

GENERAL REVIEW PAPER

Tackling an Uncomfortable Reality: Exploring Decolonising in Home Economics Education

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Abstract

In this paper I explore the premise that colonialism, racism and microaggressions are forms of structural violence that are deeply embedded in the fabric of society particularly evident in our language and actions and addressing them is a start toward decolonisation. I argue that the only way to decolonise is to consistently visibilise, identify and describe structural violences and then work to dismantle them. I discuss how home economics educators can do this being mindful that this is a long process and there is no quick fix.

Keywords: Decolonisation, Structural Violence, Colonisation, Racism, Microaggressions

Preamble

I am a fourth generation White, settler colonist, old aged, middle class, able-bodied, married, childless female. I am grateful to live and write in unceded ancestral Coast Salish territory, specifically the lands of the Quw'utsun' and Malahat peoples of Canada. I have lived most my life under a *White gaze*—the power, privilege and mentality of settler colonialism that has produced language and actions that "evoke and enforce hidden signs of racial superiority, cultural hegemony, and dismissive 'othering' of people" (Morrison, 1992, p. x-xi) and where "official versions of history, which begin as cultural and contextual interpretations of events, morph into hegemonic expressions of existing value structures and worldviews of dominant groups in a society" (Donald, 2009, p. 3). I recognise that I am never totally free from the hegemony of the White gaze dominating how I think and operate within society and the privileges it has afforded me as a White person.

Introduction

Language is a powerful tool. Different discourses start from different premises, use different data, have different ideological bases informed by different value systems, and have different purposes. The cultural coding in our languages shapes our taken-for-granted assumptions and patterns of thought and behaviour influencing what is silenced and what is marginalised. Combined with gestures and actions, language can affect how we perceive reality and, in the process, it can alter the nature of reality itself. In order to make sensible choices for action we need to be able to understand these different languages and discourses. We need to be prepared to challenge the language and discourses we use as well as that used by others in reference to us. particularly if they are antithetical to our cause.

Marjorie Brown (1993) wrote a book with the subheading *Basic Ideas by which home economists understand themselves*. On reading the book, you may conclude, as I have, that it is really

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about how we misunderstand ourselves. If we do not sufficiently explain and articulate the terms we use to determine whether they suit our intentions we risk taking actions contrary to our espoused mission. As Brown says, "the [terms] create illusions by which home economists deceive themselves: the ideas and the professional activities based on those ideas are contrary to the real intentions of home economics" (p. 484). In other words, to get out from the White gaze I need to recognise how uncritically accepted and unjust dominant colonial ideologies are embedded in everyday situations and practices of which I am involved. It means challenging guiding assumptions, unequal relations of power in the larger society, and the realities of dominance and subordination. In particular this involves philosophical inquiry to: identify structural violence as a theoretical frame; demonstrate that colonialism, racisms and microaggressions are pervasive, institutionalised social structures of violence; and argue that decolonisation involves exposing and dismantling them.

Mode of Inquiry

The call for papers for this special issue outlined the topic of investigation as decolonisation making problematic the relationship between home economics and colonialism. The broad question, I am addressing is "in what ways can we decolonise our educational practices?" To explore this question, I use philosophical inquiry "to theorize, to analyze, to critique, to raise questions about, and/or to pose as problematic that which we are investigating" (Koetting & Malisa, 2008, p. 1009). A theoretical framework refers to the theory that a researcher chooses to guide their research and to offer an explanation of an event, or shed some light on a particular phenomenon or research problem (Imenda, 2014). In this case, I reference the theory of structural violence first introduced by Galtung (1969).

Structural Violence as a Theoretical Frame

A review the literature reveals that the theory of structural violence was first introduced by peace scholar Galtung (1969), who used the term to distinguish it from the typical physical violence of war or crime. According to Galtung (1969) structural violence is a form of violence that is built into social structures, such as the language used, or social institutions, such as education or health care. It harms people by preventing them from meeting their basic physical, social, and emotional needs. Edling (2015) explains that structural violence is difficult to spot because it is "produced as a recurring beat through endorsed ideals, speech, gestures, choice of focus and solutions to world problems" (p. 404) often appearing "to be normal, harmless and sometimes have the ambition to do good, whereas in reality, they make life difficult for certain groups of people" (p. 405). The use of structural violence or "everyday violence" (Scheper-Hughes, 1995, p. 143) compels us to ask what factors uphold inequality, unfair treatment and injury to people (Farmer, 2004; Galtung, 1969). It creates the opportunity to consider the different types of marginalisation, oppression and discrimination that shape inequality and suffering and how they can be addressed. In that way, concern about structural violence is often considered synonymous with concern for social justice (Evans, 2016).

The use of structural violence as a theoretical frame is common in peace studies (Bentley et al., 2017; Evans, 2016; Galtung, 1969; Vorobej, 2008), political science (Dilts et al., 2012), and anthropology (Farmer, 2004; Rylko-Bauer & Farmer, 2016; Scheper-Hughes, 1993). Increasingly it is used by health researchers (Farmer et al., 2006; Hamed et al., 2020; Herrick & Bell, 2020; Macassa et al., 2021), sociologists (Hamer & Lang, 2015), and women's studies (Mukherjee et al., 2011; Price, 2012). It is beginning to appear in education (Edling, 2015). McGregor (2003) used it in reference to consumerism which is significant since some home economics programs are known as Family and Consumer Science. Home economists work in various fields (e.g., academia, education, health care, social work, international development, etc.) many of which have perpetrated or been party to structural violence one way or another.

In this article, I use structural violence as a theoretical tool and descriptor to understand how colonialism, racisms and microaggressions are social structures that are frequently rendered invisible because they are enacted in subtle, taken-for-granted ways and become hegemonic. I chose structural *violence* to emphasise the resulting hurt, trauma and harm.

Colonialism as Structural Violence

Colonialism is a broad concept referring to the project of European political domination often achieved with significant permanent European settlement (Kohn & Reddy, 2017). Often referred to as settler colonialism, it seeks to replace the original population of the colonised territory with a new society of settlers (Tuck et al., 2014). Settler colonialism is a structure rather than an event (Wolfe, 1999). While colonialism is primarily about conquest, exploitation and extraction of resources, settler colonialism is premised on occupation and the elimination of the Indigenous population (Tuck, 2016; Wolfe, 2006) using biopolitical and geopolitical structural methods to ensure the primacy of colonial power and control. Settler colonialism involves actions such as removing Indigenous people from their land and establishing reserves or reservations; forcing Indigenous children into schools that were far from their homes, thus removing them from their culture and familial connections; removing children from their homes altogether and adopting children out to colonial families; banning Indigenous ceremonies; claiming and renaming Indigenous territories; imposing colonial systems of governing; to name just a few (Battiste, 2013; Battiste et al., 2002; Burow et al., 2018; Maddison, 2013). Every effort sought the continued disconnection of Indigenous people from: their histories, landscapes, language, social relations; their own ways of thinking, feeling, and interacting with the world; their existing cultural structures and social support systems; and their systems of laws and governance. It was not just Indigenous people who were treated this way, immigrants with cultural backgrounds other than the colonisers and especially visible minorities, also experienced similar forms of structural violence and discrimination.

By imposing new colonial social, economic, and political structures many of which continue to this day, settler colonialism seeks erase all evidence of indigeneity and difference (Ball, 1983; Maddison, 2013). These structures are violent because: a) "the violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (Galtung, 1969, p. 170-1); and b) "social, political or economic structures stand in violation of another layer of cultural norms with the effect of systematic harm to individuals and communities" (Vaidya, 2018, p. 317).

Colonial institutions have historically functioned as mechanisms to serve the purposes of the coloniser (Ball, 1983; Khalifa et al., 2019; Tuck, 2016). Education whether it be formal or informal, as a colonial institution has, and continues to use, colonial strategies such as: normalising Western Eurocentric empiricist knowledge ignoring Indigenous many ways of knowing; using only the language of the colonist; only accepting written colonial histories as legitimate, devaluing or dismissing Indigenous oral histories (Khalifa et al., 2019; Mbembe, 2016; Tuck, 2016); and imposing a culture of schooling as opposed to a culture of learning (Khamasi et al., 2021).

Education, social work, and health, all of the so called "helping" professions, including home economics, often did just the opposite of helping by serving as agents of erasure, creating profound ruptures in Indigenous families and communities by wiping out languages, cultures, knowledge, norms, value systems, histories, kinship and relationships (Battiste, 2012). Early advocates for home economics/domestic science (or any of the various terms that have been used) believed that interventions in the family, whether in the realm of hygiene, cooking, child rearing, or satisfying other basic needs, were ways to address evolving social and public health issues and improve both society and nation. By emphasising standard procedures on how to conduct a home that were based on Eurocentric values, they were unwittingly complicit in

settler colonisation. I say unwittingly because I think many home economists could be categorised as either colonists in the sense they are from countries that established colonies around the world, or settler colonists those who live in former colonies or countries that are still closely linked to a colonial home country, or those who are Indigenous but have been raised in colonial states. There is a good chance that they have taken for granted the hegemony of colonialism.

Fundamentally, hegemony is the power of the ruling class to convince other classes that their interests are the interests of all. Domination is thus exerted not by force, nor even necessarily by active persuasion, but by a more subtle and inclusive power over the economy, and over state apparatuses such as education and the media, by which the ruling class's interest is presented as the common interest and thus comes to be taken for granted. (Ashcroft et al., 2013, p. 106-107)

European, western, imperial knowledge, morality, cultural practices and mores, become dominant undermining and trivialising any other thought or behaviour, reinforcing White privilege. Matthews (1987) suggested that home economics had never reached its full potential because it was impossible to help people while systematically disparaging their life experience.

A few examples from my own practice: in my second year of teaching in the late 1960s I accepted position teaching elementary school in a rural amalgamated school where 75% of the enrolment were Indigenous students. I never once questioned the prescribed curriculum that consisted of basal readers in English, social studies of the great explorers, Western scientific methods, and so on. I had a similar experience when 12 years later I took a position teaching home economics. That year a new mandated curriculum for that subject had been issued that even included a scope and sequence of the recipes students should prepare in Foods and Nutrition: trifle, scones, Yorkshire pudding, beef Wellington, along with a few "ethnic" and "foreign" suggestions but no mention of local or Indigenous foods. Again, I never once questioned what was prescribed. I simply set about determining how to implement it, accepting the authority of government. de Zwart (2005) uses the metaphor of "white sauce" to explain how the home economics curriculum served the colonial function of assimilation and social control. Smith (2019c) describes it as keeping the "British" in "British Columbia". It could also be referred to as a "white racial frame" that leads to stereotypes and discriminatory actions (Toure & Dorsey, 2018).

My teacher education up to that point had consisted of courses that focused mainly on how to implement (not question) the mandated curriculum and how to manage a classroom. It was not until I was introduced to critical theory in the 1980s, first by the work of Brown (1980, 1985, 1993) and then by various applications of critical theory such as critical race, critical feminist, and postcolonial scholarship that I was able to recognise the limitations and structural violence of my thinking, language and actions related to professional practice and to begin to think about questions such as whose knowledge, whose culture, what is to be taught, to whom and how.

Decolonising

If we agree that colonialism is structurally violent then the way to address it is to decolonise. There is great diversity and depth in decolonial practice. Stirling (2015) notes it can be "a state of being, an analytical tool, a body of theory, a process of recovery, a system of praxis, and the expression of activism" (p. 80). However, there is fairly common agreement that the purpose of decolonisation is "the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms" (Ashcroft et al., 2013, p. 56). It involves recovering "the history that has been hidden or suppressed unintentionally and intentionally" (Battiste, 2013, p. 107) and identifying colonial ideologies that normalise the superiority and privilege of Western thought and approaches.

There has been a lot of attention given to Indigenising curriculum but similar to Hill (2012) I contend that before you can indigenise professional practice, one must decolonise both the person and the curriculum (Smith, 2019a, 2019b). Otherwise, there is a chance of recolonising, which "resettles [W]hiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 3). Recolonising occurs when educational professionals, often well intentioned, teach "about" Indigenous people or various cultural groups but often transmit stereotypical views, fixed in time, decontextualised, and unconscious of the enormous diversity within and between cultures. Or, they just do a few activities as a "token" to be able to claim that they are including Indigenous perspectives and honouring cultural diversity for example, have students make an "Indigenous" or "cultural" recipe or create a textile object with a "native" or cultural motif or participate in a single event, for example, the International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples or World Peace Day.

Decolonisation thus has implications for the home economics profession. It requires: decolonising ourselves; decolonising curriculum; and decolonising our research (Smith, 2019a, 2019b). I will briefly review these and then discuss two specific actions, addressing racism and microaggressions.

Decolonising Ourselves

Decolonising means being willing to learn as much as we can about colonisation so we can adequately reflect Indigenous cultures and traditions as recommended by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP, 2007). Being willing to unlearn all that we learned in most current systems of education-based Eurocentric frameworks that are structurally violent (Battiste, 2013; Smith, 2016). It means taking

... responsibility to look at ourselves first as members of colonising cultures, turning the analytic lens and the transformational actions on those discursive structures and patterns, identities and practices that originate within and benefit those with privilege in the dominant culture. (Edmundson & Martusewicz, 2013, pp. 179-180)

This is "an intensely political transformative process" (Battell Lowman & Barker., 2016, p. 111) that seeks to:

- a. overcome ignorance and to understand the impact of settler colonialism and dismantle the colonial structures that perpetuate the status quo;
- b. value and revitalise Indigenous knowledge and approaches and weed out settler biases or assumptions that have impacted Indigenous ways of being; and
- c. avoid tokenism and recolonisation (Antoine et al., 2018).

Decolonising Home Economics Curriculum

For many the word curriculum refers to the official formal document that mandates what should be taught in a certain jurisdiction. A common synonym is the syllabus or outline of the course content. Since so much of typical home economics content is based on Western empiricist knowledge and values, we need to interrogate and decolonise it. Our understandings of food and diet (Bodirsky & Johnson, 2008; Bradley & Herrera, 2016; Rueda Esquibel, 2016; Wilson & Shukla, 2020), of health and wellbeing (Büyüm et al., 2020; Herrick & Bell, 2020; Macassa et al., 2021; Narasimhan & Chandanabhumma, 2021), of consumerism (McGregor, 2003), of fashion and clothing (Jansen, 2020); family science (Bermúdez et al., 2016), and so on, all need to be revisited and diversified.

Another meaning of curriculum that is much broader is everything that goes on in educational settings that contributes to what students learn (Battiste, 2012; Egan, 1978; Posner, 2004). This meaning includes such aspects as the hidden curriculum and null curriculum. The hidden or

covert curriculum refers messages students receive about knowledge, norms, values, behaviour that are implied by the educational environment such as the arrangement of seating in classroom, the bulletin boards and displays, timetables and bells, class and school rules and rituals, what is celebrated, and so on. The null curriculum refers to subject matter that is not taught and therefore students learn that it is not important, not valued for example, the historical, philosophical, economic and cultural contributions of Indigenous people and any people who are not of the dominant culture.

To decolonise our curriculum, we can closely examine educational settings, resources, materials and pedagogical practices for evidence of colonialism. We can ask "what is takenfor-granted?" "What perspective dominates?" "What is missing?" "Is this (setting, resource, teaching strategy) empowering all students?" For example, Wong (2013) examined two home economics textbooks published 20 years apart to see if any progress had been made given the rise of critical theory, critical postmodern feminist theories and critical race theory. She found some improvement but on the whole the representation of gender, race, class, age were still problematic as there was evidence of tokenism, othering, and stigmatisation. She recommended that curricular materials be evaluated in order to determine whether adaptations and supplementary materials will be required or whether the materials should be used at all. She suggested that students should be taught to think critically about the material in textbooks rather than passively accepting the information. Having an open dialogue about the way gender, race and socioeconomic status are portrayed will encourage student learning and develop critical literacy.

Decolonise Home Economics Research

The way we research and write research reports is subject to colonisation. We are often bound by Eurocentric academic conventions (Held, 2019). For Indigenous people, research has been a negative experience, a metaphor for colonialism (Smith, 1999/2013). *Decolonizing Methodologies*, (originally published by L. T. Smith in 1999) initiated a movement away from typical empiricist research on people toward more participatory power with research. We need to learn to conduct research "in ways that meet the needs of Indigenous communities and are nonexploitative, culturally appropriate and inclusive, or we need to relinquish our roles as researchers within Indigenous contexts and make way for Indigenous researchers" (Aveling, 2013, p. 204). Thambinathan and Kinsella (2021) content that if the research involves vulnerable people who are "oppressed by colonial legacies" decolonising research as a "moral imperative" (p. 1). They outline four practices that can be used to decolonise qualitative researcher: (1) exercising critical reflexivity, (2) reciprocity and respect for self-determination, (3) embracing *Other(ed)* ways of knowing, and (4) embodying a transformative praxis.

Only when we adopt a decolonising stance can begin to revise and transform the imperialist and assimilative frameworks that have grounded our work. In home economics education two areas in particular deserve close attention; the structural violence of racism and microaggressions.

Addressing Racism

The structural violence of racism is often but not always invisible because racism is an ingrained, pervasive element of our society (Ladson-Billings, 2013). It causes dehumanisation, humiliation, silencing, alienation, exclusion, economic dispossession, shame, grief, and trauma. While *racism* has the root word race, the term racism has expanded to include all forms of discrimination and oppression. "All oppressions have certain things in common. They operate within structures, are intended to establish material advantage, and create an "Othering" process between the self and the other" (Dei, 2003, p. 4). For home economists addressing racism as part of decolonisation is important as our professional practice often involves working

with institutions that have routinely produced racially inequitable outcomes for people of colour and advantages for White people.

Anti-racist education is a "proactive educational practice intended to address all forms of racism and the intersections of social difference (race, class, gender, sexuality, and disability)" (Dei, 2003, p. 2). Anti-racist approaches are informed by Foucault's notions of biopower and governmentality, where prejudice, discrimination, bias and so on, are manifestations of racism and the intent is to negate the value of *the other* in order to gain power and to dominate and control, biopower; and/or a way for the state to maintain power and regulate and control subjects, governmentality (Fiaccadori, 2015; Su Rasmussen, 2011). In this interpretation, racism is seen as a tool or device of repression and power and it has played/continues to play a role in securing the acceptability of and legitimation of state actions (Feldman, 2018). Anti-racist education is a commitment to educate students in ways that make racialised power relations explicit, deconstruct the social construction of race, and analyse interlocking systems of oppression that serve to marginalise and exclude some groups while privileging others (Lynch et al., 2017). Three common goals of anti-racist education are:

- **visibilising**—identifying or making visible (all forms of systemic oppression, bias, discrimination, stereotypes, prejudice, racial slurs, naming, etc.);
- recognising—becoming aware of the roots, and current manifestations of all forms of racism, (e.g., assimilation, colour evasiveness, discrimination, oppression; marginalisation,), identifying personal complicity and consequences;
- **strategising**—how to address and dismantle to transform yourself and society. (Lynch et al., 2017).

Visibilising and recognising involves developing a shared accurate racial vocabulary (Thomas, 2019) in order to understand the social, cultural, economic, political conditions and power relations that have contributed to each form of oppression, how they operate in society, the purposes and consequences and how to make changes (Kernahan, 2019). The underlying assumption is that if we can name it, we can understand it, and we can change it.

Addressing Microaggressions

Racism through subtle microaggressions are just as harmful as blatant acts of racism and discrimination. Popularised largely through the work of Sue (2010), microaggressions are the everyday, commonplace verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalised group membership. They are insidious because they tend to happen casually and frequently, often with no explicit harm intended. While originally Sue's work focussed on race and gender, microaggressions cut across all social identities including race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, age, disability status, socio-economic class, and other important social dimensions. Microaggressions although subtle, can be more potent than active discrimination and far more detrimental because the slights are hard to address and not as easy to identify as active racism or sexism. The cumulative results are often referred to a death by a thousand paper cuts (Sue, 2010). We all participate in microaggressive behaviour but what is important is how we respond to that behaviour when we recognise it or someone else points it out to us and to be vigilant about our own use. Sue (2010) identified three types of microaggressions:

microassaults—discriminatory actions. For example, using racial epithets, displaying
racist symbols, streaming students on the basis of race, gender, or perceived ability,
expecting students of any particular group to "represent" the perspectives of others of
their group, racial profiling.

- microinsults—verbal, nonverbal, and environmental communications that subtly convey rudeness and insensitivity and that demean or show disrespect for some aspect of a person's identity. A few home economics examples; a student to a home economics teacher—"you have to go to university to teach this!"; a colleague to a home economics graduate student—"they have a masters in that? What do you do cook and sew all day?"; a counsellor to a home economics teacher, "can you let (name of student) into your class. They need an easy course".
- microinvalidations—communications that subtly exclude negate or nullify the thoughts, feelings or reality of a person. For example, "you have a disability? You look pretty normal to me;" assigning impossible home labs or projects to students living in poverty; "I don't care if you are a vegetarian you have to learn to cook meat"; repeatedly using the wrong pronouns for a transgender person or mispronouncing a person's name.

To address microaggressions we can decide what action is appropriate while trying to avoid doing nothing or becoming defensive (Sue et al., 2019). We can use a microaggression as a *teachable moment* or we can address it privately. Sue et al. (2019) suggest using microinterventions that (a) making the invisible visible; (b) disarm the microaggression, and (c) educate the perpetrator. Micro aggressions can be addressed privately or as teachable moments depending on the circumstance. It is important that the perpetrator does not become defensive (Goodman, 2011). Addressing microaggressions may at first feel overwhelming, but even small steps may be key in changing school or work culture (Casanova et al., 2018).

Intersectionality

One last comment on colonialism, racism and discrimination, and microaggressions. While it is important to examine them as they are experienced, it is also important to acknowledge that an individual's group status is not monolithic, it is intersectional. The term intersectionality is used metaphorically to evoke two (or more) roads crossing and was first described by Crenshaw (1989), a lawyer, as a way to explain how the convergence of multiple categories often leaves those at the intersection unprotected and open to harm by the legal system. Many find the concept useful in other contexts, as it enables professionals to recognise the fact that perceived group membership can make people vulnerable to various forms of bias and because they are simultaneously members of many groups, their complex identities can shape the specific way they each experience that bias (Gillborn, 2015; Harris & Leonardo, 2018; Tefera et al., 2019). Intersectionality identifies advantages and disadvantages that are felt by people due to a combination of factors. As home economists and educators, we need to consider what shapes our identities, what shapes the dynamics of our workplaces, and have we considered the multiple identities of the people we work with.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have suggested that in order to decolonise (ourselves, our curriculum and pedagogy, our research) we need to understand colonisation as structurally violent and often perpetuated through racism and microaggressions. The main message is to recognise that there are no quick fixes in overcoming oppressive structures in home economics education. Decolonisation is not a checklist where you can tick off the boxes (Pidgeon, 2016). It is a long-term process. The only way to decolonise is to visiblise, identify and describe the structural violence of colonialism and all forms of racism, discrimination and microaggressions and then work toward dismantling them (Kendi, 2019) all the while acknowledging and anticipating the complexity of this work as how people experience these forms of oppression (and privilege) will be influenced by intersectionality. Also taking into consideration that complexity and

complicity have the same etymological roots and it is only when we see the complexity of colonisation, we see our complicity in creating and recreating it (Farrell, 1992).

For every educator, our responsibility is making a commitment to both unlearn and learn—to unlearn racism and superiority in all its manifestations, while examining our own social constructions in our judgements and learn new ways of knowing, valuing others, accepting diversity, and making equity and inclusion foundations for all learners. (Battiste, 2013, p. 166)

A Caveat

We must recognise that while we are committed to decolonise, working in a colonial or colonised system makes this problematic. We are often required to use the hierarchical methods that we seek to disrupt. Thus, it is questionable whether colonial system be used to remedy colonialism (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Or as Asher (2009) puts it "How then do we break out of recreating/recirculating/ transmitting colonising educational structures and practices when we ourselves are enmeshed in the same?" (p. 8). We must be wary of decolonisation that becomes no more than "hollow academic rebranding" (Appleton, 2019).

Biography

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Mary Gale Smith is a lecturer in the Faculty of Education at the University of British Columbia. She has a long history in Home Economics Education with experience teaching home economics in high schools and working in the home economics teacher education program at UBC. She currently is involved with the HEEL program, an online master's program at UBC.

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