles of education for transformative citizenship developed in this study are also the principles for global citizenship.

This study has illuminated some of the deep problematic of systemic exclusion based on gender, race and class at UBC. These problematicare also endemic in Canadian society, and speak to the histories of exclusion that are still sustained within our educational systems, as social institutions. For this reason, the findings of this study have broad implications for communities and institutions even beyond the boundaries of UBC, including other Canadian institutions of higher learning, as well as for political and social organizations locally and nationally. This project, therefore, offers possibilities for changing education and society for the better.

There are counter-hegemonic spaces within institutions of higher education in which critical thinking, transformative processes and coalition building occur. It is in such spaces, if respectfully honoured and nourished, that we all can champion the transformative processes necessary for educational and societal equity.

I close with final words from a quote by Audre Lorde (1984):

I am not free while any woman is unfree, even when her shackles are very different from my own. And I am not free as long as one person of Colour remains chained. Nor is any one of you (p. 133).
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Appendix ii: Interview Consent Form

Thesis title: Towards a Critical Race Theory to Service-Learning at the University of British Columbia

Principal Investigators: Dr. Tom Sork and Dr. Shauna Butterwick, Department of Educational Studies, Faculty of Education, The University of British Columbia.

Co-investigator: Begum Verjee, doctoral student, Doctor of Education, Department of Educational Studies, Faculty of Education, The University of British Columbia. This is a research project as part of the Ed.D degree for the Department of Educational Studies at UBC.

Purpose:
I understand that the purpose of this research study is to talk to women of color (UBC staff, faculty, students and non-university community members) about their perspectives on the development of an anti-racist and social justice approach to service-learning and education for citizenship at UBC. These perspectives will help to contribute to the development of a policy paper which will outline a critical race model of service-learning and education for citizenship at UBC.

Service-learning is a strategy that is integrated into an institution’s academic curriculum under which students learn through organized service experiences and active participation in communities for the purposes of affecting the welfare of those communities. A critical race orientation draws attention to the role of race and racism in education and a key element of this approach is gathering stories from members of racially oppressed groups. Critical race theory draws explicitly on the lived experience of people of color and is therefore central to this project.

Procedures:
I understand that this research study will require two interviews. All interviews will be audiotaped and will remain confidential. The first interview will take approximately an hour and a half. I will be asked to give my perspectives on the development of service-learning and education for citizenship at UBC, and forms of institutional/community partnerships that would support the welfare of communities of color.

I understand that a transcript of the interview will be prepared for the purposes of analysis after the first interview, and sent to me to look over. I also understand that a second interview will be sought with me after the co-investigator’s analysis of the first interview for any clarification of information, questions, exploration of undeveloped areas, and for confirmation of findings. The second interview will also take approximately an hour and a half.

I also understand that sharing my perspectives on anti-racist and social justice approaches to the development of service-learning at UBC may bring up feelings of sadness or anger. Should this occur, the co-investigator will provide me with resources to follow-up on.
Appendix iii: Interview Schedule

Dear Participant:

Thanks for agreeing to participate in this study and talk to me about your views and experiences. I really appreciate you taking the time to think about these issues and meet with me. To help get the conversation started, I’m sending you an outline of the interview process and questions/issues I hope we get to explore.

**Important concepts:**

As you know from the information letter I sent to you, I am hoping that this study will help inform the development of UBC policy and programs related to service-learning and education for citizenship. There are many ways to think about these concepts, and I am very interested in gathering your perspectives, based on your experiences, on these ideas. The following describes one approach to thinking about these two concepts:

Service-Learning is a form of experiential education. It is a strategy or pedagogy where students learn and develop through service experiences; these service experiences are designed to meet identified community needs, and are collaboratively organized between academic institutions and communities.

Education for citizenship is considered a key outcome of service-learning. Through the process of collaborative problem-solving with communities through service-learning, students can learn how to care for and contribute to the wellbeing of those communities.

**Interview Process:**

To begin, I will ask you if you have any questions about the project or the interview process. Next I want to discuss how confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained. Finally, I will ask you to sign the consent form. I’d like to start our conversation with gathering some background information about you, and then stories, examples, moments in your experience as a staff member, faculty member, student, community partner that can help to illustrate and illuminate social relations, resources, climate and structure at UBC.
Questions:

• Tell me a bit about yourself, your age, family situation, cultural heritage, education, relationship to UBC.
• How do you identify yourself?
• Can you tell me about an experience at or with UBC that in some way relates to issues of gender, race, class, or other elements of power relations? In this experience, what got in the way or what supported your experience of being heard, seen, respected and regarded as a contributing member of this institution?
• What comes to mind when you think of the term 'service-learning?' In your opinion, how useful is the term ‘service-learning?’ What might best define this term? Why do you think UBC has an interest in service-learning at present?
• What comes to mind when you think of the term 'education for citizenship?' How useful is the term ‘education for citizenship?’ What might best define this term?
• What do you think individuals and communities of colour would identify their needs to be? What would you hope service-learning placements in communities of colour would teach students?
• How do we institutionalize this type of education at UBC? How would UBC equip itself for this development?
• In your opinion, who should be involved in the designing of institutional/community partnerships for service-learning? How would mutually beneficial/collaborative relationships be developed across power dimensions? How could these partnerships be sustained over time?
• What advantages do you see in realizing this approach? What obstacles do you foresee in realizing this approach? Where, in your perspective, are the supports, allies and resources? What would you tell policy developers for service-learning to pay attention to?
• As President, what changes would you implement at your institution in the first 6 months? What changes would you implement in the next 5 years? How could UBC model citizenship?
• Do you have anything to add to our conversation or any further questions about the project?