GOVERNANCE THROUGH PARTICIPATION: AN INQUIRY INTO THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH

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Abstract

Community-based research (CBR) is consistently held up as a benchmark for socially just knowledge production. Calls for the intensification of and further institutionalization of CBR indicate the discursive value of community-engaged research, but its material effects are unclear. CBR's claims to egalitarian, emancipatory research relations and outcomes remain largely uninterrogated and the participative practices and collaborative relations under documented and theorized. This study of the social relations of CBR theorizes participatory research as a site of governance. Specifically, I inquire into how the social relations of CBR are governed through affect, participatory practices, colonial processes of subjectification, institutional arrangements, as well as resisted as counter governmental practices. I draw on poststructural, postcolonial and affect theories in dialogue with the critical reflections of twenty-nine academic, community-based professionals, and peer CBR collaborators to bring forth the complexity of governmental practices. I develop a methodology of Dialogic Theoretical Pluralism to produce five distinct strands of theoretical analyses, which trouble the discursive and material practices of collaborative research, while not foreclosing on its possibilities.

I argue that conversants' desires to do socially transformative research are unmet and reconfigure CBR as a site of scaffolding community collaborators toward social mobility. These desires activate participative practices of access to and appropriation of community knowledges and labour to produce a tertiary, low cost and precarious knowledge work force. Colonial subject-making practices of CBR, which are raced, gendered and classed, secure the benevolence and expertise of academe against community subjects Othered as lacking beneficiaries in need of

capacity building. Institutional arrangements coordinate time, authorize who is a legitimate knower, and consign community collaborators and community benefit to the margins. These governmental practices are not total and institutionalized norms of CBR are resisted through unsettling affect, strategic subjectivities, dissent and distance, and revitalized commitments to social and epistemic transformation. Despite these transgressive practices, the reconfiguration of CBR as an individual intervention in a context of eroding support to social programming and social change warrants sustained attention to the ways in which participation colludes with the very neoliberal/colonial projects it aims to contest.

Dedication

To my late mother Thirza Janes who loved shiny things, to my partner in life Robert Di Vincenzo who has so generously supported my many magpie pursuits, and to my daughter Madeleine Janes - Di Vincenzo who shines the way ahead to a different way of being in this world together.

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Although I have already dedicated this dissertation to my family, I can never thank you enough for your support and forgiveness for the many ways my work intruded into our kitchen, our cottage, and our lives. A special thank you to my Aunt Julie Murchison who unfailingly and quietly cheered me along. My family also includes my dear friend Donna Wadsworth who shared many an adventure with me with spirit, humour, and rock solid support. You had my back on this one. Izabella Kossobudzki literally had my back in her hands. I could not have endured the endless hours in front of computer without her healing hands and intellectual cheerleading. And to two important clusters of support: my mom's group and my friends from way back Noor Allibhai, Sean Sezlik, Monika Jakubchik and her beautiful daughter Martina— thank you for your careful inquiries and encouragement on what often felt like an indulgent pursuit. It has taken me a long time to embark on then end this journey, and therefore, my acknowledgements are a little lengthy. My daughter once wrote that I had taught her that it was alright to pursue many pathways before finding the one that is meant for you. Wise and generous words for my winding passage to thinking and teaching in ways that I hope will resonate with other seekers of more just ways of being with each other.

In my dissertation, I speak of the crowded "I" of the production of this dissertation that bears only my name but owes much to many. I lean on chronology to challenge that my gratitude

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can be ordered and measured. First, a shout out to my MSW friends: Stephanie Conant, Amanda Hickman, Liz Lambert, and Nadya Martin who in solidarity believed social work might be taught differently and inspired me to try to do so. And I thank my community-based collaborators from my pre-doctoral participatory research: Robert Fitzgerald, Opal Sparks, Connie Harrison, Linda Coltman, Marcia Jarman, Sandra Maharaj, Mary Milne, Lynda Solowinski, Renee Loya, Marilyn Payne, and Inge Preston who made me to believe in the possibilities, while working against the problematics, of co-producing knowledge as a site of re-imagining relations of dominance. I extend my thanks to Lynn McDonald who gave us the space and other resources to do our collaborative research. And my deep appreciation to my colleagues and friends Lysena Bertoli, Michel Jones, and Natalya Timoshkina who worked along side of me pre-Ph.D., and supported me in countless ways during my Ph.D. and I hope beyond. I owe much to the anonymous conversants who shared their critical reflections on CBR, which are the heart and soul of this dissertation.

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Chapter 1: Ending at the Beginning

Writing Story About Writing Stories

As I will develop in my methodology chapter, I sought a way to make the affective labour of knowledge work intrude on academic conventions of writing. One way I do this is through writing stories that offer incursions into the embodied spaces where a thesis is crafted. I write this first, but last-written chapter, during the hottest July on record. I can hardly see through the fog and sweat on my glasses. While I sit outside trying to cool off from the hot still air inside my cabin, I hear a bee struggling. The bee is caught in a spider web. I try to save it but I break off its leg and it dies. I have always tried to rescue creatures since I was a young girl. I am sure that the good feelings of trying to "help" drew me to social work and then to collaborative knowledge work with communities. Where once I embraced the taken for granted goodness of such projects, now I inquire into what they secure and conceal.

Introduction

As a practitioner of Participatory Action Research, I have a sustained commitment to the sociality of working with communities toward social change, which has endured through the critical work of producing this thesis. This commitment to collaborative knowledge work is held in tension with the multiple ways in which I argue that inclusion, participation, and engagement of communities, groups, and individuals struggling with multiple sites of social inequality achieves less than laudable instrumental aims. It is the tension between the liberatory possibilities and the often oppressive practices of collaborative research that is the site where this thesis begins and ends.

I began this inquiry into the social relations of Community-based Research (CBR[2]), because something that I had once held out as a good, socially just approach to collaborating with communities was becoming increasingly troubling. These good/bad polarities, fortunately, gave way to a more complex appreciation of CBR. I was guided toward complexity through two conceptual anchors. The first was Foucault's (1984) contention that everything is dangerous and, therefore, requires a pessimistic activism. The vigilance toward the dangers that adhere to all projects, even those saturated with the goodness of social justice, oriented me toward pursuing the limits of CBR, without either seeking to identify bad practices or propose better practices. The second anchor was Cahill, Quijada Cerecer, and Bradly's (2010) position of critical hope, which recognises that collaborative knowledge production with multiple and divergent constituencies is both impossible and essential. Embracing the impossibility of the claims of CBR but not the promise of participatory, collaborative knowledge work marked the beginning of an ethics of inquiry for this thesis.

The interrogation of social relations in CBR feels especially dangerous given the difficulty of imagining what is other than the "with" of collaborative knowledge work if not the oppression of research "on" and the paternalism of research "for." However, as Kesby (2005) reminded, while everything is dangerous, some "things are more dangerous than others" (p. 2043). I, too, believe that there are many more dangerous concerns in our deeply uneven world

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[2] Collaborative research between academe and communities is semantically and operationally diverse, which is a problematic I take up in Chapter 2. I began my thesis work with the terminology and commitments of Participatory Action Research. However, over time I settled on CBR, as it is most common usage in the Greater Toronto Area, where this thesis is situated.

than asymmetrical research relations. Nevertheless, I remain convinced that projects of inclusion, of which CBR is but one particular techne, articulate to relations of rule, while appearing to do just the opposite, and as such warrant scrutiny. Scholars have inquired into the ways in which benevolent projects are implicated in projects of rule in several domains: notably international development (Henkel & Stirrat, 2001; Heron, 2007; Kapoor, 2005; Sharp, Campbell & Laurie, 2010; Spivak, 2005) and the voluntary sector and social services (Badwall, 2014; Cruikshank, 1999; Rose and Miller, 2008). However, less attention has been paid to how goodness operates in collaborative research to conceal and preserve relations of privilege and subordination.

I take up this inquiry guided again by Foucault who advised that: "A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices we accept rest [upon]…" (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, p.1). While many, pace Foucault, constitute theoretical critique as esoteric and unrelated to, even undermining practice, Greenwood (2002) admonished social science conventions that separate theory and practice, as a political ploy to preserve the privilege of academics who pursue knowledge contributions or to secure the goodness of applied research. As a practitioner of CBR, this critique resonated with my approach to applied participatory research, which foregrounded action and paid little heed to methodological, theoretical, or epistemic contributions. Our projects were to be judged by their goodness in engaging subjugated knowers and creating a platform for advocacy. However, I sought something different in my thesis work — something that addressed the under-theorized and under-scrutinized research practices that limited my previous CBR collaborations. Mohanty

(2003) maintained that ethical research must begin by making transparent "what is unseen, under-theorized and left out of knowledge production" (p. 230). This thesis aims to address what has been left out of the CBR literature by theorizing the social relations of academic/community collaborations as a site of governance and, in doing so, bring the discursive and material practices of participation into view.

Context, Significance, and Clarification of Terms

Knowledge Production as Driver of Global Economies and Inequities

This inquiry is localized in time: earlier to mid-2000s, and place: North America with a focus on CBR in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), and particular bodies: my own and my co-conversants. As such, I wish to acknowledge and honour the diversity of collaborative knowledge work that exceeds the boundaries of this thesis. Although a localized inquiry, I consider how these particular social relations in CBR hook up to macro projects of rule. The struggle over, and the access to, production and accumulation of knowledge must be understood as occurring in a network of complex power relations (Foucault, 2003a; 2003b; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 2000). Knowledge production occurs in the context of what is referred to as knowledge capitalism or knowledge economy. Both terms firmly situate knowledge as a central commodity within the market logic of late capitalism. The term "knowledge economy" arose in the late 1990s to describe a transforming world market where knowledge was increasingly identified as the driver of global capitalism (Harvey, 2010; OECD, 1996; World Bank, 1998). Although situated within an economic rationale, some scholars (Malhotra & Palathingal, 2008; Sachs, 2005; Stiglitz, 2002) argued that democratizing knowledge production holds significant

promise as a means of addressing structural inequalities. Others working more explicitly against

market metrics that favour economic growth over human and non-human flourishing, positioned

decolonizing and democratizing knowledge production as a crucial site of resistance to ongoing

global social inequalities (De Sousa Santos, 2012; Gaventa & Biven, 2011; Mignolo, 2000;

2009; 2011). Both bodies of literature propose that collaborations with communities

disadvantaged by the knowledge economy are crucial strategy toward cognitive justice, which is

argued to be a prequel to social justice. While I concur with the proposal that collaborative

knowledge-making across social, economic, and political divides is essential to transforming

relations of colonial and modern dominance, I also argue that these practices of resistance

collude with the very projects of rule that they seek to contest.

Governance Through Community Participation and Inclusive Liberalism

For the purpose of this dissertation, I understand, following on Miller and Rose (2008),

the term governance as inclusive of state or sovereign government and governmentality, which as

Foucault (2003) and Dean (1999, 2010) emphasised is a more diffuse means of conducting

conduct with multiple sites of authority and agencies that work through our desires, interests and

beliefs. Collaborative knowledge work, as well as other projects of inclusion, aim to engage

communities least privileged by current forms of governance. I argue that it is, therefore,

important to inquire into the taken for granted assumption that the inclusion and participation of

community is a good, or at least a benign, practice. I, therefore, locate this inquiry into the social

relations of CBR within the more general consideration of governance through community

participation and inclusion.

Miller and Rose (2008) argued that community as a site of intervention and a tool of governance emerged in advanced liberalism as an alternative to the social. While community is a concept that predates the onset of advanced liberalism, Miller and Rose suggested that it became governmental when it was taken up as technical. This transition occurred, the authors maintained, when statist notions of the social economy and social welfare were coming under fire from both/all sides of the political continuum. Community increasingly was put forward as a valorised antidote to the failings of the social. Whereas the social was a singular site of state intervention, community was infinitely plural, and therefore, demanded different forms of governance that would rely on self-regulating, active citizens, working toward their improvement, as well as those others who shared their affiliative bonds. Once a site of resistance community was reconfigured as a site of governance to be documented, interrogated, and intervened upon. The move away from the social as a site of collective responsibility to that of community as a site of individual affiliations domesticated, depoliticized, and privatized state responsibilities. Miller and Rose (2008) contended that this shift reconfigured the social relations between individuals and society to one where citizens were no longer entitled to care, but must actively labour in the care of themselves and their community. Active, self-responsible, self-regulating citizens are, according to Miller and Rose, cultivated through techniques of inclusion. I propose that CBR is a technique of inclusion, which constitutes community as a site of intervention and as a source of labour in the knowledge economy.

Larner and Le Heron (2005) situated these inclusive practices within the third period of neo-liberalism: the "partnering age," as one that emphasizes collaboration to foster both

competitiveness and cohesion in the global knowledge economy. This calculus of instrumental

and collaborative aims, is, as Roelvink and Craig (2005) argued, the hallmark of inclusive

liberalism and alerts to how participation and inclusion articulate to neoliberal rule. Inclusive

liberalism's technologies of engagement, partnering to compete, and participation are highly

attractive to neoliberal aims to accumulate and commodify knowledge (Bourke, 2013; Dean,

2015). Bourke positioned community-engaged research as dually articulating to the economic

aims of knowledge capitalism and the social objectives of the knowledge democracy movement.

He captured this tension as one of a push toward the marketized commodification of knowledge

capital, while also being accountable for alleviating the socio-economic inequities. The

entrenchment of CBR is evident in the ubiquitous use of "engagement" in University White

papers, here in Canada (York, 2010), the UK (UCL, 2011), and Australia (University of Sydney,

2011). The will to participate can also be traced in criteria for partnering with communities,

which is required across global funding institutions (Bryant, Raphael & Travers, 2007; Devon -

Dodd & Hebert - Boyd, 2000; Flicker, Travers, Guta, McDonald & Meagher, 2007b; MacLean,

Warr & Pyett, 2009; World Bank,1998). The intensification of inclusive, participatory

approaches to research signals that what was once an insurgent practice has been increasingly

institutionalized to meet the needs of the global knowledge economy.

Neoliberal and Neocolonial Rationalities of the Knowledge Economy

The rationalities that make governance through community thinkable include

neoliberalism and neocolonialism. Venn (2009) proposed that colonialism and neoliberalism are

mutually constitutive. While neoliberalism privileges enterprise and competition, Venn argued

that the violent extractions and exclusions of neoliberal austerity projects are made thinkable through raced and colonial logics. This thesis adopts a similar stance to the entangled governing rationales of neoliberalism and neocolonialism, which are both the conditions of collaborative research and the sites CBR aims/claims to contest. I draw on a variety of scholars who interrogate inclusion in the context of these entwined projects of rule, but centre my analyses on the practices of governance that coordinate the social relations of CBR.

Harvey (2010) maintained neoliberalism's raison d'être is that the social good is maximized by bringing all human action into the domain of the market. This optimisation of the ambit of the market requires ever-increasing technologies that can accumulate, analyse, and exchange knowledge. The surge in the circulation of knowledge can be seen in the intensification of information technologies, but also in demands for innovation in research and development. Although CBR might appear to be outside of or in opposition to these highly technical transactions, this thesis argues that participatory approaches to research collude with neoliberal metrics, while seeming to do the opposite. Not only are the instrumental metrics of accumulation and commodification of knowledge obtained through CBR, but I also propose that challenges to these structural arrangements are subverted by CBR. I contend that CBR not only stands in for and suppresses social change, it also stands in for and attenuates the erosion of social services by supplanting social programming. It is these reconfigurations of CBR, which replace more direct forms of social advocacy and sustainable core funding, that make transparent how governance through inclusion leaves social inequalities intact.

Governance through inclusion, as operationalized in CBR, also achieves a secondary but related aim, which is to recuperate the relevance and goodness of academe, as well as to offset the erosion of public funding for postsecondary institutions. The neo-liberalizing of the University has led to what Bauman (1992) referred to as a *status crisis* among knowledge producers. According to Bauman (1992), academics can respond to this crisis by embracing the historical, social, political, and moral dimensions of knowledge production or risk obsolescence. This crisis makes CBR a significant strategy for recuperating the relevance of academe as an important partner in knowledge capitalism and, simultaneously, the moral project of inclusion.

CBR, in its targeting of marginalized communities to address social inequality, clearly aims to contest systems of oppression as a topic and site of intervention (Israel et al., 1998; Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). However, it fails to identify how such inequalities structure research relations themselves. I argue that the colonial coordination of research is obscured through constituting CBR as already and always egalitarian. The absence of consideration of CBR's coloniality, with the exceptions of collaborations with indigenous or global south communities, relies on the displacement of collaborators outside of socio-political conditions. These imaginaries conceal the unevenness of the social and research locations among collaborators and erase the operations of race, gender, and class. Whereas participatory development (PD) scholars provided a rich interrogation of the coloniality of inclusion (Henkel & Stirrat, 200; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Kapoor, 2005; Korf, 2010), as do scholars of indigenous research collaborations (Browne, Syme & Varoce, 2005; Castleton, 2012; de Leeuw, Cameron & Greenwood, 2012; Getty 2010; Kovach, 2005), inquiry into the colonial organization of white CBR researchers

working with Diaspora communities is scarcely interrogated. This thesis aims to address this

oversight with an analysis that brings the raced, gendered, and classed colonial subject-making

practices of CBR to the fore. I take up the colonial relations of collaborative research through an

analyses of the operations of whiteness, which acknowledges but can not account for how

whiteness is negotiated differently by racialised academics.

Clarification of Terms

I draw on scholarship that includes poststructural, postcolonial, and affect theories, which

I outline in the following section on my research approach. The conceptual thread among the

varied scholars is that they are for the most part informed by Foucauldian ways of thinking about

governance and as such, so are my understandings of discourse and subjects.

Discourse. Definitions of Foucault's conceptualisation of discourse are rare and more

commonly take up what discourses do. Similarly, this thesis attends to the function of different

discourses constituted by and through CBR. Nevertheless, this quote by feminist poststructural

scholar Chris Weedon is helpful in distinguishing discourse from thought, meaning, and

linguistic orientations to discourse. Importantly, discourse is a dynamic social practice and

therefore, circulates in both dominant and resistant projects.

> Ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of
> subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations
> between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing
> meaning. They constitute the "nature" of the body, unconscious and conscious
> mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern (Weedon, 1987, p.
> 105).

Subjects. Similar to definitions of discourse**,** Foucault is elusive in defining subjects, as his project orients toward practices of subjectification. This thesis takes up a similar focus on subject-making practices rather than subjects, although I do make reference to academic and community subjects. When I do so, I am not describing individuals, but rather the ways that different conversants understand themselves and others as subjects, with particular attributes, statuses, capacities, etc. My understanding of subject-making draws on scholarship that rejects an autonomous liberal subject but not an agential one (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Foucault, 2007; Graaf, 2006). Kelly (2013) offered a useful collection of Foucault's observations regarding subjects: that the subject constitutes itself, is distinct ontologically from the body, a form rather than a substance, and is historically and socially constituted through practices.

Conversants. I use the term conversants to avoid the scientism of 'research subjects', the one-directional stream of information implied by informant and respondent, and to sidestep the slippage between research participants and participatory approaches.

Academic and Academe. Academic subjects are understood in this thesis as a site of identification constituted in text and talk as faculty, staff, and graduate students located within a postsecondary institution. Academe is used to designate the social space in which academic subjects are constituted.

Community Professional and Peers; Community and Local. These subjectivities and social spaces follow a similar logic to the above. However, community professionals working in Community-based Organisations (CBOs) that partner with academe on CBR are distinct from community members, most frequently referred to as peers, who may be employed, but are

distinguished by having direct experience and expertise of the issue under inquiry in a CBR

project. I use local/e in place of community, at times, to signal that these sites are not exclusively

geographical, but are more likely located in the social.

Implicated Knowledge Work

Todd and Coholic (2007) referred to a pedagogy of implication where we are responsible

for others, as well as for our responses. I take up a responsive, responsible reflexivity on the

crafting of this thesis, which aims to exceed, but not quite, what Quinlivan (2014) critiqued as

the narrow confines of the confessional. Quinlivan suggested thinking through how you are

being produced as a researcher. I am being produced as a "critical" and "reflexive" researcher in

the pedagogical traditions of my school of social work and its commitments to criticality, and by

my discipline and its commitments to the reflexive subject. I worry that the former is often a

haven for all our fears about the normative project of social justice — what Ahmed (2004b) has

described as a relocation of all our anxieties to the critical. The critical also carries the weight of

the negative and when paired with a postal scepticism can become paralytic. To counter this

weight I have sought to situate my work and my style of working as a creative investigation into

CBR and I attempt to write that creativity into this text.

Macías (2012) proposed that we ask questions about who we are in the practice of

reading and, by extension, who we are in the practice of writing (Quinlivan, 2014; Richardson &

St. Pierre, 2008). As I consider these questions, I ask what kind of subject(s) am I becoming?

What good subject am I producing in the process of critiquing the goodness of CBR? Can I only

retain such a position by situating a scholarly subjectivity outside of CBR practice? But I am an

inside/outsider subject, as I continue to collaborate with communities in knowledge work, while at the same time theorising its limits. Moreira (2008) took up the question: "How do I play scholar?" to inquire into different writerly subjectivities and ways to be scholar. In a similar mode, I play with the different subject positions I take up in this thesis. I draw on a series, but not a sequence, of metaphorical subjectivities: cheerleader, electra, pimp, killjoy, crusader, trickster, and X-position/refuser, which align with different strands of analysis explored in this thesis. I also follow from Richardson and St. Pierre (2008) to foreground the writerly subject through "writing stories," which I interlace throughout my thesis to bring the affective labour of research into view. Fine, Weis, Weseen and Wong (2003) proposed that irruptive texts demand writing in "multiple tongues," as an ethical and political commitment. I take up this commitment through the use of metaphors, writing stories, and through the theoretical pluralist design, outlined in the following section, which provides multiple entry points to different readers.

I am also located by others and locate myself in particular ways. As Sherene Razack advised, implicated inquiry demands that : "You put yourself on the map!" (Personal communication, April 28, 2011) alongside the others who occupy your text. I locate myself as white, differently abled woman with a toe hold on the middle class. I am a reluctant academic who quit high school to work full-time to help pay the rent. I was drawn back, many a time, to pursue a university degree. In my early attempts, I failed miserably. But I kept taking courses, while I worked away in restaurants, catering, fashion design, as a psychiatric patient advocate, and volunteer coordinator at a safe house. I also allied with activist groups working toward the right to housing and/or to challenge psychiatric systems. I later found myself in a psychology

program where I finally got the hang of academic performance. My grades skyrocketed, but my interest plummeted. The program was all about brain functioning, with little about the mind, and nothing about how both brain and mind might be impacted by a lack of housing or good health care. A social work graduate student spoke in one of our classes. She did not mention a neurotransmitter once and I was hooked. I applied and got into a graduate program in social work and I had a baby, which delayed things a little. The master's program in my graduate school was on the managerial and administrative side of the social control to social care continuum and my commitments were to neither.

I left graduate school looking to work with communities, but I was well aware of the scarcity of opportunities outside of direct practice. I landed a research coordinating job on a multi-city research project on homelessness and housing in later life. Toward the end of the project, I applied for a small grant to extend the dissemination of the project findings through a participatory arts-based approach. Working with a dozen community collaborators more grants were written, which always included people directly impacted by the issue under inquiry as co-researchers. My participatory research cheerleader was born, but she withered over time. With each project I became increasingly concerned with the limited impact we had on the social inequalities we researched and on the ways these were reproduced in our work together. And then a community co - researcher said to me: "You are just like everyone else. You are pimping the poor." And I knew at that moment that she was right and that these CBR projects were neither emancipatory or egalitarian, but complicated and colonial. I also knew at that moment I had to cease my practice. That is one story of how I came to do this thesis. Another one would

locate the impetus in teaching. Social work's trespasses occur outside and inside of the classroom. My commitment to democratic, decolonizing knowledge work is also a pedagogic project, as well as a political and ethical one. And then I could circle back to the reluctant academic to propose that I forged community alliances to distance myself from academe — a site of privilege that I uncomfortably occupy. And yet here I am. An inside/outsider in what Spivak (1993) aptly named the "teaching machine."

Research Approach, Questions, Design, and Method

An Inquiry into Governance through Participation

My approach to inquiring into the social relations of CBR foregrounds two objectives: a) to theorise the unevenness of academic/community collaborative relations; and b) to use theory to bring the everyday discursive and material practices of CBR into view. I was drawn to the postal theories as a means to understand the complex circuits of power in the social relations of CBR, which exceed the top/down sovereign understandings of power and the illusory conveyance of empowerment found in the literature. I began exploring the possibilities of what I referred to as a "postal conversation" between poststructuralism and postcolonialism, which offered a rich conceptual terrain to inquire into how power operated in CBR in both repressive and productive ways. While poststructural concepts make clear that no better practice can ameliorate the deeply uneven social relations of CBR, postcolonial theories make transparent the coloniality of CBR, particularly its raced, gendered, and classed subject-making practices. I later added affect theories to interrogate what Fine and colleagues (2003) referred to as the "full-

bodied" (p. 176) relationality of participatory discourses and practices. I broadly situate these multiple theoretical entry points within a framework of governance.

Research Questions

Jackson and Mazzei (2013) maintained that thinking with theory requires "being deliberate and transparent in what analytical questions are made possible by a specific concept" (p.5) and that these questions *emerge during theoretical engagement not prior.* Foucault (1988) and St. Pierre (2014) argued for a critique of taken for granted assumptions that the practices we accept rest upon Therefore, each research question of this thesis takes up a particular governmental analytic to inquire into the taken for granted assumptions that activate the discursive and material practices of CBR. My overall research question is: How are the social relations of CBR governed? Specifically, I inquire into how the social relations of CBR are governed through affect, participatory practices, subjectification, institutional technologies, as well as resisted and reimagined as counter governmental practices.

Research Design: Dialogic Theoretical Pluralism

To align my theoretical frameworks with a post qualitative analysis, I develop a methodology of Dialogic Theoretical Pluralism to produce multiple theoretically and conceptually informed analyses of governance through participation. My approach to pluralism is neither eclectic or relativist but is purposeful and defensible. The design builds on the scholarship of the Pluralism in Qualitative Research movement (Goodbody & Burns, 2011; Clarke et al., 2015; Honan, Knobel, Baker & Davies, 2000) and Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) theoretical pluralism. I aim at a congruence between the post-theoretical frameworks of this

thesis and post qualitative empirical analyses. I elected to keep the five theoretical analyses in dialogic relation following on the work of Johnson (2014), Savage (2000), and Clarke and colleagues (2015) who propose pluralist designs that resist synthesis and embrace different analytic strands in dialogue with one another. This dialogic approach avoids a developmental progression toward a singular argument, which I argue is incongruent with a post-orientation toward plurality, paradox, and partiality. In addition to contesting the divisions between theory and analysis, the design balances the theory/empirical divide, so that theory and data are positioned as mutually constitutive and disruptive of each other. The design of dialogic theoretical pluralism keeps multiple tensions at play including those between: complexity and coherence; theory and analysis, theoretical and empirical, as productive sites of inquiry.

Method: Dialogic Interviews and Analyses

I adopted a dialogic approach to interviewing and analyses, which aimed toward a sociality both in talk and text. Conversants from multiple research locations (i.e., academic, graduate student, community professional, and community peer) were sought who had worked primarily in the GTA, were open to engaging in a critical dialogue about their CBR work, and whose projects had a social justice agenda and engaged marginalised groups/communities. Twenty-nine conversants: academics, community professionals, and community peers participated in seventeen interview events. I had planned to do filmed group interviews with conversants who were positioned in different research and social locations, but the groups that were convened were homogeneous as to research location. To address the homogeneity of research locations of conversants, I produced a sociality in text that was missing from real time

talk. I did so by structuring my analyses as dialogues between diversely situated conversants and myself. The methodological sociality resists, albeit impossibly so, subsuming conversants' critical analyses into my own by placing the theoretical and the empirical in dialogue.

Organization of the Thesis

Critical Engagement with the Academic and Grey Literatures

Chapter 2 offers a critical engagement with the academic literature that interrogates a series of problematics. I critique these documents for the ambiguous discursive constitutions of the social relations of CBR, which I suggest obscure the material practices of participation, displace the unevenness of the encounter outside of the socio-political, and attempt to ameliorate any problematics through a technical "best practices" approach that fails to attend to the politics and ethics of academe/community collaborative research.

Chapter 3 presents a critical engagement with the grey literature to provide a national, provincial, and local context to the inquiry. Given this thesis's focus on academic/community collaborations, the addition of a separate grey literature chapter was warranted. This chapter traces funding arrangements and strategic academic planning documents to argue that material support for collaborations with communities is eroding, while its discursive value is reconfigured and endures. This chapter also reviews key manuals, toolkits, and research reports of CBR in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), which provide a specificity of practices and criticality of the social relations of CBR, which exceed that of the academic literature.

A Magpie Methodology

Chapter 4 presents a dialogic theoretical design that aligns poststructural, postcolonial, and affect theories with a post qualitative methodology. The problematics of thinking from a post-theoretical framework and doing qualitative analysis offer a blueprint for attenuating, but not resolving, the tensions between the two. The chapter concludes with a proposal of a poststructural postcolonial ethics framework that exceeds institutional ethics review and guides both the empirical analyses and reflexive engagements with the production of this thesis.

Five Analyses Chapters

Chapter 5 inquires into how desires to do socially just research brings people into CBR and coordinates their ongoing commitments to CBR. This chapter locates the telos of government through participation in the utopian desires for social change. Theories of regulating desire and instrumental affective exchanges, as well as of the colonial consumption of the local, anchor this chapter's inquiry. The governmental rationalities of inclusive liberalism are traced to desires for social change that are unmet and transformed into actualities of scaffolding individual community collaborators toward social mobility.

Chapter 6 inquires into how governance through goodness, tracked in Chapter 5, activates and conceals the instrumental aims of participatory practices to gain access to, regulate, responsibilize, and appropriate local knowledge and labour. This chapter most explicitly centres Foucauldian governmentality scholarship to bring the regimes of participation into view.

Participatory practices are traced to neoliberal rationalities that privilege the use value of knowledge coordinated through entrepreneurship, commodification, and competition.

Chapter 7 inquires into the subject-making practices required to secure the goodness of CBR. This chapter draws on colonial concepts of othering and the production, naturalisation, and assignment of difference to track processes of subjectification, which secure the epistemic and benevolent privilege of academic collaborators against a lacking community beneficiary. Colonial governmental rationalities are mapped onto the raced, gendered, and classed logic of subject-making in CBR, which is required to activate the moral imperatives and project of improvement through community capacity building.

Chapter 8 inquires into how CBR subjects and participatory practices are institutionally arranged. Governance is made visible through the programmatic coordination of subjects and practices through institutional technologies. Foucauldian understandings of institutional technologies, which circulate widely rather than are fixed in particular institutions, bring the ambit of neoliberal and neocolonial governmental rationalities of the knowledge economy into view.

Chapter 9 inquires into the ways in which the regulation of desire, regimes of participatory practices, processes of subjectification, and institutional arrangements are resisted and reimagined. The concept of critical hope frames the analyses. Counter conducts, theories of negative affect as political and pedagogic sites, as well as tricksterism, are used to conceptualise resistance. Governmental rationales of neoliberal metrics and colonial relations are challenged through affect, subjectification, space, and scale.

Contributions and Other Lines of Inquiry

   Chapter 10 brings together the contributions of this thesis and proposals for future lines

of inquiry that begin where the boundaries of this inquiry end. I outline the methodological,

theoretical, and substantive contributions of this thesis, while keeping the dialogic strands of

analyses and the tensions and convergences they introduce intact. I resist, although the pull is

great, putting forward recommendations for better collaborative research practices. Instead, I

submit that the methodology of this thesis and its inquiries into the multiple forms of governance

open up dialogue toward thinking and doing collaborative knowledge work otherwise without a

blueprint.

Chapter 2: A Critical Engagement with the Academic Literature

Writing Story: Killing Joy

Here is where my claims to creative inquiry grow thin. Critiquing the literature is where my killjoy writerly subjectivity takes hold. As I carve out space in this intellectual community, I do so in a way that feels ungenerous. Embracing my killjoy feels terribly comfortable when I am writing alone at my desk, but uncomfortable when I am out in the world engaging with others who have more cheerleader, more hope, than I do. Maybe I need to be in the world with my intellectual community more often to breathe some air into my work?

Rationale, Focus, and Boundaries of Inquiry

Two central claims are made about the social relations of CBR in the literature 1) that CBR enacts egalitarian relations and 2) that CBR's is emancipatory and supports individual and community self-determination/transformation (Fals Borda & Rahman, 1991; Guishard, 2009; Healy, 2001; Hickey & Mohan, 2004). These twin claims remain largely uninterrogated and therefore, the unevenness of the social relations of participatory knowledge production is left unscrutinized. This chapter will critically review the academic literature on CBR with a focus on how the social relations of collaborative knowledge production are constituted and/or covered over. Although there is a rich grey literature that captures the perspectives of community knowledge work/workers, this is explored in the following chapter, which frames the context of CBR in Canada and the GTA.

This critical review is organised around the following problematics in the CBR literature:

1) a plurality that leads to multiple and divergent claims to collaboration with little documentation of the underlying participatory practices;

2) comparative reviews that are disciplinary divided and orient toward a better practice approach that does not account for the uneven social conditions and locations of collaborators;

3) scant consideration of the macro context of participatory approaches and their alignment with the rationalities of neo and inclusive liberalism or neocolonialism; and

4) a limited engagement with the micro-politics and ethics of collaborative knowledge production, which relies on situating CBR outside of the socio-political histories and presents.

This review takes seriously the impossibility of egalitarian, emancipatory research relations in a deeply uneven social world. Therefore, the review does not aim to identify "bad" or "better" CBR practices, but rather is an inquiry into the literature's understandings of these collaborations as a social, political, and ethical encounter. The critical review is guided by the following parameters:

•peer reviewed research articles and books from North America[1] published from 1991-2015/early 2016

•peer-reviewed research articles available in the Scholars Portal Research Database that list one of the following keywords: "community-based research" OR "community-based participatory research" OR "community-engaged research" OR "participatory research" OR "participatory action research" OR "action research" OR "inclusion research" OR "peer research" AND fall within the subject limiter of "social science"

•peer review research articles and books that appraise or reflect on CBR itself (i.e., focus on process, principles, social relations, power, ethics, epistemologies, theories, limits, and affordances) rather than descriptive and empirical studies

The Many Approaches to Community/University Collaborative Research

Although participatory approaches are increasingly mandated and applied in the field of social research, the literature remains ambiguous as to the status of CBR. The question of whether CBR is a method or a paradigm is rejected by most scholars (Brizay et al., 2015; Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Park, 1993) who favour positioning participative knowledge production as an approach. Saija (2014, p. 193) summarised her position on the question of what collaborative research is not: "Action research is not a methodological choice but an ethical and epistemological one." Nelson and Wright (1995), Oliver (1997), and Wallerstein and Duran (2006) proposed a bifurcated model: utilitarian conceptions of participation that focus on participation as a means to achieve project goals: the so-called "Northern Tradition" and those that focus on empowerment/emancipatory CBR leading to greater individual and community efficacy: the "Southern Tradition." Others avoid these dichotomies to combine elements of both traditions, as exemplified in the participatory initiatives taking place in indigenous communities (Cargo et al., 2008, Morgan, 2001; Castleden, Morgan, & Lamb, 2012). While these varied renderings of the evolution and epistemic status of CBR reflect a dynamic, deeply situated approach to participative engagement, they are also productive of multiple claims to participation while covering over the particularity of associated relations and practices.

Etmanski (2014, p. 7) offered a table entitled: "Terminology and Traditions Associated with CBR, which included twenty-eight variations. The multiplicity of approaches to participatory knowledge work makes tracing its historical roots a daunting task. Wallerstein and Duran (2008) in a chapter entitled: "The Theoretical, Historical and Practice Roots of CBR"

provided an overview from the perspective of influences on participatory praxis in the global

north. Another more recent chapter (Munck, 2014) in a book on Higher Education and CBR

extended the bifurcated tracing of northern and southern traditions to include those of the

European Science Shop strand of collaborative research. Munck conceptualised the variability in

participative approaches as a "floating signifier" (p. 20) that is fluid and contextual and must be

understood as a question of politics. The following mapping of the plurality of collaborative

research owes much to Wallerstein and Duran and Munck's work. However, a more far-ranging

tracking of the variations, their distinct features, and convergences, histories, and geographies

would be extremely useful in providing an account of the scale of participatory work locally and

globally. Although such an undertaking is beyond the scope of this dissertation, a brief scan to

outline the diversity of approaches to participative knowledge work in a North American context

is provided below. The scan is organised according to the approach's relative emphasis on

participation, action, engagement/partnerships or focus on a social identity/issue summarised in

Table 1. Also, where possible and relevant, the distinct historical, geographical, topical, and

disciplinary contexts of the varied approaches is provided.

Table 1
Summary of Approaches

Relative Emphasis	Approaches	Disciplines/topics	Historical roots/ geographies
Participation	PAR, CBR, CBR	Higher education, health promotion/prevention, HIV-related issues	Latin/South America (e.g., Freire); Africa and South Asia North America (e.g., Hall, Jackson, Giroux, Park)
Action	AR	Organisational studies, social psychology	North America (e.g., Lewin, Arygis and Schon); UK (e.g., Tavisotck Institute: (e.g., Rapaport)
Engagement and Partnerships	CUE CURP	Interdisciplinary	Boyer (1996); Carnegie Foundation; Institutional: US, Canadian, UK and Australian Universities
Social Issue/ Identity	Decolonial, FPAR, YPAR, BEAR	Indigenous; Women's & Gender Studies; Youth; racism	Decolonizing & tribal organising; feminisms; Positive Youth Development frameworks and anti-racism activism (Australia, UK, North America)

Approaches Emphasizing Participation

Participatory Research (PR) and Participatory Action Research (PAR) are associated with the transformative traditions of the Global South (Latin America, Africa, Asia) and in particular with the work of Paulo Freire. challenge the gap between research & practice to investigate, apply and evaluate practical problems of everyday life.. Paulo Freire travelled, lectured, and

lived in Europe for some time. Consequently, his influence is found in the work of many

practitioners from the global north (Giroux, 1992; Hall, 1992; Park, 1993). As Wallerstein and

Duran (2008) noted, this strand centres epistemic emancipation and decolonizing knowledge

production to challenge relations of power and privilege. Two other variants that put relatively

more focus on the participation of community are Community-based Research (CBR) and

Community-based Participatory Research (CBR). CBR, according to Strand, Marullo, Cutforth,

Stoecker, & Donahue (2003), was influenced by both the Northern and Southern traditions, but

in particular the popular education approaches of Freire and the Highlander Research and

Education Centre in the US.

Approaches Emphasising Action

Action Research (AR) is often traced back to the work of the social psychologist Kurt

Lewin in the 1940s who challenged the gap between research and practice. Brizay and

colleagues (2015) emphasised the cyclic nature of AR, what Lewin referred to as iterations of

planning-action-evaluation leading to social change. This tradition has been taken up primarily in

the fields of organisational research (Argyris & Schön, 1996), social psychology (Wallerstein &

Duran, 2008), and by scholars associated with the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in the

United Kingdom (Rapaport, 1970). Although sharing many of the values and principles of PR/

PAR, the emphasis on measurable instrumental outcomes is more prominent in the AR

(Wallerstein & Duran, 2008).

Approaches Emphasising Engagement and Partnership

In the global north the term engaged scholarship has increasingly taken hold and can be traced back to the work of Boyer (1996) who defined engagement as: "connecting the rich resources of the university to our most pressing social, civic and ethical problems" (p. 20). Like the term participatory, "engagement" defies a singular definition. In spite of this definitional complexity, McIllrath (2014) offered an oft-quoted general definition of community engagement from the US Carnegie Foundation (2015): "The collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity."

Related to the engaged scholarship literature is the research focused on barriers and affordances of community/university partnerships (Hall, Tandon, & Tremblay, 2015; Jagosh et al., 2015; Martinez et al., 2013; Minkler, 2005; Nichols et al., 2014; Nyden, 2003). The barriers identified include: academic tenure streams that do not reward community engagement (Nyden, 2003); funding envelopes that do not support long-term relationship building (Nichols et al., 2014; Martinez et al., 2013); and historical and current community distrust of academe (Martinez et al., 2013). Scholars have found that the existence of dedicated CUE centres (Hall et al., 2015; Nichols et al., 2014) and democratic governance structures (Martinez et al., 2013) are key facilitators of equitable partnerships. Beyond the instrumental facilitators, scholars have begun to attend to the relational factors. Jagosh and colleagues (2013; 2015) found that trusting relationships were a crucial enabler of sustainable partnerships and positive CBR effects over time. However, most of the positive effects reported articulated to instrumental aims of accessing

data and enhancing uptake of interventions for health prevention/promotion. Although mistrust by collaborating communities is noted, it is positioned as something that can be overcome by more effective engagement strategies, which fails to address the histories and presents of oppressive relations between community and academe.

Approaches Emphasising a Social Issue/Identity

Other approaches to collaborative research transcend the participation to action continuum to develop alternatives such as indigenous collaborative research, which emphasise the importance of community self-determination and the integration of indigenous worldviews (Fischer & Ball, 2003; 2005; Kovach, 2005). Decolonizing collaborative research approaches are central to collaborations with indigenous communities in Canada (Browne, Syme & Varoce, 2005; Castleden et al., 2012; de Leeuw, Cameron & Greenwood, 2012; Getty 2010) and are informed by research guidelines developed during the Kahnawake Schools Diabetes Prevention Project (Macaulay et al., 1998; Potvin, Cargo, McComber, Delormier & Macaulay, 2003; Schnarch, 2004).

Another collaborative approach that takes seriously histories and presents of colonisation is that developed by Akom (2011) who drew on Critical Race Theory, Participatory Action Research, and Feminist scholarship to "race research" methodologies. The Black Emancipatory Action Research (BEAR) model Akom proposed emphasises the important distinction between researching race and racialised arrangements in conducting research. Racism within collaborative research approaches goes largely uninterrogated and is obscured by a focus on

racism as a topic rather than a structural condition of how and where research unfolds (for exceptions see Yonas et al., 2006 and Maiter & Joseph, 2016).

The focus on approaches that reflect collaborations with particular groups has also given rise to Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) and Youth Participatory Action Research (yPAR). FPAR scholars centre feminisms in their collaborative work (Brydon-Miller, Maguire & McIntyre, 2004; Frisby, Maguire & Reid, 2009; Maguire, 1987). However, like the deployment of race in collaborative knowledge work, FPAR tends to focus on gender as a topic and a theoretical lens to challenge patriarchal epistemologies, but not on the feminised logic of PAR itself. The feminised qualities associated with a participatory researcher can be traced in the list of attributes: patience, humility, and placing one's needs second to those of the community, identified in Trickett and Espino's (2004) review of collaborative inquiry. Like FPAR, yPAR centres a particular social identity, in this case, youth, often with a focus on the oppressive forces that construct youth as "risky" and "at risk" (Ayala, 2009; Caramota & Fine, 2008; Kastiaficas, Futch, Fine & Sirin, 2011; Torre, 2009; Tuck, 2009). The literature emerging from this collective centres power asymmetries in research and social relations as inevitable yet contestable, which reflects the clearer power imbalances between youth and adult collaborators.

Pursuit of "Better" Practices: Comparative Reviews

Several authors have appraised CBR scholarship through an articulation of principles/ values and how they are operationalized within a given project. For example, Israel and colleagues (1998) identified nine key elements of CBR including that it: recognizes the community as a unit of identity; builds on the assets within the community; facilitates

collaboration in all stages of the research; integrates knowledge and action for all research

partners; fosters processes of co-learning and empowerment that attend to social inequalities;

enacts an iterative, cyclical process; addresses health from positive and ecological frameworks;

and disseminates findings to all partners (p. 180). These principles were then deployed, for

example, by Doyle and Timonen (2010) to evaluate their CBR project with older adults. The

principles proposed by Israel and colleagues also informed a descriptive integrative review of

CBR to address mental health in minoritized populations (Stacciarini, Shattell, Coady & Wiens,

2011). The review identified that despite community desires for collaborative and culturally

resonant research, the majority of studies did not significantly involve community leaders,

providers, and peers.

Another review of the CBR literature drew on concepts of relative power and depth/

breadth of participation to evaluate degrees of participation (Flicker, Savan, Kolenda &

Mildenberger, 2008). Some reviews, such as Catalani and Minkler's (2010), evaluated

participation using specific methodologies, in this case: Photovoice methodology to assess

CBR's empowerment claims. Another approach is that of Stoecker (2009) who reviewed a broad

cross-section of applications to funding envelopes, which mandated a CBR approach, to assess

both participation and action as articulated by the grant writers. All of the reviews mentioned

above found significant shortfalls between claims to participation and the activities outlined in

which communities participated. Also, more broadly conceived appraisals of key themes and

trends in the CBR literature have been undertaken by Dick across four two-year intervals (2004;

2006; 2009; 2011). Although these reviews identified the need to improve the quality of

participation, and to a lesser extent social action, few looked at the social relations and micro practices of power and ethics in these collaborations. Furthermore, these evaluative reviews rarely include community collaborators either as active participants in the evaluation itself or as "data." Therefore, the indicators and outcomes are largely determined by academics and may not adequately capture the perspectives of nonacademic participants.

Green and colleagues (1995) constructed a set of guidelines to facilitate funders in appraising the extent of stakeholder engagement. These guidelines were reviewed and refined into the Reliability Tested Guidelines for Assessing Participation, which was later adapted and incorporated into the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) Guide to Researcher and Knowledge-User Collaboration in Health Research (2009). Jagosh and colleagues (2015) used these guidelines to appraise enablers and barriers in the CBR literature. This critical review identified the following preferred strategies for engagement: advisory committees, co-drafting research agreement, facilitated informal and formal group discussions, hiring from the community, and ensuring frequent meetings. Although this appraisal mirrors the literature's dominant form of engagement as community advisory committees, the emphasis on hiring community and MOUs signals a shift, at least in the work of the four scholars reviewed, toward employment and contractual negotiations. The authors also highlighted limitations in the guidelines, which reflect the gaps in the CBR literature such as the lack of appraisal of power dynamics and in/equitable resource allocation.

Jagosh and colleagues (2012) reviewed twenty-three PR partnerships to assess the value of co-governance in collaborations on public health on both research processes and outcomes.

The inclusionary criteria led to a sample of only those partnerships that evidenced high levels of co-governance, described by the authors as models of "full participation." Therefore, there was a significant bias toward positive outcomes. Despite these limitations, this review provided a fine-grained and theoretically informed appraisal of collaborative research. In particular, the addition of preexisting, project generated, and accumulative factors extended the project bound timelines that dominate the literature. Trickett and Espino's (2004) review of collaboration and social inquiry extended the analysis of collaboration to include macro factors such as the impact of structural inequalities, a critical engagement with power and ethics in collaboration, trust and personal qualities of collaborators, and theoretical/conceptual frameworks underlying various approaches to participative research. Although these authors argued that the macro and micro-relations of power warrant scrutiny, they stopped short of linking collaborative relations, theoretically and practically, to the rationalities of neo/inclusive liberalism and neocolonialism.

Other reviews, such as that of Brizay and colleagues (2015), are focused on a particular topic within the CBR literature, in this case, HIV-related research. This systematic review explored conceptual differences in terminology and how theoretical and conceptual frameworks were deployed in practice. As signalled earlier, the ambiguity of terminology is a formidable barrier to appraising collaborative knowledge work over time, so this review is an important contribution, albeit limited by its exclusive focus on HIV research. These authors were able to track the link between terminology and theory from the 1990s where AR dominated, to a progression to PAR, then CBR and CBPR. They found that both AR and PAR, with their respective emphasis on action and participation, were distinct in their definitions and theoretical

frameworks. The authors also concluded that CBR and CBPR, terms that predominate the current HIV related literature, were less distinct from one and other and represented a temporal shift without any clear conceptual change. The lack of substantive theoretical and conceptual distinctions associated with these more recent terms suggests a thinning of commitments to the principles underlying collaborative research and a thickening of its instrumental deployment. The authors concluded that despite claims to full participation, only a minority of the research reviewed provided descriptions that suggest that community was involved in all aspects of the project. While Brizay et al.'s review systematically established the broad gap between participative claims and practices in HIV-related research, the possibility of egalitarian, emancipatory partnerships was located in better practices of engagement. This approach to better partnering ignores that the institutionally and socially arranged asymmetries of collaboration are beyond the reach of CBR. As Coombes and colleagues (2014) cautioned, the emphasis on procedural barriers as a technical problem ignores that the limits of collaborative research pose more substantive political and ethical dilemmas.

The Politics and Ethics of Participation

Neo/Inclusive Liberal Rationalities of Participation

Labonte (2004) has questioned how inclusion can be used to regulate and further reproduce social and economic hierarchies, while Ponic and Frisby (2010) explicated how inclusion operates to reinscribe the power of the "includer." To mitigate against these re-inscriptions of subordination requires not just attention to the micro-politics of participation, but to the ways in which CBR articulates to neo/inclusive liberal rationalities. Managerialism and its

associated audits are identified by a number of scholars (Blackstock et al., 2015; Bourke, 2013) as an impediment to the political action agendas of CBR. The Community-University Engagement/Partnership (CUE/CURP) literature (Jagosh et al., 2015; Martinez et al., 2013; Nichols et al., 2014) found significant institutional barriers in the audit metrics of neoliberalism, which privilege publications, the acquisition of research dollars, and instrumental relations within a project bound timeline. These authors also outlined funding impediments to CUE/CURP that foreclose on community led grant applications and funding streaming directly to CBOs.

Dean (2015) argued that the discourse and practice of community engagement (CE) rely on positioning the university as a site of privilege and the community as a site of needs. This fixing of community as a beneficiary obscures the lack of material support to CBOs and other community collaborators. There is scant discussion of the ethics of overburdening under-resourced CBOs that links the lack of material support and the diversion of funding to short-term research project to neoliberal restructuring of the social welfare state (Rigg & O'Mahoney, 2013; Salmon, Browne and Pederson, 2010). Dean maintained that CE colludes with neoliberal needs for unpaid bodies to take up the gaps left by the ongoing loss of funding for the social service and welfare sector. The promise of building toward collaborations not based on neoliberal aims, requires, according to Dean, an ongoing troubling of the politics and ethics of engagement.

The Economies of CBR

The political economy of CBR is perhaps most stark on issues of relative compensation. Although Bastida, Tseng, McKeever, and Jack (2010) emphasised the need for full disclosure both in budget development and management, few authors explicitly address the issue of

compensating community researchers. Compensation is discussed regarding its potential coercive effects in communities experiencing socio-economic disadvantage (Flicker et al., 2007b). This concern with coercion is predicated on notions of participation as research respondent, not as a co-researcher. Salmon and colleagues (2010) inquired into the political economies of participatory research to address how wages and stipends must be carefully thought through and made transparent to all collaborators. The question of uneven compensation becomes even more salient in peer research models that use an employment rather than honoraria model (Guta, Flicker & Roche, 2010).

Models of compensation vary according to whether collaborators are individual community members or agencies/agency staff. However, both groups receive compensation that is asymmetrical to the benefits accrued by the academic collaborators. Edgren and colleagues (2005) emphasised, community or "insider" data collectors are much more likely to gain access to households than graduate students or other professional interviewers. Access and its associated benefits, brokered by community collaborators, is one of the central efficiencies offered by CBR to the knowledge economy. The normalisation of the differential value of academic versus community contributions is echoed in MacLean and colleagues (2009) study where academic researchers highlight the "huge personal costs" of producing work that does not "count" in university performance metrics (p. 410), while eliding the costs to the community. Although the absence of discussion of the political economies of knowledge production is pervasive in the CBR literature, there are exceptions. Ponic and Frisby (2010) and Bell and Salmon (2011) noted that the economic costs associated with participation are a major impediment for participants

living in poverty. Bell and Salmon provided a detailed account of the material supports required for participation and raised the ethical tension of providing payment for research collaboration, while advocacy groups relied on volunteerism.

While the low or no financial compensation to community collaborators is troubling, community participation was devalued in other ways. MacLean and colleagues (2009) reported that academic participants identified that "non-research" tasks associated with CBR were onerous. These tasks not only included administrative work, but the "political and policy work" (p. 409) that was highly valued by the community. Academics conceded that this non-academic work was an essential "trade-off" for access, especially to more socially isolated community members. Interestingly, these authors do not report on what the "trade off" is for community members, who although one-third of the sample for this study, are silent on this and other challenges to participating in CBR.

Other authors reported on the effectiveness of CBR in engendering support for proposed interventions. For example, Doyle and Timonen (2010), noted that volunteer researchers reflected on how participating in CBR fostered support for the programs under inquiry. Community collaboration as a means of securing endorsement for a proposed intervention is well documented in the health prevention literature (Israel, Schulz, Parker & Becker, 1998; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2011; Yonas et al., 2006). Flicker et al. (2007a) contended that in their review of the health prevention literature increased participation by the community enhances the relevance and "success" of interventions. The production of consensus and support for prescribed interventions extends the economies of participation from access to activation. These instrumentalities as a

question of ethics go largely unscrutinized and are obscured through the ongoing constitution of CBR as outside of politics and power.

Power Obscured: Voice and Authenticity

Much of the CBR literature (Trickett & Espino, 2004) fails to attend to the unevenness of collaboration by constructing community as an unproblematic, homogeneous entity to gain access to and knowledge of and from. This constitution of community ignores historical/current structural inequalities and research exploitation to naturalise community collaboration as an inherent good. Although the problematic of entering spaces of mistrust is noted in the CBR literature (Minkler, 2004), it is typically cast as a barrier, which better engagement strategies can remediate. Todd (2011) argued that positioning community work remediable through technical adjustments severs community engagement from relations of white privilege. However, Minkler and Wallerstein (2011) challenged the ways in which community is constituted particularly the problematic of engaging service providers with very different levels of power to represent the community. This tendency of engaging professionals as representative proxies is widespread (Flicker et al., 2008) and troubling in that it displaces those that are most impacted by the issues of interest. As Dean (2015) noted, the community-engagement discourse conflates community service providers with those they serve and ignores the political and ethical implications of representation by professionals operating at the intersection of social control and care.

One of the ways that the politics of knowledge production is further displaced is through claims to represent the "voices" of those typically excluded from knowledge production. The valorization of community subjects and spaces of community as sites of "authentic" knowledge

is ubiquitous in the literature (Flicker et al., 2007a; McIntyre, 2007; Smith, Willms & Johnson, 1997). This quest for unmediated presentation obscures the politics and economies of local knowledge and knower. As Maiter and Joseph (2016) critiqued, claims to unmediated representation rely on face value analysis that erases histories and presents of raced and colonial relations. Kindon, Pain, and Kesby (2007) also challenged claims to authenticity by proposing that local participants are often less concerned with "truer" representation of the community. Kindon and colleagues noted, that the women they worked with rejected either romanticising or politicising prison in the research "products." Kindon et al. also contested the binary of organic/ grassroots knowledge-making versus CBR initiated by elite knowers, as reifying the popular as more authentic and, thus, outside of power relations.

Power Manipulated: Empowerment and Sovereign Power

Empowerment discourse is frequently invoked as a rationale for participation and is most often seen as something that is conveyed upon disadvantaged collaborators by knowledge elites. However, as Healy (2001) noted, much of the subtext of participatory knowledge production can be characterised as one where knowledge elites "find the most appropriate participatory ways to convince the "uneducated" of the merits of their own educated convictions" (2001, p. 98). In this status hierarchy, Healy suggested, compliant and consensual community participants are empowered to support the "critical truths" that anchor participatory approaches. While Coombes and colleagues (2011), like Guishard (2009), proposed revitalising CBR's commitments to Freirian pedagogy, other scholars (Guta et al., 2013, 2014, 2016; Golob & Giles, 2013; Stoecker,

1999; 2009) advocated for a Foucauldian framework to interrogate the operations of power in CBR.

Despite proposals for poststructural approaches to power, sovereign understandings of power persist and can be located in two conceptualizations that dominate the CBR literature: those that place CBR outside of power and those that suggest that uneven collaborative relations can be ameliorated through the "giving up" of power by knowledge elites. Healy (2001) argued that egalitarian discourses of CBR preclude a critical engagement with the operations of power. While Galuppo, Gorli, and Ripamonti (2011) acknowledged enduring asymmetrical power relations in action research, they suggested that power can be redistributed. Travers and colleagues (2013, p. 412) critically reflected on the engagement with power in their collaborations, but concluded that "if this were to become a problem" they would put in place processes whereby power relations might be negotiated. Likewise, Hilsen's proposal that "we act out mutual and interdependent power relations" (2006, p. 301) acknowledged power, but not its intractability.

Notable exceptions to those scholars who position uneven power relations as either absent or remediable are Guta et al., (2013; 2014; 2016) and Potsma (2008) who investigated relational power from a poststructural perspective. Potsma suggested that most appraisals of CBR tend to highlight facilitators/enablers and cast challenges in terms of lessons learned, with the assumption that next time round these difficulties will be remedied. What may be most salient about Potsma's argument is that inquiring into collaborative relations through a poststructural theoretical lens moves the analysis from blunt measurements of participation to

considering campus/community collaborations as an ethical encounter. Guta and colleagues

(2016) similarly argued that a Foucauldian framework brings into view research as a practice of

ethics.

The Politics of Improvement

If desires for authenticity are articulated through the space of community, the space of

academe is where that authenticity is improved upon. The CBR literature articulates a project of

moral improvement through the discourses of empowerment, emancipation, which are

operationalized most notably through capacity-building. Capacity building in the CBR literature

is a central activity and objective (Black, 2003; Labonte & Laverack, 2001; Matsuda, Creighton,

Nixon & Frankish, 2011) that is primarily targeted to community collaborators and to building

research skills. This activity articulates some troubling assumptions about the space of

community and academe, namely that the community "lacks capacity" or that it "lacks the right

capacity," which is typically academic knowledge and skills. Although naturalised as good

practice and, therefore, not subject to scrutiny, the colonialism of discourses of capacity building

is thoroughly critiqued by First Nations authors, who argued that claims of "Aboriginal non-

capacity" are levied to maintain academe's epistemic privilege (Schnarch, 2004).

Although a few authors have suggested the need for capacity building for academic

partners (Minkler, 2004; Travers et al., 2013), most of the training is targeted to students. Jagosh

and colleagues (2012) reported on academic partners learning new skills in collaboration,

collecting data and valuing/integrating community knowledge. However, the skills that are

improved are those of doing research. Likewise, Sprague Martinez and colleagues (2013) noted

that capacity building occurs for academic partners as well, in terms of broadening networks, research aims/topics, and community resources for research. Although positioned as an important step toward community self-determination, scholars rarely appraise who benefits and in what ways from the aim of building community capacity to conduct research. As Roche (2008) warned, the focus on fostering academic discourses and practices subverts the complementary knowledges nonacademics bring to CBR.

Capacity building also regulates community collaborators to only particular research activities and spaces. The literature suggests that community collaborators are most active in an advisory capacity and data collection, particularly recruitment and tool development, and dissemination activities (Brizay et al., 2012; Doyle & Timonen, 2010; Flicker et al., 2008; Stacciarini et al., 2011). Potsma (2008) argued that CBR governance structures create formal advisory spaces for participation by community members, which are outside of day to day decision making and research practices. Pinto, Spector, Rahman and Gastolomendo (2015) acknowledged the asymmetrical relations within community advisory boards such as the ways in which academics steered the agenda, used jargon, and dominated meetings. Although the trend toward community occupying marginal spaces within CBR activities is persistent, there are some scholars (Kramer, Kramer, Garcia-Iriarte, & Hammel, 2011; Stevenson, 2013) who reported that community collaborators are involved in research practices, such as analysis, that are often seen as the purview of academe. Similarly, the feminist CBR praxis of Fine and Torre (2006), Tuck (2009), and Ayala (2009) resisted regulating the activities available to community collaborators.

Knowledge Democracy and The Politics of Partnership

The impossibility of situating knowledge production outside of politics is also embraced by scholars who theorise CBR as a democratic project. Guishard (2009) and others (Chataway, 1997; Fals Borda & Rahman, 1991; Healy, 2001; Hickey & Mohan, 2004) maintained that participatory research is centrally about the activation of democratic inquiry in the context of equal partnerships with academics and members of disempowered groups. Although the framework of democratic inquiry places CBR as inherently political, claims to equality suggest that democratic praxis can occur outside of structural inequities. Social inequality is signalled in the framing of community as "disempowered," but is implied to be remedial within the CBR project through its claims to empowerment.

An explicitly political stance toward participative knowledge work is apparent in the conceptualization of a "knowledge democracy." This term is frequently traced to the work on cognitive justice of de Sousa Santos (2012) and Gaventa and Biven (2011) who argued that without cognitive justice social justice is impossible. De Sousa Santos conception of "ecologies of knowledge" with its focus on excluded knowledges is particularly relevant to thinking through collaborative knowledge work with marginalised communities. The promise of cognitive justice is pursued in a special issue of Action Research on knowledge democracy. The editors of this issue (Openjuru, Jaitli, Tandon & Hall, 2015) aimed to include previously excluded knowledges, particularly work by authors situated in the global south. However, as the editors critically reflected on the submissions and selections for the issue, they acknowledged that the journal issue centres knowers from the global north. The failure of this journal to include the excluded is

primarily attributed by the editors to the institutional barriers of Northern publication processes. However, this failure also signals that the editors sought, knowingly or unknowingly, to create a space outside of the power of Western/northern knowledge institutions.

Another body of scholarship that has begun to engage with the politics of participation is the community/university partnership literature. For example, Munck (2014) argued that CBR cannot hide behind an apolitical mask and that the collaborative research runs the spectrum from highly instrumental to emancipatory. What is required, according to Munck, is an explicit articulation of the politics that inform a particular project. And I would add an explicit articulation of the ethics of collaboration.

Naturalisation and Institutionalisation of CBR Ethics

The naturalisation of CBR as ethical practice is evident in Green's (2004) observation that "ethical questions were the last we might have expected to face" (p. 698). Flicker et al. (2007b) maintained that CBR evolved as a direct response to ongoing ethical transgressions in conventional research. Similarly, Manzo and Brightbill (2007) argued that it is the promise of more ethical research, which draws practitioners to adopt participatory approaches. Cahill and colleagues (2007) proposed that CBR's commitment to emancipatory social change takes an explicitly normative position on social justice. Both Cahill et al. and Manzo and Brightbill characterised participatory research ethics as an epistemological stance against neutrality that affirms curiousity, engagement, and openness. Certain discursive themes mark CBR as an ethical practice, most commonly its constitution as a "good" alternative to the "parachute in and parachute out" researcher who mines community knowledge for professional gain (Healy, 2001;

Stoecker, 2009). In contrast, the participatory researcher is constituted as committed to socially

just knowledge production and emancipatory collaborations (Hickey & Mohan, 2004; McIllrath,

2014; Stacciarini et al., 2011). These propositions suggest that CBR is an inherently ethical

approach to research.

      Much of CBR literature challenging research ethics is limited to a discussion of the poor

alignment between CBR (Brydon-Miller, 2008a, 2008b; Flicker et al., 2007b) and institutional

protocols or professional codes of ethics (Antle & Regehr, 2003). Flicker et al. (2007b)

maintained that the positivist paradigm informing institutional review is a poor fit with CBR and

that the content that is missing is troubling. The authors found that none of the ethics forms

asked about community involvement in crafting the research questions, about relative power

imbalances across constituencies, or about equitable distribution of resources between academic

and community partners. Similarly, Flicker and colleagues (2007b) critiqued institutional review

protocols for the exclusive focus on the assessment of individual rather than community level

risk, which elides ethical transgressions on and within engaged communities, as well as those

that persist beyond the research encounter. Although recommendations are put forward by the

authors that better align with the principles of CBR, the proposals remain determined by

academics rather than community partners. Also, the review prioritised participatory process and

outcomes and neglected the ethics associated with the social action component of CBR.

Meaningful action is even more elusive in the CBR literature than substantive community

participation.

Mosher, Anucha, Appiah, and Levesque (2014) identified the need to theorise the research to action trajectory if we are to take seriously an ethical commitment to catalyse social change. Ayala (2009) proposed that action can be constrained by institutional ethics protocols. She described working within institutional settings such as high schools where confidentiality is a condition of access to youth. However, she suggested that youth frequently wished to take action, yet were restricted from doing so due to potential breaches of confidentiality. Such dilemmas raise the issue of who confidentiality is protecting and who it is subjecting to yet another layer of oppression. Bastida et al. (2010) emphasised the need to "train researchers to respectfully negotiate with communities at the onset of the relationship" (p. 17) to develop a code of ethics, that exceeds institutional protocols, to guide their collaboration. Smith, Bratini, Chambers, Jensen, and Romero (2010) proposed an ethic of reciprocity that begins with disclosures of academic and community partners personal positions and motivations. This gesture toward open disclosure by academic subjects may enhance trust and connection between academic and community partners, but it also risks centring the academic and overdetermining shared experiences and identities. Reciprocity as an ethical framework also neglects that as important as sharing common experiences or projects is, the engagement of difference is an equally productive means of complicating research and social locations and bringing into focus the politics and the ethics of these collaborations.

An important critique of the ethical limitations of the research encounter emerges from the literature on CBR with indigenous communities. Here the limitations of institutionally based ethics regimes are stark. Institutional ethics not only articulate to Western masculinist

enlightenment notions of autonomy and freedom, but are also aligned with the robust individualism of neoliberal rule. Furthermore, these prescriptive protocols conceal histories of colonial violence and abuse of indigenous communities that demand a different negotiation of the ethical terrain. Indigenous scholarship raises significant questions about how to realise ethical praxis at the collective or community level (Coombes et al., 2011; Getty, 2010; Kovach, 2005; Quigley, 2006). The need to extend the ethical domain to the collective and to develop ethical frameworks to guide ongoing research relations, practices, and outcomes is relevant to all collaborations with communities that endure historical and contemporary oppression.

Concluding Thoughts

The CBR literature is increasing in magnitude and criticality. However, the multiplicity of semantic and operational approaches makes it difficult to provide a synthesis of the work in North America. The participatory development literature, which has a much longer history of critical engagement with participation, is increasingly mentioned, particularly in the partnership literature. However, the tendency is to note that there are problems with participatory approaches with a citation to PD scholars, most frequently Cooke and Kothari (2001), without a fulsome engagement with the critiques offered by these and other PD scholars. Divisions are also found within North American literature, which lacks cross-pollination across disciplines. The plurality of participative research, while promising in that it reflects the contextual and emergent nature of CBR, obfuscates the participatory practices that underlie diverse claims to equitable collaboration.

These divisions are evident in the comparative reviews of CBR's variations, which are typically disciplinary specific and orient toward a "best practice" model that acknowledges barriers, but positions challenges as remediable through better engagement strategies and institutional arrangements. Although institutional barriers are becoming more common features of the engagement and partnership literature, they are often seen as intractable and are disconnected from the macro rationalities of neo/inclusive liberalism and neocolonialism. The localised focus prohibits a consideration of how engaging marginalised communities align with the metrics of the knowledge economy.

The CBR literature dislocates collaboration from the socio-political conditions in which it unfolds. Discourses of authenticity and giving voice position local knowledge as outside of the socio-political. This spatial regulation is required to maintain CBR's claims to egalitarian relations in the face of uneven social and research locations. Sovereign understandings of power persist that situate CBR as outside of power or a site where power is malleable and manageable, particularly through the giving up and over implied in empowerment discourse. However, some scholars reported on more radical participatory spaces where the politics of knowledge production are engaged, notably the F/yPAR collective and researchers aligned with cognitive justice and knowledge democracy.

While the increased critical engagement with the politics of CBR is a encouraging trend, consideration of the ethical terrain of these encounters both in the macro context of neoliberal austerity and the micro-relations between collaborators remains limited. Much of the exploration of the ethics of CBR is either constrained to a critique of institutional review boards or to

bettering the micro-relations of research. Neither perspective inquires into the broader ethical

dilemmas set up by collaborating with marginalised communities and groups experiencing

histories and presents of oppression, which no amount of review or "management" of ethics will

remediate.

In conclusion, the CBR literature encompasses a breadth of approaches, but lacks depth

and critical engagement with the social relations and everyday practices of participative research.

The diverse iterations of CBR indicate a sustained interest in community/university

collaborations. However, the thinness of the literature's engagement with the theoretical,

political, and ethical terrain of these collaborations undermines its liberatory potential.

Paradoxically, it is CBR's claims to emancipatory research that deter deeper inquiry into the

ways in which power, politics, and ethics operate in community/university collaborations.

Chapter 3: A Critical Engagement with the Grey Literature

Writing Story: What does institutional support really cost us?

    If I felt like Electra slaying her mother(s) in my critical engagement with the academic scholarship, I feel a rekindling of the cheerleader in my engagement with the grey literature. Although the institutional arrangements of funders and academe invoke my killjoy, the critique is aimed at disembodied texts, often literally author-less. But then there are the manuals, toolkits, and research reports authored by colleagues whose work I admire. I can trace my practitioner subjectivities: both the ally and the pimp, in these documents as I revisit the toolkits and research reports that we produced with all their blind spots and desires to do better. Better was almost always about social change, but we mostly scaffolded individual change for a few collaborators and only for awhile. What becomes of us all after/outside of the funding flow?

Introduction

In addition to the growing body of academic literature reflecting on CBR, there is a robust collection of CBR documents produced by governments, universities, CBOs, CBR centres and institutes, and by individual collaborators on CBR projects. Unconstrained by the limits of journal and book publication, these documents offer a more detailed account of the institutional arrangements, everyday practices of CBR, and the social relations of collaborators. These documents also convey a sense of what is particular to CBR in Canada, Ontario, and the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). Although most of the documents are from the grey literature, there are a few inclusions from academic journals and books that speak directly to the Canadian context of CBR.

The chapter begins with a tracing of the evolution of CBR, which draws on a three-era model that tends to consign institutionalisation to the past, indigenous contributions to the margins, and disconnect the evolution of collaborative research from the knowledge economy.

Next, an inquiry into the institutional spaces and texts of CBR suggests the increasing discursive value, but not material practices, of collaboration. The following section traces funding at the level of National Research Councils, Government ministries, and Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which indicate an erosion of material support for CBR and a reconfiguration of collaboration to align with the rationalities of inclusive liberalism. I then review two CBR toolkits produced by GTA-based CBOs, to highlight how they bring the specificity of participatory practices into view, as well as the politics and ethics of collaboration. The final section of this chapter considers a selection of research reports from the GTA to argue that the criticality eluded in the academic literature is taken up by the grey literature.

CBR in Canada

Brown, Ochocka, Grosbois, and Hall (2015) divided the history of CBR in Canada into three eras: the foundational years: prior to 1998, the institutionalisation era: 1998-2012, and the current national engagement period. They trace the early influences of the University of Alberta, St Francis Xavier University (particularly the Antigonish Movement), the Toronto's Workers Education Association and Participatory Research Network, the Service aux Collectivités at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), as well as the impact of various issue/identity social movements such as: indigenous, women's, LGBT2Q, HIV/AIDS, and anti-poverty. The authors also noted the influence of the establishment of the Community-based Research Centre in early 1980, the community psychology movement, and the research outside of academe with individual activist scholars. Vaillancourt (2006) contended that the shift toward

institutionalisation began earlier in Quebec with the Conseil québécois de la recherche sociale mandating partnerships and research teams across the health and welfare fields.

The transition to the institutionalisation era of CBR is marked by Brown and colleagues (2015) with the inception of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council's (SSHRC) Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) grants (1998- 2009). This funding envelope, according to these authors, evidenced the highest ratio of applicants to awards in the SSHRC portfolio signalling the desire for collaborative research at the levels of academe, community, and government but also the scarcity of funding. Hall (2009) suggested that the influence of CURA funding led to community-university engagement emerging as a cross-cutting focus and strategic objective of Canadian universities. Brown and colleagues proposed that the impact of the CURA goes beyond the national to the global. They highlighted a report commissioned by the European Research programme that noted the success of the CURA funding program as an indicator of the social and economic value of government support to community-university collaborations. However, it is unclear how the indicator: the success of a funding mechanism itself is an adequate measure of socio-economic gains. As is frequently the case, the funding of collaborative research becomes its own measure of success, while the impacts on the community of interest remain undocumented.

Bourke (2013) maintained that the intensification and institutionalisation of community-engaged scholarship is evident in the discursive, material, and spatial practices of engagement (e.g., university white papers and mission statements, community-university engagement appointments and centres), and the strategic mandates of national coalitions such as the

Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC). For example, a 2008 report by the

AUCC highlighted the importance of CBR to post-secondary research:

> Community partnerships help universities to define and scope the research
>
> questions and provide access to research participants and sources of local
>
> expertise, as well as additional funding and in-kind contributions. In turn,
>
> universities provide communities with access to wide-ranging and in-depth
>
> knowledge and national and international expertise that informs and addresses
>
> community challenges and opportunities in a meaningful way. As universities and
>
> communities work together on research projects, they strengthen their collective
>
> capacity to solve current and anticipated problems, while contributing both to
>
> community development and to the advancement of the disciplines concerned ...
>
> Many communities see universities as key to the growth of the local/regional
>
> economy, and are working to develop effective strategies to leverage universities'
>
> engagement in research and talent development to maintain or enhance quality of
>
> life (AUCC, 2008, p.90-91)

What is noteworthy about this particular excerpt is that it explicitly outlined the benefits

conveyed to academe by community partners and is unabashed in stating that access to

participants, local expertise, and local resources are enabled by community collaboration. Similar

to the academic literature, this report makes clear that the commodification of local knowledge is

naturalised as a good practice and an essential rationale for CBR.

During the period of institutionalisation, Flicker, Savan, Mcgrath, Kolenda, and

Midlenberg (2007a) surveyed Canadian academic and community researchers about their

experiences of CBR. The authors analysed what respondents reported they would change about

their last project. The key thematic clusters included the need for more time, funding, flexibility,

clarity in roles and responsibilities, equitable control over project funding, involvement across the spectrum of project activities, and planning for sustainability and action. The authors highlighted how pervasive issues of uneven power were in CBR and that these asymmetries must be explicitly named and engaged. However, as elsewhere these differences are seen as "not insurmountable" (p. 241) and benefits accrued across research locations can be "equitably distributed" (p. 249), which again suggests that structural conditions are remediable within the CBR project. Interestingly here, as well as in a related publication on the findings from this survey (Flicker et al., 2008), the challenges reported by survey respondents are set against the "high levels of satisfaction" (2007, p. 248) with CBR processes and outcomes. The tension between reporting multiple challenges while retaining high levels of satisfaction with the work signals the significance of affect in initiating and sustaining these collaborations — a tension that will be taken up in chapter 5.

Brown and colleagues (2015) acknowledged the parallel, and sometimes intersecting, contributions of indigenous communities to promoting decolonised collaborative research approaches. The authors maintained that the importance of indigenous research to CBR is evident in the proportion of funding monies streaming into this area: just over one-third of all SSHRC funding went to Aboriginal research grants in 2014. As noted earlier, the level of funding itself is held out as an indicator of successful collaboration. Despite the magnitude of funding to CBR with indigenous communities and the critical work of scholars of decolonial research (Kovach, 2005; Wilson, 2008; Kajner, 2015; Salmon, Pederson & Browne, 2010; Tuck, 2009; Tuck & Yang, 2012), it remains situated on the sidelines of Brown et al.'s review and other

tracings, including this chapter's, of the evolution of community/university collaborations (Mendes, Gingras, Robinson & Waddell, 2014; Vaillancourt, 2006). The targeted funding and persistent sidelining of indigenous methodological and epistemological contributions to collaborative research achieves the doubled move of acknowledgement without disturbing institutional arrangements that privilege Western ways of knowing and doing knowledge work.

Mendes and colleagues (2014) argued that Community-University Research Partnerships (CURPs) in Canada must be situated in the context of broader global shifts impacting academe and society at large. The authors deployed governmentality scholarship to connect inter/national trends toward devolved public support with partnering strategies to enlist communities in the research enterprise. Mendes et al. identified how discourses of "community" and "partnership" at times entrench knowledge hierarchies through private sector alliances; while at other times open up space for other ways of knowing by cultivating critical dialogues across disciplines and extra-university constituencies.

Institutional Arrangements and Texts

Brown and colleagues (2015) noted that almost every Canadian university has CBR or a variation written into their strategic plans and/or an institutional support structure for CBR. However, what is not clear is what participatory practices are associated with these institutional arrangements or what their impact is on the intended community beneficiaries. Many universities across Canada have created community-university engagement centres including: McGill, York, University of Toronto, University of Victoria, Carlton, Simon Fraser, University of British Columbia, Guelph, St Francis Xavier, and more (for a more extensive list see the OCBR report

on campus/community partnerships, 2009,). Community-engagement is not only apparent in the

institutional spaces that act as hubs for collaboration, albeit for the most part funded and/or

directed by academe, but it is also entrenched as a key strategic priority in University Planning

papers. In a scan of three such papers from GTA universities: York, Ryerson, and the University

of Toronto, community engagement and partnerships are named as key priorities. York

University's strategic planning document is titled: "Building a More Engaged University (2010),

while community-engagement is one of four top priorities for Ryerson University (2014).

University of Toronto's strategic planning document (2008) was less invested in community

engagement and more focused on partnerships, particularly with the private sector, and service

learning for its students. A follow-up document: "The View from 2012" shows similar discursive

trends to the earlier document including the constitution of the community as that of the

University of Toronto itself rather than those surrounding its campuses or elsewhere.

      While York acknowledges that "aspiring to be Canada's engaged university" includes

engagement within its own community of students and faculty (mentioned five times in twenty

pages), the emphasis is weighted toward engagement with the communities outside of its campus

(mentioned twenty times in twenty pages). York distinguished itself in terms of community

engagement, while the University of Toronto situated itself as a leader in private sector

collaboration and experiential learning opportunities. Although the neoliberal logic of partnering

with the private sector is clear in the University of Toronto plan, the language of community

engagement in York's white paper is less so. However, as evident in the excerpt below, York's

engagement aligns with the rationales of inclusive liberalism, which suture instrumental and

relational objectives (Roelvink & Craig, 2005):

> We also believe that a commitment to engagement will enhance the quality of the
> research, and the contribution to knowledge, that is an essential part of the
> mission of a modern research-intensive university such as York. Universities are
> increasingly being seen as key drivers of economic and social innovation.

Ryerson University's strategic planning document: "Our Time to Lead" described its

engaged institutional values as creating a "culture of philanthropy" (p.23) both within and

outside of its campus, which recalls how discourses of charity and volunteerism attenuate the

neoliberal erosion of the public sector. As Dean (2015) noted, community engagement

rationalised as "giving back" elides how the "giving" is a necessary sequel to significant cuts to

social welfare. Engagement is anchored in Ryerson's identity as a "city builder" (p. 14) that takes

"pride and ownership in the city's advancement" (p.14), which casts Ryerson as an agent of

progress and the city's communities as beneficiaries.

National, Regional, and Local Funding Streams

Research Councils

A report by Office of Community Based Research (OCBR) at the University of Victoria

(2009) tracked sources and types of funding supporting CBR in Canada. The report identified

three major sources: Research Councils (SSHRC); federal, provincial, and territorial

governments; and non-governmental and private sector organisations including foundations.

Although this thesis focuses on CBR in the context of the social sciences, there is increasingly an

overlap with research attending to the social dimensions of health that receive funding from

CIHR. Notable are the two streams of CIHR funding with specific commitments to community-university collaboration: that of HIV-related research and research with Aboriginal communities. Also, inter-council initiatives like the Networks of Centres of Excellence established in 1998 provide a funding platform for community partnerships, but the funding has historically streamed to universities (OCBR, 2009). Other sources of federally funded support to community-university collaborative research are the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation's External Research Program and the Canadian Race Relations Foundation. Both sources provide modest grants (i.e., $25-30,000) to community-led or partnered research.

As discussed in the previous section, SSHRC's CURA was a significant driver of community/university collaborative research in Canada. The SSHRC CURA funding ran from 1999 -2008 and awarded 107 grants typically for four to five years at $200,000 per year. The rationale for the granting stream was a mix of globalisation discourse and "wicked" social problems with an emphasis on how these complex problems required local and regional knowledge. The authors of the OCBR report maintained that the validity of CURA program is evidenced by the "demand and competitiveness for funding" (2009, p. 20), which positions community/university partnerships in monetised terms. The objectives of these collaborative research projects are also clearly set out in marketised terms of "effectiveness," which are tempered by the inclusive liberal goal of "benefits to both" (SSHRC archive). Despite claims to mutually beneficial outcomes and "equal partners," the contributions of each constituency are demarcated in ways that secure academic privilege. The community is characterised as offering front line experience and academe a "breadth and depth of knowledge and skills" (SSHRC

archive). The relative positioning of experience to the vast stores of knowledge of academe

sustains epistemic hierarchies through the discourse of collaboration.Although the CURAs

represented a considerable investment in community/university research, the relative investment

of SSHRC in grants to individual scholars amounted to twelve times that of the CURA over the

period of 1998-2008 (OCBR, 2009).

      After the close of the CURA, SSHRC developed a Partnership Grant program launched

in 2010/2011 that has elements of the CURA, but does not mandate a university/community

partnership. The Partnership Grant instead proposes community collaboration as one option

among others, such as partnerships between academic institutions. The objectives of this

program are a mix of those for the existing Connections and Insight grants with an emphasis on

interdisciplinary research, knowledge mobilisation, and networking. The shift from mutual

benefit and equal partnership between academe and community in the CURA to academic

partnerships and knowledge transfer in the Partnership grant signals that the institutionalisation

of collaborative research is now firmly situated within the "partnering age." Larner and Le Heron

(2005) maintained that partnering in this paradigm is about competitiveness and cohesion, both

of which entrench academic privilege over knowledge production, commodification, and

distribution. As of yet reviews of these grants are not available, but a scan of awarded partnership

grants from 2010/11-2014/2015 indicated that only one applicant: the Canadian Centre for Policy

Alternatives was a non-academic administrator (SSHRC Awards). That is not to say that CBOs

are not partners in academic led applications, but it is suggestive that community partnerships do

not play as crucial a role as they did in the CURA portfolio where approximately twenty of the administering organisations were non-academic (SSHRC Awards).

Governmental and Nongovernmental Funding

The OCBR report (2009) lists serval federal government ministries and agencies as potential sources of funding including: Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, Employment and Social Development Community-based Projects, the Public Health Agency of Canada, Environment Canada, Heritage Canada, Agriculture and Agri-Foods Canada, Industry Canada, the Heart and Stroke Foundation of Canada and Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada. However, the authors of this report caution that unlike SSHRC's CURA program none of these funding bodies has a specific focus on community/university partnered research. Provincial governments are also potential funding sources including in Ontario: the Ontario Trillium Foundation, Ministry of Citizenship, Immigration and International Trade's Partnership Projects; Ministry of Community and Social Services Developmental Research Fund; Ministry of the Attorney General's Community Grants (defunct); Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care's Community Fund-Partnership Stream; and the Northern Communities Capacity Building Program. Many of these funding sources are open to CBOs as lead applicants although most require intra or inter-sector partnerships and prioritise programmatic (pilot or evaluative) research. Despite the apparent proliferation of nonprofit and governmental funding sources (Table 1), few explicitly mandate community/academic collaboration, the monies available are modest, and the in-kind partner contributions required high.

Table 2
Funding Sources for CBR in Ontario

United Ways	Metcalf Foundation
Maytree Foundation	Ontario HIV Treatment Network
Tamarack Institute for Community Engagement	Ontario Trillium Foundation
Canadian Women's Foundation	Municipal (various) Community Foundations
Laidlaw Foundation	Ontario and Toronto Arts Councils
Atkinson Foundation	J. W. McConell Family Foundation
Donnelly Foundation	Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives
Law Foundation of Ontario	Canadian Policy Networks
Tides Foundation	Wellesley Institute (no longer directly funding)
Healthier Cities and Communities Hub	Women's Xchange

Manuals and Toolkits

Another source of knowledge about collaborative research is found in international,

national, and local CBR manuals and toolkits. Internationally, individual governments and

development agencies have authored guidelines to participatory engagement, as have

transnational organisations like the World Bank (WB) and the Word Health Organization

(WHO), which has produced hundreds of disease or issue specific guidelines for participatory

research and development. Nationally, guides have been produced for collaborative research with

Aboriginal communities: "OCAP: Ownership, Control, Access and Possession: (First Nations

Centre, 2007); for women considering participating in CBR: "Your Rights in Research: A Guide

for Women" (BC Centre of Excellence for Women's Health, 2009); and for HIV-related

collaborations by the Canadian Aids Treatment Information Exchange's (CATIE): "What to ask

when researchers come knocking" (Strike & Guta, 2013). These national guides are addressed to community collaborators, while the ones issued by the WHO and WB are targeted to professional development agents.

Two local community organisations: Access Alliance community health centre in the GTA and the Ontario Women's Health Network (OWHN) with offices in the GTA, but a province-wide purview, have produced detailed resources for engaging in CBR. In contrast to the ambiguous claims to participatory processes that dominate the academic literature, the resource produced by Access Alliance presents a highly detailed treatment of the micro-practices of CBR that foregrounds the politics and ethics of collaboration. However, the challenges posed are primarily focused on the micro-relations of collaboration and again, like the more critically engaged academic literature, do not fully consider how a "better practices" approach can not mitigate the macro contexts of structural oppression and neoliberal austerity. Despite this limitation, the toolkit is a carefully constructed, comprehensive resource for those interested in CBR.

The other locally developed resource: the "Inclusion Research Handbook" (2009), emerged from the Ontario Women's Health Network experiences with research collaborations. The handbook provides guidelines for the equitable inclusion of women in collaborative research particularly the micro-negotiations of power, privilege, and oppression within the research activities. The authors acknowledged the systemic forces that shape the collaboration through a "commitment to confronting all forms of discrimination" (p. 116) including punitive social assistance programs that pose a barrier to remuneration. The handbook also contests the systemic

conditions that shape collaborative research: "Through our collective work in inclusion, we have

developed temporary work around solutions, but these do not address the long-term systemic

barriers which create these challenges" (p. 29). Like the CBR toolkit produced by Access

Alliance, the Inclusion Research Handbook offered an array of practical advice, modules,

instruments, templates that put collaborative research principles into practice. However, both of

these excellent resources do not interrogate how techniques of inclusion are attractive to neo/

inclusive liberal and colonial aims. For example, the Inclusion Handbook lists the following

liberatory, but also instrumental objectives: accessing people who "may be unreachable by

traditional methodologies" (p. 17) and providing a "cost effective tool" (p. 16). The tension

between the socially transformative aims of inclusion and the instrumentalities of neo/ inclusive

liberalism are an undercurrent in the grey, as well as academic literature, but here may reflect a

strategic deployment of dominant discourse.

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Research Reports

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As in the review of the academic literature, the research reports selected focused on the

process of CBR itself and particularly on the social relations of the collaborations. The selection

also reflects the diversity of topics and disciplines evident in the academic literature review and

the interests of conversants who participated in the dialogues that are the focus of chapters 5

through 9. Like the academic literature, the majority of research reports claim to fully involve

people most impacted by the issue at hand (Hendrickson, Kilbourn, & Ontario Women's Health

Network 2011; Paradis, Bardy, Cummings-Diaz, Athumani, & Pereira, 2012; Wolff, 2008).

Unlike the academic research, such claims were much more likely to be substantiated through

detailed discussion and critical reflection on participatory activities. For example, OWHN's (Hendrickson et al., 2011) research report on women's health and knowledge translation moves from an explicit statement of project values to an acknowledgement of shortfalls in inclusive practices. The report then documents the ways in which the values were put into practice, notably a detailed description of processes of collaborative data analysis. However, reporting on participatory practices was not always evident in research reports, for example, another report described the project methodology as "grassroots participatory research," but was unclear how the women participated outside of being informants in focus groups, interviews, and a questionnaire (ERDCO & OWHN, 2008). Pressure to focus on outcomes rather than processes may constrain discussion of participatory practices in both the academic and grey literatures.

Challenges to the limits of CBR included community collaborators maintaining that collaborative research is "contributing to those piles of dusty reports" and is "another way for people to make money" (Paradis et al., 2012, p. 8). A report by Paradis and Mosher (2012) connected the ongoing subordination of community collaborators with stereotypes that low-income women are "incompetent" (p. 11), which are instantiated through project arrangements that place control and resources with academe. Control, or lack of it, was linked by the community collaborators to being responsible to research participants and their broader community, particularly to take action on the research findings. Community collaborators on this project also spoke of being the risk takers and fearless advocates in contrast to professional researcher's who tended to take the "safer path" (p. 13), which reverses but does not reframe the

hierarchical social relations of collaborative knowledge work. Nevertheless, it is a major challenge to the academic literature's constitution of egalitarian collaborations.

Another distinct feature of the grey literature is the recognition of the political and ethical dimensions of relations between peer researchers and their broader communities (Flicker, Roche, & Guta, 2010; Guta, Flicker & Roche, 2010). For example, the Income Security, Race and Health Project report (ISRH, 2010) described the difficulties experienced by peer researchers in working with their communities and the processes undertaken to mitigate these challenges. The report also outlined adaptions that were made to training practices, including paired mentorship with project staff and academics, to accommodate the diversity of learning styles among peers. This nuanced discussion stands in contrast to the homogeneous constitution of the community that dominates the academic literature. A similar sensitivity to social relations among peer researchers and their broader communities was evident in a report on a CBR project where peer researchers were exposed to potentially discriminatory accusations by those that they were interviewing (Wollf, 2008). Not only was training and de-briefing support provided to mitigate the effects of such difficult conversations, but also a data collection strategy was developed to protect the research participants. However, despite the recognition of the unique contributions and dynamics of peer researchers, both project reports described building the capacities of peers but not other members of the collaboration.

Support to peer researchers described in the grey literature included a detailed discussion of the political economies of collaborative research. For example, Paradis et al. (2012) maintained that the majority of funds for the project streamed to the women facing homelessness

through honoraria and other supports including transit and food. Furthermore, on another project

Paradis and Mosher (2012) ensured that all the research team were employed in paid positions

and emphasised how important this was in countering CBR trends toward volunteerism.

Although salaried peer positions are a significant step toward more equitable compensation,

Paradis and Mosher acknowledged that uneven power dynamics, particularly early in the project,

continue to privilege the professional researchers. In a monograph by Guta, Flicker and Roche

(2010) financial compensation was described as a complex consideration of the relative benefits

and risks associated with honorariums versus salaries or hourly wages. Significantly, the

professional, academic, and peer researchers who participated in the project rejected a "no

compensation" approach rationalised through volunteerism.

In another frank discussion of the resources required to maintain "productive, healthy and

equitable relationships" (ISRH, 2007, p. 15), the ISRH report explored the micro-relations and

affective dimensions of collaborating with peers who face the many day to day difficulties

associated with challenging socio-economic conditions. The engagement with these challenges,

as well as the acknowledgement of the precarity of peer research labour, brings the social

locations of collaborators to the fore. Although the acknowledgement of the affective dimensions

of collaborating with peers experiencing multiple sites of marginalisation is rare, the report's

focus on its impacts to professional staff lessens the significance of its primary impact on peers.

Some research reports spoke directly to the challenges of naming social and research

locations. For example, Paradis et al. (2012) discussed the struggle, and ultimate dissensus, on

how to represent the project's collaborators, issues, and service systems described in their work.

Representation was discussed, not just in terms of terminology but numbers, with detailed

descriptions of who comprised the project advisory and how the social dynamics of the advisory

were a microcosm of "good practices" emerging from the findings of the project — here process

and outcome are intertwined.

Grégoire and Yee (2007) critically interrogated the social relations of CBR through an

inquiry into the limits of anti-racist approaches to research. The authors argued that an anti-racist

perspective informed framing the research questions and interview protocols, but was then

challenged during analysis by white collaborators. The resistance to engaging the raced logic of

knowledge production, not just as something "out there" but informing everyday research

practice requires greater attention. Another example of a research report which takes the social

locations of collaborators seriously is that of the Mental Health "Recovery" Study Working

Group (2009). The report opened with a discussion of the social and research locations of

collaborators as a contested site and positioned "research itself as a site of struggle" (p. 29). This

sensitivity to the politics of representation and knowledge production was also evident in the

report's commentary on discursive and material practices, which contested dominant ways of

knowing and of doing knowledge work. The critique of the response to the ethics review board

who questioned if peer researchers should sign off on the consent forms typically required by

respondents/informants is one of many examples of the explicitly political nature of this project.

Although not an individual research report per se, a locally produced overview of CBR

based on the experiences of a research institute, which has been a hub for CBR activity in the

GTA, provided a summary of the enduring challenges of and future directions for collaborative

research (Roche, 2008). Roche noted that despite a robust conceptual commitment to valuing

local knowledges and equitable collaborations, the everyday practices of CBR remain uneven

and for the most part undocumented. Furthermore, Roche argued that this unevenness is

sustained through the ongoing oppositional constitution of the knowledge and labour of

community versus academe. These binaries are not only divisive, Roche contended, but are

antithetical to the complementarity of multiple knowers and knowledge that is a core principle of

CBR. Power imbalances emerge not only from the everyday social relations of collaborative

research, but, as Roche reminded, are institutionally and structurally arranged in ways that

exclude community actors. Greater attention to how community and university relations are

mediated by such external forces enables a discussion that avoids re-inscribing oppositional

locations.

A significant trend noted in this report (Roche, 2008) is the shift toward technical rather

than substantive contributions by community collaborators and the emergence of a "peer

research" model of CBR. Although this model is increasing taken up in the GTA, particularly in

HIV-related CBR and other health prevention/promotion research, there is limited critical

engagement with the significance of the reconstitution of community collaboration as local

labour rather than local knowledge. This report, while notable in documenting the diversity of

practices associated with CBR, does not suggest how these different approaches to participation

re-configure the relations of collaboration to reflect the shifting rationalities of inclusion.

Concluding Thoughts

The grey literature provides a much-needed discussion of the institutional arrangements and everyday practices of CBR that is largely absent from the academic literature. While the institutionalisation of CBR is naturalised as good practice by most authors, others such as Bourke (2013) link the institutionalisation and intensification of CBR to the advance of knowledge capitalism. The institutional arrangements of CBR came into focus through examining the funding envelopes, academic strategic plans, and spaces of collaboration that determine the parameters of participation. Funding streams almost exclusively to academic institutions, with the exception of the now defunct SSHRC CURA, and the modest funding portfolios available from other governmental ministries, non-governmental agencies and foundations require considerable in-kind contributions. Acquisition of funding is centred as a primary indicator of "success" making explicit the neoliberal rationales of competition and marketisation of the institutional arrangements of CBR. Academic White papers from the three GTA universities emphasised instrumental collaborations that centre on enhancing academe's status; while community/university research centres act as collaboration hubs, but remain spatially and institutionally tethered to academe.

Manuals and toolkits offer detailed guidelines, templates, and practices for inclusive collaboration, which exceed those available in the academic literature. Furthermore, research reports engaged with the uneven social relations of CBR and many explicitly discuss the ethics and politics of collaborative knowledge work. Not only are the social relations between academic and community collaborators critically reflected upon in these reports, so are the dynamics

among peers and their broader communities. Furthermore, the political economies that underlie

CBR are contested to reveal the devaluing of community labour, which at times was linked to

structural and institutional arrangements that privilege academe and subordinate community

collaborators. The greater criticality of the grey literature suggests that the goodness of CBR can

not remain intact once the everyday participatory practices of collaboration are considered.

Chapter 4: A Magpie Methodology

Writing Story: Magpie Mind
     I feel a theoretical pull toward plurality and an affective push toward something coherent that hangs together and gives the reader something to hang on to. I long for an in-between space where multiple stories cohere even as they contradict. And yet I worry because a very astute colleague once observed: 'You have a magpie mind — always chasing after the next shiny thing.' And that is certainly accurate. Yet like most things, including this thesis, chasing shiny things, can be both productive and repressive. Either way, it makes for a longer journey with many interesting side trips for both this author and, I hope, for her readers.

Introduction: It is All About the Methodology

This chapter is the most difficult to write and the most intimate. My thesis is after all about methodology, in the context of a particular approach to knowledge making: CBR, as a site of theoretical, ethical, and political inquiry. In a doubled move, my writing about methodology considers both how I theorise the social relations of CBR through the empirical materials I have assembled, and how I reflexively interrogate the production of this thesis. Fraser and Puwar (2008) argued that research is intimate labour, but that the everyday activities of research, including the relentless decisions of what to display and what to conceal, are un/under reported. Fraser and Puwar suggested that the reticence to document these challenging but mundane activities may emerge from a fear of revealing just how unscholarly, arbitrary, and anxiety producing the everyday activities of research are. It is by embracing, the authors maintained, "intimacy in research" that we might disrupt the creative/analytic binary. Mishra Tarc (2013a) argued that the social sciences erase the affective labour and desires that underpin representation. One way in which the affective labour of this thesis is made transparent is through the various

writing stories scattered throughout this thesis. While no text is unmediated, these autobiographical incursions are intended to single out moments of affect and reflection less saturated by intellectual labour and academic conventions. Another approach undertaken in this chapter is to bring the tensions of thinking and doing methodology into view.

This chapter begins with a discussion of how the methodological tensions between postal frameworks (thinking) and analyses (doing) led to a design of dialogical theoretical pluralism. Then the research questions are clarified and followed by an overview of key theoretical and conceptual entry points clustered within three frameworks: poststructuralism, postcolonialism, and affect theories. The chapter then moves onto the particular methods deployed to realise this design, which begins with a description of the outreach and engagement of the twenty-nine conversants (academics, graduate students, community professionals and community members/ peers) who participated in seventeen multiple format dialogic interviews. Next, a dialogic approach to interviewing and analysis is presented that aims toward a sociality between texts, conversants, theories, and concepts. The chapter closes with a final section that focuses on ethical concerns, which extend beyond the limits of institutional review and are considered through a poststructural/colonial framework.

Design Approach: Dialogic Theoretical Pluralism

Writing Story: Dreaming Research Designs Differently
I began my CBR practice using collage to think about the findings from a conventional multi-method research project that I had been hired to coordinate. I gathered a small group of participants from the larger research project and applied for a small dissemination grant to use art to say something different about our work. We produced a provocative poster, which was scaled to postcards that were used to engage others in an advocacy campaign. I/we were hooked. Every subsequent project included a visual

medium: a three-dimensional map, visual and performance arts, and conceptual tool development. When it came time to design my thesis, I made many artful plans, but most of my dreams for doing my thesis differently were not to be. Research design is part desire, part pragmatic determination, and part luck.

Like many researchers before me, and my own experiences of CBR practice, I understand

that initial research designs are blueprints and often what eventually gets done is quite different.

The creative activities that occur in the space in-between the initial and actual research design

are rarely documented in the literature. The absence of the everyday practices of knowledge

making is a problematic that I take up empirically and methodologically. I hope to engage more

fully with these absences in a future publication. However, a fine-grained analysis of

methodological design exceeds the boundaries of this chapter, institutional norms for thesis

writing, and the patience of my readers. For now, I emphasise that the dynamics of engaging

conversants and the limits (time and other resources) of a single thesis determined the design of

this thesis. The dreams I had for doing a nonlinear, interactive, multi-media research design[3] may

be realised beyond this dissertation and elements of these creative designs can be found in this

thesis.

Methodological Tensions: Action, Theory, and Analysis

Greenwood (2002) critiqued social science conventions that separate theory and action,

application and practice as a political ploy to preserve the purview of academe. As a practitioner

of CBR, this critique resonated with my applied practice that foregrounded action and paid little

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[3] For some exemplars of creative multi media knowledge work, which inspired me to think otherwise see: At Home/Chez Soi web documentary "At Home" (see http://athome.nfb.ca/#/athome) and Highrise (see http://highrise.nfb.ca/prologue/) both collaborations with the National Film Board of Canada and both nonlinear and interactive. For a web based hyperlinked dissertation see zeppelinbend.com. For scholarly work on these formats see: Andrews and England (2012) and Stansbie (2012).

heed to methodological, theoretical, or epistemic contributions. Methodology was typically described, erroneously, as participatory and then data collection strategies were outlined and perhaps, content or thematic analysis. Our projects were to be judged on their goodness in engaging subjugated knowers and creating a platform for advocacy.

I sought something different in my thesis work — something that addressed the under-theorised and under-scrutinised research practices that limited my previous knowledge work. Following from Coombes (2012) and Stoecker (2009) who critiqued the absence of theorising of CBR, I dug deeply into theoretical frameworks for understanding the gaps between the discursive and material practices of CBR. I was drawn to the postal theories as a means to understand the circuits of power in CBR, which exceed top/down sovereign understandings of power and the illusory conveyance of empowerment. I began exploring the possibilities of what I referred to as a "postal conversation" between poststructuralism and postcolonialism, which offered a conceptual pool to inquire into how power operated in CBR in both repressive and productive ways. While poststructural concepts made clear that no better practice can ameliorate the deeply uneven social relations of CBR, postcolonial theories made transparent the coloniality of CBR, particularly its raced, gendered, and classed subject-making practices.

While these theoretical entry points offered a lens into the complexity of the social relations of CBR, they were increasingly dissonant with the analytic practices of coding and thematic clustering. I found myself at a methodological impasse between the thinking: theories that eschewed the reductive categorization of data; and the doing: my early analysis which relied on theoretical thinking, but was leading to an increasingly narrow analysis. The schism between

thinking and doing research is often instantiated through pedagogical practices that separate

theory and analysis (St. Pierre, 2014). To narrow this gap, I returned to the methodological

literature to find a defensible account for thinking theory and doing empirical analyses.

Narrowing the Gaps Between Thinking and Doing: A Post Qualitative Methodology

> We abandon the assumptions that organise "post" theory in order to insert our
> work into the recognizable, comfortable structure of humanist qualitative
> methodology. After all, what's one to do with poststructural theory in empirical
> research? Where's that textbook? Where's that "research design"? (St Pierre,
> 2014, p. 10)

Research without a blueprint is challenging, and for that reason I offer a tracing of my

journey toward a research design. Initially, I could not find exemplary research that detailed how

to do a theoretical reading, particularly one from a postal perspective. I could find scholarship on

discourse analysis, archaeological and genealogical method, as well as Derrida's deconstruction,

but these analytics were not a good fit for my project. Although components of my thesis could

be described as a Foucauldian knowledge/power discursive reading, I was also drawn to other

theoretical frameworks such as post-colonialism and affect theories that did not easily fit with an

exclusively discursive or deconstructive analytic strategy.

And so I began working within a magpie methodology producing multiple strands of

analyses. During this time, I experienced a great deal of anxiety while writing up a series of

theoretical readings that felt thinly rationalised and incongruent. I also sensed in my writing what

Hiddleston (2010, p. 8) described as anxiety as a "textual effect…emerging from tensions around

the theoretical voice…" This anxiety was apparent in the ways in which I was hiding behind

others' scholarship and the critiques of my conversants, without much layering of my theoretical analyses. And this anxiety increased as I began writing this methodology chapter and looked but did not easily locate scholarship to make a defensible bridge between my theoretical entry points and the technical work of analysis. I eventually found the work of St. Pierre (2014) who detailed the failures of herself and her students to locate more than a few post qualitative studies that exemplify how to both think and do post.

And so I pursued scholarship that situated itself as post qualitative research, which led me back to an earlier reading of Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) book: Thinking with Theory in Qualitative Research: Viewing Data Across Multiple Perspectives. I also was inspired by the pluralism in qualitative research (PQR) movement (Clarke et al., 2015; Frost et al., 2010; Goodby & Burns, 2011). Goodbody and Burns (2011) proposed that qualitative pluralism is well aligned with a post methodology. I follow Goodbody and Burns in retaining a modest view of what a pluralist approach might contribute and reject the proposal that pluralism can inherently amount to a fuller account. Instead, I embrace pluralism as "a way of going on" (Goodbody & Burns, p.192), which apprehends incommensurable tensions, as well as overlaps, between readings as productive. Mishra Tarc (2013a) proposed that we embrace the limits of our interpretive repertoire and adopt a stance of promiscuity that defies any categorical representation of ourselves or others.

Overlaps and contradictions occur throughout this thesis but with a different analytic angle. For example, Chapter 6's inquiry into neoliberal rationales that coordinate participatory practices through commodification and competition is taken up in Chapter 8's analysis of

institutionally arrangements that regulate CBR through funding and ethics review timelines.

Chapter 5 focuses on the affective dimensions of the absence of social transformation in CBR,

while Chapter 6 inquires into the ways in which the presence of desires for social action collude

with neoliberal metrics. A pluralist approach neither seeks to reconcile these contradictory

analyses nor remove analyses that converge on a similar argument but with different emphasis.

Pluralism, as conceptualised by PQR scholars Clarke and colleagues (2015), is not

eclecticism or relativism, but rather the considered application of multiple theories and/or

analytic strategies, which are less reductive than a singular approach. Clarke and colleagues

emphasised the need for a cogent rationale, so that multiple readings are purposeful and aim

toward specific theoretical and substantive contributions, albeit, not always equally. Drawing on

Honan, Knobel, Baker, and Davies (2000), this thesis proposes that different aspects of the data

work with their "own vocabulary" (p. 30). Therefore, each reading/chapter adopts a distinct

theoretical and conceptual emphasis to different empirical data, which is held as dialogic rather

than building developmentally toward an endpoint. Furthermore, a dialogical approach opens up

the possibility of nonlinear readings where the reader might follow different strands of interest,

considering each separately or in conversation with other readings.

While the PQR literature is instructive in navigating the general methodological terrain of

qualitative pluralism, I turn to Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) work to focus on theoretical/

conceptual pluralism. In a similar challenge to that of the PQR scholarship, these authors

contested reductive analytic strategies, which they argued are dissonant with postal theoretical

frameworks. Jackson and Mazzei rejected normative notions of voice as reflecting the meaning

of an experience and instead, attended to the ways in which participants in their study critically reflected on how they were positioned by others and how they strategically re/positioned themselves within a range of discursive fields. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) resisted privileging either the theoretical or the empirical to take up both as texts among other texts. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009) also argued for a balanced pluralism that resists letting the theoretical "command the empirical material too strongly" (p. 257). The design of dialogic theoretical pluralism keeps multiple tensions at play including those between: complexity and coherence; theory and analysis, the theoretical and empirical, as productive sites of inquiry.

Research Questions: Aligning Theories, Concepts, and Lines of Inquiry

Jackson and Mazzei (2013) maintained research questions emerge during theoretical engagement not prior. St. Pierre (2014) argued that the "posts" are centrally concerned with a critique of taken for granted assumptions that the practices we accept rest upon. Each chapter of this thesis questions the taken for granted goodness of CBR's social relations through multiple theoretical or conceptual entry points, which bring into view particular governmental practices and rationalities.

Chapter 5: How are desires to do good socially just CBR constituted discursively and materially? What governmental rationalities are articulated through these desires?

Chapter 6: What do these discourses of goodness do? What participatory practices do they activate? What governmental rationalities are articulated through these participatory practices?

Chapter 7: What particular subjects are required and how are these brought into being? What governmental rationalities are articulated through these subject-making practices?

Chapter 8: How are these desires, discourses, practices, and subjects institutionally arranged? What governmental rationalities do they rely on?

Chapter 9: How are these discourses, practices, subjects, and spaces resisted and reimagined? How are the various governmental rationales contested?

Theoretical and Conceptual Entry Points

Writing story: I am a conceptual hoarder
Several years ago, I had just finished running through, at breakneck speed and with considerable font shrinking, a power point to my colleagues at our research symposium. Some folks looked bewildered and others bemused. As I fled down the hallway, a faculty member who knew me quite well, called me over. I asked her what she thought of my presentation (an early version of my thesis proposal), and she replied with a smile: "You are going to have to let go of a lot of stuff. You are a conceptual hoarder." Does academe cultivate such promiscuous thinking or are the magpies just finding their roost?

This section develops the theoretical entry points and conceptual anchors that I, in Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) words, "plug in" to inquire into different dimensions of governance in CBR. Foucault was interested in the art of government as practice, as a way of knowing about these practices, and how they are carried out (Dean, 1999; 2010). Dean provides a concise definition:

> Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a
> multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and
> forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires,
> aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse

set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes. (Dean, 1999, p. 11)

Most, but not all of the scholarship, I draw on in this thesis is informed by Foucauldian understandings of governance, but taken up in different ways. For example, governance can be understood as: regulating desire, practices of access, and colonial operations of subject-making. As outlined in chapter one, I understand governance as a broader term that includes state centred government and the more diffuse conduct of conduct associated with governmentality. Foucault is a starting point for thinking about how different theoretical readings of governance might converge and contradict, without having to congeal into a singular theoretical framework.

Tamboukou and Ball (2003) cautioned that there is no unified Foucauldian methodology, or theory, but rather that Foucault offered up a series of analytic tools. The authors contended that Foucault resisted any closed theoretical or methodological system and hence, deployed concepts contingently when they offered analytic purchase. Despite what Tamboukou and Ball described as Foucault's avoidance of "theoretical commitment" (2003, p.5), Dean (1999) offered a rubric for deploying an analytic of government, which I, following Foucault, use contingently to think through the multiple forms of governance I take up in this thesis. Dean referred to these governmental practices as "characteristic moves" (p. 27) that he has located in the governmentality literature, which signifies their emergent character. Each element of practices of government, according to Dean, is not reducible to the other nor do they assemble into a coherent whole, but rather are relatively autonomous, heterogeneous, reciprocally constitutive dimensions.

Practices of government, or, alternatively, regimes of practices are, according to Dean, "historically constituted assemblages through which we do things" (1999, p. 31). The focus of this thesis is the regime of participation and the particular techne is CBR. An analysis of CBR as a techne of governance attends to techniques, practices, procedures, and vocabularies required for the project of governance through participation. Participatory practices are taken up in Chapter 6 as instrumental techniques to include communities in the production, accumulation, commodification, and consumption of local knowledge. Dean argued that all regimes of practice have a utopian goal and that the telos of government: its purposes and ultimate ends, are one means by which regimes of government are made intelligible. Chapter 5 takes up the telos of participation, and its particular expression through CBR, by tracking how the goodness of CBR is made and unmade through desires for socially just research relations and outcomes.

Dean (1999; 2010) proposed that these governmental rationalities and practices foster particular attributes, qualities, and statuses in particular agents. This dimension, what Dean called the formation of identities, is concerned with the process of identification, and therefore, attends to how subjects come to know themselves through governmental practices. Chapter 7 inquires into the colonial subject-making processes where academic collaborators come to know themselves as expert and benevolent, while community collaborators are constituted as lacking and beneficiaries. Another dimension of governmental practices, identified by Dean, is its programmatic character, which can be traced in the coordination of institutional arrangements. Chapter 8 inquires into the institutional technologies that regulate time and legitimise certain knowers, knowledges, and knowledge outcomes. And finally, because governance anticipates

and requires practices of freedom (Foucault 2003a), chapter 9 takes up resistance and reimagined futurities for CBR. This thesis aims at theoretical plurality and so it is important to note that the conceptual entry points I outline below exceed Dean's rubric of governance. In the spirit of theoretical and methodological contingency, each chapter's analytic focus is weighted toward certain concepts more than others, but no chapter is defined or confined by a theoretical orientation.

Poststructuralism and Key Concepts

Most inquiries into CBR adopt methodologies that are grounded epistemologically in post-positivism (Parry, Gnich, & Platt, 2001) or critical theories, most notably the feminisms (Brydon-Miller, Maguire & McIntyre, 2004; Frisby, Maguire & Reid, 2009; Maguire, 1987). The former is located in inquiries into how CBR produces more accurate and locally sensitive research findings (AHQR, 2004; Cook, 2008). The latter can be traced through claims to empowering groups and disrupting gendered and raced oppressions (Cahill et al., 2010; Etowa et al., 2007; Smith, Willms, & Johnson, 1997). Although critical theories are well aligned with the political project of democratising and decolonising knowledge work, they are less helpful in understanding how this project can be at one and the same time exploitive and transgressive (Death, 2010). Poststructuralism is a productive framework for exploring these tensions in collaborative knowledge work. For this thesis, poststructuralism is interpreted in Foucauldian terms with an emphasis on power/knowledge readings that explore the function of participatory discourses: what practices they activate and how they are institutionally arranged.

Governmental power and governmentality. As I have argued in chapter 2, CBR is typically either positioned as outside of power or as a space where power can be given up by some and taken up by others. In contrast to scholarship that holds out the possibility of manipulating power or power as exclusively repressive, is the governmentality literature, which understands governmental power as productive of subjects and practices that are instrumentalized toward certain ends (Dean, 1999, 2010; Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde, 2006). Governmentality apprehends knowledge production as a site of governance, and therefore, is a useful analytic tool for an inquiry into relations of power in CBR. Governmental analytics offer a means to reveal how relations of power and subordination are not transformed through the emergence of new subjectivities (e.g., partner, collaborator) and technologies (e.g. participatory), but are new forms of governance that leave relations of rule intact.

As Rose and colleagues (2006) proposed, governmentality is not a theory of power and therefore, not explanatory in its focus, but rather is a conceptual framework for understanding the "how" of practices of governance rather than the why. Governmentality's orientation toward practices is well aligned with this thesis' inquiry into the social relations of CBR. Scholars have drawn on governmentality theory to interrogate power in participative approaches in PD (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002; Kapoor, 2005; Roy, 2009), but few, and only very recently, have done so in the context of CBR (Golob & Giles, 2013; Guta et al., 2016; Guta et al., 2014; Guta, Flicker & Roche, 2013). These CBR scholars have explored the repressive micro-practices of power in collaborative knowledge work, but have paid less attention to how participatory practices are productive and articulate to macro rationalities of rule. I proposed in a recent

publication (Janes, 2016) a governmental framework for tracing the micro-practices of governance in CBR and how these participative practices articulate to macro projects of rule. Chapter 6 builds on this theoretical framework by connecting the repressive and productive micro-practices of power in CBR to neoliberal and colonial governmental rationalities.

Institutional technologies. In keeping with the focus on what participatory discourses do, this thesis also attends to the institutional arrangements that govern the material and discursive practices of CBR. These institutional arrangements are tracked through Foucault's (2007, p. 118) assertion that we must "free relations of power from the institution in order to analyse them from the point of view of technologies." Foucault emphasised that rather than starting from institutions as fixed and imminent, we should attend to what particular technologies emanate from and sustain them. Chapter 8 inquires into the ways in which participatory practices are regulated, and participatory subjects are authorised and come to know and conduct themselves, through particular institutional technologies.

Counter conducts. Foucault (2004, p. 268) used the term *counter-conduct* to describe the "struggle against the processes implemented for conducting others" and that these acts of resistance can be understood as "the art of not being governed quite so much" (Foucault, 2003a, p. 265). Rose and colleagues (2006) argued that Foucault understood counter-conduct as mutually constitutive of, rather than opposed to, governance. Graaf (2006) linked this positive freedom to Foucault's later work where the subject can manoeuvre within and between discursive fields. Importantly, because counter-conduct is not outside of governance, it is always at the same time both reproducing and resisting relations of power and subordination. As

Ghertner (2010) argued, counter-conducts are acts of re-appropriation that deploy governmental

techniques against governmental rationalities. Chapter 9 deploys the concept of counter-conduct

to capture the ways in which conversants resist, while still reproducing, dominant participative

discourses and practices.

Limits: Euro-Centricity and the Coloniality of CBR

Although poststructuralism offers a number of affordances for thinking through what

participatory discourses do, the participatory practices they activate, and the ways in which these

are institutionally arranged, it is less effective in understanding what Mignolo (2009) referred to

as the geo politics of epistemic governance. Epistemologically, Mignolo (2000) suggested that

postmodernism has contributed a greater understanding of the known, while postcolonialism's

significant contribution has been locating the knowing subject. The disembodiment and

displacement of participatory subjects and spaces is required to maintain CBR's egalitarian

discourse. This inattention to the colonial continuities that make such symmetries impossible is

ameliorated through postcolonial theories, which reveal the raced, gendered, and classed logic of

CBR.

 Postcolonialism and Key Concepts

While the term *postcolonial* is a contested term increasingly being replaced by decolonial

(Tuck & Yang, 2012) or the earlier terminology of anti-colonialism (Cesaire,1994; Fanon, 1994),

I have retained the post designation. The critiques of the term postcolonial mostly emerge from

theorists who document colonial continuities that cannot be consigned to history (MacClintock,

1992; Smith, 1999) or see it as abstracted from the struggles against settler relations (Tuck &

Yang, 2012). However, the "post" in postcolonial is understood in this thesis, not as a temporal

marker, but as a theoretical positioning of its alignment with other postal frameworks that

interrogate governance. As per Mignolo's (2000; 2009) argument of the mutual constitution of

coloniality and modernity, this thesis attempts to resist the poststructural/postcolonial binary by

deploying the two frameworks with different emphasis to answer particular kinds of questions.

All research is a colonial project, but CBR with its claims to emancipatory collaborations

most effectively obscures the colonial relations that remain intact. I have argued elsewhere

(Janes, 2015) that postcolonial readings of CBR offer a powerful theoretical framework for

interrogating the divide between the discursive claims to decolonial research and material

colonial practices. Specifically, in chapter 7, I use postcolonial understandings of subject-making

processes to account for the oppositional binaries of CBR and the illusory claim of egalitarian

social relations, which elide the raced, classed, and gendered logic of CBR. This false and

essentialising homogeneity is interrogated through whiteness. Yee (2005) explained that

whiteness is a complex social process that secures the power of dominant groups and establishes

a referential norm that others must negotiate (2005). I take up these negotiations of whiteness,

following on O'Connell (2010a) and McWhorter (2005) who maintained whiteness is

constructed through social relations and subject positions that co-ordinate individuals,

institutions, and practices. It the focus on the social, institutional, and systemic complex of

whiteness, rather than on individual acts of racism or racialized bodies, that orients my analysis

of colonial subject-making practices of CBR in Chapter 7. As Lopez (2012) reminded,

postcolonial hegemonic whiteness is negotiated by subordinate and privileged whites and

nonwhites. Similarly, I focus on racialisation as a social process that is structurally, institutionally and discursively mediated to preserve relations of dominance and subordination (Barot & Bird, 2001; Fanon, 1994; Goldberg, 2009). However, at times, particularly in Chapter 5, I trace how both whiteness and racialisation are viscerally and psychically experienced as a symbolic and material violence.

Othering. Postcolonial scholars, notably Said (1978)*,* positioned the production of oppositional subjects as a colonial technique. Conceptualising the binary subjects and spaces of academe/community using Said's concept of Othering makes clear how positions of privilege are secured and legitimated through raced logic. Additionally, Said's understanding of privileged and shadow subjects allows for a "flexible positional superiority" (1978, p. 90) that can account for the heterogeneity between and among academe and community. Drawing on Said, Fischer (1997) outlined the production of the racialised other of CBR as "oppressed" in opposition to the benevolent participatory researcher who is charged with her empowerment. Fischer argued that the subjectivity of the oppressed is defined by what she lacks, and what she lacks and what makes her different is what the emancipatory researcher possesses. The concept of othering is used in chapter 7 to inquire into the production of lacking local subjects.

The "old" and the "new" subaltern. Spivak (1994; 2005) argued that subalternity is not an identity to be occupied but an unarticulated space. She suggested that this subjectivity is empty of individual agents who are homogenised as subaltern "people." The homogenised community and academic subject provides a conceptual entry point for chapter 7's inquiry into binary research locations. Spivak's emphasis on the processes and conditions in which particular

subjectivities emerge places the analytic focus in chapter 7 on the ways in which subjects are discursively constituted, to what effects, and for whom. Spivak's (2005) description of the "new" subaltern who is exploited as a source of intellectual property is particularly useful for understanding the visibility of the community subject in CBR. Whereas the "old" subaltern was invisible (i.e., research participant), the "new" subaltern (i.e., community collaborator) is, according to Spivak, instrumentalised and appropriated without shared benefit.

While the underdetermined local subject available for the inscriptions of the privileged other is one colonial move of subjectification, the overdetermination of the other as different is another. Attending to how difference is produced makes transparent how the new subaltern comes into being through colonial operations of race, gender, and class. Furthermore, access to difference, Ahmed (2000; 2004b) maintained, depends on welcoming and assimilating strangers. The production of the lacking local subject activates CBR's project of assimilation of community into academe, which is taken up in chapter 7 through practices of capacity building.

Epistemic disobedience. Like poststructural counter-conduct, postcolonialism offers its own readings and tactics of resistance. Epistemic disobedience challenges the disembodied and displaced epistemologies to contest the "hubris of zero point epistemology" (Mignolo, 2000, p. 162), which propose that knowledge and knowers occupy a plane outside of the geo-political. Chapter 9 tracks how conversants transgress the Euro-centric Western epistemic conventions, though discourses and material practices that emplace and embody CBR knowledge work/ers. The strategic essentialism of leveraging the subjectivities of CBR for transgressive aims and self-synecdochising to obscure difference to claim solidarity (Spivak, 2005) are taken up as practices

of resistance, which, like counter-conduct, act to reproduce and undermine relations of privilege at one and the same time.

Limits: The Binds/binaries of the Colonial Encounter

Birla (2010) problematised postcolonial tendencies toward homogenising the colonial subject as an undifferentiated victim. The reification of an oppressed subject, can be traced in CBR to the persistent references to marginalised subjects, who are totalised as lacking and in need of improvement. Lopez (2012) cautioned that essentialising the raced logic of the coloniser/ colonised binary obscures postcolonial encounters outside of Euro-Western contexts. It is this totalising logic that poststructuralism disrupts by refusing to privilege any singular discourse or fixed subjectivity.

Some postcolonial theorists have moved beyond binary subjects and spaces to theorise what Suleri (1995) refers to as the "peculiar intimacy" between the colonised and coloniser. However, Stoler (1995) cautioned that desire is frequently taken up by many postcolonial theorists as a pre-cultural, subliminal force driving the moral imperatives of the colonial project. A pre-cultural entry point leaves the links between the psychic and social production of desire, as well as its material effects, under-scrutinised. An analytics of the production of desire is extended by theories of affect that conceptualise emotions as an economic exchange (Ahmed, 2000; 2004b) and position affect as both psychic and political (Berlant, 2010; Cvetkovich, 2012; Duggan & Muñoz, 2009; Mishra Tarc, 2013a).

Affect Theories and Key Concepts

To understand what Fine and colleagues (2003) referred to as the "full-bodied" (p. 176) relationality of participatory discourses and practices, I turn to theories of affect (Ahmed, 2004b; 2010, Berlant, 2010; Duggan & Muñoz, 2009; Gregg & Seigworth, 2010; Stewart, 2010). Ahmed (2010) described affect as an angle into something. In this thesis, it is an angle into exploring what desires underpin the CBR project, how its subjects express an entangled, paradoxical hopeful/hopelessness for democratic and decolonised knowledge production, and how affect binds some participatory subjects and spaces together, while excluding others. Kumar (2013) and Massumi (2010) proposed that affect theories are a challenge to postal subjectification and a reassertion of the materiality of the body and its sensory possibilities. This focus on the materiality of affect brings the visceral feelings discussed in chapter 5 into view and in tension with readings of affect as a form of governance.

Affect scholars, particularly those aligned with the Public Feelings Project (Berlant, 2010; Cvetkovich, 2012; Duggan & Muños, 2009; Stewart, 2010) explore affect as a cultural, social, and political phenomenon. Central to this scholarship is contesting the binary of good and bad feelings and the proposition that only good feelings can launch a political project. Following from Cvetkovitch, the conceptualisation of affect in this thesis is not informed by Deleuzian sensibilities around affect, but rather a more general category that contains emotion and feelings as socially constructed, but, nevertheless, felt by bodies, circulating between bodies, as well as socio-political realms. Affect theories by attending to the embodied encounter between academe

and community, are used in Chapter 5 to reveal how the constitution of good relations between collaborators erases histories and presents of bad feelings.

Affective economies. Ahmed (2004b) described the affective economy as an exchange that does not reside in any one body or place. This conceptualisation is distinct from psychological renderings of affect; Here emotions *do things* such as mediate between the individual and the collective but most of what they do, according to Ahmed, is bind some things and people together and others apart. Schick (2015) provided a definition of affective economies as an "efficient and concise use of nonmaterial resources such as emotion" (p.57), which alerts to the ways in which affective goods (and bads) circulate for instrumental aims. The exchange of affect is used to theorise, in Chapter 5, the durable allure of CBR.

Critical hope. Affect scholars (Berlant, 2010; Cvetkovich, 2012; Duggan & Muñoz, 2009; Stewart, 2010) conceptualise positive and negative affect as hopelessly/fully entangled. Duggan and Muñoz (2009) proposed a conjuncture of hopelessness and hopefulness that embraces a criticality and positions hope as a risk toward the impossible. The concept of critical hope recalls Brown's (2005) observation that modernity was the promise not the actualisation of social emancipation, and Berlant's (2010, p. 93) contention that objects of desire are a "cluster of promises" that once possessed shatter. The promises of CBR and recognition of their impossibility is taken up in Chapter 9's analysis of the nexus of hope and hopelessness conversants hold out for CBR.

Limits: Contradictions of Affect and Postal Theories

Kumar (2013) cautioned that it is important to situate affect theory's challenge to an overly discursive construction of the subject as not a fulsome rejection of poststructuralism, but rather a supplement that aims toward the pre-discursive. The positioning of the discursive/pre-discursive is itself challenged by Scott (1991) who reminded that experience is itself discursively constituted. Furthermore, Gregg and Seigworth (2010) framed affect theory as contesting binary understandings and, therefore, the discursive/pre-discursive divide becomes no longer tenable. Perhaps, the very fluidity attributed to affect scholarship makes such internal contradictions inevitable and fruitful. Internal contradictions are also apparent in poststructural and postcolonial theories, which at one and the same time work within and against the binaries they contest. These contradictions are taken up by all three frameworks as productive sites of inquiry rather than tensions to be reconciled. In this respect, no one theoretical entry point is "best," but rather offers a different angle into thinking about sociality and governance in CBR.

Method: Dialogic Interviews and Analyses

Writing story: Two Slaps and the "Hard to Reach" Academic

The Sisyphean work of inviting conversants to participate in my project was punctuated by two slaps that stung. The first was a response by an academic who found my information sheet pretentious and the title of my project "an academic game" and called into question what I was trying to achieve. A rich follow-up conversation ensued and much thinking about how my project might be taken up by others. The second response, also from an academic, took me to task for implying a referral where no such formal discussion occurred. I was shaken by these events and by spending too much time in Intensive Care Units with my dying mother. Affective labour happens within and without thesis writing.

My six years of CBR practice and networks of colleagues were not helping me invite conversants into my project in the ways I had anticipated. A later conversation with a colleague shed

some light on my struggles—in his accurate appraisal, I had no incentives. I, like most of my CBR colleagues, had a persistent angle toward communities who respond to, albeit not always or exclusively, the social and monetary capital associated with participating. My thesis project leant in these predictable directions, but also toward conversants who required neither. Particularly elusive was the "hard to reach academic" leading me to viscerally experience what I had long known intellectually: that the "will to participate" was constituted through relations of power and subordination. Moreover, though I had benefited in the past from a position of relative privilege, I was now on the other side(s).

Engaging Conversants

Outreach began in November 2012 and continued until December 2013. During this time, besides email and phone communications, I engaged in a dozen preliminary meetings to discuss the project, which sometimes led to conversants agreeing to participate in my thesis, but not always. As I noted in Chapter 1, I use the term conversants to avoid the scientism of research subjects, the passive one-way transmission implied by informant and respondent, and finally, to prevent confusion between the terms participants and participatory. Conversant is not without its limits: it suggests the informality of a conversation, whereas a conversation in the context of research is a carefully constructed event. Nevertheless, I settled on the term and its limits for the purpose of this thesis.

All potential conversants received a project information sheet (Appendix A). Once conversants agreed to participate, they were sent an informed consent form (Appendix B), a demographic profile (Appendix C), and if requested, a topic map developed to orient the interview conversations toward theoretical/conceptual areas of interest (Appendix D). The outreach year culminated in engaging twenty-nine conversants in seventeen interviews that took place from September 2013 to January 2014 in the GTA. Videotaped interviews were all group

format ranging from two to five conversants and took place at York University. Audiotaped interviews took place at multiple locations as determined by conversants. All interviews, regardless of format, included meals or snacks. I remain convinced that the sociality of eating good food together is an important gesture of respect and gratitude for people taking the time to critically reflect with me on CBR. Sharing meals was a central feature of my previous CBR practice, as was the provision of a decent cash honoraria and transportation costs to low/no wage collaborators. These supports/acknowledgements were extended to conversants participating in this thesis and were supported by the FGS fieldwork fund[4].

The post-theoretical framework of this thesis with its orientation toward subject-making poses a challenge to describing individual conversants across a number of social identities and variables. Nevertheless, as Lather (2001, p. 2004) cautioned, the pull toward normative social categories is fierce, and at best we can take up a position that troubles representation, while simultaneously doing it. In a doubled move, the conversants are of this world, but their play of subjectivities is of this thesis and the interview "event" that was a particular dialogue on a particular day in a particular place. The contingency of representation is exemplified by the following academic conversant's [9] reflection on the co-construction of the interview event, as well as how such everyday activities like drinking too much coffee lead to particular subjectivities and discourses.

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[4] A total of 11 honoraria @ 40.00 were distributed plus 3 @ 33.00 in transportation costs. These expenses were supported by the Faculty of Graduate Studies Research Cost/Fieldwork Fund. Other costs not covered by the fund and paid out of pocket were train tickets for an out of town conversant, transit tokens, and all food and beverages.

Conversant: I probably have been more on the cynical side today and if you catch me at a different time… Yeah, and if you came at me saying: "What's the point of engaging with community?" I would have had a very different story for you.

Researcher: That's true because this is a dialogue between you and I, and I come with a perspective.

Conversant: Well, I read your stuff, someone forwarded it to me, and I saw some post-structural and post-colonial… so I am like okay I will chat. I have also had too much coffee, so I may have been more direct or forward than I might have been otherwise. I might have been receptive to ending on a more positive note...

With the above caveats in mind, I provide a snapshot of conversants, which balances the limits of representing others in tension with the desires of readers to know something about the conversants and their work to give a context for the conversations that took place. Conversants from multiple research locations (i.e., academics, graduate students, community professionals, and community peers evenly distributed across the various constituencies) were sought who had worked primarily in the GTA, were open to engaging in a critical dialogue about their CBR work, and whose projects had a social justice agenda and engaged marginalised groups/ communities. I relied on the networks of CBR collaborators whom I had worked with before my PhD and therefore, I was able to determine who was likely to embrace a criticality and who was not. In the metaphorical subjectivities woven into this thesis, I was looking for fellow killjoys and tricksters rather than cheerleaders. I also sought variability as to scale and topical focus (Appendix F) to explore how CBR's social relations are constituted across different contexts. In addition to including conversants from multiple research locations, I also sought collaborators

from diverse social locations to complicate an overly white reading of the social relations of

CBR. However, in keeping with a focus on subject position, I elected to only identify a

conversant as racialised, white, differently abled, if the conversant self identified as such in the

quoted excerpt. I use "her" universally to avoid gender identification and to reflect the feminised

attributions found in the CBR literature and critiqued in Chapter 7. The graphics in Appendix E

offer a more detailed profile of participating conversants.

A Dialogic Approach to Interviewing and Analysis

A dialogic approach to interviewing and analysis was taken, which rejects a one-way

inquiry where the researcher directs questions at participants, but otherwise participates as little

as possible (Frank, 2005; Harvey, 2015). Instead, I aimed at a less structured conversation where

the researcher is an active participant along with other conversants. As Frank proposed, a

dialogic approach to research resists claiming to be a final statement about research participants,

but rather is understood as "one move in a continuing dialogue" (p. 967). The polyvocality of the

interview event and its representation extends backwards, forwards, and sideways toward other

conversations and conversants (Sidorkin, 2002). This approach to interviewing and analyses

aims toward a space of dialogue between myself, conversants, the authors of the documents I

critically engaged with, and the readers of this thesis.

A dialogic approach owes much to feminist critiques of interviews (Salmon, 2007) as a

patriarchal mode of interrogation, which fails to recognise that all knowledge making is a social

practice. However, as Kvale (2006) warned, the mutuality of dialogue is never fully realised in

the research encounter, as interviews are inescapably instrumentalised toward the researcher's

need for texts. Kvale's critique was oriented toward interpretive traditions, which adopt a stance of empathy and empowerment toward research participants, what he referred to as the "tyranny of intimacy" (p. 492) in interview culture. This tyranny is somewhat mitigated by this thesis's focus on subjectivities and discourses rather than individual narratives.

     As outlined in the writing story that opens this section, the liminal space of a not yet academic to both other academics, community professionals (many who had PhDs), and peer researchers renders the circulation of power in the interviews uneven, particularly in group interviews where co-conversants put forward a shared perspective that challenged my own. Furthermore, diverse social locations complicated these dialogues further. This was, for example, apparent in the silences that I, a white Ph.D. student, encountered in posing questions about the raced logic of CBR to racialised conversants who comprised one third of those interviewed (Appendix E). As Yee (2005) and, Maiter and Joseph (2016) argued, whiteness operates through all aspects of the research both the encounters and relations and methodologies. Both epistemic and embodied whiteness not only operate in spaces of silence but in racialised discursive and pre-discursive cues that I failed to note. Mazzei proposed that whiteness teaches us to "not talk about race by not talking about race" (2010, p.8). I would add that whiteness also operates through not hearing race and that the silence I experienced was both an absence (i.e., no talk) and a presence (i.e., talk but not heard). As an instrument of method, I instantiate whiteness as embodied and epistemic. As Almeida (2015) argued, research and knowledge production naturalise white ways of knowing, including those located in critical and poststructural traditions, and perpetuate epistemic racism.

Another dimension of the dialogic interview encounter was that conversants were critically negotiating their subject positions, discursive, and material participatory practices within their CBR work, rather than descriptively reporting on their projects. In this respect, they were enacting what Enosh and Ben-Ari (2016) referred to as "a constant movement in and out of one's experience" (p. 580). Nevertheless, although these peculiarities render a more entangled research encounter, they do not ultimately disrupt what Kvale (2006) referred to as the researcher's "monopoly on interpretation" (p. 484) or the epistemic whiteness of my methodology.

My research design had initially aimed at exclusively group interviews. Group interviews, Salmon (2007) maintained, attenuate or at least make transparent and contestable power in the research encounter and provide a conduit for more explicitly co-constructed knowledge. However, after months of negotiation, I determined that I had only limited resources for filming[5], that many of potential conversants preferred individual, audiotaped conversations, and that most conversants could not or would not convene with collaborators who were positioned differently within their CBR projects. Consequently, in keeping with the negotiated sociality of the design conversants were given the option of audiotaped group or individual interviews or a videotaped group interview.

The methodological contributions of using videography, in addition to the more conventional documentary strategy of audiotaping, were limited by the fact that I did not

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[5] With the generous financial support of the Dean's of Osgoode Hall and the Faculty of Graduate Studies York University and the technical support of Kelly Parke, I was able to realise four filmed interviews at the "Media Innovation and Creativity Lab."

participate in the filming and, therefore, had no opportunity to vary the setting or experiment with visual techniques. As for the strategy of group interviewing with diverse collaborators who had worked together on a CBR project, the intent was to enact in real time the social relations of these collaborators, as they reflected on their work together. As noted above, conversants found these arrangements challenging, so while the majority of conversants participated in a group interview, the composition of those groups was homogenous as to research position (e.g., only peers). Hence the sociality across different research and social locations that was not realised during the interviews was produced textually in the dialogic approach to analyses. Conversants' critical reflections were put in conversation with each other across research location. Similarly, my analysis was put along side of often lengthy quotes from conversants in an attempt to balance the theoretical and the empirical.

As I argued earlier in this chapter, the design of this thesis blurs theory and analyses and, therefore, the theoretical/conceptual readings are the analytic strategy. In keeping with an understanding of the discursive and material practices of CBR as socially constructed, interview texts (transcripts and video files) were read as knowledge-making events, which emerged in a very specific temporal and social moment. However, while acknowledging the specificity of the interview encounter, it cannot be isolated from the activities of theory and conceptual development, document reviews, analysis, and writing which are iterative and overlapping in ways that make it difficult to outline each as discrete events. Nevertheless, some of the technical details warrant description. The theoretical analyses were conducted using data from interview transcripts and video files that are interwoven with observations from the critical document

review. In keeping with the desire to stay close to the dynamics of the interview encounter, the initial theoretical readings of the video files were done directly into the video format, although specific excerpts were transcribed for relevant chapters. The audiotaped interviews were all transcribed in a verbatim format. HyperRESEARCH: a qualitative research software was used to facilitate the transcription and analyses, as it enabled textual, audio, and visual formats to be incorporated. The software also permitted visual schemas, which supported the diverse theoretical and conceptual entry points of the analyses. An example of one iteration of a visual map is included in Appendix G.

Ethical Conundrums

Writing Story: Anxieties and an Ethical Responsibility to Crowded "I"s and Uneven "We"s

Although I have no illusions about innocent spaces of representation, I struggle with the ethics of re/presenting the knowledge shared by conversants who were very critical and nuanced in their reflections on CBR. What could I add to their reflections? What would I subtract?

I explored various strategies to represent findings without too much editorialising, but then confronted the fact that everything I did from the time I wrote my PhD application to York has been a highly constructed trajectory that does not begin or end with presenting "findings." Alternatively, I wanted to craft fictionalised dialogues between conversants that enacted the encounters, which I had imagined but failed to realise, and where the artifice of my construction was on vivid display.

I looked for guidance from my academic colleagues who hosted a "work in progress" session, but I got a migraine and missed out. Migraines are one way to step out for a while and sometimes stepping out can lead to different understandings. I had two: 1) I am used to representing collective work and consequently, I am very uncomfortable with standing alone; and 2) Because of this unsettling sense of solitude I may find my way back to collaborative research after all — with the full recognition that the "we" I wrote with before was uneven and that the "I" I write with now is crowded.

And then there is the arrogance that underlies all of my anxieties about the ethics of representation, which is, after all, a privilege. Of course, I am instrumentalising others ideas and

arranging them in particular ways. However, maybe people might want to hear what others are thinking about CBR, including me, and that I just need to get on with it.

Institutional Ethics Review, Informed Consent, Confidentiality, and Its Limits

My thesis proposal received ethics approval (Certificate #: STU 2012 - 171) from the York University Office of Research Ethics for the Approval Period 11/21/12-11/21/13. Due to caregiving responsibilities that delayed my progress, I received a renewal for an additional year (Certificate #: STU 2012 - 171; Renewal Approved: 11/08/13; Approval Period: 11/08/13-11/08/14). Despite securing ethics approval and producing adequate consent forms as per institutional templates (Appendix B), the ethics of this thesis project exceed institutional approval. I, and other scholars (Brydon-Miller, 2008; Flicker et al., 2007b; Gregoire & Yee; 2007; Guta et al., 2016; Janes, 2016; O'Connell, 2016), have challenged the limits of institutional ethics review including: its cursory consideration of the depth and breadth of ethical decisions before, during, and after a research project; the institutional racism that privileges Euro-centric modes of knowledge production; and the impossibility of autonomy and protection in the face of the material inequities that are the conditions where most research unfolds. Beyond critiques of institutional ethics, following Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), this thesis constitutes research ethics as "fields of uncertainty" (p.76), which begin but do not end with issues of informed consent and confidentiality. This thesis is guided by a poststructuralist postcolonial ethics, which is non-prescriptive and takes seriously the responsibilities of representation.

A Poststructural Postcolonial Ethics Framework

   Poststructural ethics: A terminal openness. I enter into this discussion of ethics by recalling Foucault's (1998) depiction of interpretation as something that: "can only seize, and violently, an already-present interpretation, which it must overthrow, upset, shatter with blows of a hammer" (p. 205). I consider how I might soften this blow by seeking out an ethical framework to guide the production of this thesis, as well as my analyses of the ethical dimensions of the ways subjects, discourses, and practices appear and disappear in the documents and interview transcripts/video files. Foucault (2003a) in his later work is increasingly interested in how subjects assert their subjectivity and how discourse can be a starting point for opposition that, while not total, avoids normative inscriptions of ethical practices.

   Following Macías' (2012) proposal of a Foucauldian ethics of reading, I consider writing as a subject-making and ethical practice, both of myself as a writerly subject and my representations of others. I take up this ethical practice by attempting to render my writerly subjectivities and those I write of others as fluid rather than fixed, discursively and socially negotiated rather than sovereign; and multiple rather than singular. The five dialogic theoretical readings presented in this thesis are one way in which I resist finalising conversants' reflections into any one account of the social relations of CBR.

   Poststructuralism introduces an epistemological modesty by acknowledging that ethical knowledge work does not occur in a utopian field where knowledge is exchanged transparently and without coercion but rather the more humble goal: "…to acquire the rules of law … and also the morality… that will allow us to play these games of power with as little domination as

possible" (Foucault, 2003a, p. 4). Tracing the operations of power in collaborative knowledge work so that myself and others might negotiate them more ethically is a central aim of this thesis.

However, Cole (2003) cautioned that poststructural openness could be fertile ground for neoliberal/colonial projects of rule to take hold. Nuyen (1998) argued that poststructuralism can avoid the ethical impasse of incommensurability by deploying Lyotard's regulating idea of "maximising game playing" (p. 39). Maximising discourses promote a multiplicity of small narratives and, therefore, are judged to be "good" in contrast to those discourses that foreclose on the possibilities of others. I aim in this thesis toward an ethical openness not only through the multiple analyses presented in this thesis, but by conceiving of this thesis as part of a continuous dialogue with readings that I, and others, have not read/thought/written. However, this commitment to openness must be situated within histories and presents of colonising research to keep both the ethics and the politics of knowledge production in view.

Postcolonial ethics: Mitigating the epistemic violence of representation. For postcolonial theorists, epistemic governance is not only a discursive site of contestation, but a form of symbolic and material violence. Mignolo (2009) argued that epistemic governance is a crucial site to struggle against modern/colonial dominance, which Castro-Gomez and Martin (2002) described as a ''technology of power that persists today, founded on the knowledge of the other" (p. 276). Lather (2009) in response to the violence of representation suggested that postcoloniality imposes a responsibility "where embracing not knowing is the condition of a less dangerous doing" (p. 225). However, not knowing is itself is an exercise of power and elides that some knowers may not be afforded the privilege of taking up such a stance. A more useful

approach may be found in Lather's "doubled epistemology" (2001, p. 201), which embraces the inevitability of failed representation not as a solution to the crisis of representation, but as an ethical challenge to the "will to know."

The way ahead, according to Lather (2001; 2007), is to work within/against the desire to know, the impossibility of giving voice, and the urge to recuperate the authorial voice through some better methodology. For Lather representation is not only a political act but an ethical one where "the danger is to steal knowledge from others, particularly those who may have little else" (2001, p. 221). Razack (2007) advocated for a similar position by proposing that the consumption of others must be met with full complicity. I take up an implicated stance where consuming others knowledge is inescapable, but contestable, and must be made transparent through an interrogation of "what is unseen, under-theorized and left out of knowledge production" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 230). What is left out of knowledge production is left in this thesis that theorises and documents the everyday practices and relations of collaborative knowledge work.

One way that I contest the consumptive logic of representation is by avoiding narrativising conversants reflections by theorising them as texts. The focus on discursive practices and subject positions rather than on narratives and identities is a purposeful attempt to create what Lather (2001) referred to as a "respectful distance" (p. 214) between the reader and the subject of research, and I would add between the researcher and both. Ahmed described this practice as a "certain way of holding proximity and distance" (2000, p. 157) where maintaining distance is the beginning of ethics. I take up Ahmed's challenge to create a text that "accepts the

distance and puts it to work" in ways that try not to "appropriate their labour as 'my labour' or their talk as 'my talk'" (p. 180). This framing of ethics stands in contrast to the CBR literature's claims to proximity and neglect of the ethics and politics of collaborative knowledge practices.

Concluding Thoughts

This methodology chapter aimed at making transparent the affective labour and tensions of the knowledge work of this thesis. Methodology in this thesis is framed as a doubled move of thinking about methodology as a topic of inquiry taken up in my empirical analyses of CBR and as an embedded reflexive process in the production of that analyses. I outlined the tensions of engaging in poststructural postcolonial theoretical readings, while enacting reductive analytical strategies. I documented my search for a post qualitative methodology to mitigate these tensions and realise my magpie desires to pursue many paths of inquiry. I put forward a design of Dialogic Theoretical Pluralism, which I argued could account for the multiple dimensions of governance that coordinate the social relations of CBR. Furthermore, the five dialogical readings open up the possibility of nonlinear readings where the reader might follow different strands of interest, considering each separately or in conversation with other readings. A provisional rubric was presented (pp. 77-78) to orient the reader toward one way of reading the five analyses of governance.

The next section developed the theoretical and conceptual entry points informing the five readings clustered under the frameworks of poststructuralism, postcolonialism, and affect theories. Poststructural concepts of governmental power, governmentality, institutional technologies, and counter conducts were proposed as enabling an analysis of the micro

participatory practices and macro governmental rationalities of neoliberalism. Postcolonialism was positioned in conversation with and as a corrective to poststructural Eurocentricity and a productive site with which to consider the coloniality of CBR and its raced, gendered, and classed operations. Affect theories were outlined that extend the analyses of governance to regulating desire and affective economies, but also to an embodied experience of good and bad feelings as political and pedagogic opportunities.

The following section took up the methods of this thesis. Outreach and engagement of conversants to participate in this thesis were presented as challenging and complicating operations of power in research relations. Conversants determined many of the decisions around methods, which I outlined as a dialogic negotiation left out of the literature but left in this thesis. I provided a profile of conversants with the caveat that social locations and variables are at odds with the postal framework of this thesis, which focuses on subjectivities rather than individuals, and discursive and material practices of participation rather than the experiences and narratives of collaboration. I extended the dialogic approach to the interview encounter and analyses, which aims toward a conversation between myself and conversants, among conversants, and readers.

This textual sociality underpins an ethical commitment and responsibility to breathe air into the analyses and resist representational finalising and its associated symbolic and material violence. The last section of this chapter presented a postal ethical framework, which in another doubled move, guides the empirical analyses of conversants' reflections on the ethics of collaboration and my reflexivity on the production of this thesis. Ethics were framed in terms of a terminal openness that avoids foreclosing on thinking otherwise, while keeping the socio-

political histories and presents of knowledge production in view. The methodology of dialogic

theoretical pluralism is argued to foster a respectful distance among the multiple contributors/

contributions to thesis, which embraces the inevitability of failed representation as the beginning

of more ethical knowledge work.

Chapter 5: The Production and Regulation of Goodness and Good Feelings

Writing Story: Learning to Begin at the Beginning

    Initially, I had envisioned this chapter further along in the analysis, but rethought its positioning when I realised that as usual I never begin at the beginning. I am a swimmer and I like to dive into deep water. Foucault teaches us to map the surface, so I will first frame my analysis at the surface of things — with what hooked me into CBR in the first place and activated my cheerleader: desires to do good, and feel good, doing socially transformative knowledge work.

Introduction

"Rather than seeing emotions as psychological dispositions, we need to consider how they work, in concrete and particular ways, to mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and the collective." (Ahmed, 2004b)

This chapter centres the *affective dimensions of the social relations of CBR*, as the crucible where the goodness of collaboration is produced and protected. As I have argued elsewhere (Janes, 2015), the discursive production of CBR relies overwhelming on its claims to goodness, most frequently articulated as emancipatory, egalitarian, and empowering research set against extractive "helicopter" approaches to research (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). However, as Todd (2011) warned relations of white dominance are reinscribed through the discursive production of good stories of collaboration and good white subjects. The discourse of goodness enables a number of forms of governance, but none of the practices that it activates, subjects and spaces it enables, institutional technologies it fosters, or acts of resistance it evokes would be possible without the affective pull it exerts in bringing collaborators into the project.

Drawing on Ahmed's (2004a) conceptualisation of affective economies, this chapter

attends to the *affective exchanges of CBR and the tensions between the good and bad feelings*

they produce. Ahmed described the circulation of affect as an exchange that does not reside in

any one body or place but in the in-between. Affect as an economy is quite distinct from a purely

psychological understanding of affect; Here emotions do things and most of what they do,

according to Ahmed, is bind some things together. Hunter (2012) similarly argued that emotions

are a connective medium that aligns some subjects and excludes others within a social order.

This binding of subjects is accompanied, Hunter suggested, by affect's power to propel subjects

in certain directions, and as such emotions organise conduct and are constitutive of networks of

governance. However, as Hunter noted, feelings conceal their governmental work through

seemingly residing in subjects rather than circulating between subjects as a governmental

practice. This chapter aims to make apparent how affect coordinates the social relations of CBR.

Stoler (1995) contested situating affect as pre-cultural, which elides its socio-political

construction and the raced privilege required to position feelings as visceral and preconscious. I

propose that the CBR literature's inattention to the socio-political construction of affect is

achieved through operations of whiteness that naturalise the goodness and good feelings of

collaboration by obscuring the bad feelings experienced by some collaborators. Although Hunter

(2012) acknowledged the visceral impact of affect on bodies, she maintained that these embodied

effects are made possible by affective exchanges in social and material relations. Hunter's

conceptualisation of affect accounts for both how feelings are viscerally experienced and the

instrumental ways affect coordinates CBR subjects. I argue that tensions between the visceral

experience and instrumental aims of affective exchanges in CBR are productive rather than

oppositional and what they are productive of is governance through good feelings.

This chapter begins by *exploring the desire to do good, socially just, research that led*

many conversants into CBR. The affective labour of CBR was identified in ways that constituted

the privileged subject as electing to take on the difficult work of collaboration. The ways that

desire for goodness are taken up by CBR subjects is traced through operations of whiteness

where desires for proximity are understood as differently negotiated by racialised conversants.

Racialised conversants may be already proximal to communities of interest or assumed to be so

in ways that align with the logic of the native informant (Jeyapal, 2016). The next section

deconstructs the good feelings located within two discursive sites that are typically valourised in

the CBR literature (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008): claims to *authenticity and giving voice*. The

consumptive logic and fetish for the local in CBR are critiqued by conversants as a colonial

governing practice that demands disclosures from subordinate collaborators, while covering over

the multiple harms induced by such testimonials of pain. Further, these affective exchanges are

interrogated for the ways that they *individualise pain and obscure its social production*. As

Jeyapal (2016) argued, these intimate disclosures are often required of racialised researchers and

therefore, defy any simple transmission of community testimony to academic consumers.

Next, the affective labour of CBR is conceptualised as a technique of friendship.

Participatory approaches are particularly well suited to what Ahmed described as "friendship as a

technique of knowledge" (2000, p. 66), which is centrally about *obtaining knowledge of the other*

through affective relations, and in the case of CBR, these affective exchanges are also aimed at

securing her labour. These techniques are traced through what Ahmed (2004b) referred to as

"sticky words," which connect the psychic to the social and signal what and who are bound

together. In the context of CBR literature, certain sticky words prevail such as: "relationship

building" and "trust" (Nichols et al., 2014)" "friendship" (de Leeuw, Cameron, & Greenwood,

2012), and "shared values" (Israel et al., 1998). Similarly, relationship and trust building were

invoked by conversants as central to the sociality of CBR, but frequently critiqued as

instrumentally deployed. Technologies of friendship are complicated when academic

collaborators identify as members of the community. These complications challenge any simple

binary of the academic and community to demonstrate the social negotiations of affect. Daley

(2010) observed that when a researcher is positioned as an insider social distances within the

identity category disrupt the simplicity of 'inside/out' and 'different/same.' Despite these

complexities, *I propose that the affective exchanges* described by conversants suggest that the

goodness and good feelings *of CBR are unstable*, yet *still exert a powerful hold on conversants*

commitments to CBR and persist alongside of the unresolved tensions between emancipatory

desires and exploitive practices.

Affective Pathways into CBR

This section explores the discourses that conversants deployed to account for their

pathways into CBR. Conversants' spoke of desires for proximity and affiliation, for social and

epistemic transformation, as well as seemingly accidental trajectories. Operations of whiteness

kept the goodness of CBR intact by concealing how privilege determined who could elect to be

proximal to whom. As Cruikshank (1999), Todd (2011), and Heron (2007) outlined, desires to do

good work are almost always about the goodness of white privileged actors improving others who are fixed as beneficiaries. One way academic conversants constituted their goodness was through desires to be close and useful to communities of interest. An academic conversant [5a] described the difficult affective labour of maintaining the goodness of CBR as "very different from that of lots of what my academic colleagues do," which obscures that for many racialised scholars affective labour is not a choice but an everyday negotiation. As implicit in the quote below, whiteness coordinates who may have the privilege to choose when and how deeply to participate, and therefore, avoid the bad feelings that arise from difficult collaborations.

> I think of myself as being in a little furlough right now. I taking a bit of a break and just doing the shallow participation model for awhile. But why is deep participation hard? I think it is negotiating those institutional pieces, but I think the relationships - see I am hitting my self - are hard, too.

Her co-conversant [5b] expanded on the difficulties of collaboration by noting: "I think another hard dimension of it is that we are all engaged in issues that we really care about and they are all politicised." The constitution of these innocent truths, such as the goodness of caring relationships and being politically aware are, as Heron (2007) proposed, a discursive move to cast the project as so "good" that it transcends the actor's individual desires. Todd (2011) argued that good projects secure white privilege while at the same time seeking to contest relations of dominance. Also, claims to care and politics eludes that for already affiliated academic and community subjects affective and political commitments to the issue under inquiry precede and exceed the CBR encounter. Nevertheless, desires to do good work that was socially transformative was a primary entry point into CBR for many conversants. A community

professional [14] located his pathway into collaborative research as arising from a "commitment to doing very meaningful transformative CBR." However, for some conversants these desires were troubled over time. Another community professional [11b] described being driven by a "dewy-eyed" idealism that became increasingly "murky" over time. During the same group interview, a graduate student [11d] reflected that her desire for CBR was informed by a personal urgency to build community. The capacity to secure belonging in a community of choice is not always possible for racialised collaborators. In the quote below, desires for belonging and co-creating are explicit, but also contested in the framing of this desire as "dewy-eyed," which echoes her co- conversant's ironic stance toward engaging the community. Also, here whiteness allows for community to be fluidly constructed rather than located in any particular bodies, which recalls Ahmed's (2000) conceptualisation of affect as circulating to bind some bodies together but not others.

> I got started with participatory community-based work because I think maybe I was seeking to build community …having never really identified with anything because of a fluid identity that was shifting. There was never a community to identify with for me, so participation became this dewy-eyed idealistic thing that we would create something together.

The privilege to seek proximity is echoed by an academic [15] who drew on a helping discourse to rationalise her pathway into CBR. Her commitment to "trying to help" a needy other recalls Heron's (2007) commentary on how colonial desires to help naturalise the white helper as benevolent. Notable in this quote is how goodness is rendered in discourses of stakeholders,

sectors, and consumers alerting to the ways in which CBR's goodness is sutured to neoliberal

and neocolonial rationales.

> I didn't start thinking I would be doing this kind of research. I started thinking:
> 'well, I'll follow people that have unmet needs and try and figure out what is in
> the way and try to help if I can. I soon discovered the collaborative nature of the
> work and the different stakeholders and sectors that are involved with the
> consumers, of course, their needs and preferences driving the agenda. And along
> the way to be able to engage the community, policy makers, and funders we
> started measuring and evaluating and all of a sudden we were doing research. So,
> this is how it came to be, and I think, others: those that have started in the
> academic world are discovering it the other way around that you actually cannot
> have meaningful, impactful research unless you engage communities.

Similarly, it was the good feelings associated with proximity to community that this

community professional [3] identified as an entry point into CBR. She described her path from

large scale projects to increasingly more ethnographic research where she was close to

community over the course of a project: "I started off in an "epi{demiology}" kind of way…

doing those big studies…and quickly found my way to doing smaller ethnographic pieces where

I was very grounded in communities. And that left quite a strong impression." Another

community professional [11a] echoed this orientation toward alliances with communities/groups

to realise social change. However, this conversant characterised her engagement with CBR as

one of "default," which signals her proximity to the community of interest is not mediated by

desire but necessity. The conversant was driven by desires to make visible HIV-related issues as

they relate to women. Here the operations of whiteness invisibilise some bodies that are all too visible to those others.

> I got involved in research by default. I wasn't a researcher, but I was at a meeting around HIV research many years ago. People were talking about research and I asked: 'How come nobody is doing research with women? I don't hear any of you talking about it, so I complained throughout the meeting. And so that's how I pulled back and said you know what I need to start looking at how we can utilise methodologies that are relevant to communities that empower instead of disempowering communities.

An academic [4] contrasted the desire for meaningful impact to communities against the questionable value of knowledge for its own sake: "It's just not good enough to develop knowledge — that knowledge has to make something better." Another academic [8] similarly contested the value of academic knowledge against desires to be socially useful, which ultimately led her to CBR. Implicit in such a contrast is that academic/theoretical knowledge lacks social value, while the knowledge and aims of the community are discursively, but not materially, valorised for their usefulness. The binary also problematically severs epistemic and social contributions — a severance that is further discussed in chapter 6.

> I did a lot of volunteer work in various community organisations and kept thinking here I am typing up things for them or stuffing food into bags which is very important work but I have ten years of university training. I can't believe that I have learned nothing that is of any value to these community organisations. So in the back of my mind, for years since I was a graduate student, there was this tension around I have a skill set, can I not use this for something? Or is it not of any value socially?

The tension is eventually resolved by the same academic conversant [8] in the quote below. Here, as elsewhere, conversants are actively working through different discursive positioning and the contradictions they invoke. However, these tensions are often situated, as in the quote below, at an individual rather than an institutional or structural level where the divisions between academic and community are constructed. The negotiation of social identity can only feel arbitrary and personally mediated from the sight lines of privilege.

> And that you know was a huge issue for me: reconciling what I did professionally with my desire to be engaged with community and with activist issues. But getting to where I am now, I actually have managed to merge those activities and those skill sets and those identities feels accidental.

Reconfiguring Goodness: From Social Transformation to Individual Social Mobility

The goodness of knowledge driving social change is pervasive in the CBR literature (Cahill et al., 2007; Fine & Torre, 2006; Brizay et al., 2015) and responsibilizes collaborators to realise substantive impact through singular time limited projects. Ambitions of social change, while laudable, constitute CBR subjects as super agents: sovereign liberal subjects that can enact change unencumbered by complex socio-political conditions. Furthermore, these demands are not as present in other forms of knowledge production that are less saturated with the goodness of an explicit social justice agenda. CBR is thus, already configured as an impossible project, and therefore, to preserve its goodness it must carefully reconstruct its aims at the scale of the individual.

Failures of scale are discussed in the PD literature, which critiques participatory interventions aimed at local rather than structural change (Appadurai, 2001; Ferguson & Gupta,

2002; Kapoor, 2005). Similarly, Greenwood (2002) challenged the local scale of much of action research as betraying the macro liberatory aims of collaborative research. Although problems of scale are identified by these scholars, the possibility of research to drive social change is retained. Similarly, conversants held out emancipatory desires for catalysing social transformation in tension with prevailing descriptions of individual transformations. These desires for broad scale social transformation are largely unmet, and therefore, threaten the good feelings associated with working toward social change with the bad feelings associated with failing to do so. I propose that these bad feelings are replaced by the good feelings associated with supporting individual transformation, most commonly toward employment and educational attainment.

An academic [4] who in an earlier quote held out that "knowledge has to make something better" below outlined several scales of impact, but concluded that the individual level was the "easiest place to make change." The tension between desires for social transformation and realities of individual transformation signal the ways in which CBR articulates to an incrementalism that may forestall or subvert social change.

> So on the individual level trying to make things better by providing people with opportunities to build skills, to develop certain capacities, and at the community level perhaps to develop new insights that people can take up in the work they do, at the policy level perhaps some of those insights then inform policies. I find that the easiest place to make change, the one that is more in my control is at the individual level.

Another academic [8] located the goodness of CBR as opening up future possibilities -
both socio-economic and psychic, albeit, for a dozen individuals rather than the broader
community. The last comment suggests that in some cases engendering good feelings is in itself
an important outcome, which alerts to how powerfully affective exchanges coordinate CBR.

> The changes that we are going to effect will be perhaps building some of their
> skills in areas they might not have had skills, providing them with employment,
> and creating new relationships for them. In one of our studies just being heard and
> being taken seriously had a huge impact on them … They felt great. So 12 people
> got something good out of this.

The promise of future employment as a key impact brings the programmatic aims of CBR
into view, which are developed further in Chapter 7. This shift is suggested by an academic [4]
who considered that knowledge production may increasingly be a secondary aim of CBR. Here
the programmatic goal of scaffolding youth post-secondary education is identified as a crucial
site for social change, which is usually the purview of youth serving CBOs rather than CBR. The
shift from a focus on knowledge production to programmatic aims reflects the scarcity of new
program funding and the diversion of monies to short term research projects (Salmon, Browne &
Pederson, 2010), as well as the exclusion of youth of colour from racially organised access to
higher education and employment.

> If you're looking at the youth sector, and you are looking at racialized youth, I
> think the biggest benefit … is post secondary education. I think the only way
> things can change for communities is having more youth come to places like this
> university … and it gives you so many assets and so many forms of power right?

Similarly, a community professional [14] identified supporting pathways to postsecondary education as the "best" part of the work. The same community professional [14] described scaffolding newcomer scholars, rather than engagement of communities/groups based on an issue of interest, as reorienting collaborative knowledge work. This approach puts processual gains such as Canadian experience at the fore in ways that are both instrumental and transformative in their aim to support racialised collaborators to get a toe hold on decent employment and leadership in their communities.

> We've started other innovative approaches to do CBR, but in a different way: so we're piloting a paid mentorship opportunity for internationally trained people who have previous research backgrounds. They've come here but are having a hard time finding jobs in the research field. They would be teamed up with a mentor and they would do a small piece of research. It's not community-based research in the typical way. And it's not engaging marginalised communities per se … It has a stronger leadership kind of framing. We want to create the next generation of leaders.

Another community professional [11a] described a similar trajectory for peer researchers who were supported in becoming professional researchers: "These women we trained are getting involved in other research projects…We've created digital stories, based on the experiences of some of the women, to articulate how useful the research was in supporting them in what they have become." Here the significance of individual transformation to CBR is so great that it warrants large-scale dissemination. An academic [8] also saw CBR as a means to the end of future employment and Canadian experience. Here the focus on the individual occludes the

social. Canadian experience is cast as a good individual outcome, which, nevertheless, emerges

from an oppressive, racist, systemic practice.

> It stops being CBR and becomes something else. It becomes research that might
> have participatory research elements in it, but the goal is that they get the
> employment, so that they get the Canadian experience. So that I can connect with
> them and say: 'There's an enormous amount of work in program evaluation and if
> you guys wanted to get together and start working on that we can support you and
> you can start your own business.' And then we can study that and so we can attach
> a research piece to that.

Desires for Authenticity, Voice, and the Pleasures of Consumption

Desires for socially transformative collaborations can be traced through two discourses

that are pervasive in the CBR literature: that of authenticity and giving voice. Although

authenticity and voice are valorised in the literature (Jason & Glenwick, 2015), conversants

critiqued both as concealing the fetish for the local other and the pleasures of consuming her

pain. Scholars have inquired into desires for the racialised subaltern (Hartman, 1997; Farely,

1997; Morris, 2010; Razack, 2007; Stoler, 1995), but not in the context of collaborative

knowledge production. As I have argued in Chapter 2, the politics of CBR are obscured through

claims to unmediated representations of the authentic voices of those typically excluded from

knowledge production (Flicker et al., 2007a; McIntyre, 2007; Smith, Willms & Johnson, 1997).

However, as Quaghebeur and colleagues (2004) cautioned, giving voice to the marginalised is

neither inherently good or even neutral. Most conversants contested discourses of authenticity as

silencing and consumptive. Furthermore, the consumption of testimonials of pain is, as Razack

(2007) argued, a racially mediated exchange. Therefore, giving voice is affectively distinct for racialised scholars who may also, as Jeyapal (2016) maintained, be required to share their experiences of pain.

Similar to the goodness associated with proximity to community, authenticity was constituted in terms of its distance from academe. One academic [8] reified the authentic/inauthentic binary by outlining the impossibility of being both genuine and an academic: "The answer to a lot of these things is having genuine partnerships and genuinely being part of the community, as opposed to being the academic." Here the possibility of being both a member of the community and academe is precluded. A community professional [16a] made a similar move to innocence by claiming her organisation's distance from academe secured their authenticity. The naturalisation of community as authentic and academe as inauthentic, belies the heterogeneity within these research locations.

> Neither of us consider ourselves academia, neither of us have a PhD…Whereas a lot of the other CBOs doing CBR have a PhD associated - either in partnership with a university or they have one in-house. They have set up their research, so they have to have a PhD. So our model is truly community-based in that it is not academia focused at all.

An academic [9] was frustrated with the vilification of academe: "You are kind of constructed as inherently wrong because you're from the academy." The same conversant [9] went on to describe what the discourse of authenticity covers over, in this case, that dominant discourses are reproduced by local, as well as elite, knowers and that whiteness operates within academe and community. The durability of valorising the local is revealed in Smith and

colleagues' (2010) surprise at the degree to which dominant ideologies were reproduced by their community partners. Assuming that community knowledge is somehow more "real" and less hierarchical does not account for how power relations operate within, as well as across, research and social locations. Also, assuming that desires for authenticity and consumption are omnipresent ignores the different research relations navigated by insider collaborators.

> A lot of this work is very descriptive because community voice is "legitimate"… "authentic." And I have in my transcripts racism, sexism, homophobia coming from community members. But I don't problematize that I just say this is the voice of community. Well, these voices reflect dominant discourses.

While discourses of authenticity essentialise the good/bad binary of community/academe, the related discourse of giving voice naturalises the desire for insider collaborators, academic and community, to tell and re tell intimate traumatic experiences. A peer researcher [1] described how her participation, contra to recovery philosophy, required her to symbolically and literally revisit her trauma: "The philosophy was once you leave the street you should never look back … And that was the school of thought back then. But now they're asking you to look back and even go back, right?" Another way that peer researchers were re-traumatised during their participation in CBR, described by this community professional [10a], was that peers with lived experience of psychiatrization were continually exposed to pathologising diagnostic language. Collaborators with lived experience, as outlined in the quote below, are required to share intimate experiences with the psychiatric system, which are then used against them.

> We gave feedback about the language, but we were told that the language can't be changed. I'm talking about language like: 'chronic' mental health problems that

was a big issue for the peers to be hearing over and over. I think they tried to highlight that … But because of the way the project was set up, I think it wasn't nearly as helpful as it could have been…if not harmful.

The danger of re-traumatising peer researchers was not always covered over, as in this graduate student's [6] description of her discomfort with eliciting personal information in the context of research relationship without being "a qualified person to help buffer the trauma that person might be reliving." Putting peers at risk was also questioned by an academic [9] who was unsettled by the ethical trespass of "encouraging someone who was newly diagnosed to tell their story … it's like pushing people to confess." Bastalich (2009) argued that confessionals are subject-making practices that, nevertheless, require the intervention of an expert to assign them meaning. These practices of confessional require the ongoing reproduction of trauma without attending to its harms. A peer [2a] made this last point clearly — of the paradox of engaging peers with experiences of psychiatric systems, yet providing no supports when peers struggle with the very issues that led to their collaboration.

I had a breakdown during my participation in the project, when my uncle had died and it was my last link to my family. And I was begging everybody on the project to get me psychiatric help. And nobody would help me. And then somebody said: 'Oh well, if you're really desperate for care I think that this agency has got a clinic.' And here you are engaged in that project because you have lived experience {with psychiatric systems}, but you can't get support.

The naturalisation of the goodness of giving voice not only covers over the re-traumatising effects of disclosure, but also individualises the broader socio-political dimensions

at play. As Ahmed has argued: "who is speaking and who is being spoken for... must be linked to the relations of production that surround the text." (2000, p. 64). An academic [9] connected the problematic of telling other peoples' stories to a lack of structural analysis, so that complexity, power, and desire are severed from the knowledge that is being gathered.

> I find that a lot of this work {Long pause} is very descriptive right… you've got someone who is incredibly marginalised who has a very complex story to tell. They told you this story and then you repeat the story back and there's very little structural analysis. People are using stigma theories but …I don't want to say superficial but.. it's very soft.

The individualism of the personal narrative and its bypass of structural inequalities was also cast as problematic by a community professional [16a]: "That's what happens with the single voice of a peer researcher, too. Their story becomes so compelling… but we can't expand that out to say that … there are hundreds that are like that and we can't only fix one."

Some conversants critically engaged with the fetish for the local other. Farley (1997) argued that the consumption of others was experienced as race pleasure, which required the ongoing reproduction of damaged bodies. Razack (2007, p. 384) posed the question: "What happens to us after we read such pornographic details?" to emphasise how consumption is racially mediated. Narratives of trauma as pornographic were taken up by several conversants, such as this academic [9] who critiqued the desire for more graphic stories, which Costa and colleagues (2012) argued was a modern day voyeurism that rationalises the consumption of others pain.

I will always remember those images of poverty porn. There was someone who did a talk where they were talking about the highway of tears and missing aboriginal women and telling stories of the women who had done sex work and the violence they had experienced. Just the same stories over and over, but they get more graphic and disturbing and who is this for? …I mean we're collecting stories that haven't changed much …and yet we keep going back and we want the newest version.

Another academic [13a] spoke of "patient porn" as following a particular narrative arc to allow for catharsis and pleasure of the consuming listener/reader, which recalls Lamble (2008) and Razack (2007) concerns with the epistemic violence of narratives of marginalisation and trauma.

Patient porn. Those kind of narratives have an arc to them and they are supposed to start badly and then there is an intervention, maybe its CBR or maybe its a program and then its supposed to end happily.

The academic conversant [13a] added that the dangers of telling stories exceeded the capture of voice to fears of a more literal capture: " I recently did a talk and its getting posted on youtube, and I am thinking what's going to happen with that? Crossing borders … am I going to get a file somewhere?" Her co-conversant a peer [13b] spoke of the tensions of telling her trauma as an affective exchange, which she leveraged to benefit her own projects. This strategic commodification of pain is suggestive of what Farley (1997) observed was a transformation of a fall to a leap, where racialised "performers are now aware that they are performers" (p.533).

I feel weird using this experience in my life as a commodity that can be sold for my benefit. And other people are just masturbating on: 'look how inclusive I

am' ...I feel that part of me is worried about that and a big part of me did not care
at all. If you are going to jump all over me in some contexts...Then in other
contexts, I am going to use it.

Another strategy used by this community professional [16b] was to bring the oppressive
demands for intimate disclosure into plain view as a focal part of discussion. However, her
challenge to the goodness of voice is met with silence, which is suggestive of Mazzei's (2010)
proposal that silence is a strategy to hold knowledge as power and therefore, not a gap to be
filled, but a space of white privilege.

When I go into a group, I often ask: Why is it that this person has to account for
their lived experience? Because clearly I have lived experience and you have
lived experience, and I don't have to disclose that to you to get my credibility. I
don't have to tell you about my mental health, violence or poverty issues, because
I am wearing my hat of being a professional or academic.…. Usually, there is
some silence. Is there a robust conversation about this? No — not at all.

Where Good Feelings are Made and Unmade: Relationships, Trust, and Shared Values

The goodness of CBR whether constituted as affiliation and connection, social and
individual transformation, or through desires for authenticity are all powerful hooks into CBR.
While these affective hooks bring collaborators into the project they must be sustained through
ongoing affective exchanges and proximities. These exchanges are considered here as
technologies of friendship (Ahmed, 2004b) that bind collaborators together, elicit good feelings,
and often obscure bad feelings. These proximities can be traced in the CBPR literature to
discourses of "relationship building" (Hall et al., 2015; Jagosh et al., 2015; Minkler, 2005;

Nichols et al., 2014; Sprague-Martinez et al., 2013), which were also reflected in conversants' descriptions of their CBR collaborations. These affective practices were cast as essential to CBR, but also exploitive, signalling that tensions between good and bad affect are not resolved as much as negotiated. While technologies of friendship align with operations of whiteness and colonial relations for many, affective relations for collaborators more proximal to the communities or groups under inquiry are more complex.

The centrality of relationships is identified by this graduate student [6] who states that "it's so much about the process of building relationships throughout the project…I think relationality is a really central concept to what I conceive of as community-based research." Despite the importance of relationships, an academic [8] maintained that there is a lack of scrutiny of interpersonal relations in our accounts of CBR. Relationships are depicted in the quote below first as material and socially mediated and then as immaterial (i.e., "unspeakable) and outside of the social.

> I find it interesting that we don't recognise how important the interpersonal piece
> is in all of this? Both in terms of maintenance of the power relationships,
> partnerships, and the success of the partnerships going forward. There's all this
> stuff happening that's interpersonal that doesn't get documented cause it's fuzzy
> and you can't describe it. You can't say that I like this person and that's why we
> work together. How do you put that into how to do CBR? Personal sense of trust,
> personal affection, personal respect. And it's never really in our guidelines: how
> do you get there and does that mean that we only work with people we like cause
> you have to also work with people you don't - how do you manage that?

The materiality of CBR relationships was more apparent to community collaborators who identified the social and institutional supports required. Whereas the operations of whiteness for some academic conversants enabled relationships to be located as immaterial and visceral. When constituted as immaterial, research relationships are viewed as naturally occurring in ways that obscure that CBPR's relations are institutionally arranged. A graduate student [6] proposed that research collaborations organically emerge, seemingly without material support: "If you have from the get go a really involved scholar who goes out of their way to work with people already working with the community… the research actually happens quite organically." An academic [9], too, spoke of how affect is emergent in the collaborative encounter. His willingness to walk away if a "connection" was not made suggests the workings of whiteness that determine who has the privilege to connect and disconnect at will.

> I am not sure I really connected with them anyway and so I am fine to just walk away from that. I don't feel that I have to try to make this work. I have heard colleagues talk about taking years to develop relationships and trust. That's lovely, but I am not sure … I don't want to force that, so if that happens that's great.

A similar disconnection of trust and distrust as feelings without current or historical materiality is described by a community professional [11a] who reflected that " a lot of people don't want anything to do with research because they were very very distrustful of researchers." A similar absence of the socio-political conditions of distrust is apparent in this excerpt by an academic [4] who noted, but did not name, why communities might resist research relations: "You're trying to figure out how you're going to work together… so that they trust you. You're feeling each other out. So I could see why they {community} would be like: 'No we don't want

to go there.'" Another academic [17] echoed the need for longstanding relationships by maintaining that trust could only be built through affiliations within the community. The privileges that enable some to engage without material support and others who are already materially connected through community affiliation are covered over.

> There's that period of who the hell is she? What is she doing here and why is she taking notes? The way that I kind of handled that was partly that I had some front people who were willing to say almost like you don't trust her and you trust us and she's with us {Laughter} …They didn't trust me to write at first and then they had such trouble with the writer that the next time … they said: 'Would you write this?'

A community professional [11a] rejected instrumental project dependent research relations: "So when I work with researchers I tell them: 'You know you're coming for the long term. There's no way that you're going collect the information and then you're off to publish!" A graduate student [6] who in an earlier quote described relationships as organic and immaterial, here calls into question the sustainability of these relations outside of funding cycles: "This funding model is very debilitating to longterm projects that want to make longterm changes in a community. A project lasts as long as it's funded… And so what then? Do we just dismantle those relationships?" Instrumental friending was felt keenly by this peer researcher [1] who was astonished at its exchange value: "Amazing! Don't talk to me about friendship just because you gave me a TTC ticket." In tension with the tokenism described by the previous conversant, was an academic's [9] argument that such a seemingly small exchange could determine who was included in CBR. Here the failure to engage with the material social conditions of collaborators

leads to oppressive CBR practices, which exclude peers with fewer resources. What may be most unsettling here is that the emplacement of CBR into the social is discussed in terms of transit fare, not social change.

> Many people are doing this work without having thought about a lot of these issues. Then they do the work, they learn all of this stuff right, but they don't put this back out into the literature. So, I think people are making the same, mistakes over and over again, by not learning basic things like that peer researchers need tokens in advance so they can get to the meetings.

Tokenism was apparent in other material arrangements such as space and food. The materials arrangements of everyday collaborative practices go largely unnoted in the CBR literature. However, one study investigating barriers and facilitators to participation on community advisory boards (Pinto et al., 2015) found that low-income participants expressed an expectation of meals, but only half reported food being provided during meetings. Again, the absence of consideration of material supports to participation in CBR, signals its displacement from the social. In contrast, a peer [2a] described how affect - in this case feelings of respect, is materially conveyed.

> It starts with when you come into a room and somebody feeds you at a table like you were an honoured guest rather than slopping the hogs… That is telling you that you matter and you're eating dinner with me, lunch, whatever and we're all sitting down and talking and eating. You've got to come in with that —Total respect.

Another way in which the materiality of trust comes into view is noted by a peer conversant [1] who stressed the importance of fiduciary transparency. The resistance to sharing

budget details hides uneven compensation and the allocation of administrative monies, which is

taken up in chapter 6. This peer proposed that full financial disclosure is essential to relationships

among peers in contrast to the lack of transparency and associated bad feelings in her

collaborations with others.

> I had never been given the full report or the budget. When I do a report I give it to
> the women and I show them where the money went. When I don't see the budget
> then I don't trust what processes went on.

The complex relationships in CBR are constructed by this community professional [16a]

as a many layered navigation of the affective needs of collaborators. Interestingly, the academic

collaborators are singled out as exceptional in their affective needs, so much so that their very

identity is described as at risk, which signals whose good feelings must be protected and

prioritised when collaborators are instrumentally friending.

> The hardest relationship piece is just navigating all those layers of relationships in
> doing CBR. So you have academic or bureaucratic partners, you have funders and
> you have CBO, staff, peer researchers themselves. Often in all of those
> relationships, there is navigation that has to happen … so making sure the
> organization feels supported, making sure the academic partners feel like they are
> not losing their identity in it all...it takes so much energy in a coordination role.

Closely related to trust and relationship building was the affective discourse of shared

values. Discourses of shared values are commonly deployed to demarcate affiliative borders,

particularly across racialized divisions (Adejanju & Neverson, 2007; Li, 2001). However,

conversants invoked shared values in ways that complicated the raced logic typically associated

with values talk. In the quote below an academic [4] may have argued that shared values transcend social location and/or proposed a strategic move by a racialized scholar negotiating relations with white collaborators. The conversant began by critiquing the white wash of community professionals and the problematics of this group standing in for a racialized community. Then in a complex discursive move, the conversant proposes that values can transgress the colour line. Here the tensions of collaborative relations mediated by race are negotiated, but are left unresolved.

> You talk about the community, but most of the EDs and managers are all white and the community itself is 75 percent racialized. That's when I am like well, actually I started from the values right? I am more worried when I have people working on the project regardless of who they are who really don't reflect those values … a certain kind of understanding of the community …because I mean damage can be done by me, by people who look like me, or people who like you.

The affective pull of shared values was cast as unconscious, but, nevertheless, a powerful catalyst for this academic's [8] choices of who to collaborate with: "I don't feel like there was this conscious set of choices that got me here, I felt like in each case it was somebody I liked and respected." The constitution of affective exchanges as pre-conscious, recalls Stoler's (1995) critique of situating desire as pre-cultural. Interestingly, while the conversant's affective exchanges are constituted as pre-cultural, her community collaborators are firmly grounded in the social and political. The privilege to be driven by affective affiliations is racially coordinated and not evenly available to those who are enmeshed in the everyday of oppression.

I'm much more: 'I have this set of values and beliefs and you do too' … Most of the people I work with are pretty informed both politically and socially. I would argue more than I am in a very concrete way. They're not talking about theory, they're talking about: 'I'm working with people sitting in my office, who are being oppressed by these systems … Let' s fix that.'

Whereas, the above conversant positioned affect as a productive driver of collaborations, another academic [5a] constituted the affective relations of collaboration as full of "uncomfortable intimacies." The affective demands of collaboration are contrasted with the comfortable spaces of privilege, where whiteness silences consideration of race and other sites of privilege. This quote places the problematic of not speaking to power elsewhere - outside of CBR, in a move reminiscent of Kapoor's (2005) contention that democratic deficits are relocated elsewhere to keep the goodness of participation intact. In this move to innocence CBR's difficult affective exchanges are the source of its goodness. What is covered over is who has the privilege to enter and exit from this intimate space of difficult feelings, which may not be available to collaborators who live daily with such uncomfortable feelings.

I find that the best working relationships for me have been not only alliances but have been deeper than that - they have been friendships. It requires a close working relationship and there is a lot of very uncomfortable intimacies in naming power dynamics and addressing issues of racism, colonisation, privilege, class, and putting it out there. And then creating a working space with people where that's always on the table all of time. For me, that's the part that gets really tiring. Particularly, when there are so many spaces available where you don't have to do that and that's where most of the people I know spend their lives.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter argued that the affective dimensions of the social relations of CBR are the crucible where the goodness of collaboration is produced and protected. Many conversants spoke of their pathways into CBR in affective discourses of idealism, building community and connection, desires for social transformation, and making something better. Others described pragmatic trajectories where they found themselves involved in CBR as secondary to another aim or simply to be "useful," which though less explicit in its claims to goodness was tethered to a socially just project. A more complicated variation was the constitution of "accidental" pathways into CBR where the operations of whiteness conceal that only some collaborators can find themselves accidentally at the site of CBR and have the privilege to elect to participate. I proposed that the different affective commitments of racialized, and otherwise insider, collaborators complicated an analysis of desires for goodness that led many conversants into CBR.

Next, I interrogated how desires for social justice and social action were unmet and how the bad feelings associated with these failures were replaced with the good feelings associated with individual transformation. Conversants described individual scaffolding of local collaborators toward employment and educational attainment, which not only re-inscribed the neoliberal logic of social mobility, but signalled how social research was transformed into a programmatic intervention. This latter transformation is developed further in chapter 6's discussion of the ascendant employment model of peer research and chapter 7's discussion of capacity building practices. Another aspect of neoliberal individualism was traced to how some

conversants locate CBR outside of the social and, therefore, bypass the force of structural

inequality in their collaborations, while other conversants who negotiate the everyday of

oppression did not.

Authenticity and giving voice, while valorized in the academic literature, came under

heavy critique by conversants. For some conversants, especially community professionals,

authenticity was measured by their distance from academe. However, other conversants troubled

claims to authenticity and brought into view how dominant discourses circulate in community

and resistant discourses can be leveraged by academe, which highlighted the heterogeneity of

social locations within research relations. Ongoing demands for the voices of community and

racialised collaborators through personal disclosure was critiqued as consumptive and

pornographic.

The good/bad feelings constituted by conversants were then traced through relationship

and trust building, and shared values, which were paradoxically constructed as crucial and

coercive. Research relationships were cast by many academic conversants as personal and

immaterial, which not only bypassed their social construction, but also how whiteness operates

to determine who has the privilege to position their affective responses as outside of the social.

Alternatively, peers and community professional conversants described the affective labour of

CBR as materially arranged in ways that privilege the good feelings of academe. Importantly, the

entanglement of visceral and instrumental affective exchanges brought the ethics and racialised

logic of collaboration into view without resolution with some form of better praxis, which might

lead to better feelings. The tensions of the sociality of collaborative research are woven through

the ensuing chapters, which inquire into other forms of governance through participation.

Chapter 6: Regimes of Participatory Practice

Writing Story: Killing Joy — a Move to Innocence?

As I become a critical social work scholar, I distance myself from the subjectivity of a research pimp. Initially, I saw my project as taking on exploitative participatory practices, but I felt the weight of something else. I was "killing the joy" of collaborative knowledge work, while resecuring my own goodness through critique. It is not until these last laps of writing that I can detect that the good feelings I had in interrogating CBR came from placing myself outside the project. I was at the same time negotiating my discomfort with being in academe through a similar move of critiquing academe's manoeuvres within CBR, while not quite claiming my newly hatched complicity as a would be academic. Both of these outsides/oppositions are illusory, yet I reproduce the very moves to distance and proximity, which I argue are anything but innocent.

Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that the goodness and good feelings of CBR, traced in chapter 5's analysis of governance through affect, activate particular practices *to secure access to, regulate, and appropriate local knowledge and labour.* This chapter interrogates governance through regimes of participatory practices. Dean (1999) proposed that "we govern and are governed within different regimes of practice" (p. 23) that congeal into a relatively stable form of organisational and institutional practices. Miller and Rose (2008) proposed that regimes of practice "shape, normalise and instrumentalise the conduct, thought decisions and aspirations of others in order to achieve the objectives they consider desirable" (p. 32). In this chapter, participatory practices are traced to neoliberal rationalities that privilege the use value of knowledge coordinated through entrepreneurship, commodification, audit, and competition.

While neoliberal rationalities can be found throughout the five analyses chapters, this chapter's interrogation of participatory practices brings these rationalities into sharp focus.

While participative practices differ from conventional research approaches, many conversants were aware and critical of how this new orthodoxy of engagement achieves similar objectives to that of extractive research. Scott (1995) argued that transformations in governmental practices prompt us to question what project are these new targets required for and what practices are necessary to attain it? If the project of CBR is to accumulate the knowledge and labour of communities, then access is paramount. As I have argued elsewhere (Janes, 2016), participative practices are an effective technique for gaining access to "hard to engage" or over-researched communities, which are often the target of CBR, and for appropriating local knowledges and labour as a technique to "solve" persistent problems. This dual responsibility—communities as sites of social problems and intervention, and communities as collaborators in finding solutions — constructs communities as both a target and technique of governance.

This chapter begins with an interrogation of how participatory practices instrumentalise community affiliations to gain *access* to otherwise research resistant locals, while obscuring histories and presents of exploitive research. The following section tracks how participatory practices *regulate* conduct by ensuring consensus for interventions under inquiry and delimiting the parameters for participation. Next, an analysis of the *appropriation of local labour* is traced through two participatory practices: the low/no compensation of local collaborators and the short-term income or employment offered by CBR. Both of these practices, I argue, produce cost effective, subordinate, precarious, local labour.

Next, participatory practices are linked to the *devolution of research responsibility to communities and away from academe* in ways that exceed the accountabilities of institutional ethics. I argue that communities, and affiliated CBOs, are responsibilized for research without an adequate material support and, therefore, burden individuals and agencies struggling with multiple sites of social inequality. The analysis then shifts to the *neoliberal governmental rationalities of the participatory practices* outlined in the previous sections. Conversants summarily critiqued the neoliberal aims of enterprise in the knowledge economy that commodify and narrowly audit the use value of knowledge, while ensuring that the partnering to compete paradigm erodes collaborations and collectivity. However, the neoliberal aims of use value were less apparent in conversants desires for social action, which were unmet, but still retained as a possibility. I argue in this chapter that *participative practices achieve the neoliberal aims of securing access to and appropriation of local knowledge and labour through desires for and diversions from social action.*

Accessing Local Knowledges and Knowers

Cruikshank (1999) described "techniques of citizenship," which foster active, responsible citizens who are constituted as marginalised and, thus, a target of governance. Cruikshank contended that those that fail to participate in their own or their community's improvement are rendered outside of the social. Likewise, what is threatening to CBR, and academe in general, is that communities, particularly the over-researched, vulnerable communities that are desired by CBR, will resist the "will to participate." The will to participate depends on access and access is rationalized through discourses of inclusive liberalism where participation and engagement are

constituted as a socio-political good (Larner & Le Heron, 2005; Ponic & Frisby, 2010) and discourses of neoliberalism that drive accumulation of knowledge as an economic good (Burton-Jones, 1999). The push to gain access, gather more data, and therefore, more funding, is a pervasive neoliberal rationale that obscures the historical legacies and presents of exploitative research that underlie research resistance. As one academic conversant (8) suggested: "You can actively try to reach the people who are unreachable, but they are often unreachable for a reason."

The naturalisation of gaining access through community collaborators' affiliative networks conceals what Guta et al. (2014) argued is an instrumental deployment of local subjects to secure recruitment. Access, as outlined by this community professional [11a], depended on targeting a key member of the community who then acts as a conduit to recruit participants. Access is complicated for collaborators who have affiliations with targeted communities that precede and exceed the CBR project.

> I became the person that researchers came to because they wanted my involvement, because I had access to populations through work. I would facilitate access to participants through the work that I was doing, and I started getting hailed as the community person.

A community professional [14] linked the gains academe realises in collaborating with CBOs to the neoliberal restructuring of the state. Here the discourse of "downloading" typically associated with governments devolving responsibility to more local levels of government is used to mark how agencies are used by academe to do the "most difficult aspect of research" without adequate support. Responsibilizing agencies for engaging community members is a key

participatory practice that not only articulates to neoliberal austerity, but also ensures that failures

to gain access are assigned to local rather than academic partners.

> Recruitment is the most difficult aspect of research. Moreover, academics know
> that. And now they've realised that… if they partner …with the community
> agencies they can get access to the participants they need and they can actually
> download recruitment to community agencies without the corresponding sharing
> of power, benefits, and resources.

A graduate student [6] explicitly used the language of "exploitation" to describe her

concerns with how CBR gains access through participatory practices, which are captured as an

equally problematic, albeit different, technique to gain data as those deployed by more

mainstream research approaches: "It's a new way of gaining further access and possibly some of

the same exploitation as previous research." This framing recalls Henkel and Stirrat's (2001) and

Simons, Masschelein, and Quaghebeur (2005) caution that both old and new techniques of

participation articulate to similar extractive aims — to access local knowledge. The extractive

possibilities of participatory practices are vividly depicted by a peer researcher [1] who described

how academic staff were "amazed" at how many interviews she had done. Not only did the peers

have access to many people, but they deployed alternative recruitment strategies that made

access less oppressive. The description of enduring hours in the cold and "begging" alert to the

devalued, even dehumanised, status of the peer researcher who is expected to fail.

> I did something like 50 to 57 interviews, and she was absolutely amazed. She
> realised that I really did have access to a lot of people. They were expecting us to
> stand out in the middle of winter for four hours, kind of begging our way in…and

> I thought this is stupid. I went over to [an agency] asked if I could have a space,
> have the women come in and do the survey there.

A community professional [10a] echoed the ease of access noted above: " I think peer researchers feel very connected and know how to probe, and people feel comfortable answering questions from a peer researcher." The naturalisation of access through peer affiliation as a good practice is apparent in the affective terms of "connection" and "comfort" that obscure the instrumental gains. Guta and colleagues (2014, p. 447) proposed that peer researchers are enlisted to "perform the 'friendly face' of the project, while engaging in the surveillance of their own communities." An academic [9] conversant outlined the strategic use of community recruiters to access individuals who have histories of exploitation by multiple systems. Here access is explicitly tied to data accumulation, which is naturalised by colleagues as good research practice and celebrated openly.

> You're talking about data that you would not be able to collect otherwise because
> these are the kinds of people who would never fill out a survey and who have
> already been screwed over by so many systems. But now you come back with a
> different approach, claiming that you are doing things differently, and you come
> back with maybe the one social worker whom they will talk to who is saying: 'No
> this is a good project, these people are different.' You come back with someone
> from their own community who they recognise asking them to do the survey.
> These projects, so many of them {CBR researchers} will talk about this when
> they are presenting at conferences: 'We are able to get such amazing data. These
> people they would have never shared this information otherwise.'

Regulating Community Conduct Through Coerced Consensus

Closely related to gaining access to over researched, or otherwise resistant communities are regulatory aims to ensure the uptake of the intervention under inquiry, to delimit modes of participation, and curtail dissent. The trend of generating community consensus in favour of a particular intervention by engaging communities/groups of interest in CBR is particularly pervasive in health promotion/prevention CBR projects (Viswanathan, 2004). It is notable that the deployment of community leaders to ensure recruitment for an intervention is not considered an ethical breach of informed, voluntary consent and a possible ethical dilemma for peer researchers whose membership in the community may be jeopardised if less favourable outcomes occur. The absence of consideration of the ethical issues surrounding engaging community collaborators for the recruitment of local participants signals, as this community professional [12] suggested, that the strategic priority is uptake.

> So at the end of the day you have to think - how do I engage and mobilise people to develop a sense of interest and ownership over this thing that we call a vaccine? If people get an idea that a vaccine is something that is developed behind their backs than you could end up with the greatest vaccine in the world, but nobody is coming to your office to get vaccinated. So, I think people realise that engaging a community, in the beginning, is the thing to do, and CBR has been the best mechanism for doing that.

An academic [9] echoed this observation of the strategic use of CBR in clinical interventions to "normalise" new health protocols. The conversant described CBR as a "way of mobilising communities to take up treatment as prevention" where "the role of CBR is to

normalise …and get uptake from communities." The practice of deploying community members to build consensus for an intervention makes transparent the link between engagement and discipline, which recalls Hailey's (2001) interrogation of how Western governments used participatory technologies to secure buy in for post-war relocation strategies. The same academic conversant [9] brought these connections into view: "The deployment of community in CBR is used to discipline and to regulate communities. And in some cases [communities] are invented for the purposes of managing groups — all that labelling, classification, differentiation and sorting, and all of this to achieve particular ends." This last comment about the invention of community echoes the Chapter 7's analysis of how community comes into being through CBR.

The practice of regulating the conduct of community researchers is noted by this community professional [10a] who recalled how peers are expected to conform to a single model of participation. Prescribing the parameters of civilised and productive conduct, while breaking down local norms is a key technology of governmentality (Scott, 1995). Moreover, this conduct of conduct is highly amenable to what Jordan and Kapoor (2009) identified as an increasingly technical approach to participation, which operates as a form of social regulation.

> There was only one model... so everybody had to fit into that model no matter what their skills were. Sitting around tables committee format, taking minutes, starting on time, ending on time, and understanding the information that was flowing and being able to bring that information back to other members on the project. So there were various areas that people weren't able to do that. And so communication broke down, which led to people thinking that information was purposely being withheld.

Not only was community participation highly regulated, but it was also characterised by this academic [9] as difficult to critique. The challenge of critiquing good projects recalls Brown's (2005) and Dhaliwal's (1996) observations on the difficulties of interrogating democracy, which are re/constituted as anti-democratic.

> They were so proud, and they wanted to convince me of how great CBR was…
> These people don't want you turning around saying: 'You're just doing
> surveillance, you're implicating yourself, these CBOs, people living with mental
> health issues, HIV, diabetes or cardiovascular illness - you are implicating all of
> them in the surveillance of others by bringing them into CBR.' Nobody wants to
> hear that.

The regulation of peers through participation is described in the quote below as a complex practice where the knowledge that brings peers into CBR is then paradoxically used to regulate their conduct. In this instance, a peer's [2a] conduct is pathologized and therefore, cast as illegitimate, while her knowledge is commodified. The commodification of local knowledge resonates with Costa and colleagues (2012) critique of the appropriation of peer knowledge/ experience for the economic and social gain of privileged institutions.

> When you do come out then they'll say: 'Oh well, she is just crazy …' I know
> when I finally went out in a blaze from the project that the academics probably
> thought I'd lost my mind and would tell me to rest dear and take it easy, you know
> all the nice little platitudes… They just think you're nuts, and they look at you
> like clinicians rather than people trying to acquire knowledge from you. They
> figure they have already got the knowledge, and you're just there as a side order
> of cole slaw.

Appropriating Local Labour

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, what makes CBR a particularly effective site of governmentality is that it constitutes community as a target of access, intervention, and regulation; and as a technique for acquiring a tertiary, subordinate labour force. Ilcan and Phillips (2008) argued that participative practices act as a technology of governance, which align with the aims of the knowledge economy to mobilise active, competent knowledge workers. Olssen and Peters (2005) also proposed that the knowledge economy demands local participation to ensure an ever-expanding labour force. This demand for an expanded knowledge workforce makes community co-researchers highly attractive, not the least for their cost efficiency. Conversants described appropriating local labour as a central aim and practice of CBR. A peer researcher [2a] characterised her labour as analogous to working on a "chain gang," which brings into focus how participation regulates as it activates local labour.

> I felt we were very infantilized … we were…put into make-work projects like prisoners on the chain gang having to move stones from one side of the road to the other. It was patronising and at the end, I could not do it anymore. I had left before I had lost all hope in people's goodness and in any ability for us to reform society.

The infantilizing of the labour of peer researchers constitutes local knowledge as "underdeveloped" and in need of improvement, which is the focus of Chapter 7's analysis of capacity building. Another peer conversant [2b] invoked exploitation through a feeling of "being used," but in a way that is concealed, which recalls Goldberg's (2009) "new racism" where race is erased, but racism remains hidden in plain sight.

I realised again I was being used, and it was just a different way of calling things. It was the same as sitting on boards. It was just closeted - kind of like racism can be closeted. And I started getting fed up.

In a different discursive move, this community professional [10b] positioned competent peer researchers as useful rather than used. What goes unacknowledged is that both useful and used are appropriations of local labour and that both articulate to neoliberal metrics.

I just noticed that over about three years that some of the original researchers are really very skilled. When it comes to doing another training session, I can sit back, and they can talk about how they have learned to probe, how they put people at ease.

The ability of peer researchers to put people at ease resonates with Guta et al.'s (2014) description of how community collaborators are crucial to scaling up CBR. Another community professional [10a] emphasised the ever increasing need for competent peer researchers who are accountable and productive: "I certainly prefer working with people who we've trained. And this last time … where we're doing over 400 interviews…it's was really great to have a few people that we could count on." As her co-conversant, also a community professional [10b], suggested, peer researchers not only require the right training but the right attitude: "People should have that passion for social justice … " An academic [15] echoed the importance of selecting capable local labourers: "I am not saying that we don't want inclusion, but all I am saying is that we should preselect community members that are capable of what we expect… It's almost like a job description." The "preselection" of local labourers combined with the commitment to inclusion ensures that both rationales of neoliberal and inclusive liberalism are met. The next section

provides an analysis of how the production of a competent, subordinate, labour force is achieved

through practices of low/no compensation and precarious work.

Uneven Compensation and Precarious Labour

Writing Story: Collaborating with Low income/no income Communities

      The lack of reflection on the ethical trespass of scarce compensation for community researchers is significant given that CBR collaborations typically target communities with low socio-economic status. In my previous CBR practice, a funding officer assigned to a grant we were submitting for a project working with older women who experience the deepest levels of poverty asked us to eliminate the honoraria. The officer could not understand that we were not "training" these women, but that they were contributing considerable expertise (in fact, training the academics on the day to day challenges of making ends meet at the margins). The irony of not compensating poor women working to develop resources for other poor women is a testimony to the durability of constituting communities as beneficiaries of CBR and academe as beneficent.

In this section, I propose that the discursive claims to egalitarianism in CBR subvert

inquiries into uneven compensation by seeming to already and always have been equal. Here the

political economies of local labour come into view. Although there are occasional references to

uneven compensation in the academic literature (Guta et a., 2014; Pinto et al., 2015), the

asymmetry is noted without any clear strategies to remedy or an inquiry into how this

unevenness reflects a more generalized de/valuing that transcends the provision of stipends.

Nichols and colleagues (2014) attributed the poor compensation to institutional arrangements

such as funding priorities for hiring graduate students and collective agreements, which protected

student labour rights but led to low wages and temporary labour conditions for non-student

researchers. Unnoted was the complete absence of labour rights for community collaborators

who receive honoraria and are not formally employed.

A grey literature publication on ethical issues in CBR explicitly tackled the complexity of compensating community collaborators/peers (Guta et al., 2010). Guta and colleagues reported that most respondents compensated peer researchers at levels of minimum wage. Despite the gains of moving from no to low compensation, participants in this study also reported concerns regarding subsequent spending, particularly when engaging substance users and sex workers. These concerns signal that peer researchers are subject to a surveillance that their more privileged counterparts, who would never be asked to account for their spending, do not. Bell and Salmon (2011) found that women who substance use view research participation as work and an essential part of the informal economy. The problematic economies of peer labour are also apparent to this academic conversant [9] who outlined the political economy of using peers rather than professionals to do research.

> Everyone loves a peer model because why would you pay $60,000 a year when you could pay a peer, maybe if they are lucky 30, to do not the same work but very similar work … and to not give them any of the support others have access to.

However, compensation of peers was not always seen as exploitive, as this community professional [10b] noted, peer researchers in her organisation are "pretty well paid compared to our social enterprises; peers would be paid ...more or less $25 an hour - close to that of an RA." She went on to ascribe good compensation practices to other community organisations: "They want to be able to put honoraria in the pockets of their tenants... and they are happy to pay peer researchers; I think they are trying to sort of circulate that money back in the community." While

a laudable gesture to ameliorating community poverty, CBR as an intervention to mitigate social

inequality colludes with the neoliberal erosion of social welfare.

Peers were particularly critical of the market values that rewarded knowledge workers

from academe considerably more than the local knowers who, nevertheless, are discursively

constructed as central to the CBR project. One peer [11c] was incredulous, not just at the

differential compensation, but at the differential contributions: "It astounds me that I am sitting

in a room with people getting paid... really good money who know much less than I do about the

topic." Another peer [1] was more explicit in her critique of the value/s of those at the top of the

knowledge hierarchy: "Working with white middle-upper class women… it is a waste of money,

holy smokes you guys know how to waste money!" This quote offers a rare critique of the

spending habits of academics and community professionals, which also implies that peers do

more for less. The devaluing of community labour, as this community professional [11a]

suggested [11d] assumes that "people have the time …and the money …to support

participation." Sinding, Miller, Hudak, Keller-Olaman, and Sussman (2011) reminded that what

is left out of the "involved patient discourse" are the social and material resources required to be

actively involved.

A peer [1] described how the ethics of uneven material support are rejected and replaced

by community researchers with more equitable and ethical redistribution practices.

> I ended up being paid most of it. I thought that was really strange, so I just took it
> and rearranged it. I said this is the way they [academics] treat themselves, but this
> is not the way we do it right? And the women agreed. You can't have that amount
> of money go to one person; it's got to be shared more equally among other

women. It's a whole different thing, because when you're down at the bottom, and you're scraping, you can't be taking chunks of money.

However, having a peer at the helm did not always ensure more even compensation, as this peer [2a] highlighted in her description of exploitation by a fellow community member. Poverty "pimping" although often associated with academics and community professionals, can be an "inside" job. Here what Ahmed and Fortier (2003) described as the false romance of community consensus is vividly captured.

> Originally, we had our hopes. We were involved in a participatory project because one local poverty pimp in the neighbourhood got a grant …And it was so disrespectful; it was so messed up. Didn't give honorariums. Promised to, but didn't … fed people absolute rubbish…People in the neighbourhood felt totally had by this person.

The same peer [2a] went on to suggest that compensation regulated conduct - in this case the silencing of dissent: "People sometimes don't want to speak because if they're getting something for coming, they're always scared if I say something wrong, maybe somebody won't invite me back again." The regulation of conduct through compensation also activated guilt for receiving monies for knowledge labour. In the quote below, the same conversant [2a] referred to herself as a "mercenary" for monetizing her knowledge work. Community professionals and academics would be unlikely to characterise payment for their work in such terms, which signals the pervasiveness of volunteerism in CBR.

I'm going to say something really crass and mercenary right now. I have a child who is severely handicapped and if somebody says: 'Come to this group or facilitate this group…' I'm there in a minute.

In contrast to the above denaturalization of compensation as a "crass act," is the naturalisation of compensation for work noted in the following quote, which obscures that it is only natural for some. Those who benefit from that privilege have to be "called out", as this community professional [16a] observed: "I remember someone saying even in an advisory committee you are all paid to be here but this is my own time and my own energy, and that is the case all the time for me." While the unevenness of compensation is called into question in the preceding quote, an academic conversant [8] positioned the greater resources of academics as something that can be leveraged to support communities. However, the unevenness, while implied, is normalised as a privilege that can allow her to work without direct compensation from the project. What is not made explicit is that many community professionals, and certainly peers, are not free to be "free" and rely on stipends built into the project.

I have a salary so I can do this, and I don't cost them anything…I have access to resources; I can bring resources. So I see myself as a conduit for resources that I can bring: institutional review boards, grants, access to students, my free time. I'm allowed to work on this stuff as an academic for free.

Another variation on the naturalisation of free community labour is apparent in this community professional's [12] description of the differential investments of paid versus voluntary collaborators. Here the logic of the market is invoked to propose that people's primary responsibility was to earn their "upkeep" and that "free" labour of research work represented a

more altruistic, albeit variable, commitment. Non-academic knowledge workers are both

undermined and exalted for the absence of compensation, which is rationalised through

discourses of volunteerism.

> When you are working with people who are doing this work, essentially for
> free… Their job is some other thing - they might be working in the bank in or a
> store or whatever. They are doing this because they want to be involved in helping
> the community move forward. But you've got to realise that if this is not their
> primary responsibility or this is not where they earn their upkeep when things
> happen they have to you say: 'I can't help you for this month because my real job
> needs me.'

The disparity in financial support to carry out the labour of CBR was not always taken for

granted and was sometimes a site for careful consideration, as noted by this academic [5b]. Here

the lack of supports to peers is blamed on funders, which is developed further in Chapter 8's

analysis of institutional arrangements of CBR.

> When people have very few resources and their time is incredibly precious. We
> needed to make a lot of contact to make sure that all the logistical things were in
> place. Trying to shape things so you could cover childcare and could provide a
> decent honorarium. Its often really difficult to do that depending on the funding
> source.

While the previous conversant acknowledged the difficulties associated with

compensation, this peer [7c], framed uneven compensation as discriminatory: "I see it as a

stigma. She {a research consultant} got paid and we were volunteers but we did a lot of the

work." The inequity between work and payment again suggests the pervasiveness of

volunteerism in CBR that places knowledge work by community collaborators outside of labour

protections where such uneven compensation would be seen as discriminatory. Another peer [1]

elaborated on the discrimination associated with the low rate of compensation to community

researchers by linking these practices to erroneous assumptions regarding the absence of

academic credentials of peers. In the binary of academic and community researchers, the

potential for the community to have academic histories and presents (and vice versa) is elided, as

is the tie to neoliberal labour trends where higher educational attainment is not necessarily

associated with a rise in socio-economic status.

> The ethics committee, they questioned why we're being paid so much, and that's
> discrimination right there: the fact that they had just assumed that nobody
> working on the team had a university education … I said you know, this is
> Canada. Poverty has a whole different face. I've got women from grade school to
> PhDs and beyond.

In contrast, to the community collaborator working for no or low compensation is the

ascending employment model of peer research, which formalises the role of the local labourer,

but only for the duration of the project. The epistemic implications of the shift in subjectivity

from local knower to an employee are developed in the following chapter, while here the

analysis is on how this practice articulates to neoliberal marketized logic of productivity and

precarity. A community professional (14) questioned the quality of project based employment:

"On paper, it sounds really good to say that our peer researchers have found other opportunities

in research settings, but if they are getting stuck in one small project after another … it does not

make a lot of sense." However, an academic [5a] described the employment approach as more

egalitarian, but the hierarchical arrangements of employees and employers go unnoted. This suture of inclusive liberalism's discourse of emancipatory engagement to employment permits the operations of the market to take hold of collaboration.

> The employment model in some respects felt like a much less contentious way to assemble a team. And it felt more egalitarian and … more like it could truly be a collaboration where it was all of our jobs to do this and formulate the project.

As proposed in the introduction to this chapter, the need for an ever-expanding, efficient knowledge labour force makes community knowledge workers a highly attractive site of recruitment. Whether critiqued or embraced, this nascent employment approach to CBR echoes the early social exclusion literature (Sen, 2000) with its focus on labour market integration, which covered over systemic economic inequalities and other sites of oppression such as racism and sexism. The problematic of the short terms gains of precarious employment, as well as the risks, are captured by a community professional [14] who acknowledged the paradox of precariously employing peers to labour on a CBR project interrogating precarious employment. While the risks that precarious employment will adversely impact social assistance is recognised, the institutional barriers are carefully negotiated, but positioned as intractable.

> We're constantly in a dilemma, especially on the very research projects that are focused on examining precarious employment… we're actually hiring peer researchers on short-term contracts. And then some of them are on social assistance, so we have to strategically work with their case worker to make sure that their social assistance money doesn't get cut. Those … are institutional barriers that every CBR project will have to deal with.

A peer researcher [1] elaborated on this concern for the adverse consequences of precarious project-based income: "You have to take a look at each woman, if she's on ODSP, then you have to pay her in a different way." This consideration did not occur and her peer colleague "totally lost her daycare benefits for the next year." Guta and colleagues (2014) identified the challenges peer researchers' experience in transitioning from relatively more income during the project cycle to an abrupt cessation of compensation at the project close. This latter dilemma of short-term compensation followed by a return to lower income is vividly captured in this exchange between two peers [2a & b] as an ethical breach.

> Sustainability … I'm saying that people got used to a certain standard. Cause a couple of hundred dollars makes a big difference in your life. And then boom! It's gone, and I am wondering how people felt going off the money. [2b]

> That's an ethical concern, too. I know there are other people who had real issues… A couple of them actually got evicted. [2a]

Ir/responsibility to and Responsibilizing Communities

Exploitative labour conditions were positioned as part of a larger critique of CBR practices that shift responsibility away from public institutions, including academe, to communities. The devolution of responsibility, but not resources, is a hallmark of neoliberal strategies of privatisation (Goldberg, 2009) — one that is well concealed through the naturalisation of participatory practices as a socially just approach to research. The displacement of responsibility onto community exculpates academe, as well as preserves the goodness of CBR. In the quote below an academic [15] took "indirect responsibility" for the well-being of

community colleagues, but placed the blame for traumatic effects on other community

collaborators.

> We spent a lot of resources on the group and a lot of training. I think we learned a
> lot and some members benefitted and others had a very negative experience …
> because some members were traumatized in the process, not by us researchers but
> by other community members … If I contributed inadvertently to some people
> having had negative experiences, I feel indirectly responsible.

 A peer researcher [1] described experiencing this responsibilization of community

collaborators first hand: "There's a whole lot of stuff we don't want anything to do with because

we know we're going to get blamed when the rubber hits the road, and that's exactly what

happened with me." Other conversants acknowledged the ethical transgression of

responsibilizing CBOs and individuals to participate in CBR with little support. A community

professional [11a] spoke about the problems associated with adding research collaboration to

already overextended agencies, which recalls Salmon, Browne and Pederson's (2010) critique of

the ways that research burdens under-resourced communities.

> Research never allocates resources to support community-based organisations …
> So the expectation is your participation will be almost seamless, when there are
> no support mechanisms to actually support it... Meanwhile, you're telling them to
> pick up this {research} as an extra activity. On top of what they're supposed to be
> doing on an every day basis... So that's such a huge problem for organisations and
> for the people who are working within them... who might be interested in
> research, but the infrastructure doesn't support it.

Salmon and colleagues (2010) suggested that CBOs often found it easier to secure funding for research rather than programming. The authors argued that this shift may sustain structural disadvantage by materially resourcing short-term project-based research activities rather than more sustainable programming required to substantively impact the material conditions of the community. The inattention to the ethical tensions of engaging under-resourced collaborators in research activities is made possible by dislocating CBR from the social conditions in which it unfolds. One way to attend to the social is proposed by an academic (15) who described asking the community what form of participation makes sense for them and therefore, left open the possibility of less onerous ways to participate. This approach avoids, as I have argued elsewhere (Janes, 2016), the "tyranny of the 'full' model of participation" (p. 119), which invokes high levels of local participation without considering its material effects.

> We have a project where we have a lot of immigrant, isolated marginalised folks, and we said how would you like to be included? And they said we don't want the participation of one or two of us. What we want is, every three months, a town hall, which gives us an opportunity to provide you with input. Then come back three months later and tell us what you did or not [with that input].

In contrast to the above model that is more consultative than participatory is a model where community is fully responsible for the project. This peer researcher [7b] spoke of prioritising consumer "empowerment" without resources in marketized terms. The tension between the responsibility for "doing it themselves" and responsibilization of "having an understanding of their problems" re/constitutes psychiatrized "consumers" as private problems.

By the time of the world conference … it had shifted around to empowering the bloody consumer. This is where you are going to get the most bang for the buck. Because you got the people who care and have an understanding of what their problems are and that they have got to do it themselves. But they should have more resources and help.

Another way that communities are subordinated is through what may appear as the opposite of responsibility: lack of accountability, which, as this community professional [10b] noted, has similarly diminishing effects: "The way people were talking to peers... it was as if they're talking to a young child. So people have to understand the stigmas and the barriers, but they have to hold people accountable for bad behaviour, as well." While challenging the lack of accountability of peers as paternalistic, the conversant went on to note the lack of accountability of academic collaborators who failed to honour the most basic of research responsibilities: to share the outcomes of the project: "People ask for it when they want to be a part of the study: 'Will we get that information?' A lot of people never see it. And that should be ... a basic right of participation." Here the responsibility of academics to share shifts to community members to obtain.

Lack of accountability to community collaborators was attributed, by this community professional [14], to the limits of mainstream academic measures of validity, which prioritise traditional measures of research excellence above those of community benefit. The focus on research rigour, the conversant [14] argued, misses the external values that are significant to communities of interest. The conversant's observation resonates with Koro-Ljungberg (2010)

argument that the technicalities of research rigour abdicate academics from ethical responsibilities to participants.

> We need to show that one of the flaws in the conventional model of research and analysis is that the framework of rigour and validity is based only on internal parameters. So researchers access these advanced analytical tools to show that their research is rigorous, but they don't address that there are many external factors that influence validity. And that if you don't do participatory, collaborative community-based research … they {academics} may not have the capacity to understand what is being said or how to apply it, because they don't have connections with the people who are experiencing those issues.

Neoliberal Rationalities: Commodification, Competition … Social Action?

The lack of responsibility to community benefit was explicitly linked by many conversants to neoliberal rationales of marketization and audit. Neoliberal outcomes were legitimised in ways that covered over the lack of community benefit and tangible social action. As Paradis (2015) maintained, neoliberal governance makes use of preexisting discourses of dominance to rationalise and activate individualism, competition, managerialism and marketisation. The primacy of these rationales in the knowledge economy is explored by a number of governmentality scholars (Ghertner, 2010; Shore, 2008; Thorpe, 2008) as to its effects on academe. However, this scholarship attends to macro rationalities rather than how they are inflected in the micro-practices of collaborative research. In contrast, conversants were very specific in constituting the link between CBR's participatory practices and neoliberal commodification of knowledge. This community professional [16a] described the "pressure" to marketize her CBR work as a social enterprise.

So much pressure from so many areas - to be "productive." So social enterprise
that's what you should be doing. You should be making money from your work.
All of those pieces that are community centred or driven or look at the value that
civil society brings to our world are ignored. It does seem sort of bleak at the
moment.

Utilitarian valuing of knowledge is alternatively portrayed in the literature as a means to
exploit knowledge to serve neoliberal market interests and as a means to produce socially
relevant knowledge to serve emancipatory goals. Linked to the former is what some authors
(Brown, 2005; Burgmann, 2005) herald as the dissolution of liberal humanism in the face of
neoliberal economic rationales for knowledge production. This devaluing of extra market
knowledge contributions is expressed by another community professional [16b] who connected
the push for commodification of knowledge to the medical and technological sectors where
public resources are leveraged for market profits. Equally troubling is the implication that the
social sciences, therefore, lack value.

I was amazed at how many doctors are doing innovation at our hospitals with
public resources and they then venture capital, and that's their business. They're
given all these public resources and then they have spun it off, and it becomes
individual profit. And how does the knowledge we are producing on the social -
where is the profitability there, how do you spin it? So the only traction is making
social change and no one's funding that.

Similarly, an academic [17] who had extensive experience with "social economy work"
challenged the commodification of research. Here the social sciences are characterised as
incommensurable with the marketized knowledge work. However, the implication of the relative

innocence of social science elides, as Smith (2015) argued, that claims to a nostalgic past erase histories for others that were anything but golden. Likewise, invoking histories, presents, or futures where knowledge work is situated outside of the socio-economic neglects the historical and ongoing production of privileged subjects through institutes of higher education.

> The whole university for better, or in some places for worse, is going to an entrepreneurship model. Our variation is social entrepreneurship. I've made some major speeches {Laughter} about this that have not been too welcome. I spent ten years on the front line doing social economy work. I know where the distinct limits of this stuff are. If we are truly grounded as a school that these are our values, these are our principles in engagement with communities. Then, I am sorry, but that {social enterprise} can't be our framework.

The commodification of knowledge was oppressive to this graduate student [6] who felt the counting of papers and grants was not aligned with the slow build of relationships that are central to CBR. Terms such as "products" and "outputs" signal the marketized logic of the university, which is trackable outside of academe to the logic models and audit culture imposed on non-profits by funders (Ilcan & Basok, 2004; Trudeau & Veronis, 2009).

> I find the institution very debilitating. It is about "products." "So how many papers can you produce from this? Did you get the grant?" Those are the two things that universities are particularly concerned with: getting the grant and then the outputs.

Funding as a measure of the success of CBR not only imposed a marketized audit, but became a strategy for survival for some CBOs. A community professional [11b] reflected on the neoliberal context shaping government funding priorities and its force on the culture of

collaboration. Trudeau and Veronis (2009, p. 1128) referred to this trend as "partnering to compete," whereby CBOs strategically collaborate to meet the demands of top-down state restructuring.

It's certainly opposite of that whole model of participatory governance starting from the ground up. I think that I've made some general observations, and it's not random that whole neoliberal approach is trickling all the way down to how we're operating now…We're having to be aligned to government funding priorities to partner; our culture is also morphing to that sort of model, and we are neglecting to reflect upon where it's going.

A further aspect of partnering to compete was noted by an academic [13a] who commented on how neoliberal competition for funding created a cloak of secrecy that if challenged led to risky consequences.

Especially with SSHRC and CIHR, people are secretive about it - they go around saying: 'Did you get the money? Did you get the money?' Yeah, it's classic neoliberal managerialism. It stays very quiet, very divided and if you challenge that system it puts you at risk… .. creating a lot of fear and creating a lot of silence.

The competitiveness of the funding field was described by a community professional [16a] as eroding possibilities for new collaborations and adversely impacting established relationships. Here hierarchical conditions undermine relationship building, at the same time as requiring collaboration as criteria of funding, which is the paradox of the partnering to compete for paradigm.

The other thing that happens in funding relations is as money gets tighter people get much more competitive. So the relationships don't work anymore because people are fighting over the smaller and smaller pot of funds. And that really is so antithetical to our way of working, but its hard to keep from being drawn into it.

The competitive field, seen as constraining and oppressive, is nevertheless, tactically taken up by those that see themselves as ill-favoured by institutional funding arrangements. Here a community professional [14] acknowledged that: "There're a few other CBOs that have similar research infrastructure… but our output is parallel or exceeds what major research institutes produce - institutes based in hospitals or academic settings." The claim to being a research-rich CBO is inflected with what Roche (2008) has described as a questionable trend toward mobilising communities toward social research rather than social change. The discourse of outputs and other counts (e.g., the number of staff) both collude with marketized discourses that favour large research institutes and challenge the privilege that these institutes hold over CBOs. This strategic use of dominant discourse as resistance will be explored more fully in Chapter 9.

The degree to which CBOs partner to compete is evident in this academic's [9] tracing of the intricacies of mutual dependence as institutionally arranged through funding priorities. The trend of funding short-term research projects rather than sustainable programming is discussed by Salmon, Browne and Pederson (2010) who observed that CBOs are increasingly turning to partner with academics because grants offer an alternate means to secure funding for their social justice projects. The problematics of social research standing in for social programming is developed further in chapter 7.

Program funding has been cut considerably but there seems to always be money for CBR right? So, people are participating in CBR projects to keep staff on board. The community partner needs the research dollars to keep the doors open and every university now wants community engaged research in some form and so {they} need each other.

What is not often noted is the ethical trespasses such relationships introduce. As the academic quoted above [9] expanded, the efficiencies of CBOs providing service and doing research introduces ethical tensions such as conflicts of interest between staff who are conducting interviews with service users and between researchers who are accountable to the needs of CBOs. Here the ethical complications of service and research relationships may place the service, or more importantly the service user, and the research, at risk. The role duality of providing service at the same time as acting as a co-researcher is only occasionally considered in the literature (Holian & Coghlan, 2013). The lack of consideration of the ethics of providing both service and research assistance suggests the ways that institutionally driven partnerships dictate what can be said and done.

Program managers are supposed to be providing services, but they also doing research at the same time. I don't know if you can do both at the same time… And then I have been in situations where I have thought organizational mandates are creating conflict …because many organizations are quite happy to blame the sector… and the other organizations that haven't adopted their anti-oppressive, anti-racist, sex positive framework…And it's like well how do you then say: 'You're apart of this, too.' So there are research interviews where that stuff comes up but …you can't go public with that because then you risk that relationship.

These institutionally mediated partnerships not only stem eroding program funding through strategic research alliances, but through more explicit financial transactions. As this community professional [16b] noted, communities themselves are adopting a marketized exchange for their local knowledges: "Communities are starting to charge researchers because they said that we have had so many researchers asking us the same questions and now if you want to talk to us you need to pay." Demands for fair compensation are increasingly a part of research negotiations with indigenous communities such as the Ownership Control Access and Possession (OCAP) protocol (First Nations Centre, 2007), which require direct and indirect economic benefits to flow to the community as a result of CBR. Likewise, the BC Centre of Excellence in Women's Health (2009) created a leaflet to inform women of their rights in research that included a section on negotiating payment. Despite the importance of community compensation in collaborative research, the focus on financial benefits leaves the marketized logic of the knowledge economy intact.

The corporatization of knowledge work is, as this academic [17] warned, transforming the academy. The key tactic of resistance identified here is ensuring the flow of diverse bodies into academe with the presumption that this will stem the neoliberal tide. However, as Almeida (2015) cautioned, dominant relations are sustained through inclusions of the racialized other whose knowing is constructed as other than/in opposition/less than dominant knowledge.

> My fight is the corporate transformation of the academy. I am opposed to this. I
> will fight it wherever I find it. I've got my foot in the door in terms of trying to
> make sure that we get diverse students coming in, getting their education, going
> out to do whatever they can. And making sure that it doesn't become such an elite

space that we can't continue to bring in the people that we need to bring in and that whole neoliberal transformation… that's my battle right now.

A community professional [12] also described academe as undergoing a corporatization. The conversant identified the pervasive individualism, which discourages academics who are looking to transform the way they do research from directly challenging institutional culture. The force of institutional arrangements in coordinating CBR is further developed in Chapter 8.

I see individual researchers figuring out a way to have those discussions with communities, but I am not sure that the University as a body is trying to figure out how to have those conversations. I think that people who are trying to figure that out come up against the university bureaucracy. The university is a corporate entity and needs a nudge in a particular direction, so that it becomes more supportive of the people it employs, who want to do this kind of research {CBR} and of the communities that the university claims it is helping to build.

Writing Story: Research as a "Red Herring"

Many years ago, I supported a group of community colleagues organising to have a presence in a national research project. At the initial meeting for the Toronto site, a noted anthropologist spoke of the significance of this research project. I tentatively raised my hand to ask my 3 in the morning nightmare question: "We already know that housing ends homelessness and that housing first has been well researched in the US, so why don't we use the 110 million plus research monies to build social housing? The answer was unsatisfying and drew on the same old — we need more evidence to leverage toward a national affordable housing strategy. We still have no strategy. But my unsettling concern and complicity in CBR acting as a red herring to divert our attention from the need for social change — persists.

The next section outlines how neoliberal rationales operate, albeit for the most part invisibly, through CBR's rationales for social action. Most conversants naturalised the trajectory from knowledge to action as the emancipatory promise of CBR, but at the same time

acknowledged that it was unfulfilled. While the previous chapter argued that the unmet desires

for social transformation are replaced by actualities of individual social mobility that recuperate

the goodness and good feelings of CBR, the emphasis of this section is on the ways in which the

promise of CBR driving social change paradoxically diverts attention and resources away from

social action.

One way in which the gap between knowledge and action is maintained is through the

legitimating outcomes of knowledge transmission. The prevalence of understandings of action as

dissemination was reported by a local grey literature manuscript inquiring into CBR participants'

identification of actionable outcomes (Brown, 2013) and by an academic paper that used grant

documents to inquire into how action was constituted by partners (Stoecker, 2009). The latter

paper found that the majority of applicants to a funding stream that required both community

participation and actionable outcomes identified no action or action as dissemination, while

Brown found a similar conflation at work in responses from CBR practitioners. The framing of

action as dissemination provokes the question alluded to in the writing story above: In the

neoliberal logic of, does the production and consumption of knowledge stand in for or is

constructed as action in and of itself? This problematic is signalled in the following comment by

a community professional [3].

> The struggle was when you ask people: "What are the actions that came out of
> your work?" They reverted to talking about the things that were explicitly
> identified in their proposal. What they didn't talk about was the ways that action
> really forms in their community. We wanted to ask what has your project done
> five years on? What have been the ripple effects? But people are used to thinking

about their actions in these very limited ways… 'we held a workshop, and we've produced some papers.' So dissemination becomes action.

Another community professional [14] emphasised that: "Knowledge mobilisation is not about just sending it out … it's about engaging people face to face, trying to convince people about the value of the evidence. And finding co-finding solutions with them…" The conflation of dissemination/consumption with action was similarly challenged by this peer [11b] who was frustrated with the trend toward knowledge transfer as the "new language," one that articulates to the audit and market rationales of neoliberalism. The knowledge transfer discourse also reinscribes academe as the site of knowledge production and community as beneficiary consumers.

> For me the action piece was the important piece. The participatory is important, but the action piece gave it {CBR} life and so I'm disappointed at the new language that funders are using doesn't really see that part. And so right now we're trying to do 'knowledge transfer'...Sort of seems like a generic term compared to action. Who's transferring what?… I've got knowledge that I'm transferring and …For how much an hour?

The diffusion of action was a significant challenge for this community professional [14] who noted the surfeit of "good evidence" already available but not effectively mobilized, which makes clear the distance between knowledge and action: "There's already good evidence that they should be taking action on. Now we're consciously looking at what triggers and motivates action." This reflection is a rare acknowledgement of Sisyphean work of accumulating more data/evidence without any apparent impact and is a challenge to the claims of Evidence-based

Practice, which assume a straightforward pathway from evidence to application (Otto, Polutta & Ziegler, 2009). The divide between knowledge work and social action was framed by this academic [8] as driven by those that orient their work theoretically and those who are "utilitarian" in their aims. The binary between theory and action forecloses on the possibility that theory can offer an epistemic breach to shift what is thinkable and doable. The binary also elides that even the most utilitarian approach is saturated with theory, most commonly a Dewey informed pragmatism (Greenwood & Levin, 1998), which positions change in instrumental and measurable terms. The maintenance of this divide between theory and action is highly attractive to the rationalities of the neoliberal knowledge economy, where the focus on usefulness is marketized and incrementalized within status quo relations of dominance.

But we have approached the work from very different perspectives and their approach is theory driven and my approach is utilitarian — that is where I come from - having talked to various social work partners about how they approach program evaluation. And they are very utilitarian … theory is fine, but is this actually going to change anything?

The same academic [8] above, who challenged the theory to action gap, went further to suggest that social action is deployed instrumentally to secure participation and in the process re-inscribes relations of subordination. Discourses of action/impact are so saturated in goodness that their paradoxical alignment with the outcome driven and productivity logic of the knowledge economy is obscured.

I think that the emphasis has been on shifting the awareness, hence the participatory. And not on changing the policies, which is the action. And that we

come into these communities where they really are very aware of being held back

by a number of systems. And we promise them that we can change those things.

But we do not have any activities built into what we're doing that will change

those things. I think it's terrible that we reinforce the lack of power that these

communities have by doing all of this work and at the end of it, we sign a

petition… I think in some way just calling it PR, and not PAR, is more honest.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter presented a governmental reading of the regimes of participatory practice

that are activated and normalised by discourses of the goodness of CBR. I outlined how

communities of interest are constituted as both a target and technique of governance. Targeting

communities is described by conversants through participatory practices of access that

strategically deploy community collaborators to recruit participants in over researched or

otherwise research resistant locals. Community professionals, in particular, critiqued the

downloading of recruitment to communities and CBOs without material support. Once the

community is engaged in CBR, regulatory practices take hold, which were conceptualised as a

means of coerced consensus for a particular intervention under inquiry and as means of

conducting the conduct through procedures that delimit participation. These regulatory

technologies were linked to the appropriation of local labour, which was coordinated and

subordinated through practices of low/no compensation and precarious short-term employment.

Community professionals were divided in their endorsement of the employment model of peer

research with some favouring it as a more egalitarian and others questioning whether the shift

from the knowing peer to the labouring peer was oppressive. Peers struggled with the precarious

terms of employment as threatening to their income assistance and even their housing when

employment ends abruptly at the end of the project.

While communities were responsibilized for both the problems under inquiry and

labouring toward their solutions without adequate supports, academe was largely constituted as

irresponsible by casting blame onto community when something went wrong and by failing to

attend to community benefit. The latter, an absence of substantive outcomes to community

collaborators, was then traced to governmental rationalities, which privileged the neoliberal

commodification and competition of the knowledge economy. Community benefit was brought

back into view through an analysis of how desires for social action are retained, but unrealized,

and collude with the productivity and outcome driven neoliberal metrics. Participatory practices

were scrutinised for the ways in which they divert scarce resources away from social action and

sustainable programming to short-term collaborative research. I proposed that the participative

practices act as a powerful governmental technique to access and appropriate community

knowledge and labour, while claiming to do just the opposite.

Chapter 7: The Colonial Subject-making Practices of CBR

Writing Story: Person With Lived Experience? Is there any other kind?

The nomenclature associated with the local or peer collaborator is ever expanding. But "lived experience" prevails and is sometimes reconfigured even more perversely as "people with lived experience." As illogical as non-lived experience is or that collaborating community members require a marker of people to ensure their humanity, these colonial subject-making practices go uninterrogated. Likewise, the need for improving the capacities of community goes unquestioned. Capacity building is so deeply entrenched as a good practice that when I discuss how it assigns lack to the community (and fullness to academe), I typically am met with silence. This makes me very angry and consequently, is one of my preferred CBR soap box rants, where I am neither a cheerleader, pimp or killjoy, but maybe a crusader?

Introduction

While the previous chapter attended to governance through regimes of participatory practices, this chapter inquires into governance through processes of identification ad subjectification. As Dean (1999) emphasised, regimes of governance do not determine subjects but rather elicit and enable particular attributes in particular agents who conduct themselves and others accordingly. Triantafillou and Nielsen (2001) maintained that most critiques of PD tend to totalize the power of donors and the powerlessness of beneficiaries, while ignoring how these projects of inclusion require the production of new participative subjects to govern. While acknowledging the limits of fixed research locations, this chapter will, nevertheless, reproduce the binary of academic and community subjects, while simultaneously contesting these essentialising positions by tracing their contingent production and heterogeneity. Following from Spivak's (2005) advice to map the processes by which subject positions are assigned, this chapter provides an analysis of how the research locations of CBR subjects "come into being." Following on Mignolo's (2000, 2009) direction to emplace epistemology in the socio-political

contexts in which it arises, this chapter also interrogates the social locations of CBR subjects. I

have argued elsewhere (Janes, 2015) that postcolonial readings of CBR offer a powerful

framework for interrogating colonial practices of subject-making.

This chapter is organised according to two processes of subjectification: the *production of*

different yet homogeneous subjects and the *production of assimilable but subordinate subjects.*

Both of these processes articulate to a similar endpoint: that of maintaining relations of privilege

and subordination, while at the same obscuring the colonial moves this requires. The production

and concealment of difference is first interrogated through an analysis of how the local comes

into being through the construction of a homogeneous community. Next, an analysis of the

production of difference is traced through the concept of othering (Fischer, 1997; Joseph, 2013;

Said,1978) to make transparent how homogenous hierarchical subjects secure the privilege of

academe against a subordinate, shadow, local subject. The analysis then moves to a finer-grained

interrogation of the subject-making operations of race, gender and class to contest the false

homogeneity CBR brings into being. While research and social location are entangled, the logic

of first interrogating research location and then social location is to emphasise that many

conversants critiqued the binary of the legitimate, benevolent academic subject against a lacking

local subject, but few critically engaged with social location as a subject-making practice.

Following on Loomba's (1998) argument that overdetermining the subaltern as oppositional to

dominance obscures the heterogeneity within subject positions, I argue that the colonial

continuities associated with race, gender, and class are an absent presence required for CBR's

goodness to remain intact. I propose that the erasure of colonial subject-making practices

requires that CBR be dislocated from the socio-political conditions where it unfolds. Furthermore, I contend that claims to being a socially just approach to research suggest that CBR has already and always attended to axes of oppression and therefore, preclude scrutiny.

The inquiry into the production and concealment of difference is followed by an interrogation into the production of an assimilable local subject who is inculcated into academe. The two processes of assigning difference and assimilating into sameness are entwined in that the colonial project of improvement is only *made thinkable through the production of lacking local subjects*. Ahmed's (2000) conceptualization of the desires for an assimilable stranger who conforms to norms of whiteness and the PD scholarship (Henkel & Stirrat, 2001; Heron, 2007; Kapoor, 2005), which takes up the moral imperatives of participation, are deployed to critique practices of capacity building. I argue that this is a failed project and produces incapable subjects, which rationalises further projects of improvement and transforms CBR into a site of training rather than transformation.

The Production of a Homogenous Locale

Much of the CBR literature constitutes community as an unproblematic, homogeneous entity to gain access to and knowledge of and from. Ahmed and Fortier (2003) argued that the romance of community elides local circuits of power. Furthermore, Mohan (2001) suggested that positioning communities as consensual and harmonious, as distinct from the elite autonomous subject, is a colonial move. The importance of the production of consensual community subjects is described by this academic [15] as crucial to a good representation: "I didn't think it was a particularly representative group. More or less the vast majority saw themselves as belonging to

a movement which … is not necessarily an approach or a belief shared broadly." The desire for

community subjects that are representative is naturalised as a good research practice and assumes

a preexisting cogent community, while obscuring how representation is constructed to conform

with white norms. In contrast, most conversants constituted community as anything but natural

and made transparent how the community came into being to serve the instrumental needs of the

CBR collaboration. For example, an academic [8] spoke of the production of the community as a

technical practice of CBR: "We pick and choose whoever's available to us to participate and they

then stand for the community. And this is a huge … sleight of hand in community-based

research." The production of the local described in this quote recalls Triantafillou and Nielsen

(2001) proposal that local knowledge and local problems exist a priori in the community, but

they are not constituted as "local" until reconstituted by professional development agents. A peer

[2a] also suggested that the community was constructed in particular ways to secure research

dollars. Here the production of the local is explicitly economic.

> The community is nebulous. It's not real because community is actually every day
> what you do to live - like to go to the doctor, go to the store, go to the coffee shop,
> spend time with friends…but they do it to get grants and to bamboozle poor
> people to think they're part of a particular community.

Her peer co-conversant [2b] similarly proposed that community was constituted through

the parameters of the project, which depended on a coerced consensus.

> One of the issues with community-based research, is they define the community
> in the project design … But they don't ask the community members their own
> interpretation - if they fit within the same community that they're trying to

engage. …They should be more up front about their definition, or they should be asking them how they define themselves.

Kapoor (2005) maintained that the constitution of the consensual community obscures the inequalities associated with diverse racialized, classed, and gendered social locations of participants. A homogenous local is constructed through whiteness as an undifferentiated site of CBR intervention. The peer [2b] quoted above elaborated that the tension of who is constructed as belonging to a community exacerbated or even activated oppressive power relations within community. The conversant described CBR as "propping up the hierarchy within that particular community by showing favouritism…which then caused tension within the community structure." Even when communities are understood as preceding the research impulse, CBR transforms social relations and erases diversity to produce a false homogeneity. Conversants observations on the heterogeneity within pre-existing communities stand in tension with the homogenous community that only comes into being through CBR. This synthetic community requires subject-making practices that homogenize the local subject and situate her outside the social.

The Production of Homogeneous and Hierarchical Research Locations

In this section, I argue that the oppositional research locations of academe/community are a subject-making practice required to secure the hierarchical social relations of CBR. Here difference is considered through subject-making practices that essentialise research location and erase diversity. In this section I take up the subject-making process of Othering (Said, 1978) to make transparent how positions of white privilege are secured and legitimated against a

subordinate shadow other. I track two central binaries invoked by conversants: a) an academic subject as expert against a community subject who is an experiential knower, knowledge user, or technician; and b) an academic subject as benevolent against community subjects in need of improvement. These oppositional research locations are a powerful subject-making practice, which obscure the interlock of race, gender, and class privilege and penalty that operate within these binary arrangements.

Making expert and inexpert subjects. Epistemic privilege was a key site of constructing the local subject as other than/less than the academic subject. The devalued epistemic status of anyone outside of academe invoked outrage in this community professional [16a]: "For me the knowledge question is key. Where does knowledge come from and how is it created? And the assumption that only through academic discourse knowledge is created. Just really makes me crazy!" Another community professional [11a] observed how the devaluing of community professionals relative to academics relied on epistemic assumptions about whose knowledge counts.

> Health Canada's ideology about community-based research was not alive to what was happening around academia, and they questioned why are you letting community people lead their research projects. And we fought from that time, and we've been fighting with them for years….to see that community people could produce knowledge.

Similarly, this community professional [12] commented on the ways in which institutional arrangements constitute community as knowledge users against academe as

knowledge producers in yet another binary where the epistemic value of community is

undermined.

> In the terminology of CIHR, they are knowledge users. So they are people who
> work in health, they are not researchers… then on the other side, there are a set of
> people who are credentialed researchers who work in universities or hospitals or
> research institutions. People who work in those institutions expect those who are
> not credentialed researchers, to defer to them.

The same conversant [12] made the epistemic binary between academe as an expert

against community knowledge as experiential more explicit: "Somebody was talking about

knowledge based on the practice of working with women day in/ day out. The other person was

saying that you have to do a systematic review … So what counts as knowledge?" The devaluing

of community knowledge is described by another community professional [11a] as rendering

community knowledges and knowers invisible:

> In this environment, everybody is from academia, and I am the only community
> person. I rarely said anything… until eventually I told her that this project has
> nothing to do with the populations that I'm involved with. Eventually, we set up a
> project. By the time the project was actually funded and finished it had nothing to
> do with me... it was almost like I ceased to exist.

Another way in which local collaborators' epistemic status was called into question was

through fixing the horizon of participation for community subjects, which is taken up Chapter 8

as institutionally arranged. This community professional [16a] acknowledged that peer

researchers do not often engage in writing up of CBR findings: "Somebody from the

organisation usually takes on the writing. Its collaborative in the sense that everyone reviews it

and gives input, but it is generally one voice." The same conversant [16a] went on to describe

how peers are often excluded from the analysis, too: "That is where traditional notions of

'expertise' seem to kick in. And they think that analysis has to be done by the academic

partners." Furthermore, the conversant suggested that the epistemic hierarchy between academe,

community professionals, and community peers ensures that not only does experiential

knowledge not count, but that it is made accountable.

> People need peer researchers to account for themselves. There is an expectation
> that "well that's just your experience," which they don't do when we say
> something or an academic says something —-they just take it as a fact and move
> on. But if it's your experience somehow you have to validate it.

The deference to the expertise of the academic subject is characterised as intractable by

this academic [8] and is upheld by community collaborators. This signals how subordinate

subjects come to know themselves through dominant discourses. Other CBR scholars have

expressed frustration with the stickiness of academic privilege (Whitley & Johnson, 2015). The

durability of these colonial binaries also recalls Memmi (1969) and later postcolonial theorists

(Chowdhury, 2006; Loomba, 1998) rejection of the possibility that privilege can be revoked or

reduced.

> It's really hard to undo the deference that is given to academics even in a CBR
> project. So I've been in CBR projects where they have very consciously had the
> largest number of participants be community members, then there were some
> community agencies, and a very small number of academics. And when the
> academic speaks, even if they disagree with everybody else, that's where you go.

Another way in which the epistemic divide between academe and community was instantiated was through the shift from the knowing peer who had a toe hold on epistemic status to the labouring peer whose epistemic status is erased. This shift was discussed in Chapter 6 as a move toward the employment model of participation, but is captured in the quote below by a community professional [3] as an epistemic trespass.

> So if somebody's {peer} hired to work on a project we're not really representing their perspectives in the analysis. … So we are creating these myths for ourselves about how much representation of community ideas was going on.

A related binary to that of the academic subject as knower and community subject as a labourer, as this academic [9] asserted, is constituting academics as specialised experts against peer researchers who are cast as technicians. The opposition relies on the absence-presence of classed, raced, and gendered colonial operations, which construct experience as expertise for some subjects but not for others.

> So what is the role of the academic? You have a certain kind of training. You are able to say this is more complicated… There are theories that might inform how I am reading this and … because the truth is that maybe running a focus group isn't that hard, administering a survey prepared for you is not that hard, but to move beyond …you need a particular experience to be able to step outside of that and then do an analysis.

Making benevolent and beneficiary subjects. Academic subjects' privilege was also secured through a binary production of her benevolence against a community subject who was fixed as a beneficiary. While epistemic status may be enough for other academic subjects, the

CBR academic subject requires her goodness to match the claims that CBR makes to socially just praxis (Hickey & Mohan, 2004; McIllrath,2014; Stacciarini et al., 2011). However, as Costa and colleagues (2012) argued, it is exactly the academic subject who sees herself as one of the "good guys," who is "really effective at stealing stories for their own academic gain" (p. 91). Likewise, Razack (2007) proposed that in the politics of rescue privileged white subjects consume the suffering of others to produce themselves as compassionate and empathetic. Hartman (1997) complicated the benevolent gesture by interrogating how it can colonise and occlude the subordinate other, while securing the goodness of the privileged subject. Both Hartman's and Razack's (2007) critiques centre a white benevolence toward a raced beneficiary. Here a peer [1] described the careful support required of subordinates to maintain the academic subject's goodness.

> I started off with: "I really, really appreciate the effort that you've made in coming up with these ideas and you know, we really love you." We have to always say that because they {academics) are so sensitive… you have to treat them like babies because they see themselves as 'Defender of the poor' right in there with the faith and the Catholic church.

The instability of the academic subject implied in the above quote suggests that the making of good subjects requires a "reiterative and citational practice" (Applebaum, 2010, p.59), where subject status is contingent on replications of white norms. A related, yet almost paradoxical, subject-making process is securing the goodness of the academic subject by discursively relinquishing her expert status. These reconfigurations of the academic subject as a nonexpert, while contesting status quo epistemic hierarchies, preserve privilege through what

Mignolo identified (2000) as the power to speak for/about others subjects. Here an academic [8] rejected her expertise and reassigned it to her community colleagues: "I feel very uncomfortable with the tension that critical theory comes in with the academic still being the expert. I'm very uncomfortable with that because I feel like the people {community} I'm working with know more about this than I do." Here the goodness of the academic subject is recuperated through claims to subordinate status, which fail to attend to who can make such a move and with what consequences. Racialised academic subjects whose expertise is frequently called into question may not be able to risk a subordinate status. As Yee and Wagner (2013) argued, the experiences of faculty who enjoy race privilege are different from that of racialized scholars who struggle with multiple forms of oppression in encounters with students and colleagues.

Another academic [5b] similarly constructed a subordinate subjectivity as a good practice: "If you can use me go ahead and use me. I am not the end; I am a means so figure out how to best use me." Instrumental use as benevolence stands in contrast to that of community peers who described their use by academe in extractive terms. This tension signals how subject-making can draw on similar discursive terms, while not disrupting relations of privilege.

Attempting to make privilege invisible is a move to innocence not available to racialized scholars or to local subjects who are rendered invisible by others, as discussed in the next section. In the quote below, an academic conversant [15] negotiated invisibility and visibility in ways that secured her benevolence through attempts to conceal her privileged position, while at the same time retaining status markers such as a scientific perspective.

> I wasn't even going to the meetings because I didn't want them to feel a power differential. I was there to only say that: 'From the research, scientific perspective we need to do something differently.' But otherwise, a lot of the work was done by them in a very uncensored way.

The power to mark others, as well as unmark oneself, is a powerful epistemic move that allows some elite knowers to reconstitute themselves as allies by erasing difference. The subject positions woven through the following quote are fluid: the academic [8] is constituted as a technician independent of institutional wants or needs, then as "replaceable" without a visible identity, and finally, fully invisible in her reconstitution as a "peer." This last move recalls Ahmed (2000, p. 119) caution that claims of solidarity slip into a becoming, which operates as a means of reconstituting the white Western subject who has the power to make and unmake the borders between the self and the other.

> So we're a tool in a sense for summarising information, which any of our community partners could also do. We're playing a different role because we're not supposed to be talking about what the university wants or what the university needs. We're supposed to be summarising bodies of literature. We are replaceable. We just have the time, the resources and the skill set to do this, but it doesn't matter who we are. We will bring our values to it, and we will bring our own lens to it as any individual would. And we are biased by our academic training both disciplinary and as an institution… And what's interesting is then you stop participating as an academic, you start participating as just one of the peers.

While visible and invisible subjects were invoked in this section to reveal the essentialising operations of othering to produce homogenous, hierarchical academic and community research

locations, the negotiation of visibility becomes more complex when research and social locations are interrogated as entangled sites of subjectification.

Homogeneity Contested: Raced, Gendered, and Classed Subject-Making

In this section I focus the analysis on subject-making processes that are raced, gendered, and classed. While the problematics of dichotomous subject-making according to research location were contested by most conversants, critical engagement with subjectification organized through social location was less apparent. I propose that a critique of hierarchical research locations allows for the possibility of ameliorating the unevenness between collaborators within the CBR project. However, asymmetries instantiated through social location cannot be evened out within CBR, as they exceed the boundaries of collaborative research. Therefore, if diverse social locations are brought into view, CBR can no longer make thinkable the promise of egalitarian, emancipatory relations. As I outlined in Chapter 4, whiteness operates through methodology as both epistemic and embodied. Therefore, this analysis of raced, gendered, and classed subject-making practices of CBR is informed by White epistemologies (Almeida, 2015) and by my white, female subject/social location, and my varying socio-economic statuses. As elsewhere in this thesis, the tension of reproducing dominant epistemologies and embodiments while simultaneously seeking to trouble them is inflected in this analysis.

Although the operations of race, gender, and class were often obscured through the construction of homogenous research locations, social location as coordinating CBR subjects was not entirely invisible to conversants. For example, a peer conversant [2b] explicitly named the regulation of CBR subjects through social location and the normative desires for assimilable

local subjects: "They want a level of normalcy, they are cherry picking… there was a bias against age, gender, ethno cultural and … sexuality." And then the conversant commented that subjects who were identified as outside these dominant norms were excluded: "We lost people from a diverse background." Ahmed (2000; 2004a) argued that desires for assimilable strangers highlight how acts of inclusion produce excluded subjects.

In contrast to the invisible assimilable peer is the peer who is uncivilised and therefore, a visible threat to the goodness of the CBR project. As Castro-Gomez (2002) emphasised, the constitution of the civilised subject requires its opposite: the "barbarian." The cherry picking for assimilable local subjects, described by the conversant above, is not always successful, as outlined by an academic [15] who constituted the barbaric peer in need of civilising: "We sanitised what was happening, people throwing chairs, people making racist, sexist remarks, people assaulting physically each other." The use of the term "sanitised" invokes a discourse of dirt and disorder, which is common to both racialized and classed discourses (Fellow & Razack, 1998; O'Connell, 2010b). The conversant went on to propose that most peers could be civilized by academic subjects: "I think they did better in the working groups with us than they did with each other."

The civilizing academic subject signals that the colonial operations of whiteness are a key subject-making process. As Badwall (2014) argued, whiteness is constituted through social practices that render its operations invisible through discourses of goodness and innocence. The invisibility of white privilege was critiqued by a racialised community professional [12] who expressed frustration with the persistent white wash of academe.

I went to this meeting at the university, and I am the only black person in there …
obviously, a lot of progress has been made in some things. But in this particular
thing {academe}, this is just like when I first came to Canada over 30 years ago. I
don't understand how in this day and age certain kinds of people could be
excluded from the research world.

A racialised academic [4] shared a similar frustration with the lack of diversity in CBR,
but saw this as an issue both in academe and professional service: "Whether it is working with
newcomers or working with youth, most of these people are from communities that I identify
closely with and those communities are not represented within academics or within
practitioners." The constitution of the academic subject as other than community is challenged
by academics and community professionals who identified with diverse communities in ways
that trouble whiteness. Here a racialized community professional [12], who earlier noted the
white wash of academe, extended the critique to the colonialism of CBR.

How are you going to engage people if the researcher is always somebody else?
Where are all the talented young people from these communities? Why aren't
they being encouraged that this is something they can do? I think one of the
weaknesses of CBR is that we really advocate for changes that are unlikely to
disrupt to existing hierarchies.

As Ahmed's (2004a) cautioned, making whiteness visible only makes sense for those that
inhabit it, whereas for racialized others the operations of whiteness are clear. Although this
analytic strand has thus far focused on race, it is important to emphasise that whiteness operates
through other axes of identity including, but not limited, to gender and class (Yee & Wagner,
2013). An academic conversant [13a] spoke of her white privilege and how it enabled her to take

considerable risks: "I have always felt that I could be the loudest in this group and take the most risks because I got this protection, this skin…I am so protected by being white." Likewise, a peer [2b] acknowledged that her whiteness allowed her to elect when to identify as a person with "lived experience" and when not to: "I could fit around a boardroom table and disclose or not disclose… because I spoke right, dressed right, I was white. No one knew." This passing as other than, as Ginsberg (1996, p. 3) maintained, is a means of "escaping the subordination and oppression accompanying one identity and accessing the privilege and status of the other." This escape is not easily accomplished by racialized collaborators.

As I argued in my critique of the CBR literature, race is constituted as a target of intervention and topic of research, but rarely as an organising logic of CBR practices. In contrast, a community professional [14] critically reflected on the challenges of contesting the epistemic whiteness of CBR, which resonates with Badwall's (2014) argument that whiteness operates to silence those who experience raced oppression from naming or contesting racism.

> What's missing in CBR …. we do our anti-racism and anti-oppression training. And in some ways we question conventional knowledge production …Who owns the knowledge… but also that knowledge production has been dominated by the white male. But I think we need to do it more explicitly.

Here epistemic hierarchies are both coordinated through research and social location. The colonial arrangements that organise CBR subjects were brought into view by this community professional [12] in ways that suggested a eugenics discourse of intellectual inferiority (Joseph, 2013).

I think that it is a statement about the intellectual capacity of some kinds of people. So if you get some people together, some people from universities, from the community, from CBOs that work on a project, the people who are allowed to communicate about the project are always a certain kind of person.

In a parallel move to secure whiteness at the top, was the constitution of diversity at the bottom, which makes diversity, visible but only in subordinate subjects. This community professional [12] expressed frustration with the fixing of raced subjects as peers, which then erased race from the professional and academics elites who lead CBR. Whiteness, as Ahmed (2012) argued, is instantiated through institutionalised diversity practices that protect whiteness and prohibit talk of racism.

We devote an inordinate amount of time and effort to the issue of diversity of peer researcher assistants. A lot of them are new immigrants — that means they're black, Latino, etc. But people like them are not the ones making decisions about what research gets done and how it gets done. Why don't you ask about the people who are in charge of this project? You never ask that but you want to ensure that at the bottom. I think that's a perverse interpretation of what CBR is all about.

In this next quote, by a graduate student [6], the production of the racialised peer researcher is clearly outlined as a synthetic process, which echoed the construction of community that began this chapter, but here the racist logic is in plain view.

I watched a research coordinator tell participants you aren't a member of the community. So we're going to go with the person who looks like the community that we're working with to facilitate the workshop … Not sure how to navigate that interesting form of racism?

A related subject-making practice that constitutes diversity at the bottom, were those conversants who naturalised racialised community members, but not professionals or academics, as a reflection of city's diversity. For example, this community professional [3] identified a trend toward CBR engaging newcomer communities, but the colonialism of targeting racialised communities goes unnoted.

> I would say in Toronto CBR is increasingly reflecting the makeup of the city, and so I see a lot more efforts around community-based or participatory efforts around newcomer, new immigrant communities.

Similarly, the colonial relations of race privileged academics working with Diaspora communities were invisible to this academic [8] who after some prompting reflected on its absence. The conversant [8] proposed that the colonial subject is exclusively constituted as indigenous. Here the indigenous political moment and its ties to nation-making obscure colonial relations elsewhere.

> The colonial critique really only comes up in the context of First Nations work. So if you have people migrating into Canada, then people don't think of it from a colonial perspective … they'll analyse it from a different perspective. It's obviously relevant… but I haven't thought about it quite explicitly in participatory action research, locally.

Discourses of nation were identified by conversants as precluding consideration of what Akom (2011) referred to as raced research methodologies. The erasure of race from methodology, as Maiter and Joseph (2016) maintained, rests on face value analysis that dislocates knowledge from the socio-political conditions of its production and in doing so

secures the dominance of whiteness. Maiter and Joseph described multicultural discourse as silencing consideration of racism in a study on violence and racialised youth, which then required a space of dialogue to deconstruct. Similarly, the invisible racialised subject is attributed by this community professional [3], who earlier naturalised collaborations with diverse communities, to a national ideology of multiculturalism. As noted elsewhere, conversants are actively constructing, deconstructing, and reconstructing CBR subjects and practices in ways that are at times contradictory. These contradictions reflect the tensions of CBR and the co-construction of knowledge in a dialogic interview. In the quote below, my questioning of the colonial relations of CBR opens up space to speak to the erasure of race.

> Researcher: We study … disadvantage and it seems that we have already set up an institutional container where those power relationships are in place. Then we either have to ignore them or understand that colonial relations are built in from the get go.

> Conversant: But people are really uncomfortable…In Canada, we pride ourselves on two things: That we treat everybody equally… And that there's no sort of racism around…despite the fact that we work in diverse communities. Yet there's no sort of 'isms'?

Another community professional [12] also attributed the invisibility of race in CBR to a national discourse that protects white privilege. Anderson (2000) argued that Canada's national fantasy of a "harmonious 'mosaic' of cultures" (p. 8) protects those that benefit from such a fantasy from the discomfort of engaging with raced privilege.

> People get very uncomfortable with that subject matter [race], I think that's the first thing. The second thing is that kind of talk raises fundamental questions about the nature of not just CBR, but of our society … and it also raises issues about the nature of privilege, which makes people very uncomfortable.

The invisibility of raced research relations is made thinkable by CBR's claims to be an inherently socially just approach. These claims suggest that CBR has attended to axes of oppression and therefore, preclude interrogation of the raced logic of collaboration. However, as the following quote by an academic [8] emphasised, our socio-political histories and presents are an inevitable part of CBR collaborations even if they remain an absent presence to be carefully negotiated.

> We're carrying this whole social history of class, education, insider/outsider, immigrant versus …Canadian… and those things are still in the room. And I think there are structural things you can do to challenge this but it doesn't happen overnight and those interpersonal moments remain socialised.

As the above conversant noted, race and class are socialised in the CBR encounter, but gender also interlocks to coordinate the conduct of collaborators. The feminisation of CBR subjects goes unnoted in the literature but can be traced in descriptions that prioritise support rather than leadership, emphasise compliance and consensus building, and the giving up or sharing of power. The feminisation of the collaborative academic is evident in this excerpt from the PD literature (Chambers, 1997, p. 198/199) where participatory practitioners are described as: "a good listener… who finds pleasure in enabling others to take the initiative . . . who devolves authority." These feminised subjects are articulated through whiteness, and therefore,

can not account for the positioning of racialized scholars who may already be constituted as non-compliant and not assimilable into white femininity.

As argued in Chapter 5's discussion of the making of goodness, CBR subjects come to know themselves through being useful and socially just. As Heron (2007) maintained, development is overwhelmingly enacted by White Western female development workers who position themselves as good, benevolent subjects. Similarly, Todd (2011) that ethical white subjects are authorized to act upon racialized others and exculpated from complicity in systemic and institutionalised racism. A peer [2b] conversant noted that beyond the white feminised attributes which coordinate the conduct of CBR subjects, are the literal weight of female identifying collaborators: "We were very top heavy with women … who gets involved in these projects — people who identify as community and service providers, as well as academics… there're lots of females." A poll of the North American wide membership of Community-based Participatory Researchers (CBR) revealed that the overwhelming majority of "thought leaders/ experts" in the field are women (Personal communication, July 26, 2009) who are racially indeterminate through the invisibility of whiteness.

Although power sharing is centred by this academic [15], community/consumers are referred to as resources rather than subjects, which signals the colonial move of commodifying the local and fixing her as a beneficiary of empowerment. As Ristock and Pennell (1996) argued, empowerment discourses, which suggest that it can done be 'to' or 'for' someone are illusory and leaves power asymmetries intact. Also, illusory is the suggestion that the registers of power

within academe are even and that who can afford to give up power is organised through gender and race.

> The biggest difference that I would say is the willingness to share power whether it is the power of knowledge or the power of having more access to resources or more influence on policy makers. And we see the community and the consumers as a resource where it's an equal partnership…

The domestication of the academic subject described below recalls Roelvink and Craig's (2005) argument of the importance of "feminine subjects and labours in contemporary forms of social governance" (p. 104). Partnership is itself a white feminised practice required by inclusive liberal projects. The authority accorded to the academic subject by this conversant [2b] is subtle, but still suggestive of a status hierarchy, which is both raced and classed. The interlock of race and gender is suggestive of Yegenoglu's (1998) conceptualization of the "masculine gesture" deployed by white women seeking epistemic subject status through an alliances with racialised subaltern knowers. Here electing to be non directive is an exercise of power that may only be available to some academic subjects whose race privilege is secure.

> As an academic, [she] was able to hold the required authority without inserting that level of influence and actually directing things. And very, very few people that are involved with these projects have that ability to detach, no matter how much they may want to, and not direct.. and let community conversation evolve.

Peer to peer relations were constituted by this peer [7c] as domesticated: "You keep up the good work that's what it's all about and we are all family {laughter}." While the support this peer expresses toward her co-conversants is a benevolent gesture, the constitution of research

relations as familial de-professionalizes their collaboration. As Staeheli (2008) cautioned, techniques of inclusion depoliticize and domesticate by positioning certain subjects as powerful/ professional and others as subordinate/domestic. Another way in which feminised, raced, and classed CBR subject is constituted as compliant, is suggested by a community professional [10a] who described the ideal peer researcher as: "engaged and interested and … knew their role." The feminised subject-making of CBR is also noted by this peer [2b] who highlighted how compliance is monetized, which both leverages and conceals the economies of participation: "If you got to be the good girl ... maybe they'll give you a little job." Her co-conversant peer [2a] linked these desires for compliant peers to assumptions that women are "more biddable" and the men "were too testosterone driven and … got booted." Projects of inclusion such as CBR instantiate subordination through an ideal feminised white subject who is de-raced, de-politicized, and domesticated.

The division of socially mobile peer subjects from those who were less so ensured that local subjects were in competition with each other and, therefore, kept compliant. Assimilable peers were described with positive status markers that allow this peer [2b] to elect to be invisible. Notable is how the privilege to be invisible is mediated through raced (blending), feminised (malleability), and classed (literacy/educational attainment) attributions. As Thobani (Carroll, 2012) reminded, race politics are also gender and class politics.

> The way I survived when I was younger was by blending in. I'm finding now I
> can very visibly see the preferential treatment being afforded to me over other less
> malleable [peers]… You shouldn't pick the person who you think is the most

literate, the most like you … And on the flip side if I'm in the role of the peer researcher …I'm the one that's always shushed.

The registers of privilege within subject positions are apparent in this peer's [2b] commentary about another peer who lacked the right education for a leadership role. Of note is how the class marker of education conjoins with the racialized marker of breeding. What is also significant is that the boundaries of civil/uncivil are constituted by a subordinate peer collaborator through dominant raced and classed divisions, which demonstrates the pervasiveness of whiteness at both upper and lower registers of privilege.

Lack of formal education, breeding… I just don't think she has had any educational or any knowledge to help make her understand how to do things in a manner that would be more beneficial for the people she's working with.

While the above conversant valorized class and race privilege, her co-conversant [2a], also a peer, critiqued the imposition of status markers that rendered community researchers as illegitimate. This assertion that community collaborators are inexpert in their own lives recalls Joseph's (2013) description of the colonial production of a white expert who knows better than the shadow other what the other can know about themselves.

They're supposed to be working with people with lived experience. But they said: "God forbid we couldn't hire any of the quote unquote 'community' in the community roles, because they didn't have the right credentials." The second they say that community members don't have the understanding of the community and don't have the right legitimacy to qualify. The overarching lead is somewhere else.

Another way in which community subjects were fixed at the bottom was through targeting the most marginalised peers. In the quote below, a community professional [10b] described the institutionalised practices of recruitment that ensure deeply asymmetric collaborations. While these practices are critiqued, the conversant proposes yet another colonial strategy that of targeting what Spivak (1988; 2005) referred to as the elite subaltern.

> When people are looking to connect people from the community to research projects I find that they look at drop ins or shelters. Therefore, a certain reflection of people with lived experience. I don't know what it is?… Maybe not knowing the organisations in the community where they can get expertise or different feedback or information.

An academic [8] also noted but contested the institutional tendency toward engaging relatively more privileged community collaborators who had "access to resources and who have the time to work with you." Spivak's (2005) cautioned that subalternity must be understood relationally, whereby the new subaltern is considered alongside a less privileged, invisible, often racialized, old subaltern subject.

> In every case, there are people we're not reaching. And we're not reaching them because they are the ones who are the most vulnerable. They are not connected to community health centres; they are not connected to a network of community members, or they are unable to participate because of mental health issues or physical health issues or because they're working three jobs. Because they're literally invisible… So we are always working with the most privileged of the people who are vulnerable.

The targeting of the more elite subaltern seemingly stands in contrast to targeting those who are most marginalised. However, assimilable subjects can be secured either through peers at top registers who can pass norms of whiteness or through peers who experience such high levels of deprivation that they are readily engaged with the promise of limited material support. The latter appears in the following quote, where a peer [2a] challenged the systematic deprivation that drives behaviour which is individualised to produce a depraved peer: "I used to see people go into the focus groups with big bags to load in as many drinks and pizzas as they could. And I don't blame people. It's poverty that has made us like spiders in a can."

An academic [15] contested the fixing of a peer as singularly abject: "I have had both a family history and I have had an experience myself. Why don't I count? Why don't I qualify as somebody with lived experience?" Here the colonial logic of CBR comes into view from another angle, one that makes clear that CBR's mandate to engage marginalised communities ensures that the academic subject's privilege and community subject's abjectivity are already secured. These fixed subjectivities render the diversity within both academe and community invisible.

However, diverse social locations are only invisible to relatively privileged CBR collaborators. A peer [1] described the severance of CBR from the social conditions of collaborators' lives as oppressive and harmful. Here the colonial violence of constituting local subjects as outside of the social is called into question, as is the extractive logic of collaborating to secure research dollars and theoretical work, which are the currency of the knowledge economy.

We were so burnt out. We were told initially this was just going to be meetings

and then it turned into one thing after another and … not what any of us got into it

for. If you have a project where one woman loses her child for six weeks, another

woman gets back to a bottle, and another one has a severe heart attack …that's not

a good sign that it was a well thought out process. It was just money grabbing and

coming up with theories and ideas — that's what it really was in the end.

Homogeneity Improved: Assimilating Subjects

The previous section outlined how hierarchical differences are assigned through binary

operations that construct the local knower as lacking and through concealing raced, gendered,

and classed subject-making practices. This section argues that the production of sameness, where

assimilable local subjects are improved and inculcated into academe, achieves a similar end: a

subordinate community subject. This lacking local subject is required to rationalise and activate

the moral imperatives of CBR's colonial project of improvement.

Henkel and Stirrat (2001) proposed that practitioners of the "new orthodoxy" of

participation create new subjectivities that align with existing systems of dominance. Salvation

discourses and desires for the abject other are ubiquitous in PD, as Sharp et al. (2010) suggested,

and preserve the goodness of Eurocentric elites, while hiding the ongoing coloniality of the

development project. An academic conversant [8] made visible the moral imperatives that drive

CBR and the lacking subjects required to secure the goodness of the project: "If you have

identified this {CBR} as the 'good' research, this is the moral path, then you will see anybody

who strays off that path as immoral or as lacking…"

A peer [1] called out the problematics of the academic or professional subject as saviour and the peer as in need of salvation. The moralising of CBR recalls Spivak's (2005) caution regarding the colonial legacies where self-selected "moral entrepreneurs without a social contract" (p. 479) deliver "philanthropy without democracy" (p. 482).

> You are trying and that's the hardest part for all of us is the fact that we can see an attempt. But somehow the socialisation of being our saviours is so deep that — charity model … They should have some kind of ceremony to wash it all out of them {Laughing}. Come up with something where they really know how they contribute to poverty.

In contrast, to these critiques of the moral imperatives of projects of inclusion, the CBR literature, for the most part, naturalises the project of improvement, typically framed as capacity building, which is identified as a good process and outcome of collaborative research (Matsuda, Creighton, Nixon & Frankish, 2011). For example, Westhues and colleagues (2008, p. 702) described benefits to the community as: "providing training and mentoring opportunities for members of the community being studied to learn how to do research." Local subjects, who are also local objects, are constituted as lacking capacity and what they lack is what academic subjects have—research capacity. In CBR improvement and inculcation conjoin to assimilate the local into academe.

Several conversants were quite adamant in their rejection of assimilation into academe. A peer [1] challenged practices of inculcation: "that somehow we are now one of you, and it's like fuck you — I don't want to be you!" The assumption that academic skills are universally valued was also debunked by a community professional [3] who described her community colleague as

telling her: "I don't want to be a researcher … but I want to make use of your skills." The

conversant [3] went on to forcefully critique the colonial strategy of assimilating local subjects

through the promise of illusory improvements.

> I think we're selling people this bill of goods that's really appalling, and that's
> exploitative. We're capitalising on people's interest to further their lives or further
> the interests of the work going on in their communities. And we're sort of going
> don't worry; you'll get something out of this…And that feels incredibly coercive.

Even those conversants who did not outright reject capacity building practices

characterised them for the most part as incapacitating. Two peers [2 a & b] critiqued training

practices that served the interests of academics, but not community peers. Peer collaborators

were not consulted as to what they would find useful and when suggestions, such as access to

university courses were proposed, they were rejected. This quote suggests that local subjects are

in need of improvement in order to participate in research activities, but not too much

improvement whereby they could claim competency based on academic credentials.

> One of the things that were promised was that we would get a lot of training that
> we really thought would be useful to us in our lives going forward. And they
> pushed this one course down on us, ad nauseam …about every week for two
> years. Some of us actually wanted to take university courses, and they wouldn't
> let us. They paid one person thousands and thousands of dollars to do the training,
> but they wouldn't even talk about other training.

Her co-conversant [2b], also a peer, described how they had wanted to "know more that

could have helped to go for a job somewhere later" but that their suggestions were ignored: "only

a university professor … had the right kind of knowledge," which elided both the social locations and epistemic contributions of the local subject.

> People were looking for the practical applications of human rights law. They wanted it to be meaningful to their own lives, right? So it was … destined to be a failure because no one asked before someone planned.

The project of improvement, as critiqued in the two quotes above, failed because it was disconnected from the lives of community collaborators. Korf (2010) used the term "provided spaces" to signal the dislocation of PD from postcolonial regimes. This move of constructing participatory subjects as post-political is replicated "here" in CBR, as well as "away." While conversants rarely made claims to such imaginary spaces, few explicitly addressed the socio-political and historical conditions of their CBR projects. The absence of scrutiny of the social signals the tenacity of whiteness in coordinating local and academic subjects and rendering difference invisible.

A similar disconnect between local subjects lives and practices of capacity building was noted by this academic [8] who condemned practices of improvement through consciousness-raising. The conversant's critique recalls Healy's (2001) challenge that knowledge elites "find the most appropriate participatory ways to convince the 'uneducated' of the merits of their own educated convictions" (p. 98).

> And I think we get caught up in that are we actually changing people's awareness of how they're being oppressed … So what! If all you do is make them aware of the fact that they're oppressed and you give them no tools to change that… have you really done something valuable?

The same conversant [8] went on to highlight that inculcating community collaborators can have a deleterious impact on their relations with the broader community. She described peer researchers who: "learn the language of theory, which then makes their conversation impenetrable to their partners … which is an act of oppression." As Almeida (2015) argued, assimilation of some to maintain the exclusion of others secures relations of dominance. A community professional [16a] described a similar dislocation of peer collaborators from their communities. While acknowledging the tension between the local knowledge of peer researchers versus that of research participants, a detailed training processes ensured that only research participants' knowledge is represented. Although there is the suggestion that this is a struggle for both the professional and peer researchers, in the end, it is a bad peer subject who transgresses her technical role to reclaim epistemic status and social location.

> We drilled in that sense that they are gathering information and its not so much about what they think, but about what the women you talking to think. And in the data analysis, we had people who had really strong feelings about a particular group, but it wasn't in the data. So we said this is really valuable information, but it is not what we heard from them. And that's a struggle because partly you do know stuff that the data doesn't show and how do you honour that without compromising the work that you all did?

Another community professional [14] emphasised the importance of capacity building for all collaborators. The quote outlines a hyper-capacity building project where no subject has distinct knowledge, and everyone can do everything, which displaces the value of complementary, yet distinct contributions, and the different social locations of collaborators.

Heterogeneity within subject positions would make clear that advocacy work for racialised

scholars poses greater risks then for colleagues with race privilege.

> So that academics start doing more advocacy and on the ground work. And
> community members start doing high-level analysis and peer review journal
> writing. If you give the right tools… people can do anything… it's amazing…
> nobody has special skills that only that they can do… it's just a matter of
> resources.

The aims of capacity building are most prominently directed toward the making of

competent employable subjects, which is discussed in chapter 5 and 6 as one of the most

common markers of the success of CBR. However, this academic [8] was less optimistic and

challenged the capacity building toward future employment trajectory: "Is this capacity building

if they have all these skills that won't get them a job?" Here again, the socio-economic

conditions of austerity and racially mediated employment opportunities are not considered in

relation to the improved local subject. Another community professional [3] was even less hopeful

of capacity building's link to community or individual benefit questioning: "At what point did

capacity building equal a three hour workshop?" A graduate student [6] also questioned whether

peers "use the skills that supposedly are transferable to actually gain employment elsewhere?"

The question of how frequently peers leverage their labour on CBR projects toward future

employment is an important site of inquiry given the taken for granted goodness of capacity

building's subject-making practices. However, regardless of the outcome of such scrutiny,

capacity building as an employment strategy is neither focused on broad social utility (Northern

traditions CBR) or social transformation (Southern tradition), but rather reflects neoliberal

demands for economic subjects and the raced, gendered, and classed exclusions of the labour market.

Concluding Thoughts

In this chapter, I inquired into the production of lacking local subjects required to secure the goodness of CBR, the epistemic privilege of academe, and activate the project of improvement that is a crucial colonial rationality of CBR. I contended that these subject-making practices are achieved through operations of whiteness, but fail to account for the distinct subjectification of racialised academic subjects. I argued that there are two intertwined processes of subjectification by which colonial relations of privilege and subordination are maintained: a) through the production of difference, which is naturalized to a homogeneous synthetic community, concealed through binary research locations, and entangled by subject-making practices that are raced, gendered and classed; and b) through the production of sameness, which seeks to improve and inculcate assimilable community subjects who conform to norms of whiteness.

I first argued that community itself is a synthetic construction that emerges from the CBR project and requires a homogeneity that erases diversity and instantiates whiteness. I then proposed that the epistemic privilege of academic subjects is secured against a community subject who is either constituted as a knowledge user, contributor of experience, and/or a technician. Community professionals were particularly critical of the construction of the academic subject as the only legitimate knower. The process of othering was further considered for the ways in which the benevolence of the academic subject is tethered to a community

subject who is fixed as a beneficiary. Academic conversants described strategies to retain the goodness of their subject position, which tended to rely on attempts to relinquish privilege that were not evenly available to racialised subjects.

The homogeneity of CBR spaces and subjects was contested through an analysis of the raced, gendered, and classed logic of the subject-making practices of CBR. Operations of whiteness were argued to obscure heterogeneity within research locations and conceal the uneven social locations that make egalitarian research relations impossible. Where race does appear is in conversants' critiques of fixing diversity at the bottom, particularly by racialised community professionals and academics who argued that this acts to obscure the whitewash at the top. While some conversants challenged the raced logic of CBR subjects, they suggested that it was difficult to speak of and when doing so it took a highly socialised form. I then considered how the raced construction of CBR's subjects interlocks with a feminised logic where subjects are constituted as good if they are compliant, share power, stay quiet, and know their role in the project. The white feminised subject, I maintained, acts to domesticate, de-race, and depoliticize CBR. I then presented an analysis of the interlock of class with race, which constitutes some community subjects as educated, employable and upwardly mobile, and others as "spiders in the can." This latter local subject is produced through the selection of the poorest of poor peers whose structural deprivations are concealed through the construction of a depraved subject. Peer conversants were very critical of how these subject-making practices ensured a competitive field, which not only secured their subordination to academe, but to each other.

I then moved to an analysis of the production of sameness to trace the moral imperatives that activate the colonial project of improvement and constitute a community subject in need of capacity building. I interrogated capacity building to reveal how it constitutes communities and community subjects as lacking and what they lack is what academic subjects have. Most conversants: academic, peer, and community professionals critiqued capacity building as producing incapable subjects, albeit, occasionally employable within or outside the knowledge economy. I concluded that the durability of capacity building despite its obvious failures is due to what it covers over: the raced, gender, and classed production of a lacking local subject and what it stands in for: community benefit. Whether CBR achieves its capacity building project of producing improved, employable, community subjects or not, neither outcome reflects the socially transformative objectives of community/university collaboration. Instead, the making of assimilable subjects reconstitutes CBR as a training program rather than a site of epistemic and social change.

Chapter 8: Institutional Arrangements — Histories, Technologies, and Dividing Practices

Writing Story: TIME!

　　During a filmed group interview a peer researcher discussed how CBR involves processes of collaboration that exceed project timelines, and this what 'makes CBR different from other forms of research.' I then restated the conversant's key points, but reframed them as institutional arrangements. He became very animated: stood up, pointed a finger, and shouted back at me: "No it is all about a single parameter —-TIME!" And he was absolutely on point. When it came time to write this chapter, time emerged as a key regulatory technology. As I write this chapter, I am drawn back to the final CBR project, which we were awarded funding for, but that I did not collaborate on due to the increasing demands of my doctoral program. Later, I was asked to evaluate the project. I was told that the funder of the project asked that the word 'participatory' not be used in the evaluation of a project, as participatory activities were deemed to be too time-consuming and had for the most part been eliminated. I declined to do the evaluation. Participatory was not only discursively erased, but so was its materiality. My cheerleader, pimp, killjoy, and crusader have been no match for institutional arrangements.

Introduction

　　In the previous chapters, I have linked the affective exchanges, participatory practices, and the production of participatory subjects to the macro rationalities of neo/inclusive liberal and colonial governance. The tensions between the transgressive possibilities of CBR and troubling preservations of academe's privilege were apparent in all of the preceding chapters' analyses. However, these tensions are for the most part absent in this chapter's inquiry into the *institutional arrangements that shape the discursive and material field of CBR*. The relative absence of tension signals the degree to which conversants understand the institutional arrangements of CBR as intractable. Dean (1999) argued that governance is inherently programmatic and aims to organise institutional spaces and procedures, so that they congeal into a stable assemblage. These programmes of conduct, according to Dean, regulate and reform what occurs within regimes of practice: in this case, governance through participation and the particular technique of CBR.

Institutional arrangements constitute the horizon of possibility for CBR through the regulation of everyday practices. As Smith (2006) outlined, everyday activities are socially organized through institutional fields (texts and practices) and institutional fields are reproduced and sustained through the everyday practices. Foucault argued for a similar entry point of inquiry in his proposal to "free relations of power from the institution in order to analyze them from the point of view of technologies" (2007, p. 118). It is these institutional technologies of CBR, and their associated programmatic aims, that are the focus of this chapter. I propose that these *institutional arrangements de-politicize CBR and determine what is make thinkable as a site of inquiry and under what conditions, which fosters some sites and subjects, while disallowing others.*

The chapter begins with conversants' understandings of the *shifting institutional arrangements of CBR in the GTA*, which traces a declensionist discourse of eroding funding, loss of interest, increasing professionalization, and the encroachment of post-positivist epistemologies — all of which act to reconfigure CBR. The shift from CBR as a liberatory approach that challenges knowledge monopolies to an institutionalized regime of participation was identified by a number of conversants as a reworking of inclusion to meet neoliberal aims. Next, an analysis of the *institutional technologies that regulate time and authorize subjects* is traced to the ways in which these operations sustain the knowledge/power of academe. The potency of such arrangements in preserving relations of privilege and subordination is captured by a community professional [12]:

> We are not just coming at this as individuals, we are coming as people who were
> bound by the rules of institutions and those exert a lot of control and a lot of

influence on what we think we should do. And what we think would be the best

thing to do is not always what we can do.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of what Rabinow and Rose (2003) referred to as

dividing practices, which operate to include some through excluding others. These "special"

subjects are enabled to gain a toe hold on particular funding and university resources, while other

subjects are excluded. These special arrangements bypass the need for broader institutional

transformation by creating exceptional pathways, which are leveraged as progressive, but only

for some. These arrangements are framed as exceptional events that resonate with Foucault's

attention to disjunctures that challenge any unified historical account (2003b).

Shifts in the Institutional Arrangements of CBR in the GTA

As noted in Chapter 2 and 3, shifting institutional and individual commitments to CBR

are difficult to track due to the multiple and often ambiguous approaches to participatory

research. A community professional [16b] expressed frustration at the fractured field of

collaborative knowledge work: "We lose our effectiveness because we are so divided — if you

put Paulo Freire, the asset mapping, CBR, inclusion research, and feminist research together that

is a huge amount being done but no one sees it and then the disciplines are divided: disability,

HIV, homelessness." An academic [14] also noted the divisions between different forms of

participatory inquiry:

> I had grad student who was a peer researcher, who did her Master's research on
> how participatory planning could learn from CBR and why they're not talking to
> each other…She and I were surprised that there's a whole school of participatory
> planning that has never drawn on CBR and vice versa.

The grey literature offered a broad stroke history of CBR in Canada (Brown et al., 2015) that consigned institutionalisation to the past and did not account for the pervasive institutional technologies that continue to shape collaborative knowledge work. Contrary to the linear progression proposed in the literature, conversants described historical discontinuities, which suggested a declensionist arc or a circling back toward more mainstream approaches to collaboration. For example, this community professional [14] noted a decline in support for CBR that followed a shift in funding priorities.

> Right around 2005, 2006, that was the height of CBR. Everybody was getting interested in CBR, especially in Toronto. Toronto almost became … a leader in the second wave of community-based research … And right around that time, many foundations were starting to fund CBR … A lot of community health centres, smaller community agencies started getting involved ... But maybe from 2009, 2010 the funding started getting cut back… plus community agencies started realising how difficult doing community-based research is…How much time and effort it takes. So they started, even the ones who were really excited, back tracking and saying: 'OK, we need to stop.'

Another community professional [16b] identified a similar decline in institutional support for CBR, which provokes the question of whether funders have moved onto what Cruikshank (1999) referred to as the next "monomanie" (i.e., the "next big thing"). The change from the SSHRC CURA funding to that of the Partnership grants, as discussed in the chapter 3, corresponds to the retraction of institutional support suggested by the previous and this conversant.

At conferences, we would say that we will only come if can bring a peer
researcher but I think that is where the landscape has changed. There is actually
less room for negotiation. So when I was more active in it, there were more
people doing CBR and people wanted those voices there. But I think that's shifted
and its harder to create those opportunities: like sometimes they [peer researchers]
would present and funding was there. I think that some of the pressures have
changed, and that is not as possible anymore.

Other conversants, like this peer researcher [11b] and a co-conversant graduate student
[11d] proposed that the temporal shift from more grassroots to professionalised CBR was
propelled by academe and funders who put academics first and the community last. Although the
degree of professionalisation varies across fields, the grey literature again is helpful in tracking
institutional arrangements such as the CURA and the AUCC's strategic mandate of community
collaboration (Bourke, 2013; Brown et al., 2015), which facilitated academe's incursion into
CBR.

Seems like since that time — it's become really professionalised … [11d]

Co-opted by academia. [11b]

Whether it's academia or the funding bodies, they say these are the parameters
where we will give you money if X/Y and Z are in place. A lot of times people
who want the money they make the questions first. Then they go and find
community members who will do that project. Rather than the community builds
the project and holds on to it and says these are our parameters re funding ... I
think somewhere it just switched. [11d]

An academic [9] commented on the distinctions between earlier practices of PAR to institutionalised CBR. Here institutional arrangements of funders act to de-politicize CBR and constrain the field of what is made a thinkable site of inquiry.

> The Canadian Institutes of Health Research do not have a funding program for PAR they have a funding program for community-based research. I think that's very interesting right? Because PAR is within this feminist tradition that asks very different kinds of questions than CBR coming from a public health background.

The increasing institutionalisation of CBR was also noted by this community professional [3] who constructed collaborations in the GTA as progressively more rigid and uniformly prescribed. This transition recalls Roy's (2009, p. 159) critique of how insurgent practice becomes institutionalised into a "regime of participation."

> Folks had established with other organisations a particular framing of working with communities. I think it fit really nicely with Toronto where there's a level of community and neighbourhood involvement and that sort of tradition around Jane Jacobs. So … that it was a natural sort of an approach and it fit quite well with how people viewed or worked in terms of research. . . . It then sort of hit a point where … things became a little reified, and so people started to view CBR as shorthand for a particular method.

While the above quote traced changes in the ways community and academe participated, the following quote by an academic [4] described the erosion of institutional support for the social change agenda of CBR due to shifts in political will. This shift followed the election of a conservative federal government that sought to regulate research to sustain its priorities. In the case of the funder mentioned below, Status of Women (SWC), not only were policy

commitments retracted, but a few years later funding for research was eliminated altogether.

According to Voices-Voix, a non partisan organization that tracks attacks on advocacy in Canada:

"The government also modified SWC's mandate, preventing it from funding research and

advocacy work: the terms 'advocacy,' 'equity' and 'access to justice' were removed from SWC's

official mandate" (http://voices-voix.ca/en/facts/profile/status-women-canada). The shift away

from institutional arrangements that created opportunities for social change to those that

suppressed them is a regulatory move, which in the final phrase of the quote below is concealed

through discourses of individualism.

> The project was funded by Status of Women. They were supposed to do policy
> research and guarantee that the reports go to every Ministry …so they funded us
> and then we finished the report. Before that happened the government changed,
> and they dismantled the whole policy, so they couldn't do that, so they are like:
> "Well, you are free to go ahead and do what you want to do."

The disconnection between institutionally valued outcomes and those desired by

communities is troubled by this academic [8] who is committed to a social change agenda, but is

doubtful of the political will to consider the knowledge produced by CBR: "So I'm more

interested — can we change the bigger system? But I'm very conscious that mostly we can't and

that our government's not hugely responsive or interested in evidence." In the next quote, it is

political devolution of community-based research to a health research institute that drove the

institutional arrangements of CBR in health prevention. As in the above quote, a community

professional [12] observed that research is increasingly seen as outside the purview of

government, which signals the increasing distance between knowledge and action unless it

conforms to the state agenda (Jankowski & Provezis, 2014).

> The institutions that govern research or that fund research … like the Canadian
> Institute for Health Research {CIHR} use that term {CBR}, I think that there's a
> need to change how that concept is valued in that particular place. Because CIHR
> is not an organisation that was set up to do CBR. It came into community-based
> research, at least in HIV, because Health Canada wanted to get out of funding
> research and they said: 'That's not really our job and so let's turn this over to
> CIHR.' And then there was a big debate and consultation about whether CIHR
> was capable or interested in funding CBR, because health research is not typically
> anything community-based.

 Some conversants linked temporal shifts to epistemological changes, particularly an

increasingly positivist framing of what knowledge counts. For example, this academic's [9]

observed that CBR was increasingly instrumentalized for clinical trials that are alleged to be

community driven. Here the interplay between evidence-based practice and CBR are signalled.

This fusion is apparent in the mandate of the International Collaboration for Participatory Health

Research (http://www.icphr.org): "Promoting the science and enhancing the impact of

participatory health research." Scientism is gaining traction and the rebranding of CBR/CBPR as

PHR is another example of how each iteration of collaborative research seeks to claim "new"

territory. As I argued in Chapter 2, claiming to be new discursively distances CBR from its

previous troubles, as well as principles that are not well aligned with clinical trials.

> I feel like CBR increasingly fits more with positivist norms than community need.
> Yes, there still is a community voice, there are the community leaders …But from

what I am seeing in HIV now… maybe there's no coincidence that supposedly what the community wants is intervention trials. So, coming back full circle to clinical trials.

This trend toward intervention-based CBR is observed by another academic [8], but here it is understood as aligning with action research: "Increasingly the projects that I do are interventions and then we study the consequences of the intervention, so it's becoming much more action research." As noted in Chapter 6's discussion of how desires for action align with, but are rarely linked to, neoliberal instrumentalities, the governmental targeting of community collaboration for health interventions warrants scrutiny. Likewise, the shift toward CBR as program evaluation, while funding for programs is eroded, is problematic.

A community professional [16a] challenged the trend toward positivist epistemologies overtaking CBR: "I was at a health conference, and I don't how many conversations I had with people about what is evidence, and this idea that it only comes from scientific double blind studies is sort of coming back again." The discourse of impact, along with claims that CBR produces more policy-relevant research findings, provides a platform for positivist rationales to take hold. However, other conversants, such as this academic [5a], framed CBR as an intervention to contest clinical trials.

Here, and in the United States, there was endless amounts of funding for big controlled trials using clinical diagnostic measures with homeless populations in comparison with housed populations. There was zero presence of people experiencing homelessness or their concerns and very little literature about the social and political structures that underpin homelessness. So that made me think

about the importance of participatory research as an intervention to what seemed to be a very closed world of scholarship.

Similarly, another community professional [12] suggested the importance of expanding the epistemological horizon of health research to include other ways of knowing that contest the normativity of outcome-based research and its neoliberal rationales.

I think that we have a very prescriptive view of evidence. We have to expand our view of evidence, which I think derived a lot from the way epidemiologists might think about it. So, I think that we have to open that up and say there're different kinds of evidence and it depends on what we need it for, what kind of decision has to be made. Maybe we don't even need to make a decision, maybe sometimes all we need to do is to improve our understanding about something — that is evidence, too. So we have to move away from that very focused, particular way in which evidence is understood in order to open the field up to other kinds of scholars who also ask interesting questions that have nothing to do with epidemiology or the traditional public health approach to research.

For this community professional [14] challenging institutionalised ways of knowing extended to a critical engagement with Western epistemological traditions: "It's that Western tradition of knowledge production that's a different model than in the South where there's an urgency of immediate material policy transformation that drives research and planning." This, and the preceding, reflection on the epistemic possibilities of CBR are rare. The scarcity of consideration of collaborative, complementary knowledge work as an epistemic breach suggests that the institutionalization of CBR is aligned with the instrumentalities of knowledge economy where audit metrics prevail. The failure of CBR to challenge institutionalised epistemologies was

lamented by a graduate student [6]: "The paradigm that academic institutions operate within is quite often not in the best interest of the communities that we're working with. Although that resonates with all forms of research, CBR hasn't corrected that."

Technologies that Regulate the Temporal Horizon

While the previous section tracked the temporal and epistemological shifts in the institutional arrangements of CBR at a macro level, it was the micro-regulation of time that was foregrounded by conversants. Tightly regulated project timelines prescribed when and where community collaborators could participate, which left the upstream design, framing, and ultimately, what got studied to academics. Tight timelines also circumvented theoretical depth and epistemic contributions to foreground neoliberal metrics. Also, the social relations of collaboration were undermined when short cuts were taken and the politics of participation ignored. While the speed of collaboration was critiqued as too fast, the speed of dissemination was critiqued as too slow, which called into question the claims to knowledge relevance when knowledge is available years after the project ends. As in Chapter 6's discussion of the neoliberal rationalities of participative practices, the knowledge to action trajectory is undermined by the timelines prescribed by funders, which begs the question that I have posed elsewhere in this thesis of whether CBR stands in for and subverts social action altogether?

The sense that funders were immutable in terms of time lines was echoed by this community professional [12]: "For the funder, you get this money, and you have to finish your project in two years… sometimes people struggle with that because community processes don't always work out the way you imagine." Another community professional [10b] spoke of how

institutionally arranged timelines act to silence community contributions and sustain the power of academics: " Everything was fast …I think their intentions were good … but moving forward there was no give; there was no listening to us ..." Whereas in Chapter 6 the neoliberal phenomenon of partnering to compete paradoxically required and undermined collaboration, here it is tight project timelines that erode collaborative processes.

Funding arrangements not only regulated community contributions during the CBR project, but also regulated, as this academic [5a] described, who could participate upstream in framing the project.

> It was a bit tricky in the sense that you and I came up with the idea of what we
> wanted to do. We had to do that very quickly to write the proposal. It was all a
> tight timeline. So in terms of beginning to directly involve women who
> experienced homelessness in figuring this whole thing out — that process was a
> bit delayed.

A community professional [16b] also argued that funding timelines limit community participation in front end activities such as developing research questions. Interestingly, data analysis is identified as the crucible of collaboration, whereas in chapter 7's discussion of the making of expert subjects analysis was cast as an exclusively academic activity. The division of labour and privileged spaces of participation is first contested and then reproduced by this conversant in her attribution of where peers' interests lay.

> When it comes to the development of questions, it is not as collaborative because
> of lack of the funding. It becomes that I am writing the questions, and people are
> giving feedback. It's not as much where their {peers} interest or their strength is
> — to think through how to frame it… it is in the data analysis where the

principles of bringing different perspectives in are key. You are collaborating, but there are parameters on the amount of time you have to frame.

Her co-conversant, also a community professional [16a], spoke of the complexity of navigating ethics parameters that led to creating proxy research questions without collaboration that, nevertheless, endure once collaborators were brought in. Institutional ethics protocols, critiqued in chapters 2 and 4, fail to consider that collaborative processes require time and support to unfold.

> In the last project we did, we had to have questions go to ethics before we could hire the peer researchers to develop the questions. So it was this weird process where we had to say to the ethics board that these are questions, but they are not going to be the questions. We are going to develop the questions with the women, so all of that becomes really complex. And of course, those {the questions sent to ethics} do become the skeleton of the questions because you do not have unlimited time to develop them completely in collaboration.

A peer researcher [1] also pointed out the ways in which ethics review processes dictate the pace of collaboration and may act to shut down collaboration altogether. Here a process that is intended, albeit paternalistically, to protect research participants, acts to govern their conduct toward actuarial and juridical aims (O'Connell, 2015).

> We had that meeting. It was fantastic; it was exactly what the young women needed. And then what did they do? 'Oh well we can't have meetings for two months because the ethics board has to blah, blah, blah.' Fuck the ethics board. I would have put 60 bucks together for food to have the next meeting two weeks later. Cut this horse shit! And then we just didn't do it.

As an academic [5a] highlighted, it is not only the relational aspects of CBR that are compromised by tight project time lines, but also the quality of the research, particularly its theoretical depth. Here the regulation of time undermines engaging with the politics of collaboration, as well as its epistemic contributions.

> The work that really excites me is when big new analysis is being generated through dialogue. The theoretical framework that I carry forward to the new work that I do has all been developed in those dialogues. At the same time I think that in projects where you have to take short cuts or move quickly those have been the most tricky. It's the piece about the politics of it and how you do this equitably. Those are the pieces that I think take longer to develop.

However, institutionally arranged timelines were occasionally transcended, as suggested by this academic [13a] who resisted the funder's constraints on a previous project and wondered whether this might be possible with other funding envelopes: "We were doing this project …and we just defied the funders time line. I always wondered what might happen if I took a similarly strong stance with SSHRC. Would they be ready for that?"

A peer [11c] described how it was not just her time that was devalued, but that her entire life seemed erased during the project. The displacement of research outside of the social conditions of collaborators was taken up in the preceding chapter as crucial to maintaining illusory claims to equalitarian social relations. The dislocation of community engagements from the conditions in which it occurs recalls Todd's (2011) proposal that good projects and good subjects rely on situating both outside of relations of racism and colonialism. In the quote below,

the colonial logic of extracting knowledge and then moving on, and the severance of knowledge

from experience, is invoked.

> Our lives don't begin and end at a research project. So I always found a
> disconnect between our lives continuing ... We still have everyday lives, those are
> very different lives … So I'll tell you everything we know about the research, but
> then we've got to go out into the cold.

Another effect of the regulation of time, noted by the same peer [11c], was that project

timelines were fast, but the dissemination of the findings to end users was slow. These temporal

manoeuvres, notably the time lag between knowledge production to dissemination/mobilisation,

signal the audit culture of funding arrangements, which stop the clock with the submission of the

final report.

> "Evidence-based" which we know is so status quo and not what people in the
> community are doing. Because by the time it becomes evidence-based and in the
> literature it's not relevant to what people are doing on the ground. Or it's like last
> decade's best practice.

The untimely dissemination of knowledge due to funding arrangements was also

critiqued by this community professional [3] who identified tight funding timelines as

prohibiting follow up on the actions that the research may have activated. Here the inability to

track policy and program outcomes driven by CBR findings limits cumulative knowledge work

for social change. The observation that the tyranny of time in short term project funding keeps

people on the move to the next grant and away from documenting and facilitating social action is

a powerful neoliberal governmental techniques.

> Both were really great projects because they raised some clear policy issues on how the City is dealing with providing safe, secure shelter to people, while recognising the needs of diverse populations. But when people spoke about what they achieved, they were still thinking in this restricted way and not about what happened — did the City actually follow through on their promises? Because I remember councillors going: "We need to look at this and we need to make change." It's partly a problem with the way community research is operating. People don't have that luxury of following up on…one initiative over time… They've got to move on to the next grant.

Institutionally arranged timelines orient work toward audits rather than accountability to community collaborators for social change. O'Connell (2015) argued that actuarial renderings configure some counts as more important than others and absolve the responsibility of those occupying privileged positions. Shore (2000) maintained that audit culture displaces relations of trust and responsibility in favour of more formalised accountability counts, which perversely undermine the very trustworthiness they seek to establish. A peer researcher [2a] challenged the logic of audit, which dictates what counts and what does not in ways that place community benefit last.

> You have to worry about the quality of the research and that it's meeting all the standards, but if you're more worried about that than you're worried about changing things for communities… Then you've got another problem. I've seen too many projects where they try to rush it through the door, because they've planned their time lines, and then they're planning went wrong…Then things go to hell in a hand basket quickly.

The only way to escape from the tyranny of funding timelines, as this academic [13a] proposed, is to be not be funded. However, the freedom to continue working without project-based funding is acknowledged as a privilege only afforded to a salaried academic.

> We were so close on the wait list. It was just at the cutoff. Sometimes I am glad that we didn't get funded, but that comes from an extremely privileged position ...But it was about the freedom to do what we wanted to do when we wanted to do it and at the pace {knock on table and emphasis in voice} we wanted.

A community professional [16a] also acknowledged the tension between her desired ways of working collaboratively and following funding paths that do not support those processes.

> Its tough to stay true to the way you want to work — if we could take the time to go out and ask women what do you want to learn about? What do you think is important? That would be my preferred way of working… And that drives an organisation in a much different way than having to follow the funding paths.

Technologies that regulate time did not only emanate from funders, but were instantiated by academe's push for ever increasing audits of publications. This academic [17] tracked the link between the tyranny of time and of legitimated research outcomes, both of which undermined collaboration.

> You are trying to do a proper process; you're trying to involve people, be patient, and make sure that everybody is okay with how this is going along. And there's this clock ticking. And the only thing that counts is not how well you've engaged with those communities at a university level, it's whether it's produced a publication … it's intensifying here in terms of the count: how many and in terms of the peer-reviewed status.

Institutional Technologies that Authorise Knowers, Knowledges, and Knowledge Use

The previous section outlined how institutional arrangements that regulate time organise

CBR subjects and practices toward particular neoliberal metrics. This section adds another

dimension of governance to chapter 7's discussion of the binary subject-making practices that

secure academe's epistemic privilege and chapter 6's interrogation of the neoliberal rationales

that delimit the legitimate outcomes of CBR. Specifically, this section inquires into those

institutional arrangements that determine the parameters of participation through authorising

particular subjects and knowledge practices. Conversants described funding arrangements that

render community collaborators as illegitimate to apply for funding and lead CBR, which

ensured that administrative grant monies exclusively flow to academe. The coloniality of the

legitimate/illegitimate knowers explicitly came into view when conversants reflected on

collaborations with indigenous communities. Conversants critiqued funding procedures for

legitimising CBR project outcomes that were ill-aligned with the complexity of the social issues.

Academic institutional practices were characterised as poorly supporting community

collaboration, but, nevertheless, demanding positive accounts of CBR that elided criticality and

preserved status quo arrangements.

A community professional [14] expressed frustration with the lack of recognition of the

driving role community agencies have played in the development of local CBR. Lack of access

to sustainable funding was cited as early as 2008 by Chokshi, Aron, Zahoorunnisa, and Jacobson,

as the key barrier to CBOs leading CBR. This environmental scan was released in the year that

SSHRC ended its CURA funding (Brown et al., 2015) and funding from the Wellesley Institute

was winding down due to a changing mandate (Sakamoto, Chin, Wood & Ricciardo, 2015).

These funding streams supported community-led CBR and in their absence fewer funding

resources were available and those that existed required an institutional ethics review, which only

HIV/AIDs and indigenous related community researchers could access directly. The production

of these exceptions is discussed later in this chapter.

> It's the government funding agencies … there are limitations … they don't
> recognise or allow community agencies to apply for grants. Even though that
> community agency may have a solid track record of doing research or have
> people with graduate degrees who've done research. So that institutional barrier
> again prevents them and the interesting thing about this is that the second wave of
> CBR participatory action research in the mid-2000s was that it was led by
> community agencies, right?

An academic [8] clearly mapped the institutional funding arrangements identified above,

that authorised academe and delegitimised the possibility of community partners leading CBR

projects.

> There's a bigger structural piece around where the money comes from that
> determines a lot of how things get done. We work in a system where academics
> typically have to hold the grants. Where they have the kinds of support that they
> need in order to be able to write and submit the grants, they have the ethics
> boards, they have financial officers, they have an institution that's recognised and
> respected by the funding agencies. So we have a system that prioritises leadership
> by academics and as a result, academics take the lead in pulling together
> partnerships. Even in the cases where it was initiated by community partners…

What is not mentioned, in the above quote, is the monetary rewards to academe for administering grants. However, a community professional [12] openly contested the percentage taken up by academe to administer a grant as troubling, but, nevertheless, invisibilized, which circumvents discussion of how these administrative monies might be distributed across academic and community sites. Neoliberal austerity rationalises the erosion of core postsecondary funding through partnership discourse and pressure to bring in research dollars (Dean, 2015), which in turn drives competition for administrative monies.

> Academic institutions get a certain percentage of funds that community-based organisations don't qualify for. But this is something that people don't talk about because it's not reflected in the budget anywhere. It adds up to a lot of money but … nobody every mentions that it could be shared, while certainly, the university would not consider sharing that with anybody.

As this community professional [12] clarified, it is not only who can hold a grant in terms of institutional affiliation, but what institutional affiliation counts when a single person holds multiple research locations.

> CBR operational grants — I was fairly successful and then this one time I put that I had an appointment at the university and then all of a sudden CIHR decided to fund us through the university not through the CBO. I was like: 'Why would you do that?' I don't get paid for that affiliation. It's an adjunct thing but as soon as it became known it trumped the organisation. But if it's community-based research why should a project always be funded through a university or hospital? That doesn't make any sense.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the defunct CURA program, as outlined on the archival website: "allows for either a postsecondary institution or a community-based organisation to be the lead of a given project." However, on closer reading it becomes clear that academic leads were favoured through criteria for close affiliation to a post-secondary institution with a critical mass of researchers and students.[6] However, since then all SSHRC and CIHR grant eligibility criteria have been harmonised and require onerous documentation and adjudicating process to be deemed a legitimate administrator. A peer [2b] troubled the implication that the community is illegitimate, unethical, and unscientific. Here institutional funding arrangements secure both the epistemic and morale superiority of academe, which echoes the previous chapter's analysis of subject-making practices that fix the community subject as epistemologically inferior.

> No matter how engaged the community is at the beginning, how ethical, honest everyone is …as soon as you get the funding …I've seen them change too many times and the clash always falls on the side of academia — of the quote-unquote legitimate scientific aspect, the legitimate funder following a legitimate set of rules and they actually phrase it in terms of legitimate. So that somehow community thought isn't legitimate thought. Community direction isn't legitimate direction and that there's something flawed about the ethics of the community.

Another peer [1] described a funder celebrating the work of her grassroots group. However, the valourization of local knowledge is not enough to transcend the institutional arrangements that constitute this knowledge and knower as illegitimate.

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[6] CURAs must be closely associated with academic units (department, centre, faculty, institute) within the participating postsecondary institution or institutions. Specifically, a CURA must: focus on an area of strength of the participating academic units as demonstrated, in particular, by a critical mass of researchers and students working in that area; and have identified, at the time of the application, a sufficient number of researchers who will be actively involved in the program.

During the women's summit there were three ideas that came out that were just spectacular … The funder came up and took the mic out of my hand and told us how much she loved the ideas that the women came up with. Then the next step, which I think I should have taken, was to just go to her and ask her for money. But nobody will ever give me money because I am grassroots and I don't have a charitable number.

These entrenched funding practices were linked explicitly, by this academic [9], to colonial relations. Institutional funding technologies authorise entry of academe into indigenous communities through claims to more egalitarian research approaches, which are constructed through the funding arrangements as "better practices." Better practices, as Ahmed (2007) argued, displace dialogue on the bad practices of racism and colonialism.

I could probably do a whole interview on my thoughts around the way CBR is promoted for aboriginal communities …the way that funding structures work with aboriginal communities. So for example: critiques of the colonial kind of pumping money into communities for research when historically research was very detrimental to these communities.

The colonial continuities of funding practices are also challenged by this peer [2a] who critiques the extractive logic of collaboration: "What we are is a pool that they draw on to get a grant. They'll say: 'We're overseeing these people, we're training them.' And then they pocket the money."

Not only are certain subjects authorised by funding arrangements, so are the research activities prescribed as legitimate outcomes and outputs. Frustration with the lack of tangible outcomes to community collaborators was taken up by a community professional [11b] who

contended that even when funders embraced the knowledge produced through CBR,

endorsement was not followed by a commitment to the required material resources. Here is the

suggestion of how CBR acts as a "red herring" (p. 162) to divert resources away from social

programming. As Salmon et al. (2010) argued, CBR can act to sustain structural disadvantage by

materially resourcing short-term project-based research activities rather than more sustainable

programming. Furthermore, a wider historical analysis brings into view how social programming

suppressed activism (Cruikshank, 1999) and now social research subverts programming, and

both divert attention and resources away from social change.

> The funder has embraced it, but the model requires some resources for it to be
> successful. So now they say let's do housing first, but there's no subsidy available.
> They're saying let's do mental health collaboratives, but then there's no funding
> available... They're almost using research as an excuse to not fund or not put
> money in where money it should be.

Sometimes the outcomes authorised by funders were clearly incongruent with the more

complex phenomena associated with the issue under study. A community professional [11b]

described the conflict between the recovery paradigm and the "results oriented" expectations of

the funder. For the funder, results narrowly construct recovery in ways that delegitimize other

outcomes as individual failure, which is enabled through situating social problems as individual

health issues. As Foucault outlined (Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991), governmental

technologies both totalize: here through prescriptions for universal population-wide interventions

and individualise: through a focus on pathology rather than structural failures.

We are facing more toward funders' needs at this point who are... putting a lot of different constraints on us and they're becoming very results oriented… When you're dealing with a mental health population, it's strange to apply these ... because you're dealing with this spectrum of recovery. It takes time, it's very complex. But that's being neglected … I feel that there's not a lot of resources out there to support this type of information gathering.

Another community professional [16b] critiqued how funding limits what research related activities are legitimised. Here advocacy conforms to a marketized logic, which authorises the "bigs" to advocate for health issues, while prohibiting smaller CBOs from doing so on social issues that might challenge status quo arrangements.

It was all done in kind from the organisations and we could only sustain it for not a long time, because we always said we needed one person paid to champion and be our voice … Because you are so busy trying to keep the organisation alive that's taking away from the advocacy on the issues. So we don't have people funded to go and lobby and advocate. We should all be able to register as lobbyists. The 'bigs' do like Heart and Stroke Foundation and Breast Cancer. They have advocates and they are at those 500 dollar tables where they can advocate.

In addition to institutional arrangements of funders that prescribed legitimate research activities, were those mediated by academe. A community professional [14], who occupies the in-between space of a "community-based academic," described institutional barriers, which limit the advocacy work that university-based academics might engage in. As noted in Chapter 7, the risks of advocacy are even greater for racialised scholars.

> There are lots of institutional barriers to academics doing advocacy on the ground
> …They don't have incentives to support that. It's not recognised and … so when I
> go to a protest, I hardly see academics … maybe one or two key ones that we
> know are already committed.

Another way in which funding arrangements inhibit socially transformative research initiatives, as this academic [9] noted, is by requiring consistently positive accounts of CBR. Desires for good outcomes and the associated good feelings, which were discussed in chapter 5 as a crucial site of governance, drive reporting that preserves both and in doing so circumvents criticality that is crucial to growth and change.

> In some of my own work, I have asked why do we make these claims around that
> the whole community came out and it was great and there were no problems? For
> fear of losing this funding, for fear of closing down opportunities to do this kind
> of work? But that scares me because I don't know if anyone is actually having
> these critical conversations at all. I think it would be one thing if we put on a
> brave public face, but then in private if we really had these tough conversations.
> But we aren't.

The institutional arrangements of funding are also identified by a community professional [3] as authorising only certain accounts of CBR. Here critical conversations were being held among CBR practitioners, but happening outside of funding circles. Scarce funding envelopes lead to a culture of individualism and competitiveness, which undermine collective advocacy to challenge the institutional arrangements of CBR.

> I feel like we're in this environment where there are these competing interests. On
> the one hand, I see a lot more people talking about wanting to look at real

participation, real engagement with communities and to approach it in a way that's not this cookie cutter approach. There's a real interest with wanting to really challenge what we mean by action. At the same time, when I look at our federal funders, they're staying in this very safe zone around what those ideas mean and what communities they look at … it would be good to raise some of those conversations with funders, but there's a shrinking number of funders.

Another institutional strategy to preserve status quo arrangements is to authorise most CBR subjects and practices within discursive and material safe zones, while putting forward an exceptional few as warranting more progressive conditions. This next section outlines how these exceptionalities act to subvert broader institutional change through procedures that foster change for a few, while disallowing it for many.

Dividing Practices: The Production of Exceptional Subjects and Sites

Foucault (2003c) maintained that institutional discourses and practices are productive of particular subjects. According to Foucault, subjects are constituted through specific modes of subjectification and dividing practices that define a subject as distinct from others (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). Dividing practices operate to include some through excluding others. In the context of CBR, particular subjects and sites singled out by conversants as exceptional included: violence against women (VAW), HIV/AIDs, and indigenous related research.

The distinction between sectors and the institutional or organisational arrangements they enable is taken up this academic [5a] who compared the research relations of sectors that have histories of advocacy with those that emerged more formally and commercially.

I think homelessness and psychiatrization and the combination of those two things is a really different lived experience in terms of the relationship that it sets up with agencies. With the VAW sector there may be more of a sense of an alliance, and I don't think one ever hears of the VAW industry like you do with the homelessness industry or the poverty industry. And the operations of social control and technologies of discipline in those two types of organisations tends to be different as well and set up a different feeling of trust or affiliation.

A community professional [11a] noted a similar trajectory of in HIV/AIDS related research: "When I look at the area of HIV - there is a lot of progress in CBR and it's because its based on the advocacy. The rest of health... is still, stagnant and trying to trying to catch up." Another community professional [12] described how this more political orientation toward research shapes the institutional arrangements of knowledge production about HIV. These exceptional arrangements made thinkable questions of the epistemology and ontology of HIV/ AIDS that disrupt the narrow biomedical framing of disease.

People who work in HIV bring a certain orientation and a certain history to this work.… They ask fundamental questions about what is the nature of illness, what is the nature of research, and how bodies matter. These are really interesting and fundamental questions. I think the research community in relation to HIV had to respond. So, I think that a lot of what we understand by community- based research, whatever good is associated with that, I think has really to a large extent come from HIV.

An academic [9] also connected the uniqueness of the trajectory of HIVAIDs research to institutional openings not afforded to other areas of inquiry, which dually constitutes the funders as progressive and bypasses the need for wholesale structural change. The production of

exceptional subjects, as I have argued elsewhere (Janes, Ibhawoh, Razack, & Gilbert, 2014), is a

governmental technique that sustains status quo arrangements.

> I know that people working in other sectors are quite envious. But in HIV we
> constantly complain that there's not enough money. And then meanwhile people
> in other sectors — they don't have a CIHR CBR stream…so if you are doing HIV
> and CBR you have a lot of options.

The contrast between exceptional and not so exceptional subjects is evident in the

comment by another community professional [16a] who worked outside of HIV/AIDs related

research. The conversant argued that not only is the act of advocacy discouraged in her field of

inquiry, but that word itself is prohibited: "We have had funders say we cannot use the word at

all." Legacies of activism such as ACT Up in the US, the Aids Committee of Toronto, and AIDs

Action Now in Canada have led to significant institutional gains. The Ontario HIV Treatment

Network and the HIV stream of CIHR offer substantial funding and other supports to CBR. The

inception of the "Greater Involvement of People with HIV/AIDS" (GIPA) principle in the mid-

nineties provided a foundation for inclusion of peers in HIV research. While the GIPA principle

to practice gap is problematic (Guta et al., 2014; Travers et al., 2008), like the OCAP framework

informing research with indigenous communities, it provides a detailed articulation toward

democratic research praxis that other communities/groups have yet to establish. However, as

Spade (2014) warned, insurgent movements, which were once aimed at disrupting oppressive

institutions, are increasingly professionalised and depoliticised through the a focus on inclusion

that leaves racialised, gendered, classed arrangements intact.

The exceptional institutional arrangements secured by HIV/AIDs related advocacy, activism, and scholarship extends to specialised ethics review streams. A community professional [12], observed that while historically ethics review had been only available to projects led by academics, particular CBOs[7] serving people with HIV/AIDs have a special track to ethics review. Sustained advocacy and scholarship through the 90s (Ogden, 1999) to current research (Flicker et al., 2009; Guta et al., 2010) inquiring into the adequacy and accessibility of institutional ethics review offered a critique of review processes that were incompatible with HIV/AIDs related CBR. However, the special arrangements accorded to this singular area of research obscure the barriers experienced by the majority of CBOs.

> That was one thing that used to hold CBOs back from participating in research was that ethics was just not available. So one of the things that happened is that the University has a research ethics board that any AIDs service organisation or maybe any organisation that's doing research in HIV can access.

This exceptionality was also available to research with indigenous groups, as noted by a community professional [16a], who was frustrated that this same sensibility could not be transferred to CBR on women's health. Here the dividing practices that define subjects through processes of exclusion comes into view.

> We had that discussion with CIHR with regard to gender and health. They are very academic centred in what they will fund and how they'll fund it. And then you have the Aboriginal unit. They understand community-based research and they have 'nothing about us/without us' policies that are fundamental to their way

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[7] University of Toronto has a separate HIV CBR strand that reviews research proposals but only for projects that are brokered by the Ontario HIV Treatment network (http://www.research.utoronto.ca/about/boards-and-committees/research-ethics-boards-reb/)

of working, but they somehow don't think it transfers. And in HIV research its the same.

However, this exceptionality may not extend to all areas of HIV research. A community professional [11a] described a CBR project on HIV and women that was developed with peer leadership at the helm only to be rejected by CIHR for its lack of academic leadership. Here not only is the constitution of the HIV subject signalled as singular, in this case, privileging a male subject, so is the constitution of the legitimate CBR leader as singularly academic.

> I remember a couple of years ago working with women living with HIV in Ontario and getting this researcher from the University. We sat with her and talked about what we wanted to do… We want leaders from those populations to lead this project with me — the women, trans women, and sex workers. So then the interesting part was we mobilise and develop our proposal with community involvement. Then somebody talked to CIHR. They came back and said community people ... or people without academic appointments cannot lead a CIHR funded project.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter began with a brief tracing of conversants observations on the temporal and epistemic shifts in CBR in the GTA over the last decade. Notable were the declensionist discourses of eroded interest and funding, and revitalised commitments to post-positivist research approaches. This decline was concurrent with the shifting funding priorities of the late 2000s that focus on partnering to compete rather than collaborating with communities toward social change. This declensionist perspective contrasted with desires for intensification and institutionalisation found in both the academic and grey literature. The analysis then shifted from

broad stroke institutional trajectories to the particular technologies or practices. Institutional arrangements of CBR were critiqued by conversants as undermining collaborative relations through the legitimating discourses of the neoliberal knowledge economy, which demands efficiency in time and outputs. Technologies that regulated the temporal horizon of CBR were tracked as emanating from funding project cycles, ethics procedures, and from academic audits that favoured publication and chasing research dollars, which were disabling to the slower processes of careful collaboration with and benefit to communities. The tyranny of project timelines favoured academe and excluded community from the upstream framing of CBR and prohibited a fulsome engagement with the politics of collaboration.

The regulation of time was closely connected to practices that authorised academe to hold and take leadership over the grants, administrative monies, and determine the legitimate outcomes of CBR. Institutional technologies authorised academe against community collaborators who were rendered illegitimate, unethical, and unscientific. Challenges to these oppressive arrangements were silenced through demands for positive accounts and through the compliance elicited by high levels of competition for funding. A provocative disruption to these institutional technologies was the production of exceptional subjects who through dividing practices were accorded exceptional arrangements, notably HIV/AIDs and Indigenous related CBR. These exceptionalities were not available to others and achieved the dual aim of securing the progressive goodness of CBR's for some, while leaving status quo institutional arrangements intact for most others.

Chapter 9: The Art of Not Being Governed Quite So Much

Writing Story: Losing Goodness But Finding Critical Hope

I started my CBR practice as a cheerleader, then increasingly lost hope until I was called out, and saw my self as a pimp. To recuperate my goodness I became a killjoy of all things participatory until I became quite hopeless. Then a little rekindling of hope happened as I spoke to others whose reflections on CBR both converged and challenged my own in ways that shifted the boundaries of cheerleader, pimp, and killjoy. As I wrote/thought/rewrote/rethought, these contradictions congealed into something that resembled a trickster. Tricksters occupy in-between, transitional spaces, and both create and deconstruct. A trickster is all tensions and no resolutions, and as such — a perfect site for critical hope to take hold.

Introduction

The centrality of knowledge to relations of power provokes Mignolo (2009) to argue that epistemic governance is the crucial site to struggle against modern/colonial dominance, one that precedes or is coeval with civil disobedience. Mignolo referred to this site of resistance as epistemic disobedience where the knower is geo and body politically implicated. In this chapter, I present an analysis of the ways in which conversants resisted epistemic governance through participation and reimagined collaborative knowledge work as an embodied, emplaced, emergent political and ethical project. Conversants reimagined CBR in ways that held in tension the possibility of transgressive praxis with the entanglements of the normative discursive and material participative practices outlined thus far in chapters 5-8. Although I propose that these entanglements can not be easily separated, I felt that it was important to create a single chapter that brings resistance and future possibilities to the fore. While the resistant practices presented in this chapter do not totally escape the problematics raised in the earlier chapters, they do reach toward "the art of not being governed quite so much" (Foucault, 2003a, p. 265).

To capture conversants' renderings of being governed less, I rely on three conceptual anchors: critical hopeful/lessness, counter-conduct, and tricksterism. Critical hope is conceptualized through Duggan and Muñoz's (2009) position of setting hopelessness and hopefulness as dialogical rather than oppositional affective sites. Furthermore, these authors argued that hopelessness is not only an appropriate response to the limits of our world/work, but a productive site of dissent. Like critical hope, counter-conduct holds in tension both transgressive and troubling possibilities. As Death (2010) noted, counter conducts both contest and reinscribe governance. Counter-conduct is used in this chapter to account for conversants proposals that were simultaneously resistant and reproductive of knowledge hierarchies.

Conversants' reimaginings of CBR are also explicated through the metaphor of a trickster and tricky practices. Tricksters, according to Scheub (2012), are both creators and destroyers, who occupy an in-between space. The trickster metaphor has been deployed by Wastell and White (2009) to conceptualise the ambiguities of social work praxis. Tricksters, according to Wastell and White: "blur boundaries" and "open up dialogue and reflexive spaces," particularly when a "new orthodoxy is taking hold" (p. 240). As argued in the preceding chapters, CBR occurs in a field of multiple entanglements yet is increasingly deployed as a prescriptive orthopraxy. This rigidity is resisted by conversants through trickster moves that transgress the fixed subjectivities, spaces, and practices associated with institutional norms of collaboration.

This chapter begins with critical hope. Although critical hope anchors the affective aims of this thesis, it is brought into sharp focus the fragile yet tenacious commitments conversants held for CBR and to a critical reflexivity on the limits of their collaborations. Then unsettling

practices are traced through conversants rejection of the comfort of good feelings, which are

replaced by discomfort, humility, complexity, and complementarity in the social relations of

CBR. Next, trickster subjects are outlined that strategically leverage, reconfigure, and refuse

subject positions that are fixed and hierarchical. Transgressive subjects require transgressive

space, therefore, conversants propose opening up distances between collaborators and creating

spaces for dissensus that were safe without, for the most part, having to be secured. The final

section takes up conversants reimaginings of scale to disrupt the tendency of CBR to realize

individualized impacts, which bypass social and epistemic transformations. I propose that these

practices of resistance and reimagined futurities offer what Duggan and Muñoz described as a

"sideways move out of the impasse" (2009, p. 280) of CBR's transgressive and oppressive

possibilities.

CBR as a Site of Critical Hopeful/lessness

Duncan-Andrade (2009) argued that critical hope works in the "cracks of the concrete,"

where promise can take root. A community professional [14] while prescribing an end to CBR

maintains a tenacious optimism about how others might benefit from his CBO's CBR resources.

> Right now I almost feel like community based participatory action research is a
> dying field in Toronto. I wish it wasn't the case. I wish there were more CBOs
> who would have contacted us and said: "Look we've seen your work and I think
> we want to get into it, too. We'd be so happy to help and share all of our resources
> and tools.

A fragile future for CBR was also projected by an academic [9] who emphasised the

precarity of the collaborative knowledge project if it can not embrace its own limits. Duggan and

Muñoz (2009) proposed that the "bad sentiments" associated with hopelessness, such as cynicism, are a site of resistance. Here, as in the commentary above, is the sense that a certain era of CBR may have passed, one more aligned with the desires for social change and solidarity that conversants identified in chapter 5. The increasing institutionalisation conversants critiqued in chapters 6 and 8 is in tension with the fragility of the "system" described below. However, maybe it is the goodness of CBR that is fading, while the operations of governance through participation remain durable.

> I was telling someone about this critical paper on CBR and she said: 'Well, you risk bringing down the whole system then!" I was so taken back by that and then I told someone else who said: 'You know what if your paper brings down the whole system maybe it's time' {Laughter}… That's a house of cards.

A similar fatality was felt by this academic [17] who described the neoliberalism of academe as creating a "war" against innovative knowledge production. However, the battle was not lost, though the innovation is situated elsewhere, seemingly outside of CBR.

> There is a war going on here {academe} and I am engaged in it, but I also do have this sense of, not so much in my own work but in, in observing what other people are doing, which is stuff I have never seen before… I am so sparked by what it is that they are doing that I haven't given up hope.

Duggan and Muñoz (2009), conceptualised hope as risk: "of reaching out for something else that will fail, in some, if not all ways" (p. 279). The embrace of failure was described by conversants as crucial to thinking and acting differently in CBR. Failing forward was a future possibility that held much allure for this community professional [3] who commented that: "The

types of conferences I've gone to in most recent years people don't raise the issues of what were

the real challenges. What didn't turn out. I'd love to have a conference on - how did your project

fail." This conversant's desire for critical engagement required a careful tempering with the

possibilities of CBR: "At the same time you need an element of the cheerleading, so that people

are excited and see possibility and so how to balance all of that." The tension between critique

and cheerleading is described by an academic [8] as the ability to "critique in a supportive way

that doesn't make us think it's hopeless."

A peer [11c] also proposed that hopeful/lessness be held in tension through a critical

engagement with the limits and possibilities of CBR. Critical reflection is characterized by the

conversant as a practice of privilege, and, therefore, perhaps not available evenly to collaborators

from different research and social locations. Here both subject position and space are

determinant of who and where criticality can be risked.

> You really to have hope... it's got to be the default position. We've unpacked this
> {CBR}, we're lucky to get the privilege to sit around with food and drinks… and
> what we've been thinking about in terms of doing CBR — it's very troubling. . . .
> But do you want to know what drives me? Every once in a while, David beats
> Goliath.

A community professional [12] also suggested that turning the gaze back on ourselves is

a critical step toward non hierarchical collaborations. The proposal does not escape the

normative goal of a better model, but does move toward a criticality that recognizes the distances

between the hopeful principles and less hopeful practices of CBR.

I think that the key to community based research is a way people work together that is let's call it: non hierarchical. But how that actually happens in practice is something else. So, I have been thinking about doing some research to understand how research collaborations work in practice with a view to exploring models or best practices for the kinds of collaborations that I think are important to community-based research.

Critical reflection was similarly identified by this academic [8] as essential to collaborations based on shared understandings and humility. Here critical reflection is an ethical responsibility to individual collaborators and more broadly to future social change that recalls Grebowicz's (2007, p. 26) "relations of responsibility," which are a site of constant contestation, but also of critical hope.

I think we need to be stepping back and thinking really long and hard about what it means to create change … In the short term, to think very consciously about what you really can accomplish and what engaging people in this process is going to do for them as individuals. And what is the potential that it could have for the future. And being very clear with your participants about what those possibilities are. And how difficult that change might be. Most of them know, but sometimes they don't and they think that you're going to accomplish amazing things.

The importance of frank dialogue on collaborators' interest, objectives, and limitations was also identified by this community professional [14] as crucial to the sociality of CBR. Transparency about the limits of CBR is entangled with a move to innocence to secure the goodness of more privileged collaborators by soliciting empathy of others.

Community members really appreciate transparency. We are transparent about goals and limitations …They really appreciate that and they'll actually empathize

with you and will work with you as long as they see that genuine commitment, that you're trying your very best to create meaningful opportunities for them.

In contrast to the hopefulness of critical reflection that is transparent and engages collaborators across research and social locations, was the proposal by this community professional [3] that reflexivity is not a collaborative activity. The conversant at first critiques separate sites of reflexivity, then considers that differently located collaborators may require different modes and spaces of critical engagement, and then concludes without resolution. Here, as elsewhere, the transgressive possibility lies in holding out tensions as productive without recourse to a proposal for better practices.

> I think that if there's reflection going on in projects it's going on in a very separate way. It's somehow divorced from what happens on the project itself. So the academics reflect quietly… [chuckles] and the community partners reflect separately. I think all of us want to see those come together but maybe there's got to be a recognition that we need different models of reflection. So and how do you do that? I don't know the easy answer. I know how to raise the questions.

Unsettling Practices: Discomfort, Humility, and Complementarity

The reflexivity where critical hope emerged was described by conversants as eliciting unsettling feelings and practices. Conversants proposed that negative affect could lead to a different way of being with other collaborators. Conversants' embraced these unsettled feelings to resist the orthodoxy of good feelings critiqued in chapter 5. This different way of being recalls Rossiter's (2005) "unsettled practices" that emerge from collision of utopian principles with the messy realities of practice. A community professional [16b] characterized the unsettled social

relations of CBR as entangled sites of learning. Here negative affect is explicitly constituted as a transformative and pedagogic aspect of CBR, which recalls Wong's (2004) proposal that we learn through discomfort.

> What's interesting about CBR is that any stressors or tensions are heightened and played out in that domain. How we work with communities introduces every kind of 'nightmare moment' or discomfort that comes out in CBR in ways it doesn't come out in other work. Because its dealing with power, ambitions, egos.

Her fellow conversant, also a community professional [16a], reflected on learning through discomfort by letting go of decision making and embracing diverse positionality. The conversant's humility recalls that championed by Jazeel and McFarlane (2010) who advocate for knowledge production that is uncertain.

> My struggle was coming to terms with their choices about how they want to identify and that is important to their identity and how they participate in the project. Whereas I am sometimes cringing and thinking: I don't know if I would do that. You just have to respect where they are at and its not for me to make those decisions.

A similar humility was proposed by an academic [4] who maintained that: "We have to do it {research} with more humility, with some uncertainty. What gets me worked up is when I see people who are so certain and I am like: 'How can you be so sure?'" While uncertainty can be enacted through letting go, it can also be actively pursued. As this academic [17] argued, reimaginings of CBR are provoked through a criticality which questions everything: "There's new messaging that the movement is developing …questioning, storytelling, asking about the

nature of participation — just questioning the whole thing right?" However, as this community

professional [3] cautioned, questioning taken for granted assumptions requires careful

negotiation.

> It's about people struggling with what they think they knew about how to do this
> work. And whether or not they're willing to acknowledge their weak spots. That's
> been a a tougher one because I think nobody wants to say: 'Oh actually I think
> I've hit a a wall on this.' And that's been a difficult one to negotiate with people
> because you don't want to be disrespectful. And you want to acknowledge that
> anybody can hit a wall.

An academic [5a] suggested that challenging social relations are both an essential and too

demanding aspect of collaboration. Here collaborations with organisations, rather than

individuals, are characterised as a reprieve from the difficult affective terrain of CBR. However,

engaging community professionals rather than individual community members brings its own

tensions, which were flagged in Chapter 2 as a problematic largely ignored in the CBR literature.

Importantly, as elsewhere unsettling practices are not resolved, but reflected upon.

> To be a true ally in those settings I have to meet everybody half way so I have to
> be just as willing to be forthright about my own experience and background, as I
> am asking others to be. Then you are all just so tired because its so intense. So I
> am not sure that that is the best way either? Maybe that's why I have this retreat to
> organizations now and people representing their organizations, rather than their
> own selves.

Other reimaginings of CBR included resisting the prescriptive norms for the full

participation of all collaborators. In Sudbury and Okazawa-Rey's (2009) collection, full

participation is captured as a rarely attainable "pretty fiction" (p. 31). In the quote below, an

academic conversant [8] unsettles the ethics of everyone having to do everything in CBR, as

oppressive and regulatory.

> I think sometimes in CBR the model that gets taken up is that we should all be
> doing everything together, all have the same skills rather than complementarity.
> Because it's grounded in a framework that says if you're not working in this way
> your work is unethical. So there's not a lot of room for people doing different
> things.

The framing of full participation as the ethical benchmark ignores what Salmon and

colleagues (2010) argued is an ethical trespass, where demands for increased participation over

burden under resourced individuals and communities. A community professional [12] offered a

similar critique of full participation and proposed that complementarity should replace this

unworkable model of CBR. As Mishra Tarc (2013b) argued, decolonising research requires a

multiplicity of knowledges to render a more complex representation of the lives of others.

> People have their own areas of expertise or excellence. So, if you work in a
> community organization your area of expertise is not how to derive a sample. It is
> in thinking about what questions should we ask or how to we get people to
> participate in this research... but people want to make decisions about all sorts of
> things … I don't think that any one side is qualified to call all of the shots …it just
> can't work that way.

A community professional [16b] described complementarity as unsettling her

assumptions in ways that enriched the work: "Coming from my place of privilege, I have been

called out: 'You are not getting what this is telling us.' Because I have no lived experience it

doesn't resonate with me." A graduate student [6] recounted strategic complementarity in the quote below. Here prescribed roles are cast as transgressive, rather than troubling.

> She said very blatantly: My job is to be here as a facilitator and support the young people in our project. Your job is to write. I'm interested in editing. I'm interested in adding my two cents to an article that you've written but I am not interested in writing an article. That's not my objective. So just making it very clear that you know the roles and skills we as researchers bring versus what roles our partners bring and making that process work as best as possible for us.

Tricksters: Strategic, Subversive, and Refusing Subjects

The previous analysis of unsettling practices constituted complexity and negative affect as a site of resistance to the overly prescriptive institutionalized practices of participation. A similar resistance was apparent in conversants subject-making strategies where fixed, colonial binaries were replaced by a fluid and subversive deployment of subjectivities. Conversants described various trickster moves where they strategically contested the homogeneity of CBR subjects critiqued in chapter 7. Spivak's (2005) concepts of strategic essentialism: whereby subjects leverage dominant and subordinating subjectivities as a political strategy; and of "self-synecdochising": where difference is put aside to form a collectivity, are both at play in conversants' resistant subject-making practices. A contested subjectivity is described by this academic [9] as core element of CBR itself and crucial to counter governance.

> I stylize myself as a certain kind of researcher—as a site of challenging myself to try to work differently…I appreciate that I have had encounters with community members and with service providers where I was challenged on my various forms

of privilege and assumptions. There's something about a CBR space…. I wouldn't have benefitted from that in the different kinds of research.

For this community professional [16b] subjectivities were not only contestable, but contingently deployed. Here not only is subject-making a socio-political act, it destabilizes binary social locations in ways that complicate power relations.

> I worked in a drop-in that was implemented by an at risk and poverty stricken community. The woman who led it was older, first nations, and had a disability. I was young and right out of university. We would strategically say how are we going to play this meeting? What's more effective? Should I come on as the expert or should you come on as the woman who has lived through all of this? I was trained that these social relations and social identities are strategically leveraged. And it was the two of us doing this together. I don't know who had more power in that relationship.

An academic [9] shared a similar experience of strategically leveraging a particular subjectivity to a particular aim, in this case, to ask questions that troubled institutionalized measurement tools that included questions that were racist. This move also recalls that tricksterism, as Wastell and White (2009) argued, troubles settled vocabularies.

> I was cast as this hippy, which actually has worked out for me. Because I have been able to ask about some of questions that seemed a little racist. Everyone would look at me like I am a weirdo. And then they would say: 'These are standardized tools.' But they were mostly open, so that allowed me to raise a critical social work perspective on what we're doing.

The trickster subjectivity comes through loud and clear in this description by a peer [2a], which resonates with Farley's (1987) knowing performer: "I bleed on the floor, I'm an expert in

autism, and expert in cancer. I'll bleed all over the place and then you can say you had a good seminar." A trickster subjectivity was invoked by another peer [7a] who adopted a compliant subject position, while simultaneously critiquing its implications: "You have to smile at the people and give them the most meaningful and correct interpretation that doesn't really call them idiots. And its a challenge."

A peer [2a] acknowledged that sometimes strategic subjectivities are both transgressive and repressive: " I've used the lived experience tag when it'll benefit something I'm fighting for … but at the same time I find it's used against the community. I'm also finding people with lived experience are using it for their own benefit. So it becomes problematic both ways." An academic [13a], also spoke of the duality of strategically leveraging a subjectivity. Here the reference to Foucauldian understandings of counter-conduct are up front, yet are undermined as "terrible," which recalls the bifurcation of theory/application that was a significant dividing discourse discussed in chapter 6.

> So you spend 10 years telling your story in a particular way with different versions for different groups. And it has a little patina to it after years of overuse. There's a way that you can exchange it for other forms of capital. And then I spent the next 10 years completely critiquing that. Then I found Foucault and this is the theoretical part, which I know sounds terrible, but I actually found it extremely liberating when I bumped into the stuff he was writing around it being both. So its both productive in ways like getting my PhD. And then it can be oppressive at exactly the same time.

In a related strategic move, another academic [8] leveraged her subject position to facilitate access for others. Here is a trickster move that attempts to resist relations of privilege, while still laying claim to the privileges conveyed by these relations.

> I'm just one of the partners. I just happen to be one of the people who works at it and I happen to be at a university. I have a certain freedom that they don't have because I have tenure. I think that creates certain obligations about speaking out and I may have access to certain fora that they don't have access to because of my academic standing but these are small pieces. And I'm just one of a group of people, working on this. … So the boundaries are very fuzzy.

Of significance in the quote above is how privilege activates a responsibility to speak for others, which stands in tension with the oppressive practice of giving voice, critiqued in chapter 5. Fine and Torre (2006) similarly argued that privileged collaborators have a responsibility to represent what cannot be put forward by others without dire penalty. Another way in which subject positions were complicated, raised by this peer [2b], was through temporal variability that contested the fixed positioning critiqued in Chapter 5. This nuanced understanding of the fluidity of peer subjectivities signals the importance of situating collaborators and collaborations in the context of real time social conditions: individual and systemic, that shape CBR.

> For some people being a peer researcher was extremely beneficial. Because they're at a time in their life when getting together, being that open, being given that level of responsibility, level of engagement tied in very well. For other people because there were no supports, it brought back traumatic memories, drove them off the rails. And then you had other people who were coming out on the other end, were willing to use their peer research experience as a stepping stone …but they were moving on. I found that at some points when we were talking lived

experience, I was finding it very hard to engage in some of those discussions near the end. Because I kind of wanted to move on with my life in different ways. And identifying, disclosing and being pigeon holed was very hard.

Here a graduate student [6] adopted a similarly fluid approach by claiming an alternative subjectivity, in this case one of allyship: "I'm uncomfortable taking a dominant role in a project where I am not a part of the communities that I'm working with. I definitely think that allyship is required more in those instances than leadership." An academic [5b] echoed the previous conversant's reconfiguration of her subject position into that of an ally. However, the ability to claim a subordinate subjectivity is an exercise of power, often of white privilege not available to all collaborators (McWhorter, 2005; Spivak, 2005).

> I try to think of oneself as an ally and what does it take to be a good ally? And I think it requires that I do a huge amount of listening, try not to talk, take direction from others. Sometimes I feel like an RA and that's fine.

Rather than adopting alternative subject positions, as advocated by the preceding conversants, were those conversants who constituted themselves as refusing subjects. A peer [11c] rejected the notion of a singular subjectivity as ridiculously narrow. As early as 1992, Hall was questioning the false binary of academe/community and its disavowal of an academic belonging to a community. Here the possibility that community collaborators having academic experience is called into question to challenge the binary subject-making practices interrogated in chapter 7.

> The thing is we're not always one thing either. You're talking about academics like they're not community people or community as if they've never took out a

university course. I mean that's just silliness, right? To say you're only this thing and nothing else. We put different hats on. It depends on the context. We're more than just what we appear to be at this moment in time.

The power of refusal was also championed by another peer [1] who noted that members of her community were no longer willing to collaborate: "The funders want it, so they are saying they are doing it {CBR} …but they are going to find out that they're not going to have any of us involved. We are just saying no." The ethics and politics of refusal is taken up by Simpson (2007) and Tuck and Yang (2012) as a strategy of resistance, which contests subject positions ascribed through colonial continuities. As Tuck and Yang argued, refusal is the beginning of ethics, and therefore, refusing subjects are a step toward more ethical collaborations. The politics of refusing subjects are noted by this academic [5b] who had worked with VAW shelters, which were increasingly resistant to research collaborations. This quote recalls Simpson's (2007) caution that people are aware of the coloniality of the research encounter both generally and in its specific historical and contemporary iterations.

> There is this real skepticism in the VAW movement. And many shelters just will
> not give access because they are very concerned with the kinds of research that in
> the past were conducted through a paternalistic and pathologizing approach.

At other times refusal was not so much research resistant, but researcher resistant. In the following excerpt, a community professional [11a] traced her refusal to defer to the privilege of an academic subject. Her refusal simultaneously resists dominant relations and reproduces them through negotiating an instrumental collaboration and hierarchical decision making, albeit

inverted. As noted elsewhere, dominant discourses can be taken up in resistant and oppressive ways.

> We were told that we didn't have an academic researcher and that we would only get the money if we got that. So we got somebody. We became really savvy at that time and we said you know what you're not going to lead this project, but you can come so that we get ethics approval ... Then he said: 'No, you have to change this, you have to change that.' I said: 'No. I'll not change it.' So eventually he agreed and he was very helpful in that he provided technical support which we didn't have...to access and libraries.

Another strategy of refusal outlined by this community professional [16a] was to reject hierarchical subject positions through collective authorship. Although this strategy may sidestep obvious inscriptions of privilege to academic subjects, it is unclear whether peer researchers are written out by being written into an organization.

> It's a very top-down model that says because I am PI obviously I am the first author regardless of what I did or did not do. And the co-investigators then become second and third. All those pieces of hierarchy we try to not do. In fact, we don't even use our names on projects we just put our organization and the partner organizations.

Refusing subjects also align with Foucault's proposal (2003a, p. 134) that we should not aim to "discover what we are but to refuse what we are." Simons and colleagues (2005) referred to this strategy as one of adopting an "ex-position," which resists securing an alternate position (e.g., "engaged scholar" or "ally") that preserves privilege and re-secures the goodness of the participatory project. An academic [13a] brought the problematics of claims to be other into

view: "I don't think I can claim that label because I haven't lost everything and survived the same list of stuff that you survived. But I am somewhere in this hinterland of not normal… So I refuse everything."

Transgressing Spaces

As Natter and Jones (1997), Razack (2007), and Delaney (2002) maintained, subjectivities and space are mutually constituted. Therefore, the transgressing subjects outlined by conversants in the previous section, also transgress spaces in ways that embrace distance over proximity; dissensus and criticality over coerced consensus; and reimagine CBR's position in institutional, organizational, and activist spaces. These transgressions of space recall Pratt's (1992) conceptualization of contact zones where dissent is engaged and stand in contrast to the harmonious, consensual spaces envisioned in the CBR literature.

Practices of Distance

Conversants described practices of distance that resisted the pervasive claims to and practices of proximity CBR requires. Ahmed proposed a "stance of respectful distance" (2000, p. 157), which disrupts desires to get closer. According to Ahmed, practices of distance might take two paths: to step away or do a double turn, first toward yourself and then toward the other. Turning away, although tempting in its resistance of colonial relations, re-inscribes the privilege of an academic knower who can elect to turn, while the community knower or insider academic may not or do so with different consequences. This academic [8] echoed the urge to step away and resist collaboration altogether: "It's almost like a planned obsolescence if we want community to really drive the agenda." Stepping back was also proposed by a peer [1] who

argued that: 'It's almost better in those situations to let the women depict their own leadership and then you step completely back and observe how they do it." An academic [5b] similarly reflected upon the importance of academic subjects practicing distance: "My sense is where we started to recede a bit into the background is when they really started to take ownership ... Probably the best thing that we did was to get out of the way."

A community professional [16b] advocated for creating distance to transgress the desires for and proximities of personal disclosures.

> We try to move away from first person narrative so there are quotes posted around the room, which are clearly a multitude of women's voices. Tons of quotes aren't the peer researchers to ensure that they get the message that these 'voices' are lots.

Opening up spaces in between collaborators was proposed by a peer researcher [13b] as a delicate balance between taking up space previously denied to some without erasing or claiming the space of others. Ahmed refers to these spatial folds as "different modes of proximity" (2000, p. 199).

> I am pretty new to my voice to speaking about anything... but now I take up a lot of space but I try not to. So I was really conscious of that in the space with the women. I didn't want to take their story and make it mine.

Another strategy put forward by an academic [8] is to spatially mediate academic privilege by going the distance to community. The conversant noted that: "It does make a huge difference to who owns the work. It is determined by where the work is happening. I think one of the first things I learned doing CBR is that the most important thing that you do is you go there." The transgression of space here is set against the materiality of ownership, which is made

possible by already having the privilege of mobility and ownership. Also, this move away from the spaces of academe re-inscribes desires for proximity, which resonates with Ahmed's (2000) proposal that an ethical encounter cannot be fully realized either through proximity or distance, because both do not recognize our complicity in already and always being there.

Despite its limits, going the distance to community was one way to value difference, another way, suggested by this community professional [12], was to distance the work of CBR from its impossible claims and all the ways those claims organize collaborative work: "I think that we need to separate ourselves from this label we call CBR. Maybe, we still use it, but invest less in the label itself and more in the actual work that the label claims to be doing."

Spaces of Dissent

Practices of distance made the spaces in-between collaborators transparent and also opened up space where dissent was possible. As Pratt (1992) suggested, space of dissent are sites where all occupants are disrupted and confronted, but also inspired and enriched. Here a community professional [3] described spaces of conflict as a difficult yet normalized part of CBR: "It was such a tight little community that, of course, you were going to have all kinds of issues that are about how people work with each other and who feels respected and who feels dismissed." A peer [1] challenged the paternalism of imposed consensus: "I was not going to get into what everybody called demeaning. When they {academics} say: 'We're going to have groups and you have to get a long.' Treating us like children."

Spaces of dissent were seen as crucial to transgressive knowledge work. Conversants emphasised the importance of creating spaces of safety to minimize the risk of dissent and

maximize respect. A peer [2a] highlighted the clear assurances needed to ensure a space of safety

and mutual trust: "I think you need to make it very plain to people that they can say whatever the

heck they like and it's not going to change things for them at all… and everything will still be

good." A community professional [16b] also proposed ways to generate space for safe dissent,

but here the management of dissenting spaces is both progressive and procedural.

> Its very clearly outlined. If there is racism and sexism and what will happen if
> these things happen. So the processes are embedded right from the beginning in
> terms of ways of working. People around the table know that its respectful
> disagreements and tensions …So, that it is safe and ok to call things out.

A community professional [3] noted that community collaborators are increasingly able

to voice their concerns: "It's kind of exciting to do work with her and the women that are in her

community because they're not afraid to tell you what they think." Another community

professional [11a] observed a similar shift toward challenging academic collaborators. Here

community collaborators have clear agendas in contrast to the constitution of community as a

passive beneficiary.

> I remember having this discussion around why we are pampering to researcher's
> interests? What about our interests as an organization? What are we getting out of
> it? And then sitting back and saying to them: 'We need answers to a, b, c, and d!'

A graduate student [11d] spoke of opening up space for criticality as primary strategy for

fostering transgressive knowledge: "You can open a space where they can see through systems.

Youth read them very critically and apply their bullshit radar to them, and then respond in a way

that works for them." Although dissensus was broadly embraced as a transgressive practice,

conversants at times found it unsettling. As argued in the first section of this chapter, unsettling

affect was seen as catalyzing different collaborative relations, which resonates with Todd's

(2011) proposal of ambivalence as a site of responsible practice. Here two community

professionals [16a & b] described their struggles with embracing dissent.

> One of our inclusion researchers was always going to politicians. I am thinking:
> 'Oh my gosh! She is going all over the city with this and what's happening?'
> There were never any bad things that arose, but I was sometimes worried because
> they were going door to door doing things I would never do as an individual or
> professional. But if I believe in this process, then I have to believe that they think
> this is how to do it. [16b]

> And it is that community ownership of the data. They own the data then they can
> take it where they want to take it. It is hard to let go of some of those pieces. [16a]

However, sometimes dissensus was so great that it led collaborators to leave the project.

A community professional [3] naturalised exits and entries, which recalls Tuck and Yang's

(2012) conceptualization of contingent collaboration that recognizes that leaving a collaboration

is not a failure but an ethical, expectable, and strategic choice.

> I loved that project so. They were having problems with staffing and relationships
> and who was doing what. Instead of hiding from that they came to me and said:
> 'Here's what's going on, but we really still believe in the project.' And so there
> were some people that decided to leave the project. And a new group came
> together and and continued with it.

Opening up Institutional, Organizational, and Activist Spaces

In addition to opening transgressive social spaces between and among differently situated collaborators, conversants proposed strategies for opening up institutional and organizational spaces, as well as occupying activist spaces. In contrast to chapter 8's analysis of the seemingly intractable institutional arrangements, here conversants strategically negotiated oppressive arrangements. A community professional [12] advocated for a push toward greater institutional support for collaboration and a pull away from academe's claims to build communities.

> I think what has to be done is to nudge the university bureaucracy in a particular direction, so that it becomes more supportive of the people who want to do this kind of research and also of the communities that the university will claim it is helping to build.

Another proposal for fostering institutional openings in academe, was to advocate for incentives that support collaborative knowledge work. Here the materiality of collaboration is brought into view, which is distinct from the immateriality of academics working for free discussed in chapter 7. A community professional [14] described the advocacy of CBR networks to increase academe's support of CBR scholarship, which recalls Eubanks' (2009) double bind of engaging power asymmetries within institutions that neither resource or reward collaborative praxis. Targeting increased support for collaboration in academe, however important, re centres academe and ignores the material needs of community.

> One of the goals for the Toronto CBR Network was to advocate for universities and government to create more CBR resources and more CBR friendly institutional frameworks. In some ways what {the national network} is doing is

actually quite good work and I hope I'll be able to contribute to that. Their focus

is trying to convince universities to create incentive structures for CBR.

An academic [4] described a strategy that builds openings into funding arrangements and,

ultimately, into the collaboration itself. Notably community engagement is still constituted as

latently entering the project and, therefore, academe, as in the preceding quote, remains centred.

You just have to be flexible. What I did with my proposals is to say well, here are

things that we are interested but as we bring in more partners this might change.

So trying to make sure that you build that into your proposals, so your proposals

don't sound like they're too closed.

While some saw these incremental openings as creating space for other ways of knowing

and knowers to flourish, this community professional [14] advocated for a complete over turn:

"We're trying to transform the whole research academic knowledge production practice itself."

The tension between transformation and incrementalism is conceptualized by anti/post colonial

theorists as working both within and against oppressive systems (Khan, 2001; Spivak, 2005).

The within/against strategy is evident in the conversant's [14] initial proposal of a complete

transformation, which is followed, in the quote below, by incremental reforms.

Our ED, management, and our board were able to reframe a health promoter

position into community based research researcher position and and convince the

Ministry that CBR is health promotion work…but my longer term plan is to sit on

the advisory committee for government research and public health to try and

convince them to create more CBR/engaged granting streams. That'll be crucial

unless we have that — it's {CBR} going to stay small.

An academic [4] suggested the transgressive possibilities of inviting youth into academe and post secondary students into the youth's communities. Here taking space worked in both directions and transformed academe into a public commons and community into a pedagogical space.

> People assume this space belongs to us, the faculty and staff but no, this is a publicly funded institution. This space belongs to our students or even community members have access to university space, to book meetings, etc. But people don't see it that way? I think that the best part of the project is really having them {racialized youth} coming here to do the meetings. On the other hand, the students want to go to the community. So it's about trying to find ways for students to go into the community and then for the youth to come in here.

Some conversants proposed alliances with activist or grassroots activities. For example, this peer [2b] envisioned a CBR project that was flexible enough to transgress institutional arrangements: "I would love to see a project where it's actually guided by the community with grass roots uprising... and enough flexibility to actually change with the community's direction, even if it doesn't tie in with the original funding plan." Although rare, grassroots driven CBR has been realized in projects using the models of Community Owned and Managed Research (Heaney, Wilson & Wilson, 2007) and of the Harlem Community and Academic Partnership (Israel et al., 2006).

Decentring academic spaces as the site of knowledge production recalls Mohanty (2003) proposal that one way to challenge neoliberal and colonial modes of knowledge production is to forge alliances with social movements. Likewise, Langdon and Larweh (2015) advocated for a

reconceptualization of participatory research that is situated within and co-designed by existing

social movements. While the first academic conversant [5b] proposed a strategic invitation by

activists to academe, her academic co-conversant [5b] suggested that you can not wait for an

invitation you must already be there. Here activists garner credibility through affiliations with

academics and academics attain legitimacy through activist alliances.

> The invited approach is very clear...it would be a group of activist organizations
> who are very clear about what they want to do and that they want some help to do
> it. For many of them there is a particular credibility attached to "research" that has
> an institution attached with it, which enables their work. Its strategic and useful to
> supporting their expertise.[5b]

> I think its about being activists and by being there in those spaces already. In my
> own experience, the farther outside that world I go the more invested I become in
> academia and trying to stake out some territory, and the less time I dedicate to
> those other kinds of activities. Also, the less possible, less legitimate it would be if
> I just kind of started hanging out in these spaces now.[5a]

Transgressing Scale: Reorienting Toward Social and Epistemic Transformation

As the conversant above proposed, reorienting toward social action is a key transgressive

move for collaborative research. However, as argued in chapters 5 and 6, CBR's discursive

desires for social transformation are largely unmet and replaced by individual scales of impact.

Despite these slippages of scale, the critical hope for social change persists because it is a crucial

repository for the goodness of CBR. Blackstock et al. (2015) traced the tensions between desires

for social transformation and realities of incremental reforms to propose a more humble aim,

which requires a "multi-scalar imagination" (p. 260) that orients toward both individual and

social scales of change. However, what Blackstock and colleagues missed in their consideration of multiple scales of impact was the epistemic possibilities of collaborative knowledge work. This section presents conversants reimaginings of scale that reorient toward social and epistemic impact, and, therefore, resist the governmental move of social research standing in for social change.

An academic [4] conversant was pragmatic in her appraisal of the potential for research to drive social change. The conversant described attending a community forum and being asked: "How long it's going to be before we start seeing changes?" and then she acknowledged that this was "kind of out of your control." Despite this recognition of impossible trajectories of change, the conversant expressed a firm commitment to research that goes beyond documentation and reaches toward social change: "You can't cross your hands and just observe because then all you are doing is putting people's grief on a stage…your just watching them, but you are not doing anything…There has to be a way that you can try to do something." The tension of CBR striving toward social change while acknowledging its im/possibility is itself an act of resistance, which recalls Duggan and Muñoz (2009) proposal that critical hope is a reach toward the impossible. Another academic [8] argued for a similar refocusing on the social. The conversant challenged the taken for granted assumption that individual transformations will cumulatively lead to systemic change.

> Participatory action research tries to change things within the individuals with the idea that the individuals will then change the system. But we don't really change the system itself. The tension is can we go a step further and say that we are engaging in research that's targeting changing the system directly.

An upstream focus on social action was proposed by a community professional [14]: "If you don't have very proactive explicit social change, policy change goals already in your CBR, it's less likely that it'll actually lead to policy change and positive improvements." While this strategy signals a politicized turn toward the social, it at the same time colludes with neoliberal privileging of the use value of knowledge. Although social change and policy development are two distinct scales of impact, CBR is implied in and frustrates both. A similar strategy for refocusing on the social was proposed by an academic [8] who suggested that catalytic factors should be the focus of study. However, even as evidence-based practice (EBP) is challenged, a residue of its logic remains in the proposal that we can transform evidence into change if only we study the right thing and, thereby, get the right evidence.

> And I had this moment when I thought: We've got oceans of evidence, documenting the negative consequences of inequality. What we don't know is how to turn that evidence into policy change. We don't need more of this evidence. We need to know how to turn this evidence into policy change. We're studying the wrong thing.

While reorienting toward social change was an essential transgression of scale, conversants also proposed strategies for epistemic transformation. The foregrounding of the epistemic contributions of CBR stands in contrast to the analyses of chapters 5 and 6, where the goodness of application and action were set against the futility of theory. This binary is contested by a community professional [14] who argued, like Mignolo (2000; 2009) and de Sousa Santos (2012), that epistemic transformation must come first: "The concept of knowledge democracy is

very appealing …that in order to promote social justice or economic equality you have to first promote cognitive justice."

An academic [17] observed that transgressive knowledge work requires both epistemic and social transformation. This approach recalls Fine and Torre's (2006) discussion of "the spatialities of change" (p. 416), where planning for scales of impact becomes a means of mapping knowledge-making onto mobilization for social change. However, the devaluation of epistemic contributions as "just an academic exercise" in contrast to urgent needs of community organising can still be located in the final two sentences.

> We began to realize that there is a kind of documentation that we could produce that would both aid the kind of understandings I was trying to arrive at as an academic and also serve organizing purposes. Things were too thin on the ground for it just to be an academic exercise. It had to have a bit of muscle to it and accomplish some community organizing purposes.

Other conversants prioritised epistemic transformation as a crucial scale of impact for collaborative knowledge work. A community professional [16a] contended that affect was a different way of knowing that was often delegitimised in other research approaches. The centrality of affect, was primarily configured in chapter 5 as an instrumental exchange, but is constituted here as an epistemic breach. In the quote below affective knowing is positioned as a epistemic transformation, but is then undermined as intangible. The persistent bifurcation of cognitive/intellectual from embodied knowing is challenged by scholars of affect (Gregg & Seigworth, 2010; Kumar, 2013; Massumi, 2010; Mishra Tarc, 2013a; Wong, 2004), but remains durable even in sociality of collaborative research.

Inclusion research has allowed for the concept of what you feel to be a reality and it allowed more scope for what becomes evidence. Because if I feel something about that it is as important as something that is tangible.

In another challenge to dominant epistemic conventions, an academic [13a] resisted normative demands to tell "good stories," which preserved the good feelings of listeners and covered over structural inequalities. As Ahmed (2007) contended, happy stories of diversity replace unhappy stories of racism so telling "bad stories" is a way of keeping race in view. In the quote below, the transgressive work of resisting normative demands for happy stories brings the social into view by making clear that such hopeful narratives are unlikely for a few and impossible for many.

Those kind of narratives have an arc to them and they are supposed to start badly and then there is an intervention, maybe its CBR or maybe its a program and then its supposed to end happily. So what if you tell a really bad stories? Part of the subversion is just telling the story and knowing that story is not ending well … that is doesn't have that arc to it. Subvert the arc!

Likewise, the epistemic resistance to the consumptive logic of trauma tales is subverted by another academic [17] who refused to tell any more "patient porn" stories and proposed that a paradigm shift is in the works. Refusals to conform to the consumptive logic of story telling, interrogated in chapter 5, are taken up by mad scholars as a means of recovering the transgressive possibilities of embodied knowing (Costa et a., 2012; Howell & Voronka, 2012).

We need to complicate this … as researchers we need some new practices here. It's one of those moments right? I think we are on the verge of it, we've created an opportunity for a new discussion: If we are not going to tell patient porn stories

… so now what? I was talking to someone the other day about telling

organizational stories — that's a shift we could probably work with!

Epistemic transgressions are linked by a community professional [12] to global south

epistemologies. The quote below invokes De Sousa Santos (2012) proposal that southern

epistemologies challenge narrow Euro/Western-centric ways of knowing and, instead, embrace

the vast diversity of thinking, feeling, relating to human and nonhuman beings. The quote also

centres affect, sociality, and good feelings as the core values of CBR, which suggests the

possibilities of a counter governance through goodness.

> At the end of the day all of us need to come out of this feeling good, feeling that
> we achieved something. So, I think that is what it's {CBR} all about. I've been
> reading an east African author. When people talk about knowledge production,
> they usually begin with some French philosophers right ? But this guy — what
> he's talking about … It's not only an African thing; it's a thing we need right here
> in Toronto: how do we get people to come together, acknowledge our differences
> but respect them.

Although the preceding quote and those that highlight affective knowing suggest that

CBR may offer a rupture of Western Eurocentric epistemologies, conversants consideration of

relational ways of knowing were rare. This chapter's analyses of the epistemic possibilities of co-

producing knowledge replicates the ongoing marginalisation of indigenous (Coombes et al.,

2011; Getty, 2010; Kovach, 2005; Romm, 2015) and global south epistemologies (De Sousa

Santos, 2012; Mignolo, 2000; 2009; 2012). The scant consideration of these distinct approaches

to knowledge work is an absent presence throughout this thesis, which focuses on a particular

distillation of collaborative research in North America with a focus on the GTA. While different ways of knowing abound within these geographic boundaries, when taken up by CBR they are transformed. It is my hope that those of us who are committed to transgressive collaborative knowledge work will find a way to learn from and support alternative ways of knowing with as little colonising and co-opting as possible.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter brought together conversants' resistant practices and reimaginings of collaborative knowledge work. The transgressive proposals outlined in this chapter do not escape governance through participation, but do offer strategies to contest the overly prescriptive and institutionalized norms for CBR subjects and practices. Conversants critiques of a dying or hopelessly institutionalized CBR were set along side more hopeful futurities reimagined through embracing failure, criticality, and transparency to unsettle the too settled regimes of CBR. Unsettling practices that contested the taken for granted goodness and good feelings of CBR were troubled through affects of uncertainty, humility, and discomfort. Both academic and community professional conversants advocated for the transgressive potential of unsettled affect. The absence of such proposals from peers may signal that unsettled affect, for these conversants, is the norm rather than a transgressive strategy. These uncomfortable feelings were not ameliorated to recuperate the goodness of CBR, but positioned by academic and community professionals as pedagogical opportunities to think about collaborative knowledge-making in other ways. These proposals were not held out as a best practice, even if sometimes desires for better creeped in, but rather as transgressive moves to resist prescriptive participation. The

tyranny of everyone doing everything, where scaling the ladder of participation was the end goal, was contested by conversants as over burdening community collaborators and under valuing the complementarity CBR holds out as a central tenet.

The following section inquired into the ways in which conversants transgressed fixed, colonial subjectivities through concepts of strategic essentializing, self synecdochising, and refusal. Peer conversants described themselves as knowing performers who strategically leveraged their subject positions for personal and socio-political goods that also, and often, incurred a material or symbolic loss. For some conversants these costs could be mediated because of the protections privilege affords and therefore, activated a responsibility to speak when it may be too dangerous for others. While the privileged "outsider" subject could leverage her position within an ethics of responsibility, she could also conceal her privilege to make claims to being other: a member of the community or ally, which simultaneously resisted hierarchical arrangements and re-secured the goodness of academic subjects. The problematics of strategic reconfigurations of subject positions were subverted entirely by conversants who chose to refuse a position altogether, which resisted some of the moves to innocence in claiming to be otherwise, but not all.

Transgressing subjects demanded transgressive spaces. Spatial transgressions were conceptualized through practices of distance that made clear the social spaces in-between collaborators; generated safe spaces of dissent; and opened up institutional and organizational arrangements, as well as activist spaces. Academic conversants described stepping back, or stepping into community spaces, which for the most part stood in contrast to colonial desires for

proximity. Peers were unequivocal in proposing that academe must recede to enable community to take up space. Generating safe spaces to contest CBR's social relations was advocated for by both peer and community professional conversants. Spaces of dissent led to, like unsettling practices, uncomfortable affective terrain. Sometimes discomfort resulted in collaborators leaving a project which was naturalized as a contingent commitment rather than a failures.

Strategies to open up institutional spaces, particular of academe, were identified as transgressive by both academics and peers. However, these strategies were often incremental and re-centred the needs of academe and brought into view the tensions of desires for greater institutional support with desires for less institutionalized CBR. Transgressions of institutional spaces were also traced to occupying activist spaces, which in some ways reproduced colonial desires for proximity. Community professionals occupy a liminal space between academe and community members/peers, and, therefore, were more aware of the merits of working both within and against institutional arrangements.

A final section inquired into transgressing scale, which recognized the value of individual transformation, but reinvigorated the pursuit of social transformation as an essential aim and impossible claim. Academic conversants reconstructed the hubris of CBR's claims to activate social change as a more humble project where collaborative knowledge-making is one among many different modes of counter governance. Both academic and community conversants reflected on the possibilities of collaborative knowledge-making as epistemic disobedience, where knowing in relation to others was the underpinning of social transformation. Both the

social and epistemic possibilities of CBR were reimagined to contribute to the art of not being

governed quite so much.

Chapter 10: Contributions and Other Lines of Inquiry

Writing Story: Sleeping in a Less Crowded Bed

    A thesis has a way of intruding on every part of your life. My family and friends know this too clearly. I know that another monomanie will take hold but I would like to be able, at least for a little while, to sleep without constantly awakening to consider some niggling aspect of this thesis. And in this reprieve, I can become a refuser of all the writerly subjects I have inhabited … until we meet again?

Introduction

This thesis aimed to theorise and document the uneven social relations of CBR, while resisting identifying bad or good participative practices. It thus avoids, at this juncture (although the pull is strong), to put forward a blueprint for more responsive, responsible, collaborative research. Theorising the social relations of CBR through multiple forms of governance not only addressed a theoretical gap, but also made transparent the bifurcation between discursive aims/ claims to socially just knowledge production and the actualities of material practices. I began this thesis journey at a moment when I fell, perhaps pushed by an astute community collaborator, into the abyss between my own good intentions and oppressive participatory practices. I have not climbed out of the gap, nor have I narrowed it. Rather, I have attempted to map the different ways in which that distance is produced and resisted.

This chapter outlines the significance of the analyses of the governance of social relations of CBR, as well as theoretical and methodological contributions of this thesis. In keeping with the postal framework of this thesis, these affordances are positioned as a means of opening up toward other lines of inquiry. I begin by proposing that the two critical reviews of academic and grey documents contribute a comprehensive engagement with the limits of the CBR literature. In

the next section, I consider the methodological contributions of this thesis with a focus on how

dialogic theoretical pluralism offers a post qualitative design that blurs theory and analysis, and

holds the theoretical and empirical in tension. The following section outlines the substantive

contributions emerging from the four strands of analyses that I argue offer an assemblage of

governance through participation, which reconfigures CBPR's socially transformative aims into

programmatic practices. A fifth and final strand proposes the ways in these governmental

practices are resisted and reimagined. The postal framework of this thesis affirms that these

analyses are provisional and partial. I, therefore, conclude this chapter by considering what is left

out of and what is left in this thesis as other lines of inquiry.

Contributions: To the Literature, Methodology and

Theory, and Substantive Analyses

The contributions of this thesis build on those scholars before me who have considered

governance through the particular techne of CBR. Although working in parallel and taking

different angles into governance, the recent scholarship of Guta and colleagues (2013; 2014;

2016) must be singled out. We have arrived at similar theoretical propositions, while working

separately, which is an indication of the dividing disciplinary practices that undermine our

collective contributions. Nevertheless, I am immensely hopeful that critical and theoretical

scholarship interrogating CBR has a toe-hold in a field that previously seemed unwilling to

embrace a criticality and reflexivity about its practice.

My inquiry into collaborative research owes even more to the unnamed conversants who

shared their critical insights with me in person and with whom I continue to dialogue with

throughout the pages of this thesis. The polyvocality of thinking, reading, talking, and writing research make for a crowded field of contributors, but as Kvale (2006) reminds the monopoly on interpretation remains mine, and, I would add, the responsibility for representation. With trepidation, I take on the crowded 'I' to propose what I think are the more fruitful aspects of this dissertation.

A Contribution to the Literature

Chapter 2 critically engages with the academic literature to interrogate a series of problematics that limit inquiry into the uneven social relations of CBR. To clarify the discursive and material diversity of the field, I presented a rubric of the different approaches, summarised in a table on page 25, according to the weight they accorded to participation, action, engagement and partnership, or to a particular social group or issue. Although such a taxonomy was useful in providing a context for the critiques that followed, I propose its more important utility is in outlining how definitional plurality leads to multiple, divergent claims to collaboration with little documentation of underlying participatory practices. Also, I argue that the discursive reconfiguring of participative research acts to distance newer iterations from the troubling colonial continuities of campus/community collaborations.

A similar fragmentation was traced in evaluative reviews of the CBR scholarship that tended toward disciplinary specificity and a criticality that was tempered by a best/better practices discourse. I propose that better practices rendered technical what is a political and ethical challenge and elide that the uneven social relations of CBR are not remediable in the context of an uneven world. Even those reviews that acknowledged the broader structural

inequalities that impinge on CBR tended toward identifying institutional barriers that were positioned as largely intractable and, as I argue, disconnected from the neoliberal/colonial macro rationales of the knowledge economy. I propose that the CBR literature's pervasive displacement of collaborative research from the broader social conditions where it occurs, protects its egalitarian and emancipatory claims and obscures the politics and ethics of the encounter.

Chapter 3 offers a critical engagement with the grey literature to contextualise the national, provincial, and local context of my inquiry. Few historical tracings of Canadian CBR were available, and those that were situated the institutional era of CBR as past, while others situated it as a future goal. For the most part, the institutionalisation of CBR was naturalised as a good outcome with the exception of Bourke (2013) who troubled institutionalisation and intensification of CBR by linking it to the instrumental aims of knowledge capitalism. To counter the lack of specificity on the context of CBR in Canada, I trace national, provincial, and local institutional arrangements.

Institutional texts, while significant sites that organise CBR, are under scrutinised in the literature on collaborative research. These institutional texts, while different from one another, converge on the paradigm of partnering to compete. National, regional, and local funding arrangements were considered to track the erosion in support for CBR over the past decade and a shift toward partnership led by academe with little acknowledgement of or support to community collaborators. A trend toward securing funding, as a measure of the success of collaboration in and of itself, signalled a disturbing entrenchment of the neoliberal metrics of the knowledge economy.

Manuals, toolkits, and research reports emerging from collaborative research in the GTA were contrasted with the academic literature. Unlike the academic literature, these documents outline the everyday practices and challenges of collaboration and a criticality that embraced the politics of co-producing knowledge. The more robust criticality of these grey reports alerts to how the goodness of CBR comes under scrutiny when everyday practices and relations are brought into view. However, like the academic literature, these documents for the most part held out the promise of better practices to even out the political and ethical problematics of collaboration. The tensions between desires for egalitarian social relations and actualities of instrumental participatory practices are the site where my analyses of CBR begins.

Methodological and Theoretical Contributions

As I noted in the introduction to this chapter, a recent interest in theorising CBR through postal governmentality theories has significantly changed the methodological and theoretical CBR scholarship. Prior to this body of scholarship, postal theories were rare in the CBR, but not the PD, scholarship. Despite the welcome entry of poststructural theorising of CBR, thus far, there remains a schism between postal thinking and analytic strategies, which remain tethered to the interpretive comforts of coding and categorization. The tension between thinking and doing post theoretical scholarship, as outlined in chapter 4's magpie methodology, was a dissonance I could not ignore or bridge by integrating my postal framework with a more traditional qualitative analytic approach. Documenting my struggles with locating a defensible design makes transparent the everyday affective and intellectual labour of knowledge work, and provides a

blueprint for others who find themselves at a similar dissonant site in conceptualising a post empirical methodology.

Although I rely on the Pluralism in Qualitative Research (PQR) scholarship, and in particular the theoretical pluralism proposed by Mazzei and Jackson (2012), I extend the methodological argument and sharpen its application. Whereas Mazzei and Jackson plug in concepts that are nested within a single episteme — poststructuralism, I extend my theoretical reach to postcolonial and affect theories, while tracking the affordance and limits of all three theoretical entry points. I also elected to keep the five theoretical analyses in dialogic relation to one another to avoid a developmental progression toward a singular argument, which I argue is incongruent with a post orientation toward plurality and paradox. While Clarke and colleagues' (2015) meta-study appraised the value of theoretical and analytic pluralism, they do not go as far as to suggest that theoretical readings are analyses. The blurring of theory and analyses is made transparent in this thesis' methodology, as is the balancing of the theoretical and empirical so that neither are privileged. I attend to these methodological tensions, with full complicity of my failures, to address St. Pierre's query: "What's one to do with poststructural theory in empirical research? Where's that textbook? Where's that 'research design?" (2014, p. 10).

The dialogic approach to theoretical pluralism is aligned with the dialogic approach to interviewing and analyses, which aimed toward a sociality both in talk and text. As outlined in chapter 4, I had hoped to convene conversants who were positioned differently within CBR in group interviews to enact the social relations of collaboration, while critically reflecting upon it.

However, conversants negotiated multiple formats, but none quite realised the dialogue across research and social locations I had envisioned. Therefore, I reproduce these conversations between diversely situated conversants and myself in this thesis text. The methodological sociality resists, albeit impossibly so, subsuming conversants' critical analyses into my own by placing the theoretical and the empirical in dialogue. Retaining longer quotes by conversants in conversation with my theoretical arguments opened up space for the reader to consider the merits of the empirical and the theoretical. This dialogic approach aims to avoid privileging any one perspective and revealing the heterogeneity within and among research locations. Also, distinct from the disciplinary divisions of the CBR literature, conversants were sought who collaborated with communities across a variety of topics and therefore, disciplinary differences were apparent. Such differences became a provocative site of analyses in chapter 8 of how exceptional sites of inquiry led to special institutional arrangements for a few, while securing the status quo for many.

The ethics guiding this thesis were positioned as a dialogue between a poststructural commitment to terminal openness and a postcolonial commitment to temper the violence of representation, while keeping its socio-political construction in view. These were, as elsewhere in the methodology, conceptualised as a doubled move: where ethical considerations were located both at the site of the empirical analyses and my reflexivity in the production of this text. Explicitly documenting a poststructural postcolonial ethics to orient both the empirical analyses and the production of this thesis puts the doubled responsibilities and theoretical commitments of the thesis up front.

Substantive Contributions: Five Theoretical Analyses

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the dialogic theoretical pluralist design makes a synthesis of findings incongruent and undesirable. Therefore, I will retain the distinctions between the strands of analyses by outlining each reading's particular affordances, while at times signalling how each takes a different entry point into similar territory but with distinct effects. Each reading offers a different angle into thinking about how the social relations of CBR are governed through affect, participatory practices, colonial practices of subjectification, institutional technologies, as well as resisted through counter governmental strategies. Governance through participation does not reside in any one authority, technique, practice, procedure, or discourse and as such is elusive, emergent, and dynamic. Multiple entry points bring the complexity of this assemblage of governmental strategies into view.

Chapter 5 brings the sociality of CBR to the fore as the site where goodness is produced and protected. Although more recent literature, particularly that emerging from the partnership scholarship, has begun to attend to relationship and trust building among collaborators, I argue that these relations are constructed as an instrumental friendship within the logic of the project. While Guta and colleagues (2014) provided a governmental analysis of the construction of a benign academic, I build on this analysis to theorise the particular desires conversants had to do good, socially transformative, work and how these desires are affective hooks into CBR. Drawing on affect theories and the exchanges they afford, I trace how affect organises the social relations of CBR and operates through whiteness in ways that extend the current governmental and partnership scholarship on collaborative research.

Next, I interrogate how the desires for social transformation, which is the ultimate telos of governance through participation, are unmet, and therefore, must be reconfigured as individual transformations of community collaborators. This reconfiguration of the social to the individual is argued in this reading to be driven by desires for goodness and good feelings. However, it is taken up as a participative practice of appropriating local labour in chapter 6 and as a subject-making practice in chapter 7. These multiple readings, while distinct, converge as an assemblage of governmental practices, which rely on affect, neoliberal individualism, and colonial subjectification to reconstitute social research as social programming.

Chapter 5 also offers a fine-grained analysis of two particular sites where the goodness of CBR are made and unmade: authenticity and giving voice, which are largely valorised in the literature, but heavily critiqued by conversants. The consumptive logic of desires for authenticity through proximity and the fetish for testimonies of trauma drew on critiques from postcolonial (Hartman, 1997; Farley, 199; Razack, 2007) and mad scholarship (Costa et al., 2012; Howell & Voronka, 2012). In contrast to the CBR literature, these practices activate bad affect, which is taken up as a political and pedagogic opportunity in chapter 9. Chapter 5 closes by conceptualizing the affective exchanges of CBR through an analysis of technologies of friendship (Ahmed, 2004), which were complicated for racialised scholars who may or be assumed to be already connected with communities of interest. Academic conversants were more likely to constitute the relationships of collaborative research as personal, which bypassed how these affective relations are socially and institutionally arranged. In contrast, the affective labours of community professionals and peers were linked to material arrangements to preserve the

goodness and good feelings of academe. I argue that these good feelings obscure the structurally mediated requirement to partner to compete and that affective relations are what makes the reconfiguration from social to individual change possible and desirable.

Chapter 6 provides an analysis of what CBR's claims/aims to goodness do, in particular what participative practices they activate and normalise, and to what governmental rationalities. The analysis interrogates how participative practices are used to gain access to over- researched or otherwise research resistant communities. Participatory practices devolve recruitment to community partners without material support, which I argue is linked to the erosion of public funding to postsecondary institutions and social services. Once access is secured, regulatory practices take hold. Such practices coordinate consensus toward the intervention under inquiry, impose prescriptive procedures, and act to render communities responsible and academe irresponsible for community benefit. What is distinct to CBR is that unlike other research approaches that target local knowledge, participatory approaches also target local labour. I put forward a detailed analysis of the appropriation and coordination of a cost effective, subordinate, local labour force, which attends to the political economies of low/no compensation and conditions of precarious labour. The shift toward an employment model, while potentially conveying labour rights, reconfigures the knowing community collaborator as a labouring technician, which is taken up in Chapter 7 as stripping the local subject of her epistemic status. The transformation to a labouring peer researcher model further instantiates how governmental practices reconstitute CBR as an individualist intervention.

Beyond individualism, I consider other neoliberal governmental rationalities such as entrepreneurship, commodification, and competition, which I argue displace desires for social action with the narrow metrics of the knowledge economy. Although there is a rich governmental scholarship on the neoliberalising of academe (Jankowski & Provezis, 2014; Larner & Le Heron, 2005; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Thorpe, 2008; Yee & Wagner, 2013), inquiry into how engagement and collaboration with communities collude with the same governmental rationalities is less common. I propose that campus/community collaborations are better able to conceal their neo/ liberal/colonial rationalities. I argue that participation as a governmental practice enables a second reconfiguration of CBR where social research stands in for and subverts social change. I extend the problematic of displacing social action with social research by considering how action itself draws on the use value rationales of the knowledge economy and precludes the possibilities of CBR's epistemic contributions. This last consideration of how desires for socially actionable outcomes are a fertile ground for neoliberal metrics to take hold was least visible to conversants, and to myself until much later in the analyses. The invisibility of the alignment of social action with the rationales of the knowledge economy makes clear how CBR's socially just aims are protected from scrutiny.

Chapter 7 takes up governance through colonial practices of subjectification. Following Spivak's (2005) recommendation to focus on subject-making practices, rather than on subjects, I tracked the processes by which CBR subjects come to know and conduct themselves. I argue that community comes into being through the CBR project and that this synthetic production erases heterogeneity. A homogeneous community requires homogeneous subjects which I trace using

the concept of othering to propose that the benevolent, expert academic subject is secured against a community subject fixed as a beneficiary. While others have interrogated the making of a benevolent academic against a beneficiary community (Guta et a., 2014), this analysis demonstrates how binary operations are required for the shift toward a labouring peer who has experience and technical know-how, but lacks epistemic status. Hierarchical research locations were transparent to conversants, however, the raced, gendered, and classed subject-making practices were less apparent. As argued in the academic and grey literature reviews, social location was constructed as a topic of intervention and inquiry, but rarely understood as coordinating CBR itself. The invisibility of race, gender, and class as governmental subject-making practices, I argue, is made possible by constituting CBR as outside of the social and already egalitarian and emancipatory.

I propose diversity only comes into view at the bottom, which subverts an interrogation of whiteness at the top and the different social negations of racialised scholars. This analysis of the production and naturalisation of difference to the local subject was extended through Spivak's (2005) conceptualisation of the old and new subaltern. The inclusion of the new, visible, homogenised subaltern required for the CBR project conceals the exclusion of the old subaltern who is rendered invisible and uninvited, as well as obscures the heterogeneity within academe and community. I propose that the new subaltern is produced as homogeneously lacking so that participatory practices of improvement and individual intervention can take hold.

Postcolonial theorists (Henkel & Stirrat, 2001; Heron, 2007; Kapoor, 2005) have tracked the moral imperatives that activate PD projects of improvement. I build on this analysis to argue

that benevolent, expert CBR academic subjects are constituted through the discursive and material practices of capacity building, which relies on practices of sameness to assimilate the local subject into academe. Contrary to the CBR literature's promotion of the goodness of capacity building (Labonte & Laverack, 2001; Masuda, Creighton, Nixon & Frankish, 2011), I argue that capacity building is a subject-making practice, which produces the incapable local subjects required to rationalise further projects of improvement. I propose that capacity building not only stands in for community benefit, but reconfigures CBR as a training program. As argued in chapter 5's analysis of how desires for the social are reworked at the scale of the individual, and in chapter 6's analysis of how participatory practices instantiate the subordinate labouring peer, the production of incapable community subjects makes thinkable the transformation of CBR from social research into social programming.

Chapter 8 puts the institutional arrangements of CBR under scrutiny to bring the programmatic aspects of governance to the fore. I argue that institutional technologies coordinate the participatory practices critiqued in chapter 6 and the subject-making practices contested in chapter 7. As I put forth in the introduction to this chapter, these different aspects of governance do not cohere to a singular end, but rather opportunistically take up diverse sites in which to shape conduct. This chapter begins with an analysis of declensionist perspectives on CBR that stood in contrast with desires for increasing institutionalisation and intensification put forward in the literature. The analysis critiques the institutionalisation of CBR as undermining collectivity and affirming scientism, which relocates CBR within post-positivist epistemologies and interventionist trials.

Unlike the literature which tends to locate barriers in particular institutions, the analysis focused on governmental technologies that emerge from multiple sites of authority. The regulation of time was argued to coordinate CBR subjects' participation, which emanated from funding cycles, academic audits, and ethics review protocols. Displacing the regulation of time from particular institutions allows for a multi-faceted consideration of how time organises conduct. A provocative example was the paradoxical temporal arrangements, which enabled fast project timelines emanating from funders and slow dissemination processes of academe, so that "best practices" were irrelevant once they reached end users.

The regulation of time was overlaid with a consideration of how institutional technologies authorised some knowers, knowledge activities, and outcomes. These institutional tactics rendered community collaborators as illegitimate, which echoes the subject-making practices discussed in chapter 7 that secured the epistemic monopoly of academe. Legitimate knowledge outcomes were authorised through measurable audits, also discussed in Chapter 6, and positive accounts of success, which erased the challenges of CBR, as well as the learnings that might arise from more transparent reporting. Another way in which institutional technologies maintained status quo arrangements was through the dividing practice of producing exceptional subjects and sites of inquiry. Those sites of CBR with deep activist and grassroots legacies led to significant institutional openings. I propose, paradoxically, that these gains act to sustain the very status quo that these advocates contested. The analysis of the special institutional arrangements accorded to HIV/AIDs and Indigenous CBR, both recognises the significant gains made by advocates and scholars, as well as how these gains are made at the cost of exclusions of

others. An analysis of this divisive governmental practice brings to fore how projects of inclusion make possible and concealable ongoing exclusions.

While other governmental practices reconfigured social change as social research and then as social programming, institutional technologies of governance did neither, but remained entrenched in their own neoliberal, neocolonial rationales of extraction and accumulation. I propose that the intractability assigned to institutional arrangements prevents collaborators from collectivising toward advocating for change at this site of powerful governance.

Chapter 9 brings resistance to institutionalized CBR to the foreground to counter the weight of the problematics identified in the preceding four chapters. I draw on concepts of critical hope, counter-conduct, and tricksterism to hold the tension between the transgressive possibilities and oppressive practices of CBR. These tensions make transparent that conversants' transgressive proposals do not transcend governmental practices, but offer sideways moves that avoid the normative pull toward a better practice. As I have argued throughout this thesis, CBR's egalitarian claims are unattainable in this uneven world. However, in this chapter I propose that by embracing this impossibility, we can reimagine CBR's futurity.

Critical hope, frames this chapter at the nexus of hopeful/hopelessness. While a particular institutionalised technique of CBR was eulogised as dying out, it was also making way for something different to emerge. Conversants retained critical hope as a process enacted through critical reflectivity, transparency, and modesty about the opportunities and the limits of CBR. This reflexivity was conceptualised as an unsettling where bad affect emerged from conditions of impossibility. In contrast to the governance through goodness and good feelings outlined in

chapter 5, bad affect was constituted as a political, ethical, and pedagogic opportunity.

Furthermore, the impossibility of full participation was taken up as a tyranny that has been

institutionally sanctioned, but is wholly incongruent with the central tenet of engaging multiple

diverse knowers and knowledges. Resistance to this oppressive demand was located in

complementarity where collaborators' interests and different contributions were engaged in ways

that ameliorated the ethical trespass of burdening communities with requests for collaboration

without adequate material support.

The analysis of unsettling affect and practices was followed by an unsettling of fixed and

hierarchical CBR subjectivities. Drawing on tricksterism, and Spivak's (1988; 2005) concepts of

strategic essentialism and self-synecdochising, subject-making was put forward as a site of

resistance. Collaborators were recast as knowing performers who understood, with a nod to both

Foucault (2003d) and Lyotard (1978), the rules of the game and how to play within and against

them. These active subject-making strategies defy the literature's tendency to totalize the power

of academe, especially through claims that CBR can empower communities. This analysis

focuses on collaborators taking power, albeit, unevenly, as resistance practices occur with

relations of relative social privilege. Perhaps, the most provocative proposal by conversants

across research locations, was to take up a stance of a refusing subject, who distances themselves

from any fixed CBR subject position or practice.

Practices of distance were a site of counter governance to contest CBR's desires for

proximity. While some academic subjects elected to step out of the way, which is an exercise of

privilege as well as resistance, community professionals and peers were more likely to push

academe away. Resistance was also evident in conversants' reimagining of spaces of safe dissent as a counter to the coerced consensus critiqued in chapter 7. Spaces of dissent were conceived of as sites where plurality was nurtured and transgressive knowledge-making might flourish. These spaces were not conceptualised as utopian sites. Conversants understood the risks and bad affect that accompany dissensus, which might lead collaborators to leave a project or CBR altogether. However, following on Tuck and Yang (2012), leaving was naturalised as part of an evolving and contingent commitment to collaboration.

In tension with congealed institutional technologies of chapter 8 were openings that conversants were negotiating. Here, as elsewhere, the tension between one strand of analysis and another is not framed as problematic, but as productive by making clear the complexity of working within and against governmental practices. Strategies to shift academic cultures away from narrow audits and toward support for longer term collaborations were proposed as a site of resistance, but these strategies also re-centred the leadership of academe. Another strategy that drew on both resistant and dominant discourses were those proposals that CBR might be transformed through closer alliances with activist movements, which both reproduces desires for proximity, while at the same time opens up extra-institutional spaces.

Transgressive scales were argued to reorient CBR toward social and epistemic transformation, albeit, with more modest aims. CBR was reimagined as one site of counter governance among many that might contribute toward social change without claiming to do so in a single collaborative research project. In addition to strategies to refocus on the social, were those proposals to reimagine CBR as an epistemic breach. Conversants argued that if CBR was

to take seriously its claims to democratic and decolonized knowledge-making, then the epistemic possibilities of collaborative research must be foregrounded. Here affect as a way of knowing was made explicit, in contrast to its constitution as an instrumental exchange, as explored in chapter 5. Also, conversants saw affect as a way of telling, which contested the consumptive logic of disclosure outlined in chapter 5. These reimaginings of CBR, while not offering a means to transcend governance through participation, together contribute toward the art of not being governed quite so much.

Other Lines of Inquiry

I confessed in Chapter 4 that I have a magpie mind and as such, I can see many different shiny paths of inquiry. As I proposed in the introduction to this chapter, limits are not only found in what is left out but what is left in this thesis. The boundaries of this thesis are geographical, political, ethical, social, theoretical, methodological, and much more that lies outside of these pages. I elected a geographical boundary that was both convenient and meaningful: CBR in the GTA. It is where I worked on CBR projects prior to entering a doctoral program and it is where I currently reside. But more than these mundane pragmatics, I wanted to inquire into a particular distillation of participatory research to get at the specificity of its discursive and material practices. However, as I proposed in Chapter 2, the localised nature of participatory practice also precludes a consideration of its collective scale and this remains a productive future inquiry.

Politically, I locate myself as an "old school lefty" who has the privilege of whiteness to have pursued in the past a mostly class-based activism and activist scholarship. Thanks to the pedagogical leanings of my school of social work, and even more to my colleagues' advanced

engagements with the raced and colonial logic of the neoliberal project, I aimed to bring this analysis to collaborative research. I tried, but did not fully succeed, to find ways to open up an explicit discussion of race and colonialism in CBR with conversants. Several factors were at play including: I embodied the racialized privilege that I sought to bring forward; race and colonialism are frequently and problematically more dangerous discussions than those of class; and the already constituted egalitarian, emancipatory claims of CBR silence scrutiny.

As I noted in chapters 2 and 3, race as an intervention and topic of inquiry in CBR is apparent, but as an organising logic of CBR it remains rarely interrogated, which I brought into view in chapter 7. Following on Akom (2011) and Maiter and Joseph (2016), further inquiry into the racing of collaborative research is long overdue. Similar attention is required to interrogate the gendered constitution of CBR as a feminised research praxis. Although chapter 7 provides a preliminary analysis into the ways in which collaborative research subjects are domesticated and depoliticized, there is much more work to be done to challenge these raced and gendered operations. I have long been interested in how race, gender, and class come together to orient first generation academics (which I hope to be) toward CBR, as a means to mediate the tensions of occupying academe by staying closer to our and other's communities.

I began thinking about CBR by considering whether it could ever be an ethical encounter, but the focus on the ethics of collaboration may have eroded under the weight of governmentalist theory. While I outlined in chapter 4 my commitments to a poststructural postcolonial ethics, as Godway and Finn (1994) argued, politics has a way of eclipsing ethics. Guta and colleagues (2016) theorised the ethics of CBR, both within and outside of institutional review protocols, as

practices of counter governance. This is a promising line of scholarship that I hope to contribute

to in the future, perhaps by taking up a long lost thread of Lyotardian ethics as a postmodern

framework for knowledge work. And then there is the sociality of who you converse with both

face to face and in text. As I outlined in chapter 4, I invited fellow tricksters and killjoys into my

project both as interview conversants and as scholars who make up my intellectual community.

Had I started my thesis even five years earlier, I am sure that more cheerleading might have

made its way into this thesis. I look forward to revisiting a more optimistic site at the nexus of

critical hope in future inquiries that celebrate, with a dash of criticality, the many creative,

collaborative knowledge works undertaken both within academe and more importantly beyond.

Theoretically, I elected to pursue breadth over depth and therefore, much work lays

ahead, particularly in the lines of inquiry that deepen my understandings of post/anti colonial

theories to interrogate the different ways that racialized scholars take up collaborative research as

a space of whiteness. I would welcome, in Castleden and colleagues (2012) words, an invitation

for tea with an indigenous community to contribute to the important work of theorising and

doing decolonised knowledge work and yes, talking about the land. However, as a wise elder

once told me: if I did not already have strong ties to an indigenous community, it is unlikely, and

maybe unethical, that I should attempt to forge one based on collaborative research.

If refusal is the beginning of ethics, my methodological choices were a refusal to enact

qualitative analytics that my theoretical inclinations made impossible. Such a refusal foreclosed

on the wide array of analytic tools available if only I had not been so hard headed in pursuing a

theoretical and methodological congruence that was never really possible. As Jackson and

Mazzei (2012) cautioned, despite our theoretical and methodological commitments to irruptive texts, we are interpretive beings that make sense through clusters of meaning. I look forward to contributing to an ever widening field of critical methodologies not only to consider collaborative research, but the particularity of its application to distinct social issues, which I put aside to more broadly consider CBR. People often ask me, especially in social work circles, what issues and identities inform my work? I have uncomfortably answered all/none in particular. I hope to ground my future work in the materiality of specific sites of inquiry, so that I might answer these and other questions differently.

Epilogue

Writing Story: Beginning at the End?

I tell myself repeatedly that I am nearing the end of my Ph.D., but there is always some other piece to perform. I told myself this story of endings over and over again, but it wore thin. With the spectre of my oral defense on the horizon, I went to bed. I no longer believed in the dream of endings. But I did throw something together for a mock defense and my remarkable colleagues pointed out what needed to be done. So I wiped the sleep out of my eyes and spent seven days producing a defensible presentation of my dissertation. The oral defense itself was a dream, one that I had not dreamt of, but was gifted with. My defense committee stretched my work further than I had imagined, honoured how far I had come, and how far I might yet have to go. I do not believe in endings only beginnings.

There were so many rich irruptive moments during my oral defense of which I will reflect on a seismic few. I was asked to reconsider my reluctance to socially locate conversants who participated in my dissertation. My defense committee pushed me to consider how the disembodiment that I critique as limiting CBR was reproduced in my own text. I concurred, but I also maintained that I would hold this disembodiment in tension with my desires to not locate others in ways that would inevitably fail and would assuredly conflict with my project of tracking how we position our selves and others as multiple, dynamic subjects.

My engagement with whiteness and racialisation was, as I anticipated, called out for its shallowness. I spoke of my struggles with realizing a dialogue on the raced and colonial logic of CBR with my co-conversants and how these challenges could be located in the whiteness of my

methodology, epistemology, and my body. This whiteness saturated my dissertation and subverted a fuller analysis of racial and colonial governance in CBR. But this is a beginning at the end of my dissertation project: to deepen my inquiry into the embodied and epistemological operations of race in social research.

The dialogic approach I attempted faltered and my defense committee identified the fault lines. My commitment to holding my theoretical readings in dialogue with the critical reflections of conversants, as mutually constituted and disruptive, was not empirically well instantiated. As I suggested in Chapter 10, I have not closed the gap between discursive claims and material actualities of CBR nor in the production of my dissertation. Although I resisted a developmental analytic sequence that would converge on strategies for better practice, I will at some point identify practices that I believe warrant our attention. And this is yet another beginning: to move the density of this dissertation into something that collaborative research practitioners might take up in their/our work.

And in a final gesture to beginnings at the end, I consider Audrey Simpson's (2003) important question, which I paraphrase and adapt to my dissertation work: How might we learn to listen if we gave up the need to feel like or be seen as at the centre, whether as good, bad or guilty whites?

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Appendices

APPENDIX A: INVITATION AND INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

Study Name: Less Dangerous Encounters: The Social Relations of
Community-based Participatory Research

Researcher: Julia Janes (PhD candidate); York University, School of
Social Work; Contact: janesjul@yorku.ca

Supervisor: Professor Anne O'Connell; Contact: aoconnel@yorku.ca
416 -736-2100 XT. 22851

Ethics Review #: STU 2012 - 171

*You are invited to participate in a research study by a doctoral student
York University, School of Social Work that aims to explore
the social relations of community-based participatory research (CBR).*

What is the purpose of the study?: After facilitating CBR projects in collaboration with individuals struggling with homelessness, inadequate housing, poor mental health, ageing in a gentrifying neighbourhood, and older women abuse, I have stepped back from my practice to consider its complexities.

This inquiry aims to extend the conversation on the challenges of and strategies for working with collaborators who occupy multiple research and social locations, who have access to very different levels of power and other resources, and who articulate a wide variety of 'cultures' and objectives.

What benefit is this study to you and other CBR practitioners? Although you will not personally benefit from participation, you may find it useful to critically reflect on your CBR work. Your understanding of and application of CBR will offer unique insights into the strategies and struggles of collaborative knowledge work, from which other community-engaged knowledge workers might benefit.

What will participating involve? Each participant will be invited to discuss (via email/phone) with the researcher how they might be involved in this study. Participants are invited to either participate in:

- An individual or group interview with colleagues (~ 60 minutes); date, time and location to be determined with participants
  Or
- A focus group with approximately six to eight people who have participated in a CBR project in the last five years. This group will include research collaborators who occupy different research/ social 'locations' (e.g., academic faculty, students and staff; community-based professionals and peers [8])(~90 minutes) Afternoon of December 12th, at the Wellesley Institute (time to be confirmed)

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[8] Participants who identify community-based peers will be offered an honoraria and transportation reimbursement for participation in the interviews or group discussions.

These interviews and group discussions will explore participants understandings of and everyday practices of CBR, as well as key issues and learnings from the field.

The timeline for these activities is October to December 2013. If you are interested in participating, please contact me via email or phone, as listed above. If you have concerns about the study that require my supervisor's attention, please contact Professor Anne O'Connell.

Please circulate this invitation to your networks!

I look forward to hearing from you,

Julia

APPENDIX B CONSENT FORMS

PRIMARY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN AN INTERVIEW VIDEO DIALOGUE NON-ACADEMIC/PROFESSIONAL PARTICIPANTS

Study Name:
Less Dangerous Encounters: The Promise and Perils of Participatory Community-engaged Research

Researcher: Julia Janes (PhD candidate); York University, School of Social Work
Contact: janesjul@yorku.ca

You are invited to participate in a research study by a doctoral student from York University, School of Social Work that aims to explore the social relations of participatory community- engaged research (PCER).

Purpose of the Research: Participatory Community-engaged Research is increasingly used in the social and health sciences, yet few studies have inquired into the micro practices of and the complex ethical considerations of collaborative knowledge work. If knowledge is the capital of the globalized economy, then an understanding of how knowledge production can be democratized and decolonized is essential to reducing global and local inequalities.This study will contribute to our understandings of the relations and practices associated with collaborative knowledge work. The findings of the study will be presented in a dissertation, journal articles and at conferences.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: You will participate in a dialogue with others who you have worked with on a community-based participatory research project. The dialogue will be facilitated by the researcher.
A $40.00 honorarium will be provided to acknowledge your time and contributions to this study.

Risks and Discomforts:
There are minimal risks to participants. The risks may include some uncomfortable feelings when discussing your opinions. The dialogue will be facilitated by a competent interviewer, who has spent five years conducting participatory research prior to entering the PhD. program.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to you:
Your involvement in this study is very important because of the your experiences and reflections on participating in a PCER project. Your discussion will be used to better understand how PCER is experienced and practiced. Further, the dialogues will help others considering or currently engaged in PCER be aware of the challenges, practices and benefits associated with PCER.

Voluntary Participation:
Your participation in the research is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time.

Withdrawal from the Study:
You may stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event that you withdraw from the study,

all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. Also, if you stop participating, you will still be eligible for the honorarium.

Confidentiality:
Confidentiality in this study will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. Any information you provide to us in connection with this study that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will not appear on the collected data, nor in any writing that will arise from the research. All collected data will be under the control of the researcher and will be stored in encrypted files on a computer in a locked office. Only the researcher and her thesis committee will have access to these files. The data will be used for academic and research purposes only. All data will be destroyed within five years of completion of this thesis.

Questions about the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in this study, please feel free to contact Julia Janes by email: janesjul@yorku.ca. Alternatively, you may contact the thesis supervisor Professor Anne O'Connell (aoconnel@yorku.ca; 416-736-2100 XT. 22851); or the Graduate Program at York University (anucha@yorku.ca; 416-736-2100 XT 70625)

This research has been reviewed by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact Ms. Alison Collins-Mrakas – Research Ethics, 309 York Lanes, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or email acollins@yorku.ca.

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I, _____, consent to participate in this study conducted by Julia Janes. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent and my receipt of the honoraria.

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   **Date**

_____   _____
Signature of Researcher   **Date**

SECONDARY CONSENT TO FILM THE DIALOGUE

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I, _____, consent to have the dialogue I am participating in filmed for the purposes of the doctoral study outlined in the primary consent. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to be filmed. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   **Date**

_____   _____

Signature of Researcher   **Date**

PRIMARY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN AN INTERVIEW DIALOGUE VIDEO
ACADEMIC & PROFESSIONAL PARTICIPANTS

Study Name:
Less Dangerous Encounters: The Promise and Perils of Participatory Community-engaged Research

Researcher: Julia Janes (PhD candidate); York University, School of Social Work
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Benefits of the Research and Benefits to you:
Your involvement in this study is very important because of the your experiences and reflections on participating in a PCER project. Your discussion will be used to better understand how PCER is experienced and practiced. Further, the dialogues will help others considering or currently engaged in PCER be aware of the challenges, practices and benefits associated with PCER.

Voluntary Participation:
Your participation in the research is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time.

Withdrawal from the Study:
You may stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event that you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality:
Confidentiality in this study will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. Any information you provide to us in connection with this study that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will not appear on the collected data, nor in any writing that will arise from the research. All collected data will be under the control of the researcher and will be stored in encrypted files on a computer in a locked office. Only the researcher and her thesis committee will have access to these files. The data will be used for academic and research purposes only. All data will be destroyed within five years of completion of this thesis.

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Signature of Participant   **Date**

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Signature of Participant   **Date**

_____   _____
Signature of Researcher   **Date**

<div align="center">

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN AUDIO INTERVIEW
ACADEMIC & PROFESSIONAL PARTICIPANTS

</div>

Study Name:
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What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: You will participate in an individual or group interview with the researcher.

Risks and Discomforts:
There are minimal risks to participants. The risks may include some uncomfortable feelings when discussing your opinions. The interview will be done by a competent researcher, who has spent five years conducting participatory research prior to entering the PhD. program.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to you:
Your involvement in this study is very important because of the your experiences and reflections on participating in a PCER project. Your discussion will be used to better understand how PCER is experienced and practiced. Further, the dialogues will help others considering or currently engaged in PCER to be aware of the challenges, practices and benefits associated with PCER.

Voluntary Participation:
Your participation in the follow up interview is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time.

Withdrawal from the Study:
You may stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event that you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality:
Confidentiality in this study will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. Any information you provide to us during this interview that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will not appear on the collected data, nor in any writing that will arise from the research. All collected data will be under the control of the researcher and will be stored in encrypted files on a computer in a locked office. Only the researcher and her thesis committee will have access to these files. The data will be used for academic and research purposes only. All data will be destroyed within five years of completion of this thesis.

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Legal Rights and Signatures:

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A $40.00 honorarium will be provided to acknowledge your time and contributions to this study.

Risks and Discomforts:
There are minimal risks to participants. The risks may include some uncomfortable feelings when discussing your opinions. The interview will be done by a competent researcher, who has spent five years conducting participatory research prior to entering the PhD. program. These individual interviews provide an opportunity for you to share any additional ideas that have occurred to you after the dialogues or that you chose not to share during the dialogues.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to you:
Your involvement in this study is very important because of the your experiences and reflections on participating in a PCER project. Your discussion will be used to better understand how PCER is experienced and practiced. Further, the dialogues will help others considering or currently engaged in PCER to be aware of the challenges, practices and benefits associated with PCER.

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Your participation in the follow up interview is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time.

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Confidentiality in this study will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. Any information you provide to us during this interview that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will not appear on the collected data, nor in any writing that will arise from the research. All collected data will be under the control of the researcher and will be stored in encrypted files on a computer in a locked office. Only the researcher and her thesis committee will have access to these files. The data will be used for academic and research purposes only. All data will be destroyed within five years of completion of this thesis.

Questions about the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in this study, please feel free to contact Julia Janes by email: janesjul@yorku.ca. Alternatively, you may contact the thesis supervisor Professor Anne O'Connell (aoconnel@yorku.ca; 416-736-2100 XT. 22851); or the Graduate Program at York University (anucha@yorku.ca; 416-736-2100 XT 70625)

This research has been reviewed by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact Ms. Alison Collins-Mrakas – Research Ethics, 309 York Lanes, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or email acollins@yorku.ca.

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I, _____, consent to participate in this study conducted by Julia Janes. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent and my receipt of the honoraria.

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   **Date**

_____   _____
Signature of Researcher   **Date**

APPENDIX C DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE FORM

Interview # _____Interview Date____

1. What is your age range?
- o   0 -14
- o   14-24
- o   25-44
- o   44-64
- o   65+

2. What is your gender?
- o   Female
- o   Male
- o   Transgendered
- o   Other _____

3. Do you identify with any particular ethnic or cultural group?
- o   Yes
  If yes, please describe_____
- o   No

4. Please check what best describes your current income sources:
- o   Salaried full time
- o   Salaried part time
- o   Hourly income
- o   Income assistance
- o   Pension
- o   Student funding
- o   None/informal (e.g., support from friends, family etc.)
- o   Other _____

5.   Do you have caregiving responsibilities (e.g., children, parents, other family members or friends)?
Yes   No   Sometimes/other_____

6. What is your highest level of <u>formal</u> education?
- o   PhD
- o   Masters
- o   Undergraduate/Bachelor
- o   College or trade school
- o   High school
- o   Elementary school
- o   Other _____

7. If you attended postsecondary or college, what was your primary field of interest?

_____

8. **How long have you participated in CBR? _____**

   8a. Approximately how many CBR projects have you participated in?_____

9. How would you identify yourself within a CBR project? Please check all that apply.
- o Academic faculty
- o University staff
- o Undergraduate student
- o Graduate student
- o Community professional
- o Community peer/citizen
- o Ally/advocate
- o Other _____

10. Please indicate which of the following statements best describes you. Please check off all that apply.

- o I have knowledge of the issue(s) of these projects because I have been personally impacted by these issues
- o I have knowledge of the issue(s) of these projects because I have studied at educational institutions
- o I have knowledge of the issue(s) of these projects because I have worked at an organization/ agency/government department that addresses this issue
- o I have knowledge of the issue(s) of these projects because I have engaged in activism/ advocacy to address these issues

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE AND TOPICAL MAP
Outline for Interview: "Less Dangerous Encounters: An Inquiry into the Social Relations of Community-based Participatory Research"

<u>Purpose of the interview:</u> I hope that we will explore the challenges of and strategies for working with CBR collaborators who occupy multiple research locations (e.g., academic faculty, staff and students; and community professionals, peers and allies), who have access to different levels of power and other resources, and who have a wide variety of 'cultures' and objectives.

<u>Context for this interview:</u> This interview is part of a doctoral study by a student at the school of social work, York university that aims to contribute to our understandings of the everyday practices of collaborative knowledge work. This study builds on the knowledge the student gained as a practitioner of CBR in affiliation with a nonprofit network working with individuals who have endured homelessness, episodes of poor mental health, and older women abuse.

<u>The following questions will guide our discussion:</u>
Why do CBR and to what end?
   • How & why did you first get involved in CBR?
   • Thinking about your initial involvement and other CBR projects that followed, how were you engaged in the CBR project? How were others engaged? Did you notice any trends in who gets involved in CBR projects and who doesn't?
   • What makes the projects you been involved in participatory/collaborative?
   • What sort of actions/outcomes were you hoping might come out of your CBR work?

How are the different roles/positions of collaborators understood within the CBR projects you participated in?
   • How does your position within the project influence what you do?
   • How does your position within the project influence how you are compensated?

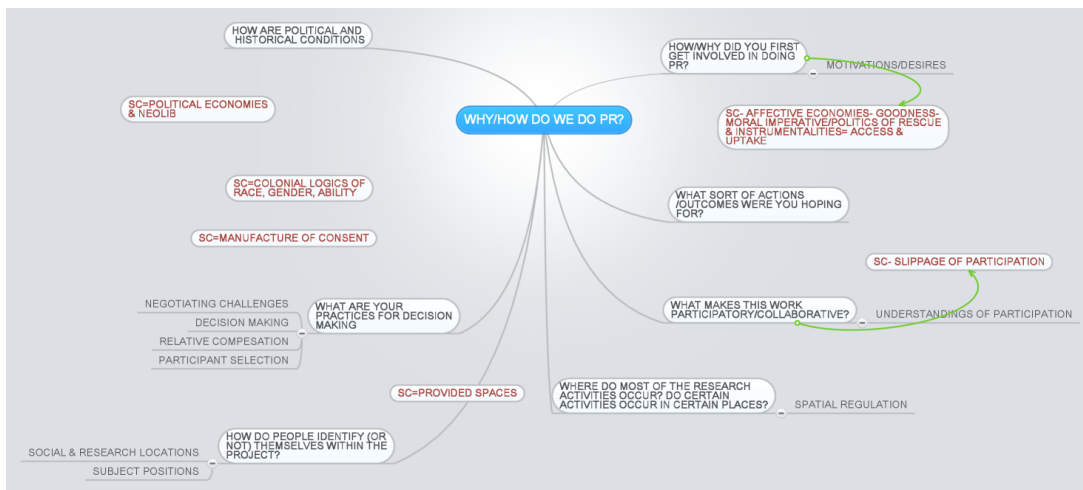**Where do the CBR activities occur and how do people experience what happens in these places?**
   • Do certain activities tend to occur in certain places?
   • How are the spaces of campus and community defined?
   • Do you feel safe and welcome in the places where the CBR takes place? What is it that makes you feel comfortable and what doesn't about these spaces?
      • Do you feel that others involved in the CBR project understand you and value your ideas ? How do others make you feel this way?

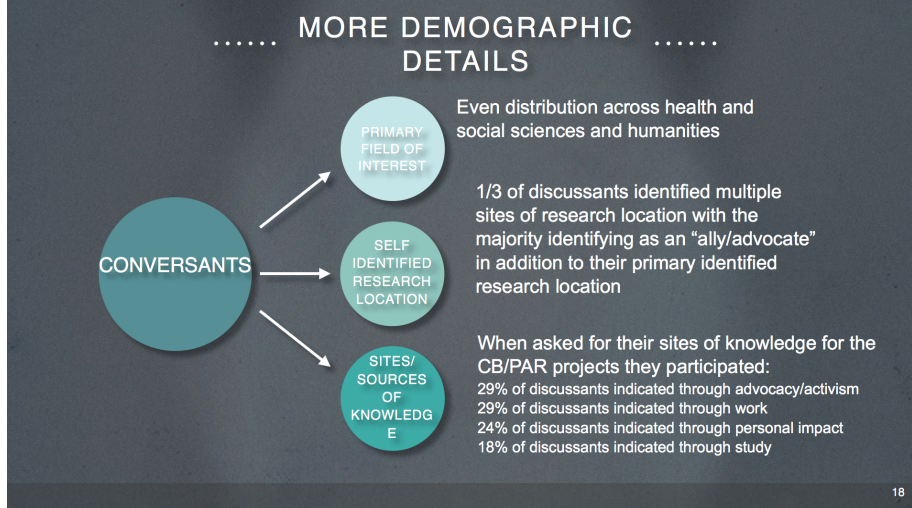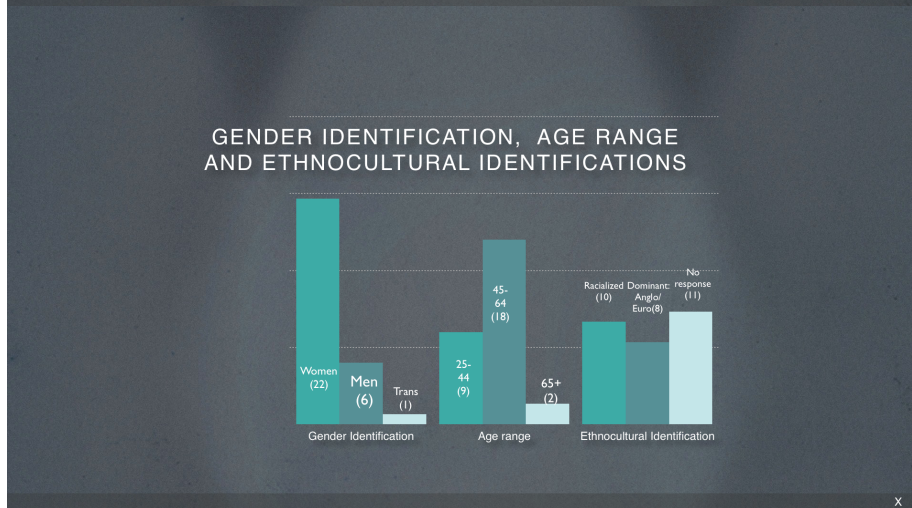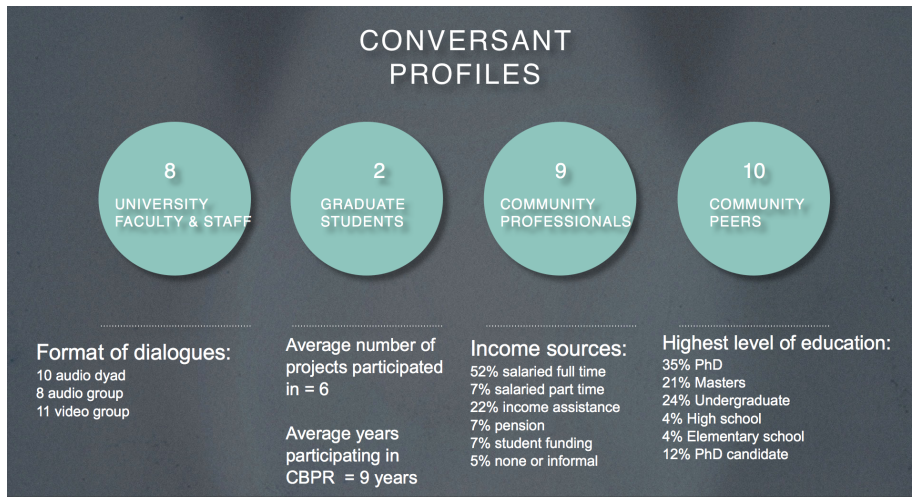**Could you describe a challenge that occurred in a CBR project you worked on and how you worked through it?**

What do you think are the key issues associated with doing CBR today?

Could you share key learnings that have emerged from your CBR work?
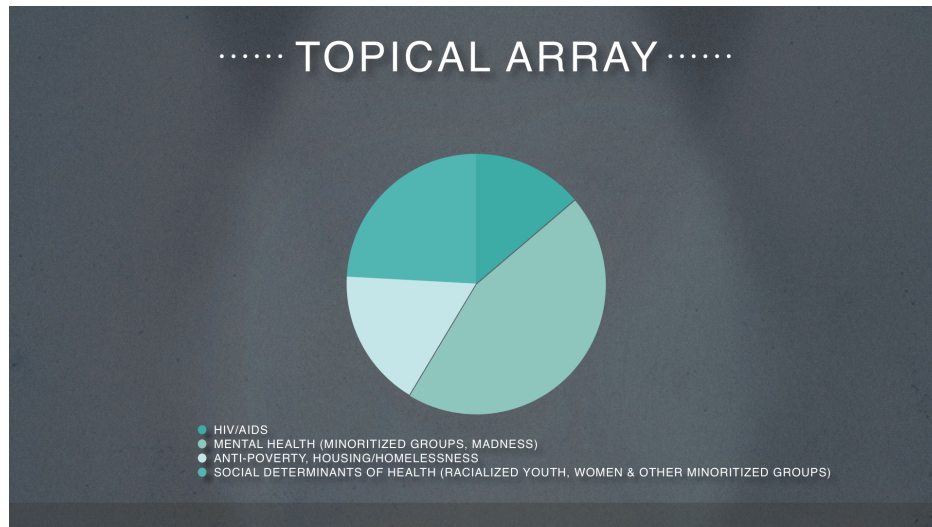
TOPICAL MAP FOR INTERVIEWS

APPENDIX E CONVERSANT PROFILES

CONVERSANT PROFILES

8 UNIVERSITY FACULTY & STAFF

2 GRADUATE STUDENTS

9 COMMUNITY PROFESSIONALS

10 COMMUNITY PEERS

Format of dialogues:
10 audio dyad
8 audio group
11 video group

Average number of projects participated in = 6

Average years participating in CBPR = 9 years

Income sources:
52% salaried full time
7% salaried part time
22% income assistance
7% pension
7% student funding
5% none or informal

Highest level of education:
35% PhD
21% Masters
24% Undergraduate
4% High school
4% Elementary school
12% PhD candidate

X

GENDER IDENTIFICATION, AGE RANGE AND ETHNOCULTURAL IDENTIFICATIONS

Women (22)
Men (6)
Trans (1)

Gender Identification

25-44 (9)
45-64 (18)
65+ (2)

Age range

Racialized (10)
Dominant: Anglo/Euro (8)
No response (11)

Ethnocultural Identification

X

MORE DEMOGRAPHIC ...... DETAILS

CONVERSANTS

→ PRIMARY FIELD OF INTEREST

Even distribution across health and social sciences and humanities

→ SELF IDENTIFIED RESEARCH LOCATION

1/3 of discussants identified multiple sites of research location with the majority identifying as an "ally/advocate" in addition to their primary identified research location

→ SITES/ SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE

When asked for their sites of knowledge for the CB/PAR projects they participated:
29% of discussants indicated through advocacy/activism
29% of discussants indicated through work
24% of discussants indicated through personal impact
18% of discussants indicated through study

18

APPENDIX F TOPICAL ARRAY

Topics conversants Identified as their primary fields of interest

APPENDIX G HYPER RESEARCH DATE ANALYSIS MAP EXAMPLE