The Ground Truth: Lived Experiences with Culture and Change in Military Education

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ABSTRACT

The Canadian Armed Forces faces increasing societal and internal pressure to transform its noted misogynist, heteronormative, and white supremacist culture (Deschamps, 2015; George, 2016; Brown, 2021; DND, 2022; Arbour, 2022). Issues with contemporary military culture in the Canadian Armed Forces arise from defining military identity closely to the beneficiaries of longstanding patriarchal, colonial, heteronormative, ableist, and class struggle in Canada, and their use of institutions, such as the military, as tools to maintain social dominance (Razack, 2004; George, 2016; Brown, 2021). The impacts of maintaining, negotiating, and resisting dominant military identity are unequal for diverse personnel, including within the context of military education. This paper examines the lived experiences of a sub-set of personnel (military students) as they navigate military identity and military culture within a professional military learning environment. The paper presents the theories, methods, and key findings of a sociological doctoral study of students enrolled in the Joint Command and Staff Programme at Canadian Forces College in the 2017/2018 and 2018/2019 academic years. Drawing on critical theories such as militarized masculinities and intersectionality, the paper focuses on the root causes of problems with military culture highlighted in the context of military learning. Using qualitative research methodologies including in-depth interviews and focus groups, the paper uncovers the 'ground truth' of military members' understandings of military identity, culture, and their place within constructed social hierarchies in and outside of the classroom. The study examines the extent to which military students are aware of these social constructions as well as the degree to which they use, reinforce, negotiate, and resist them.

By attending to lived experience, the paper demonstrates that military members are not simply bystanders inserted into a predefined military identity and culture. Instead, military members actively (re)construct military identity and culture in their daily activities. However, members experience privileges and disadvantages from military culture depending on their positionality in relation to gender, race, sexuality, ability, and class as well as military service, occupation, and rank. Thus, aligning with dominant military identity and culture, and deriving the benefits of belonging, is easier for some members. Members' desires to maintain the status quo, to 'just fit in', or to resist dominant military identity is relational to summations of what is at stake for them professionally and personally. As findings of the study suggest, there are social and material risks for aligning with or diverging from dominant constructions of military identity in the military learning environment. Importantly, the calculations members make about the professional benefits and risks to their work in transforming military identities and culture to be more equitable and inclusive. Larger implications from the study underscore that differential consequences of military identity and culture are linked to members' positionality, the context in which they are situated, and the environment in which they are located. As such, once-size-fits-all approaches to transform military culture may not adequately address the scope of inequities, barriers, and opportunities revealed by researching lived experience.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

As the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) and Department of National Defence (DND) strive to be more inclusive and diverse, they confront perennial challenges. In the Canadian military, these include the

underrepresentation of *Employment Equity Act* groups (NDDN, 2019), as well as systemic racism (DND, 2022), misogyny, and a sexualized culture (Deschamps, 2015). In an institution with a clear dominant group, namely cisgender heterosexual men of colonial white-settler heritage, there is cause to consider the intersectional factors that are privileged culturally (Crenshaw, 1991). Research to understand the intersectional dimensions of inclusion and belonging improves the institution's capacity to recognize and address the construction and policing of internal social hierarchies (Brown, 2021). These hierarchies stand as barriers to the representation and belonging of individuals with diverse qualities and values (George, 2016; Razack, 2004; Brown, 2021). Using an intersectional perspective to understand power and privilege in the institution can reveal why 'add and stir' approaches to diversity and inclusion have failed, and why more transformational understandings of culture change are required (Dharmapuri, 2011).

For this paper, I use the findings of my sociological PhD research to demonstrate why thinking about inclusion through an intersectional lens and through the prism of military masculinities can help defence organizations to better identify and address the lived experiences of inequality. As will be presented, this research suggests that military training and education on critical theory about gender, intersectionality, sexuality and (dis)ability is beneficial as it provides members of defence organizations with the knowledge and capacity to achieve transformational culture change in their institutions and beyond through localized practices of inclusion.

2.0 METHODS

This paper draws from my sociological doctoral study of students enrolled in the Joint Command and Staff Programme at Canadian Forces College conducted between the 2017/2018 and 2018/2019 academic years. It gleans from a series of focus groups and interviews with students, curriculum developers, and deliverers to understand how students of the Joint Command and Staff Programme received and interpreted learning about diverse gender and cultural perspectives as well as feminist theory, critical race theory, and analytical tools such as Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA Plus). The methodological approach to this study intentionally aimed to advance gender equality and anti-racism in the process of conducting the research. To do this, literatures on intersectionality and militarized gender were used to: inform research questions, look for and interpret themes within the data collected, and to make concrete recommendations for continued feminist[1] change. The investigation asked to what extent had gender and cultural perspectives been integrated into Joint Command and Staff Programme curriculum?; if and in what ways had military socialization and culture shaped the learning environment and influenced the reception of gender and cultural education?; and finally, if and in what ways this learning facilitated feminist transformations and institutional culture change?

Multiple data collection methods were employed to conduct this research. The initial scoping stages of research included information collection on policy guiding the integration of gender and cultural perspectives in Professional Military Education and a review of curriculum, learning outcomes, assessment, and syllabi to uncover the extent to which gender and cultural perspectives had been formally integrated into the Programme. The following stages of research comprised a feminist and intersectionally informed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Dijk 1993) of semi-structured interviews in the form of focus groups and individual interviews (Deschaux-Beaume 2012). Qualitative data was collected in six focus groups with a total of 45 participants as well as sixteen additional individual in-depth interviews with students and staff. Follow-up interviews were then conducted with eight students of the Programme after they had graduated and been in staff and leadership roles for a minimum of 3 months. These follow-up interviews aimed to validate curriculum to assess if and how graduates applied their learning about gender and cultural perspectives in their daily work, and if this learning facilitated their individual efforts toward the culture

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[1] The feminism I deploy throughout the research and this paper is intersectional and anti-racist. See: Bello, Barbara Giovanna and Letizia Mancini. "Talking about Intersectionality. Interview with Kimberlé W. Crenshaw." Sociologia Del Diritto no. 2 (2016): 11-21.

change desired by the institution. Focus groups and interviews were conducted across the College's subgroups of learners and support staff, including curriculum developers and deliverers both civilian and military as well as students, to gain a fulsome understanding of power relations within the entire social setting and culture.

3.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Two key critical theories informing data collection and analysis for this research are militarized masculinities and intersectionality. Critical theories are those that work to identify, critique, and challenge unfair and unequal power structures in internationally, domestically, and institutionally. The unfair and unequal power structures referenced in this research include patriarchy, colonialism, white supremacy, heteronormativity, classism, and ableism (Eichler and Brown, In Press). Drawing from these, I intentionally sought to identify if and how participants were working to maintain or interrogate unfair/inequitable power distributions within the larger military and within the military classroom. I will speak to the utility of each theory for understanding military culture in turn.

3.1   Militarized Masculinities

Literatures on hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) and more specifically militarized masculinities in the Canadian Armed Forces (Whitworth, 2004; Taber, 2009; Eichler, 2014; Brown, 2021) speak to how dominant patriarchal and heteronormative ruling relations in military culture are developed. There is a large body of knowledge on how gender constructs in armed forces tend to reify the power of particular men over other men, women, and gender diverse people (Higate, 2003; Duncanson and Woodward 2016; Parpart and Partridge, 2019). Militarized masculinity, as with any hegemonic construct of gender, is theorized to be deeply relational to understandings of femininity (Schippers, 2007). Conceptions of feminine qualities in military cultures tend to be essentialist and stereotypical, where femininity, and by extension women, are likely to be associated with life-giving, pacifism, victimhood, and the need for protection (Baaz & Stern, 2009, 499). These characteristics are also often understood in opposition to dominant notions of masculine qualities that are similarly stereotypical, such as 'protecting, warring, and killing' (Ibid).

Such social constructions of gender define what qualities and behaviours are 'appropriate' for military members (Brown and Okros, 2020). Political scientist and gender scholar Maya Eichler notes that idealized masculine qualities in the military include "toughness, violence, aggression, courage, control, and domination" (Eichler, 2014). Military sociologists Karen Davis and Brian McKee highlight how militarized masculinities in the Canadian Armed Forces idealize men and masculinities associated with the combat warrior (Davis and McKee, 2006). When learning to conform to these gender constructs, others have highlighted related pressures to reject and police feminine behaviours and to deny feminine experience (Reiffenstein, 2007; Febbraro, 2007; Brown, 2021). As presented in later sections of the paper, military students experience a high degree of social policing of their personal and professional gender identities and expressions, but this policing also happens on the bases of intersecting experiential and identity factors such as racialization, ability, and social class.

3.2   Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a theory originally developed by legal scholar, critical feminist and race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw. In developing the theory, Crenshaw (1991) sought to explain the discrimination experienced by Black women in the United States of America experienced on the basis of two mutually reinforcing systems of oppression, namely, patriarchy and white supremacy. Currently, Crenshaw and scholars who continue to develop and expand on the theory have applied intersectionality prolifically across disciplines and fields of study (Cho et al, 2013), including those with focus on the military (George, 2016; Brown, 2021). Indeed, intersectionality is now used as an analytical tool across the whole of the Canadian government to

understand how policies, plans, and actions might best serve the needs and expectations of all Canadians (Canada, 2022). For those of who are part of the Canadian public service and for members of the Canadian Armed Forces, intersectionality constitutes the plus in Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA Plus) (Ibid).

More broadly, intersectional scholarship seeks to understand how social constructions about difference, or 'kinds' of people, idealize some categories while denigrating others. Broad differences become categorized and differentially valued overtime, and consequently, groups of people become socially stratified and valued hierarchically in societies. As such, intersectionality is a theory that enables scholars to identify the influence of systems of privilege and oppression in institutions, societies, and their cultures. These systems include patriarchy, colonialism, white supremacy, heteronormativity, and ableism (Eichler and Brown, In Press). Researchers can leverage intersectionality to trace how valuations of 'difference' within these systems emerge in institutions such as the military over time, creating social hierarchies across intersecting groups and institutional structures. As Crenshaw explains, intersectionality "attends to both the ways that categorization has facilitated and rationalized social hierarchy and to the institutional and societal structures that have come to reify and reproduce social power" (Bello and Mancini, 2016, 13-14).

The research employs intersectionality to expose the ways in which social hierarchies within the context of military education are conceived and used to organize students (and staff) according to idealized and overlapping qualities in relation to gender, ethnicity, sex, language, education, sexuality, ability, class as well as service, rank, and occupation. Drawing from intersectionality, I was able to better understand military members' narratives about exclusion and inclusion connected to mutually constitutive ideas of ideal and pariah intersectional identities.

3.3   Military Culture

Drawing on militarized masculinities and intersectional theory enables concrete and historically situated analysis of the production of military culture. Similar to other social constructions, military culture is consistently produced, negotiated, and maintained by military members (and societies) overtime (Brown and Okros, 2020). Like gender, race, and other systems of social organization, military culture is a socially constructed way to organize personnel according to uniquely military 'kinds' such as occupation, rank, and service. Gleaning from research by anthropologist Anne Irwin (2009), there are culturally specific categories in the military not typically applicable across other institutions, including in the public service. These distinctly military categories overlap with broader socially constructed and intersectional categories such as gender, race, and ability (Brown, 2021). Thus, it is important to connect the ways in social hierarchy in the armed forces is produced through the making of ordinary citizens into soldiers in and through military culture and subcultures (Whitworth, 2004).

As illustration, research by military organizational psychologist Vince Connelly (2021) explains that military culture demands high levels of normative conformity and social stratification by rank, and this affinity for conformity and rank can help to explain the high risk of marginalization for the part time Reservist. Normative conformity to military behaviours, values, and worldviews, as well as hierarchies imposed on the basis of rank, are specific to armed forces socialization and culture (Brown and Okros, 2019). Who occupies horizontally and vertically esteemed roles in the military can also help to explain intersecting marginalization across the institution in relation to gender, racialization, sexuality, ability and class, where in Canada, white, colonial-settler, cis-gender, heterosexual, men dominate most positions of authority, while women, Indigenous, and racially minoritized groups tend to occupy lower rank and culturally feminized occupations and trades. The intersection of military and societal ways of social organization can illuminate experiences of sticky floors, glass ceilings, and glass cliffs[2] for particular groups in the Canadian Armed Forces and other

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[2] Sticky floors refer to barriers that prevent groups from promotion to higher levels of esteem and remuneration in organizations. Glass ceilings refer to obstacles that limit entry into levels of work beyond a particular threshold. Glass cliffs refer to key leadership and decision-making positions held by an individual from a minoritized group, where supports and experiences provided to others may be withheld or inaccessible, setting the minoritized individual up for failure in a highly visible role.

armed forces. Intersectionality, militarized masculinities, and military culture are also key facets of the historical *context* in which marginalization and exclusion are experienced in armed forces.

4.0 FINDINGS

Findings of the research attend to how learning about gender and cultural perspectives in the Joint Command and Staff Programme is experienced in relation to observed marginalization and idealization of military identities in the learning environment. Key themes emergent across respondents' observations included the nature of the militarized and masculine learning environment and reflections about the College's dominant intersectional culture. A common theme across participant groups was that the learning environment had been defined by social stratification produced in and through cultural idealizations of gender, race, language, sexuality, rank, service, and occupation. In the context of joint learning, cultural idealizations of military masculinity observed in the learning environment were seen to be closely associated with masculinity, men's bodies, whiteness, Anglo culture and language, and masculine norms of physical fitness, with a clear prioritization of the Army and operator roles.

Importantly, idealized masculinity was noted by participants as evident in hierarchies of the Army over the Navy and Air Force, with perceptions that the Army is institutionally idealized and constructed as the most masculine. The idealized masculine identity of the Army was often rationalized due to perceived proximity to close ground combat. Relatedly, such idealizations normalized operational roles as dominant over support roles and tended to associate operational work as 'hard' and 'masculine' and support functions as 'soft' and 'feminine'.

Of note, fewer women, Black, Indigenous and People of Colour (BIPOC) occupied these socially privileged roles at the College. In this joint environment with civilian and military collaboration across students and staff, the cultural production of hierarchies based on gender, racialization, service, rank, and occupation was often identified as being more pronounced than in other military contexts. Many respondents reported an exacerbation of their experiences of inequality based on gender and racial identities, service, rank, and occupation precisely because of the joint and hierarchical culture at the College. As illustration, one student explains:

> My peers, who seem to think that I am okay, but I am not that good, think that every time I get something, it's because I am a woman. I have never had that rubbed in my face so much than while I have been in the Joint Command and Staff Programme (Brown, 2021, 108).

Indeed, a common theme across student participants was the reflection of feeling intense pressure to conform to the College's idealized norms and identity. Student and staff participants noted that peers, educators, and leaders at the College actively policed behaviours and attitudes to ensure normative conformity to the constructed but unnamed idealized identity within the learning environment.

Observations from the research suggests that gender, sex, occupation, rank and service are linked in the College's culture and crucial to the development of an observed gender hierarchy within the learning environment. Though this hierarchy was reported to be consistently challenged and negotiated by participants themselves, the intersection of gender, service, rank, and occupation deeply influenced the ways in which military students and staff navigated daily life at the College. For example, one student observes:

> When it comes to leadership, that is when the military side takes over. There is bias that we have for the combat arms or operator. They will be viewed as having more

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For more on these see: Triana, María. 2017. "sex/gender." In Managing Diversity in Organizations. 1st ed., 94-124: Routledge.

> leadership. They are viewed as capable of leading people to war. Whereas supporters are viewed as maybe a bit more, "they are good at their job, they are technicians rather than leaders" in some ways. So, there is a grading within the different trades and I think that came out in some ways at the College. . .Women fall even below this. Women fall in the same category as supporter, I think. Because support is considered a 'soft' trade (Brown, 2021, 105).

Thus, while formal military constructs such as rank, occupation, and trade are nominally gender-neutral; symbolically, culturally and materially, these are received and understood by military members as deeply gendered categories.

Similar observations about military culture, gender, racialization and other diversity factors are made by College staff. As one staff participant observes:

> There is a noticeable hardening of gender lines, and there is a noticeable hardening of diversity lines. There is a noticeable hiding of how people deal with each other in ways that are not inclusive. I find that it has created within the student body a very toxic environment, and on the staff side I find a very toxic environment. . . I am hopeful that there are ways of shaping that future, but what concerns me is that [there are] two individuals who [] have been directly affected specifically along the ethnic and diversity lines as well as gender. People who have chosen to retreat from the College [ ] because they didn't feel that, at the senior leadership level, there was anything more than a "now, now, everything is just fine" approach. The problem is, in a hybrid environment of military and civilians that approach doesn't work. It reduces the credibility of the institution writ large. So, how do we as an institution deal with that? (Brown, 2021, 108).
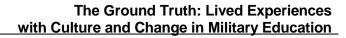
These findings suggest that participants actively identify intersectional exclusions at play within dominant constructions of military culture in both the learning and working environment. Moreover, while many participants identified structural forms of inequality, such as inadequate numbers of women's and gender-neutral washrooms and limited representation of women, Indigenous, and racially minoritized groups at the College, most consternation across participants came from observations of socio-cultural practices of marginalization and exclusion. In essence, military and civilian participants were most injured or offended by intersectional forms of cultural injustice, discrimination, and harassment at the College.

Irina Goldenberg et al's research demonstrates that "military and civilian personnel are governed by very different personnel management systems, and have distinct cultures" (2019, 28). Their findings show that defence personnel who engage in more *positive* military-civilian collaboration are more likely to be satisfied with their jobs, engaged in their work, and committed to the organisation (Ibid). My findings show that more *negative* military-civilian personnel relations have the inverse effect. Examples of the hardening of lines across civilian and military sub-cultures, with distinct practices of conformity to narrow militarized gender, ethnic, and diversity identities were experienced materially as exclusion by respondents on both sides of the civil-military coin. These experiences were reported to have cost the DND/CAF in terms of credibility as an employer of choice and in terms of larger institutional goals of inclusion and culture change (Brown, 2021).

5.0 OUTCOMES

Important outcomes of these findings are that: one, militaries require military relevant strategies for culture

change that may differ (significantly) from the approaches required for civilian defence organizations; and two, more civil-military collaboration can be an antidote to the military's closure through normative conformity and social stratification by rank, occupation, and trade that can exacerbate marginalization, as identified by Connelly (2021). A one-size-fits-all culture change strategy for defence organizations that span military-civilian personnel such as for the Defence Team in Canada, Whole Force Concept in the United Kingdom, or the One Defence Team in Sweden, will not adequately address the specific facets of military culture that require change. Further, a homogenous approach for civilian-military personnel is not likely to tackle the unique facets of public service culture that also require focused attention (Goldenberg et al, 2021).

However, a second, more positive outcome of the research is that recognizing the unique experiences of marginalization within military and civilian defence organizations can lead to more nuanced collaboration, allyship, and teamwork across military and civilian defence personnel in their mutual work toward culture change. As an example, a key theme expressed specifically across graduate respondents in individual follow-up interviews was that learning about critical theory at the College, primarily from civilian faculty, enabled them to better identify practices of exclusion in the military, and helped them to shape their environments, leadership, and practices in more equitable and inclusive ways.

Some forms of localized culture change work by graduates include awareness raising, bias interruption, and facilitating shifts in thinking in their civilian and military teams. As one graduate reflects, learning about gender and cultural perspectives allowed them to guide their team to more inclusive event planning that considered the particular needs and expectations of personnel's partners and families. This officer noted that they would use discussion and diverse real-world examples about gender, the family, and dependent care to overcome observed exclusionary thinking and bias in unit programming and initiatives.

Some graduates spoke about their work towards broader organizational shifts by advocating for policy change. The following reflection from a graduate in an advisory role shows their experience of mainstreaming critical gender and cultural perspectives in personnel policy. They state:

> I make sure it's included. It would be part of the GBA Plus protocol, but nobody was doing it before I got here. I work mostly with the Gender Advisor of the Command. . . A good example, men are able to wear a beard now. So, the minute that conversion came out, I contacted the dress company and I asked "Ok so when are we going to do the full gender, like the GBA Plus analysis and consider some changes for women? As an example, like the way women have to wear their hair" (Brown, 2021, 223).

In addition to ensuring that gender and intersectional perspectives are included in military policy, some graduates also indicated that they used their knowledge to request disaggregated information on sex, gender, and other intersecting identity factors such as ethnicity, age, and biometrics to inform policy, procurement, and operational planning decisions (Brown, 2021, 227-229).

In relation to their work to remove barriers in the sub-culture of their occupation, another graduate explains:

> [Some] of the things you have to understand when you start to try to make changes to the occupation are what is the culture of that occupation and where will they resist change? . . . if we are really trying to talk about gender and diversity and intersectionality, you know you're eliminating some of the population who might actually be really capable (Brown, 2021, 227).

In this way, graduates recognize that intersectional inequity can manifest differently not only in the broader military culture, but also within its sub-cultures divided by military categories such as occupation, trade, and

unit. As such, they recognize that culture change is often localized and specific.

Two officers deployed on international missions described using critical gender and cultural perspectives to tailor their approach and conduct in operations with local communities. Each reflected on how they considered historical power disparities in gender, sex, ethnicity, religion, income, and age, as well as competing cultural interests in specific regions. Both indicated the value of applying gender and cultural perspectives to their work, but each also lamented that gaps in professional military education about how to conduct gender and intersectional analyses led them to do more independent learning on the fly during missions, such as consulting online courses and reaching out to peers that had formal gender education and training (Brown, 2021, 229-230).

These examples of the application of gender and intersectional perspectives learned in the Joint Command and Staff Programme indicate a final significant outcome—the capability of military personnel to be active agents of change. Through exposure to critical theory, graduates demonstrate diverse and impactful efforts to uncover and address systemic, structural, and cultural inequalities. Importantly, they illuminate how critical theory incorporated in gender and cultural learning at Canadian Forces College contributes to localized efforts towards meaningful social transformation and change within the military and in the diverse societies within which the military serves.

6.0 CONCLUSION

This paper illustrates how thinking about exclusion and inclusion through military masculinities, intersectional social hierarchies, and the unique facets of military culture can help to better identify and address the lived experiences of inequality in defence organizations. Crucially, the research suggests that ongoing work to expand gender, cultural, and intersectional education has provided some members of the Canadian military with requisite knowledge and capacity to achieve transformational culture changes through localized practices of inclusion.

The paper examines the lived experiences of a sub-set of personnel (military students) as these stories highlight how military personnel navigate, contest, and rebuild military identity and culture. As the paper presents, drawing on critical theories such as militarized masculinities and intersectionality enables special focus on the root causes of problems with military's culture as highlighted in the context of military learning, such as patriarchy, colonialism, white supremacy, heteronormativity, ableism, and classism. Using qualitative research methodologies including in-depth interviews and focus groups, the paper unravels the 'ground truth' from a sub-group of military members and explores their situated, positional, and intersectional understandings of military identity, culture, and their place in constructed social hierarchies both within and outside of the military learning environment. As the paper highlights, military and civilian personnel are often acutely aware of military social constructions as well as the degree to which they use, reinforce, negotiate, and resist them.

The subtext of this paper is that by attending to lived experience, we make visible how military members are not simply bystanders inserted into a predefined military identity and culture. Lived experience demonstrates that military members actively (re)construct military identity and culture in their daily activities, often to succeed. However, members experience privileges and disadvantages from military culture depending on their positionality in relation to gender, race, sexuality, ability, and class as well as military service, occupation, and rank. Thus, aligning with dominant military identity and culture, and deriving the benefits of belonging, can be easier for some members. Members' desires to maintain the status quo, to 'just fit in and get by', or to resist dominant military culture is relational to summations of what is at stake for them professionally and personally. As one participant remarks in relation to their experience of gender related harassment by a peer:

> How do I defend myself from that? There was no fixing that a**hole. . . He was sure
> to never say it out loud in front of people. He was smart enough to say it in private. . .
> If I want to deal with it through the Chain of Command I can. But, [ ] part of being
> recognized as being strong and valuable to the Army, is to deal with this stuff myself
> (Brown, 2021, 129).

In this way, advocating for change has a price. There are often personal and professional costs to questioning, challenging, and changing the status quo. As findings of the study suggest, there are social, academic, emotional, physical, and material risks for aligning with or diverging from dominant constructions of military culture (Brown, 2021). Important to note are the calculations members make about the professional benefits and risks to their work in transforming military identities and culture to be more equitable and inclusive. Larger implications from the study underscore that differential consequences of military identity and culture as well as attempts to alter these are linked to members' positionality, the context in which they are situated, and the environment in which they are located. As such, one-size-fits-all approaches to transform military (and defence organizational) culture may not adequately address the scope of inequities, barriers, and opportunities that are revealed by researching lived experience.

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