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A critical reflection on the development of the Participatory Autism Research Collective (PARC)

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A critical reflection on the development of the Participatory Autism Research Collective (PARC)

Abstract

Purpose

The Participatory Autism Research Collective (PARC) was initially set up with the purpose of bringing autistic people, including scholars and activists (but not exclusively), together with early career researchers and practitioners who work with autistic people, with the aim being to build a community where those who wished to see more significant involvement of autistic people in autism research could share knowledge and expertise.

Approach

This article explores the development of the PARC network, reflecting upon its activities and ethos within current Higher Education (HE) practices and structures.

Findings

In supporting autistic individuals in their attempts to establish themselves within academic systems that may not always be considerate or accommodating, the existence of PARC creates a structure with which autistic people can influence social change. PARC serves as a network of support, strengthening the presence of autistic scholars in academia. It also provides a structure through which autistic people are able to demonstrate helpful practices with which to engage more broadly.

Value

The PARC network is the first autistic-led venture of its kind in the UK to have a sustained impact. PARC is growing to become an important element in the field of autism studies both by supporting the emerging autistic academics and by promoting ethical and participatory research methods and practices.

Keywords: Autism, Participation, Higher Education, Social networks

Article Classification: Viewpoint

Introduction

The Participatory Autism Research Collective (PARC) was initially developed at London South Bank University (LSBU) by Dr. Damian Milton and Professor Nicola Martin, with the first meeting being held in April 2015. PARC was set up with the purpose of bringing autistic people, including scholars and activists (but not exclusively), together with early career researchers and practitioners who work with autistic people, with the aim being to build a community where those who wished to see more significant involvement of autistic people in autism research could share knowledge and expertise. This article explores the development of the PARC network, reflecting upon its ethos within current Higher Education (HE) practices and structures.

Although the PARC project was initially based at LSBU (where PARC has held a number of events since and will continue to do so), the group has also expanded to holding events across a variety of sites, including Birmingham, Sheffield and Nottingham. Initially however, just five people attended the very first meeting of the PARC group at LSBU in April 2015, three of them autistic scholars and two non-autistic researchers, one from LSBU and one from another University. The initial aims and objectives of PARC were set out as to:

- Address the isolation felt by many autistic researchers
- To ensure that research carried out by autistic people can be found and used
- To raise the reputation of participatory research methods in the field
- Critically comment on autism research which does not empower autistic people

In order to achieve these aims it was suggested that PARC would:

- Encourage autistic people starting out in research
- Provide peer feedback on research and support with accessing funding
- Holding meetings and events

Influences on the formation of PARC

The initial inspiration for the PARC group had come from several sources. Previously to the PARC group, a number of early members had been part of an autistic-led 'grassroots' endeavour called the 'Theorising Autism Project' (Greenstein, 2014, Ridout, 2014), which had held two workshop days, one in 2012 at the University of Birmingham on the theme of education and another in 2014 at University College London (UCL) on the theme of participation. Also in 2012 saw the launch of an autistic-led open access journal called 'Autonomy: the Critical Journal of Interdisciplinary Autism Studies' where future PARC members were part of its editorial board. The future chair of PARC Damian Milton had also helped to develop and then chair a conference on the topic of participation for the National Autistic Society's (NAS) 'Ask autism' project in 2014, and had co-authored a critical article on this topic a year earlier (Milton and Bracher, 2013).

The activities of PARC

Running parallel to the work of PARC was a seminar series set up led by Liz Pellicano at UCL (who had hosted one of the Theorising Autism Project events), where Damian Milton was a co-applicant, called 'Shaping Autism Research UK' and was funded through the ESRC (Shaping Autism Research, 2017; Fletcher-Watson et al., 2018). This had a similar ethos to PARC, but was 'researcher-led' and followed a report that had been written regarding autism research in the UK entitled 'A future made together' (Pellicano et al. 2013). This report highlighted a great dissatisfaction from autistic people and their families regarding the research produced in the UK and its impact (or lack of it) on their everyday lives (or indeed at times negative impact). The report found that the majority of research funding was spent investigating the biological and genetic aspects of autism, with just 1% of research spend being in the area of 'social research'. The seminar series looked into autism policy and practice as well as wellbeing within a social context, and participation as key themes. This seminar series had a good deal of input from autistic scholars associated with the PARC group, and the project also produced useful resources, such as a toolkit on participatory research practice (Fletcher-Watson et al., 2018). Whilst this project was a funded three-year project that has now come to an

end, the PARC group has been unfunded, yet has continued to hold meetings and events. Importantly however, colleagues from the Shaping Autism Research project helped with the setting up of a website for the PARC group which went live in the spring of 2017 and has attracted a good deal of interest since through the announcing of events and critical blog posts regarding research and practice in the field.

During 2016 the PARC group held a number of meetings involving invited speakers, some autistic activists and scholars and some early-career researchers. These activities led to PARC being shortlisted for an NAS award early in 2017 for 'Most Creative Community Project'. This was followed by a number of meetings held at LSBU with established researchers in the field such as Dr. Wenn Lawson and Dr. James Cusack (research director at the charity Autistica). Over the last year PARC events have also expanded to Birmingham, Sheffield, and Nottingham, with initial informal meetings and plans forming at the University of Kent and recently held its first conferences in Birmingham and London.

The PARC group has inputted into a number of funded projects, firstly a project looking into mentoring services for autistic adults that members of the PARC group were employed to work on at LSBU, as well as the National Autism Project funded by the Shirley Foundation. In 2017 PARC also managed to access a share of a very small amount of funding from LSBU as a crucial part of the newly formed Critical Autism /Disability Studies Research Group headed by Professor Nicola Martin. LSBU and other universities also support PARC with access to facilities such as meeting rooms. If funding room hire was factored in PARC would be unable to meet. LSBU opens PARC events to MA Education / Autism students and regards the arrangement as a win-win situation.

In 2017 PARC established itself in the West Midlands with initial events held at Birmingham City University (BCU), where it launched by inviting a student Seb Stafford-Cook, to talk about Wellbeing and his early experiences in compulsory education prior to moving to Higher Education (HE) and receiving mentoring support. Highlighting the issues of imposed outsider terminology and bullying and their impact on him, Seb's talk led to discussion between autistic and non-autistic students, mentors and practitioners around what constituted an enabling environment or, conversely, a disabling environment in HE (Ridout and Edmondson, 2017). There was much criticism of a lack of even basic autism awareness among staff, and other critical issues raised focused on: the importance of an individual approach; understanding the sensory impact of busy spaces, especially entrances; and the need for quiet spaces to allow an individual to regain control of anxiety (Ridout, 2016; Graby, 2015; Moon, 2014; Murray 2006). These points are often overlooked when planning support and are in addition to helping individual autistic students engage with their course and understand its requirements. Perhaps even more problematic is that the quality of mentoring and disability support varies between universities, so a change of course or university can effectively mean a new start that is difficult to manage (Ridout, 2018).

The West Midlands branch of PARC then moved to its second home at the University of Birmingham (UoB), where people attending the first session took part in small group discussions under the overarching theme of 'Identity and Violence' to decide on the theme and purpose of future sessions. As a result, the themes of 'Sexuality', 'Institutionalised Violence' and 'Gender' emerged. The events are inclusive of all, and it is encouraging that young autistic speakers are finding this a welcoming space to present at alongside more experienced autistic and non-autistic researchers. Future sessions also have exciting plans for joint writing and presentation ventures. This format allows

people to reflect on learning points and encourages thoughts about the shaping of future events, and it is arguably this inclusive approach that points to the national and growing success of PARC to date.

November 2017 saw PARC spread its reach north to Sheffield, with the workshop 'PARC Publish' being held in collaboration with Sheffield Hallam University. The aim of this workshop was to bring together writers and researchers from both within and outside of academia, along with members of autistic and autism communities with an interest in the publishing of autism-related literature, in order to discuss the current state of the field, and to explore aims and goals for the future, and the potential roles PARC may play in this. A lively and engaged discussion session was structured around four key themes: (1) Literature review – material that has been useful, and that which may be considered problematic; (2) Representation and inclusion – how can we ensure that autistic and autism communities are represented in, and have access to, literature on autism? How can we incorporate diversity of expression and communication in autism publishing?; (3) Collaboration – how can we work together and share skills and resources at our collective disposal?; and, (4) The future – what do we want to see in the field of autism publishing? What topics do we wish to see covered? What working methods do we wish to engage?

Key points coming out of the discussion included the role of autism literature in shaping and strengthening the identities of autistic people, in a similar way to that discussed by Bagatell (2007), and in influencing the trajectories of autistic and non-autistic researchers. Conversely, the 'offensive' tone of some research on autism was experienced as problematic by some. Access to published material was highlighted as an issue, with the impact of academic 'paywalls' and other barriers being highlighted as having a negative impact on community inclusion and activism. Topics identified as important for future publications included employment support, access to healthcare, ageing, and sexualities. Participants indicated a keenness to develop supportive writing groups, and forums to share work, with social media being identified as an important platform, to enable confidence and empowerment, and to assist in navigating interaction while accommodating a wide range of communication and processing needs and preferences. The role of established writers, researchers, and publishers was highlighted as being significant in supporting those at earlier points in their career who did not have access to the same range of supportive networks and resources.

A novel aspect of the PARC Publish workshop was the use of social media to facilitate participation and engagement on an international level. This included the use of the 'Buffer' application to preprepare tweets, which contained slides detailing the questions being discussed at the workshop. These tweets were then timed to be sent from the organiser's Twitter account at the same time as the topics were being discussed in the room. The use of this strategy, along with the 'hashtag' #PARCPublish meant that those unable to attend the event in person were able to participate in the discussion, and to continue this after the event; it also facilitated additional 'processing' and communication time for those, primarily autistic, participants who experienced 'real-time' face-to-face interaction as a barrier to participation, adding a level of inclusivity and accessibility to the event. The fact that discussion coalesced around a hashtag meant that discussion was captured and is now easily located and identified. The workshop proved very popular, with a replication of the event being held subsequently in Plymouth. It is envisaged that the points raised in the workshop may be incorporated into future publishing plans, both for PARC, and for the wider autistic and autism communities.

In early 2018, PARC partnered with the Department of Psychology at the University of Nottingham to hold a workshop day concerning the 'double empathy problem' as initially theorised by Milton (2012). This brought together researchers and theorists such as Nick Chown, Brett Heasman, and Noah Sasson to discuss this growing area of research interest. Another event held at LSBU involved students from New York University visiting the UK and a talk from the US-based autistic academic Stephen Shore. In July 2018 PARC held a 'Critical Autism Studies' conference at LSBU attended by some sixty guests.

Activities through the PARC group have also led however to a partnership with Pavilion Press and a number of publications (Milton et al. 2016; Milton and Martin, 2016; Milton and Martin, 2017; Milton, 2017; Ridout, 2018) addressing practical issues as well as theoretical. The PARC group has also organised and chaired a stream for the last two years at the Learning Disability Today conference and in September 2018, chaired a stream on the theme of 'Neurodiversity' at the Centre for Disability Research Conference at Lancaster University, and organised the speakers for one of the platforms at the 'Autism Show's' in 2018 with members Damian Milton, Susy Ridout and Leo Capella running a workshop in advance of the event to assist people with presentations. Plans for the future of PARC also include the renewal of an autism practice journal, and a series of workshop days. The above activities show that PARC has worked very well in terms of increasing collaboration and communication between autistic people and the research community, as well as leading to publications, dissemination and sharing of research, and providing peer support, thus showing a great deal of 'real world impact' and going a long way to meeting its initial aims.

PARC and the wider HE context

Becher and Kogan (1992) suggested that HE systems contain four tiers: central authorities (such as research councils), individual institutions, basic units (such as departments) and individuals. Within these structures however, a number of commentators have suggested that the processes governing Higher Education have come to reflect a neoliberal agenda and managerialism (e.g. Davies and Peterson, 2005a; Zepke, 2017). Such concerns are not entirely new either, if one takes into account the 'instrumentalist pedagogy' noted by Scrimshaw (1983) or Ritzer's (1996) McDonaldisation of education thesis. When one looks at how the 'impact' and 'quality' of research is assessed within the Research Excellence Framework (REF), and the mechanisms and structures through which funding is allocated, one can easily depict a highly competitive and hierarchical model, even 'elitist'. Within the context of autism research, the vast majority is funded through the Medical Research Council, often framing autism as a disorder to be remedied. Social research is sparse, and where there had been two research charities dedicated to autism, one has recently closed down operations regarding funding future projects. The journals with the highest impact factor in the field of autism studies both have a history of preferring scientific and medical model approaches. Thus, as the PARC network are part of an autistic community that rallies behind the slogan 'nothing about us, without us', this scenario presents something of a problem. This issue is not just one we facing personally as autistic academics however, but a common feature for many and could be considered a 'public issue' (Mills, 1956). Furthermore, the fluidity of 'identity' as a concept is often not recognised within HE structures, so for those of us who identify as neurodivergent the issue becomes problematic with us being even more labelled and compartmentalised to suit the whims of funding bodies and outsider research communities to the detriment and exclusion of our other identities.

The Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) is a government initiative introduced in 2017 as a framework whereby undergraduate students can now assess quality of teaching and academic support along with subsequent progression into employment (Bhardwa, 2018). Linked to this is a need for HE institutions to understand and reflect social mobility, diversity and choice, and with a focus on flexible and inclusive teaching, resources and assessment forms which challenge the limiting nature of setting rigid goals (Garvey et al., 2009). The unpredictability of life and social circumstances can act as barriers to achievement (Ridout and Edmondson, 2017; ARGH and HUG 2011), so the TEF encourages practice, which it can be argued are represented in the social research values embedded in PARC.

Within this climate of competition for resources and status, the notion of research 'impact' has become increasingly important in the way academic work is evaluated, but also in terms of public responsibilities being recognised such as 'engagement', often assessed via various forms of metrics regarding citations within a field and the quality of peer review the work had been subjected to. Traditionally, autistic scholars have sometimes struggled to acquire sustainable work, or perform within normative or highly competitive frameworks and structures, thus exacerbating the rift between autism researchers and the autistic people they research or autistic scholars promoting a participatory agenda (Milton and Bracher, 2013; Milton, 2014: Gillespie-Lynch et al., 2017; Chown et al., 2017). It is interesting to note then, how the PARC network without funding has been able to build a strong research network, with increasing impact in a number of areas, providing knowledge sharing activities, increasing visibility of research outputs, effectively utilising digital media, and extending networks nationally (and more recently internationally through invited visiting guests or via online means). Despite PARC members having good and improving metrics through such work, many are in unstable employment, or with limited access to academic resources or funds. Indeed, accessing funding through partnerships with established academics, coupled with peer support and mentoring (Martin, 2017; Ridout, 2018), may be the best way to address this anomaly within current constrained systems. This is a critical issue for consideration as the majority of mentors, many of whom are themselves neurodivergent, are often employed on flimsy and demeaning zero hours contracts, with little or no respect for their skills and abilities and with no prospect of promotion. Worryingly, many mentors have no support unlike line management embedded in contracted positions, and many are unfamiliar with their co-mentors. This raises concerns as to their support network and wellbeing within the work environment and identification of the responsible party for this (Miller, 2002), and even more so raises questions as to the monitoring of agencies and whether they understand the requirements of mentees and how to appropriately match people on their agency list with students (IES and REAP, 2015). Mentoring too often falls foul of an agency's or university's need to meet performance criteria set by auditors, and this will inevitably become a number-crunching exercise as role descriptors of mentors is confused and the realistic picture of student support requirements are overlooked (SFE, 2016).

An issue explored by Archer (2008) is the construction of professional academic identities, drawing from interview data with 'younger' academics within UK universities to consider how they position themselves in relation to notions of 'authenticity' and 'success'. Archer (2008) argues that feelings of inauthenticity and exclusion are exacerbated through the performative ethos favoured by current research assessment processes and institutional structures, as well as by inequalities of age, ethnicity, class and gender (as well as the structure of temporary contracts of employment). Archer

(2008) suggests that as well as going through a process of 'becoming' an 'authentic' academic, researchers also lived with the threat of 'unbecoming' or precariousness and related inauthenticity of academic status. In relation to the development of the PARC group it is interesting to note that intersections of disability (let alone neurodiversity) did not enter in the frame of Archer's (2008) research, yet the very same issues could be said to be even more exacerbated for such populations, further disabled by the neoliberal structures and processes they contend with in academia (Davies and Peterson, 2005a). Within the field of autism studies there is also a significant divide between disciplinary territories and boundaries (Becher and Trowler, 2001; Henkel, 1997), characterised by one autistic scholar as a 'silo mentality' (Arnold, 2010). Archer (2008) cites Bourdieu, in suggesting academia can be characterised by competing individuals and groups, vying for recognition, status and value - subject to competing paradigms, representations, constructions and claims to truth. As Archer (2008) asks the question as to what extent younger academics were able to feel legitimate and successful within their identities, and finding a precarious positionality, this can be reflected to an even greater extent when considering autistic academics and scholars and the opportunities that have been afforded them in what could be described as an institutionally ableist neoliberal academic culture. PARC in contrast, has been able to step in as a collective and demonstrate inclusive practice to the field more generally.

For Davies and Peterson (2005b) the pressure for 'performance' within neoliberal discourse produces people as a set of outcomes, and reduces them to exchangeable products, a Foucauldian 'technology of self' acting within and between contradictory agendas. However, by marginalising autistic academics and their potential output, such systems give rise to activist academia, such as that seen within the field of 'critical disability studies'. The PARC group can be said to be positioned within such wider social currents as the neurodiversity movement (Walker, 2014), the social model of disability, and a participatory / emancipatory research ethos (Barnes, 2001).

Nicola Martin (2017), co-founder of the PARC network interviewed disabled academics working within UK universities in order to explore their experiences and draw out recommendations for improvements in practice. Martin (2017) found a number of barriers to encouraging and developing disabled leaders within HE that included: stereotyping, the invisibility of role models, limited strategic change at managerial levels, ableist assumptions, and disorganised processes. In order to meet these challenges, Martin (2017) recommended strategic responses, inclusive design and reasonable adjustments, leadership development and recruitment, peer support and mentoring networks, and promoting a culture that celebrates rather than problematises diversity. Whilst the PARC group is a significant step in addressing such issues, it is but a small activist group when compared to the current structures that govern and implement research within the UK. Given its small stature in this regard though, the network has significantly added to the collaborative 'impact' of the work of its members.

Forming an autistic academic community

Part of the process of forming PARC is and has been the formation of an autistic academic community that is supportive and empowering (Ridout and Edmondson, 2017; Research Autism, 2015). This has been one of the initial aims for PARC and its importance should be considered not only in terms of connecting academics with similar research interests, but also in supporting autistic

individuals in their attempts to establish themselves within academic systems that may not always be considerate or accommodating. From our personal anecdotal conversations with each other, and with autistic individuals working in the autism field more broadly, we are aware of a vast array of issues that we share and with which we need support. These may apply more broadly to many autistic autism professionals and/or activists but are contextualised in a different way within academia.

One important aspect of being an autistic academic is the vast amounts of emotional labour that one has to go through. Emotional labour is defined as the process of dealing with other peoples' feelings, a core element of which is the regulation of one's own emotions (James, 1989). There are many ways in which an autistic academic has to manage profound emotional labour in academic spaces. It begins with constantly engaging with a huge amount of violent predominant autism discourses, based on dehumanising and infantilising medical models. Autistic professionals also have to manage a world where the "outside-in" description of their abilities often disregards the amount of effort they put in order to stay and survive ableist academic spaces that are not prepared to address their needs in any significant way (Milton and Moon, 2012). This extends to the relationships and networking we have to do, which is an integral part of academia. As autistic academics, we often must engage in predominantly non-autistic autism discourses as well as non-autistic colleagues whilst managing our own emotions regarding the dominance of non-autistic autism discourse which harms us personally, autistic academics collectively and the autistic communities more broadly and handle our colleagues' unhelpful practices in a tactful way. This requires an immense amount of emotional labour in and of itself, which is only aggravated by the constant need of having to reevaluate our beliefs and alliances.

The examples above demonstrate a few instances of emotional labour involved in being an autistic academic. Therefore, from a community-building standpoint, the very existence of PARC creates a structure with which we can begin to create change for ourselves and others as members of a "community of coping" (Korczynski, 2003). The idea of a community of coping was first introduced by Hochschild (1983), to refer to the unofficial structures which workers create to deal with work situations that require them to display significant amounts of emotional labour. Korczynski (2003) elaborates in the ways which communities of coping can act in ways which are useful with the structures that surround them, by reducing, for example, staff turnover, as well as inform acts of resistance from management directives. In an academic context, PARC serves both of those roles. Given the significant lack of any meaningful support towards autistic academics, PARC serves as a network of support for each other in our efforts of continuing our work and strengthening our presence in academia. It also provides a structure through which we are able to demonstrate helpful practices with which to engage both autistic academics and autistic communities more broadly, by its firm commitment to participatory autism research. Therefore PARC is growing to become an important element in the field of autism studies both by supporting the emerging autistic academics and by promoting ethical and participatory research methods and practices.

Conclusion

The PARC group has been successful and continues to grow, yet to be living up to its name it will need to find ways of widening participation for those with more considerable communication or

intellectual impairments, or from autistic people who also occupy intersecting marginalised identities. One advantage to being largely a network of 'outsider researchers' is the lack of managing the risk of 'unbecoming' an academic if one has never been seen as legitimately so to begin with, affording a critical scrutiny others set within a hierarchical and competitive system may enjoy. The PARC group and others like it are thus essential for academia to sustain some of its classical ethos within a neoliberal context.

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Article Classification: Viewpoint

Introduction

The Participatory Autism Research Collective (PARC) was initially developed at London South Bank University (LSBU) by Dr. Damian Milton and Professor Nicola Martin, with the first meeting being held in April 2015. PARC was set up with the purpose of bringing autistic people, including scholars and activists (but not exclusively), together with early career researchers and practitioners who work with autistic people, with the aim being to build a community where those who wished to see more significant involvement of autistic people in autism research could share knowledge and expertise. This article explores the development of the PARC network, reflecting upon its ethos within current Higher Education (HE) practices and structures.

Although the PARC project was initially based at LSBU (where PARC has held a number of events since and will continue to do so), the group has also expanded to holding events across a variety of sites, including Birmingham, Sheffield and Nottingham. Initially however, just five people attended the very first meeting of the PARC group at LSBU in April 2015, three of them autistic scholars and two non-autistic researchers, one from LSBU and one from another University. The initial aims and objectives of PARC were set out as to:

- Address the isolation felt by many autistic researchers
- To ensure that research carried out by autistic people can be found and used
- To raise the reputation of participatory research methods in the field
- Critically comment on autism research which does not empower autistic people

In order to achieve these aims it was suggested that PARC would:

- Encourage autistic people starting out in research
- Provide peer feedback on research and support with accessing funding
- Holding meetings and events

Influences on the formation of PARC

The initial inspiration for the PARC group had come from several sources. Previously to the PARC group, a number of early members had been part of an autistic-led 'grassroots' endeavour called the 'Theorising Autism Project' (Greenstein, 2014), which had held two workshop days, one in 2012 at the University of Birmingham on the theme of education and another in 2014 at University College London (UCL) on the theme of participation. Also 2012 saw the launch of an autistic-led open access journal called 'Autonomy: the Critical Journal of Interdisciplinary Autism Studies' where future PARC members were part of its editorial board. The future chair of PARC Damian Milton had also helped to develop and then chair a conference on the topic of participation for the National Autistic Society's (NAS) 'Ask autism' project in 2014 and had co-authored a critical article on this topic a year earlier (Milton and Bracher, 2013).

There have been a number of similar initiatives to PARC in terms of promoting participatory research in the field of autism studies (Nicolaidis et al., 2011; Fletcher-Watson et al., 2018), although until recently have tended to assume a separation between researcher and community and a period of mentoring into specific research roles. PARC on the other hand is simply an open network, led by established and aspiring autistic academics and allies from numerous disciplines, but open to all to contribute to through numerous and varied activities.

The activities of PARC

During 2016 the PARC group held a number of meetings involving invited speakers, some autistic activists and scholars and some early-career researchers. These activities led to PARC being shortlisted for an NAS award early in 2017 for 'Most Creative Community Project'. This was followed by a number of meetings held at LSBU with established researchers in the field such as Dr. Wenn Lawson and Dr. James Cusack (research director at the charity Autistica). Over the last year PARC events have also expanded to Birmingham, Sheffield, and Nottingham, with initial informal meetings and plans forming at the University of Kent and recently held its first conferences in Birmingham and

London.

The PARC group has inputted into a number of funded projects, firstly a project looking into mentoring services for autistic adults that members of the PARC group were employed to work on at LSBU, as well as the National Autism Project funded by the Shirley Foundation. In 2017 PARC also managed to access a share of a very small amount of funding from LSBU as a crucial part of the newly formed Critical Autism /Disability Studies Research Group headed by Professor Nicola Martin. LSBU and other universities also support PARC with access to facilities such as meeting rooms. If funding room hire was factored in PARC would be unable to meet. LSBU opens PARC events to MA Education / Autism students and regards the arrangement as a win-win situation.

In 2017 PARC established itself in the West Midlands with initial events held at Birmingham City University (BCU), where it launched by inviting a student Seb Stafford-Cook, to talk about Wellbeing and his early experiences in compulsory education prior to moving to Higher Education (HE) and receiving mentoring support. The West Midlands branch of PARC then moved to its second home at the University of Birmingham (UoB), where people attending the first session took part in small group discussions under the overarching theme of 'Identity and Violence' to decide on the theme and purpose of future sessions. As a result, the themes of 'Sexuality', 'Institutionalised Violence' and 'Gender' emerged. The events are inclusive of all, and it is encouraging that young autistic speakers are finding this a welcoming space to present at alongside more experienced autistic and nonautistic researchers. November 2017 saw PARC spread its reach north to Sheffield, with the workshop 'PARC Publish' being held in collaboration with Sheffield Hallam University. The aim of this workshop was to bring together writers and researchers from both within and outside of academia, along with members of autistic and autism communities with an interest in the publishing of autismrelated literature, in order to discuss the current state of the field, and to explore aims and goals for the future, and the potential roles PARC may play in this. In early 2018, PARC partnered with the Department of Psychology at the University of Nottingham to hold a workshop day concerning the 'double empathy problem' as initially theorised by Milton (2012). This brought together researchers and theorists such as Nick Chown, Brett Heasman, and Noah Sasson to discuss this growing area of research interest. Another event held at LSBU involved students from New York University visiting the UK and a talk from the US-based autistic academic Stephen Shore. In July 2018 PARC held a 'Critical Autism Studies' conference at LSBU attended by some sixty guests. Such activities have established links between autistic and non-autistic researchers across disciplinary backgrounds forging links that have led on to publications in the field.

Activities through the PARC group have also led however to a partnership with Pavilion Press and a number of publications (Milton et al. 2016; Milton and Martin, 2016; Milton and Martin, 2017; Milton, 2017; Ridout, 2018) addressing practical issues as well as theoretical. The PARC group has also organised and chaired stream for high profile conferences such as Learning Disability Today, the Centre for Disability Research Conference at Lancaster University, and the 'Autism Show's'. Plans for the future of PARC also include the renewal of an autism practice journal, and a series of workshop days. The above activities show that PARC has worked very well in terms of increasing collaboration and communication between autistic people and the research community, as well as leading to publications, dissemination and sharing of research, and providing peer support, thus showing a great deal of 'real world impact' and going a long way to meeting its initial aims.

PARC and the wider HE context

Becher and Kogan (1992) suggested that HE systems contain four tiers: central authorities (such as research councils), individual institutions, basic units (such as departments) and individuals. Within these structures however, a number of commentators have suggested that the processes governing Higher Education have come to reflect a neoliberal agenda and managerialism (e.g. Davies and Peterson, 2005a; Zepke, 2017). Such concerns are not entirely new either, if one takes into account the 'instrumentalist pedagogy' noted by Scrimshaw (1983). When one looks at how the 'impact' and 'quality' of research is assessed within the Research Excellence Framework (REF), and the mechanisms and structures through which funding is allocated, one can easily depict a highly competitive and hierarchical model, even 'elitist'. Within the context of autism research, the vast majority is funded through the Medical Research Council, often framing autism as a disorder to be remedied. Social research is sparse, and where there had been two research charities dedicated to autism, one has recently closed down operations regarding funding future projects. The journals with the highest impact factor in the field of autism studies both have a history of preferring scientific and medical model approaches. Thus, as the PARC network are part of an autistic community that rallies behind the slogan 'nothing about us, without us', this scenario presents something of a problem. This issue is not just one we are facing personally as autistic academics however, but a common feature for many and could be considered a 'public issue' (Mills, 1959). Furthermore, the fluidity of 'identity' as a concept is often not recognised within HE structures, so for those of us who identify as neurodivergent (divergent from social standards of neurological normalcy) the issue becomes problematic with us being even more labelled and compartmentalised to suit the whims of funding bodies and outsider research communities to the detriment and exclusion of our other identities.

The Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) is a government initiative introduced in 2017 as a framework whereby undergraduate students can now assess quality of teaching and academic support along with subsequent progression into employment (Bhardwa, 2018). Linked to this is a need for HE institutions to understand and reflect social mobility, diversity and choice, and with a focus on flexible and inclusive teaching, resources and assessment forms which challenge the limiting nature of setting rigid goals (Garvey et al., 2009). The unpredictability of life and social circumstances can act as barriers to achievement (Ridout and Edmondson, 2017), so the TEF encourages practice, which it can be argued are represented in the social research values embedded in PARC.

Within this climate of competition for resources and status, the notion of research 'impact' has become increasingly important in the way academic work is evaluated, but also in terms of public responsibilities being recognised such as 'engagement', often assessed via various forms of metrics regarding citations within a field and the quality of peer review the work had been subjected to. Traditionally, autistic scholars have sometimes struggled to acquire sustainable work, or perform within normative or highly competitive frameworks and structures, thus exacerbating the rift between autism researchers and the autistic people they research or autistic scholars promoting a participatory agenda (Milton and Bracher, 2013; Milton, 2014: Gillespie-Lynch et al., 2017; Chown et al., 2017). It is interesting to note then, how the PARC network without funding has been able to build a strong research network, with increasing impact in a number of areas, providing knowledge sharing activities, increasing visibility of research outputs, effectively utilising digital media, and extending networks nationally (and more recently internationally through invited visiting guests or

via online means). Despite PARC members having good and improving metrics through such work, many are in unstable employment, or with limited access to academic resources or funds. Indeed, accessing funding through partnerships with established academics, coupled with peer support and mentoring (Martin, 2017; Ridout, 2018), may be the best way to address this anomaly within current constrained systems. This is a critical issue for consideration as the majority of mentors, many of whom are themselves neurodivergent, are often employed on flimsy and demeaning zero hours contracts, with little or no respect for their skills and abilities and with no prospect of promotion. Worryingly, many mentors have no support unlike line management embedded in contracted positions, and many are unfamiliar with their co-mentors. This raises concerns as to their support network and wellbeing within the work environment and identification of the responsible party for this (Miller, 2002), and even more so raises questions as to the monitoring of agencies and whether they understand the requirements of mentees and how to appropriately match people on their agency list with students (IES and REAP, 2015). Mentoring too often falls foul of an agency's or university's need to meet performance criteria set by auditors, and this will inevitably become a number-crunching exercise as role descriptors of mentors is confused and the realistic picture of student support requirements are overlooked (SFE, 2016).

An issue explored by Archer (2008) is the construction of professional academic identities, drawing from interview data with 'younger' academics within UK universities to consider how they position themselves in relation to notions of 'authenticity' and 'success'. Archer (2008) argues that feelings of inauthenticity and exclusion are exacerbated through the performative ethos favoured by current research assessment processes and institutional structures, as well as by inequalities of age, ethnicity, class and gender (as well as the structure of temporary contracts of employment). Archer (2008) suggests that as well as going through a process of 'becoming' an 'authentic' academic, researchers also lived with the threat of 'unbecoming' or precariousness and related inauthenticity of academic status. In relation to the development of the PARC group it is interesting to note that intersections of disability (let alone neurodiversity) did not enter in the frame of Archer's (2008) research, yet the very same issues could be said to be even more exacerbated for such populations, further disabled by the neoliberal structures and processes they contend with in academia (Davies and Peterson, 2005a). Within the field of autism studies there is also a significant divide between disciplinary territories and boundaries (Becher and Trowler, 2001; Henkel, 1997), characterised by one autistic scholar Larry Arnold as a 'silo mentality'. Archer (2008) cites Bourdieu, in suggesting academia can be characterised by competing individuals and groups, vying for recognition, status and value - subject to competing paradigms, representations, constructions and claims to truth. As Archer (2008) asks the question as to what extent younger academics were able to feel legitimate and successful within their identities, and finding a precarious positionality, this can be reflected to an even greater extent when considering autistic academics and scholars and the opportunities that have been afforded them in what could be described as an institutionally ableist neoliberal academic culture. PARC in contrast, has been able to step in as a collective and demonstrate inclusive practice to the field more generally.

For Davies and Peterson (2005b) the pressure for 'performance' within neoliberal discourse produces people as a set of outcomes, and reduces them to exchangeable products, a Foucauldian 'technology of self' acting within and between contradictory agendas. However, by marginalising autistic academics and their potential output, such systems give rise to activist academia, such as

that seen within the field of 'critical disability studies'. The PARC group can be said to be positioned within such wider social currents as the neurodiversity movement (Walker, 2014), the social model of disability, and a participatory / emancipatory research ethos.

Nicola Martin (2017), co-founder of the PARC network interviewed disabled academics working within UK universities in order to explore their experiences and draw out recommendations for improvements in practice. Martin (2017) found a number of barriers to encouraging and developing disabled leaders within HE that included: stereotyping, the invisibility of role models, limited strategic change at managerial levels, ableist assumptions, and disorganised processes. In order to meet these challenges, Martin (2017) recommended strategic responses, inclusive design and reasonable adjustments, leadership development and recruitment, peer support and mentoring networks, and promoting a culture that celebrates rather than problematises diversity. Whilst the PARC group is a significant step in addressing such issues, it is but a small activist group when compared to the current structures that govern and implement research within the UK. Given its small stature in this regard though, the network has significantly added to the collaborative 'impact' of the work of its members.

Forming an autistic academic community

Part of the process of forming PARC is and has been the formation of an autistic academic community that is supportive and empowering (Ridout and Edmondson, 2017). This has been one of the initial aims for PARC and its importance should be considered not only in terms of connecting academics with similar research interests, but also in supporting autistic individuals in their attempts to establish themselves within academic systems that may not always be considerate or accommodating. From our personal anecdotal conversations with each other, and with autistic individuals working in the autism field more broadly, we are aware of a vast array of issues that we share and with which we need support. These may apply more broadly to many autistic autism professionals and/or activists but are contextualised in a different way within academia.

One important aspect of being an autistic academic is the vast amounts of emotional labour that one has to go through. Emotional labour is defined as the process of dealing with other peoples' feelings, a core element of which is the regulation of one's own emotions (James, 1989). There are many ways in which an autistic academic has to manage profound emotional labour in academic spaces. It begins with constantly engaging with a huge amount of violent predominant autism discourses, based on dehumanising and infantilising medical models. Autistic professionals also have to manage a world where the "outside-in" description of their abilities often disregards the amount of effort they put in order to stay and survive ableist academic spaces that are not prepared to address their needs in any significant way (Milton and Moon, 2012). This extends to the relationships and networking we have to do, which is an integral part of academia. As autistic academics, we often must engage in predominantly non-autistic autism discourses as well as non-autistic colleagues whilst managing our own emotions regarding the dominance of non-autistic autism discourse which harms us personally, autistic academics collectively and the autistic communities more broadly and handle our colleagues' unhelpful practices in a tactful way. This requires an immense amount of emotional labour in and of itself, which is only aggravated by the constant need of having to reevaluate our beliefs and alliances.

The examples above demonstrate a few instances of emotional labour involved in being an autistic academic. Therefore, from a community-building standpoint, the very existence of PARC creates a structure with which we can begin to create change for ourselves and others as members of a "community of coping" (Korczynski, 2003). The idea of a community of coping was first introduced by Hochschild (1983), to refer to the unofficial structures which workers create to deal with work situations that require them to display significant amounts of emotional labour. Korczynski (2003) elaborates in the ways which communities of coping can act in ways which are useful with the structures that surround them, by reducing, for example, staff turnover, as well as inform acts of resistance from management directives. In an academic context, PARC serves both of those roles. Given the significant lack of any meaningful support towards autistic academics, PARC serves as a network of support for each other in our efforts of continuing our work and strengthening our presence in academia. It also provides a structure through which we are able to demonstrate helpful practices with which to engage both autistic academics and autistic communities more broadly, by its firm commitment to participatory autism research. Therefore, PARC is growing to become an important element in the field of autism studies both by supporting the emerging autistic academics and by promoting ethical and participatory research methods and practices. Whilst PARC opens up opportunities for connection and progress in the development or participatory work, there are also risks to contend with, primarily the lack of funding for core activities, and in developing opportunities for those autistic people who traditionally have not been best served within autism research. Recently we have received news however of funding for projects at the University of Kent exploring the sensory needs of autistic people with high support needs and at London South Bank University into the needs of older autistic people, both of which will have input from PARC members in their development. We very much hope to see such initiatives continue to flourish into the future.

Implications for wider service provision

Whilst there have been many experiences to reflect upon regarding the continuing development of PARC, these experiences also pertain to wider service provision for meeting the needs of autistic people. Most strikingly this is the case in terms of support and mentoring services for autistic people in Further and Higher Education. The experiences of PARC would lend added insight into the constrained opportunities afforded to autistic students and graduates and the potential benefit of peer support and pointing in the direction of the benefit of 'working with' rather than 'doing for' marginalised groups. We would conceive of participation however to be an ongoing effort and ethos rather than a definable outcome, meaning that striving for inclusion, participation and co-production can never be perceived as a given or as fully accomplished. This is also true for the activities of PARC itself which will need to further diversify in order to broaden its impact and reach. Meanwhile, the translation of research to practice can only be furthered by continuing efforts for fruitful partnerships across neurological dispositions and academic disciplines.

Conclusion

The PARC group has been successful and continues to grow, yet to be living up to its name it will need to find ways of widening participation for those with more considerable communication or intellectual impairments, or from autistic people who also occupy intersecting marginalised identities. One advantage to being largely a network of 'outsider researchers' is the lack of managing

the risk of 'unbecoming' an academic if one has never been seen as legitimately so to begin with, affording a critical scrutiny others set within a hierarchical and competitive system may enjoy. The PARC group and others like it are thus essential for academia to sustain some of its classical ethos within a neoliberal context.

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A critical reflection on the development of the Participatory Autism Research Collective (PARC)

Abstract

Purpose

The Participatory Autism Research Collective (PARC) was initially set up with the purpose of bringing autistic people, including scholars and activists (but not exclusively), together with early career researchers and practitioners who work with autistic people, with the aim being to build a community where those who wished to see more significant involvement of autistic people in autism research could share knowledge and expertise.

Approach

This article explores the development of the PARC network, reflecting upon its activities and ethos within current Higher Education (HE) practices and structures.

Findings

In supporting autistic individuals in their attempts to establish themselves within academic systems that may not always be considerate or accommodating, the existence of PARC creates a structure with which autistic people can influence social change. PARC serves as a network of support, strengthening the presence of autistic scholars in academia. It also provides a structure through which autistic people are able to demonstrate helpful practices with which to engage more broadly.

Value

The PARC network is the first autistic-led venture of its kind in the UK to have a sustained impact. PARC is growing to become an important element in the field of autism studies both by supporting the emerging autistic academics and by promoting ethical and participatory research methods and practices.

Keywords: Autism, Participation, Higher Education, Social networks

Article Classification: Viewpoint

Introduction

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- Address the isolation felt by many autistic researchers
- To ensure that research carried out by autistic people can be found and used
- To raise the reputation of participatory research methods in the field
- Critically comment on autism research which does not empower autistic people

In order to achieve these aims it was suggested that PARC would:

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- Provide peer feedback on research and support with accessing funding
- Holding meetings and events

Influences on the formation of PARC

The initial inspiration for the PARC group had come from several sources. Previously to the PARC group, a number of early members had been part of an autistic-led 'grassroots' endeavour called the 'Theorising Autism Project' (Greenstein, 2014, Ridout, 2014), which had held two workshop days, one in 2012 at the University of Birmingham on the theme of education and another in 2014 at University College London (UCL) on the theme of participation. Also in 2012 saw the launch of an autistic-led open access journal called 'Autonomy: the Critical Journal of Interdisciplinary Autism Studies' where future PARC members were part of its editorial board. The future chair of PARC Damian Milton had also helped to develop and then chair a conference on the topic of participation for the National Autistic Society's (NAS) 'Ask autism' project in 2014, and had co-authored a critical article on this topic a year earlier (Milton and Bracher, 2013).

There have been a number of similar initiatives to PARC in terms of promoting participatory research in the field of autism studies (Nicolaidis et al., 2011; Fletcher-Watson et al., 2018), although until recently have tended to assume a separation between researcher and community and a period of mentoring into specific research roles. PARC on the other hand is simply an open network, led by established and aspiring autistic academics and allies from numerous disciplines, but open to all to contribute to through numerous and varied activities.

The activities of PARC

Running parallel to the work of PARC was a seminar series set up led by Liz Pellicano at UCL (who had hosted one of the Theorising Autism Project events), where Damian Milton was a co-applicant, called 'Shaping Autism Research UK' and was funded through the ESRC (Shaping Autism Research, 2017; Fletcher-Watson et al., 2018). This had a similar ethos to PARC, but was 'researcher-led' and followed a report that had been written regarding autism research in the UK entitled 'A future made together' (Pellicano et al. 2013). This report highlighted a great dissatisfaction from autistic people and their families regarding the research produced in the UK and its impact (or lack of it) on their

everyday lives (or indeed at times negative impact). The report found that the majority of research funding was spent investigating the biological and genetic aspects of autism, with just 1% of research spend being in the area of 'social research'. The seminar series looked into autism policy and practice as well as wellbeing within a social context, and participation as key themes. This seminar series had a good deal of input from autistic scholars associated with the PARC group, and the project also produced useful resources, such as a toolkit on participatory research practice (Fletcher-Watson et al., 2018). Whilst this project was a funded three-year project that has now come to an end, the PARC group has been unfunded, yet has continued to hold meetings and events. Importantly however, colleagues from the Shaping Autism Research project helped with the setting up of a website for the PARC group which went live in the spring of 2017 and has attracted a good deal of interest since through the announcing of events and critical blog posts regarding research and practice in the field.

During 2016 the PARC group held a number of meetings involving invited speakers, some autistic activists and scholars and some early-career researchers. These activities led to PARC being shortlisted for an NAS award early in 2017 for 'Most Creative Community Project'. This was followed by a number of meetings held at LSBU with established researchers in the field such as Dr. Wenn Lawson and Dr. James Cusack (research director at the charity Autistica). Over the last year PARC events have also expanded to Birmingham, Sheffield, and Nottingham, with initial informal meetings and plans forming at the University of Kent and recently held its first conferences in Birmingham and London.

The PARC group has inputted into a number of funded projects, firstly a project looking into mentoring services for autistic adults that members of the PARC group were employed to work on at LSBU, as well as the National Autism Project funded by the Shirley Foundation. In 2017 PARC also managed to access a share of a very small amount of funding from LSBU as a crucial part of the newly formed Critical Autism /Disability Studies Research Group headed by Professor Nicola Martin. LSBU and other universities also support PARC with access to facilities such as meeting rooms. If funding room hire was factored in PARC would be unable to meet. LSBU opens PARC events to MA Education / Autism students and regards the arrangement as a win-win situation.

In 2017 PARC established itself in the West Midlands with initial events held at Birmingham City University (BCU), where it launched by inviting a student Seb Stafford-Cook, to talk about Wellbeing and his early experiences in compulsory education prior to moving to Higher Education (HE) and receiving mentoring support. Highlighting the issues of imposed outsider terminology and bullying and their impact on him, Seb's talk led to discussion between autistic and non-autistic students, mentors and practitioners around what constituted an enabling environment or, conversely, a disabling environment in HE (Ridout and Edmondson, 2017). There was much criticism of a lack of even basic autism awareness among staff, and other critical issues raised focused on: the importance of an individual approach; understanding the sensory impact of busy spaces, especially entrances; and the need for quiet spaces to allow an individual to regain control of anxiety (Ridout, 2016; Graby, 2015; Moon, 2014; Murray 2006). These points are often overlooked when planning support and are in addition to helping individual autistic students engage with their course and understand its requirements. Perhaps even more problematic is that the quality of mentoring and disability support varies between universities, so a change of course or university can effectively mean a new start that is difficult to manage (Ridout, 2018).

The West Midlands branch of PARC then moved to its second home at the University of Birmingham (UoB), where people attending the first session took part in small group discussions under the overarching theme of 'Identity and Violence' to decide on the theme and purpose of future sessions. As a result, the themes of 'Sexuality', 'Institutionalised Violence' and 'Gender' emerged. The events are inclusive of all, and it is encouraging that young autistic speakers are finding this a welcoming space to present at alongside more experienced autistic and non-autistic researchers. Future sessions also have exciting plans for joint writing and presentation ventures. This format allows people to reflect on learning points and encourages thoughts about the shaping of future events, and it is arguably this inclusive approach that points to the national and growing success of PARC to date.

November 2017 saw PARC spread its reach north to Sheffield, with the workshop 'PARC Publish' being held in collaboration with Sheffield Hallam University. The aim of this workshop was to bring together writers and researchers from both within and outside of academia, along with members of autistic and autism communities with an interest in the publishing of autism-related literature, in order to discuss the current state of the field, and to explore aims and goals for the future, and the potential roles PARC may play in this. A lively and engaged discussion session was structured around four key themes: (1) Literature review — material that has been useful, and that which may be considered problematic; (2) Representation and inclusion — how can we ensure that autistic and autism communities are represented in, and have access to, literature on autism? How can we incorporate diversity of expression and communication in autism publishing?; (3) Collaboration — how can we work together and share skills and resources at our collective disposal?; and, (4) The future — what do we want to see in the field of autism publishing? What topics do we wish to see covered? What working methods do we wish to engage?

Key points coming out of the discussion included the role of autism literature in shaping and strengthening the identities of autistic people, in a similar way to that discussed by Bagatell (2007), and in influencing the trajectories of autistic and non-autistic researchers. Conversely, the 'offensive' tone of some research on autism was experienced as problematic by some. Access to published material was highlighted as an issue, with the impact of academic 'paywalls' and other barriers being highlighted as having a negative impact on community inclusion and activism. Topics identified as important for future publications included employment support, access to healthcare, ageing, and sexualities. Participants indicated a keenness to develop supportive writing groups, and forums to share work, with social media being identified as an important platform, to enable confidence and empowerment, and to assist in navigating interaction while accommodating a wide range of communication and processing needs and preferences. The role of established writers, researchers, and publishers was highlighted as being significant in supporting those at earlier points in their career who did not have access to the same range of supportive networks and resources.

A novel aspect of the PARC Publish workshop was the use of social media to facilitate participation and engagement on an international level. This included the use of the 'Buffer' application to preprepare tweets, which contained slides detailing the questions being discussed at the workshop. These tweets were then timed to be sent from the organiser's Twitter account at the same time as the topics were being discussed in the room. The use of this strategy, along with the 'hashtag' #PARCPublish meant that those unable to attend the event in person were able to participate in the discussion, and to continue this after the event; it also facilitated additional 'processing' and

communication time for those, primarily autistic, participants who experienced 'real-time' face-to-face interaction as a barrier to participation, adding a level of inclusivity and accessibility to the event. The fact that discussion coalesced around a hashtag meant that discussion was captured and is now easily located and identified. The workshop proved very popular, with a replication of the event being held subsequently in Plymouth. It is envisaged that the points raised in the workshop may be incorporated into future publishing plans, both for PARC, and for the wider autistic and autism communities.

In early 2018, PARC partnered with the Department of Psychology at the University of Nottingham to hold a workshop day concerning the 'double empathy problem' as initially theorised by Milton (2012). This brought together researchers and theorists such as Nick Chown, Brett Heasman, and Noah Sasson to discuss this growing area of research interest. Another event held at LSBU involved students from New York University visiting the UK and a talk from the US-based autistic academic Stephen Shore. In July 2018 PARC held a 'Critical Autism Studies' conference at LSBU attended by some sixty guests. Such activities have established links between autistic and non-autistic researchers across disciplinary backgrounds forging links that have led on to publications in the field.

Activities through the PARC group have also led however to a partnership with Pavilion Press and a number of publications (Milton et al. 2016; Milton and Martin, 2016; Milton and Martin, 2017; Milton, 2017; Ridout, 2018) addressing practical issues as well as theoretical. The PARC group has also organised and chaired a stream for the last two years at the high profile conferences such as Learning Disability Today, conference and in September 2018, chaired a stream on the theme of 'Neurodiversity' at the Centre for Disability Research Conference at Lancaster University, and organised the speakers for one of the platforms at the 'Autism Show's' in 2018 with members Damian Milton, Susy Ridout and Leo Capella running a workshop in advance of the event to assist people with presentations. Plans for the future of PARC also include the renewal of an autism practice journal, and a series of workshop days. The above activities show that PARC has worked very well in terms of increasing collaboration and communication between autistic people and the research community, as well as leading to publications, dissemination and sharing of research, and providing peer support, thus showing a great deal of 'real world impact' and going a long way to meeting its initial aims.

PARC and the wider HE context

Becher and Kogan (1992) suggested that HE systems contain four tiers: central authorities (such as research councils), individual institutions, basic units (such as departments) and individuals. Within these structures however, a number of commentators have suggested that the processes governing Higher Education have come to reflect a neoliberal agenda and managerialism (e.g. Davies and Peterson, 2005a; Zepke, 2017). Such concerns are not entirely new either, if one takes into account the 'instrumentalist pedagogy' noted by Scrimshaw (1983) or Ritzer's (1996) McDonaldisation of education thesis. When one looks at how the 'impact' and 'quality' of research is assessed within the Research Excellence Framework (REF), and the mechanisms and structures through which funding is allocated, one can easily depict a highly competitive and hierarchical model, even 'elitist'. Within the context of autism research, the vast majority is funded through the Medical Research Council, often framing autism as a disorder to be remedied. Social research is sparse, and where there had been two research charities dedicated to autism, one has recently closed down operations regarding

funding future projects. The journals with the highest impact factor in the field of autism studies both have a history of preferring scientific and medical model approaches. Thus, as the PARC network are part of an autistic community that rallies behind the slogan 'nothing about us, without us', this scenario presents something of a problem. This issue is not just one we are facing personally as autistic academics however, but a common feature for many and could be considered a 'public issue' (Mills, 19596). Furthermore, the fluidity of 'identity' as a concept is often not recognised within HE structures, so for those of us who identify as neurodivergent (divergent from social standards of neurological normalcy) the issue becomes problematic with us being even more labelled and compartmentalised to suit the whims of funding bodies and outsider research communities to the detriment and exclusion of our other identities.

The Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) is a government initiative introduced in 2017 as a framework whereby undergraduate students can now assess quality of teaching and academic support along with subsequent progression into employment (Bhardwa, 2018). Linked to this is a need for HE institutions to understand and reflect social mobility, diversity and choice, and with a focus on flexible and inclusive teaching, resources and assessment forms which challenge the limiting nature of setting rigid goals (Garvey et al., 2009). The unpredictability of life and social circumstances can act as barriers to achievement (Ridout and Edmondson, 2017; ARGH and HUG 2011), so the TEF encourages practice, which it can be argued are represented in the social research values embedded in PARC.

Within this climate of competition for resources and status, the notion of research 'impact' has become increasingly important in the way academic work is evaluated, but also in terms of public responsibilities being recognised such as 'engagement', often assessed via various forms of metrics regarding citations within a field and the quality of peer review the work had been subjected to. Traditionally, autistic scholars have sometimes struggled to acquire sustainable work, or perform within normative or highly competitive frameworks and structures, thus exacerbating the rift between autism researchers and the autistic people they research or autistic scholars promoting a participatory agenda (Milton and Bracher, 2013; Milton, 2014: Gillespie-Lynch et al., 2017; Chown et al., 2017). It is interesting to note then, how the PARC network without funding has been able to build a strong research network, with increasing impact in a number of areas, providing knowledge sharing activities, increasing visibility of research outputs, effectively utilising digital media, and extending networks nationally (and more recently internationally through invited visiting guests or via online means). Despite PARC members having good and improving metrics through such work, many are in unstable employment, or with limited access to academic resources or funds. Indeed, accessing funding through partnerships with established academics, coupled with peer support and mentoring (Martin, 2017; Ridout, 2018), may be the best way to address this anomaly within current constrained systems. This is a critical issue for consideration as the majority of mentors, many of whom are themselves neurodivergent, are often employed on flimsy and demeaning zero hours contracts, with little or no respect for their skills and abilities and with no prospect of promotion. Worryingly, many mentors have no support unlike line management embedded in contracted positions, and many are unfamiliar with their co-mentors. This raises concerns as to their support network and wellbeing within the work environment and identification of the responsible party for this (Miller, 2002), and even more so raises questions as to the monitoring of agencies and whether they understand the requirements of mentees and how to appropriately match people on their

agency list with students (IES and REAP, 2015). Mentoring too often falls foul of an agency's or university's need to meet performance criteria set by auditors, and this will inevitably become a number-crunching exercise as role descriptors of mentors is confused and the realistic picture of student support requirements are overlooked (SFE, 2016).

An issue explored by Archer (2008) is the construction of professional academic identities, drawing from interview data with 'younger' academics within UK universities to consider how they position themselves in relation to notions of 'authenticity' and 'success'. Archer (2008) argues that feelings of inauthenticity and exclusion are exacerbated through the performative ethos favoured by current research assessment processes and institutional structures, as well as by inequalities of age, ethnicity, class and gender (as well as the structure of temporary contracts of employment). Archer (2008) suggests that as well as going through a process of 'becoming' an 'authentic' academic, researchers also lived with the threat of 'unbecoming' or precariousness and related inauthenticity of academic status. In relation to the development of the PARC group it is interesting to note that intersections of disability (let alone neurodiversity) did not enter in the frame of Archer's (2008) research, yet the very same issues could be said to be even more exacerbated for such populations, further disabled by the neoliberal structures and processes they contend with in academia (Davies and Peterson, 2005a). Within the field of autism studies there is also a significant divide between disciplinary territories and boundaries (Becher and Trowler, 2001; Henkel, 1997), characterised by one autistic scholar Larry Arnold as a 'silo mentality' (Arnold, 2010). Archer (2008) cites Bourdieu, in suggesting academia can be characterised by competing individuals and groups, vying for recognition, status and value - subject to competing paradigms, representations, constructions and claims to truth. As Archer (2008) asks the question as to what extent younger academics were able to feel legitimate and successful within their identities, and finding a precarious positionality, this can be reflected to an even greater extent when considering autistic academics and scholars and the opportunities that have been afforded them in what could be described as an institutionally ableist neoliberal academic culture. PARC in contrast, has been able to step in as a collective and demonstrate inclusive practice to the field more generally.

For Davies and Peterson (2005b) the pressure for 'performance' within neoliberal discourse produces people as a set of outcomes, and reduces them to exchangeable products, a Foucauldian 'technology of self' acting within and between contradictory agendas. However, by marginalising autistic academics and their potential output, such systems give rise to activist academia, such as that seen within the field of 'critical disability studies'. The PARC group can be said to be positioned within such wider social currents as the neurodiversity movement (Walker, 2014), the social model of disability, and a participatory / emancipatory research ethos (Barnes, 2001).

Nicola Martin (2017), co-founder of the PARC network interviewed disabled academics working within UK universities in order to explore their experiences and draw out recommendations for improvements in practice. Martin (2017) found a number of barriers to encouraging and developing disabled leaders within HE that included: stereotyping, the invisibility of role models, limited strategic change at managerial levels, ableist assumptions, and disorganised processes. In order to meet these challenges, Martin (2017) recommended strategic responses, inclusive design and reasonable adjustments, leadership development and recruitment, peer support and mentoring networks, and promoting a culture that celebrates rather than problematises diversity. Whilst the

PARC group is a significant step in addressing such issues, it is but a small activist group when compared to the current structures that govern and implement research within the UK. Given its small stature in this regard though, the network has significantly added to the collaborative 'impact' of the work of its members.

Forming an autistic academic community

Part of the process of forming PARC is and has been the formation of an autistic academic community that is supportive and empowering (Ridout and Edmondson, 2017; Research Autism, 2015). This has been one of the initial aims for PARC and its importance should be considered not only in terms of connecting academics with similar research interests, but also in supporting autistic individuals in their attempts to establish themselves within academic systems that may not always be considerate or accommodating. From our personal anecdotal conversations with each other, and with autistic individuals working in the autism field more broadly, we are aware of a vast array of issues that we share and with which we need support. These may apply more broadly to many autistic autism professionals and/or activists but are contextualised in a different way within academia.

One important aspect of being an autistic academic is the vast amounts of emotional labour that one has to go through. Emotional labour is defined as the process of dealing with other peoples' feelings, a core element of which is the regulation of one's own emotions (James, 1989). There are many ways in which an autistic academic has to manage profound emotional labour in academic spaces. It begins with constantly engaging with a huge amount of violent predominant autism discourses, based on dehumanising and infantilising medical models. Autistic professionals also have to manage a world where the "outside-in" description of their abilities often disregards the amount of effort they put in order to stay and survive ableist academic spaces that are not prepared to address their needs in any significant way (Milton and Moon, 2012). This extends to the relationships and networking we have to do, which is an integral part of academia. As autistic academics, we often must engage in predominantly non-autistic autism discourses as well as non-autistic colleagues whilst managing our own emotions regarding the dominance of non-autistic autism discourse which harms us personally, autistic academics collectively and the autistic communities more broadly and handle our colleagues' unhelpful practices in a tactful way. This requires an immense amount of emotional labour in and of itself, which is only aggravated by the constant need of having to reevaluate our beliefs and alliances.

The examples above demonstrate a few instances of emotional labour involved in being an autistic academic. Therefore, from a community-building standpoint, the very existence of PARC creates a structure with which we can begin to create change for ourselves and others as members of a "community of coping" (Korczynski, 2003). The idea of a community of coping was first introduced by Hochschild (1983), to refer to the unofficial structures which workers create to deal with work situations that require them to display significant amounts of emotional labour. Korczynski (2003) elaborates in the ways which communities of coping can act in ways which are useful with the structures that surround them, by reducing, for example, staff turnover, as well as inform acts of resistance from management directives. In an academic context, PARC serves both of those roles. Given the significant lack of any meaningful support towards autistic academics, PARC serves as a

network of support for each other in our efforts of continuing our work and strengthening our presence in academia. It also provides a structure through which we are able to demonstrate helpful practices with which to engage both autistic academics and autistic communities more broadly, by its firm commitment to participatory autism research. Therefore, PARC is growing to become an important element in the field of autism studies both by supporting the emerging autistic academics and by promoting ethical and participatory research methods and practices. Whilst PARC opens up opportunities for connection and progress in the development or participatory work, there are also risks to contend with, primarily the lack of funding for core activities, and in developing opportunities for those autistic people who traditionally have not been best served within autism research. Recently we have received news however of funding for projects at the University of Kent exploring the sensory needs of autistic people with high support needs and at London South Bank University into the needs of older autistic people, both of which will have input from PARC members in their development. We very much hope to see such initiatives continue to flourish into the future.

<u>Implications for wider service provision</u>

Whilst there have been many experiences to reflect upon regarding the continuing development of PARC, these experiences also pertain to wider service provision for meeting the needs of autistic people. Most strikingly this is the case in terms of support and mentoring services for autistic people in Further and Higher Education. The experiences of PARC would lend added insight into the constrained opportunities afforded to autistic students and graduates and the potential benefit of peer support and pointing in the direction of the benefit of 'working with' rather than 'doing for' marginalised groups. We would conceive of participation however to be an ongoing effort and ethos rather than a definable outcome, meaning that striving for inclusion, participation and co-production can never be perceived as a given or as fully accomplished. This is also true for the activities of PARC itself which will need to further diversify in order to broaden its impact and reach. Meanwhile, the translation of research to practice can only be furthered by continuing efforts for fruitful partnerships across neurological dispositions and academic disciplines.

Conclusion

The PARC group has been successful and continues to grow, yet to be living up to its name it will need to find ways of widening participation for those with more considerable communication or intellectual impairments, or from autistic people who also occupy intersecting marginalised identities. One advantage to being largely a network of 'outsider researchers' is the lack of managing the risk of 'unbecoming' an academic if one has never been seen as legitimately so to begin with, affording a critical scrutiny others set within a hierarchical and competitive system may enjoy. The PARC group and others like it are thus essential for academia to sustain some of its classical ethos within a neoliberal context.

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