

We (*don't*) Care: University as Fractured Home

This blogpost emerges out of undergraduate student papers that were presented as part of the University Worlds Workshop in January 2020. The students who presented – Dwight Sampson, Alice Xu, Sylwia Pucek – had taken my Fall 2019 upper-level course “The Anthropology of Transnationalism” at the University of Toronto Scarborough (UTSC). As their assignment they were asked to conduct research around the topic “University as Home”. Together, we discussed questions such as: If the University of Toronto (UofT) is an employer, a real estate owner, a generator of revenues and a hub in global networks of value and aspiration, then what are the possibilities for and institutional practices of home-making that undergraduate students participate in? What are the transnational and local practices that make the university familiar or unfamiliar? What is the relation between the “diversity” that is marketed by the university and the one that is experienced by students on campus?

To think of UTSC as “home” might sound strange given that many students do not live on campus and neither do they necessarily spend most of their time there. However, UTSC’s efforts to create a supportive educational environment can often be equated with making the campus *like* home or with creating a community that make students feel *at* home. As [Robin G. Kelley](#) (2016) writes, university “tours for prospective students, orientations, and slickly produced brochures often rely on metaphors of family and community, highlight campus diversity, and emphasize the sense of belonging that young scholars enjoy”. Kelley (2016), however, believes that universities usually fall short of this ideal. While we tend to expect or hope that the university “cares”, this is not always the case. With this in mind, a better understanding of the fractured nature of institutional home-making practices allows us to consider the tension between the desire to belong and what Avery Gordon (2008: xvi) has called

a *haunting*: “those singular yet repetitive instances when home becomes unfamiliar, when your bearings on the world lose direction, when the over-and-done-with comes alive, when what's been in your blind spot comes into view”.

The students work focused on several blind spots. Indeed, all three posts point to different ways in which, while advertising “diversity” and proclaiming more inclusive university campuses, the university also works to *exclude* and to *other*. One such blind spot is the high number of Black students who drop out of UTSC ([Bernard et al. 2020](#)), a phenomenon which is no doubt unique to that particular [institution](#). Dwight Sampson points to the feeling of exclusion experienced by members of the Caribbean student community and looks more specifically at how Blackness often becomes conceptualized as the “problem”. This may not seem surprising once we learn about the impediments to Black life in Canada, which include policing and public education (Cole 2019). Another blind spot is “mental health” on campus. Alice Xu writes about the Computer Science program as an unwelcoming space that is impersonal, has high-fees and a punishing grading scheme. At worst, it is deadly: Within a 2-year period, there have been three suicides on campus. Sylwia Pucek looks at the Department for Sports and Recreation, its student facilities, and UTSC’s investment in the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre. In this case, the large operating costs incurred by the university is offset by its ability to transfer most of these costs to incoming students through a mandatory annual levy. She asks an important question about who ultimately benefits from such investments.

Black Caribbean Identity on Campus – Dwight Sampson

The University is traditionally thought of as a place of learning. For some, university is an institution that must be endured in order to get a job or to be perceived as a productive member of society. For others, the university can be portrayed as a second home; a place where

they feel safe, happy and intellectually stimulated. Most students that attend university spend copious amounts of time physically on campus. As a result, they form connections with fellow students, staff and locations within the university. By examining the sheer amount of time students spend on campus, as well as looking at the connections they make, it is easy to understand why the university can be perceived as home. Though, just like many literal homes, this figurative home can also be broken and rejecting. It is possible for a student to perceive the university as both a home where they can be comfortable while, at the same time, feeling rejected by the university based on their identity.

As a Black Caribbean male, I experience individual perceptions of what it means to be Black, what it means to be Caribbean and what it means to be a Black Caribbean. Some of these perceptions are good, most of these perceptions are bad, and all of these perceptions are stereotypes. Often these perceptions are created by what individuals have seen through social media, movies or heard through music. I have been told many times I must not be Caribbean because my behaviour in public is not disorderly or loud or within the range of what the world expects Caribbean behaviour to be. Often, we as a society, view universities to be locations where these stereotypes are broken due to the extensive research and commitments these institutions have placed on diversity and making all students feel welcomed. I ask you to question whether the actions that educational institutions such as UofT have taken so far have been effective in truly engaging “diversity” on campus.

In *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* Sara Ahmed (2012) explores the concept of the “non-performative” in the context of the university. A non-performative action is when we say we will do one thing, but we actually do another, not because we are negligent or because the action only works in certain situations but because we intended

for the action to do something other than we said it would (Ahmed 2012: 117). In particular, Ahmed uses the concept of the non-performative to question whether the actions of a university are truly intended for the purpose of diversity and equality or to “block the recognition of racism within” the university (Ahmed 2012: 116). What does this mean? Often, “diversity becomes about “saying the right things”” (Ahmed 2012: 59) and being perceived as having a physically diverse population of staff and students. The non-performative nature of “diversity” reveals how statements of commitment to antiracism often do not do what they say they do.

At this point, you may be asking yourself, what does this have to do with the University of Toronto? Surely, UofT is diverse! This must be true especially at our Scarborough and Mississauga campuses! We have so many people, from so many backgrounds, I’m sure no other university is as diverse! While UofT does a lot of work to make all campuses inclusive and diverse, I found this idea of “diversity” to be limited. UTSC states on their website:

Diversity is central to who we are and what we do. We believe it is vital to foster diversity in all facets of our campus culture—from the people who study and work here, to the multiplicity of voices, viewpoints and ideas encouraged in the curriculum and in campus discourse ([UTSC, 2019](#)).

Mission statements such as this are “utterances of a specific kind” that mobilize “the international language of governance” (Strathern 2006: 194-195 in Ahmed 2012: 24). To the credit of the university, it hosts many events such as multicultural week, Black History Month and other cultural events. Additionally, the university presents curriculum in the Social Science from areas underrepresented in academia with a main focus of Asia and Africa, as well as providing programming for minority groups such as Imani. These actions, while presenting the “right image”, however, are not enough and are mostly skin deep.

While researching the notion of the University being perceived as a home, I interviewed the student group [Caribbean Connections](#) UTSC. I am a member of this group, which hosts weekly podcasts called [Top Chatta](#) – posted on SoundCloud – about issues prevalent to Caribbean students on campus. In this podcast, we discuss issues around Caribbean student life both on and off campus. One week the group decided to produce an episode on the topic of fitting in on campus as a Caribbean student. I hosted this podcast and based my research around the recordings which has been posted on the internet by the club. One topic that emerged was how UofT has many policies in place that prevent the reproduction of Caribbean culture. A Trinidadian student from the *Caribbean Connections* speculated:

“I feel like this [feeling welcomed on campus] is less about underrepresentation and more about cultural discrimination. There is a Holi event on campus, but if we [CCUSTC] were to ask for *J’ouvert*, they would say that is too dangerous, that is too loud. But the events are inspired by one another, they are essentially the same thing”.

They spoke about the time when CCUTSC wanted to throw an off-campus party with the purpose of fostering deeper connections between students of Caribbean heritage. The Caribbean Student group applied for funding through UTSC but were rejected with a note stating: “The event did not benefit student life in any way”. The student continued:

“The [UTSC] Student Union has many assumptions. Whenever they hear it’s a Caribbean event, they think it’s going to be louder, more rambunctious and more problematic. There are stigmas with being associated with the Caribbean that are taken from a small sample of our behaviour. And some of it is stereotypes and prejudice.”

This view was reinforced by every other member of the podcast. The students agreed that the university reinforced stereotypes about Caribbean cultures such as having “uncontrollable

behaviour”, being “loud” and participating in “dangerous” activities. There was a shared feeling that Caribbean students must suppress their cultural identity to fit in on campus.

Some of the conversations revolved around how the racism experienced in high school, especially from teachers, had influenced their feeling of being less than or left out. A member of *Caribbean Connections* stated:

“When I was 12 years old, I was coding in HTML and JavaScript and people discouraged me, so I stopped. That’s a big reason why I take stats and computer science. But growing up people kept telling me don’t do that. Black kids don’t do that. And that leads to reason why you may see certain demographics of people doing better in computer science classes”.

This statement highlights the fact that there are expectations in society for certain races to act a certain way. The statement of “black kids don’t do that” implied that even if the university is implicitly stereotyping Caribbean cultural identity, the problem is rooted in deeper issues of institutionalized racism in North America.

To use the words of the university, in a truly diverse community, “all facets of campus culture” including Caribbean students, would feel comfortable in presenting events to UTSC administration. Thus, the intention behind the statement of diversity, regarding multicultural events and minority program, does not affectively take form within the student community. Instead, discomfort takes over. For these students, to feel discouraged by cultural stereotypes when proposing community events reveals the non-performative nature of the university. Each year, there are panels, committees and councils, which investigate and suggest actions to be taken to make the campus more diverse. Yet, there is minimal change. This reveals that the word “diversity” invokes difference but not the commitment to demonstratable action (Ahmed 2012: 53). I present my finding not to bash UofT as not being diverse, but rather to indicate that there is

more work to be done in the form of policy changes and re-education. Though the university does a lot of work to ensure diversity, Caribbean students only seem to see those intentions at student recruitment times and minority engagement events such as Black History Month and multicultural week. This indicates a non-performative nature to the actions of the university as well as the limits of a policy of diversity on campus.

Computer Science and Mental Health on Campus – Alice Xu

Home has always been complicated. It has never been as simple as the comfort of warm food or loved ones together, but nuanced by the challenges of daily conflict, clashes in goals, and financial burden. To think of UofT as a home is to apply and rearrange my notions of home in context to family and locality, to one that situates itself as a learning institution. I also recognize that as a domestic student who has always lived about 40-minutes driving distance from the university, my experience of home may very well differ entirely from that of an international student or someone with more migratory experience. In this way, it becomes hard to position the university as home in more literal and geographic contexts when what has been known in solidarity as my one and only home for so long, is so close in proximity. I wanted then to challenge myself to think through a different context as to how home is situated in one of the majors I study – Computer Science.

My research was based on observations and short interviews with friends and colleagues at the Scarborough and St. George campuses of UofT. To provide a little bit of background and context, the computer and technology industry is perceived amongst my computer science peers as providing opportunities for wealth generation. There is a lot of capital and investment in this sector because it is imagined and predicted to be the leading producer of all things “future”. Lots of capital means lots of opportunity thus there is a large labour demand for people to work in this

sector with a likelihood of higher pay relative to other industries. The student body of the computer science faculty also plays a role in the institutionalization of the field. Many of my friends in computer science embody what can be imagined as the ‘cultural identity’ (Hall 1993: 393) of the field; they are firstly male, then likely categorizable as Asian based on phenotypical traits alone. From there, it can even be further divided into two subsets, those who are international students and those who are domestic.

There is a distinct pool of international students studying computer science, many of whom have arrived from China. This might be because of the [Green Path program](#) offered at UTSC, but it also speaks to larger discussions on globalization and neoliberal capitalism. When I asked my peers and friends who are also studying computer science about their career aspirations and what they aim to do with their specialist or major, the answer (across the board) was related to getting a well-paid job. This insinuates a certain degree of institutionalization that reflected more “contemporary conceptions of social citizenship”, what Elizabeth Brulé calls the “reengineering of capitalist relations of classical liberalism, which included a reorientation of the ‘proper’ role of the university toward meeting the industrial sector’s occupational needs” (2015:161). The faculty then serves to produce “sheeple”, prepared with the knowledge and structure necessary to compete and work in the industry it comes from.

Enter the “University of Toronto”, a name that is highly reputable, and attached with it, prestige and sophistication. The computer science program at UofT gives students an extra bump in reputation and makes graduates more identifiable and attractive through the beneficial associations of the institution’s name. It is for this foot in the door or an “upper-hand” that students flock to UofT and this shows how the institution serves as a gateway for them to move towards their goals in the industry. The overwhelming benefit from the name “Computer

Science” is, what I suspect, from its validation of the “unregulated” fees that students pay at the undergraduate level. The university is aware of the profitability of the industry and the profitability of earning a degree here so they are able to issue higher tuition fees because they know that students will still consider it a worthy investment in themselves. It is important to understand that a certain level of rigidity highlights the institutionalized and systematic nature of computer science at the undergraduate level. For example, I had gone to see one of my computer science professors to ask for a small extension and I was slammed with a firm and immovable “No” if I could not produce the documentation necessary for a formal request. Assignments also tend to emphasize precision and accuracy, so often times a failure to capitalize one letter in a word can be the difference between pass or fail with an auto marker software. This means that outputting “hello” versus “Hello” can be the difference between passing or failing the assignment.

Due to the branding, the unregulated fees, and innate individualistic sense of competition born out of the ways first year courses are structured, computer science students subject themselves to a system of learning heavily influenced by neoliberal institutionalization. Thus, as a result, they reproduce a neoliberal subject that is crafted and polished for the workplace. If institutionalization is derived from the process of habituation (Ahmed 2012: 26), then it can be seen how the computer science faculty at the Scarborough campus fits into this process, as it trains students from their first semester to understand that “success” as is measured in their capacities to follow curriculum and systems with a high degree of precision as they would in the industry. Yet, because of fundamental problems related to scale and because the field is so largely institutionalized, broader social issues, specifically discourses on mental health, have become extremely difficult to address meaningfully.

Last September (2019) there was [a suicide at the Bahen Centre for Information Technology](#), a building located at the St. George campus that is largely dedicated to holding computer science and engineering courses. In the following week, my partner, who attends computer science classes at St. George, told me that, of his four computer science classes, none of his professors directly addressed the event. Only after that incident, which was [the third from a string of suicides in Bahen](#) over a span of eighteen months, did the university decide to put up barriers in the building but made no further mention to meaningfully improve mental health resources. Students staged protests and sit-ins, outside Simcoe Hall (which houses the President's office) and a [Governing Council Business Board meeting](#), as well as at the 2019 Ontario University Fair. They were concerned that there was a lack of “care” on the part of the University and about UofT’s reluctance to call this a “suicide”. This shows how there is not only a mediocre prioritization of attending to the needs of institutionalized bodies, but also, as a consequence, a violence that is also subjected by it. It also silently perpetuates a rigid institutionalization in the ways it tries to remedy it ([Twitter page](#)).

In conclusion, here at the UofT, there is a desire to produce and prime individuals for success in their careers as it seems to benefit all parties involved (students, the university, the industry), yet something in how it is being done has killed and will continue to kill students. I have addressed points of possible interest, such as unregulated fees, competition for program enrollment, and a lack of attention and prioritization of mental health resources for students, but more specifically computer science students. I hope that by sharing this with you all, I might have been able to shed light on some issues currently faced by students in computer science, but also to have kept the voices that are no longer with us from being lost and squandered by an institutions’ vanity.

How Institutions Include/Exclude: The Athletics and Recreation Department – Sylwia Pucek

The university as an institution, although advertised as one coherent body under the name University of Toronto, contains several organizational divisions such as departments, subsections, and student groups. Although most attendees, whether student, staff, or faculty, will not end up using or participating in many of these organizational bodies, their presence will always be directly involved with at least one of these organizational groups. To give further perspective, the UofT encompasses approximately 27,000 full and part time staff, faculty, and librarians, making it the city of Toronto's largest employer. It also includes an enrolment of 91,286 students in total across 3 campuses (University of Toronto, 2019). Ultimately, all these individuals make the University. As a post-secondary student and part-time staff at the UTSC campus, my concern lies with how the process of homemaking is directly and indirectly related to elements of inclusivity within a community. Following in the footsteps of Emile Brulé (2015), an institutional ethnographic approach provides a framework through which one can understand how people produce their everyday reality when directly engaging with the Department of Athletics and Recreation at UTSC (a specific unit responsible for providing recreational activity on Campus and a gathering place for those pursuing a healthy active lifestyle).

The Athletics and Recreation Department at UTSC is the unit responsible for enhancing the university experience through a multitude of sport and recreation programs ([Athletics and Recreation, 2019](#)). For example, there are drop-ins, group fitness classes, certification courses, instructional classes, leagues, tournaments, special events, private and personal training, fitness-gym space, sports and recreation, academic courses, and outdoor recreation trips, all housed and offered under the department. Activities offered include aquafit, cricket, martial arts, parasports,

strength and conditioning training, an Amazing Race, swimming, table tennis, underwater hockey, walking, and yoga, to name a few. The department itself is housed within the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre (TPASC), where it shares space with the City of Toronto (co-owner) and TPASC Incorporated (third-party manager). The TPASC facility contains 4 gymnasiums, 2 Olympic size pools, a diving tank, a climbing wall, a walking/running track, cardio and weight rooms and fitness studios, which students can use (Athletics and Recreation 2019; [Campbell, 2014](#)). It is significant that the Department lacks a physical office presence on UTSC's main campus. This means that the department hires students to act as representatives and to speak on its behalf, therefore allowing the department to be the largest employer of students on campus (Interviewee, personal communication). The Department, according to much of its full-time staff is a place of hope, diversity, discovery, and friendship (Group Discussion, personal communication). Additionally, TPASC is an integral part of the department's identity, as the site is marketed as this local and global hub where students, athletes, the general public, and basically anyone can enjoy the facility (Field et al., 2016). It is regarded for its architectural ingenuity and is praised by the lawyers and developers which fought for its establishment (Interviewee, personal communication).

Based on interviews, group discussions, and personal experiences, I can say the department is an integral part of some students "university experience". This "university experience" is a type of "cultural capital" that also promotes social mobility in a stratified society. In this case, there are students who value participating in extracurriculars outside of academia (Waters 2006), specifically those associated with Athletics and Recreation. Benefits can be personal, social, and academic. The significance of this imagined 'university experience' is its replicability amongst not just one, but hundreds of participants in the department's

programming. Ultimately, homemaking was not about recreating “home”, but rather about creating or finding the elements which brought a sense of “university connectedness”, which is a subjective sense to “fit’ within the university or within the micro-units of a sub-culture by being accepted, respected, included, and supported” (Wilson et al., 2018). I will now attend to the blind-spots.

Despite this project being developed with good intentions – providing Scarborough and UTSC with a world-class sports facility for youth – ultimately, it bargained on future generations' obligations to pay back hundreds of millions on principal (Valverde and Briggs 2015). Incoming university students are indirectly participating in the department’s and TPASC’s programing by funding their very existence even if the students do not directly participate in any of the programming offered. Indeed, even prior to the development of TPASC, a student-fee was applied to cover the expenses of the Athletics and Recreation Department that sought to promote overall health and wellbeing as factors to achieving academic success (Athletics and Recreation, 2019). As Valverde and her colleagues note, USTC “administrators worked with student leaders to organize a vote to support the Scarborough aquatic facility in the spring of 2010” (Valverde et al 2020). However, the levy jumped to \$280 per year for most students and this would raise more than \$60 million for the university. UTSC and the UofT in general are global institutions which function as educators, employers, real estate owners, generators of revenue, hubs of network building and places for personal growth and development” (Valverde and Briggs 2015). We cannot ignore that the University is a community builder as it does bring people together and allows various relationships to form. However, universities such as the UofT can also be described as neoliberal because of their corporatisation, the managerialism of their academic institutions, the routinization and commodification of

teaching and learning to accommodate growing numbers, and the co-option of research by corporate, industrial and military funding agencies.

UTSC's revenue depends on its investment in property but also on it bringing foreign students to its campus. In 2018/2019, 29.8% of all students were from other countries. For the 2019/2020 academic year, there were over 14,000 students of which over 3200 students were international students and only 925 beds were available at Residence. This meant almost 1/4th of all students were international students. Therefore, many of the students who would live on campus or close to campus are International Students or students who do not live with family. Many of these students utilize the services of the Athletics and Recreation Department. It is therefore important to understand the challenges related to those who do not participate in departmental programming. For example, travel and commuting time were identified as a primary factor in whether students participated in departmental programming or not. Importantly, much of the programming did not work with the schedules of students who did not live on Residence or close to campus – either programming was not available, or students lived far from campus and had to worry about a long commute or an early or very late commute in the dark. This is further depicted in a study of student commutes, which shows that the mean commute time by transit to UTSC is 60 mins and that in general “[c]ommute times have been linked with students willingness to travel to and participate in activities on-campus in the Toronto region” ([Allen, Wessel, Farber, 2018: 14-15](#)). A light rail transit (LRT) line that was supposed to be built in Scarborough and in conjunction with the construction of the Pan Am stadium was abandoned by then-Mayor Rob Ford and this location became far less accessible (Valverde et al 2020). If the university is investing in infrastructural development and in the

development of land around campus, who ultimately benefits from such investments and how they are made accountable and transparent for all to see?

Conclusion – Girish Daswani

In late March 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic forced us to pause, to stay indoors more and to switch to online learning – the university was no longer “home” and institutional home-making practices were restricted to the Internet. Instead, the inside of our homes overlapped with the virtual space of the university. I taught the rest of my classes from my home. Statements of solidarity were shared and “We’re all in this together” became a popular slogan. But many of us quickly realized that “we” were not in this together. Just like with physical distancing, the responsibility to adapt and to respond fell on individuals differently. Many students did not have the ability to physically distance in the same way. Statements of solidarity were often not enough and financial assistance was not always accessible to all. In the summer, some colleagues and myself conducted an online survey for UTSC and UofT St. George faculty and students on how they experienced the emergency transition to online learning. Some of the initial results indicated (1) “that the shift to online learning...had a disproportionately negative impact on equity seeking groups;” (2) that “[a]lmost half of the respondents took on additional care responsibilities due to the pandemic” and (3) that online learning was experienced as an inferior educational practice ([Chan, Daswani, Hird-Younger, Hunter, Way 2020](#)). We raised critical questions about the university’s reluctance to collect data: “...especially with a focus on equity seeking groups who seem more adversely affected by the recent shift to online learning” and more “comprehensive race-based data.” As another recent study by UTSC faculty Mark Hunter and his students highlighted:

“Black students are more likely than others to associate leaving with negative experiences with faculty and staff.”

While UTSC has responded to this in its [Campus Curriculum Review](#), forthcoming boardroom discussions beg an important question: Will this institutional work resemble real change?

The months that followed have continued to raise new challenges and the trope of a more [caring University](#) has taken shape. Recently (November 20, 2020) a public message from [UofT President Meric Gertler](#) included the words:

“If we’re concerned that someone may be struggling, let’s ask how they’re doing and listen to what they have to say. As we have seen in so many ways throughout the year, kindness and empathy can be incredibly powerful, even transformative”.

This trope of the caring university and its optics is appealing, but like “diversity”, it needs to be taken with a measure of caution. Before we can learn to care, many things have to be (un-)learnt first. In October 2020, several UofT faculty and students participated in a Scholars Strike that lasted two days. Scholars Strike Canada was organized in line with the scholars strike in the U.S., “[in its call for racial justice, an end to anti-Black police violence and it adds a specific focus on anti-Indigenous, colonial violence.](#)” Some of us took these two days to not work – not teach, not write emails, not attend meetings and not respond to administrative duties. We were asked to pause together. To think and feel together. This was an important halt to the rhythm of our expected work routines and those who attended were there to learn, to listen to these public teach-ins from activists and scholars. Not once was “diversity” mentioned in the list of demands on the Canada Scholars Strike website. Instead, it started with the [words](#):

“Statements of solidarity, while important, are not enough. We must commit ourselves as scholars, artists, writers, poets, designers and researchers to actively ending all forms of racist, carceral, institutional and systemic forms of violence.”

This made me reflect on the University and its in/ability to truly respond to the changing expectations and needs of faculty and students. It made me think about my students’ research and how it pointed to a similar observation: That the university’s statements of care and commitment toward diversity and equity did less for students than it did for the University’s brand and self-image.

On day two of the Scholars Strike, UofT Professor [Rinaldo Walcott](#) spoke about Canadian higher education and its participation in the logics of violence. The academy in Canada, instead of being a site of resistance and struggle, replicates a model of the neoliberal university. Reflecting on his own academic trajectory, he spoke about how (by the end of the 1990s), Canadian universities were "Americanizing" under the rubric of “Internationalization” and how this process allowed the Canadian academy to perpetuate Whiteness and to reproduce elite-ness (including through the *Canada Research Chair* program). Since the 2008 economic crisis, and even more so recently, universities have become "hedge funds". Echoing Ahmed’s notion of the “non-performative”, Walcott spoke about how “equity, diversity and inclusion” initiatives have become a “form of silencing” and ultimately a way for the university to manage us and “curtail our wildest dreams of what the university can and could be”. As academics, we are implicated and disciplined to replicate this politics. To not do so, to resist, has its costs. I had to pause throughout the two days. Take breaks in between panels and let the information and insights sink in. There was so much to sit with. There was so much to (un-)learn. Sitting in and with these teach-ins was important for me – not just for reflection’s sake, but for the reason of

sitting with my discomfort. It made me realize that the University also needed to pause, to sit with itself, and to un-learn. Goodwill and diversity-talk are not going to solve our historically entrenched problems. To reiterate what Walcott said: “What price are we willing to pay to change this?”

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